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# THE SCOTTISH HISTORICAL REVIEW



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# The Scottish Historical Review

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## Literature and History<sup>1</sup>

THE title I have chosen for this paper certainly leaves much to be desired in point of clearness and precision. It may suggest, for example, a difference of opinion that exists regarding the manner in which history should be written. According to one view history should have nothing whatever to do with literature. What we want from history is fact only, and all narrative and exposition, however admirable, only obscure or distort the fact which it is our primary object to ascertain and estimate. According to this conception of history, the most trustworthy form in which past events can be presented is a *catalogue raisonné*, which will present facts in their logical connections and leave the reader to draw his own conclusions. The upholders of the other view maintain that the investigator of the facts is likely to understand them better than his reader, that his reflections regarding them must have an independent value of their own, and that the merit of his narrative or exposition will depend on the skill and force with which he presents his own views, on the logical arrangement of his materials, the clearness and attractiveness of his style. In this conception history becomes literature in a true sense, for the historian, to attain his ideal, has need of aesthetic no less than of scientific qualifications for his task.

The consideration of these two views regarding the most fruitful method of presenting the facts of history might be the subject of an interesting enquiry. On the present occasion, however, it is another theme to which I would invite your

<sup>1</sup> An Address to the Glasgow University Historical Society.

attention. What are the relations between literature and the facts of history? What reciprocal light do they throw upon each other? How may we best study both to draw the fullest nutriment from them for our souls and minds? These questions, it is evident, may be regarded from two points of view—from the point of the writer of history and the point of view of the reader. Fortunately, the readers of history still outnumber its writers, and it may be more profitable to consider the point of view of the former class. It is from the reader's point of view, then, that the following remarks are made.

Regarded in their primary intention, history and literature may seem to be disparate and even antagonistic subjects. Taken in their essence, they make appeal to different desires and faculties of our nature. The primary aim of history is instruction, and when Bacon said that 'histories make men wise,' he implied that instruction must be the historian's main object. On the other hand, the primary aim of literature is not instruction but pleasure; its immediate appeal is not to the cognitive faculties, but to our emotions and our tastes. In point of fact, however, we cannot draw so hard and fast a line between the aim and scope of literature and history. There are histories which do afford pleasure as well as instruction, and there are purely literary productions which yield instruction as well as pleasure. Macaulay declared that he would make his history as interesting as a novel, and his publisher's cheque for £20,000 is a sufficiently cogent proof that he fulfilled his intention. Of George Eliot's novels it has been said that, as you read them, you feel as if you were in the confessional—which is surely instruction with a witness.

In one sense, and a very important sense, every production in pure literature is history, and the larger its scope, the greater its scale—the deeper and wider is its historical significance. The most trifling occasional poem is as much the product of the age to which it belongs as of the poet who wrote it. The thoughts, the emotions that inspire it are drawn from the spiritual and intellectual capital of the time, and the poet, so to speak, only draws his cheque on this funded capital which is the common property of his generation. True, his individual signature is affixed to the cheque; the poet, in so far as he is a real poet, has his own impression, his own vision of men and things. Nevertheless, the greatest and most important

portion of the materials with which he works is impersonal, and he is only an inheritor of the common stock.

If this be true of the slighter productions of literature, it is true in a larger and deeper sense of the great masterpieces of all times. For in proportion to the range of the poet's sympathy and intelligence is the extent to which he appropriates and expresses the thought and experience of the age to which he belongs. Such works as Dante's *Divine Comedy*, the Plays of Shakspeare, and *Paradise Lost*, are an epitome of the pre-occupations and speculations and aspirations of the times out of which they sprang. In Dante's great poem we have the presentation of almost every important interest that engaged the hearts and minds of his contemporaries. We find in it the official solution of human destiny in its eternal relations, and we find in it also the doubts and reserves with which that solution was accepted. In it, too, we find the clashing political and social ideals of the time, and the warring forces that imperilled the *unitas Catholica* which had been the ideal of the Medieval Church from its beginning. Above all we find in it the *spirit* of the time—a spirit which reveals itself in the intemperance of the poet's passions, equally of love and hate, and which led a certain critic, thinking of certain passages in the poem, to declare that it remains for ever a monument of human malevolence.

There can be no more instructive lesson in history than to pass from the poem of Dante to the Plays of Shakspeare. They are divided from each other by only three centuries, but what travail of thought and act and emotion had man passed through in that intervening period! Alike in form and substance the work of Dante and the work of Shakspeare belong to different worlds. The very centre of things is different for each. Dante's scheme of thought, alike in temporal and spiritual things, had the rigidity and completeness of that system which his age accepted from Ptolemy as the mechanical explanation of the universe. For Shakspeare, on the other hand, everything was an open question. His thought and fancy play over men and things with the unchartered freedom of a mind for which dogmatic assertion is a vain assumption of certainty, where certainty is impossible. Doubtless the different geniuses of the two men partly explain their different points of view. Born in the age and in the circumstances of Dante, Shakspeare by no possibility could have had Dante's vision of Hell, Purgatory,

and Paradise. But it is to history we must go for the adequate explanation of the difference in form and spirit that distinguishes their respective creations.

Between Dante's and Shakspeare's day the *unitas Catholica* had been fatally broken up; the philosophy, the science, the religious dogma of the Middle Age had ceased to dominate the mind of Christendom; and in their place had arisen those new conceptions of nature and man which were mainly due to the rediscovered world of classical antiquity. It was amid the ferment occasioned by this revolution that the genius of Shakspeare found its characteristic scope, and only by taking account of that revolution can we have any intelligent understanding of the substance of his work and of the spirit in which he regarded it.

The case of Shakspeare is the supreme illustration of Goethe's remark that he only can be said to know a poet who knows his age, but it is also an illustration of the essential relations between literature and history. We can have no adequate comprehension of the Shakspearian plays without regarding them as a product of the general mind of the age, but, on the other hand, how imperfect, how limited in depth and scope, would our conception of that general mind be if a Shakspeare had not been its exponent! Thus literature and history are the complements of each other, and the fulness of both is only realised when they are studied in their mutual relations.

The contrast between Dante and Shakspeare is hardly greater than the contrast between Shakspeare and Milton. In contrasting the work of Shakspeare and Milton we have again to take due account of their different types of genius. In no circumstances can we imagine that Shakspeare's free outlook on man and the world could have been possible to Milton. For Milton as for Dante it was an intellectual and spiritual necessity that he should have a definite system of thought embracing every subject that concerns the temporal and spiritual interests of men. This contrast between the mind of Shakspeare and the mind of Milton doubtless determined the fundamental distinction between their respective creations, but it is not an adequate explanation of the ideas that underlie them. In Milton's day, both in England and on the Continent, men were preoccupied with problems which had not taken definite shape in the age of Shakspeare. By the date when Milton had reached maturity the Protestant scholastic theology was

fully developed and in the third book of *Paradise Lost* we have its classical exposition, just as in Dante we have the classical exposition of the scholastic theology of the Middle Age. In Milton's preoccupation with those discussions which he assigns to the rebel angels in Pandemonium :

Providence, Foreknowledge, Will and Fate,  
Fixed fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute,

he is the child of his time, and his concern with these problems is understood and properly appraised only when we have some acquaintance with the contemporary schools of Protestant thought. But, further—between Shakspeare's and Milton's day there had been development along the lines opened up by the Renaissance as well as by the Reformation. As the Renaissance found expression in Shakspeare and his contemporaries, it was the lust of life, the free play of human nature that was the predominating note. By Milton's day the influence of the revival of Classical antiquity had passed into a new phase. In literature it had now become a restraining and chastening influence as was to be signally illustrated in the great French writers of the seventeenth century—Racine, Boileau, Pascal and Bossuet. And in no great spirit is this new discipline more notably exemplified than in Milton, in whose work the new conception of classical purity and restraint of expression has its highest embodiment in English literature. Doubtless in any age Milton's genius would have tended to severity of form ; but had he lived when the Renaissance was at its flood-tide, when men's minds were intoxicated with the new wine of antiquity, such purity of form as he attained would have been impossible even to his genius. But he fell upon an age when maturer and discreeter ideas regarding the classical models prevailed, and it was these ideas working together with his own native instincts that enabled him to produce a poem which by its scope, its style, its structure is comparable to the great creations of antiquity.

It is the great poets who are the supreme interpreters of their age, for it is in their creations that the different sides of human nature find the fullest expression: in the words of Hamlet, they show us 'the very body of the time, his form and pressure.' But to receive the full impression of any age, not only its poets but its literature as a whole must be present to our minds. A book like Bacon's *Essays*, for

example, is an indispensable commentary on the age in which it was produced. The very titles of these *Essays* suggest the main interests of Bacon's contemporaries. Take such titles as these: 'Of Unitie in Religion,' 'Of Simulation and Dissimulation,' 'Of Seditious and Troubles,' 'Of Cunning,' 'Of Plantations,' 'Of the true Greatness of Kingdomes and Estates.' Bacon's choice of such themes and his manner of handling them give us a deeper insight into the time than any state documents revealing the machinations of statesmen and diplomatists. When Bacon chooses such a subject as 'Unity in Religion' on which to discourse, we are reminded of the great Protestant schism of the sixteenth century, and its determining influence on international relations and the relations of subjects to their rulers. When he writes on 'Dissimulation and Cunning,' we are reminded of the new diplomacy which was the birth of the same century, and of which Machiavelli was the arch-deviser and codifier. Thus, Bacon's book is a veritable transcript of his time—of its engrossing problems, of its ethical standards, of its conceptions of the general and individual life of man. On the other hand, the only adequate commentary on these *Essays* is the history of Europe from the day when Luther broke with Rome. Without this commentary the book loses half its meaning, for we thus miss what is all-important to know in the case of every book—how much of it is the author's own, and how much of it is the general property of his time.

Hitherto I have been mainly emphasising the importance of history as throwing light on literature; let me now say a few words on the light which literature throws on history. It is the unfortunate disability of the writer of history that he cannot jump off his own shadow. Do what he will he cannot get away from himself; his own temperament, his own sympathies and prepossessions, his own vision of life (for we all have one, whether we know it or not) create an atmosphere around him through which he sees, not the real lineaments of the past, but a spectral illusion which he mistakes for the reality. In the often-quoted words of Faust to the enquiring student Wagner, we have the final expression of the historian's impotence to divest himself of his own personality and to see a past age as it appeared to the men who made it. 'My friend,' says Faust, 'past times are for us a book with seven seals: what you call the spirit of past times is in truth but

the spirit of him who seeks to reproduce them.' Historians may, indeed, attain to varying degrees of impartiality; some may be more exact than others; may take more comprehensive views, may have a keener insight into the significance of the facts that come under their notice, but they cannot dissolve the refracting medium which is indeed the emanation of their own being.

But not only does his own personality come between the historian and the past; the age in which he lives casts its own shadow over all previous time. How differently did the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries regard the great events and the great characters that have marked the course of man's destinies! In great things and small the judgments of the two centuries stand in equal contrast. Take one judgment by a representative mind of the eighteenth century. David Hume, in one of his literary essays, had occasion to compare Bunyan and Parnell, the author of *The Hermit*—a poem which few but specialists in English literature have now read, and his judgment on their relative merits is that Bunyan is to Parnell what a mole-hill is to a mountain. Can we imagine Hume pronouncing such a judgment had he been born in 1811 instead of in 1711? But, in point of fact, it is not only Hume that is speaking when he pronounces his opinion on the relative merits of Bunyan and Parnell, but the age of which he is the representative spokesman.

But let us take another example which illustrates with wider significance the different attitudes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries towards the epoch-making events of the past. Like Hume, the historian Gibbon is one of the representative minds of the eighteenth century. His point of view with regard to the spiritual forces in human history is that of the movement, known as the *Aufklärung*, the Enlightenment, and in his famous chapters on the rise and spread of Christianity we have this attitude exemplified in all its implications. His account of the development of the Christian doctrines and institutions, as we know, is a masterpiece of irony—

‘Sapping a solemn creed with solemn sneer.’

He records with all his mastery of lucid exposition the external events of the Christian movement. He expounds the policy of the Church and the policy of the empire, and seeks to show that by the concatenation of circumstances Constantine

the Great was constrained to identify himself with the new religion. The problem, as it presents itself to Gibbon, is one simply of dynamical forces—these forces being the clashing interests of sects and parties, the vanity and ambition of individuals, the superstition of the masses. By the fortuitous working of these forces it came about that Christianity emerged triumphant from its death-struggle with Paganism, and by the same fortuitous means it continued to maintain its supremacy. Of religion as an instinct in man, as a force that lay behind all doctrines and institutions, behind the policies of statesmen and ecclesiastics, Gibbon had no conception; and if the conception had been presented to him he would have regarded it as the lingering delusion of the ages of unenlightenment.

By temperament, Gibbon was unsympathetic with enthusiasm in any form; in no age could he have been fired with ardour for any cause. But, had he lived in the nineteenth century instead of the eighteenth, he would not have written of Christianity as he did. By the beginning of the nineteenth century the philosophy of the 'Enlightenment' no longer satisfied the minds of thinking men. They realised that religion was a constituent element of human nature and in itself one of the potent factors in the development of humanity, that it was not a figment devised by cunning priests at a given moment as a convenient means of exploiting their fellow creatures. To illustrate the different points of view of the two countries, let us take a criticism passed on Gibbon's account of the spread of Christianity by one of the most eminent critics of the nineteenth—the French critic Ste. Beuve. Personally Ste. Beuve was at the same point of view with regard to Christianity as Gibbon. He regarded it as a purely natural development, which can be adequately explained by human nature itself and the historical conditions under which the Christian faith made its way into the world. But what is his judgment on the explanation given by Gibbon in his famous chapters? Gibbon, he says, writes of religion like a mandarin. What he meant was that Gibbon dealt with religion in a purely external fashion, and that he was incapable of understanding its real nature and the modes of its working. And Ste. Beuve goes on to make a notable remark which Gibbon could never have made, though both were at one in their attitude towards historical Christianity. 'The moral innovation effected by Christianity,' says the French critic, 'was that it inculcated a keener, a more absolute senti-

ment of truth.' And it is in this keener sense of truth that he finds the explanation of that intolerance of other religions which distinguished the Christian from the Pagan. No doubt Ste. Beuve had finer critical instincts than Gibbon, but had he lived in the eighteenth instead of the nineteenth century, even his finer instincts would not have suggested such judgments as those that have been quoted.

The conclusion is that the writer of history sees past ages through a double veil—the veil of his own personality and that of the age to which he himself belongs. But is there any means by which the reader can escape from this double illusion which is thus woven round the past? The question is one which it is the business of philosophy to answer, for it is simply the old question whether mortals are capable of envisaging the ultimate reality of things. Waiving this question, therefore, let us ask another which can be more simply answered. How may the reader of history best guard himself from the inevitably personal presentment of any given period of the past by the later historians of that period, and how can he most effectually assure himself that his own illusions are at least his own? The judicious reader has, of course, one means always at his disposal. He can make his own reserves with regard to the personal element in the work of the writer who is engaging him. He will see that the historian, belonging to some particular school of thought, is apt to select facts and pass judgment on them in accordance with his own point of view. And he will make his qualifications not only with reference to the historian's opinions, but also to the mental qualities which are exhibited in his work. He will make the necessary abatements according as the historian is rhetorical or sentimental, rash or unduly cautious, optimistic or pessimistic in his outlook on human affairs. Such checks as these are in the power of every reader, but they will enable him only partially to control the general picture of a period presented by another mind. Fully to control it, he would require such an amount of knowledge as would enable him to form an independent picture of his own.

But there is another means by which the reader of history may effectually guard himself against the idiosyncrasies of individual historians. It is in the literature of any period that we have the veritable expression of its spirit, defeatured by no distorting medium. By acquainting ourselves, says Bacon, with the substance, the modes of expression of the literature of any

age, we, as it were by incantation, evoke its genius from the dead. Acquainted with this 'genius' of the age, we are enabled to see its events, its men in their true lineaments and proportions. The chief cause of misconception regarding the great characters of past times is that they are so frequently estimated out of relation to the age to which they belong. To correct such misconceptions not only knowledge is required, but the constant reminding ourselves that we must not apply present standards to their words and actions. Take, for example, one great man who has already been mentioned—the poet Milton. The contrast between Milton the poet and Milton the controversialist is so shocking to modern feeling that it is almost inconceivable that they should be one and the same man. When we think of the grace and pure beauty of such poems as *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro*, and *Comus*, of the sublimity of *Paradise Lost* and *Samson Agonistes*, we are at a loss to understand how the same hand could have written such things as the replies to Salmasius. In point of fact, however, the scurrilous and brutal language of Milton towards his adversaries had been the current coin of scholars for more than a century before his day. In their controversies with each other these scholars, humanists they called themselves, thought that in the interests of truth it was perfectly legitimate to traduce the private character of those who differed from them. Peter Ramus, the unflinching critic of the mediaeval Aristotle, was constantly reminded by his antagonists that he was the son of a charcoal-burner. Salmasius exulted that he had knocked Milton blind in the course of their repeated encounters, and Scioppius, another humanist, congratulated himself on having killed Joseph Scaliger by the exposure of his vaunted pedigree. The fact that Milton's controversial style was not peculiar to himself does not indeed make us regret the less that he indulged in it, but it reminds us that we must not judge him by modern canons of good taste and feeling.

The difficulty of attaching their proper meaning to the spoken and written words of a past age is, indeed, one of the chief obstacles in the way of understanding it. We read a letter, a sermon, a speech of a past century; we attach a definite meaning to every word, and we imagine we have taken in the full mind of the writer or speaker. But the truth is that words expressive of the deeper thoughts and feelings of men vary in suggestion with every age. Words that to one age savour of unctuous

hypocrisy once expressed honest and genuine feeling. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries biblical phraseology was applied in a way that the hasty modern reader is apt to set down as cant—the truth being that the English Bible was then a new book whose words came home to men's minds with a freshness and point of which familiarity has deprived them.

The later historians of a past age cannot enable us to appreciate those delicate shades of thought and feeling which distinguish it from every other. The only means of acquiring this power of appreciation is to make ourselves familiar with the literature of the period in question. But we cannot read all the literature of the time, and it is necessary to determine what portions of it may be read with most profit. Lord Bacon, in the passage already quoted, distinctly says that it is enough even for the historian himself that he should 'taste' (*degustare*) the literature of the period, whose history he undertakes to write. For the reader of history, therefore, it is sufficient that he should familiarise himself with the chief literary productions of the period he may choose for special study. As has already been said, it is in the representative poets that we find the spirit of the age in its most concentrated, most comprehensive, and most vital expression. But there is another form of literature which, if the age has produced it, is invaluable for its adequate understanding. In certain periods there have been minds with a genius for systematising the general thought and experience, and for condensing them in a great work, which remains as a perpetual memorial of the epoch that produced it. Such a work, for example, is the *Leviathan* of Thomas Hobbes—a work whose scope and intention embodies the ideals, carried no doubt to extremes, of similarly-minded Englishmen of his generation. Read from the point of view of history, Hobbes' book is a revelation of the conflicting ideals in politics and religion which underlay the great struggle between Crown and Parliament in the first half of the seventeenth century. At the close of that century we have another thinker, John Locke, whose work was in no less degree conditioned by the experience of his time, of which it remains the equally durable memorial. The value of the work of such thinkers is that it not only reveals the conflicting ideals of their own time, but it links that time with the past and future of the total experience of the race. When we lay down Hobbes and take up Locke, we become aware of the never-ceasing endeavour of

humanity to adjust itself to the changing conditions under which its life is lived. And what is history but the tale of this endeavour on the part of man since he first awoke to conscious purpose ?

One of the great masters of history has said that the highest result of its study is the acquired ability to appreciate the differences between times and countries, nations and races. The full attainment of this power implies a sweep of knowledge which can be the acquisition of only a few. But to acquire a familiarity even with one other age than our own is a great intellectual gain. It saves us from the mechanical acceptance of standards which we are apt to think absolute for all time ; it supplies us, so to speak, with a parallax from which we can more adequately estimate men and events in all countries and in all ages. The ability to see things in their true relations marks, in fact, the distinction between the educated and the uneducated mind. The whole process of education, we may say, is to lift men out of their immediate surroundings and to provide them with larger measures of things. And for such as have a predilection for what are called the humane studies, there could perhaps be no better discipline towards this end than the mastery of some one period of the past, which by the greatness of its events and the eminence of its actors marks an epoch in the history of humanity. The period we choose will be determined by our own personal affinities, for there are periods which appeal to our individual temperaments and modes of thought more powerfully than others. Some will be attracted by such a century as the eighteenth, with its love of measure and proportion, others to such a century as the sixteenth, when human passions had their freest play and the fountains of the great deep were broken up. The period once chosen, the method of study I have suggested can hardly fail to result in a living acquaintance with the specific characteristics that distinguish it from every other. As our study deepens, these characteristics appear with increasing clearness of definition, and the spectacle arises before us of a world, inhabited by men of like passions with our own, but whose aims, whose interests, whose modes of thought exhibit human nature under other aspects, and remind us that the preoccupations of our own day are likewise but another passing stage in the general experience of humanity.

P. HUME BROWN.

## Chronicle of Lanercost

STUDENTS of English and Scottish history in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries have so long been familiar with the record known as *The Chronicle of Lanercost* that an English translation may seem to be a superfluity. But, whereas the tendency of modern education is to exchange the study of the classics for a diversity of other subjects reputed to be of greater utility, it is certain that a far smaller proportion of educated persons can read Latin easily in the twentieth century than could do so in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, before that flexible language had ceased to be the common medium of scientific and literary intercourse. Now the writer of this chronicle permitted himself so many digressions from his formal narrative, betrayed such an ardent purpose of exalting his own monastic order by explaining its advantages over every other, and threw so many sidelights upon the social conditions of his time, that it seems possible that both amusement and instruction may be found in his work by many readers who, unversed in Latin, lack time for arduous historical research.

The Latin text was edited from the oldest extant MS.<sup>1</sup> by the late Joseph Stevenson with his usual acumen and fidelity, and printed for the Maitland and Bannatyne Clubs in 1839. 'The whole Chronicle,' wrote Stevenson in his preface, 'as it now stands has been reduced to its present form, about the latest period of which it treats, by a writer who had before him materials of a varied character and of unequal merit.' In this form it has been appended as a continuation to Roger de Hoveden's *Annals*.

In Stevenson's opinion there is no warrant for attributing the origin of this chronicle to the Priory of Lanercost. He judged from internal evidence that it was written by a Minorite Friar of Carlisle. Without venturing to differ from so perspicuous

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, Cottonian MSS. Claudius D vii.

a critic as Father Stevenson, I think that it is apparent from that very evidence that a resident of Lanercost is responsible for certain passages. For instance, in respect of King Edward's visit to Lanercost in September, 1280, Dr. Stevenson observes that, had the notice of an important event been written at Lanercost, the inmates of that monastery would have dwelt thereon at greater length. True; but, as Dr. Stevenson had already pointed out, the narrative is a compilation from 'materials of a varied character and of unequal merit.' On 22nd March following after King Edward's visit it is recorded that Bishop Ralph of Carlisle performed a visitation at Lanercost, 'in which we were obliged [*coacti sumus*] to accept new constitutions.' It seems clear from this that a member of the convent is writing on the spot. Probably his manuscript formed part of the 'materials' employed in compilation by a Friar of Carlisle, who may have pared away a good deal that was of purely local interest. Another indication of compilation from plural sources occurs in the occasional repetition of the same event in different words. Thus in the year 1272 the death is twice recorded of Henry IV.'s brother, once as Richard king of Germany, and once again as Earl of Cornwall. The entire work covers the period from 1201 to 1346. The translation now presented only extends over the reigns of Edward I. and II. and part of the reign of Edward III., a period of perennial interest to Scotsmen, who, however, must not be offended at the bitter partizanship of a writer living just over the Border.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

## CHRONICON DE LANERCOST, 1272-1280\*

**A**FTER the Church's three years widowhood, as it was called,<sup>1</sup> when all men were laughing at the College of Cardinals, the Archdeacon of Liège, who <sup>A.D. 1272.</sup> had accompanied [our] Lord Edward in his journey to the Holy Land, was elected Pope, and was named Gregory the Tenth. He sat for four years and ten days, and the seat was vacant for ten days. In the third year of his pontificate he held a solemn council at Lyons of five hundred bishops, six hundred abbots and three thousand other prelates, for the good of the Church and especially of the Holy Land, which he desired to visit at another time; at which council, among many other excellent acts, it was decreed that whensoever the name of Jesus should happen to be heard in church, every head, whether of layman or cleric, should be bowed, or, at least, every one should do adoration in thought.

The Greek official delegates were present with the Patriarch at this Council, and solemnly affirmed, by singing in their own language, the creed of the Holy Spirit proceeding both from the Father and the Son, to which [doctrine] they had not assented previously to that time. There were present also Tartar delegates, asking on behalf of their own people for teachers of the Christian faith, in token whereof they returned to their own [country] having been catechised and baptised.

In this Council the Orders both of Preachers and Minorites were approved and confirmed for the Colleges of Mendicants. But it would be a long matter to mention all the good things which were settled there.

And so in the year of the Consecration of this Pope, there arose, as is reported, a great dispute in the [Papal] Curia over the election of William Wishart<sup>2</sup> many of them raising so many objections that the Head of the Church himself, having examined the objections set forth in writing, vowed by Saint Peter that if a moiety of the allegations were brought

\* Further instalments of this translation of the Chronicle of Lanercost will appear in future numbers of the *Scottish Historical Review*.

<sup>1</sup> The Papal throne was vacant for two years and nine months, 1268-71.

<sup>2</sup> To the see of St. Andrews in 1271.

against himself, he never would seek to be Pope. At length, by intervention of the grace and piety of Edward, he [Wishart] was consecrated under the Pope's dispensation. For the sake of example I do not hesitate to insert here what befel him later when he applied himself to his cure. Indeed, it is an evil far too common throughout the world that many persons, undertaking the correction of others, are very negligent about their own [conduct], and, while condemning the light offences of simple folk, condone the graver ones of great men.

There was a certain vicar, of a verity lewd and notorious, who, although often penalised on account of a concubine whom he kept, did not on that account desist from sinning. But when the bishop arrived on his ordinary visitation, the wretch was suspended and made subject to the prelate's mercy. Overcome with confusion, he returned home and beholding his doxy, poured forth his sorrows, attributing his mishap to the woman. Enquiring further, she learnt the cause of his agitation and became bitterly aware that she was to be cast out. 'Put away that notion,' quoth she to cheer him up, 'and I will get the better of the bishop.'

On the morrow as the bishop was hastening to his [the vicar's] church, she met him on the way laden with pudding,<sup>1</sup> chickens and eggs, and, on his drawing near, she saluted him reverently with bowed head. When the prelate enquired whence she came and whither she was going, she replied: 'My lord, I am the vicar's concubine, and I am hastening to the bishop's sweetheart, who was lately brought to bed, and I wish to be as much comfort to her as I can.' This pricked his conscience; straightway he resumed his progress to the church, and, meeting the vicar, desired him to prepare for celebrating. The other reminded him of his suspension, and he [the bishop] stretched out his hand and gave him absolution. The sacrament having been performed, the bishop hastened away from the place without another word.<sup>2</sup>

About this time there departed this life a certain prebendary of Howden church named John, a man of honourable life, passing his days modestly and without ostentation, skilled in astrology, given to hospitality and works of mercy. He began [to build] a new choir to the church at his own expense, and

<sup>1</sup> *Pultæ* = broth, pap or porridge, seems to have been used in the plural just as 'porridge' and 'brose' are so used in Lowland Scots at this day.

<sup>2</sup> *Quasi mutus*,

foretold that the rest should be finished after his death; which [saying] we [now] perceive more clearly in the light; for, having been buried in a stately tomb in the middle of the choir itself, he is revered as a saint, and we have beheld, not only in the choir, but the wide and elaborate nave of the church completed through the oblations of people resorting [thither].

In the same church there lived at that time another master, called Richard of Barneby, a true and pure man, who, putting away from himself his private means, was residing at Gisburn in return for his money.<sup>1</sup> He was formerly well known in the kingdom of Scotland as a cleric of the religious community of Kelso. On leaving that kingdom he commended his nephew, who is still living, to Sir Patrick Edgar, knight, for education and service. After a lapse of years, at the above-mentioned time, he ended his life in a fatal manner, when his nephew in Scotland, [feeling] his bed shaken, was putting on [his] garments or shoes. And behold, a bird of the size of a dove, but differing in appearance by its variety of colour, entered by the chimney of the house and attacked the said youth with its wings, striking him with so much noise, that the people in the kitchen wondered at the sound of blows, and the lad [thus] belaboured sat still as though stunned. This [the bird] did thrice, retiring each time to the beams of the roof. After about the space of a month had elapsed, the youth went on business to Kelso, and on drawing near, heard all the bells of the monastery sounding. Entering within the walls, he asked what was the cause of bell-ringing. 'Do you not know,' they said, 'that your uncle, our clerk, has died at Gisburn, on such and such a day and hour? The abbot received the news yesterday, and to-day is commemorating him.'

What lesson such an apparition was intended to convey, let him who readeth explain.

In the same year Richard King of Germany died.

In the same year died the Earl of Cornwall, brother of King Henry of England.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Perhendebat*, a verb form from *perendinus*, the day after to-morrow.

There was a canony at Gisburn, in Yorkshire, valued, says Matthew Paris, 'at 628 poundes yearlye.'

<sup>2</sup> These two entries refer to one and the same person, viz. Richard, Earl of Cornwall, brother of Henry III., elected King of the Romans by four out of seven electors in 1257; but the minority having elected Alphonso X. of Castile, Richard failed to establish his authority, and returned to England in 1260.

In the same year Friar Robert of Kilwardby, of the Order of Preachers, was consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury.

Boniface Archbishop of Canterbury died, and in his place was elected the Prior of Holy Trinity; but on coming before the

A.D. 1273. Sacred College his election was quashed, and his dignity conferred by the Pope upon Robert of Kilwardby, Prior Provincial of Preaching Friars in England. This person, a man of honourable life, a doctor of divinity, devoted to the study of God's Word, ruled and corrected the clergy as firmly as the laity, as his treatise on heresy and his condemnation of Oxford show by themselves.<sup>1</sup>

Also at this time King Henry of England, devout servant of God and the Church, departed from this world, on the feast day of Saint Edmund, Archbishop of Canterbury,<sup>2</sup> after he had ruled over England fifty-six years and four months. He was buried at Westminster, and the absence of his son<sup>3</sup> caused the coronation to be deferred.

In the time of this Henry a boy named Hugh was crucified in Lincoln by impious Jews, in derision of Christ and Christians, nor were they able to conceal him by any device.

Now in the beginning of King Henry's reign, Louis, son of the King of France, invaded England with Frenchmen at the instigation of some people of the country, as has been aforesaid; but afterwards intestinal war broke out at Lincoln between the English and French, where the French were beaten and Thomas Count of Perch was slain with many others. But the son of the King of France narrowly escaped in great terror, wherefore after his escape some Frenchman composed this rhyme:

'Enthroned in La Rochelle, our king never quails  
Before Englishmen armed, for he broke all their tails.'<sup>4</sup>

To which an Englishman replied thus:

'Lincoln can tell and the French King bewails  
How the rope bound his people to Englishmen's tails.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Excellent work, no doubt; but it had been better if, when appointed Cardinal-Bishop of Porto and Santa-Rufina in 1278, he had not removed all the registers and political records of Canterbury to Italy, whence they never returned.

<sup>2</sup> 20th November, 1272.

<sup>3</sup> On the last Crusade.

<sup>4</sup> *Rex in Rupella regnat, et amodo bella  
Non timet Anglorum, quia caudas fregit eorum.*

The taunt of *Angli caudati* is ancient and well known.

<sup>5</sup> *Ad nostras caudas Francos, ductos ut alaudas,  
Perstrinxit restis superest Lincolnia testis.*

This King Henry in his youth, at the instigation of Peter, Count of Brittany, crossed the channel to Brittany to recover the territory owned and lost by his predecessors; but failing altogether of success in his undertaking, returned [home] luckless and empty-handed.

In truth, whereas diligence in evil seldom has a good issue, it pleases one to relate an instance rather for the sake of justice than from ill-will to an individual. Queen Margaret of Scotland, deeply distressed by her various trials, chiefly by the death of her father<sup>1</sup> and by anxiety about the return of her brother,<sup>2</sup> went forth one beautiful evening after supper from Kinclavin to take the air on the banks of the Tay, accompanied by esquires and maidens, but in particular by her confessor, who related to me what took place. There was present among others a certain pompous esquire with his page, who had been recommended to him by his brother in the presence of his superiors. And as they were sitting under the brow of the bank, he [the esquire] went down to wash his hands, which he had soiled with clay in playing. As he stood thus bending over, one of the maids, prompted by the Queen, went up secretly and pushed him into the river-bed.

‘What care I?’ cried he, enjoying the joke and taking it kindly, ‘even were I further in, I know how to swim.’

Wading about thus in the channel, while the others applauded, he felt his body unexpectedly sucked into an eddy, and, though he shouted for help, there was none who would go to him except his little page-boy who was playing near at hand, and, hearing the clamour of the bystanders, rushed into the deep, and both were swallowed up in a moment before the eyes of all. Thus did the enemy of Simon and satellite of Satan, who declared that he had been the cause of that gallant knight’s destruction, perish in sight of all; and the matron, led away unduly by affection for her parents,<sup>3</sup> received rebuke for her selfish love, and showed herself before all men wounded to the heart by overpowering anguish.

#### FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE WORLD 6470 YEARS.

In beginning the eighth part of our work and, as it were, the peace of our age with a new king, I deem it meet to put this

<sup>1</sup> Henry III.    <sup>2</sup> Edward I. who was on his journey home from the Crusade.

<sup>3</sup> Or spoilt by the undue affection of her parents [*nimis affectu parentum seducta*]. The construction of the last paragraph and the moral are alike obscure.

foremost in our desires, that, as the renewer of the old Adam, seated in the paternal throne, said—‘Behold, I make all things new, so he (the king) may induce new growth of virtues [to spring] in the Church, and that new joys may be bestowed upon us through the king and in time following, whereof now we have undertaken to treat.

A.D. 1274. Accordingly, messengers were sent to the Council assembled, as aforesaid at Lyons, whereat the heir of England attended, urging him to return to his country and restore the condition of the desolate realm. Returning accordingly to England in the same year, being thirty-five years and two months of age, he was received in most honourable manner by the whole nation, [and] was solemnly anointed and crowned on the 14th of the kalends of September<sup>1</sup> by the Archbishop of Canterbury, Brother Robert of Kilwardby. The nobles of the land attended the ceremony with a countless multitude, redoubling the display of their magnificence in honour of the new king. But my lord Alexander King of Scotland, who attended with his consort and a train of his nobility, exceeded all others in lavish hospitality and gifts.

Before the date of this coronation, Robert of Stichell, Bishop of Durham, died on his return journey from the Council, about two days’ journey on this side of Lyons. He had besought from the Pope letters and license for his resignation, [because] he disliked to be mixed up in worldly trouble. In dying, however, he suffered the greatest remorse of conscience because he had deprived the burgesses of Durham city of liberty of pasture, and bestowed it upon those who needed nothing. Therefore in proof of penitence and in token of his desire for reconciliation with St. Cuthbert, he gave his ring to his confessor to be carried to the shrine of the saint, vowing that, should he recover health, he would annul that gift.

In this year Margaret, Queen of Scotland and sister of the King of England, died on the fourth of the kalends of March.<sup>2</sup> She was a woman of great beauty, chastity, and humility—three [qualities] seldom united in one individual. When her strength was failing many abbots as well as bishops collected to visit her, to all of whom she refused entrance to her chamber; nor from the time that she had received all the sacraments from her

<sup>1</sup> 19th August, 1274.

<sup>2</sup> Feb. 27, 1274, or, according to our reckoning 1275; but in the Calendar then prevailing in Britain the year began on 25 March.

confessor, a Minorite Friar, until her soul passed away, did she admit any other to discourse, unless perhaps her husband happened to be present. She left behind her three children—Alexander and David and a daughter Margaret, all of whom followed their mother in a short time, owing, it is believed, to the sin of their father.

Richard of Inverkeithing, Bishop of Dunkeld, departed from the world, treacherously poisoned, as is affirmed, and it is believed by many that the aforesaid Queen [perished] in the same manner. For, after the death of the <sup>A.D. 1275.</sup> aforesaid man, a certain [fellow] author of this plot,<sup>1</sup> drawing near to death, declared that he had sold poison in this place and that, and that a full bottle thereof still remained in Scotland. And seeing that the movables of bishops dying in that kingdom devolve upon the king, he [the Bishop of Dunkeld] only and one other named Robert de la Provender, Bishop of Dublin, whom we remember above all others, so made a virtue of necessity at the point of death by distributing their goods, that they left scarcely anything to satisfy the cupidity of royal personages.

About the same time in England there lived in Hartlepool William Bishop of Orkney, an honourable man and a lover of letters, who related many wonderful things about the islands subject to Norway, whereof I here insert a few lest they should be forgotten. He said that in some place in Iceland the sea burns for the space of one mile, leaving behind it black and filthy ashes. In another place fire bursts from the earth at a fixed time—every seven or five years—and without warning burns towns and all their contents, and can neither be extinguished nor driven off except by holy water consecrated by the hand of a priest. And, what is still more wonderful, he said that they can hear plainly in that fire the cries of souls tormented therein.

In the same year there [fell] a general plague upon the whole stock of sheep in England.

In this year, on the seventh day of the month of October, the King of Scotland's fleet steered into the port of Ronaldsway. Straightway Lord John de Vesci and the king's chief men with their forces, landed on Saint Michael's Isle,<sup>2</sup> the

<sup>1</sup> *Hujus confectiois.*

<sup>2</sup> Near Castletown, Isle of Man. S. Michael, having been set to guard the gate of Eden after the expulsion of Adam, is commonly the patron of extra-mural churches and of islands, such as Mont-Saint-Michel and S. Michael's Mount.

Manxmen being arrayed for war under Godred the son of Magnus, whom shortly before they had made their king. But the nobles and chieftains of the King of Scotland sent to treat for peace with Godred and the people of Man, offering them the peace of God and of the King of Scotland, provided they would desist from their most foolish presumption and submit in future to the king and his chief men. But as Godred and certain of his perverse counsellors would not agree to the treaty of peace, on the following day before sunrise, when the shades were still upon the land and the minds of foolish men were darkened, a conflict took place and the wretched Manxmen, turning their backs, were terribly routed.

Pope Gregory died and was succeeded by Innocent the Fifth, a native of Burgundy, whose previous name was Peter of Taranto, of the Order of Preachers. He was formerly A.D. 1276. Doctor in Holy Writ, then Archbishop of Lyons, and afterwards Cardinal of Ostia. He sat but for five months and two days and the seat was vacant for eighteen days. To him succeeded Adrian the Fifth, and sat for one month and nine days. He suspended the constitution of my lord Gregory regarding the election<sup>1</sup> of Cardinals, intending to substitute another. After him in the same year John the Twenty-first was elected, formerly called Peter the Spaniard. He sat for eight months and one day, and the seat was vacant for twenty-eight days. Through want of attention he altogether destroyed the constitution which his predecessor had suspended. Expecting greatly to prolong his life, for he excelled in skill as a physician, he caused a new vault to be built at Viterbo, supported by a single column. In this [vault] when it fell, whether by treachery, as some say, or by accident, he alone was crushed, and, having received the sacraments, he survived for six days; and, albeit he was a physician, he did not heal himself.

There lived in Rome about this time a certain very rich man, notoriously a usurer, who, although often admonished for his sin, died at length excommunicate. His friends having assembled, preparation was made for his sepulture, and, in accordance with the customs of his country, he was placed on an open bier adorned with all his garments, and carried to the place of the Minorite Friars in the Capitol, the Church of S. Maria in the Ara Cœli, which used to be the chamber of Octavian, to be buried there. The Rector of the Friars

<sup>1</sup> *De inclusione.*

there would not permit the wrong to be done of burying a vessel of Satan, a person excommunicated by the Pope, within the sacred walls; [so] his [the dead man's] insolent friends [and] poor dependents forced the priest to the altar, so that he should begin the mass by their command, [while] they opened the pavement of the church to dig a grave. And lo! an enormous parti-coloured wolf appeared at the door of the church, and, showing no fear of so great a gathering, seized the corpse in the presence of them all, and carried it out of the church without hindrance from anybody; nor is it known to this day what became of a hair of its head.<sup>1</sup> This was reported by one who was present in the church at the time.

Nicholas the Third, who was previously called John of Gaeta, a Roman by birth, was created Pope and sat for four years. He was so devoted to the blessed Francis that he caused to be painted above the altar in his chapel Saint Nicholas drawing him to heaven and St. Francis pushing him from behind. Also he caused the general chapter of the brethren of Assisi to be summoned to his presence in Rome by the Cardinal Legate, whereat he [the Pope] personally attended. Besides this he issued a famous bull, expounding the rule of Saint Francis —[a bull] so glorious as would [have] amazed all previous ages.<sup>2</sup>

At this time Robert de Coquina<sup>3</sup> was created Bishop of Durham, being a monk of that house.

Also, Philip King of the French marched with a picked army against Spain, no doubt for the following reason. The eldest son of the King of Spain<sup>4</sup> had married the King of France's sister [Blanche], and, having had two sons by her, was carried off by an early death before his father. That father, utterly unmindful of [his] dead [son] endeavoured to supplant the sons of the defunct [prince] by putting forward the surviving brother. When the King of Aragon became

<sup>1</sup> *Quo vel capillus capitis devenerit*: an idiomatic phrase which I do not recognise.

<sup>2</sup> *Quod retroactis seculis ingerat stuporem.*

<sup>3</sup> History repeats itself: the present Dean of Durham is the Very Rev. G. W. Kitchin, D.D.

<sup>4</sup> Ferdinand, son of Alfonso X. of Castile, killed in battle with the Moors, 1275.

aware of this, he had the boys brought [to him] and took care of them in one castle, while his mother passed the time with [her brother] the King of France. Roused by this [proceeding], the King of Castile (who is the principal lord of Spain) determined to break into the castle where the boys were guarded. [The King of France] having advanced in this manner with an immense army three days march into Spain to the aid of the King of Aragon and the boys, [his people] could find nothing to sustain life, [so they] returned within their frontier.<sup>1</sup>

I shall insert here as a joke a certain anecdote made known to me by Sir Robert of Roberstone, one of the King of Scotland's knights, which at my request he related before many trustworthy persons. The said noble gentleman owned a town in Annandale, in the diocese of Glasgow, which he let in farm to the inhabitants thereof.

These people, waxing lewd through their wealth and giving way to wantonness, on leaving the tavern, used to violate each other's wives or seduce each other's daughters, and by such practice would frequently replenish the archdeacon's purse, and, by repeating the offence, they were almost continually upon his roll. But when the landlord required the rent of his farm, they either pled poverty or besought delay. That kindly and just man said to them—'Why should you not pay me my annual rent, any less than my other tenants? If [the land] is let to you at too dear a rent, I can reduce it; if you are unable to cultivate it, give it back to me.'

'No, my lord,' quoth a comical fellow among them with a loud laugh, 'none of these things which you mention is really the cause; but our incontinence is so great, and it exhausts us so much, that it re-acts both upon us and upon you, our lord.'

Thereupon the landlord said—'I make this law among you, that any man who commits adultery shall relinquish my land forthwith.'

Taking alarm at this and deterred by the penalty, they refrained from illicit intercourse, applied themselves to labour and agriculture and began to make money unexpectedly, although day by day their names disappeared from the Archdeacon's list.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ora conclusi.*

<sup>2</sup> *In rotulo Officialis*, i.e. the Archdeacon in his capacity as episcopal judge in the consistorial court, the nature of which office is explained in the preface to *Liber Officialis S. Andree*, published by the Abbotsford Club in 1845.

And when he [the Archdeacon] enquired one day why he did not find the men of that village [entered] in his list, it was explained to him what the landlord had laid down as a law for them. He was indignant at this, and, meeting the knight upon the road one day, exclaimed with a haughty countenance—‘Pray, Sir Robert, who has appointed you either Archdeacon or official?’

Sir Robert denied [that he was either one or other], whereupon the Archdeacon replied—‘Undoubtedly you exercise that office when you coerce your tenants by penal laws.’—‘I made a rule about my lands, not about offences,’ said Sir Robert; ‘but you absorbed the rents of my farms [in exactions] for the discharge of crimes. I perceive that so long as you can fill your purse, it does not concern you who gets the souls!’

After this the assessor of crimes and lover of transgressors held his peace.<sup>1</sup>

At this time began the first war in Wales by King Edward, with whom Llewellyn made peace, having paid the king 50,000 pounds of silver.

A scutage was again imposed in England.

Brother Robert [of Kilwardby] my lord Archbishop of Canterbury, having been summoned to the Curia, there to be made a cardinal, Friar John of Peckham, A.D. 1278. Provincial Minister of the Minorite Friars of England, who, after [occupying] the chair of Paris and Oxford, where he presided in the faculty of Theology de Quolibet, was summoned to the Curia and exalted the reputation of the science of divinity and of his own Order; and, after a couple of years of controversy which he sustained mostly every day against sundry heretics, dissipating their arguments and answers, he was proclaimed Archbishop of Canterbury by Pope Nicholas in a public oration on [the day of] the Conversion of Saint Paul,<sup>2</sup> having been previously appointed. How humbly, sincerely, and industriously he afterwards discharged that office, tongues do testify and consciences applaud.

Also in this year Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, *effectus*;<sup>3</sup> he survives in health to the present time. But in October

<sup>1</sup> It is significant of the condition of the church at this time, that a story like this should be repeated as a joke—*causa ludi*—not by a layman, but by a cleric.

<sup>2</sup> 25th January, 1278-9.

<sup>3</sup> The meaning of *effectus* is obscure. He was made Bishop of Glasgow in 1271 and died in 1316. Either the chronicler has mistaken the year, or the word should be *affectus*, *i.e.* sick.

Robert de Chalize, Bishop of Carlisle, died ; [he was] eager for the honour of God, philanthropic and ready in urbanity ; the world may testify without our assurance how bountiful and liberal he was. He used often to relate, in reproach of himself, what at this day may often be repeated in rebuke of others.

‘I used to be,’ said he, ‘physician in ordinary to the Lady Eleonora, mother of the king, and another cleric, whose affection was dear to me, served as notary. It came to pass that our noble mistress, wishing to reward [our] services, bestowed upon me a benefice of one hundred marks and upon him one of thirty marks a year. Having been promoted, impelled by conscience, he soon determined to serve God exclusively, and, having obtained license and left the court, applied himself entirely to the cure of the souls committed to him. I [however], bound down by habit, adhered to the vanity which I had undertaken. As years went by a longing stirred me for the absent one—that I might enjoy the sight and conversation of him whom I bore in my mind, and, having obtained leave, I started to go to him, and found him on the Lord’s day performing the dominical office in the church. He was astonished [to see] me ; I embraced him, and the affairs of God having been performed, we proceeded to his dwelling to refresh our bodies. While we rested and rejoiced, there came to us some who brought the offerings of the neighbours, and he, for my pleasure, added to the delicacy of the dishes. And as we left the table I asked this man how he was able to live upon such an income.—“Perfectly,” quoth he, “and every day as you have seen to-day ; I am neither embarrassed by debts, nor am I diverted from ruling [my] parish.”—“Your income,” said I, “is a very modest one, but mine is ample ; and in the court of my mistress I am maintained in her general expenses, nor do I profit at all from the fruits of my church.” To which the other replied piously, with a bland smile<sup>1</sup>—“Do you know that God is a faithful friend ?”—“Undoubtedly,” said I, “I understand [that].”—“This is the character of a faithful and true friend,” he replied, “that he is all in all to him who loves him truly. Wherefore, as I think, God is with me because I give myself up to perform his service ; but it is otherwise with you, so he is not with you.”’

To him [Bishop Robert] succeeded Ralph, Prior of Gisburn, a shrewd and provident person, but somewhat covetous, who turned the visitation of the churches into a whirlpool of

<sup>1</sup> *Caste subridens et catholice respondens.*

exactions, and extorted from honest priests at their anniversaries throughout his diocese an unfair tax for building the roof of the principal church of his see.

At this time the coinage was changed ; pennies and farthings were made round, and Jews were hanged for clipping coins. In the same year Robert, Lord Bishop of Carlisle, lost the presentation to the church of Rothbury.

In the same [year], on the morrow of All Souls, the Itinerant Justiciaries sat in Carlisle—to wit, Sir John de Vallibus,<sup>1</sup> Sir John de Metyngham, Sir William de Seaham, and Master Thomas de Suttrington.

In the same [year], on the day of S. Lucia Virgin,<sup>2</sup> the canons of Carlisle elected as bishop Master William de Rothelfeld, Dean of York, who utterly declined [to take] office ; wherefore on the following day they elected as bishop my lord Ralph, Prior of Gisburne. To which the king would not give assent, being angry with the Prior and Chapter of Carlisle because they had twice elected without license ; wherefore my lord Ralph betook himself to the Roman Court.

Walter, Archbishop of York died, an elegant cleric, chaste, sociable and free handed, but fretful and feeble because of his corpulence. To him succeeded William of Wykeham,<sup>3</sup> who, on the contrary, was lean, harsh and <sup>A.D. 1279.</sup> niggardly, but certainly so far as could be known out of doors, just in judgment and most tender of conscience. For, as I shall set forth later,<sup>4</sup> according to the rules set by the holy fathers, it is held and ordained that diocesans and their monks shall be visited by the metropolitan. Concerning which matter Walter, his [Wykeham's] predecessor twice informed him who presided over that church of his coming ; but, when he was proceeding on his perambulation, the Prior of Durham cunningly inveigled him out of the city to his own lodgings, [where] he might divert him from his purpose by more sumptuous fare and by oblations. On arriving there he [Bishop Walter] did not yield to the stratagem, but performed the ordinary visitation, so that if they had anything to plead for themselves or anything upon their conscience to be lightened, they

<sup>1</sup> Vaus, which, by an ancient clerical error, is now written Vans.

<sup>2</sup> 13th December.

<sup>3</sup> Not the famous founder of Winchester College, who was not born till 1324.

<sup>4</sup> *Ut alius ordiam.*

should not delay putting it before him. But as they responded neither in law nor prudence, but closed the windows of the church and even shut the public gates of the city [against him], he set a chair for himself in the open space before the gates, in official vestments addressed the populace with words of life, and, explaining the object of his coming and pronounced sentence of excommunication upon the rebels. This gave rise to troubles, lawsuits and expenses which are not yet settled, even in the days of his successor.

At this time there died<sup>1</sup> at Morebattle William Wishart, Bishop of S. Andrew's, and was buried at his see; to whom succeeded William Fraser, king's chancellor also, who still survives.

In the same year died Walter Giffard, Archbishop of York, of good memory; and in the same year Oliver was consecrated Bishop of Lincol' on S. Dunstan's day.<sup>2</sup>

Item—a great ure at S. Botolph's at fair time.

Item—in the aforesaid year began the second war in Wales by Llewellyn and his brother David.

At midsummer there took place the burning of Norwich Cathedral, and nearly all the convent, from the following cause.

A.D. 1280. While we consider how poverty is the guardian of holiness, it is equally certain that affluence is the mother of insolence, and that, as Daniel prophesied of Antichrist, of all things wealth destroys most men. Accordingly the monks [of Norwich] enriched by their possessions, and puffed up in spirit, deposed their prior, a virtuous, but aged, man, and elected a haughty youth, who forthwith multiplied for himself stables and carriages, not even denying himself a lodging for his whore within the walls of the convent, after the example of infatuated Solomon. And, forasmuch as deep calleth unto deep, and sin leads on to further sinning, so this presumptuous prior infringed the liberties of the burgesses in the matter of their property and pasture. The community being roused [thereby], there followed waste of money, wrath of minds and strife of words. It grew at length to this, that they prepared to fight against each other, and, while the Prior's men in the church tower had prepared Greek fire to discharge upon the town, and those on the other side were striving to set fire to the abbey gates (strong as they were and richly wrought), those stationed

<sup>1</sup> *Recessit e seculo.*

<sup>2</sup> 21st October. This is one of the duplicate passages tending to show that the chronicle was compiled from several sources.

within assembled to defend them, when a fire broke out which, being foolishly neglected, first consumed the bell-tower, and then the entire church with all its contents; which notwithstanding they continued fighting fiercely outside and burning houses. Thus did the heedlessness of this rash Prior lead to the dishonour of the Creative Trinity, and later to the sacrifice in a horrible death of many citizens by royal justice.

At this time the King of Norway died, leaving as successor his son called Magnus; who hearing that the King of Scotland had an amiable, beautiful and attractive<sup>1</sup> daughter, a virgin, of suitable age for himself (being a handsome youth of about eighteen years), could not rest until a formal mission, divines as well as nobles, had been sent twice to obtain her as his spouse in marriage and consort on the throne. But before I bring to an end the narrative of this marriage, let me relate to the praise of God and his servant, what was told by one of the emissaries about his king [to show] to what height human affection may be carried.

The father of this king being deeply attached to the religion of S. Francis, encouraged the [Franciscan] brethren above all others, and interested himself diligently in their schools of sacred theology, where, also, he set up for himself a mausoleum. It happened that the Queen brought forth her first-born on the said saint's day,<sup>2</sup> to the shame rather than to the joy, of the realm, [for it] resembled more the offspring of a bear than a man, as it were a formless lump of flesh. When this was announced to the king, strong in faith, he said, 'Wrap it in clean linen and place it on the altar of S. Francis at the time of the celebration.'

Which having been fulfilled, when they came at the end of the service to take away what they had placed there, they found a lovely boy crying, and joyfully returned thanks to God and to the saint. This [child] having grown up, sought the damsel in marriage, as aforesaid; and, although the union was very distasteful to the maiden, as also to her relations and friends (seeing that she might wed elsewhere much more easily and honourably), yet it was at the sole instance of her father, the king, that the bargain was made that he should give her a dowry 17,000 merks, primarily for the contract of marriage, but secondarily for the redemption of the right to the Isles.

<sup>1</sup> *Morigerosam*, cf. Lucretius, iv. 1277.

<sup>2</sup> 16th July.

On the morrow of S. Laurence<sup>1</sup> she embarked at . . .<sup>2</sup> with much pomp and many servants, and after imminent peril to life which they ran on the night of the Assumption of the Holy Virgin,<sup>3</sup> at daybreak on the said festival they lowered their sails at Bergen. Shortly afterwards she was solemnly crowned and proclaimed before all men by a distinguished company of kinsmen. She comported herself so graciously towards the king and his people that she altered their manners for the better, taught them the French and English languages, and set the fashion of more seemly dress and food. He only had one daughter by her, who survived her mother but a short time.

On the day before the nones of October<sup>4</sup> [occurred] the translation of the blessed Hugh Bishop of Lincoln, which translation Master Thomas de Bek was the means of obtaining and liberally discharged all expenses. On the same day he was consecrated Bishop of S. David's by Friar John of Peckham, of the Order of Minorites, Archbishop of Canterbury, in the presence of Edward King of England and his Queen.

From the beginning of the world 6080 years, to wit, in the year of our Lord 1280, on S. Mark the Evangelist's day,<sup>5</sup> it was decided in the court of Irthington that an attachment upon the eleemosynary land of the prior and convent of Lanercost was null and void.

Item—My lord Ralph came to England about Ascension Day,<sup>6</sup> consecrated as Bishop of Carlisle by the Roman Court. In the same year, on Thursday the ninth of the calends of November,<sup>7</sup> a convocation was held by my lord Bishop Ralph in the principal church of Carlisle, and there was granted to him by the clergy a tithe of the churches for two years according to their actual value, to be paid in the new money within a year, wherefore we paid him in all twenty-four pounds. Wherefore H<sup>8</sup> said as follows about that transaction :

'Poor sheep; bereft of ghostly father,  
Should not be shorn; but pampered rather.  
Poor sheep! with cares already worn,  
You should be comforted; not shorn.

<sup>1</sup> 11th August.<sup>2</sup> Blank in MS.<sup>3</sup> 15th August.<sup>4</sup> 6th October.<sup>5</sup> 25th April.<sup>6</sup> 30th May.<sup>7</sup> 24th October.

<sup>8</sup> Perhaps the chronicler himself. Dr. James Wilson identifies this Brother H. with Henry de Burgo, who became Prior of Lanercost in 1310. Verses cease to appear in the chronicle after 1315, the year of Prior Henry's death.

But if the shepherd must have wool,  
He should be tender, just and cool.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year my lord . . .<sup>2</sup> received the canonical dress, on the day of St. Agapitus Martyr.<sup>3</sup>

In the same year, on the third of the Ides of September<sup>4</sup> my lord Edward King of England and Queen Eleanor came to Lanercost, and the prior and convent met them at the gate in their capes.<sup>5</sup> Item, the king presented a silken robe, and the king in his hunting took, as was said, two hundred stags and hinds in Inglewood.

At that time some box of a certain page was broken [into], whereat H. said as follows :

‘A pilfered chest yields shameful booty,  
The thief, when caught, must learn his duty ;  
Ill-gotten gains return no profit,  
Who steals his wealth makes nothing of it.’<sup>6</sup>

About the same time a certain young fellow was killed, about whom H. said :

‘William, poor fellow, has proved by his fate,  
He is wanting in prudence who stays out too late.’<sup>7</sup>

In the same year, on Sunday, the eleventh of the Kalends of April,<sup>8</sup> Ralph, Lord Bishop of Carlisle, first came to Lanercost on a visitation, and the monks met him in the manner described above for the king, and afterwards he gave [them] benediction, and received all the brethren to the kiss of peace, and after his hand had first been kissed, he gave them a kiss on the lips ; and having himself entered the chapter house, he preached, saying—‘Behold I myself shall require.’ The preaching being finished, he proceeded with his visitation, in which we were compelled to accept new constitutions.

<sup>1</sup> *Grex desolatus, pastore diu viduatus,  
Sic cito tondere, non indiget, immo foveri ;  
Grex desolatus, nimis hactenus extenuatus,  
Jam confortairi debet, non excoriari.  
Sed si pastor oves habeat tendere necesse,  
Debet ei pietas, modus et moderamem inesse.*

<sup>2</sup> Blank in MS.      <sup>3</sup> 18th August.      <sup>4</sup> 11th September.      <sup>5</sup> *In Cappis.*

<sup>6</sup> *Res, cista fracta, surrepta fuit male nacta ;  
Juste surreptus fuerat male census adeptus ;  
Finitur foeda prave saepissime praeda ;  
Raro dives erit thesaurum qui male quaerit.*

<sup>7</sup> *Garcifer occisus Willelmus testificatur  
Quod non est sapiens nimium qui nocte vagatur.*

<sup>8</sup> 22nd March.

## Scottish Trade with the Plantations before 1707

SCOTLAND, unlike the other countries in Western Europe, was very little influenced by the exploring and colonising impulses of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and there are few traces of any Scottish communication with America before the Restoration. One attempt was made to plant a Scottish settlement in America: that of Sir William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, to whom was granted a charter for colonising in America in 1621. The land was called Nova Scotia, and a number of Nova Scotia baronets were created; but no settlement seems to have been made, although the claims of the Alexander family on the country are a subject of controversy later in the century.

A few Scottish ships sailed to Greenland for the whale fishing, but there they came into collision with some ships of the English Greenland Company, who resented the Scottish attempt to share their trade. One Scottish merchant, John Burnett, of Aberdeen, 'being the sole merchant of our Kingdom of Scotland that hath supplied the plantacon of that our colony of Virginia,'<sup>1</sup> received permission in 1634 to trade with that settlement, and to transport tobacco and any other merchandise.

The trade of the west of Scotland with America had scarcely begun before 1660; for in 1656 Tucker, in his 'Report on the Customs and Excise,' says of Glasgow: 'Here hath likewise been some who have ventured as far as Barbadoes, but the losses they have sustained by reason of their going out and coming home late every year, have made them discontinue going thither any more.'<sup>2</sup> During the Commonwealth about 2000 Scots were forced to settle in America, transported by the Government to Virginia, New England, Bermuda, Barbadoes, and Jamaica. In New England, and doubtless elsewhere, they seemed to have settled peaceably. John Cotton, writing from New England to Cromwell, says: 'He that brought most of

<sup>1</sup> *S.P. Col.* ix. 118.

<sup>2</sup> *Report*, p. 38.

them buildeth houses for them and layeth some acres of ground thereto which he giveth them as their own . . . and promiseth that . . . he will set them at liberty.'<sup>1</sup>

There was very little cause for English jealousy in the slight connection of Scotland with the Plantations; and Scotland might have reasonably hoped to continue at the Restoration her privileges of equal trading rights with English merchants and ships—privileges which had been hers since the union of 1603, unaffected by Cromwell's Navigation Act of 1651. But by the Navigation Act of 1660<sup>2</sup> she was excluded from all share in the English Plantation trade. This Act declared that no goods should be exported from any of His Majesty's Dominions in Asia, Africa or America except in ships belonging to England, Ireland, Wales, Berwick-upon-Tweed or the Plantations, of which the master and three-fourths of the crew were to be English. No goods of the growth or manufacture of Africa, Asia, or America were to be imported into England, etc., except in English or Colonial ships. No foreign goods were to be brought into England except in English ships or ships belonging to the country where the goods were produced. Aliens were to be excluded from the English coasting trade. Certain plantation commodities, sugar, tobacco, etc., were not to be shipped to any place except England or the English Plantations. By an 'Act for the Encouragement of Trade,'<sup>3</sup> 1663, it was enacted that no goods were to be taken to the Plantations unless in English ships and shipped in England. Scottish servants and victual were excepted, and might be shipped in Scotland, but in English ships. Penalties for infringement of the acts were made more severe. The aims of the Navigation Acts were set forth in the preamble: 'And in regard His Majesties Plantations beyond the seas are inhabited and peopled by His subjects of this his kingdome of England, For the maintaining a greater correspondence and kindnesse betweene them and keeping them in a firmer dependance upon it, and rendering them yet more beneficial and advantageous unto it in the further employment and encrease of English shipping and seamen, Vent of English Woollen and other manufactures and commodities . . . and making this Kingdome a staple not only of the Commodities of those

<sup>1</sup> *Hutchinson Papers* (Prince Society), ii. p. 264.

<sup>2</sup> 12 Car. II. c. 18.

<sup>3</sup> 15 Car. II. c. 7.

Plantations but alsoe of the Commodities of other Countreyes and Places for the supplying of them. . . .'

In 1677, in a letter from the Treasury to the Governors of the Plantations, this preamble is recited with the addition: 'and for the further and more peculiar appropriating the trade of these plantations to the Kingdom of England exclusive from all other His Majesty's dominions':<sup>1</sup> significant words, showing clearly that the Plantations were not intended to be 'beneficial and advantageous' to His Majesty's dominion of Scotland. Various reasons were given for the change of policy involved in treating the Scots as aliens after they had enjoyed nearly sixty years of free trade with England. One reason probably was that Scotland was independent of the control of the English Parliament, which had no desire to see her accumulate wealth in the disposal of which they could have no voice. Scotland also had had no share in the losses and hardships incurred in settling the Colonies, and therefore, according to seventeenth century ideas, had no claim to share the benefits which might arise from them. It was also feared that her admission to the trade might do actual damage to English interests. 'They in one word overthrew the very essence and designe of the Act of Navigation.' 'It will very much discourage the Building of English shippes when strangers shall enjoy the same Libtyes upon the English land.'<sup>2</sup>

The jealousy of the powerful East India Company had been aroused by rumours that the West Indian Islands were going to endeavour to produce the commodities of the East Indies, and the fear that Scotland, which had some trade with Barbadoes, might become a market for them. 'The first difficulty . . . is in the poynt of plantatione exceedingleie stood upon in respect of the great tread at present with the Barbadoes, and hopes of dryving a richer tread heirefter with all the Illandis, they intending to plant synomon, nutmegis, cleues and peper, for they have sent to the East Indies for all thes plantis and they conceave that if wee sall have any tread we willbe able to tak the tread from thame . . . and furnish many places of Europe with the commodities of these Plantations.'<sup>3</sup> There

<sup>1</sup> *Treasury Outletters, Customs*, i. p. 51.

<sup>2</sup> *Report of the Commissioners of the Customs concerning Navigation*, 1663. S.P. Dom. C. II. xliv. 12.

<sup>3</sup> *Records of the Convention of the Royal Burghs of Scotland*, vol. iii. p. 565.

seemed to be some fear that Scotland might be a staple for all Plantation commodities. 'They may carry by this admittance all the Growth of these Plantacons into forreigne Parts which must lessen his Majesties duties. . . . They may serve all forreigne Parts as Germany and Holland with the fruits of our Labours and make Scotland the Magazine and leave us to our home consumption.' But perhaps the most important point in the case against Scotland, at the time when the first Acts were passed, was the dread that Scotland's ancient commercial allies, the Dutch, might, under cover of the Scots, intrude into England's plantation trade. 'When the Scotch shall trade at large with mixture of other Nacons especially the Dutch to whome they are most contiguous and who no doubt will worke into them as well in shipping as Mariners, against which the Act principally aymes at.'<sup>1</sup> The Scots were not long in realising the disadvantages and losses which the passing of the Navigation Act brought upon them; and their remonstrances were voiced by the Convention of the Burghs and the Privy Council, also by a petition from the Earls of Glencairne and Rothes, Chancellor and President of the Council in Scotland. They declared the Act to be 'totallie destructive to the tread and navigacione of this Kingdome.' They also asserted that their poverty, and the fact that 'the whole schippis now belonging to Scotland ar of ane verie inconsiderable value and number,' would prevent them from having any great share in the trade in any case; while 'a great pairt of our stockis which wee most send abroad . . . consistis of Inglich manufactures which we most buy for our money.'<sup>2</sup>

The Scots threatened retaliation if they were not excepted from the Act, and accordingly passed in June, 1661, an 'Act for encourageing of Shiping and Navigation';<sup>3</sup> which forbade the import of any goods into Scotland, except from the country of their production, and in ships belonging to that country or in Scotch ships. This was not to be enforced for English or Irish merchants, if the like exception were made there in favour of Scotsmen. In August, 1663, in return for an English Act laying heavy duties on Scots cattle and salt, prohibitive duties were laid on English merchandise, especially on cloth and tobacco.<sup>4</sup> This proved disastrous to many English mer-

<sup>1</sup> *S.P. Dom.* C. II. xlv. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Royal Burghs*, vol. iii. p. 555.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts of Parliament of Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 257.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts, Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 465.

chants, who petitioned that the Scots should be admitted to some share in English trade. English imports to Scotland had far exceeded those of Scotland to England, and, instead of this profitable trade, 'thousands of families who got a comfortable subsistence in ye management of that trade are now exposed to want and beggary.' Great prejudice was done to the kingdom of England, 'in the decay of English manufactures which in great quantities were yearly carried out besides what goods came from your Majesties Plantations abroad, the lessening of your Majesties Revenue and the giving up that Trade wholly into the hands of the Dutch and French.'<sup>1</sup>

What Scottish trade there was to the Plantations had been chiefly to Barbadoes, to which cargoes of servants had been taken. Many remonstrances and petitions came in from the Governor and planters there, begging that the hindrance to the supply of servants might be removed. The Scots were highly valued both as settlers and as soldiers. 'Heretofore the Colonyis were plentifully supplied with . . . Christian servants . . . the most of which they had from Scotland who being excellent Planters and Soldjers and considerable numbers of them coming every year to the Plantations kept the Colonists in soe formidable a position that they neither feared the Insurrection of their negroes nor any invasion of a foreigne enemy, but are now by the Act of Navigation forbidden to have trade with Scotland whereby they can have no servants from thence.'<sup>2</sup> The remonstrances of Scottish, English, and West Indian merchants were of no avail, and, though during the negotiations for union of 1667-1670 the question was discussed again, no agreement could be made. The Scots, therefore, continued to be excluded from all lawful share in the English Plantation trade, and, consequently, from all trade with North America. Scotland, prohibited from trading with the English Colonies, had forthwith put prohibitive duties on English manufactures and Colonial products imported from England.<sup>3</sup> But there was a considerable amount of tobacco consumed in Scotland, and sugar was also required for the 'sugaryies,' which were set up in 1667, 1669, 1696, 1700,

<sup>1</sup> *East India Entry Book*, i. p. 79, 1664.

<sup>2</sup> *An Account of the English Sugar Plantations*, Brit. Mus. Egerton MSS. 2395, 629.

<sup>3</sup> *Acts, Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 465.

and for the works for distilling strong waters and molasses from sugar. There was also some trade in furs. In 1683 an Edinburgh merchant, who, 'having a considerable trade to some of the plantations in America he doeth export severall quantities of the native product of this Kingdome. The returns whereof are Beavers and Racoone skins,' asked and received permission from the Privy Council to set up a hat manufactory.

There was, therefore, a demand in Scotland for plantation products, and, though a few special licenses were given by the King to Scotsmen for trade with America, they were by no means sufficient to supply the demand; so from about 1675 onwards, a lively illicit trade seems to have been carried on both by Scottish and Colonial ships. The loss of the English supply of manufactured goods seems to have given an impulse to Scotch manufactures. An Act for encouraging manufactures was passed in 1661,<sup>1</sup> and in the following years a good many were set up for making sugar, cloth, linen, glass, etc. England, therefore, suffered by her efforts to exclude the Scots from the Plantation trade. She did not supply Scotland as largely as before with manufactured goods, the deficit being made up by imports of Dutch manufactures and by the development of Scottish industries. These, instead of English goods, were sent out to supply the Plantations when Scotland succeeded in forcing herself into an illegal share in the trade with America.

The goods which were exported were principally coarse cloth and linen, stockings, hats, salted meat and fish, Dutch manufactures, etc. Mr. George Muschamp, Collector of duties in Carolina, writes in 1687, that the Scotch 'are evidently able to undersell ye English, their Goods being either much coarser or slighter, which will serve for servants weare and will be sure to go off, they being cheap so that an Englishman must go away unfreighted or sell to vast Disadvantage.'<sup>2</sup>

One commodity was very plentiful in Scotland and could easily be had for exportation: 'notorious vagabonds.' For over twenty years the Privy Council continued to grant licenses to masters of ships sailing to Virginia, Barbadoes, New York, or New England, to transport 'idle and sturdie beggars and loose and masterless men and women who have no visible way of livelihood bot by stouth and robbery to the great

<sup>1</sup> *Acts, Scotland*, vol. vii. p. 255.

<sup>2</sup> *Colonial Entry Book*, 100, p. 1.

oppression and trouble of the country.'<sup>1</sup> It was hoped that it might 'much contribut to the peace and quyet yrof and the good of those persons themselves if they were sent to work for their livelihood abroad.' It was said that 'severall other persones so sent away . . . have become very active and virtuous persones, their idleness and poverty having formerly corrupted them.'<sup>2</sup> During the 'Killing Times' numbers of 'obstinat phanaticks' and 'absenters from the Church' were transported, along with the vagabonds, not, one would think, particularly congenial fellow-travellers. Many of these persons received their freedom in a few years and settled down as merchants and factors. Altogether quite a number of Scots settled in the Plantations during the last quarter of the seventeenth and first few years of the eighteenth centuries. Settlements were made in East New Jersey and Carolina, the former becoming a prosperous Colony and a centre for trade with Scotland. There were also Scottish merchants in Maryland: 'They send tobacco to Scotland (having many Scotchmen living and trading among them)';<sup>3</sup> in New Hampshire 'There are several Scotsmen that inhabit here and are great interlopers and bring in quantities of goods underhand';<sup>4</sup> and also in Pennsylvania, New York, and in other parts of New England. There was far more illicit trade in the northern than in the southern Colonies, as they had more difficulty in finding a market for their products in England, and so were forced into trading with other countries.<sup>5</sup> Scottish trade took some time to recover from the exhaustion caused by the Civil Wars, and for several years after the Restoration there seems to have been little connection with America. The first mention of Scotsmen trading illegally does not occur till 1676, in a paper sent by Mr. Edward Randolph (appointed in 1675 Collector, Surveyor, and Searcher for all New England) about the state of New England. Here, he says, 'the trade and navigation is carried on by a general traffick to most parts of Europe, as England, Scotland, Ireland, France. . . .'<sup>6</sup> In 1678 the

<sup>1</sup> *Scottish Privy Council Register*, 31 July, 1673.

<sup>2</sup> *Privy Council*, 10 August, 1680.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P. Col.: America and West Indies*, 556. 18, 1695.

<sup>4</sup> *S.P. Col.: Col. Papers*, 50, 3, 1683.

<sup>5</sup> *Commercial Policy of England towards the Am. Colonies*, G. L. Beer, p. 135.

<sup>6</sup> *Hutchinson Papers*, ii. p. 231.

Commissioners of the Customs in London, writing to Randolph, commission him to take measures for preventing ships laden with enumerated plantation produce from sailing to Scotland or Ireland.<sup>1</sup> There were many methods of evading the Customs authorities. Robert Holden, Collector of the Customs in Carolina, said that the tobacco grown there was collected in a certain place where the Collector of Customs was in the interest of the merchants, and thence carried to Boston, where it was shipped, without examination or payment of dues, to Ireland, Scotland, Holland, etc., 'under the notion of fish and such-like goods.'<sup>2</sup> Tobacco from Maryland was also taken over from the east shore to the Delaware River, where there were numbers of creeks and inlets into which ships could enter unnoticed, unload their goods, and get a return cargo of tobacco. 'The inhabitants of the Eastern shore of Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware River, Scotchmen and others have great stocks lying by them, to purchase tobacco and to prepare a loading ready to be put on board upon the Arrivall of any Vessell from New England etc., who assist with boats and sloops and get the goods ashoar befor the Vessell is entered, which they dispose of amongst their goods in the Store, the Vessell lying in some obscure creek 40 or 50 miles distante from the Collectors office and in a short time loaded and sailes out of the Capes undiscovered.'<sup>3</sup>

With such a long coast-line it would of course have been almost impossible to prevent smuggling entirely, even if the officials had been more numerous, and incorruptible, which they were not. 'This province' (Pennsylvania) 'having many very large and navigable Rivers in it, and at great distance from one another many ships goe out singly and many false Traders from Scotland and Holland . . . escape unpunished.'<sup>4</sup> 'Which illegal Trade so carryed on . . . is connived at and encouraged by divers of their Majesties Collectors of ye Customs in Virginia etc. who are (Underhand) interested and Concerned therein.'<sup>5</sup> But besides the vessels which engaged in the regular smuggling trade, entering and departing unobserved; there were many ships which, under pretext of trading in a lawful manner, went to

<sup>1</sup> *Massachusetts Hist. Soc. Collections*, 3rd Series, vols. vii. and viii. p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P. Col.: Records of North Carolina*, i. p. 245, 1679.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P. Col.: Entry Book*, 100, p. 359, 1694.

<sup>4</sup> *Maryland Archives*, viii. p. 358, 1692. <sup>5</sup> *Treasury Papers*, xxvi. 53, 1694.

Scotland without giving bond, or landed their goods there when they had given bond to go to England. A great deal of this trade was carried on under cover of trade with Newfoundland. Under pretext that it was a plantation, tobacco was loaded for transportation thence, without giving bond, when the ship's real destination was Scotland. The island was also a magazine for all sorts of European goods brought from different countries, and then taken on to New England without paying duty. Colonial vessels coming from Scotland seem to have adopted one of two methods of evading the authorities. One is described by Holden. 'The Scotch Trade by the like legerdemain jugles is driven. A ship at Newcastle, Berwick Poole etc. toucheth, taketh in coals or some other slight goods, goes for Scotland and there receives great quantities of linen and other Scotch goods . . . and coming here by her English clearings at the Ports etc abovesaid passeth for current without further inquisition.'<sup>1</sup>

Another method, and one that was generally adopted by Scotch ships, was that of using a false certificate. 'Which illegal trade so Carried on by severall Merchants in Scotland is Connived at and encouraged by divers of their Majesties Collectors of ye Customs in Virginia etc. who . . . Receive their goods by false Cocketts which they know to be made in Glascow and the seales of their Majesties Commissioners for ye Customs of London and those of several of the outports of England Counterfeited and affixed thereto—Particularly those of Newcastle, Berwick, Bristoll, Bewmorrice, Beddeford, Whitehaven, Liverpoole and Plimouth.'<sup>2</sup> Although the Customs officials were very often interested in the illicit trade, and although it was impossible to watch so long a coast-line, yet seizures were occasionally made, generally by the special officers, Randolph and Quarry. (Colonel Quarry was appointed Surveyor General of the Customs in the Plantations in 1703.) But the case had still to be brought to Court and tried before a jury, and it was almost impossible to find men who would condemn the traders, for most of the inhabitants were sufficiently in sympathy with the Scottish interest to dismiss the case, whatever the evidence might be. Nicholson, Governor of Maryland, writing to the Committee of Trade and Plantations in 1695, says: 'I have found by

<sup>1</sup> *Col. Records of North Carolina*, i. 245, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> 'Proposals for Discovery of ye severall frauds in their Majesties Customs . . . by persons trading directly to these places from Scotland.' . . . *Treasury Papers*, xxvi. 53, 1694.

experience that it is a difficult thing to get Judges and Jurys to try and condemn illegal traders.'<sup>1</sup>

Other difficulties arose from some of the Colonies declaring that the Acts of Navigation could not bind them, and that the English Customs Commissioners had no authority in the Colonies. Randolph wrote from New England in 1690 that he was: 'alwaies opposed in open Court by the Magistrates and my seizures and prosecutions (tho made upon very plain evidence) were ended ineffectual, for the Juries found for the Defendant against His Majesty all agreeing that the Power of the Commissioners of the Customs in matters of trade did not extend to their Colony.'<sup>2</sup> On one occasion when he did succeed in obtaining several convictions he said: 'This highly aggravated the Traders and Masters of Ships against me. . . . I was seized upon and hurried to the Common Goale . . . whence I hardly escaped with my life.' The settlers in Carolina declared that as their Charter was granted them after the passing of the Acts they were not bound by them, and therefore the Courts refused to grant any convictions.<sup>3</sup> The Government in England of course asserted that the Acts were binding in America, but although this came to be generally recognised, the amount of illicit trade did not seem to decrease. Various suggestions were made for the stricter enforcement of the Acts: that greater care should be taken in examining the certificates and cocquets and in taking bond for observing the Acts; and, perhaps most important of all, that the present collectors and officers should be removed, and 'men of integrity' substituted. It was also suggested that several small boats should be chartered, to cruise about and discover those ship which unloaded and loaded in secluded bays and creeks. In accordance with this advice one or two small boats were sent out. One of these was put in command of a certain Thomas Much, referred to in 1692 as 'an old offender,' but in February, 1694, found 'humbly acknowledging the unhappy part himself had been unwarily seduced to act in these misdemeanours,' and 'faithfully discovering divers fraudulent and illegal practices of Severall Scotch merchants.'<sup>4</sup> Fortunately 'notices were given and the Alarm taken on ye Scotch coast,' but even so the turncoat Much

<sup>1</sup> *Board of Trade, Maryland*, 2. 114, 1695.

<sup>2</sup> *S.P. Col.: Entry Book*, 100, p. 1, 1687.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P. Col.: Colonial Entry Book*, 100, p. 1.

<sup>4</sup> *Treasury Papers*, xxvi. 53, 1694.

succeeded in taking two ships. A year later he managed to catch a fellow 'old offender,' whose story is typical of many others. Morris Trent had lodged false certificates for '5000 ells of Scotch cloth and Ticken and 30 dozen of Scotch Hose'; and had on board 'about 30 Tun of Sea Coales,' for which he had no certificates. The year before he had landed his tobacco in Scotland 'under pretence of ye Vessell being disabled which upon strict examination of ye men I find to be false and a trick put upon . . . ye Commissioners.' The vessel was seized and brought to New Jersey. The Governor, Hamilton, who was a Scotchman, told Much that it was not in his power to seize there and 'Cleared ye seizure from Mee and ordered her to be seized by one of his Creatures there, and then not being brought to Tryall according to Law was Cleared under collour of giving bond.'<sup>1</sup>

Besides complaints from Government officials of Scottish interlopers in the Plantations, there were also petitions from English merchants whose trade was interfered with. In 1692 the Custom House officials at Liverpool wrote to the Commissioners of the Customs at Bermuda, saying that they had various accounts from merchants and masters of ships in that port, who 'lawfully trade to the said Plantacons,' that they are 'much discouraged and almost ruined by reason their Majesties officers in the Plantations do . . . Corruptly or Unfairly comply with Persons tradeing to Scotland not capable by Law to Trade there.'<sup>2</sup> The merchants of London also complained: 'That their Trade is in a great measure destroyed and ruined by many ships trading directly from Scotland and Ireland to Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania without paying their Majesties' duties to the undervaluing of Trade.'<sup>3</sup> The Commissioners of the Customs 'concurr with the said merchants herein and do humbly move . . . that some effectual remedy be taken by writing to the Government of Scotland or otherwise as to His Majesty shall seem fitt for preventing this great evill.' In 1694 the merchants and traders of Bristol also sent in a petition against unfair traders from Scotland and Ireland, who did not pay custom in England.

The Privy Council in Scotland did not attempt to put a stop to this illegal trade. On the contrary they granted licenses to

<sup>1</sup> *Treasury Papers*, xxvi. 53, 1694.    <sup>2</sup> *Board of Trade, Bermuda*, 28, pp. 41-45.

<sup>3</sup> *Board of Trade, Virginia*, 5, 46, i. 1694.

Scottish merchants sailing to the Plantations to transport servants thither. After the Revolution, when the Scottish Parliament and Government became more independent, and the ill-feeling between Scotland and England increased, English ships of war and privateers began to cruise about in Scottish waters, in order to arrest ships coming from the Plantations or from France. The first complaint sent in to the Council was in 1690. 'Anent a petition given in . . . be George Lockhart merchant in Glasgow . . . shewing That q<sup>r</sup> the petitioners . . . did Import ane ship Loadned with Tobacco from Virginia to the port of Glenwark in the river of Clyde and reported the said Loading of Tobacco to the Custome Office . . . and payed the ordnar dutie, yet notwithstanding on Potingar Captaine of the Dartmouth ffrigot hes . . . most unwarrantably against all Law and reasone Seased the said Vessell . . . threatening to cary her away for Ingland . . . to dispose upon her as ane prize purchased by him.'<sup>1</sup> Several complaints followed, and in 1694 the Council wrote to the King 'anent seizing Scotts shippes in our owne ports.' They complained that 'both in our East and West seas and in the ports and harbours therof our merchant ships have been seized. . . . And furder we are informed that severall other merchant English shippes have taken out Commissions of Mart from the Admiralty against unlawful traders which we see they mostly make use of against our ships coming from the plantations. . . . Albeit be certaine that before this late warr none of our ships could be attacqued or mollested on that account at sea But only in the ports and harbours of America. . . . Our merchants are so much discouraged and prejudget by these attempts that many of them already hes given over trade.'<sup>2</sup> The frequency of the complaints against the trade of Scotland with the Plantations show that it must have been considerable. There are also some lists of ships trading between the countries, and of Scottish merchants whose interests were involved in the trade. In October, 1689, there were three ships from Boston in Scotland and two more on their way from Glasgow back to Boston. In 1692 Randolph wrote that 'within eight months over 20 Scotch, Irish and New England vessels have sailed out of the Capes with tobacco for Scotland and Holland.'<sup>3</sup> In 1693 and 1694 thirteen ships trading

<sup>1</sup> *Privy Council Register*, 14 August, 1690.

<sup>2</sup> *Privy Council Register*, 29 June, 1694.

<sup>3</sup> *S.P. Col.: America and West Indies*, 637, 110.

illegally, all belonging to Scottish merchants, loaded tobacco in Virginia and Maryland, of which nine went direct to Scotland.<sup>1</sup> Much, in 1695, drew up a list of Glasgow merchants trading to the Plantations contrary to Acts of Parliament. He gives the names of fourteen, and says there are others whose names he does not remember.<sup>2</sup> Between April 13, 1695, and December 29, 1696, twenty-seven vessels left Scotland for the Plantations, of which twenty seem to have been Scottish, nearly all from the Clyde ports.<sup>3</sup>

During William's wars with France illegal trade with America seems to have increased. Chalmers, in his *History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*, says that English commerce and shipping decayed during this period; and quotes from Davenant a complaint that 'during this war, the colonists have presumed . . . to set up for themselves, and to load their effects on ships belonging to foreigners, and to trade directly with other nations, sending them their commodities and receiving from thence manufactures not of our growth to the great damage of this kingdom.'<sup>4</sup> There are several letters from various Colonial authorities complaining of the want of ships to carry on the Colonial trade. Nicholson, Governor of Virginia, wrote in 1695: 'I most humbly propose that a good number of ships be permitted to come to these ports for when few come then goods are very dear and tobacco very cheap. If too few ships come they will stop growing large quantities of tobacco and will begin manufacturing clothing for themselves.'<sup>5</sup> Scottish ships doubtless took advantage of the opportunity given by English difficulties and Colonial necessities, and their trade seems to have increased after the Revolution. The goods which the Scots merchants took out, chiefly coarse cloth and linen, were not such good quality as English manufactures, but were cheaper, and therefore very acceptable.

Scottish merchants and ships were also employed in the active trade carried on between the English Plantations and the Dutch possessions of Surinam and Curaçao. 'Several Scotch merchants in Pennsylvania . . . carry the Tobacco of Maryland to Surenham and Carressoe in bread Casks covered with flower

<sup>1</sup> *Board of Trade, Virginia*, 5, 56.

<sup>2</sup> *Board of Trade, Maryland*, 3, 2.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. MSS. Commission Report: House of Lords MSS.*, p. 464.

<sup>4</sup> Chalmers's *History of the Revolt of the American Colonies*, vol. i. p. 269.

<sup>5</sup> *Board of Trade, Maryland*, 2, 114.

at each end.’<sup>1</sup> Colonel Quarry, writing to the Commissioners of Customs about New Jersey and Pennsylvania, says: ‘There is Four times ye quantity of Tobacco made in this Countrey this last year than ever was made in anyone year before All which is Engrossed by the Scotch . . . they give such Extrava-gent rates that . . . no person who designs to trade fairly can give. . . . They carry on a constant trade from Curesan hither, about a month ago came in a vessel from thence belonging to Scotch merchants which brought in abundance of Linen and other Dry Goods of the manufacture of Holland.’<sup>2</sup> These Dutch goods thus imported were sold as ‘cheap in Pennsylvania as they can be bought in England.’<sup>3</sup> Scotland also had some advantages as a market for Colonial produce, especially for tobacco. The merchants were said to be induced to follow illegal trade ‘by ye Great Incouragement which a Scotch Act of Parliament gives to ye Importation of tobacco thither directly from Virginia, in which case ye Importers are Obliged to pay but three pence per pound, and do ordinarily obtaine leave to Compound for thre halfe pence, whereas if ye ship first make her Entry in England then for such Tobacco afterwards brought into Scotland the Importer is obleiged to pay sixpence per pound.’<sup>4</sup>

Before the Act of 1696, which endeavoured to remedy the abuses in the Plantation trade, was passed, another cause of complaint had arisen, which made the feeling against Scotland and Scottish interlopers still more strong. This was the Scottish Act of 1695 constituting the ‘Company of Scotland, Trading to Africa and the West Indies.’<sup>5</sup> The original design seems to have been to start a rival to the East India Company, but the officials in America regarded it as an attempt to legalise and extend that illicit trade with Scotland which they had been endeavouring to suppress. Randolph, writing to the Commissioners in England about the Scottish Act, says: ‘In which Act under pretence of erecting an East India Company in yt Kingdome they do engage themselves with Great sums of money in an American Trade; a Trade which has for several years been carried on by Scotchmen.’<sup>6</sup> The Commissioners of

<sup>1</sup> *Board of Trade, Maryland*, 8, p. 188, 1695.

<sup>2</sup> *Treasury Papers*, xlxiii. 43, 1701.

<sup>3</sup> *Board of Trade, Maryland*, 2, 115, 1694.

<sup>4</sup> *Treasury Papers*, xxvi. 53, 1693.

<sup>5</sup> *Acts, Scotland*, vol. ix. p. 377.

<sup>6</sup> *S.P. Col.: Col. Entry Book*, 100, p. 352.

the Customs then made a presentment to the Commissioners of the Treasury in which they declared themselves: 'Humbly apprehensive of this growing mischief, for ye Trade between Scotland and the Plantations is now about to be more openly carried on under colour of a Law lately past in Scotland.'<sup>1</sup> They desired the matter to be laid before His Majesty in Council 'in order to some effectual remedy for suppressing such a Trade from Scotland to the Plantations tending so apparently to the ruine of this Principale Branch of the Revenue.' It was feared that the Scots would settle at some point on the Delaware shores which had not been specified in Penn's grant; or in some island near the Continent, where they might in a short time make a staple for European and enumerated Plantation commodities. It was therefore recommended that all unappropriated tracts of land should be immediately annexed to the nearest province, and put under some regular government. The House of Lords were also alarmed about the Plantation trade. In their address to the King on the subject of the Scottish East India Company they declare that: 'When once that Nation shall have settled themselves in Plantations in America, our Commerce in Tobacco, sugar, Cotton, Wool, Skins, Masts etc, will be utterly lost . . . and the English Plantations and the Traffick thereof lost to us, and the exportation of our own manufactures yearly decreased.'<sup>2</sup>

As a result of the various petitions and remonstrances concerning the Plantation trade the 'Act for preventing Frauds and regulating Abuses in the Plantation Trade'<sup>3</sup> was passed in 1696. This Act recited all the provisions of Charles II.'s statutes relating to Colonial trade, asserted their validity in all the Plantations, ordered the governors and officers to take oaths for the proper performance of their duties, and generally made the administration of the Acts far more stringent. With evident reference to the Scottish East India Company it was enacted that persons who claimed right or property in America, or in the islands, were not to sell any land except to natural born subjects of England, Ireland, Wales, or Berwick-upon-Tweed. Special provisions dealt with the Scotch trade. 'And whereas great Frauds and Abuses have beene committed by Scotchmen and others in the Plantation Trade by obtruding false and

<sup>1</sup> *S.P. Col. : Col. Entry Book*, 100, p. 350.

<sup>2</sup> *Journals of House of Lords*, vol. xv. 611.

<sup>3</sup> 7 and 8 Gul. III. c. 22.

counterfeit Certificates upon the Governour and Officers in the Plantations . . . of having given security in this Kingdome to bring the ladings of Plantation Goods to England, Wales or Berwick-upon-Tweed, as also Certificates of having discharged their lading of Plantation Goods in this kingdome pursuant to securities taken in the Plantations, and also Cocketts . . . of having taken in their ladings of European goods in England etc, whereof they may carry the Goods of Scotland and other Places of Europe without shipping or lading the same in England . . . to His Majesty's Plantations, and also carry the Goods of the Plantations directly to Scotland, or to any Market in Europe without bringing the same to England,' greater care is to be taken in accepting certificates. To guard against the influence exerted by Scots settlers on behalf of their fellow-countrymen, the Act declared that, in actions concerning forfeiture of goods because of unlawful exportations or importations, 'there shall not be any Jury but of such onely as are Natives of England or Ireland or are borne in His Majesties said Plantations.'

In the same year a new Board of Trade and Plantations was erected, which was to examine into and regulate all foreign trade and all Colonial affairs. Notwithstanding the provisions of the new Act for the more stringent enforcement of the laws concerning the Plantation trade, and also the fact that a great deal of the capital of the Scottish nation was engaged in the ill-fated Darien scheme, the trade of Scotland with the English Colonies seems to have continued to flourish. In 1699 Governor Basse of New Jersey writes that he is discouraged and deserted because of his 'discountenancing the Scoch and pirates in their illegal trades.' The former, he says, 'are growne to a very great height,' from the prospect of a Scot being made governor of the province, and also because of the 'success that their Countrymen meet withall in their settlement of . . . Golden Island.' 'I cannot but see that the English Interest and trade must of necessity fall if some speedy course be not taken for their stoping of their Growth . . . the principall traders in East New Jersey and Pennsylvania are Scotch.'<sup>1</sup>

A few years later Colonel Quarry declares that in Pennsylvania and the Jersies the quantity of tobacco grown has very much increased, and that it is all engrossed by the Scotch 'as almost all the other Trade here is.'<sup>2</sup> All attempts to exclude them from the trade seemed to be made in vain. As Quarry said: 'There

<sup>1</sup> *New Jersey Colonial Documents*, ii. 288.    <sup>2</sup> *Treasury Papers*, lxxiii. 43, 1701.

are so many Conveniences for the running of Goods that tis impossible to prevent it Lett the government make what Laws they can.' It seems probable, therefore, that the feeling that as the Scots were evidently going to have a large share of the Plantation trade, they should therefore be brought under the control of the English Parliament, was in some degree responsible for the union of 1707.

THEODORA KEITH.

## The Relations of the Earl of Murray with Mary Stuart

**I**DENTIFIED from the outset of his career with the triumph of the Scottish Reformation, Murray is indebted for his place in history more to circumstances than to statesmanship. Happy in the hour of his birth, he had throughout life what would be described, in modern phraseology, as the 'flowing tide,' conducting him to eminence almost in his own despite. Calvinism, as Mr. T. L. Henderson observes, 'fitted him like a glove,' and temperamentally he was an absolute expression of the tendencies that were then riveting that theology upon the minds of the Scottish nation.

So far as Murray's relations with his sister are concerned, they may be described without exaggeration as a tissue of treachery from beginning to end. To hold him entirely blame-worthy for this history of betrayal would be scant justice, as all Mary's instincts were in immediate antagonism to his own; but none the less it would puzzle even the most ingenious of apologists to whitewash many phases of Murray's conduct to his sovereign and sister. After making every allowance for a divided duty, he stands condemned at the bar of history as perfidious and disloyal when his attitude to the most luckless of Queens alone is subjected to examination.

A singularly colourless and unromantic personality, it seems almost a caprice of heredity that Murray should have been the scion of a dynasty so steeped in sentiment and abandoned to reaction as that of Stuart. Alike for good and evil, he was devoid of all the characteristics that distinguish the race to which, by virtue of a curious irony of circumstance, he belonged. Endowed with all the solidity, solemnity, and energy of Puritanism, he held graces, scholarship, and accomplishments in but slight esteem. A burgher rather than an aristocrat by temperament, it was, in some degree, by means of what many would

have regarded as his defects that he earned the confidence of a party who distrusted nothing more than the meretricious.

Born about the year 1531, the illegitimate son of James V. and Margaret Erskine was at the age of seven made Comendator of St. Andrews. A spoiler of the Amalakites even from childhood, he did not disdain throughout the earlier part of his career to draw large revenues from the properties of the Church which he was ultimately destined to be so instrumental in overthrowing. Unaffected by any consideration for the hierarchy of which he was ostensibly a member, Lord James Stuart instinctively flung in his lot with the new Evangel, and as a youth of nineteen took an active part in the deliberations of the Calvinistic leaders.

Whatever weight may be attached to the charges levelled against Murray by the school of writers to whom Hosack and Skelton belong, none at least can question the genuineness and consistency of his Protestantism. That he entertained no scruples against bowing down in the house of Rimmon is rendered abundantly evident by the nature of his dealings with Catherine de Medici, but nothing in reality was more remote from his intentions than the lending of a hand to further the recovery of French ascendancy in Scotland. It says but little for the astuteness of the Parisian diplomatists that they ever imagined that such a personality as Murray would become a tool in their hands; and, as might have been anticipated from the outset, he merely feathered his nest at their expense, and finally betrayed them to his compatriots.

Down to the year 1560 no room existed for any relations between Murray and his sister save those of a purely formal and official description. In that year, however, with the despatch of the Puritan leader to France for the purpose, as Maitland expressed it with characteristic vividness, of 'groping the Queen's mind,' they assume a perfectly definite shape. How far his psychological investigations justified the confidence reposed in him has never been fully disclosed, but he undoubtedly succeeded in winning the Queen over to his views, and rendered abortive the projects of the Scotch Catholic Lords who had sent across Lesly the historian to essay the task of persuading her into attempting a landing at Aberdeen and the crushing of Protestantism before that Titanic undertaking had become an impossibility.

It has been contended that in communicating the results of

his negotiations with his sister to Throgmorton, the English ambassador, Murray must be held as blameless by virtue of the understanding which subsisted between the Lords of the Congregation and Queen Elizabeth; but in view of the fact that Mary never for a moment contemplated the possibility of such a revelation, it is difficult to entirely acquit him of double-dealing in the matter. Murray's position had now become one of extreme delicacy, but none the less he was actively engaged in playing the English game so far as circumstances permitted him to do so. Upon the one hand his heart was with Elizabeth, but, on the other, it was manifest that Mary's position at the French Court had been rendered intolerable by the domination of Catherine de Medici, and that her return to Scotland had become inevitable. Only deposition could have averted what, in Murray's eyes, was a political calamity, and yet for such a proposal he knew well that his countrymen were wholly unprepared.

Adopting the only course left open to him, which was that of persuading his sister that her true interests lay in the acceptance of Presbyterianism and the English alliance, Murray steered his way with no small measure of adroitness. To obtain the confidence of Mary and preserve that of Elizabeth was a task demanding wariness at every turn; but until the appearance upon the scene of Darnley he contrived to perform it without a stumble.

For the time being, however, both Mary and her brother were pursuing almost identical aims. From the period covered by the disembarkment of the former at Leith down till the arrival of Lennox and his son, their relations, so far as can be discovered, were perfectly harmonious. The fact that she was heir presumptive to Elizabeth had become almost an obsession in Mary's mind, and rendered her indifferent to all other considerations. Under Maitland's guidance, Murray had become convinced that the union of the two kingdoms was a political necessity, and that no price was too high to pay for such a consummation. The obstacles to anything in the shape of a permanent alliance between temperaments so remote from one another were, none the less, insuperable, and to this underlying antagonism Murray himself, in all probability, was fully alive. Little exception, however, can be taken to his conduct, from a fraternal standpoint, throughout the duration of the Protestant phase, and had not the underhand hostility of Elizabeth driven

Mary into the championing of the Catholicism she had virtually abandoned, it is perfectly possible that he might have continued to serve her loyally enough, provided only that full scope was left for the gratification of his private ambitions.

With the internal administration of the country practically entrusted to his care, the future Regent lost little time before sweeping from his path the rivals whose power impeded the establishment of his ascendancy. The incapacity and French connections of Châtelherault had long ago rendered him a negligible factor in Scotch politics. Bothwell, Murray disposed of by the trumping-up of a charge of conspiracy, which, being backed up by the presence in Edinburgh of 5000 of his followers, caused the for once unjustly accused Hepburn to flee the country. The destruction of Huntly was an undertaking of vastly more difficulty, and one which but for the active participation of the Queen herself could never have been accomplished.

To Murray the demolition of Huntly was a matter of paramount importance, not merely on public, but on private grounds. The Lord James (as he was then still termed) had obtained a grant under the Privy Seal of the Earldom, by the title of which he was to be known to history, and subsequently, as a stepping-stone, managed, in 1561, to get himself invested with that of Mar. The latter he openly assumed, but deemed it prudent to conceal the existence of the prior grant, as the Earldom of Murray was held infeft of the Crown by Huntly, and the Cock o' the North was too formidable a personage upon whom to prematurely declare war.

The exact nature of the understanding that subsisted between Mary and Murray in regard to the uprooting of the house of Gordon, is one of the problems of Scotch history which has remained unsolved. Bringing down as it did the tottering fabric of Roman Catholicism in Scotland, the ruining of Huntly can only be described, from the point of view of a Marian partizan, as a political blunder of the first magnitude. The ardour, however, with which the Queen flung herself into the campaign against her co-religionists does not suggest any form of coercion, and there is no evidence to show that she required persuading in the matter. As to Murray, who, according to Bishop Lesly, was the 'sole favourite and disposer of everything' at this period, his gain was immeasurable. Not only did he render secure his long coveted earldom, get quit of a dangerous adversary, and deal

a staggering blow to Catholicism, but a favourable impression was made upon the mind of Elizabeth, and for the time being the English alliance was placed upon a footing of greater stability.

The advent of Lennox, and subsequently that of Darnley, however, affected a transformation in the whole aspect of Scottish affairs, and one under which Murray's fortunes reached their lowest ebb. Opposed from the outset to a matrimonial alliance which threatened Protestantism and brought into the field a rival claimant for a portion of his own estates, he retired in disgust from the court upon finding that all the wiles of diplomacy were powerless to avert it.

It must be acknowledged by even the warmest admirers of Murray, that he cut but a sorry figure throughout the struggle which ensued upon his abandonment of office. Failing in an attempt to kidnap Mary and Darnley when the royal couple were on their way from Perth to Queensferry, he took up arms with Châtelherault, Argyle, and Glencairn as confederates, but only to be chased from pillar to post by the Queen's troops. The end of the rising found him a fugitive across the English border. Led on to the ice by Elizabeth, he was finally left there in the most callous of fashions. In a prearranged but clumsily executed scene, he was dismissed the royal presence as an 'unworthy traitor,' and left for the nonce with no better occupation than to meditate upon the treachery of princes.

The inflexibility of Elizabeth in regard to the right of succession to the English throne and the contumacy of Murray, had left Mary with no option but that of gathering around her the Catholic nobility whom she had originally forfeited and slighted. Bothwell, Huntly, Athole, and Sutherland were now installed as her advisers, and Rizzio to all intents and purposes was foreign minister for Scotland.

For the moment the cause of the Reformation was in the gravest jeopardy, and only desperate remedies could have averted the danger that menaced its prospects. It must be confessed, however, that the means adopted which took the shape of the murder of Rizzio, was one that in its atrocity equalled anything recorded in the history of the Borgias. Its objective was less the cutting-off of a Piedmontese upstart than the destruction of the infant life, whose advent would bar Darnley's claim to the Crown of Scotland. Murray and his fellow exiles were undoubtedly fully privy to the conspiracy in all the rigour of its intentions, and even after making all deductions for the sake

of the issues which were involved, their complicity is one of a species that renders exoneration impossible.

Less than two days after the perpetration of what Knox describes as 'that just act, and most worthy of all praise and approbation,' Murray arrived at Holyrood, and was effusively received by the Queen. Though Mary must have been aware of the part played by her brother in regard to the assassination of Rizzio, he appears from this point to be fully re-established in her confidence and esteem. A readiness to forgive injuries was ever one of the Queen's most characteristic traits, and in temperamental fluctuations rather than in any deliberate scheme of policy is the key to her actions generally discoverable. Although after the flight to Dunbar, it was entirely due to Bothwell, Huntly, and Athole, that the reins of power were once more placed in her hands, their influence was practically neutralised by the introduction of Murray, Argyle, and Glencairn into the privy council, and the participators in the Holyrood shambles were thus rewarded for their concurrence in a diabolical outrage. When the Queen's confinement was rapidly approaching, the only nobleman permitted to reside with her in Edinburgh Castle was Murray, and had anything untoward occurred all power would undoubtedly have passed into his hands.

In no phase of his career does Murray's wariness exhibit itself in so extreme a form as in his attitude to the murder of Darnley. At the Craigmillar conference, it was memorably summed-up by Maitland in the assurance 'that he will look through his fingers, beholding our doings and saying nothing to them.' To this course of masterly inactivity, Murray steadily adhered, though accessory at the same time to all that was taking place. He does not appear to have entertained any objections to murders being done, but merely disliked the doing of them.

Two days before the disposal of Darnley, Murray discreetly retired to St. Andrews and remained in Fife 'looking through his fingers' for a period extending to over six weeks. As Mr. Lang remarks, 'he was always ready with his alibi.' For no apparent reason, he shortly afterwards took his departure upon a pilgrimage to France, but before doing so he made a will appointing the Queen to be the guardian of his only child—a provision which hardly seems compatible with the Messalina theory of Mary's character maintained by Buchanan and other writers of the school to which he belongs, in the employment of her brother and his confederates. Whether or not the checking

of the Queen's infatuation for Bothwell was a possible or an impossible undertaking, it was certainly one never attempted by Murray. Throughout, he preserved an attitude of aloofness, and witnessed the spectacle of his sister descending the slopes of Avernus with indifference, if not complacency.

After a period of absence exceeding six months, Murray journeyed homewards with a French pension in his pocket—which, to do him justice, he did nothing to earn. That his interests had been in no way neglected during the course of his peregrinations was at once shown by the conferring upon him of the crowning dignity of Regent of Scotland. Mary by this time had been immured by the Confederate Lords in the island prison of Lochleven Castle, and her position was one which lent itself admirably to the development of her brother's designs. Adroitly availing himself of it, he succeeded in obtaining not merely the confirmation of his office, but also the custody of the royal jewels, which he then promptly sold to Elizabeth at a miserably inadequate figure.

The rout of the royal forces at Langside was in no small degree attributable to the military skill of the Regent, whilst the clemency which he displayed in dealing with enemies whose rancour towards him in many instances surpassed all bounds, exhibited a magnanimity most unusual in a period when vindictiveness ranked almost among the virtues.

In the subsequent conferences, however, which took place at York and Westminster, with the object of determining the position of Mary when a captive in England, Murray appeared in the character of the plaintiff, and exhibited an unscrupulousness which no casuistry can extenuate. Accompanied by Morton and Lethington, he had the effrontery to accuse Mary of the Darnley murder—a crime with which he himself was indirectly, and his two associates directly, connected. Whatever view may be taken as to the genuineness or spuriousness of the *Casket Letters*, it is at least certain that they were only produced at Westminster by Murray and his confederates as a *dernier ressort*, and, after secret communications with the English ministers, most hostile to Mary.

After the conclusion of the inquiry, which ended in a refusal to condemn either accuser or accused, Murray took his departure northwards with the sum of £5,000 in his pocket bestowed upon him from the English treasury as a reward for blackening, though failing to destroy, the character of his sister.

Resuming his duties as Regent, Murray enforced law and order throughout Scotland with an unsparing hand, but in his treatment of his adversaries he exhibited in an ever-growing degree the duplicity which had always been one of his most marked characteristics. Inveigling Châtelherault to Edinburgh by counterfeited inducements, he then consigned him to prison, and about the same time betrayed the matrimonial overtures, sanctioned by himself, which Norfolk had made to his sister, and thus brought down upon the head of that nobleman the unrelenting wrath of Elizabeth.

It is highly probable that Murray's dramatic death at the hands of Hamilton, of Bothwellhaugh, preserved his memory from a depth of obloquy which would otherwise have awaited it. At the time of his assassination he was actively engaged through the medium of Elphinstone, one of his emissaries, in negotiations for the transference of his sister to Scotland, and had Elizabeth consented to such a surrender, there can exist little doubt that it would have been equivalent to the signing of her death-warrant. The English Queen would thus have been spared a weight of odium which, shifted to the shoulders of Murray, could not have failed to greatly modify the verdicts of history. The good Regent might then have been stripped of the sanctity in which he has been clothed by his ultra-Protestant adulators and rendered a target for the sneers of the ungodly.

To judge Murray solely in the light of his relations with Mary, would, however, be an act of manifest injustice. They represent indubitably his character under its most unfavourable aspect, but none the less it is difficult for those among whom the spirit of theological partizanship is entirely lacking, to find much material for admiration in a personality so reticent and elusive. Lord Guthrie has deplored the absence of any adequate biography of Murray, and undoubtedly an unfilled niche in Marian history is created by this void. All that at present exists is a subsidiary memoir by Chalmers attached to his *Life of Mary*, which merely takes the shape of a virulent indictment.

Tytler, in his *History of Scotland*, appears more than inclined to question the genuineness of the humanity with which the Regent stands generally accredited, and dryly remarks that 'he found fines and forfeiture a more effectual way of destroying his opponents and enriching his friends.' M. Philippon takes a similar view; but, on the other hand, Murray has been canonised

by Froude, who discovers him to be 'a man of stainless honour and free from any taint of self.'

Apart, however, from any conclusions favourable or unfavourable arrived at by different historical writers who have been largely guided by bias in their varying estimates, it is at least abundantly evident that Murray possessed fundamental principles in a period when the bulk of his contemporaries were content to be led by their own ever-changing impulses and interests. Fidelity to Elizabeth and the union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland were the two aims which animated his career, and in nothing did he ever deviate from them. In his *Memoirs*, Sir James Melville maintains that Elizabeth despised Murray for his subserviency, but however this may have been his standpoint remained unaltered.

Morally it seems hardly possible to leave the Regent uncondemned. A scribe and a pharisee, the standards of the day can hardly be taken as applying to him. His house, it was said, 'was more like a church than a court,' and this being so, it is hard to see by what process of apologetics the owner can be weighed up in the same scales as a Bothwell or a Huntly. Over his grave like that of the great 'daughter of debate,' his sister, controversialists are still content to wrangle, but whatever issue their ingenuity may raise it can scarcely be that of the life-long perfidy practised by Murray towards one whom it was his duty to succour and protect from calamity. The pensioning of Bothwellhaugh by the hands of Mary may have seemed to many a matter for regret, but to none can it appear in the light of a subject for astonishment.

THOMAS DALRYMPLE DUNCAN.

## The Romance of Sir Tristrem

THE famous *Romance of Sir Tristrem* has been fortunate in its editors; it has successively attracted the attention of Sir Walter Scott, Professor Kölbing and Mr. George M'Neill. The last of these edited it for the Scottish Text Society in 1885-6, and this may be taken as the standard edition.

But it is now nearly twenty years old; and so much has been done during this swiftly advancing period that it may not be out of place to suggest some explanations of passages that once seemed hopeless.

A few preliminary remarks may also fittingly find a place here. The MS. has been exactly reproduced; but I do not observe that two of its peculiarities have received special mention, though they are likely to mystify a reader.

The first is, that the indefinite article is frequently united with its substantive; it will therefore be found, for example, that *ares* is only a way of writing *a res*, i.e. a 'race, rush, swift attack'; and the word is only given in the glossary under *res*. Examples are rather numerous.

The second is that, on the contrary, compound words are often written as *two* words. Hence *y wis* really means *ywis*, adv. 'certainly'; and is duly entered as *ywis*. So also for *lorn*, for *thi*, and several more.

There is but one MS. copy; so we must be thankful for what we have. But it is a very careless and inaccurate copy; and many of its errors are duly corrected in the notes. I take occasion to point out others that have not been observed.

The word *auntours*, i.e. 'adventures,' as in *The Anters* (or *Auntours*) of *Arthur*, is dissyllabic; but is ill spelt *auentours*. I need not supply the references except where the Glossary fails us. *Maked* should be *mad*, i.e. 'made,' not only in l. 2965 (Glossary), but in l. 144. In the note to l. 189, for 'the following line' read 'l. 194.' In l. 56, for *went* read *wend*. In l. 323, for *endred* read *entred*; in 327, for *has* read *as*; in 707, for *Wit* read *With*; in 711, for *Wasche* read *Wasche*; so in l. 1580; in l. 1917, read *loge*; in l. 1980, for *kinseman* read *kinnesman*; in l. 2012, read *seyth*; in l. 2150, for *his* read *is*; in l. 2247, for *schip* read *schippes*; in l. 2399, for *welp* read *whelp*; etc. In several places the scribe miswrites a word so as to ruin the rhyme; I may instance *redde* (miswritten *radde*), 155; *yspred* (written *ysprad*), 442; *led* (written *lad*), 444; *hy* (written *heye*), 786, 2150; *thinke* (written *thenke*), 1112; *arive* (written *a ride*, corrected in the note), 1173; *dint* (written *dent*), 1450; *brent* (written *brend*, but see 1478), 1472; read *bald* for *glad*, 2014; *file*, 2172; *me think*, 2262;

*thriste*, 2391; *diste*, 2393; *say* (miswritten *sain*), 2621. These are, I fear, uninteresting details; but they may serve to put us on our guard. There is a misprint in l. 521, where *p* means *th*.

It will be of more interest to discuss some passages that do not seem to be explained in this edition. I usually quote two lines in one, to save space.

28. His men he slough among, And *reped* him mani a res.

*Reped* is given up; for, indeed, the right form is *raped*. *Raped him* means 'he hastened him,' or 'hastened on for himself'; and the phrase means 'quickly performed or sped many a swift attack.' See the *New English Dictionary*, s.v. *Rape*, reflexive verb, where there are two good illustrative quotations. Compare:—'Rape the to ride,' *P. Plowman*, B. iv. 7; 'Rape the to shrifte,' *id.* v. 399; 'Rape yow to worche,' *id.* vi. 120; 'He wolle rape hym on a resse . . . to the holy londe,' *Le Morte Arthur*, 2665, which is a parallel passage.

In l. 44, we have mention of 'rouland rise'; so also 'rouland riis,' 49, 94, 122, 189, 200; but also simply 'rouland,' 179, 194. The note is:—'it may be connected with the German *riese*, a giant, or with the German *reis*, a sprout or scion. Neither explanation is wholly satisfactory.' But it is obviously the Welsh name *Rhys*, which has been Englished both as *Reece* and *Rice*, and whose sons are with us still as *Preeces* and *Prices*. (It is an excellent example for convincing such as are open to conviction they are far too few) that the modern English long *i* was once pronounced like the *ee* in *deep*.

229. King Markes may rewe, the ring, than he it se,  
And *moun*.

Here the word *moun* rhymes with *son*, 'son,' so that the *ou* really represents the short *u*, which comes out in modern English as the *u* in *sun*. It is explained by 'moan, sorrow.' This is impossible, because *oa* comes from an A.S. *ā*. Just as *son* is from A.S. *sunu*, so *moun* is from the A.S. *munan*, to remember; a vast improvement of the sense. 'King Mark may feel pity, when he happens to see the ring, and remember me.' See the whole context, in which the dying lady leaves her ring to her son.

289. He taught him ich a lede Of ich maner of glewe.

*Lede* is explained by 'song'; and is compared with the German *lied*.

This is not very satisfactory, because the A.S. form for 'song' was *lēoth*, Mid. Eng. *lēth*; a word not much used. It hardly gives the right sense. I greatly prefer the explanation given under *Leed* in the *N.E.D.*, which makes it a docked form of *leden*, 'language,' and explains it by 'phraseology.' This is the very point: 'he taught him every phrase relating to every kind of sport.' In olden times, only the ploughboy spoke about the 'feathers' of a hawk; every one who had pretensions to gentility called them 'plumes.' In the same way I would explain the apparently otiose term 'in lede,' in l. 64 and elsewhere, by 'in correct terms,' or 'in gentle language'; it is expressly said, in the same sentence, that the knights were *hende*, i.e. 'courteous.'

293. On hunting oft he yede, To swich a lawe he drewe,  
Al thus;  
More he couthe of veneri Than couthe Manerious.

It is obvious that *veneri* does not rhyme with *drewe*, as it should. No doubt the line ought to run thus:—‘More of venery he knew.’

But the great puzzle is the wonderful name *Manerious*, which no one (says the note) can explain. However, I explained it once somewhere, some years ago. It should rather be *Manerius*; and it is nothing but the Old Norman and Middle English word *Manère*, touched up with a Latin suffix to imitate its original. For what is its original? It is merely a French translation, meaning ‘manner,’ of the Latin name *Modus*. But what is meant by *Modus*? It is to be feared that its fame has departed; yet it was at that time one of the most famous of all works, as well known as the *Roman de la Rose*, or as the name of Newton is now to the students of science. *Le Livre du Roi Modus et de la Reine Reson* (*The Book of King Manner and of Queen Reason*) was the chief authority on this very subject of ‘venery’ or hunting, containing all the precious terms of the chase and all the directions for the cutting up of the deer which, as the *Romance* informs us, Sir Tristrem knew so well. If he really knew more of hunting terms than even King Manner, he had great reason to be proud.

327. He yaf as he gan winne, In raf.

*Raf* is explained as ‘plunder’; from the A.S. *rēaf*; which could only give such a form as *reef*. And ‘plunder’ is repugnant to the context. *Raff* means ‘abundance, plenty, profusion,’ and is still in use. See *N.E.D.* and the *English Dialect Dictionary*. We now get the true sense. It is said of Tristram that he gave away, even as he won, in great abundance. He won much by his skill, and he gave largely, like a gentleman.

353. *Fand* does not exactly mean ‘found,’ but ‘provided’ for him. See the *Dialect Dictionary*.

480. *Ther nest* is explained in the Notes to mean ‘after that.’ The literal sense is ‘there next,’ *i.e.* next to that. *Nest* is not in the Glossary.

485. The spande was the first brede, The erber dight he yare;  
To the stifles he yede, And euen a-to hem schare.

I think it clear that the right word is *spaude*, as Scott suggested. The objection made, that ‘to derive *spande* from *spalla* (shoulder) is philologically incorrect’ is no objection at all, since it begs the question as to the correctness of the printed form. The *Eng. Dial. Dict.* gives *spald*, a shoulder, with the variants *spauld*, *spall*, *spade*, *spaud*; so that there is no doubt about the matter. *Brede* means ‘roast’ or ‘roasted piece,’ as Kölbing has already said; see my note to Chaucer’s *House of Fame*, 1222. In Hazlitt’s *Popular Poetry*, vol. i. p. 21, we have:—

‘The kyng of venyson hath non nede,  
Yit myght me hape to haue a *brede*  
To glad me and my gest.’

‘The erber, etc.’ is explained by ‘He quickly took out the bowels’; an explanation which I cannot well follow. *Erber* is not explained in the Glossary, but it is the same as *arber*, fully explained in the *N.E.D.* Cotgrave explains the Old French *herbiere* as ‘the throat-bole, throat-pipe, or gullet of a beast’; and it was sometimes extended to mean the whole

'pluck' of an animal. To *dight* is to prepare or arrange; and 'to dight the erber' is the same as 'to make the erber,' *i.e.* to take out the pluck, the first stage in disembowelling.

*Stifles* is explained by 'knee-caps'; but this is apt to mislead. The 'knee' suggests the knee of the fore-leg; but the *stifle* (says Webster) is 'the joint next above the hock, and near the flank, in the *hind* leg of the horse and other animals; the joint corresponding to the knee in man.'

1273. That al games of grewe On grounde.

Here *That* refers to Tristrem. The Note says—'Out of whom all games grew from the ground, *i.e.* who thoroughly understood every game.' But *On* cannot mean 'from'; the sense is rather—'Out of whom grew all the games on earth.'

1356. A maiden of swiche reles.

The Glossary has: 'Reles, kind, description.' I know of no authority for this. I have shown, in my *Notes on Etymology*, that *reles* is the modern 'relish.' It here means 'sweetness.' The *N.E.D.* says:—'sensation or impression left behind by anything; taste, after-taste, relish; odour, scent.'

2393. Ouer the bregge he deste.

The Glossary has: '*deste*, dashed.' This gives the sense, but *deste* is not the past tense of *dash*. It is an error for *diste*, just as *threste* is an error for *thriste*; the rhyming words are *miste*, he missed, *wiste*, knew, and *kiste*, kissed. The *N.E.D.* gives *deste* twice. S.v. *deste*, we are wrongly referred to *dash*; but under *dust*, verb, we have it well explained. *Diste* is, in fact, the past tense of an A.S. verb \**dystan*, answering to a non-recorded Teutonic \**dustjan*, not otherwise known excepting as it appears in the Mid. Eng. *disten* and *dusten*. Transitivity, it means 'to fling violently'; and intransitively, as here, 'to fling oneself violently'; so that 'dashed' gives a sufficiently good sense.

2801. Tristrem knewe him fre; Beliaog in hight,  
Nought lain, An halle to maken him bright.

The note says: 'Tristrem acknowledged him as a free man, *i.e.* accorded him his freedom.' This is a very harsh construction of *knewe*. I take *fre* in its usual sense of 'liberal' or 'bounteous.' Further, I alter the semi-colon after *fre* to a comma, and place another comma after *Beliaog*. The sense is: 'Tristrem knew him, Beliaog, (to be) liberal in his promise, (namely), if I am to conceal nothing, that he would make a bright hall for him.' Here is nothing forced or obscure. For *hight*, a promise, see the *Cursor Mundi*, l. 785. The semi-colon after *fre* deprives the rest of the passage of its verb.

2500. He fond a wele ful gode, Al white it was, the grete.

*Grete* is not explained. I take it to mean: 'he found a well that was very good; all white it was, viz. the gravel below.' See *grit* in the *New E. Dict.*; *grete*, meaning 'gravel,' is common enough. Compare l. 121 of *Le Roman de la Rose*, quoted in my Chaucer, vol. i. p. 98, where

it is said of the well : 'Le fons de l'iaue de gravele'; the bottom of the water was of gravel.

2955. Tristrem tho gan him calle, On astilt he com tho,  
Ful swithe.

*Astilt* is not explained. It is an error for *als tit* or *as titt*, a common phrase meaning 'as fast as possible,' and parallel to *ful swithe*. The sense is : 'then did Tristrem call him ; then he came on as fast as possible, very soon.' See *tid* in Stratmann ; and *astite* and *alstite* in the *N.E.D.* The phrase occurs again, in l. 248, where the scansion shows that *al so tite* ought to be *as tite*, in two syllables, not three.

3054. *Fayt* does not mean 'to slander,' but 'to pretend'; see *P. Plowman*, B. vii. 94.

3129. For *that* read *thaim*, 'them'; and all difficulty vanishes.

3274. *Thai* token the heighe held.

*Held* does not mean 'a hill,' but 'a slope'; see *hield* in the *N.E.D.*

3167. This lond nis worth anay.

*Anay* is not noticed, either under *anay*, or *nay*, or *ay*. It stands for *a nay*, which is merely another form of *an ay*, i.e. 'an egg.' This is noted by Stratmann, s.v. *ei*. In l. 3288, for *halle* read *hille*.

With reference to the miswriting of *n* for *u*, as in *spande* for *spaude*, it is worth noting that this is by no means the sole instance. The word *blihand* should certainly be *blihaud*; *Rohand* should (I think) be *Rohaud*, cf. Ital. *Roaldo*; and I suspect that *Ganhardin* should be *Gauhardin*. As to *Ysonde*, it seems a sad perversion of *Ysoude*, as the French form was *Ysoude* or *Yseulte*; cf. Ital. *Isolta*. It is remarkable that the name never occurs at the end of a line, except in the modern continuation by Sir Walter Scott.

There is a curious fault in the rhythm at l. 1068. It is due to mere misarrangement.

'Moraunt of yrland smot  
Tristrem in the scheld,  
That half fel fram his hond  
Ther adoun in the feld.'

Rearrange the first two lines thus :

'Moraunt of yrlond (as in l. 969)  
Smot Tristrem in the scheld'; &c.

It is *yrlond*, not *smot*, that rhymes with *hond*.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

## Claverhouse's Last Letter

I GLADLY take advantage of the Editor's courteous invitation to reply to Mr. Barrington's interesting article, *S.H.R.* v. 505. I admit that the allegation of forgery in regard to the alleged letter written by Dundee after his victory is supported by no positive evidence, and for that reason a verdict of 'Not proven' is, as Mr. Barrington demands, the proper one. But a verdict of 'Not proven' by no means precludes a belief that a charge is true though incapable of proof. In the absence of direct disproof of the genuineness of the alleged letter, Dundee's authorship of it must be judged in relation to (1) the circumstances in which it was written, and (2) the authority of the documents which attribute it to him.

In regard to the first test, the letter must be denounced as a forgery if the manner of Dundee's death was such as to make the writing of the letter by him an impossibility. Naturally, therefore, Mr. Barrington is sceptical of the evidence which I adduced as to Dundee having been shot in the eye. Such a wound, he supposes, would mean instant death. Probably it would; though I am told that an oblique shot might shatter the eye-socket and not be immediately fatal. Mr. Lang (*History of Scotland*, vol. iv. p. 20) doubts whether a man could receive such a wound and retain consciousness. He points out pertinently that such a wound, and Dundee's conversation with 'a Mr. Johnstone,' are difficult to reconcile. I agree. But I must point out that the statement of Mackay's officers, who saw Dundee's dead body and noticed the eye-wound, is not less authoritative and credible than the statement of Johnstone, of whom we know nothing, and who may even have had discreditable motives for identifying himself with the last moments of Dundee. This point also is worth noticing: the statement of the manner of Dundee's death by Mackay and his officers, who saw the body at Blair, is not only nearest in point of time to the event, but is also the only definite evidence we have from persons who actually saw Dundee's dead body. In the *Military History of Perthshire*, recently edited by the Marchioness of Tullibardine, and in a most interesting and detailed chapter therein written by herself (p. 272), Lady Tullibardine criticizes the statement of Mackay's officers on the ground that it is improbable that 'an army of victorious Highlanders would leave its General unburied.' But apart from the fact that the statement of Mackay's officers is confirmed by Sir Duncan Campbell of Auchinbreck, who also saw the body of Dundee coffined but unburied

in Blair Church, it appears eminently natural that it should have been deposited but not interred at Blair, in view of an ultimate and possibly imminent transference to its natural resting-place among the dead man's forebears; particularly seeing that Dundee's army was victorious and in possession of the field. Lady Tullibardine also objects, though she does not push the objection, that credible statements assert that Dundee's body was 'buried' within a few days of the battle. But, as Lady Tullibardine admits, 'the interment might merely have consisted in laying the coffin in the vault of the church.'

In addition to the head-wound there are statements, to which Mr. Barrington refers, to the effect that Dundee was also shot in the body. In my book I quoted Balhaldy's statement—he is not a contemporary witness—to the effect that Dundee was shot 'about two hand's-breadth within his armour, on the lower part of his left side.' Balcarres, on the other hand, places the wound in Dundee's 'right side, immediately below his armour.' Mr. Barrington advances some reason to doubt whether the latter statement carries the weight of Balcarres' authority; but let it stand. I added that the breastplate of Dundee at Blair shows no trace of a shot-hole and therefore, if genuine, refutes both statements. Mr. Barrington says that neither of these alleged wounds 'affect the question of a hole in the breastplate.' As to Balhaldy, does Mr. Barrington weigh sufficiently the words 'within his armour'? If these words mean anything, they imply that the shot wounded Dundee in a spot protected by his armour. Lady Tullibardine thinks that the shot may have penetrated the back-piece (which is not extant), and that 'in the left side' could refer as well to the back of the armour as to the front. But Balhaldy describes the wound as being 'about two hand's-breadth within his armour, on the lower part of his left side,' and a wound at such a distance from the junction of the breast- and back-pieces would certainly be described as a wound in the back if the shot penetrated the back-piece, as Lady Tullibardine suggests it may have done. However that may be, it is clear, as against Mr. Barrington's contention, that the condition of the breastplate, if genuine, is exceedingly relevant to the credibility of Balhaldy's statement. And in regard to Balcarres? Mr. Barrington does not take Balcarres' statement by itself, but makes a compound statement of Balhaldy *plus* Balcarres to the effect that 'if the fatal wound was below his armour in the lower part of his side, the breastplate would naturally remain untouched.' But Balcarres does not say a word about 'the lower part.' He says that the wound was 'in his right side immediately below his armour.' Now 'below' may obviously refer either to the top or bottom of the armour. Mr. Barrington takes it in the latter sense. But a wound below the bottom of the armour would certainly not be called a wound in the side, as is clear from the portrait of Dundee in armour at page 89 of my *Life of Claverhouse*. A wound below the neck-rim of the breastplate, on the other hand, would certainly come within the category of a side wound.

But the question of a body wound is almost irrelevant, except in so far that if Dundee was shot in the body as well as in the head the improbability of his having written the alleged letter is increased. James Malcolm's sworn evidence as to Dundee's 'wounds,' if it has any significance (which I doubt, since we usually say of a soldier that he died of his 'wounds' rather than 'wound'), is as relevant to one wound in the head and another in the body as to two wounds in the body.

The second test of the genuineness of the alleged letter is the authority of the documents which attach its authorship to Dundee. I cannot here repeat the evidence on which I was led to the conclusion that the MS. in the Bodleian was a copy of the broadside. I still hold to that view, and unless the whole thing was a hoax, or an example of enterprising journalism, the reason which I suggested to account for the appearance of the broadside is the most reasonable one. There could be no possible motive for publication of the broadside if it were not closely contemporary with Dundee's victory and death. The broadside itself, which Mr. Mawdesley allowed me to see, is obviously of the period both in type and paper. Given the circumstances, a victory, a wounded General, the construction of such a letter should not have been beyond the ability of a generation that knew Titus Oates. Mr. Barrington defends Dundee's alleged statement that he was in command of an army three times its actual strength on the date above which the letter was printed. If the Bodleian MS. is a fair copy of the letter from Dundee to James written on July 28, Dundee's statement was a lie, and to lie was not his wont. If the broadside was after all a reprint of an actual letter from Dundee to James, its publication must have been at such an interval after the event as to make the interpolation of so misleading and inaccurate a detail wholly unnecessary. Finally, the alleged letter stands or falls with the alleged speech of Dundee to his army, which accompanies it both on the broadside and on the MS. in the Bodleian. The speech is conventional to a degree, and prejudices the authenticity of any other utterance found in its company.

I conclude therefore, that the most authentic account of the manner in which Dundee met his death throws the gravest doubt on the supposition that he was enabled after his wound or wounds to write or dictate the letter attributed to him. I maintain further that there are no circumstances in connection with the publication or character of Dundee's alleged letter which weaken the conclusion that his fate in the battle made the writing or dictating of it in the last degree improbable.

C. SANFORD TERRY.

MR. BARRINGTON'S view, expressed in his recent contribution to the *Scottish Historical Review* (*S.H.R.* v. 505), seems to be that as Dundee was possibly alive on the 28th July, he may have written the letter to King James, and that therefore the latter is to be accepted as genuine. At least he thinks a verdict of 'not proven'

should be entered as to the allegation that it is a forgery. But there are two questions which present themselves to one not committed to either side: (1) *Was* Dundee alive on the 28th, or is the presumption that he was then dead irresistible? and (2) Is the point raised by Mr. Barrington worthy of so much attention, or the letter itself worthy of its alleged writer?

First, as to Dundee's death. Mr. Barrington argues that he was not killed outright, but was wounded, on the testimony of a witness who refers to his 'wounds.' Mr. Barrington then quotes the testimony of Johnston, a soldier who caught the wounded General in his arms after the shot, and who reported a conversation with him on the field. Lastly Mr. Barrington argues that the letter in dispute, being dated 28th July, proves that Dundee had been alive on that day. It may be suggested that here Mr. Barrington is assuming that to be true which is not proved; but let that pass, and let us accept these as witnesses on his behalf, although Johnston's testimony is weakened by its being given at second hand.

On the other side we have many testimonies. I do not, however, call Balhaldy as a witness, nor do I deal with the scene at Blair when the body was seen. There are other and nearer witnesses to the event itself. The first testimony, not in date, perhaps, but in importance, is that of Major General Mackay, who writing about the time, and calmly reviewing the memories of the battle, states that the fire of his own troops was at first 'continued and brisk,' whereby Dundee and others 'were killed' while charging down the hill. The phrase 'were killed' cannot be construed into any other than its usual meaning, implying that Dundee died on the spot or was fatally wounded and his death was speedy, so that in colloquial phrase he 'was killed.' Another witness whom Mr. Barrington himself quotes 'as worth calling,' the well-known Ian Lom, says of Dundee, 'O heroic leader, thou didst fall in the fight, and dreadful was thy arm till thy hour came. . . . Neath the folds of thy clothing the bullet pierced thee.' Thus the poet, who no doubt looked on at the fray, says that one bullet pierced the hero, who fell in the fight. No hint of the journey to Blair here, though it would not have detracted from the heroism. The next witness, whom Mr. Barrington does not name, was a certain James Osburne from Cupar-Fife, who fought on Dundee's side. He stated in evidence to a Parliamentary Committee<sup>1</sup> that he saw the Viscount Dundee during the fight at Killiecrankie, and that he 'saw a dead body which was said to be the Viscount's body, wrapped up in a pair of Highland plaids after the said fight.' This perhaps is not direct testimony, but it is strong evidence of the belief that Dundee lay dead on the field of battle on the night of the 27th, and the witness Malcolm, already referred to, corroborates Osburne by saying that he saw the Viscount 'lyeing dead of the wounds he received that day in the feight.'<sup>2</sup>

Another form of testimony is that of letters, contemporary and fortunately dated. The first is one written from Tullimet, about ten miles from Blair, to John, Lord Murray, afterwards Earl of Tullibardine and Duke of Atholl, from his brother, Lord James Murray, who says that

<sup>1</sup> *Acta Parl. Scot.* ix. App. 57.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 58.

he (who was then a supporter of Dundee) had written to Dundee about his father's [the Marquis of Atholl's] papers, when he heard of Dundee being killed.<sup>1</sup> This letter is dated 28th July, 1689, *the very day of the alleged letter to King James*, and this fact largely discounts the probability of Dundee's being alive that day. Another letter, which Mr. Barrington refers to, written on 29th July, also from Tullimet, gives a note of those killed on Dundee's side. It names his successor, Cannon, and states that none were killed of Dundee's party save Dundee himself, two brothers of Glengarry, a second son of Sir Donald Macdonald, one Robert Ramsay, and Pitcur was deadly wounded. 'My Lord Dundie was shot dead on the head [at the head] of his horse' or cavalry.<sup>2</sup> The distinction in this letter between the killing of Dundee and others and the deadly wounding of Haliburton of Pitcur is important—as the latter afterwards died of his wounds, but Dundee is classed among those slain. Mr. Barrington, in dealing with this letter, charges Sir William Fraser with assuming that Dundee died instantaneously, but the *Report* quoted expresses no such opinion; it only indicates that the letters now cited tend to disprove the statement that Dundee was carried alive to Blair Castle.<sup>3</sup> On similar grounds it might be argued, from one passage in his article (*S.H.R.* v. 506), that Mr. Barrington himself favoured the view of instantaneous death for Dundee.

To sum up, Mr. Barrington puts forward, as I have said, three witnesses, and I really cannot discern more in his article, in favour of his view, and their united testimony does not amount to proof, while one of them is a 'suspect witness.' On the other side we have no fewer than six witnesses, four who were present at the battle and two contemporary letter writers, who from differing points of view, and in simple assurance of the fact, all repeat the same thing, that Dundee 'was killed,' that he was 'shot dead,' that he was 'lying dead' on the night of the battle, that is, the 27th July. Their unanimity is remarkable, and while their testimony does not exclude the view that Dundee may have lingered for a time, it certainly implies that that time was brief, and that he died on the field. Few will doubt that the balance of evidence is against Mr. Barrington, and the natural conclusion is that Dundee could not have written the letter on the 28th, which is the chief point in Mr. Barrington's contention. A verdict of 'not proven' seems to be insufficient.

But admitting a possibility that the dying Dundee might have dictated *something* which was afterwards expanded into a letter, is the present version his or is it a production which he never saw, and therefore a forgery so far as he was concerned. The raising of the question at this late date, when the controversy has slumbered so long, seems unnecessarily futile, and an examination of the letter suggests that it were better for Dundee's reputation that it were proved a forgery. The late Dr. John

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. MSS. Comm. Report*, xii. App. viii. p. 41.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* This letter is printed in full in the *Scottish Antiquary*, vii. pp. 105, 106.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 6.

Hill Burton held that opinion, chiefly on the ground that it was too well expressed to be written by Dundee;<sup>1</sup> Macaulay also, but his verdict was too sweeping. Mr. Barrington accepts the letter because he thinks it bears so strong a resemblance to the hero's other letters that it would have seemed a fitting close to his career. And it was also his way, says Mr. Barrington, 'whilst disowning all rhetorical aid, to convey his meaning most surely and effectively.' But such a characteristic would be the more easy for a forger to imitate, and those interested could thus more easily produce a likeness to Dundee's style. Mr. Barrington thinks that if they were clever enough to do this, they ought to have 'realised the folly of attempting to postpone a discovery of the real state of affairs by so feeble and necessarily shortlived a stratagem.' But it would not seem so then. Mr. Barrington is writing in 1908, but in 1689 the spread of news was comparatively slow, and it was doubtless of the greatest importance to the Jacobite cause to conceal their great loss even for a short time, an idea emphasised by the rush of Highlanders to join the standard after the battle. Hence a valid motive for such a manifesto, especially if intended for foreign consumption. The attempt did fail, but rather from King James's supineness than from the truth as to Dundee's death.

But before discussing the letter itself, what about the alleged speech to the troops on the same MS. and print? Mr. Barrington ignores this effusion, yet it is important. The speech and the letter, coupled as they are, are evidently intended to be accepted together as from Dundee. Yet though the subject is not directly before us, who can believe that a man like Claverhouse would address his troops in the form given in the MS. or broadside.<sup>2</sup> Major-General Mackay, indeed, made an appeal to his men before the battle, but most of these were raw levies and needed encouragement. Dundee's men were very different. They needed no 'speech' to stimulate them; rather, they were like hounds on their leash straining and eager to get at their quarry. It is difficult to believe that Dundee ever wasted time on a speech at all, especially such as is attributed to him, which is of the feeblest to such an audience. We now turn to the letter. Mr. Barrington accepts it as it stands, yet he himself administers a shrewd blow to its authenticity. Professor Terry pointed out that in the broadside, which he believes to be the original rather than the MS., Dundee estimates his force at Killiecrankie at '6000 men,' whereas he had only a third of that number, really about 2500. Mr. Barrington adopts the MS. version, which omits the '6000 men,' and suggests that 'as the Highland army swelled to some 6000 men within a few days after the battle, this may account for the interpolation in the broadside.' But why interpolation at all? The letter purports to be a letter to King James, and ought therefore to have been printed exactly as the MS. has it, or as it was written. To admit interpolation in any form, means that there *was* a manipulation of the original, and can any one tell how far we have the correct version?

<sup>1</sup> *History of Scotland* (1689-1748), i. pp. 133, 134 n.

<sup>2</sup> See print in *John Graham of Claverhouse*, by C. S. Terry, pp. 358, 359 n.

Mr. Barrington himself thus gives a wide loophole for doubt. Professor Terry gives good reasons, which will be appreciated by those familiar with old writings, for believing that the MS. was copied from the broadside, and not *vice versa*. If this was the case and the MS. a rough note made for transmission to Sir D. Nairn, among whose papers it was found, the words '6000 men' would naturally be omitted as not true. Mr. Barrington says it may be conjectured that those interested 'on hearing, early in August, that the Highland army then consisted of considerably over 5000 men, took it for granted that all these men fought at Killiecrankie, and consequently interpolated the impressive figures.' But the figures are *not* impressive, for their insertion makes Dundee to be in his death, what he was not in life, a braggart and a foolish one. He is made to boast that he defeated an army of 5000 (really 4000) with a force of 6000. It was not like Dundee to claim credit for such a result, and surely no great glory, with such troops, to gain a victory over a much inferior force; and though the MS. version omits the words, it was the broadside that was published as his letter. Further, if we admit 'interpolation' on one point, why not in all?

We may pass over certain items in the letter as to disposal of the fruits of victory, items which might have been written by any officer commanding, and take another sentence which occurs in *both* versions. The letter reports that Dundee's men behaved with gallantry, equal 'to whatever I saw in the hottest battles fought abroad by disciplined armies, and this Mackay's old soldiers felt on this occasion.' Was Dundee likely to put the matter so? It was a mere commonplace that his men, chiefly Highlanders, should behave bravely, and to compare them with disciplined soldiers seems unnecessary. Also, though he had served abroad, there is no clear certainty that he had personally witnessed any very great battle, except perhaps Seneffe. The reference to Mackay's old soldiers and their feelings seems to come oddly from one who, if he did live till 28th July, must have been too weak to consider such a point, and who does not appear to have ascertained the feelings of the enemy. Such an idea, however, might come from some one who had later opportunities.

Another and important point in the letter is the signature, which in both versions is 'Dundee.' Yet Claverhouse never spelt his title so, but always 'Dundie,' and it seems strange that in writing to his King he should depart from his usual practice. But the form 'Dundee' would come naturally to one who did not know the Viscount's own spelling; and here is a point which raises another difficulty. Dundee may have dictated the letter; he certainly did not *write* it as it stands. So far as he is concerned, the letter must either be a revised copy or a forgery, though it is said to be a letter from him to his King and therefore sacred from alteration. This writer has seen many original letters of John Grahame of Claverhouse, some written in times of comparative ease,<sup>1</sup> and others written in the hurry of his military cam-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Red Book of Menteith*, by William Fraser, ii. per Index.

paings,<sup>1</sup> and not one of them was free from misspelt words, some letters containing a great many. This was not at that period a style peculiar to Claverhouse, but it is *so marked in his letters* that the want of it cannot be ignored. Yet in this letter the words and spelling are in a very correct style. It must therefore have been *written* or *edited* by someone else, and this may have been done after Dundee's death. The editor probably appended his own spelling of the Viscount's name; or if the Viscount did sign the letter, the spelling has been changed, and the probability of revision still remains.

If the above criticisms do not invalidate the letter they will suggest that there is much room for doubt. And when to this is added the strong testimony as to Dundee's death *on the field of battle*, there is very good ground indeed for believing that Dundee neither saw nor wrote the letter as it is known to us either in the MS. or the print. Surely, however, it were better to let the matter rest until we get that 'further light' which Mr. Barrington hopes for, and others, as well as he, seek for.

JOHN ANDERSON.

Register House, Edinburgh.

<sup>1</sup>*Historical MSS. Report*, xv. App. viii. 264-294. No one, reading these, can fail to note the difference between them and the one in dispute. Even those printed by Professor Terry in his book and referred to by Mr. Barrington have the same peculiarity, which he has not, apparently, taken into account.

The Editor has received from Mr. Michael Barrington a second contribution (see *S.H.R.* v. 505) on this subject. In this he further maintains his position, to which he strongly adheres, that 'as there is no adequate motive for forgery, and as the letter is in the very spirit and manner of Dundee, and as the evidence of his death upon the battlefield is not convincing, the letter deserves a more respectful treatment than it has received since 1826, when Mr. Smythe, of Methven, first cast doubts upon its authenticity.' His opinion is not altered after reading the above papers by Professor Sanford Terry and the Rev. John Anderson, of which he has seen proofs.

The Editor regrets, however, that he has not space for further discussion of this subject.

## Reviews of Books

THE LETTERS OF MARTIN LUTHER, Selected and Translated by Margaret A. Currie. Pp. xxxv, 482. Med. 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd. 1908. 12s. nett.

ALMOST an hundred years have passed since Coleridge said that he could scarcely conceive a more delightful volume than could be made from Luther's letters if translated in the simple, idiomatic, hearty mother-tongue of the original; yet no one has attempted the task until now. Translations of the carelessly edited *Table Talk* abound, but only Zimmermann's collection of *Luther's Letters to Women*, admirably translated by Mrs. Malcolm, have appeared in English; and they are long out of print and hard to get. We must therefore welcome Miss Currie's book of selections and translations from the very voluminous correspondence of the great Reformer.

Perhaps such a book was needed more now than at any previous time; for our generation always seeks to pass behind opinions to the personality responsible for them, and there never was a more exuberant personality than Luther's. Of course the man was naturally sociable and anything but reticent. No great man, and Luther was one of the greatest, has ever revealed himself so frankly. His sermons, his commentaries, his tractates abound in little biographical details. Michelet's *Life of Luther* is a mosaic compiled from the reformer's own statements about himself, and more than one English edition, ignoring the name of the author, has been published under the title of *Luther's Autobiography*. But his *Table Talk* and his *Letters*, spoken and written without a thought of publication, reveal the man as nothing else does. Miss Currie has therefore made a distinct and notable contribution to our knowledge of the great German reformer, and deserves our gratitude for so doing.

Her book does not pretend to give us the whole of Luther's correspondence. It does not include a fourth part of the letters which have descended to us. Nor does it give us any of the letters addressed to him. Her principle of selection has been a sound one upon the whole. She has chosen for publication those letters which are referred to in the two most important lives of Luther—those of Köstlin and of Kolde—and has therefore selected those portions of the voluminous correspondence which are of most biographical value according to the ideas of these two eminent German experts. Such a principle of

selection has its limitations: it is apt to exclude everything which concerns the wider historical interest which surrounds such a man as Luther: and this is one of the chief faults of Miss Currie's selection. Two illustrations may be given. Among the benefits which Luther bestowed on his native land was the habit of writing books in the German language. It may almost be said that before Luther's time there was no such thing as a trade in German books printed in the mother-tongue; the eagerness to read what Luther wrote changed all that. We can assume somewhat surely that the first edition of any of Luther's books or tracts issued from the Wittenberg presses consisted of one thousand copies. If we had any means of knowing how long it took, as a rule, to exhaust this edition, we could have some idea of the extent of the circulation of his works. One or two of Luther's letters give us the information. As a rule the thousand copies were sold within two months. Miss Currie selects none of these letters. She gives us instead one addressed to the printers of Nürnberg which only tells us of the way in which Luther's writings were apt to be pirated, a thing too common to be of much interest.

Two very important letters which show the influence of Luther beyond Germany are not to be found in Miss Currie's selection. In one Luther tells that he has heard from Paris that his writings were known in that city as early as 1519. Another is his answer to Dr. Barnes, who had evidently been requested by Henry VIII. of England to solicit from Luther an approval of his suit for the nullity of his marriage with Catharine of Aragon. It is on this letter that the late Lord Acton founds his ridiculous assertion that Luther valued the royal prerogative so highly that he made it include bigamy. It is a pity that this letter, one of the many proofs that where the Reformation of the sixteenth century was concerned Lord Acton's reputation for accuracy and for fairness is scarcely deserved, should not have been made accessible to English readers.

These are but instances of omissions, and important omissions, due to the principle of selection employed.

On the other hand, we must thank the authoress for selecting many letters which most writers have neglected and which are nevertheless of great importance. To give one instance—the collection includes Luther's letter to his wife written while attending the Marburg Colloquy (No. 197). It contains the one fair description Luther ever gave of the Zwinglian doctrine of the Sacrament of the Supper, and has been generally overlooked by theological critics.

If we are to judge the book by the standards which the authoress evidently set before herself her work deserves great praise and small censure. Her text is that of De Wette; her letters are those selected for her by Köstlin and Kolde; her notes and explanations are taken from De Wette. These things premised she has done her work with praiseworthy carefulness, and the result is a book which will certainly enable English readers to know Luther better than before. But we humbly submit that anyone who aimed at presenting Luther, through

his correspondence, to English readers ought to have overstepped these limitations. Every scholar recognises that De Wette's text is not always to be depended upon and frequently requires to be amended. In letter No. 410 Miss Currie translates: 'To the wealthy lady of Zulsdorf, Frau Doctress Katharine. Luther, wandering in spirit in Zulsdorf!' The true text and translation is: 'To the rich lady of Zulsdorf, Frau Doctor Katharine Luther, dwelling in the body at Wittenberg, and wandering in the spirit to Zulsdorf; to be delivered into the hands of my darling; if absent to be opened and read by D. Pömerau, pastor.' The sentence is one of the many instances in which Luther 'chaffs' his wife at her delight that she, disinherited and repudiated by her kinsfolk, had been able to acquire by purchase part of the old family estate. Miss Currie, here and elsewhere, is rather blind to Luther's humour. Then De Wette's notes are by no means sufficient for English readers. It would have been easy to have described in four lines of small print the recipients of the letters, and such descriptions would have been of great value. Why did not Miss Currie tell her readers who Christorf Scheurl was? why letters had to be addressed to King Ferdinand about King Christian, etc., etc.? But after all the great defect in the book results from the patent fact that Miss Currie does not seem to know as thoroughly as an editor of Luther ought to, the history of the times in which the letters she translates were written. Witness the naïve assertion in the preface that: 'It is interesting to note that Luther's unalterable opinion of the Turk coincides with that of the Sultan's greatest foes in this twentieth century, etc.' Does the authoress not know that the fear of the Turk was the by no means baseless terror of the peoples of Europe in the sixteenth century, and that fifty years before Luther's letters were written the church bells were tolled in almost every parish to call together the people to pray against a Turkish invasion? Witness how Wolsey, Cardinal Archbishop of York, is concealed under the meaningless phrase 'Cardinal of Eborack'!

We trust that when a second edition of this book is called for, and may it be soon, the authoress will correct its many deficiencies and make it a presentation of Luther's correspondence to English readers worthy of the name. It ought not to be difficult to do this.

T. M. LINDSAY.

AN INDEX TO THE PAPERS RELATING TO SCOTLAND DESCRIBED OR CALENDARED IN THE HISTORICAL MSS. COMMISSION'S REPORTS. By Charles Sanford Terry, M.A., Burnett-Fletcher Professor of History in the University of Aberdeen. Pp. 62, Imp. 8vo. Glasgow: James MacLehose & Sons. 1908. 3s. nett.

STUDENTS of Scottish history owe a debt of gratitude to Professor Terry for having compiled this little volume, which cannot fail to be of use. It is the more creditable to him inasmuch as its preparation must have been a labour of love, the circle of persons to whom it will appeal

being necessarily a very limited one. He has gone over the fifteen reports which the Commissioners have issued, dealing with some 120 collections of Scottish MSS., together with the volumes which have been published independently of reports, though under the control of the Commissioners, to the number of upwards of fifty, and has given a succinct though of course a very condensed epitome of the contents of each so far as these relate to Scottish affairs. He also puts within brackets the names of Club and other books bearing on the subject noted. This is not the least useful feature in the volume, and, as might be expected from a writer of the author's learning, the range is a wide one, extending from the publications of the Camden and Spalding Clubs and the family histories of Sir William Fraser, down to the grotesque *Red and White Book of Menzies*. The volume may be described as the Calendar of a Calendar, but it is something more than this, and the subject-index at the end will facilitate reference to the actual contents of the book in a very convenient way. The author gives a list of some original records of Religious Houses which are deposited in the Advocates' Library, but which have not been examined by the Commissioners. Most of these have been published at one time or another, and Professor Terry notes in most cases (though his information is not altogether complete) the medium through which they have been given to the public. Some are still untouched and it is to be hoped that a book like the *Rentale S. Andreae* will be published before long by the Scottish History Society or similar body.

Some day too it may occur to a person of leisure with a taste for the drudgery of indexing, and with no ulterior object of gain, to prepare a detailed index, taken of course from the various indices to the volumes of the Commissioners, of the names of persons and places mentioned in the collection dealt with. But this would be ideal.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

A REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF INFANTRY. By E. M. Lloyd, Colonel late Royal Engineers. Pp. xi, 303. Med. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 6s. nett.

THIS is a most interesting and instructive work. It could not have been compiled without much research and earnest study. The author has succeeded within the limits of a reasonably sized volume in giving the reader an insight into the use of the foot soldier from the earliest times down to the present day. The work is necessarily technical in its character, but it is by no means dry, and is enlivened by historical touches and quotations from the sayings of great soldiers. And in so far as it is possible for an author to make himself intelligible to the ordinary reader when treating of a science which must be inexact, in as much as it has to do not with things only, but with the contests of beings with nerves and passions, both as individuals and as organised soldiers and as nations, he has succeeded well in giving instruction. It

has been well said that any military system which does not take account of national idiosyncrasies, and national historical tradition, cannot produce the most efficient national force. This book clearly illustrates how the great military nations of ancient times, by the genius of their great controlling warriors, adapted themselves to the circumstances in which they had to fight, and never kept themselves bound to any details of system which were no longer the best in a changed state of things. Napoleon the Great in his critical observations on war pointed out how the Romans always courageously abandoned any parts of their tactical system as soon as they discovered what was better, which they generally did by taking that proverbially excellent course of learning from the enemy. And no one followed this golden rule more than he did.

This book brings out, in its long tactical retrospect, how the work of the infantry and its formations changed as the power of weapons of offence were developed, and how it could not be otherwise. The infantry in early times could be of no use until the opposing forces were close together. The sling, the javelin and the bow were the only weapons effective at a distance, and that only over a couple of hundred yards at most. And when opposing forces were as close together as that, it could be only a question of a few minutes till they should meet hand to hand. Therefore the spear and the pike, the mace and the sword were the weapons that decided the conflict, both sides moving in dense masses, and endeavouring by hand to hand violence to break down resistance and drive the enemy to flight. Personal strength and brute courage were the most important qualifications in the foot soldier.

This mode of fighting continued until the introduction of firearms, but even these did not for a long period have any marked effect on the forms of fighting, or the decision of the combat by hand to hand engagement. The distances at which firearms were effective were so small and the comparatively feeble effects of fire from smooth bore muskets had so little deterrent effect on the advance that *l'arme blanche* was still the arbiter of the battle.

How different is it now, when even small-arm fire is effective at ranges formerly impossible even for artillery, and when the combat begins at distances measured by miles when formerly they were measured by hundreds of yards, and a battle may go on for many hours without the combatants seeing one another. The masses had to give way to lines, and the lines have had to give way to less close formations. The days when troops drew up in full view of one another as at Waterloo, or when, as at Fontenoy, the officers with the politeness of duellists could invite their adversaries to fire first, are gone.

This book brings out historically how, especially in the case of the infantry, there has always been a tendency to cling to stereotyped formations and movements, and how it is only when genius steps in that the obsolete and unsuitable are discarded, and dispositions and manoeuvres adapted to new conditions.

Colonel Lloyd's excellent book will be most valuable for the instruction of our officers who have to fight our battles. For while in the olden days the infantry officer was but an automaton to carry out orders by making the automatons under him obey, he must now be a tactician, having initiative in carrying out the general plans of his chief, and be able by his manifest knowledge to inspire his men with confidence, not only that he will lead them bravely, but skilfully. They must feel that they are learning from him how to work intelligently, and when isolated to be not like children bewildered because they have lost their nurse, but able to act in the spirit of well-imparted instruction. The study of this book will be helpful in a high degree to the infantry officer of to-day.

J. H. A. MACDONALD.

ENGLISH SOCIETY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY: Essays in English Medieval History. By Paul Vinogradoff, Corpus Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. Demy 8vo. Pp. 599 and xii. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1908.

THIS book has been eagerly awaited by students of medieval history for more than a decade. It contains the fulfilment of a promise made by Professor Vinogradoff so long ago as 1892 in the preface to his *Villeinage in England*. In that earlier treatise, which has profoundly affected both the direction and the results of recent research into the structure of society in the middle ages, he confined himself to the period posterior to the Norman Conquest, and more particularly to the thirteenth century, when the manorial system had attained maturity. He was, however, careful to explain that all this was 'intended to open the way, by a careful study of the feudal age, for another work on the origins of English peasant life in the Norman and pre-Norman periods.' It was to this long-promised sequel that the late Professor Maitland alluded in the preface to his own masterly *Domesday Book and Beyond*, declaring in January, 1897, with characteristic modesty, that 'when that sequel comes (and may it come soon) my provisional answer can be forgotten. One, who by a few strokes of his pen, has deprived the English nation of its land, its folk-land, owes us some reparation.' That sequel has now appeared, dedicated appropriately enough, 'To the memory of F. W. Maitland.'

Now that the book has come, the question must be faced, how far it justifies the high anticipations with which its appearance has been awaited. The best answer lies in a plain statement alike of what its author has achieved and of what he has neither achieved nor tried to achieve. It must be admitted, to begin with, that Dr. Vinogradoff has not provided the definitive history of England in the eleventh century which is so much required—nor has he treated in a connected and exhaustive manner of the comparatively limited field of social phenomena in England during that period.

Even when discussing isolated problems, he arrives at few solutions

which theorists of rival schools will accept without demur. The first-hand evidence so copiously adduced is not always conclusive, for unfortunately it is possible for those who have facility in construing the crabbed text of *Domesday Book* to wring more than one meaning from its most straightforward entries. Directly, at least, this volume sets at rest few or none of the vexed problems—or even of the most fundamental and elementary among them—which still divide the investigators of our social and institutional origins. For this there is abundance of excuse, if any excuse were needed. Some of these problems may remain for ever unsolved, while dogmatism on any one of them would be dangerous and presumptuous. Dr. Vinogradoff's new book does not provide the inquirer with a short cut to knowledge, but rather adds a new stage to his journey, for he merely increases the formidable array of authorities which 'no serious student of the period can afford to neglect.' To those who 'heedless of far gain' demand rapid and perhaps cheap returns for every expenditure of labour, the results here arrived at may seem inadequate, bringing with them something of disappointment.

The value of the treatise, however, must be sought in an entirely different direction. It is not intended to furnish ready-made decisions on problems not yet ripe for solution, but rather to place a powerful new tool in the hands of future generations of workers.

The nature of Dr. Vinogradoff's new contribution to medieval history may be explained in a few words. He has produced a reliable and elaborate glossary of the terms in common use in *Domesday Book*. This is the sum and substance of his achievement; and only to the ignorant will this appear a result disproportionate to the learned researches and incessant brooding that have gone to the making of this treatise during fifteen years. The unique value of *Domesday Book*, a value by no means restricted to English problems, is well known. Among its bald statistics lurk the scattered clues to the deepest mysteries of medieval history. In Dr. Vinogradoff's own words: 'A thorough study of the record in its endless and exceedingly valuable details may be said to be a task set not merely to English historians and antiquarians, but to the students of the social development of feudal Europe in general. . . . There is, of course, a "beyond" even as to *Domesday*, but the safest way towards an apprehension of this "beyond" lies through the great Survey itself.' Professor Maitland was of the same opinion. 'The Beyond is still,' he was speaking in 1897, 'very dark; but the way to it lies through the Norman record.' And again, 'If English history is to be understood, the law of *Domesday Book* must be mastered.' The difficulties of interpreting the Record, however, are equally conspicuous. More than one generation of indefatigable workers toiled in vain before the Sphinx of *Domesday Book* was forced to speak with anything like clearness. Even yet no two interpreters expound its utterances alike. Students of *Domesday Book*, at the present day, are like Greek scholars in the early years of the Renaissance: they have not only to construe their texts, but to compile their own

dictionaries. Their task, in some respects, is even harder, for the most fundamental terms of the Norman Survey are ambiguous, varying from county to county and from year to year, from the Danish north-east to the Anglo-Saxon south and west, from T.R.E. to T.R.W. Not merely so; they vary also in the same place and age, according to the context or the special point of view. If Dr. Vinogradoff has not constructed a complete Domesday dictionary, he has at least made substantial progress in that direction. He does not merely provide one meaning for each important word, but traces the varying shades of connotation through the complex process of development. In doing this he has avoided all attempts to dogmatise, carefully noting evidence which might seem to contradict as well as what supports his own conclusions. The most valuable feature of a valuable book, indeed, lies in the mass of carefully sifted evidence, in the full and elaborate 'documentation' of the whole, furnishing his future opponents with the means, perhaps, of refuting some of his own arguments.

The sequel to *Villeinage in England* thus turns out to be mainly a lexicon or glossary for Domesday students; but it has in a high degree all the merits of such a work—a certain cold impersonality, comprehensiveness, absence of bias, and abundance of illustrative citations. It is also something more than this, for the author, even when most impartial, retains his own definite standpoint which he has consistently elaborated in his previously published writings. Dr. Vinogradoff is a firm, though open-minded, opponent of all theories which insist unduly on the unbroken continuity of Romano-Celtic institutions, or which would find an origin for the bulk of the English peasantry in serfdom. On every page of his new work he adduces evidence which is consistent with his well-known interpretation of legal phenomena.

So much for the general substance of a work a detailed criticism of which would require a volume rather than a few pages to itself. The manner of the execution calls for cordial approval, subject to slight reservations. That Dr. Vinogradoff lacks the trenchant lucidity of Professor Maitland forms no valid ground of complaint against him, since the peculiar qualities of a Maitland could not be expected twice in one generation. Some passages, however, are darkened by obscurities that do not seem entirely due to the difficulties inherent in the subject. The results of the separate chapters, again, are left somewhat in isolation from each other, so that the reader who desires a living picture of society has to rest content with a series of mosaics. Dr. Vinogradoff's efforts to frame comprehensive definitions show traces of the difficulty he has experienced in making them fit into the bewildering mass of apparently inconsistent particulars that sprinkle the pages of *Domesday Book*. A few verbal errors and misprints have crept in. The serviceable index is not complete. For example, almost the last page of the volume speaks of the 'dales and stikkas of the intermixed arable,' and yet both of these rarely-used technical terms are omitted from the Index. The footnotes and appendices contain matter of great value arranged in a

form convenient for reference. The entire book is a storehouse of information, tightly packed with the carefully sifted results of patient and fully-equipped research, and is certain to be more warmly appreciated the more intimately it is known.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

GERMANY IN THE EARLY MIDDLE AGES, 476-1250. 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., Christ Church, Oxford. With two maps. Pp. ix, 254. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 6s. nett.

A COMPOSITE work of this kind makes the task of the reviewer so difficult that he may well shrink from it. The book before us is ascribed to the authorship of Bishop Stubbs and purports to be a series of lectures delivered at Oxford so long ago as 1868, but there are no indications that the manuscript has been reproduced in its integrity, and we are left in doubt how far the great master of history is responsible for the arrangement and proportion of the subject-matter. The book, we are vaguely told in a prefatory note, was originally composed in the form of lectures, and the only other information vouchsafed to us about the editor's work is expressed in such a way that it is permissible to infer that the lectures have been rewritten or at least rearranged so 'as to prove attractive to the general reader' and to form a manual for the student. Herein lies the difficulty. As the book is unprovided with specific references for the authentication of the leading facts and conclusions in the text, it is obvious that the reader should inquire whether it is on Bishop Stubbs or Mr. Hassall he is reposing his faith when he accepts the statements as authoritative. The list of authorities, mostly second-hand or of doubtful value, which follows the table of contents, does not inspire us with confidence.

There ought to be no uncertainty about the duty of the editor of a posthumous volume. The student should not be expected to determine whether a passage was the author's statement or the editor's gloss. If these lectures are reproduced as they were delivered forty years ago, it is odd that we have no explanatory notes by way of addition or revision in view of the vast strides that have been made in our knowledge of German history between then and now. Once only, so far as we have noticed, has there been any attempt at revision, viz., on p. 4, when Mr. Armstrong's *Charles V.* is recommended in a note instead of Robertson's in the text, but even here the initials of the editor have been omitted. On the other hand, it is quite impossible to say whether it is the opinion of Bishop Stubbs or that of Mr. Hassall that the story of the grand serjeanty of the four dukes (p. 130) to the bishop of the new see of Bamberg in Franconia is 'very apocryphal,' as we are informed in a brief note of nine words. It is probably editorial, as we have the story recited in the text as genuine history. In another place (p. 120) we read that Otto III. 'went to Aix-la-Chapelle and held a diet there, at which he opened the grave of the great Charles and took out the golden cup which was hung to his neck.'

Here is a statement that few editors would allow to pass without comment. As a matter of fact, the story is not universally accepted, and even if it be true, it was not a golden cup, but a golden cross, which was taken from the vault.

The want of proportion is even more serious than the neglect of detail. There are 133 pages devoted to the period before the death of Henry II. and less than 100 pages to the important period between 1024 and 1250. In consequence we look in vain for illumination at any great crisis or on any special incident. The battle of Bouvines, wrongly dated in 1211 among the 'important dates' (p. 231) to be remembered, is dismissed with the curt remark that it 'wrecked Otto' (p. 220), and we get no further knowledge of its political antecedents or consequences. The place of Canossa in German history is compressed into a dozen lines (p. 168), in which we are only told of the Emperor's humiliating visit in 1077 without a serious discussion of its effects on contemporary events. In fact the later portions of the book give evidence of haste, not to say scrappiness, as if the Regius Professor was in a hurry to cover the period in the time at his disposal. Sometimes, it is true, we get glimpses of the master's art when his brilliant powers reach their normal level. The account of the rise and growth of feudalism in Germany and France and the comparison with its adoption and development in England (pp. 54-64, 134-140) is equal to the author's best work. But making due allowance for the best passages in the book, one cannot truly say that these lectures should have been published in their present form. Great claims have been put forward to justify their issue, but the evidence of justification is not easy to discover.

JAMES WILSON.

THE CHRONICLE OF JOHN OF WORCESTER, 1118-1140, BEING THE CONTINUATION OF THE *Chronicon ex Chronicis* OF FLORENCE OF WORCESTER. Edited by J. R. H. Weaver. 4to. Clarendon Press. *Anecdota Oxoniensia*. 1908. Pp. 72.

OF high importance for the period of the Anarchy, the continuation by the monk, John of Worcester, fell no whit below the standard of historical accuracy and capacity reached by the monk, Florence of Worcester, to whom for his 'subtle science and industry of studious labour' John awarded the palm over all other chroniclers. Indeed, Florence's work, although a standard source for much Scottish as well as English history, was much more of a compilation from antecedent writers than that of John, who was concerned wholly with contemporary occurrences, and who, interspersing some passages of quotation, was in the main a writer at first hand registering the events of a disturbed day as it passed. Hence its great value not only for the later years of Henry I., but for the opening of the reign of Stephen. Hence also the need for this re-edition of a text which has suffered through misunderstandings and suppressions in its *editio princeps* of 1592, and in the later versions of 1601 and 1786, as well as in the principal modern edition by Mr. Benjamin Thorpe for the English Historical Society in 1848. The monk

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John was a warm though critical sympathiser with King Stephen: he met with authoritative informants: his chronology is close, and stands rigorous scrutiny; and his matter includes great doings, such, for example, as the Battle of the Standard in 1138, on which this *Chronicle* is a primary document. Owing to eclectic methods of editing coming down from the sixteenth century, the text hitherto printed has been corrupt, thus occasioning not a few chronological and other confusions from which even the wariest writers on the Anarchy like Mr. Round could with difficulty escape. Most welcome, therefore, is Mr. Weaver's scrupulous modern editing of the codex in Corpus Christi College Library, Oxford, acknowledged, although incomplete, to carry the highest authority. Legendary stories and visions omitted in the earlier renderings embrace things whose subjective truth, may, so far, atone for their failure of actuality. Amongst these is the tale of Henry I's dreams, of which excellent medieval drawings were inserted in the *Chronicle*, and are now reproduced in facsimile. Each shows the king asleep while, in the first, three rustics with scythe, fork, and one-sided spade; in the second, three chain-armoured knights with helmet, shield, drawn sword and spear; and, in the third, three mitred and crosiered ecclesiastics—frown, expostulate, and threaten. The sequel-picture to this of the outraged three estates of commons, lords, and clergy, displays a storm-tossed ship with the king on board, evidently in the act of vowing to suspend the Danegeld for a septennium. Another omitted passage registers the clergy and baronage's oath of fealty in 1128 to the Empress Maud as heiress of Henry. King David's adhesion to the oath is included: 'Jurat rex Scottorum David.' The chronicler remarks that but for his fear 'that the head of John might be condemned for lese-majesty' he would affirm that all who took the oath incurred afterwards the note of perjury. Perhaps David might plead exception from the chronicler's dictum. A strange story of martyrdom is told of a knight refusing to abnegate Christianity being delivered to be devoured by a great serpent which winds itself round the victim, but is powerless to slay him, as he was (the figure is mysterious) 'a tree turning to the south,' whereas a weaker and yielding brother, a 'lignum vergens ad aquilonem,' was torn to pieces by the snake. Really beautiful is a vision of the Madonna and a multitude of attendant virgins carrying lamps and honouring the grave of the abbot Benedict of Tewkesbury, dead in 1137. They took their places in the chapter-house where he lay, the Virgin 'more splendid than the sun' occupying the abbot's chair, and as the rule of the monastery ordained silence after compline, 'not any voice nor any sound of music was heard among them.' The tribute of reverence was paid at the grave, and then, 'as we believe,' Our Lady betook herself once more to her starry throne. Thus our chronicler seasons his facts with pious marvel. A tag of verse shows that Walter Map—or his school—on 'Sir Penny' had already a riming precedent—

'Sepe facit reges  
Nummus pervertere leges.'

Mr. Weaver's ably executed task in the editing was made at some points easier to him by the work of Professor Liebermann, who thirty years ago

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concluded that the Corpus Christi MS., if not the actual author's autograph, was a working copy revised by his own hand—an opinion which the studies for the present edition have confirmed. A closing word is due to the merits of the preface, almost as indispensable for the elucidation of the original work of Florence as for that of his continuator. Variant readings from the other versions and editions appear, along with occasional compact explanations, in footnotes. Marginal rubrics and a capital index equip the work with the final requisites of easy reference. Henceforward John of Worcester will hold a place of enhanced credit among the annalists of the twelfth century.

GEO. NEILSON.

UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE ENGLISH MARTYRS, Vol. I. 1584–1603, collected and edited by John Hungerford Pollen, S.J. Pp. xvi, 422. Demy 8vo. London. Privately printed for the Catholic Record Society. 1908.

THERE are persons and periods in history which get so strong a hold of the imagination that they are wont to be looked upon from any but the purely historical point of view. Such is the case in regard to the history of the English Catholics during the reigns of Elizabeth and the Stuarts. Their sufferings for the sake of the religion and their constancy in tribulation were exactly the material out of which to make devotional books, while the 'Jesuit in disguise' was a fascinating figure for novel writers. From Bishop Challoner, who wrote his *Memoirs of Missionary Priests* nearly 170 years ago, down to Foley, S.J., and Morris, S.J., there are but a few, if indeed any, Catholic authors, who, when writing the lives of their forefathers or publishing extracts from their literary remains, successfully resisted the temptation to write in the devotional style. It is only recently, within the last thirty years, that a change has taken place in favour of serious history. Father T. F. Knox broke the ice with his *Records of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws*; but his work was only the first step towards collecting the widely scattered sources of English Catholic history since the reformation. This task was resumed some years ago by the Catholic Record Society. The number of five large volumes, published within five years, speaks for the activity of the Society; the name of the scholar who has done the bulk of the editorial work is in itself a guarantee of the scientific value of the publications. Everyone who realises the amount of sober critical research evidenced in the series of articles which Father Pollen has published in *The Month* during the last ten or twelve years, will acknowledge him as the foremost living authority in Elizabethan Catholic history.

The task which Father Pollen undertook in the present edition was in itself by no means an attractive one, consisting, as it did, in bringing to light what his predecessors, the devotional editors, had been pleased to omit. But it is surprising to see how many a gold mine their unmethodical working has left untouched. Considering merely the value of the documents dealt with, the present publication will compare

favourably with any previous contribution to our knowledge of Elizabethan Catholic history, while it far surpasses all by its technical solidity. The texts have been handled in the most conscientious and painstaking manner,<sup>1</sup> while the comments everywhere display the editor's command of bibliography and his knowledge of the personal career of the martyrs. It is by these intrinsic merits that this publication stands high above the level of all preceding Elizabethan martyrologies. That little notice was taken of these by historical writers implied a severe, yet not unjust censure: in relying on them one did not feel on safe ground. Pollen's edition, however, indispensable as it is to the specialist, will have to be studied as well by every student of general English history in the Elizabethan period.

By far the greater part of the documents has been drawn from the Public Record Office and other English archives, some few have been transcribed from Roman and Spanish records. The papers differ widely in character, but all tell the same tale. There are letters from missionary priests and from overseers of gaols, examinations and confessions of laymen and priests, reports of proceedings and executions, warrants to torture, carols and epigrams and odes—the note changes with almost every page, from the coldness of an official report to the fire of the poet and to the last smile of the dying who beholds his 'crown' in a vision before him. But different as these papers are in origin, purpose, and character, they are all more or less cogent proofs of the same two facts. The one fact is that the English missionary priests came into the forbidden country for purposes of religious propaganda and for nothing else; they were neither spies of the Spaniards, nor did they egg on the Catholics to revolt. The other fact is that the conflict between their church and their country was irreconcilable even to those most wishful for reconciliation. Perfect loyalty to England, *i.e.* a loyalty which might have been relied on in all possible future contingencies, was practically incompatible with a perfect obedience to the Catholic Church. The martyrs were not actual, but possible, traitors; they died not for a treason which they had committed, but for a treason they avowedly would have committed in circumstances which—never took place, but had to be reckoned with. These circumstances were a successful invasion, undertaken in order to reduce England into subjection to the Church of Rome. Any one who has retained a belief in the jesuitical hypocrisy of Rome's emissaries and adherents will be struck by the frankness with which, not all, it is true, but far the greater number of them answered the *bloody question*: 'Which side would you take in the case of an invasion, the Queen's or the Pope's?' The struggle, however, was not between a Queen and a Pope, but between the Church Universal and the national state, between medieval and modern thought. The men who fought the great struggle had got either to crush or to be crushed. All terms like

<sup>1</sup>A slip of the pen or a misprint may be noted on p. 62, l. 18: *at Rome did conspire* ought to be *at Rheims*, etc. The alleged conspiracy was said to have been laid at Rheims. Cf. p. 55.

right or wrong, guilty or guiltless, whether taken in the moral or in the juridical sense, or even pronounced from a mere patriotic point of view, are inadequate summaries of a great subject. The play was a real tragedy, a conflict between the old and the new, and the leading actors were worthy of their parts: they knew that death was their lot, and they knew how to die. Their adversaries did not know half as well how to put them to death. The legal proceedings against the Catholics were constantly shifting between the forms of a criminal cause and of an inquisition of conscience. There can be little doubt that, before and after the period of religious fanaticism, the English judiciary stood on a higher level than the continental. Religious fanaticism, however, for a time made it sink even lower. Not to speak of the use of torture which was not at all reserved (as Lord Burleigh pleaded) for the purpose of wringing secrets from convicted traitors—the method of convicting by false evidence and fictitious conspiracies, the indifference to obvious inconsistencies in the indictment (Pollen, p. 51) make it sometimes very difficult to retain the belief in the *bona-fides* of a jury who almost never failed to condemn. The sole redeeming feature lies in the fact that this period of a justice warped by fanaticism was a comparatively short one in the history of English jurisdiction.

These few remarks must suffice to point out where the main importance of the publication lies. Considerations of space prevent me from entering into detail. I would only mention the two Jesuit poets, Southwell and Walpole, among the characteristic figures whose story is illuminated by documents of special interest. Sidelights, of course, are thrown on many prominent persons of that age, from Elizabeth, Burleigh, and Walsingham, down to the terrible Topcliffe and his assistants. The student of Elizabethan poetry (English, Welsh, and Latin) will be grateful for some contributions interesting in their way. Nobody will lay the volume aside without wishing that the author may be soon in a position to continue his valuable publication.

ARNOLD O. MEYER.

GENERAL HISTORY OF WESTERN NATIONS FROM 5000 B.C. TO 1900 A.D.  
By Emil Reich, Doctor Juris. I. Antiquity. In three volumes.  
Vol. I. pp. xxvi, 485; Vol. II. pp. x, 479, 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1908. 15s. nett.

THE author announces at the outset the object of his work. It is 'to lift the magic veil of the true causes of history.' He proposes to raise this branch of learning, for the first time, to the rank of a science. The main part of classical history has, so far, been inquired into by 'a method utterly inadequate and dilettantic.' He intends, he says, 'to do for History what Bichat has done for Anatomy; Bopp and Pott for Linguistics; or Savigny for Roman Law.' This is to be done by the new or psychological method, to the exposition of which, directly and incidentally, the greater part of the book is devoted; and

especially a prolix Introduction, which Dr. Reich describes as intended to be a grammar of history. The reader, however, will look in vain in this 'grammar' for any orderly system of general principles and particular rules for historical composition.

The Introduction is followed by dissertations, first on 'the great inland empires,' Chaldea, Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia, the Hittites and the Phrygians; and then on the Phoenicians and the Hebrews, which are called 'border states.' The remainder of Volume I. is assigned to the Greeks. Volume II. is appropriated to Rome, whose history, from the founding of the city down to the fall of the Western Empire in the fifth century A.D., including an account of the Roman Constitution, occupies some 300 pages. Essays on the Roman Principate, on Roman Law, and on Roman Literature are added. The second volume is the more useful of the two, because it more often confines itself to narrative. But the greater part of both is occupied by the advancement and verbose discussion of theories and generalisations, in which it is frequently hard to keep hold of the thread of the argument.

Dr. Reich is not content to set forth his own method and leave it to stand or fall on its merits. Throughout he assails the methods of others, and that less with argument than vituperation. He is an Ishmael among historians.

The method of his work, Dr. Reich tells us, is based on the fact that the chief contents of history are either institutions, events, or persons. Of events or persons, he says, it is impossible to get at a complete knowledge. But in institutions history repeats itself, and can therefore be studied *sur le vif*. Illustrations of these propositions will be found throughout the volumes. His treatment of institutions, however, is seldom satisfactory, and often peculiarly inadequate.

In literary, as in historic judgments, Dr. Reich is unique. The *Punica* of Silius Italicus, hitherto considered the worst epic ever written, he classes with the *Aeneid* among the most noteworthy of the works of great merit in epic poetry which the Romans have left us. He says that nothing can be more evident than the inferiority of French lyrical poetry, and nothing more patent than the cause. The cause is that young girls, 'the main source of lyrical inspiration,' are kept in France in strict seclusion from young men. And yet, he declares (illustrating the incompetence of French, as of German, historians), no French writer has ever been aware of the manifest correlation of these facts. The countrymen of Alfred de Musset, Theophile Gautier, and Victor Hugo would probably disable Dr. Reich's judgment. But he points out on another page that in Rome also young girls of decent family were held in absolute seclusion from society, while he pronounces the lyrics of Catullus to be superior to those of Heine. Here the 'correlation' would seem to fail. But another category is introduced. Catullus, like Thucydides *teste* Dr. Reich, is a 'foreigner.' If we suggest that Catullus' 'source of inspiration' was actually a married lady of mature age, we shall no doubt be met with another category.

The reader will be impressed with the display of Dr. Reich's linguistic

accomplishment, his energy, his industry, and the wide field of his erudition. He will find much that is interesting, much that is suggestive, and some things of a certain value. But he will also find much of that kind of self-confidence which is the concomitant of superficiality, and his chief feeling after he has read the book will be distrust.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

THE EXILED BOURBONS IN SCOTLAND. By A. Francis Stuart, Advocate. Pp. 136. Crown 8vo. Edinburgh: William Brown. 1908. 5s. nett.

IT will be readily believed that the task of collecting the 'little data' which make up this short monograph has been a difficult one, but the collector's searches have evidently been a labour of love carrying its own reward, and the outcome is a dainty volume which will be read with pleasure. The Comte d'Artois is the chief character towards which everything gravitates; yet somehow he fails to arouse our interest when he arrives for the first time at Leith in 1796, anxious above all things to escape from his creditors within the sanctuary of Holyrood. It was his misfortune, and partly his fault also, to be always unpopular, as the wild d'Artois before the Revolution, as an unheroic and narrow-minded mischief-maker in the days of exile, and as the embodiment of reaction during his short reign. Mr. Stuart skilfully, and rightly too, glides over those weak points. It is only when Charles X. returns to the now grudged hospitality of Holyrood that we begin to feel pity for the old king, broken down by misfortune and years. We are more interested in his miniature court, in his visitors from abroad, in his relations with the nobility of Scotland and Edinburgh Society. The friends of the fallen Stewarts made the most of the fallen Bourbons and their adherents, and Jacobitism was still a living faith in Scotland; indeed, in perusing these pages one feels a passing doubt whether that faith is quite dead yet. The monograph was not written to add much to our knowledge of French history; but as the closing chapter of the history of Holyrood, the abode of ill-fated royalties, it should be read and enjoyed by many.

The illustrations consist of seven portraits, two of which reproduced from originals in Dalkeith Palace call for special mention. The first is the Duchesse d'Angoulême, whom Napoléon called 'the only man in the family'; the other represents, as a boy of ten, the Comte de Chambord, whom his friends called Henry V., the last, and not the least, of the Bourbons of France, who upheld unswervingly till his death the divine right and the white flag of his ancestors.

As the edition is limited, another may be, and indeed should be, needed; if so, some misprints in the French quotations will have to be amended. We may add also that 'Jules' Blanc should be Louis Blanc; and that it was at Nantes, and not at Rennes that the Duchesse de Berry was arrested. Thackeray is not a safe guide in historical points.

F. J. AMOURS.

ALCUIN CLUB COLLECTIONS. XII. PONTIFICAL SERVICES. Vol IV.  
 Illustrated from Woodcuts of the Sixteenth Century. With Descriptive Notes by Athelston Riley, M.A. Pp. viii, 150. Royal 8vo.  
 London : Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 21s.

THE woodcuts form the second and third (concluding) parts of a series, of which the first part was edited in 1907, with notes by Mr. F. C. Eeles. They are taken from two Roman pontificals, printed at Venice in 1520 and 1572 respectively, and meant to show how the rubrics were to be carried out. As pictures they are rough, and at first sight one would think it hazardous to build much on their testimony, in regard at least to the object the Club has in publishing them—to determine the precise meaning of that rubric in the *Book of Common Prayer*, ‘the ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.’ These, moreover, are characteristically Venetian, and the editor admits that as they do not show the contemporary usage of the Roman Court, so neither could they be ‘mistaken for representations of ceremonies or churches in England, France, or Spain.’ But apart from the justification which, by this very circumstance, they afford to that statement of the Thirty-Nine Articles, ‘it is not necessary that traditions and ceremonies be in all places one, or utterly alike,’ they bear valuable witness to the fact that so late as 1572, the ornaments of church and altar were, even in Italy and when a bishop was officiant, much plainer than they afterwards became. Here there is nothing tawdry—no multiplicity of lights, no gradines, no tabernacle behind the altar, no flowers at all, either natural or artificial. The dress of the clergy differs considerably in shape from that now in use in the Roman Church; and where the surplice is shown it is full and long, and much liker the old-fashioned Anglican pattern than the modern Roman cotta. It may be added that the Italian pictures illustrated by the Arundel Society yield similar testimony.

The fifty-two years between the two sets of woodcuts were years, one sees, of an architectural revolution—the churches of the earlier series may still be called Gothic; those of the latter are frankly Renaissance. But the change of architecture is not matched by any serious alteration in altar ornament or priestly dress. The altars of 1572 show sometimes a more richly embroidered frontal, but nothing new is set upon them, and the increased height of the mitre is almost the only indication of a later fashion discoverable in the shape of the vestments.

To a Scottish antiquary it is disappointing to find no illustration of the rubric in Bishop de Bernham (of St. Andrews’) pontifical requiring the lord of the manor to lay upon the altar, by the token of his staff or knife, the *dos* (endowment) of the new church—‘without which,’ says the canny Scot, ‘a church cannot be consecrated.’ A folding lectern, like one preserved in the Cathedral treasury at Rouen, is figured on page 107. In the earlier cut of the Blessing of a Sword, the altar has no rearedos, and does not stand against a wall: the clergy are on one side of it and the soldier, whose sword is being blessed, on the other (p. 71).

JAMES COOPER.

FREDERIC WILLIAM MAITLAND. Two Lectures and a Bibliography.  
By A. L. Smith, Balliol College, Oxford. Pp. 71. 8vo. Oxford:  
Clarendon Press, 1908. 2s. 6d. nett.

THESE two lectures were delivered in order to bespeak public interest in a plan for the establishment in Oxford of a Maitland Memorial Library for students, and the bibliography is a first offering towards it. 'Does History advance?' is Mr. Smith's initial question, and his answer is a triumphant survey of Professor Maitland's work as evincing remarkable advances in the methods both of research and exposition. Mr. Smith has brilliances of his own and his enthusiasm of appreciation, well justified by the facts, and crisply supported by a multitude of clever quotations from the lost master, seems to find its centre as much in the extraordinary vivacity, colour and expressiveness of Maitland's writing as in his wonderful successes in research and his high achievement as scholar, lawyer and historian. The lectures are admirable interpretations of the charm of Maitland's style, its unfailing lightness of touch and grace of humour and its deeper power by a quaint phrase of parallel to make an abstraction suddenly concrete. A general audience being obviously in view, the lecturer has sought rather to sketch popularly the literary, legal and historical quality of the man of genius than to trace technically the evolution of his thought in the succession of his discoveries or to distinguish comparatively the central and final elements of greatness in his work. It was excellent to explain Maitland's truly marvellous attraction and suggestiveness. Part of it came from his wideness of eye and heart, and from his generous interest in the tasks of others, whether critics, disciples or friends. There is before me as I write a glowing letter of his, written in 1899, about an article on 'Knight Service in Scotland' (*Juridical Review*, Jan. 1899, vol. xi.), in which on page 74 there is printed a clause of the Innes charter of 1160 by Malcolm IV. to Berowald the Fleming—very special by reason of its almost unique example of castle-ward and its tenurial implications. Maitland wrote—

'But what a lovely thing is that charter for Berowald the Fleming! I hardly can contain my joy. It falls so patly into my scheme of things. I suppose I ought to have known of it before, but did not. If I had another life I would spend much of it among your Scotch documents, and this for the sake of England.'

It was this eager spirit among the documents which carried him to his heights and gave him his power. It is worth while noting one omission from the bibliography—a textual article, 'Glanvill Revised,' in the *Harvard Law Review* for April 15, 1892.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF INDIA FROM 600 B.C. TO THE MUHAMMADAN CONQUEST, INCLUDING THE INVASION OF ALEXANDER THE GREAT. By Vincent A. Smith, M.A., M.R.A.S. Second edition, revised and enlarged. Pp. xii, 461. Dy. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. 14s. nett.

THE former edition of this valuable work, which appeared in the year 1904, was remarkable as being the first attempt to deal with the history of India before the Muhammadan conquest as a connected whole, for which the skeleton alone previously existed in Miss Duff's *Chronology of India*. Indeed, up to that date the materials for such a history were not available. The appearance of a new edition in so short a time shows that the first supplied a serious defect in Indian bibliography.

While the text of the present edition is in the main identical with that of the earlier, which, except in regard to trifling details, it has not been deemed advisable to alter, it contains also a large quantity of supplementary matter, amounting to some seventy additional pages. The chapters dealing with Alexander the Great, the Maurya, and the Greek, Parthian and Scythian dynasties remain practically unchanged, except for an appendix to Chapter X. on 'the so-called Chinese Hostages of Kanishka.' The sections dealing with the Gupta Empire and the reign of Harsha are also as in the earlier edition, whilst on the other hand chapter XIV. on 'the Mediaeval Kingdoms of the North' has been largely rewritten and expanded from twenty to fifty pages. Much of the additional matter is of the first importance, especially the incident recorded on p. 333 which determined the subsequent ecclesiastical history of Tibet, the sketch of the history of Nepāl and that of Assam, and the account of the kingdom of Kanauj, and the section on the Rājput clans.

Throughout Mr. Smith does not aim at giving a picture of Vedic society so much as a sketch of the political and dynastic history of India. Three outstanding facts which characterise that history are,—first, the extent to which India has been ruled by a foreign dominant race; secondly, that the alien master has made no permanent impression on the country. The third point to be noted is what Mr. Smith calls the assimilative power of Hinduism, that is, its power to transform or absorb any other faith which comes within its reach.

T. H. WEIR.

THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND. A Course of Lectures delivered by F. W. Maitland, LL.D., late Downing Professor of the Laws of England in the University of Cambridge. Pp. xxviii, 548. Demy 8vo. London: Cambridge University Press, 1908. 12s. 6d.

WHETHER it is ever wise to publish posthumously discarded papers which a writer of established fame forbore to publish in his lifetime is a problem of much delicacy. Where an author has deliberately decided against publication, the only course left open, under ordinary circumstances, would seem to be to give loyal effect to his decision. It is fairer, as it is more chivalrous, to judge a historian or a man of letters by the finished products

of his riper years. In spite of all such admirable reasons, numerous disciples of the late Professor Maitland, who known or unknown to him revered him as their master, will be grateful to his literary executors for having acted, in his case, on an opposite opinion. Historians in two hemispheres confidently looked forward to many brilliant contributions from the comparatively young Cambridge Professor who, when he died two years ago, held the first place among English medieval scholars. If the present text-book forms a poor substitute for the objects of these great expectations, it will yet prove of value to students of our national institutions for several distinct reasons, while there is assuredly nothing in its pages that can possibly lessen the esteem in which its author is universally held. It possesses, in the first place, a biographical interest—for it marks a stage in the development of a great historian. These rough notes—for they are little more—hurriedly compiled to form the basis of two terms' lectures to be delivered in 1887 and 1888, and thereafter thrown aside as of no permanent value, contain a record of Maitland's early impressions before he entered on his sustained researches; and it is instructive to compare these impressions with his more mature conclusions on such questions as the origin of trial by jury or the general purport and effects of Magna Carta. The book possesses a double interest for those who have lectured over the same ground, because of the indications it affords of what portions of a vast field Maitland considered it essential to place before students at the entrance to their legal curriculum, and what portions might safely be omitted. The preface informs us, however, that he had only six months to prepare these lectures. Less cramped for time, he might possibly have altered radically his entire scheme of instruction, together with the proportions of the various parts. It would be easy, indeed, to compile a formidable list of important topics omitted or inadequately treated, information upon which might yet be reasonably expected from the ordinary student of constitutional law and history.

A third merit of the book, however—and one which for some readers will more than compensate for all such omissions—is that it contains detailed information upon several topics entirely neglected by the ordinary text-books. Even the most threadbare themes again are here treated with freshness and vigour, and from an angle of observation peculiarly the author's own. Finally, although the volume (in marked contrast with Maitland's later works), shows little evidence of research among the primary authorities, and contains few strikingly original interpretations of constitutional phenomena, there is at least one subject on which an opinion is expressed at variance with those generally held. Maitland vigorously combats the received view that in Great Britain in the strict letter of legal theory—the effect of constitutional conventions is not in dispute—'the executive power is vested in the King alone, and consists of the royal prerogative.' His contention is that thousands of Acts of Parliament have little by little nibbled away fragments of the kingly attributes, have conferred new powers of a purely statutory nature upon the heads of administrative departments, and on local councils and committees, to be exercised in absolute independence of even the shadow of royal authority,

and have regulated the uses to which may still be put such shreds of their once ample prerogatives as are still left to the kings of England. This is not the place to criticise this theory in detail; but the suggestion may be hazarded that the monarch's right, still unimpaired in the strict letter of the law, to appoint Ministers in whom Parliament has vested certain powers, leaves the control of these powers still theoretically under the prerogative; and that Maitland has thus taken pains to elaborate a subtle distinction which has as little direct bearing on legal theory as it has, admittedly, on practical politics.

When the considerable merits of these lectures have thus been summed up, it must still be admitted that the book is not a great one. A great book, indeed, could hardly have been expected from the hasty labours of a young lecturer at the threshold of his career. It is incomplete, marred by notable omissions, sometimes crude in expression, and even incorrect at times. On p. 364, for instance, it seems to be implied that canvassers at parliamentary elections are disqualified from voting! The Analysis or Table of Contents does not always correspond accurately to the body of the book. Promises held out in the one are not always fulfilled in the other, while new themes seem to have been added after the Analysis had been completed. There is, however, an admirable Index. The book has been arranged on the analytical—not the chronological—method, and it has all the inherent defects of that method, as well as its merits; it lacks unity, necessitates repetition, and confronts the reader with an assortment of dissected limbs in place of a living organism. Further, it is not so much the history of continuous constitutional development suggested by its title, as a series of five isolated and incomplete studies of English constitutional law at five arbitrarily selected stages of its growth. It is unnecessary, however, to dwell on these defects, which are not only obvious, but were almost inevitable from the circumstances under which the lectures were composed.

No one was better fitted than Maitland, the mature Maitland of the early years of the twentieth century, to write a masterly, lucid, and trenchant Institutional History of England, finely proportioned and artistically compiled. These hasty lecture notes do not form such a history. They are too incomplete even to supersede existing text-books, such as those of Taswell-Langmead or Prof. Medley; to which, however, they form a valuable supplement. The student will here get clearer and better guidance on certain portions of his subject than in any of the existing authorities, whether class-books or standard treatises. In conclusion, it should be said that Mr. Fisher has performed his editorial work admirably and unobtrusively. A few additional notes on recent legal decisions and institutional developments might indeed have been profitably added for the convenience or warning of students; but the editor's desire not to obtrude his own opinions will be readily understood and appreciated.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

FRANCE ET ALLEMAGNE. By Edgar Quinet, edited by C. Cestre, Maître de Conférences à l'Université de Lyon. Pp. lxxv, 228. Fcap. 8vo. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1908. 3s. 6d. nett.

THIS volume is one of a series intended 'to make the best French literature accessible to the higher forms of public schools, to University students, and to the general reader.' It will hardly appeal to the schoolboy, even in the highest forms, unless his attention is directed solely to the purple patches of an original style for which Quinet was famous; the general reader will find it hard to master; but it will repay the time spent on it by the historical student of the ever-actual problem concisely summed up on the title-page.

The editor, who believes in his author, as every editor ought to do, has done his work with thoroughness. In an essay of seventy pages he gives an exhaustive presentment of the life and ideas of a remarkable writer, who after being unduly belauded in his generation, has been unduly neglected in ours. Copious notes, which will prove very useful, elucidate points, clear enough when the pamphlets and articles appeared, but dimmed now by the passing of years. A very striking portrait of the author adds to the interest of the book.

F. J. AMOURS.

THE LAST ABBOT OF GLASTONBURY, AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D., Abbot President of the English Benedictines. Pp. viii, 330. Crown 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1908. 6s. nett.

STUDENTS of English medieval life in its ecclesiastical aspect will thank Dr. Gasquet for publishing under one cover the miscellaneous essays which this book contains. Though some of them are well known, they are hidden away in the pages of a magazine or out of print. In the first paper, 'The Last Abbot of Glastonbury,' reprinted here from the edition of 1895 and covering more than one-third of the volume, a sketch is given of the suppression of the great Benedictine Abbeys of Glastonbury, Colchester, and Reading, with the execution of the abbots in the reign of Henry VIII. This is a subject on which the author of *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, noticed in this *Review* (*S.H.R.* iv. 102-103), is an eminent authority. Of the other papers, 'St. Gregory the Great and England,' 'English Scholarship in the Thirteenth Century,' and 'English Biblical Criticism in the Thirteenth Century' appeared in the *Dublin Review* at various times in recent years. Dr. Gasquet does not claim much importance for the other essays, but he was well advised in including among them his reflections on family life, democracy, and the lay parishioner in pre-Reformation times. These papers are most attractively written, and deal with subjects not very generally discussed in the right spirit.

As Dr. Gasquet has been appointed, if report be true, on the papal commission recently entrusted by Pius X. with the preparation of a critical edition of the Vulgate, his paper on 'English Biblical Criticism' may be

regarded as of considerable interest at the present time. Biblical scholars of all shades of thought will look forward with confidence to the result. From the contents of this paper they may be sure that the work of English textual students of the Vulgate will be fully appraised by the learned Abbot who may be said to represent this country. In the history of the Vulgate text it is perhaps true that the critical work which characterised the Scriptural studies of the thirteenth century in England has not been fully recognised. It is to be feared that modern scholars do not set much value upon it. Roger Bacon may have anticipated in some measure our modern methods, but he was a voice crying in the wilderness, imploring help in vain from the court of Rome or pouring contempt on the degenerate texts produced in his time. When it is remembered that the text now officially recommended by the Roman Church embodies the results of medieval work, a fresh redaction has not been undertaken a moment too soon.

JAMES WILSON.

THE SHAKESPEARE APOCRYPHA. Being a collection of fourteen plays which have been ascribed to Shakespeare. Edited, with introduction, notes and bibliography, by C. F. Tucker Brooke, B.Litt. Pp. lvi, 456. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908. 5s. nett.

SUCH a collection as this forms a much-needed companion volume to Shakespeare and book of reference for the critic of the Elizabethan stage. Among the fourteen plays edited are *Arden of Feversham*, *Mucedorus*, *Merry Devil of Edmonton* and *Sir Thomas More*. There is thus made accessible almost a full set of the pieces on the frontier line or debateable land of Shakespeare. Mr. Brooke handles his introduction vigorously, expressing his opinions with a refreshing freedom of epithet. He has pronounced views on certain German literary judgments and on the prevailing poverty of German style: he speaks with pity of 'such vanities as parallel passages and identical archaisms': and he never mentions the name of Mr. Sidney Lee. There is robust good sense in his verdicts, though they are sometimes rather masterful and almost amount to this, that Heminge and Condell knew and edited all that Shakespeare ever wrote. Only in the very interesting case of that beautiful and too little known play *Sir Thomas More* does the editorial leading incline heavily for Shakespeare. The discussion of the singular evidence of MS. (supposed by, amongst others, a scholar of such eminence as Spedding to be in part Shakespeare's autograph) deepens the attraction of a powerful theme, dramatically and genially presented, and seen as it were in course of composition through the medium of the manuscript alterations in draft. Mr. Brooke's texts throughout are closely and laboriously annotated with the variants of the early editions, and his adherence to the older spelling is a further guarantee of soundness of method. His sketches of the plays as well as the dependent discussions of authorship and characteristics are workmanlike performances indicative of individual standpoints of literary appreciation. The notes though few and meagre

are good and the bibliography is practical and excellent. The *Apocrypha* contains so much material which no Shakespearean can do without that the best criticism may well be that which offers the warmest welcome. To Professor Raleigh is due the original inspiration for this most useful book.

THE OLD ENGLISH BIBLE AND OTHER ESSAYS. By Francis Aidan Gasquet, D.D. New edition. Pp. ix, 347. Crown 8vo. London : George Bell & Sons. 1908. 6s. nett.

THE title of this volume is derived from the principal paper contained in it, 'The Pre-Reformation English Bible,' which appeared first in the *Dublin Review* of July, 1894. The startling position taken by the author was that the so-called Wyclifite Bible was not translated by Wyclif and his friends, but was a Catholic production. Such a bold paradox brought forth protests from writers recognized as authorities on the life and work of the early reformer, and when the article was reproduced, along with other essays, in the first edition in 1898, another paper was added to the first, as an answer to the criticisms. The main points taken up by Dom Gasquet may be readily admitted : first, that the medieval Church never objected to the translation of the Scriptures into the mother tongue ; that Wyclif's translation, as it stands, does not contain a single word savouring of heresy, being in fact a close and truthful version of the Vulgate ; lastly, that the Church allowed the version to be read, as numerous copies still in existence belonged once to kings, princes, monasteries and nunneries.

There is however one part of the argument that needs some strengthening. If the translation is not due to Wyclif and his followers, by whom and when was it undertaken and carried out ? The evidence as it stands is too vague in the meantime. It is tantalizing to be told in the first page of the reprint that the author entertained the design of adding a third essay on the Pre-Reformation English Bible, but that other occupations have prevented his making use of the material which has been growing under his hands. Let us hope this material will not long remain unused, as the problem is of sufficient importance, historically, to deserve exhaustive treatment. There are difficulties and obscurities on both sides of the solution.

The other essays deal also with the work of the Church in medieval England, monastic libraries and scriptoria, schools and scholars, and they are all full of fresh information gathered at first hand mostly from manuscript sources. Some of the methods of the O.S.B. have changed ; the old folios have been succeeded by crown octavos ; but so long as the name remains a synonym for labour and learning, readers will not complain of the 'old order yielding place to new.'

The Romanes Lecture for 1907, on *Frontiers*, by Lord Curzon (pp. 58, Clarendon Press, 1907, 2s. nett), is a survey full of suggestion of the part which frontiers play in the lives of nations. Perhaps the facts are strained a little when it is said that the majority of the

important wars of the last century were frontier wars. This is hardly a proper interpretation of wars of conquest, in which not the frontier but the territory within it is the object. But the enormous consequence of the frontier itself is admirably shewn by the historical sketch of the origins of frontiers, natural and artificial, their varieties, the systems of maintenance, the effect of improved modes of motion, and the changes in theory resulting from the altering conditions which make or unmake a scientific border line. Spartianus is cited for the palisades—like sleeper-fences *in excelsis*—introduced by Hadrian; and the *limes* between Rhine and Danube is placed in the evolution of the border rampart, as are our Roman Walls in Britain. All are regarded as designed for protection against the menacing barbarian, although it is hinted that they were rather more a line of trespass than a frontier—a view which remains doctrinaire despite the countenance it once received more ungrudgingly than it now does. The medieval Marks or Marches are very shortly noticed and our border Wardens, though not our *Leges Marchiarum*, are referred to with some haziness of geography but with an appreciation of the spirit which ‘interwove a woof of chivalry and high romance with a warp of merciless rapine and savage deeds.’ This of course is a very inadequate summary of a remarkable organisation which began as a military expedient and never lost that inherent character. No aspect of Lord Curzon’s outline treatise more arrests attention than the discussion of the reciprocal influence of fortifications on frontiers and of frontiers on fortifications. There is magnetism in the eloquence of his perorative sentences with their picture of the march of empire as it sweeps wide curving over space and carries the Frontier further and further along. And there is more than eloquence in the appeal for the maintenance of the great qualities of knowledge and strength and sympathy and justice needed to guard so vast a boundary line as ours. ‘The Frontiers of Empire,’ he reminds us in a fine phrase, ‘continue to beckon.’ We hope Lord Curzon may one day realize his hope and fill out this treatise with full historical and geographical circumstance and colour in a volume.

*The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, by George Cavendish, has been edited in Macmillan’s series of English Literature for Secondary Schools, by Miss Mary Tout, M.A. (pp. xv, 114, Macmillan, 1908, 1s.), with introduction, notes and glossary. The prefatorial sketch supplies the necessary notice of Cavendish (1500-1561), who was gentleman usher to the cardinal during the last three or four years of his life, from 1527 until 1530. The *Life* is marked by simplicity, eloquence and emotion. It has been described as the first separate biography in English, and possesses equal importance for its historical and its literary merits. The editor seems unaware of the Kelmscott edition of 1893, which contains what is believed to be the autograph and only authentic text. A comparison of the famous passage describing Wolsey’s death discloses deficiencies in the text Miss Tout has followed.

*The Gold Coinage of Asia before Alexander the Great.* Under this title Professor Percy Gardner, in the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, vol. iii., has brought to focus the results of the most recent researches into the interesting questions connected with the early gold coinages of Asia,—Lydian, Greek, and Persian. His paper, which has been separately reprinted (pp. 32, with two collotype plates. Henry Froude. 2s. 6d. nett), contains some important new suggestions of his own, notably a proposed identification of the money of the great Ionic Revolt. It will be specially valuable to historians who have no expert knowledge of numismatics, for it sets out the main facts in a singularly lucid and intelligible fashion.

The Clarendon Press issues a school edition of Scott's *Legend of Montrose*, pp. xi, 232, having prefixed a clan map illustrative of Montrose's campaigns of 1644-45. A preface and notes by Mr. G. S. Gordon, fellow of Magdalen, set in historical frame Scott's pictures of the subordinate figures Montrose and Argyle and of the dominant personage Captain Dalgetty, though it requires more than an effort to accept—albeit *brevitatis causâ*—the sacrifice of Sir Walter's own explanations.

A book on *The Law of Patents, Designs, and Trade Marks*, containing an exhaustive exposition of that important subject, not only in Great Britain and its dependencies, but also in regard to foreign countries, has been issued by Messrs. Cruikshank & Fairweather, Glasgow.

*Stoneywood Churchyard Epitaphs* (pp. 8, Aberdeen, Thomson & Duncan), by Mr. R. Murdoch-Lawrance, contains a complete transcript of the tombstone inscriptions now in the churchyard of the old Chapel of Stoneywood in Newhills Parish, Aberdeenshire.

In the *English Historical Review* (July) Sir H. Howorth begins a close examination of the historical allusions to the Germans in early Latin writings, especially in the pages of Caesar, with whom the word German had no ethnological sense, but was a geographical expression for those who dwelt beyond the Rhine. The taxation of Pope Nicholas IV., the alleged interference with freedom of electors in Elizabeth's parliament of 1559, and the progress of inclosure in the seventeenth century, are other subjects dealt with. Very important is the textual paper of Professor Haskins on the Norman *Consuetudines et Justicie* of William the Conqueror, as appearing in a document of the year 1091. Its interest may be judged from the citation of part of the article on fortifications:

‘Nulli licuit in Normannia fossatum facere in planam terram nisi tale quod de fundo potuisset terram jactare superius sine scabello et ibi non licuit facere palicium nisi in una regula et illud sine propugnaculis et alatoriis.’

Mr. L. W. V. Harcourt explains the *Baga de Secretis* by reference to many varieties of official bags by the court of King's Bench, finding their prototype in the coroner's bag shown to be a solemnity as early as 30 Edward I.

*The Antiquary* for September has a suggestive survey of prehistoric Norfolk, grouping and tentatively arranging the archaeological remains of that shire. Many odd notices are unearthed in a serial article on London Signs.

Students of the 'French of Stratford' have a very singular passage set before them by Mr. A. T. Baker in the *Modern Language Review* for July. It is from an Anglo-Norman MS. poem on Edward the Confessor. Regarding his diction the writer says:

Qu'en Latin est nominatif  
 Ço frai romanz acusatif.  
 Ün faus franceis sai d'Angletere  
 Ke nele alai ailurs quere  
 Mais vus ki ailurs apris l'avez  
 La u mester iert, l'amendez.

Mr. Baker assigns the manuscript to the last third of the thirteenth century.

*Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* (June) reprints an oddity—the bill of James Medhurst, of Weymouth, regarding his Museum of Antiquities, illustrating the Celtic, Roman, and Saxon Eras in Britain. It also describes and figures a medal, presented by the Duke of Cumberland to Ralph Allen, of Bath, in recognition of his loyal service during the Jacobite rising. Allen raised a company of troops at his own charges when Prince Charlie was marching south.

*The Reliquary* for July has illustrations of the church of Neufchâtel-en-Bray, Normandy, of several pre-Norman cross fragments from Kildwick-in-Craven, Yorkshire, of representative pages from the *Heures a l'usage de Amiens* printed about 1500, of certain Dene-holes of Kent and Essex, and of sundry relics—an alms box, a group of stone stoups, several font covers, and early chairs. The mystery of the dene-holes is not yet solved either as regards their date or purpose. Mr. A. J. Philip's article leans to the very unhopeful theory that these 'extraordinary shafts and caves in the chalk were underground granaries.

*Orkney and Shetland Old Lore* for July prints abstracts of a number of Orkney and Shetland sasines, edited by the Rev. Henry Paton. Miss Jessie Saxby collects some Shetland phrases. Mr. A. W. Johnston assembles the evidences, chiefly negative, regarding the Romans in Orkney and Shetland. From the late George Petrie's notebook there is taken an account, written about 1836, of the New-Year Song sung in the island of Sanday with the music and text.

*The Genealogist* (July) starts its twenty-fifth volume with its accustomed fulness of record in pedigrees and armorials. On a list of licenses to pass from England beyond sea appears the following of date 13th May, 1624: 'YOUNG, Andrew, 33; resident at Sterli . . . in Scotland to Middleb . . . about certen his . . .' The *lacunae* are not hard to supply: 'Sterling,' 'Middleburg,' 'affaires.' Middleburg in the Netherlands was for centuries a great centre of Scots trade.

*The Rutland Magazine* for July, among its pictures of monuments at Exton, includes the recumbent effigy of Anne, wife of Thomas, Lord Bruce of Kinloss. She died in 1627.

In the *Revue Historique* (July-August) a stirring and spirited paper by E. Rodocanachi displays the rôle of the Castle of St. Angelo in the history of Rome and the Papacy from the thirteenth century down to 1420. At the close of the twelfth century the inaugural oath bound the Capitoline senators to defend the Holy See's possessions, 'especially the Castle of Crescentius.' Nicholas III. transformed both the castle and the Vatican, and restored the chapel of St. Michael on the summit of the castle. Completely dominating the Vatican, the castle was vital to the security of the popes, and loyalty in the castellan was the object of ceaseless anxiety. Equally it was the objective of every ambition, whether imperial, municipal, or domestic, which was hostile to the pope. Hence the variety of its fortunes, with episodes like the death of bishop Theobald de Bar in the attack by the emperor Henry VII. in 1312, the coronation of the emperor Louis at St. Peter's, in consequence of the capture of the castle by the Romans; its giving shelter to Rienzi in 1347, because the Orsini who kept it was the born enemy of the Colonnas; and the long battle that raged round it from 1370, when Gregory XI. shifted the see to Avignon, until 1379, when, at the commencement of the great schism, the Breton mercenaries, who had held it against Urban VI., were defeated, and the captured castle was dismantled. Not for long, however; before the century was out its reconstruction was in rapid progress, aided by the goods of an Englishman falling to the pope in default of legatees. In the alternations of fortune subsequently the steadfastness of Vituccio, master of the castle during the struggle between Gregory XII. and Alexander V., was a fine episode—not unlike the story of Geoffrey de Mandeville and the Tower of London during the Anarchy, except that Vituccio displayed a good faith, which bettered his antecedents. The crowning event, however, of the medieval history of St. Angelo was its marking the end of the great schism, when the new pope, Martin V., recognised by the whole Church and restored to the Vatican, took possession of the fortress, which had so often turned the scale of the destinies of the See.

Another paper of high interest is by M. Henri Sée on the political ideas of Voltaire, whose standpoints it summarises very clearly, with frequent reference to the influences which moulded his opinions. His debt to Bayle is specially pointed out, and in his dominant tenet of tolerance the effect of English ideas is shown as a continuous force in his whole manner of thought. His concept of history, however imperfectly he realised it himself, was essentially scientific—to search out the radical vice and dominating virtue of any nation, to ascertain whether it was powerful or feeble on the sea, to note its growth and wealth and exports, as well as its arts and manufactures and their transmission to other lands, and finally, as the grand object, to observe the change in manners and in laws. Strong in his definitions of the rights of man, he was curiously hostile to Parliaments, believing more in a constitutional monarchy than in republican or

democratic governments. An eager and practical opponent of serfage and seigniorial rights, he yet showed little inclination for popular education. Throughout all he was no mere doctrinaire or 'creator of abstractions': his genius enlisted itself entirely in the service of practical causes, so that, in M. Sée's phrase, 'no writer exercised an influence more decisive on the movement of ideas from which the Revolution of '89 was to spring.' A brisk discussion has arisen over M. Bédier's thesis on *Raoul de Cambrai* (see *S.H.R.* v. 365), especially as regards the identification of 'Comte Ybert de Vermandois' and the verity of Bertolais, the alleged warrior-troubadour.

M. Gabriel Monod writes a long criticism of M. Anatole France's *Jeanne d'Arc*, which has, he thinks, brought into her history a precision and probability which it never had before. At the same time, M. Monod, like Mr. Lang (*S.H.R.* v. 411), regards as quite unwarranted the conclusion that the Maid was primed by her clerical entourage, and considers that although the life 'is and will remain one of the finest books of our historical literature,' the brilliant author has yet failed to recognise the real grandeur of Jeanne—her superiority in intelligence as much as in heart.

Contents of the *Revue des Etudes Historiques* (Jul.-Aug.) include notably interesting papers on Montesquieu, Beaumarchais, and Napoleon. One hardly expects now to get behind the *Esprit des Lois* or the *Grandeur et Décadence*, but the author's papers exist and are being brought to light. They reveal a Montesquieu a little different from our thought of him—more anxious after literary form on the one hand, and much more of a sentimentalist in his philosophy on the other. Beaumarchais, seen not as wit and man of letters, but as a secret agent of the French Government, utilising for the purposes of political information the opportunities of diplomatic missions to London in 1775-76, when the American question was at its height. Beaumarchais believed that the success of the revolution was assured; in 1775 he wrote advising that France should at all hazards keep out of the conflict: early in 1776, fatefully changing his views, he advised that France should make herself the undisclosed ally of the Americans, and give them secret support. The *secours secrets* of France took first shape in a million livres, put into the hands of Beaumarchais for the purpose, a month before the American declaration of independence. He had reported that it was the secret wish of King George to abandon America. The essay, which is by M. Villette des Prunes, reflects a different standpoint from that of Sir George Trevelyan, who has described the extraordinary influence over French policy which Beaumarchais exercised. The Napoleon article tells the story of an attempt, or rather of two attempts, on Napoleon's life by a half-crazed Saxon student, La Sahla, who was caught and imprisoned in 1811, was sent home in 1814, but returned in 1815 to try again. His first attempt was to have been made by pistol shot; his second was by explosives, which, accidentally discharged, nearly killed himself, though he survived Waterloo to offer to Admiral Sidney Smith the secret of manufacturing fire-ships for use against the Barbary pirates in the Mediterranean. But the Admiral drily replied that he 'wanted nothing to do with a chemist of that sort.'

In the *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* for July subjects include the apocryphal Acts of Peter, the literature of the Great Schism, and the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

The *Annales de Bretagne* is a quarterly publication issuing under University auspices from the Faculty of Letters at Rennes with the collaboration of the archivists of Bretagne. Such publications as this make one wonder what similar work—indeed what public work in history—is being done by or through our Scottish Universities. In these annals (Nov. 1907, Jan., April, 1908) there is a fine variety of history in papers on Breton parishes as partly autonomous communities, on the rural and agricultural grievances prior to the Revolution, on antique monuments like the Venus of Quinipily (with its forged dedication by Caius Julius Caesar), on mediæval inland navigation, on the songs of Bretagne and on the lives of saints such as Saint Malo, best known to us as Machutus, and Saint Gildes, best known to us as our oldest British historian. A periodical section gives text of documents. One set consists of protestant abjurations in which the granters at dates from 1685 to 1705 give up 'all the errors of Calvin and all his heresies' and promise to live and die in the old faith. There is in the current paragraphs of news some discussion of the St. Ninian chapel at Roscoff and of the question as to the precise landing of Queen Mary in 1548 (*S.H.R.* iv. 360), shewn by Mr. Moir Bryce to have been reported by the Seigneur de Brézé in his letter to the Dowager Queen Marie as taking place at St. Pol de Leon. But a writer in the *Annales* quotes another letter of De Brézé of the same date (18th Aug. 1548) as that founded on by Mr. Bryce. 'Estant les gallères arrivées en ce lieu de Rossecou'—these are De Brézé's words: and on the 24th the French King Henry II. wrote to his ambassador in London, 'J'ay eu certaines nouvelles de l'arrivée en bonne santé de ma fille la royne d'Escoce au havre de Roscou près Leon.' The contributor to the *Annales*, whose initials are H. B. R., explains that at the time in question Roscoff was only an insignificant hamlet in the parish of St. Pol de Leon, which as a cathedral town was more likely to be known to Marie of Lorraine, the widowed Scottish queen.

In the *Annales de l'Est et du Nord* (April-July) M. Petit-Dutaillis in the continuations of his articles already noticed (*S.H.R.* v. 515) maintains the great interest for historical purposes to be found in the pardons granted by Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy, in the fifteenth century. He illustrates by curiously instructive examples the existence of family feud side by side with public prosecution which slowly made its way until the methods of private war, not legislatively abolished but superseded by degrees, fell into disuse, and came to be no more than a barbaric memory. In the process whereby public repression of crime took the place of private action, and the principles of monarchy and centralisation triumphed over the old law of vengeance, it is shown that the victorious growth of 'la justice comtale' in Flanders was chiefly due to

lawyers (les gens de robe) and officials zealous in promotion of the central jurisdiction. It was a tough battle they had to fight against traditional public sentiment, sympathetic towards the 'mandement de beau fait,' the prompt declaration that a homicide had been committed in open hostility, for a sufficient cause, and without foul play. In such circumstances the 'rigour of justice' was not popular, and not until the fifteenth century did it clearly establish itself as the true way of law. The châteltenie of Cassel affords the typical instance of the tenacity of the right of vengeance in the public heart. When the high bailiff, Colard de la Clyte, interfered with previous custom by raising the penalties for private war there was a revolt: the inhabitants reckoned the change an invasion of their franchises, and took up arms in 1427 in defence of their old law of revenge. When the rising was suppressed in 1431, the revised Coûtume provided that any person tried and found innocent should be 'quit and absolved of war,' and that any one doing violence to him should incur the pains of murder (*i.e.* of secret homicide). It also provided that where a criminal was banished his relatives and friends were to be 'quit and absolved of war.' The old mode, the preference of citizens to achieve their own justice, lingered longest in Hainault. A classical episode there was the duel of Mahuot Coquel and Jacotin Plouvier at Valenciennes in 1455, brought about under the customs of that city, which conjoined with the law of vengeance the usage of single combat. Where a fugitive claimed protection for a homicide which he declared to have been a 'beau fait' the custom of Valenciennes was to grant it, subject to the reservation that if an accuser came forward the accused must fight him in the lists—liable if vanquished to be executed on the spot. Coquel was accused of murder; he fled and claimed the privilege of Valenciennes; Plouvier denounced and challenged him; reluctantly Duke Philip awarded combat. An atrociously savage encounter took place between the two—armed with shield and baton. Coquel, battered almost to death, had his eyes torn out and, vanquished, was trailed to the gallows. Olivier de la Marche, no bad judge of a duel, thought it a battle 'more shameful than honourable,' and it hastened the end of the ancient custom of Valenciennes. M. Petit-Dutaillis, quoting with admiration the note of a jurist of the time of Charles the Bold, that vengeance belonged to none but God and the judges, claims for his array of texts of remissions that they show private vengeance disappearing from the laws. It is a modest summary of a remarkably able and splendidly documented chapter in the history of crime.

The *Bulletins de la Société des Antiquaires de l'Ouest* for 1907, published at the society's headquarters in Poitiers, contain a paper by the President, M. Tornezy, on 'Les Epreuves de Madame de Lucé,' giving glimpses of Rousseau and Diderot, as well as dealing directly with Grimm and Madame d'Épinay.

A more recent paper on the Garde d'honneur at Poitiers under Napoleon I. has noteworthy citations in prose and verse of the enthusiasm for the Emperor and his arms. 'L'Anglais ose menacer nos côtes' writes a commandant of the Garde in 1809, and he offers to raise a squadron of

horse, while another patriot deploring his proscription from service in the fleet—

Ces nefes aux flancs d'airain, ces mobiles palais  
 Qui poussés par les vents font écumer les ondes  
 Protègent le commerce et rapprochent les mondes—

assures the Emperor that his look alone will vanquish the foe. The imperial guard of honour of Poitiers however, produced more than effervescence, and had its share in the glories of the cavalry of France.

The *Annuaire de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles* (Tome xix. Pp. 178. 1908), gives us a pleasant peep at the antiquaries of Brussels actively prosecuting study. It is not a volume of transactions, but a collective report on papers read, excursions, and the Society's library and archaeological collection, besides rather full minutes of meetings. Subjects discussed include the sense of the place-name *Hosté*, common in Belgium, and sometimes associated with the sites of Gallo-Roman villas. Considerable debate has arisen over the use of the patois *taque* (for a plaque of cast iron) instead of *contre-cœur*. The record of proceedings becomes quite stirring when it records the *rires et applaudissement*, which followed one speaker's patriotic denunciation of *contre-cœur* as a 'precieux' vocable, indefinite in itself and known to few, while *taque* is as definite as it is familiar to everybody in Belgium. We note with approbation the intervention of the Society to preserve from demolition part of the curtain of the twelfth century ramparts of Brussels.

The *Analecta Bollandiana* (August), besides a complete analysis of the great *Legendarium* of Bodike in Paderborn, contains an article by Dom Hippolyte Delehaye on a version of the legend of St. George, a *Passio Sancti Georgii martyris*, which, by its unaccountable differences from other forms, had puzzled the latest students of the legend. It now proves to be neither more nor less than a *Passio Sancti Gregorii Spoletani*, probably mistranscribed from an original in which the name of Gregory in some contracted form made the error easy. Other articles ranging over the entire field of saint-lore make this double number an uncommonly rich storehouse of critical learning in hagiology.

*Bulletin de la Société Belge d'Études Coloniales* for June devotes many pages to an expository study of Lord Cromer's *Egypt*.

The *Iowa Journal of History and Politics* (July) deals fully with the liquor legislation of the state from 1861 until 1878, when it was made unlawful to sell 'malt or vinous liquor within two miles of the corporate limits of any municipal corporation.' The *Journal* also deals elaborately with the establishment of the 99 counties of Iowa. The Mississippi Department of Archives and History proposes to collect and publish the letters of Jefferson Davis.

## Queries and Replies

**WOOLLEN AND LINEN TRADE IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.** When the quarrel between the cloth workers of the Netherlands and of England reached its height about 1497, and English cloth was refused entry into the Netherlands, the poor people there made such a clamour to be allowed still to buy the cheap cloth from Ireland and Scotland, that the Archduke Philip in consequence gave orders that these cloths from Ireland and Scotland and elsewhere should be freely sold as before by the strangers frequenting the country (*v. Green's Making of Ireland*, 35, n. 3).

In the fifteenth century the Scotch had a depôt in Zeeland for their merchandise with a 'Conservator' in charge of it (*v. Green's Town Life*, i. 98, n. 5). At what period was the woollen industry at its height in Scotland, and in what districts of the country were the chief weaving centres?

At the same time there was both a cloth and linen trade from Ireland to the Netherlands. Is there any record of interchange of woollen or linen goods between Ireland and Scotland? Or are there any indications of Irish merchants being the carriers of wool from the west of Scotland?

Alice Stopford Green.

**ST. GREGORY'S, PARIS** (*S.H.R.* v. 501), was more commonly known as the 'Séminaire Anglois.' It was a small but somewhat important institution belonging to the English Catholic secular clergy, and may be considered as a branch of Douai College. Its purpose was to enable a certain number of clergy to pursue a higher course of studies than was possible in the other seminaries, and especially to support a number of writers engaged in controversy. The establishment was an answer on the part of the English Catholics to the Protestant foundation (for a like purpose) of Chelsea College, an institution which lasted from 1609 to 1668. The foundation was to have been placed at Douai, but this fell through, and a beginning was eventually made in August, 1611, at Paris in a small hired house belonging to Philip Caverel, Abbot of St. Vaast at Arras, and founder of the English Benedictine monastery of St. Gregory at Douai. Through the Prior of this latter house, Dom Augustine White *alias* Bradshaw, the preliminary arrangements were now made. The founder was Mr. Thomas Sackville, who gave 'as good as eighty pounds, for to

furnish our house withal, besides one hundred and fifty pounds in England yearly, for the maintenance of our company.'<sup>1</sup>

This early foundation had little success owing to lack of funds and opposition. The Seminary was first set on a permanent footing in 1668, when Mr. Thomas Carre *alias* Miles Pinkney, who had long been chaplain of the English Augustinian Canonesses in Paris, bought a house in the Rue des Boulangers adjoining the convent for this purpose. Letters Patent for the establishment of a 'Communauté d'Ecclésiastiques Anglois' were granted by Louis XIV. in 1684,<sup>2</sup> and the College was at last incorporated in the University as the English Seminary of St. Gregory. The superior was chosen by the Archbishop of Paris from three priests presented by the English Vicars Apostolic, and was appointed for a period of six years; the President of Douai College was *Provisor* and auditor of the accounts.

The first President of St. Gregory's was Dr. John Betham, who in 1685 finally established the Seminary in its permanent home, purchasing a 'handsome' house and garden in the Rue des Postes (not far from Ste. Gèneviève) in the Faubourg St. Marceau. The community seldom numbered more than six or seven, including the President and the Procurator; but a few boarders were sometimes admitted, who paid for their keep, and so helped to swell the scanty funds of the establishment. The term of residence and study required for graduation in the Paris faculty of Divinity was ten years, or, including philosophy, twelve years; but, during the century which elapsed between the final establishment of the College and its suppression at the Revolution, about thirty of its students were made Doctors of the Sorbonne, while it is said that nearly all the learned among the English priests of the period were its alumni. In its later years the English Seminary fell upon evil days owing to the incapacity of one or two of its Presidents. The last superior was Dr. John Bew, formally appointed by the Archbishop in 1786. He succeeded in paying off all the debts by dismissing the students and living alone for some years, but the Revolution swept away the fruits of his labours soon after the College was reopened. In 1833 the house was still nominally British property.

The Rules for the Foundation drawn up in 1612 may be found in the Appendices to vol. iv. of Tierney's edition of Dodd's *Church History*. I append a list of Presidents.

- 1668-1685. John Betham, D.D.
- 1685-1698. Anthony Meynell, D.D.
- 1699-1717. Thomas Witham, D.D.
- 1717-1739. John Ingleton, D.D.
- 1739-1743. Matthew Beare, D.D.
- 1743-1755. Joseph Holden, D.D.
- 1756-1782. Charles Howard, D.D.
- 1783-1784. John Rigby, B.D. (provisional superior).
- 1786. John Bew, D.D.

<sup>1</sup> Letter from Dr. Richard Smith to More, agent of the secular clergy at Rome.

<sup>2</sup> Jaillot, *Recherches sur la ville de Paris*, Quartier xviii. p. 200.

Further details may be found in an article in the *Catholic Magazine* for February, 1833 (the writer of which gives as his authorities the *Douai Diary*, the *Register of St. Gregory's Seminary*, and the *Obituary of the London Clergy*), and in Gillow's *Bibliographical Dictionary of the English Catholics*.

RAYMUND WEBSTER.

Downside Abbey, near Bath.

LOWLAND TARTANS (*S.H.R.* v. 367). Mr. H. A. Cockburn asked in your columns whether any Lowland tartans appear in 'the old collection of tartans' which is at Moy Hall, and I took steps to inquire.

The Mackintosh kindly sent me the list, and as—though undertaken much nearer our own time than Mr. Cockburn probably imagined—it was a genuine attempt on the part of a Highland chieftain to get to the bottom of the tartan question, it is well worth placing on record.

On the first page is written :

SCOTTISH TARTANS collected through the agency of MR. MACDOUGALL of Inverness in the year 1848. They are believed to be the only authentic tartans, and are bound by me ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH OF MACKINTOSH, 1873, with a view to their preservation as the only authentic tartans.

The list is as follows :

Mackintosh : the Chief's or Clan	Macquarrie.
Chattan Tartan.	Mackinnon.
Mackintosh.	Maclean or Wallace.
MacGillivray.	Macneil.
Farquharson.	Maclauchlan.
Davidson.	Maclaren.
Macpherson : Hunting.	Macnaughton.
Macpherson.	Macallum.
Macpherson of Cluny.	Macintyre.
Rose.	Macfarlane.
Royal Stuart.	Mackinroy.
Stuart : Dress.	Macduff.
Stuart : Hunting.	{ Macnab.
Lovat-Fraser.	{ Macnab.
Macleod	Clan Alpin Macgregor.
Macdonald	Cumming.
Macdonald of the Isles.	Mackenzie.
Macdonald of Glengarry and	Macrae.
Clanranald.	Matheson.
Macdonald : Staffa.	Ross.
Lochiel : Cameron.	Munro.
79th : Cameron.	42nd Tartan
Chisholm.	Grant : green } the same.

## Queries and Replies

Grant : red dress.	Ferguson.
Mackay.	Hay.
Gunn.	Crawford or Lindsay.
Caithness : Sinclair or Mactavish.	Melville.
Campbell : Cawdor.	Kintore : Keith.
Campbell : Argyll.	Roths : Leslie.
Macdougall.	Royal 'Bruce.'
Malcolm.	Airlie : Ogilvie.
Colquhoun.	Ogilvies of Inverquharitie.
Lamont.	Douglas.
Urquhart.	Dundas.
Rob Roy : Macgregor.	Cockburn.
Atholl : Murray.	Glenorchy.
Drummond : Murray or Tullibardine.	Logan.
Campbell : Breadalbane.	Buchanan.
Menzies.	Priests' Tartan.
Robertson.	Drummond.
Montrose : Graham or Abercromby.	Perth : Drummond.
Gordon.	Strathallan : Drummond.
Ramsay.	Border or Shepherd's Plaid.
Forbes.	

Copied 4th May, 1908.

A. MACKINTOSH OF MACKINTOSH.

Now when dealing with this list we must remember that we are considering tartans only, and not the origin of Highland families and names. The Norman-born Stewarts held dominion over Highland and Lowland, and so in a lesser degree did many a Southern brood. Their following was of their territory, not of their blood. Frasers, Hays, and Gordons, and a score of others, at some period took the tartan from their environment, and to a certain extent gave their name to a district and lost their distinctive Lowland character. When Mr. Cockburn wishes to know whether there is any proof of the antiquity of Lowland tartans, we must confine ourselves to those families which had no connection with the Highlands. In this list we will see that his own Berwickshire patronymic has to back it only Douglas and Dundas. For the rest of us on the Border there is only shepherd's plaid; I believe quite rightly.

If Sir Walter Scott, steeped in historic lore, keen to rake up traditions, and born nearly a century and a half ago—in the days before the dividing lines were smudged over by frequent intercommunications—had no faith in Lowland tartans, it would be rash of us to think otherwise to-day.

It is possible also to propound an argument in favour of this contention.

He would be a bold man who would dogmatise as to the evolution of a Highland clan and as to the period at which certain combinations of colour were acknowledged as the joint property of a certain territory or sept, but we do know that from early days the old Highlanders were fond of bright hues, that they were cunning with the dye-pot, and that

they remembered the Celtic tradition of many interlacing lines. When it came to fighting they wanted to travel light, and on foot. Coat armour and closed helmets were almost unknown among them. The true Highland chieftain was only *primus inter pares*, and he and his followers alike snatched their badges from the hillside, and the plaid became their uniform.

In the low country, where the steel-clad mounted man was everything, matters were quite different. From the first dawn of heraldry the shield, the crest, the banner of the knight were the sign and the rallying point in battle. It is hardly too much to say that heraldry dominated medieval warfare. But, unless they were of his male kin, the knight's followers could not bear his arms save as a badge of his service.

Hence we have it that, whereas the armorial coat is a claim to a definite aristocracy of blood, the tartan is a sign of the mysterious democracy of clan feeling. For both, their origin and their history were for the purposes of war, that, where every stranger was a possible enemy, friend should be known from foe.

Personally I believe that the rigid rules of heraldry kept their grip on Lowland warfare until the nation settled down to peace, and that, so far as historical accuracy is concerned, one of the Douglas breed has no more right to tartan than a Macdonald would have to the 'Bloody Heart.'

GEORGE S. C. SWINTON.

PROVINCIAL ORTHOGRAPHY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*S.H.R.* iv. 402). In Mr. Firth's interesting fore-note to the Border Ballad contributed to the July number of the *S.H.R.*, he comments on the peculiar spelling of certain words, and quotes Mr. G. M. Stevenson's observation that it is a philological puzzle how it arises. May I submit that the puzzle may be solved by remembering that the old (and true) value of the vowels survived longer in Northern English and Lowland Scots than in the southern dialects. This affected the symbols *i* and *u* in a peculiar manner. In modern literary English these symbols represent a variety of sounds, some of them pure vowels as in 'pit' and 'put.' But they also represent sounds which can only be rightly expressed as diphthongs, as in 'life' and 'unit.' That the *i* and *u* here represent a sound which is not a single vowel can easily be proved if one attempts to prolong the sound. There is no difficulty in prolonging the sound of the modern English *a*, *e* or *o* because they are single vowels; but the *i* sound in 'life' cannot be prolonged, because it is a compound of the sounds *a* and *ee*, neither can the *u* in 'unit,' because the proper *oo* sound is prefixed by the sound of an unwritten consonantal *y*. The ballad spellings of 'fayting' for 'fighting,' 'thayne' for 'thine,' etc., appear to be an attempt at phonetic writing, to express a sound which the symbol *i* did not convey to the speakers of Northern English, for in that dialect that symbol expressed the sound of the modern *ee*. It was a device to convey through the eye the impression of a diphthongal sound altogether different from that suggested by the vowels *i* and *y*.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

PROVINCIAL ORTHOGRAPHY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY (*S.H.R.* iv. 402). It is seldom satisfactory to discuss questions of phonetics briefly. Recourse should rather be had to books that deal specifically with the subject, especially the works by Ellis and Sweet. They have established the point that the long *i* in such a word as *thine* was usually pronounced like the *ei* in *vein* in the time of Shakespeare, and we have a large number of examples of the graphic confusion between *ei* (or *ey*) and *ai* (or *ay*); as in the modern English *grey* or *gray*. Hence such a spelling as *thayne* can easily be explained, if we suppose it to mean that the *ay* meant the *ei* in *vein*, which was, in fact and of necessity, the chief of the very numerous intermediate sounds between the sound of *i* in *wine* in Chaucer's time (when it was pronounced as *ween*), and *i* in the modern sound of the same. The three modern words *ween*, *wain*, *wine* exhibit, respectively, the pronunciations of *wine* in the times of Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Tennyson. The second of these is very well expressed by the Ballad spellings *faytinge* (fighting), *may* (my), and the like, if we suppose that *ay* was pronounced then as it is pronounced now; and this seems to have been the fact.

Readers may profitably consult Sir James Murray's standard *Essay on the Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland*. There is a passage at p. 81 which is so much to the point that I venture to reproduce a part of it here, premising that by the symbol *ey* he intends the *ey* in *prey* (the same as *ay* in *pray*).

'As regards the pronunciation, the most striking peculiarity of this dialect consists in its using (like the Northern English counties) the diphthongs *ey*, *uw* (palæotype *ei*, *au*), for the simple vowels *ee*, *oo*—that is, where a native of the centre, west, or north-east of Scotland says *he*, *me*, *see*, *free*, *lee*, *dee*, a Borderer says *hey*, *mey*, *sey*, *frey*, *ley*, *dey*, etc. The whole passage, and indeed the whole of the book, should be carefully read. Cf. p. 147.

Note, in particular, the last two examples, which refer to the modern English *lie* and *die*. Wright's *English Dialect Grammar* gives *lee* and *dee* for North and Mid Scotland, *lay* and *day* for South Scotland, and *lie* and *die* for the standard speech. Here we have Barbour's *lee* and Shakespeare's *lay* preserved in modern times as dialectal forms.

WALTER W. SKEAT.

## Notes and Comments

A FRESHNESS as of a northern sea breeze pervades the work of the Viking Club, which bids fair, by the initial vitality it displays as well as by the variety of research from new standpoints which it fosters, to build up a body of Norse history for Great Britain of no slight significance. The evidence gains so enormously from collective treatment, which gives volume to what, apart, might have remained of small account. The Club's *Saga Book* (April) reflects both the broad outlooks of literary, social and political history and the closer view of archaeology. Professor W. P. Ker is felicitous in his inaugural address, as President, on 'Iceland and the Humanities.' Incidentally he breaks down another barrier and virtually ranks the Norse saga-histories as literature of the first plane of the Icelandic achievement, repenting himself handsomely, by the way, of a disparaging judgment on the *Hákonar Saga*. Perhaps the sum of the whole matter of criticism of the saga as history lies in the observation: 'It is a high order of intelligence that sees life as it is seen by these historians.' This is a very moderate statement of the case, for in the mingling of domestic and personal drama with public history the saga men are unsurpassed. We might take a single instance; the story of Hacon's Scottish expedition in 1263 is fuller of real fact, richer in its colour of its time, and more vitally readable to this day than any other chapter of Scottish story, whether by an ancient or a modern hand.

Mr. St. George Gray tempts disputation by his 'Notes on Danes' Skins,' which group a large number of examples of such gruesome memorials on church doors, but which lack a very necessary element of criticism for what is accredited sometimes by tradition and oftener to it. Science as usual displays an obliging readiness to fall in with the current idea, and the authorities with a charming unanimity declare that sundry and divers pieces of human hide from English church doors came from the backs of a fair-haired race, although in some instances the specimen was admittedly from some part of the body 'where little hair grows.' Had Mr. St. George Gray been a little sceptical about his Danes he might perhaps have remembered some things. (1) After the supposed period of these skins being removed from their owners and adhibited to church doors, was there not a Danish king of England? Does this make more likely or less likely the persistence of such memorials under Danish sovereignty? (2) How many church doors are there in England which reasonable evidence carries back to days antecedent to King Knut? (3) Is there not so much absolute evidence of later resort to flaying as a punishment (probably

enough for sacrilege) as to discredit the popular name of 'Danes' Skins' altogether, associated as the stories almost invariably are with medieval doors for which the fourteenth century is a generous date to concede as the extreme of antiquity? (4) What is the proof for any single example being really Danish? And when did the Danish tradition first find itself on record? (5) Does not the type indicate a time when the offender was—not, as in the Danes' time, a public enemy in heavy force,—but a criminal whose punishment in this respect, akin to gibbeting, was a public ignominy and a public warning, like the fates of evasive ticketless passengers which used to be recorded in wayside railway stations? In the ninth and tenth centuries were heathen Danes in their thousands to be deterred from their raids, their slaughters of saints and destruction of shrines by plastering the doors of churches—sometimes not yet built—with Danish hides? (6) In a word, is the thing itself not eloquent of a time when the church has become not only a sanctuary according to its lights, but a universally recognized centre of the legal peace of the land?

Mr. Gray tells us he cannot trace any English enactment which inflicts the penalty of flaying on any offender. He will find an instance in the *Leges Henrici Primi*; (lxxv. § 1). It was one of the humanities akin to some countenanced by Roman law (Cod. lib. ix. tit. xviii. leg. 7); it was practised in the East, and Europe followed suit. Notorious on the list of cases was that of the knights flayed alive by Philippe le Bel in 1307—*eschorchez tontz vifes* as the *Scalacronica* phrases it. In Scotland the murderer of James I. in 1437 was subjected to much the same torture in a form which suggests a Roman precedent. But it will readily be owned that it is difficult to establish a chain of medieval instances. Meantime it may serve a useful purpose to doubt and scout some picturesque stories and to set the modern Vikings upon their enquiry, lest too many of their ancestors have been discredited by alleged tradition which may well happen to be little more than a folk-word of no antique origin.

WHEN, in 1904, Professor A. G. Little, to whom Franciscan Studies *British Society of Franciscan Studies* in this country owe so much, published his *Initia* of writings ascribed to the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries<sup>1</sup> he stated in the preface that the compilation was originally undertaken as a preliminary to the drawing up of a catalogue of Franciscan MSS. in Great Britain. That work discloses the great extent of Franciscan early literary effort in Britain—a field still largely unexplored. Thus we welcome the recent formation of the *British Society of Franciscan Studies*, one of many indications of this growing interest with which the life of St. Francis and the history of the Order founded by him is at present viewed. Among other good things, the Society promises the early publication of a *Liber Exemplorum* preserved at Durham described as 'compiled in the thirteenth century by an English Franciscan, who knew Roger Bacon at Paris and passed much of his life in Ireland.'

<sup>1</sup> *Initia Operum Latinorum quae saeculis xiii, xiv, xv attribuuntur.* Manchester: At the University Press. 1904.

A hitherto unknown fragment of Roger Bacon's *Opus Tertium* has recently been discovered by a French savant in the *Bibliothèque nationale* when making researches into the history of Astronomy. The erroneous title of the manuscript—*Liber Tertius Alpetragii* (having been ascribed to the Arab astronomer Al Bitrogi), has up till now misled scholars and students of Bacon's works. The discoverer, Professor Duhem of Bordeaux, contemplates an early publication of an annotated edition. Among other points of interest for the history of physical science, he mentions in a paper contributed to the *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum* (fasc. ii. and iii. p. 238) that it sets at rest the oft-debated question whether Roger Bacon was really acquainted with the composition of gunpowder. In the fragment now discovered the words occur '*Exemplum est puerile de sono et igne, qui fiunt in mundi partibus diversis per pulverem salis petrae, et sulphuris, et carbonum salicis.*'

THE *Archivum Franciscanum Historicum*,<sup>1</sup> a quarterly publication issued by the Fathers of the College of Saint Bonaventure, near *Archivum* Florence, and devoted to Franciscan documents and history, *Franciscanum* of which the first three numbers have appeared, contains various attractive items from a Scottish standpoint. We note from an *Historicum* article on the Series of Provinces of the Friars Minors in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the statement of the independent position of Scotland as a distinct 'province' during the years 1232-39 when Brother Elias was Minister-general of the entire Order, and John de Kethene was provincial minister of Scotland. Its re-union with England in 1239 did not meet with royal approval, for at the instance of the Scottish King, Pope Alexander IV. wrote to the Minister-general and General Chapter held at Narbonne in 1260 enjoining them to institute a Provincial Minister in Scotland. This, however, was not done. In a catalogue of Provinces, Custodies and Vicariates of approximately the year 1340 the Vicariate of Scotland is set down as having six convents. We know that (Berwick being excluded) these were Roxburgh, Dumfries, Lanark, Haddington, Inverkeithing, and Dundee.

In the same number (fasc. i. p. 94) among the *Documenta* a transcript appears of a letter of date thirteenth December, 1449, addressed from Rome by Brother James de Marchia to Brother John de Capistrano, Vicar-general of the Cismontane Observantine Franciscans. The editor's estimate of its value—'pretiosissima epistola'—as throwing light upon the pangs attending the birth of the Observantines is not greatly exaggerated. Jacobus de Marchia was evidently in a mood for unburdening his soul to his friend and correspondent, and he gives a vivid picture of his trials in the defence of the '*familia et Bullae*,' dwelling upon his four journeys to Rome '*in frigore, pluviis, caloribus, sitibus per vias insuperabiles et lutas*' and upon his successful demands for audiences of the Supreme Pontiff and Cardinals, which were so long protracted that frequently he did not return to the Convent until the hour of night '*sine cibo et potu.*' He declares

<sup>1</sup> *Typographia, Directio et Administratio ad Claras Aquas prope Florentiam* (Quaracchi, near Florence), 1908.

'et tot labores, et angustias, et angarias, et molestias innumerabiles passus sum, quas certe calamo explicare et lingua fari non sufficeret. Quid lucratus sum, Pater, mecum particeps, nisi a falsis fratribus, in quibus est perditio magna, infamationes multas? Truly a zealous Saint and a racy correspondent!

We have space to notice only very shortly the paper upon the *Leggenda Versificata* of St. Francis (fasc. ii. and iii. p. 209). This, one of the oldest legends of the Saint, is probably the work of Henry de Burford, an early English Friar and precentor at Paris, whose verses beginning

Qui Minor es, noli ridere, tibi quia soli  
Convenit ut plores; jungas cum nomine mores

are well known. It is claimed that a collation of this legend with the other lives would be very useful, as it supplies omissions, and gives variants of facts handled in a different manner elsewhere.

THE Scottish Text Society may be congratulated on the completion of the text of Wyntoun's *Original Chronicle* in volume vi. *Wyntoun's Chronicle.* of the work just issued. Mr. Amours has pursued his editorial course with a fidelity and zeal which not only the society but all students of history will gratefully appreciate as a high service to our historical literature. His exemplary industry and his business-like method are guarantees that the general Introduction and the Notes, Glossary and Index will ere long furnish a great medieval chronicle, alike for historical and philological purposes, with a full equipment of annotation on the highest modern plane. The editorial commentary on Wyntoun offers fine scope for the unique learning of Mr. Amours, and we offer him our word of cheer as he now approaches the close of his long but splendid task.

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## Ballads illustrating the relations of England and Scotland during the Seventeenth Century

IN a previous paper, printed in this *Review*,<sup>1</sup> an attempt was made to illustrate from ballads published during 1638-40 the feeling of the English people with regard to the two campaigns of Charles I. against the Covenanters. In the present a larger task is attempted, namely, to show from the ballads and political poetry produced in England between 1603 and 1688 how the political events of the period affected for good or ill English feeling towards Scotland.

The accession of James I. in March, 1603, and the union of the two crowns of England and Scotland was the signal for an outbreak of congratulatory verse of every kind addressed to the new king. 'The very poets with their idle pamphlets promise themselves great part in his favour,' wrote Chamberlain to Carleton on April 12, 1603 (*Court and Times of James I.* i. 7.) Specimens in plenty of their productions are reprinted in volume one of Nichols's *Progresses of James I.*, and some others may be found in the second series of *Fugitive Tracts* written in verse, privately printed by Mr. W. C. Hazlitt in 1875, and in (iii. 544; x. 342) Park's edition of the *Harleian Miscellany*. But while so many of these poetical tracts survive, time has dealt hardly with the similar compositions produced by the balladmongers and printed in broadside form. The registers of the Stationers' Company give the titles of many. 'A thinge in verse called King James proclaimed (March 30,

<sup>1</sup> *Scottish Historical Review*, iii. 257.

1603); The Joy and ready preparacion of the nobles and states of this Land for the enterteyninge of the Kinge (June 11); A Song of Joy for the Kinge's coronacion on Sanct James Day Last (Aug. 1); A joyfull newe ditty made of our most gracious and nowe crowned King of England, Scotland, France, and Ireland (Aug. 1)'; and there are nearly half a dozen more either on the coronation itself or the entertainments which followed it. Yet of all the ballads on this event one only has survived: 'An excellent new ballad shewing the petigree of our royal King James, the first of that name in England,' which is reprinted in *Roxburghe Ballads*, viii. 758, and in *Sherburn Ballads*, p. 315.

'Eyght hundred myles his Empyre goes  
in length, in spight of all his foes.  
From Cornewall to past Calidon  
Is knowne to be King James own.'

This is a fair specimen both of the author's verse and his reflections. More interest attaches to a small set of ballads illustrating the ill-feeling which the favour James showed to his Scottish followers caused in England. A popular rhyme on this subject is quoted in Osborne's 'Traditional Memoirs' (*Secret History of James I.* ed. Scott, 1811, i. 217). 'This nation,' says Osborne, 'was rooted up by those Caledonian bores, as these homely verses do attest, which were everywhere posted, and do containe as many stories as lines . . .'

'They beg our lands, our goods, our lives,  
They switch our nobles, and lye with their wives;  
They pinch our gentry, and send for our benchers,  
They stab our sargeants and pistoll our fencers.'

The last half line refers to the well-known case of Lord Sanquhar's trial for hiring two ruffians to murder the fencing-master, Turner. Sanquhar was hanged on June 29, 1612, and on July 5 there was entered to William Burley 'a ballad of the Lord Sanquire,' called 'Bloodshed revenged' (*Arber, Stationers' Registers*, iii. 490). Unluckily this ballad has not survived.

Another incident, the duel between Sir James Stewart and Sir George Wharton on November 8, 1612, in which both the combatants were killed, is celebrated in a ballad reprinted in the *Roxburghe Ballads*, vii. 595, and copies of the broadside are to be found in six English collections besides the

*Roxburghe.* Mr. Ebsworth, in his introduction to the reprint, describes Wharton as 'a pestilent swaggerer and insufferable nuisance' who well deserved chastisement. Another version of this ballad, held by Mr. Ebsworth to have been altered and sophisticated by Hogg, is to be found in Scott's *Border Minstrelsy* (ed. 1810, ii. 296) and also in Maidment's *Scottish Ballads, Historical and Traditional*, ii. 164. A lighter side of national rivalry appears in a unique ballad called the 'Leaping of the Lords' (*Roxburghe Ballads*, viii. 135). Three Scotch lords proudly challenge the peers of England to leap against them for a bet of £7000. The contest takes place in the presence of King James and Prince Charles, the latter offering to wager £10,000 on the English champion. The Earl of Southampton, the English champion, leaps 'six yards and full two foot' easily defeating his competitor. King James, alluding to the fact that Southampton was a prisoner in the Tower for complicity in Essex's plot when he came to the throne, tells him that he leapt a far greater leap when he leapt from the Tower. Your Grace did more, interposes Lord Derby, 'you leapt a greater leap from Scotland's gates to wear our English crown.' The ballad ends amicably, and with boasts of the agility and vigour of the English peerage.

The tables are turned in the next ballad which requires mention. It is entitled 'Blew Cap for me,' and the substance of it may be gathered from the second verse:

'There lives a blithe lass in Faukeland towne,  
And shee had some suitors, I wot not how many;  
But her resolution shee had set downe  
That shee'd have a Blew-cap gif e're she had any:  
An Englishman when our good king was there  
Came often unto her, and loved her deere:  
But still she replide, "Sir, I pray let me be  
Gif ever I have a man Blew-cap for me.'

(*Roxburghe Ballads*, i. 75.)

The ballad was registered March 22, 1634, and was clearly suggested by Charles the First's visit to Scotland in 1633. Five others entered in 1633 entitled 'A princely Progress,' 'Joyful newes from Scotland,' 'News from the North,' 'News of the Coronation,' and 'His majesties returne from Scotland,' referred to the same journey, but all have perished (Arber, *Stationers' Registers*, iv. 270, 271, 273, 274, 289).

The paucity of English ballads about events in Scotland, or

Scottish matters in general, during the first forty years which followed the union of the crowns is not surprising. It illustrates the truth of what Clarendon writes when he begins his account of the disturbances about the liturgy in 1637. 'There was so little curiosity either in the Court or the country to know anything of Scotland, or what was done there, that when the whole nation was solicitous to know what passed weekly in Germany and Poland and all other parts of Europe, no man ever enquired what was doing in Scotland, nor had that kingdom a place or mention in one page of any gazette, so little the world heard or thought of that people.'<sup>1</sup> All this was changed in 1638, and for the next four years events in Scotland were of supreme interest to England. In the previous paper an attempt was made to illustrate the development of English opinion about these events, and to show how the common opposition of the two countries to Charles I. made the Scots and their country popular in England.<sup>2</sup> But this period of popularity was brief. The cost entailed by the Scottish occupation of the northern counties and the sums paid and promised for Scotland's 'brotherly assistance' much diminished English gratitude.<sup>3</sup> To this period probably belongs the satirical ballad entitled 'The Bonny Scot made a Gentleman,' unless it should be assigned to the reign of James I.<sup>4</sup>

By 1644, when a Scottish army once more entered England, the growth of Royalist feeling had made the Scots hated by half the English nation. They were naturally welcomed by a chorus of execration from Royalist wits. John Cleveland saluted them with 'The Rebel Scot,' containing the oft-repeated taunt:

'Nature herself doth Scotchmen beasts confess  
 Making their country such a wilderness. . . .  
 Had Cain been Scot, God would have changed his doom,  
 Not made him wander, but compelled him home.'

The barrenness of their country, ran the argument, compelled Scots to sell their swords and make a living as mercenaries. 'We would fain change our land for a better' is the confession

<sup>1</sup> *Rebellion*, ii. 18.

<sup>2</sup> 'Ballads on the Bishops' Wars,' *Scottish Historical Review*, April, 1906.

<sup>3</sup> See Terry, *Life of Alexander Leslie*, pp. 144-152.

<sup>4</sup> It is printed in *The North Country Chorister*, 1802, as Song vi, but when it first appeared I have not been able to discover.

another Royalist poet, Alexander Brome, puts in the mouths of Leslie's soldiers in 'The Scots Curranto,' written, as he asserts, in 1645:

'Long have we longed for the English land,  
But we're hindered still by disasters;  
But now's the time, when they can't withstand,  
But are their own countrey's wasters.'

England's extremity, in short, was Scotland's opportunity:

'And thus when among us the kingdom is shared,  
And the people are all made beggars like we;  
A Scot will be as good as an English Leard;  
O what an unity this will be.'<sup>1</sup>

Another reproach flung at the Scots was that they were a nation of pedlars, based on the fact that in England in the seventeenth century numbers of 'petty chapmen,' as they were called, were Scots. This explains the first line and some of the allusions in the following ballad, which is printed from the Ashmolean MSS. in the Bodleian (vol. xxxvi. No. 266). It evidently refers to the siege of Hereford in 1645. Leven and his army invested that city on July 31, and raised the siege about September 2, on the approach of Charles I.

'Did you not see the Scotchman's wallet  
Lately hanging on Beare's Court;  
The Countreyes treasure pleased their pallet,  
Their complayning was their sport?  
Did you not see old Leshlye stout  
With all his Scottish ragged rout?

(*Chorus.*) Then drinke your drinke and fill your vaine,  
The Scotch shall nere come here againe.

Did you not see his pedlers standing,  
Sheetes pin'd up against the wall?  
'Tis three jurnimen demanding,  
Come bye our wares, you here us call.  
Come countrymen, and be not slack,  
For with your goods wele make our pack.  
Then drinke, etc.'

There are six more verses, and one of them, by mentioning the death of Major-General Laurence Crawford, helps to identify the siege referred to in the ballad.

Meanwhile the relations of the Scots with their English allies had become strained. The burden of maintaining the Scottish forces fell heavily on the northern counties. Since the

<sup>1</sup> Brome's Poems, p. 167.

subsidies promised by the Parliament were anything but regularly paid, the soldiers were obliged to live upon the country, which, as usual, was fatal to discipline, and led to every kind of disorder. A ballad called 'The Committee Man's Complaint and the Scots Honest Usage,' published in 1647, enlarges upon this theme. The Scots, it says, made the north country as poor as Job, and carried more out of Yorkshire than would have bought two Scotlands. (Wright, *Political Ballads of the Commonwealth*, p. 60.)<sup>1</sup> The agreement made in December, 1646, to pay them £400,000 in satisfaction of the debt due to them was naturally unpopular in England, as 'The Scots Arrears' sets forth:

'Four hundred thousand pounds!  
A lusty bag indeed:  
Was't ever known so vast a sum  
Ere past the river Tweede?  
Great pity 'tis, I swear,  
Whole carts was thither sent,  
Where hardly two in fifty knew  
What forty shillings meant. . . .'

(*Ramp Songs*, p. 222; *Wit Restored*, i. 313.)

The surrender of the king to the Parliamentary Commissioners, which took place at the same time, roused the Royalist satirists once more. Cleveland followed up the 'Rebel Scot' by 'The Scots' Apostacy,' of which the first part seems to have been written in 1646 and the second early in 1647. Like Iscariot, says the poet to the Scots, you have sold your master:

'T was Judas taught you this,  
How to betray your master with a kiss.'<sup>2</sup>

The English ballads, however, say little about what was subsequently called 'the sale of the king.' Before the end of 1647 it was evident that a third Scottish intervention was to be expected in England, and this time on behalf of Charles. The Royalists changed their note to wonder at this conversion:

'What strange Chimera's this, to see  
Rebellion turned to loyalty!  
Was't e'er in thought of any one  
A Scot would fear damnation!  
We know by nature clouds at night  
Dissolve with Sol's approaching light,

<sup>1</sup> Compare *A Justification of our Brethren of Scotland*, British Museum, 669 f. 11 (77).

<sup>2</sup> *Cleveland's Poems*, ed. 1687, p. 182. Compare 'Judas Justified,' by his Brother Scot: *Thomason Tracts*, 669, f. 11 (103).

But Scottish mists we only thought  
 The Stygian exhalation brought,  
 And for to be too black a dye  
 For even Charles to rarefy.'

(*MS. Ashmole*, xxxvi. No. 7. Compare *The Scots Constance*, British Museum, E. 383 (9).)

To the Parliamentarians, however, the conduct of the Scots in adopting the royal cause appeared the blackest treachery. Milton expressed this in his sonnet to Fairfax:

'New rebellions raise  
 Their hydra heads, and the false North displays  
 Her broken league to imp their serpent-wings.'

Milton's exultation in his sonnet to Cromwell over 'Darwen's stream with blood of Scots embrued' is another indication of this feeling. Hence the delight felt at Cromwell's victory at Preston, which is celebrated in a curious ballad 'Upon the routing of the Scots Army,' written in what is supposed to be the dialect of the defeated soldiers, with a chorus of

'Sing heome agen Jockey.'<sup>1</sup>

None who suffered in the king's cause was less pitied than the Duke of Hamilton, whom both parties alike accused of treachery. A pamphlet entitled 'Digitus Dei or God's Justice upon treachery and treason exemplified in the life and death of the late James Duke of Hamilton' ends with an epitaph containing the following verses on this 'Proteus':

'He that three kingdoms made one plaine  
 Blasted their beauty, burnt the frame,  
 Himself now here in ashes lies  
 A part of this great sacrifice. . . .  
 'Twas he that first alarmed the Kirk  
 To this preposterous bloody work  
 Upon the king's to place Christ's throne  
 A step and footstool to his own.'<sup>2</sup>

The temporary alliance between the Independent party in England and the Argyle party in Scotland, patched up after the defeat of the Hamiltonians, was not strong enough to survive the execution of the king and the abolition of monarchy. The

<sup>1</sup> *Rump Songs*, p. 248: from John Tatham's play 'The Scotch Figgaries,' p. 178 of Patterson's reprint of his works.

<sup>2</sup> 'Digitus Dei' was written by Marchamont Nedham, and published April 9, 1649. It is amongst the *Thomason Tracts*, E. 550 (6). A similar poem entitled 'Duke Hamilton's Ghost' is quoted by C. K. Sharpe in a note to Robert Law's *Memorials*, p. 2.

overthrow of English Presbyterianism was another grievance. A dramatic pamphlet, published in 1647, entitled 'The Scottish Politick Presbyter slain by an English Independent' had pictured prophetically an English army extirpating Presbytery root and branch, and concluded with a scene in which Directory, the Scotch Presbyter was stabbed by Anarchy, an Independent.<sup>1</sup> The prophecy was now to come true. In May, 1650, when Cromwell returned from Ireland, a complete breach between the two countries was imminent. Andrew Marvell, in the Horatian ode addressed to Cromwell on his return, enigmatically predicted that the fickle Scots would hesitate to provoke Cromwell's arms :

'The Pict no shelter now shall find  
 Within his parti-coloured mind,  
 But from this valour sad,  
 Shrink underneath the plaid.'

But the Scots showed no inclination to draw back, and in June, 1650, Charles II. landed in Scotland and submitted to accept his crown on the hard terms exacted. An English broadside, entitled, 'Old Sayings and Predictions verified and fulfilled, touching the young King of Scotland and his gued Subjects,' contains a caricature on this submission. Charles the Second's nose is held to a grindstone by a Scottish ecclesiastic, whilst 'Jockie,' a Scottish layman in a blue cap, turns the handle. At the side of the picture are verses :

'This Embleme needs no learned exposition,  
 The World knows well enough the sad condition  
 Of regall power and prerogative,  
 Dead and dethroned in England, now alive  
 In Scotland, where they seeme to love the Lad  
 If hee'l be more obsequious then his Dad,  
 And act according to Kirk principles,  
 More subtile then were Delphick oracles ;  
 For let him lye, dissemble, kill, and slay  
 Hee's a good Prince that will the Kirk obey.  
 . . . Turne Jockie turne (for gold will turne thy heart,  
 And make thee to renounce in Christ a part)  
 The grindstone to make sharp thy Levites Laws,  
 Or else t'abate the edge of regall Cause  
 And privilege. And Jockie for thy paines  
 Great treasures, pleasures, offices and gaynes  
 Shall be thy large reward when England's wonne.'<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Reprinted in *Harleian Miscellany*, vii. 391, ed. Park.

<sup>2</sup> The poem is printed at length in the *Catalogue of Satirical Prints and Drawings in the British Museum*, i. 448. The caricature is copied in Wright's *History of Caricature and Grotesque*, p. 369.

Another caricature in the same collection, entitled, 'A Mad Designe: or a Description of the King of Scots marching in his Disguise after the Rout at Worcester,' contains not only a representation of the King but emblematic figures typifying his English and Scottish followers.<sup>1</sup> There are also two ballads on the escape of Charles II., one entitled, 'The Last News from France,' the other, 'The Royal Patient Traveller.' Both are reprinted in the *Roxburghe Ballads* (vii. 635, 639).

One might expect to find some English ballads on the battles of Dunbar and Worcester, but since the ballad writers were generally hostile to the government, the government had, so far as it could, suppressed ballads. Hence these two victories of the republic's arms were celebrated in hymns instead. John Fenwick, senior, produced a pamphlet on 'the late memorable and glorious victory at Dunbar,' dedicated in three parallel columns, to the known God, the Parliament of England and the Lord General, and closing with what he calls one of the Songs of Sion. Verse 16 will serve as a specimen:

'From North to South from East to West  
All yee that now in Sion rest,  
Jew, Gentile, Greek, Barbarian,  
From America and Java to Japan  
All prayses sing  
To Sion's King.'

Another by Mr. John Goodwin, on Worcester, is reprinted by James Maidment. It begins:

'The mighty God hath once again  
Appear'd from Heaven high  
His people to deliver from  
The House of Slavery.'<sup>2</sup>

Maidment thinks 'this strange spiritual ballad indicative of no very Christian feeling' on the part of Mr. Goodwin and his congregation, but it represents with absolute fidelity the results which English Independents expected from a victory on the part of the Royalists, and the causes to which they attributed the success of their own. The feeling of the average Englishman, who was not pious, and was very much

<sup>1</sup> *Catalogue of Satirical Prints*, p. 451; Wright, p. 370.

<sup>2</sup> See Three Hymns composed by Mr. John Goodwin, etc., 1650: *Thomason Tracts*, E. 1300 (3). Two Hymns sung in Mr. John Goodwin's Congregation, 24 Oct. 1651, E. 1300 (4). Also Maidment, *Scottish Ballads and Songs, Historical and Traditionary*, ii. 274.

embittered against 'the old enemy of Scotland,' and not without reason, for it was the fourth Scottish invasion of England within ten years. The fact that on each occasion the Scots had been called in by some English party did not make them less odious, but rather more. Hence the subjugation of Scotland after Charles the Second's unlucky expedition to England was not only a cause of satisfaction, but seemed a guarantee of security in time to come. In England one of the most popular ballads of the period was one entitled, 'Jockie's Lamentation,' which contained a verse-chronicle of all these wars put into the mouth of a Scottish soldier. It begins by recounting the successes of their arms 'when first the Scottish wars began' and the riches they got from the plunder of English towns:

'Jockey he was wondrous fine  
And Jenny in her silks did shine.'

Now all is changed:

'The Lowlands all, and Highland's too,  
And bonnet blue, I'se yield to you  
To be your own;  
For red-coats they with gun and sword,  
Makes every Lord with one accord,  
To cry "Ohone";  
Our lives and our wives, our goods and lands  
Are in the limits of your own hands;  
For Jockey must a servant be,  
And Jenny must live as poor as he.'

The moral set forth in the last verse is:

'See what covetousness doth bring  
We have lost our Kirk and everything.'<sup>1</sup>

To the same period belong 'A Medley of the Nations,' and 'A Medley,' in both of which representatives of various nations, including the Scots, are introduced lamenting the victories of the English arms.<sup>2</sup>

In spite of racial feeling and the burdens the military occupation of Scotland imposed, the English soldiers do not appear to have been unpopular in the Scottish towns. Marriages

<sup>1</sup>The best version of this ballad is that printed in the *Bagford Ballads*, i. 331. It appears also in *Rump Songs*, 1662, i. 228; and in *Merry Drollery*, ed. 1670, p. 93; and in *Loyal Songs*, 1731, i. 58.

<sup>2</sup>*Rump Songs*, i. 254, 258.

between the soldiers of the garrisons of Leith and Edinburgh and Scottish women were sufficiently frequent to be regarded as a danger, and were prohibited by the military authorities in consequence.<sup>1</sup> One English ballad represents the lament of a Scottish girl when the English troops were withdrawn from Scotland:

‘I never fancied laddy till I saw mine enemy,  
 Me thought he was the blithest mon  
 That ever I set eyes upon :  
 Well might have fooled a wiser one,  
 As he did me.’<sup>2</sup>

The restoration of Charles II. naturally prepared the way for a reconciliation between the two nations. For once they thought alike on political questions. This is well put in a ballad entitled ‘A Pair of Prodigals Returned, or England and Scotland agreed.’<sup>3</sup> It is a discussion between an Englishman and a Scot, which begins with mutual reproaches. ‘You sold your lord,’ says one, ‘You murdered your king,’ answers the other. They conclude by resolving not to rip up old sores any more.

‘We have both been trait’rous rebels to our prince,  
 Drencht our hands in his innocent blood,  
 Let’s expiate our crimes by obedience, since  
 ’Tis never too late to be good.’

Henceforth the hostility between the two nations steadily diminished, for it had its root in political rather than in natural causes.

There are indications of this in poems, ballads and songs, side by side with occasional exhibitions of the old animosity. One reason for the growth of a better feeling was association in arms against common enemies. A ballad called ‘The Granadeers Rant’ with the chorus ‘Hey the brave Scottish boys’ celebrates the courage of a detachment of Dumbarton’s regiment during the defence of Tangiers against the Moors (reprinted in *Roxburghe Ballads*, vii. 532). But the most remarkable example of this feeling is Andrew Marvell’s poem commemorating the death of Captain Andrew Douglas in June, 1667, when the Dutch burnt the English ships in the Medway.

<sup>1</sup> *Scotland and the Commonwealth*, p. 324; *Cromwell’s Army*, p. 301.

<sup>2</sup> ‘The Scottish Girl’s Complaint for an Englishman’s going away when my Lord Monck came to London,’ *Roxburghe Ballads*, IX. xxxii.

<sup>3</sup> British Museum, 669, f. 25. (50).

Douglas was burnt with the Royal Oak, having refused to quit his ship without orders. Marvell calls his poem 'The Loyal Scot,'<sup>1</sup> and puts it in the mouth of Cleveland, as an answer to that poet's 'Rebel Scot,'

'My former satire for this verse forget  
My fault against my recantation set'

Cleveland is represented as saying.

So noble a death, argues the poet, ought to heal the old breaches between the two nations. What separates them is no natural feud or incompatibility, but the malignant influence of the clergy, in particular of the bishops.

'Though kingdoms join yet church will kirk oppose,  
The mitre still divides, the crown does close—  
The friendly loadstone has not more combined  
Than bishops cramped the commerce of mankind.  
Had it not been for such a bias strong  
Two nations ne'er had missed the mark so long.'

In his animosity to bishops, Marvell went so far as to applaud Mitchell's attempt to assassinate Archbishop Sharp, and wrote Latin verses in praise of *Scaevola Scoto-Britannus*.<sup>2</sup> Lauderdale he attacked with equal vigour, not only as the champion of the English hierarchy in Scotland, but as a danger to England:

'This haughty monster with his ugly claws,  
First tempered power to destroy our laws;  
Declares the councils edicts are beyond  
The most authentic statutes of the land;  
Sets up in Scotland a la mode France,  
Taxes, excise, and armies does advance.  
This Saracen his country's freedom broke  
To bring upon their necks the heavier yoke.  
Of all the miscreants e'er went to hell  
This villain rampant bears away the bell.'<sup>3</sup>

A dialogue between Duke Lauderdale and the Lord Danby, written about 1680, refers to the rumour that an army was to be levied in Scotland to support Charles II. against the Exclusionists and the English Parliament. Lauderdale says to Danby:

'You know I had ten thousand men at call  
To join with you to work these nations' fall.'<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Marvell's Poems*, ed. Aitken, i. 126.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* ii. 114. The verses were written in 1678, about the time of Mitchell's trial. For an English poem on the same subject, see *Roxburghe Ballads*, iv. 147, and Kirkton's *History of the Church of Scotland*, ed. C. K. Sharpe, p. 388.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* i. 74, 96.

<sup>4</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, iv. 91.

Marvell was an exception. English feeling, so far as it expresses itself in ballads, was on the side of the king's government in Scotland, for the poets and ballad writers were mostly Tories. An elegy published in London about May, 1679, on the murder of Archbishop Sharp, compares it to the assassination of Sir Edmondbury Godfrey, and describes it as an attempt of 'grim Lucifer' to outdo the Pope (*Roxburghe Ballads*, iv. 150). Edmund Waller wrote a poem on the Duke of Monmouth's expedition into Scotland<sup>1</sup> in which he thus described

'His fame, his conduct, and his martial look  
The guilty Scotch with such a terror strook,  
That to his courage they resign the field,  
Who to his bounty had refused to yield.  
Glad that so little loyal blood it cost,  
He grieves so many Britons should be lost;  
Taking more pains, when he beheld them yield,  
To save the fliers than to win the field;  
And at the Court his interest did employ,  
That none who 'scaped his fatal sword should die.'

The traditional ballad on Bothwell Brig, printed by Maidment,<sup>2</sup> dwells in the same way on Monmouth's mercifulness, contrasting it with the alleged cruelty of Claverhouse. There was also printed at London 'A New Scotch Ballad called Bothwell Bridge or Hamilton's Hero,' which Mr. Ebsworth rightly terms 'a wretched piece of doggerel,' and regards as an insult directed against Claverhouse. But it is far more likely to be an attack on Sir Thomas Armstrong, a swaggering ruffian who accompanied Monmouth to Scotland.<sup>3</sup> A second English ballad on Bothwell Bridge is 'Jockey's Downfall,' written by the author of 'The Satire against Hypocrites,' *i.e.* John Phillips, Milton's nephew.

'How now, Jockie, what again? Does the Covenant ride thee still?' asks the poet. As it was forty years ago, so now, he asserts, Mess John and Mess Andrew for their own profit had incited the mistaken throng of countrymen and artisans to rebellion, and the poor men had lost their lives for the sake of these canting Levites.<sup>4</sup> Stimulated both by this insurrection and by the contemporary struggle over the Exclusion Bill the feeling

<sup>1</sup> *Waller's Poems*, ed. Drury, p. 212; cf. *Roxburghe Ballads*, iv. 534.

<sup>2</sup> Maidment, *Scottish Ballads, Historical and Traditional*, ii. 300. See Terry, *Life of Dundee*, p. 81.

<sup>3</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, iv. 537.

<sup>4</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, iv. 541.

against Presbyterianism once more rose high in England. Dryden expresses it in *Absalom and Achitophel*<sup>1</sup> where Scotland is typified by Hebron, in which banished David ruled before he was recalled to reign in Jerusalem, and where two 'false Hebronites,' Robert Ferguson and James Forbes, are personally satirised. He again attacked Presbyterianism in general in the *Hind and the Panther*, where it appears as the wolf. 'Never was so deformed a beast of grace': its native kennel was Geneva, but colonies of these monsters had been established in Holland and Scotland.<sup>2</sup>

Occasionally Dryden seems to echo some of Cleveland's lines, but times had changed since 1644, and in spite of the animosity expressed to Presbyterianism there is little sign of the bitterness against the Scots as a race which had risen so high between 1644 and 1651. One reason is obvious; the rebellion of 1679 had been a partial and local movement; Scotland as a whole had remained quiet; there had been no new attempt to intervene across the border. Poets and ballad writers even contrasted the conduct of the Scots with that of the English Whigs, much to the advantage of the former. One song, called 'The Loyal Scot,' paints the surprise of a Scot on arriving in England in the midst of the Exclusion Bill agitation and finding the English Whigs, under the mask of reform, scheming to establish Presbytery and a Commonwealth. He decides to go back to Scotland since 'a loyal lad's in danger here.'<sup>3</sup> A poem called 'The Convert Scot and Apostate English' sets forth still more clearly that the two nations had changed parts. Cleveland's ashes, it begins, will surely rise, for now the Scots are become proselytes and the English rebels.

'Twas our fanatic Presbyter,  
The Devil's factors, made the plot;  
By them misled the Scots did err  
When them thou call'dst "Apostate Scot."

But now, the author continues, the northern air blows sweetly, dispelling mists, and there are no clouds there. The heir-apparent to the throne finds a refuge in Scotland from his enemies in England:

'Brave Scots go on, a braver man  
Ne'er wanted yet protection

<sup>1</sup> *Absalom and Achitophel*, part i. l. 59; part ii. ll. 320-349.

<sup>2</sup> *Hind and Panther*, part i. ll. 153-234. Published in April, 1687.

<sup>3</sup> 'A Choice Collection of 180 Loyal Songs,' printed by N. T., 1685, p. 189.

Than our great Duke of York; what can  
 But this merit oblivion?  
 All that is past of guilty fact  
 Lies buried here, in this one act.'

Henceforth they will be called 'the Convert Scots,' not Rebels or Apostates. Only let them stand by the Duke and the friends of monarchy in England:

'A glorious occasion now  
 Courts yet with opportunity:  
 Let after-ages say if you  
 When all men failed us, you stood by.

Your king, your country, all their friends  
 Now need your duty and your love,  
 Bravely appear, and make amends;  
 Let's hand in hand together move.

Down with your kirk-roost, curb them so  
 They cannot hurt; take sword in hand,  
 Defend your king from in-bred foe,  
 And York conduct you in command.'<sup>1</sup>

If Charles II. had been obliged to appeal to force it is probable that he would have attempted to employ Scottish arms as the poet suggested. But the contest over the Exclusion Bill in England ended without fighting. The strength of the king's government in Scotland was shown by the facility with which it suppressed Argyle's rebellion in 1685. His defeat is the theme of an English ballad entitled 'The King and Parliament or the Destruction of Argyle,' his capture, of another called 'The Rebel Captive.'<sup>2</sup> In both these productions the feeling is anti-Whig rather than anti-Scotch; they are expressive of political rather than national prejudices; in one the parliament of Scotland is praised as loyal and brave; in the other Argyle is denounced and derided as a traitor, not as a Scot.

The ballad literature of the period supplies some other indications of the subsidence of national animosities, which, small in themselves, are yet worth noting. According to Mr. Chappell, English ballads began to be circulated in Scotland about 1679: he supposes that their circulation was permitted by the Duke of York in order to gain popularity.<sup>3</sup> It is more certain that

<sup>1</sup> 'A collection of 86 Loyal Poems,' collected by N. T., 1685, p. 45.

<sup>2</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, v. 611, 621. Both are also to be found in 'A Collection of 180 Loyal Songs,' pp. 358, 365.

<sup>3</sup> *Roxburghe Ballads*, iii. 674.

Scottish traditional ballads began to be printed by English ballad publishers during the latter part of the seventeenth century and attained some popularity in England. 'The gallant Grahams,' 'Johnnie Armstrong's Last Good-Night,' and 'A delectable new ballad, intituled Leader-Haugh and Yarrow' appear with some others in the Roxburghe collection. 'The Life and Death of Sir Hugh of the Grime' is another example of the adaptation of a border ballad.<sup>1</sup>

Scottish amatory ballads became still more popular south of the Border. One, commencing 'Wilt thou be wilful still?' was transcribed in the manuscript note-book found on Monmouth when he was captured after Sedgmoor.<sup>2</sup>

A large number of Scottish songs—or what were meant to represent Scottish songs—were in circulation in England during the reign of Charles II. Some are possibly adaptations of genuine songs; most are imitations, written in a fictitious dialect by English poetasters. Mr. Ebsworth, who reprints a large number of them, terms them the 'Anglo-Scotch indecorous absurdities wherein Londoners delighted.'<sup>3</sup>

Examples are, 'An excellent new Play-House Song called The Bonny Grey-eyed Morn, or Jockey roused with Love,' which was sung in 1676 in Tom Durfey's play, 'The Plotting Sisters.' Another example is 'Pretty Kate of Edinburgh,' being a new Scotch song sung to the King at Windsor by the same author.<sup>4</sup> A third is 'The Bonny Scot, or the Yielding Lass,' also by Durfey, which was included later in Allan Ramsay's and Herd's collections. These songs, written by Durfey and his imitators, are interesting not on account of their intrinsic merit but as indications of popular feeling. As John Selden observes, 'more solid things do not show the complexion of the times so well as ballads and libels.'<sup>5</sup> Some of the extracts quoted before show that a ballad and a libel were often the same thing. It was a step towards union when ballads of a different type came into vogue, and when the popular literature of one nation, or something resembling it, began to interest the other.

C. H. FIRTH.

<sup>1</sup> See *Roxburghe Ballads*, vi. 575-608.

<sup>2</sup> *Ib.* iv. 544.

<sup>3</sup> *Ib.* vi. 618.

<sup>4</sup> *Ib.* vii. 302, 304; *Bagford Ballads*, i. 16.

<sup>5</sup> *Selden's Table Talk*, ed. Reynolds, p. 105.

## A New View of the War of Independence

THE part played by the North of Scotland in the War of Independence has been consistently ignored by Scottish historians. They have always taken it for granted that the War of Independence was won by the Lowlands of Scotland, though they have not explained how and whence Bruce obtained the adherents who made his early successes, and consequently his ultimate success, possible. Professor Hume Brown, in his history, does not discuss the point. Mr. Andrew Lang observes: 'But we still ask, how did he achieve any success? The nation as a whole was not yet with him (that his later forfeitures of his enemies proves); patriotism, properly speaking, was as yet rudimentary. The Commons had fallen away after Wallace's death; of the nobles some were indifferent, many were bitterly hostile, holding Bruce in deadly feud. Rome, since 1304 no ally, was now an embittered foe, because of Bruce's sacrilege, and he lay under excommunication—then, and much later, a terrible position. Who composed Bruce's forces while he wandered in Galloway? A few knights, probably, with some hundreds of broken men from Kyle, Annandale, Carrick, and the Isles.'<sup>1</sup> Sir Herbert Maxwell, writing of Bruce's campaign against the Earl of Buchan, says: 'For several months after this<sup>2</sup> we hear no more of either Bruce or Buchan. It is quite likely that Buchan's inactivity was the result of the growing popularity of Bruce and the idea of independence. Failing some such reason, it seems amazing that such a favourable chance of capturing or crushing the King of the Scots was allowed to slip.'<sup>3</sup> It seems clear, therefore, that these writers are unable

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Scotland*, i. 212.

<sup>2</sup> That is after Christmas Eve, 1307—Sir Herbert here proceeding on the assumption that the Battle of Inverurie was fought on 22nd May, 1308, instead of on Christmas Eve, 1307, which can, I think, be proved to be the correct date. See below, page 134, for Bruce's movements in the spring and summer of 1308.

<sup>3</sup> *Robert the Bruce*, p. 177.

to explain who formed the armies which Bruce led to victory. Mr. Andrew Lang, however, goes a step further. In an appendix to the first volume of his history, headed 'The Celts in the War of Independence,' he says: 'The War of Independence was won by the Lowland Scots (in origin mainly of English descent) fighting under the standards of leaders more or less Norman by blood.'<sup>1</sup> There is not, I think, historical evidence to support so emphatic a statement.

Bruce's ultimate success was made possible—indeed was secured—not by the support which he obtained from the Lowland Scots or in the Lowlands, but by the support he obtained in the north and in the other parts of Celtic Scotland. At the first glance this may seem a rash statement, and I do not wish to be understood to imply that Bruce obtained no support in the Lowlands. But it seems to me that the centre of his strength was in the north and not in the south—in Celtic and not in Lowland Scotland.

It is remarkable that no fortress of importance in the Lowlands of Scotland was captured by Bruce or his adherents until 1312. In that year Buittle, Dalswinton, Caerlaverock, and Lochmaben were captured; Perth, Dumfries, and Linlithgow fell in the following year, and Roxburgh and Edinburgh about the same time. Dundee was certainly in English hands as late as 1312, while Stirling and Bothwell did not surrender until after Bannockburn. On the other hand, by the middle of 1309 Scotland north of the Tay, with the exception of Perth and Dundee, was entirely in Bruce's hands, while the Celtic part of Scotland south of the Tay was held by Douglas and Edward Bruce, and formed the base from which the Scots carried the war into the enemy's country.

When Bruce was crowned at Scone in March 1306, he had no more devoted adherent than David de Moravia, Bishop of Moray. The bishop was a member of the powerful and patriotic house of Moray, the only noble house which had stood by Wallace after the surrender of the Scottish nobility on 9th July, 1297. Immediately Bruce was crowned King, the Bishop of Moray preached a Holy War throughout the length and breadth of his diocese with such effect that the men of Moray flew to Bruce's standard.<sup>2</sup> After Methven the bishop had to flee for

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Scotland*, i. 495.

<sup>2</sup> Palgrave's *Documents illustrating the History of Scotland*, 346.

his life, and Edward issued peremptory orders to his Generals in Scotland to make every effort to effect his capture.<sup>1</sup> The bishop, however, succeeded in reaching Orkney, and there, as I shall endeavour to show, he almost certainly met Bruce in the winter of 1306-1307. The old Scottish historians have it that Bruce spent that winter in the island of Ráchrin, though the English chroniclers state that he went to Norway, and that Ráchrin itself was the property of a close ally of the English King. The English fleet, too, was scouring the western seas, leaving no nook or cranny unexplored in its efforts to find him. The English version of his flight to Norway is, therefore, the more likely to be true; but it did not find much acceptance in Scotland until the recent discovery of documents, which show that Bruce's sister was married to the Norwegian king. That discovery at least confirms the English statement that Bruce did spend the winter of 1306-07 in Norway.<sup>2</sup>

In the spring of 1307 Bruce landed in Arran, whence he made his famous raid on the south-west of Scotland, which culminated in the victory of Loudon Hill. Now there is in existence a letter written from Forfar on the 15th of May of that year, in which the writer says: 'Sir Robert Bruce never had the goodwill of his own followers, or of the people at large, or even half of them, so much with him as now. . . . And they firmly believe, by the encouragement of the false preachers who come from the host, that Sir Robert de Bruce will now have his will. . . . If Sir Robert de Brus can escape any way or towards the parts of Ross he will find them all ready at his will more entirely than ever.'<sup>3</sup> Now what does that mean? It can only mean that there was a movement on Bruce's behalf in the north and north-east of Scotland prior to the Battle of Loudon Hill, and that the preachers were at their old work of stirring up the people to support his cause. In the previous year we have it on Edward's own authority that the Bishop of Moray had roused 'the flock of his bishopric' by preaching a Holy War. The bishop had fled to Orkney. Bruce had sought an asylum in Norway. And as soon as the winter is over, we find Bruce trying to rally his own men of Carrick to his support, and 'preachers' rousing the north. The obvious conclusion, therefore, is that Bruce's descent on the south-west of Scotland was

<sup>1</sup> Bain's *Calendar of Documents relating to Scotland*, ii. p. 488.

<sup>2</sup> Bain, ii. xlix. and note.

<sup>3</sup> Bain, ii. p. 513.

no mere accident, no forlorn hope, but was part of a plan arranged in Orkney or Norway with the Bishop of Moray, that plan being that Bruce was to raise his own earldom of Carrick, while the bishop raised the province of Moray. Bruce's exploits and successes are a matter of history; but that these formed only a part of a well-laid plan has never hitherto been suggested. If confirmation of the existence of such a plan is needed, we find it in another well-known fact—Bruce's expedition to the north in the autumn of 1307. Previous writers have dealt with that expedition, but have failed to explain it. Mr. Lang says: 'Bruce moved to the north, where, as the Forfar letter shows, he had hopes of finding partisans;'<sup>1</sup> while Sir Herbert Maxwell observes: 'He moved northwards in order to raise the people in the national cause.'<sup>2</sup> But why northwards? Why not to the east or to the midlands, where he would have been in touch with his victorious friends in the south-west? And what hopes of finding partisans had he? Why in the north were the people showing signs of rising in his favour prior to the Battle of Loudon Hill? Because he was a hunted fugitive in the south-west? There is only one possible answer. The north held out no indefinite hopes. The north was ready; his friends had done their work. Bruce's presence alone was required to fan the flame they had kindled into a fierce blaze. Then, as for centuries before and for centuries later, the north was the home of desperate causes. So Bruce answered the call, hastened north with a few trusty followers, and, by so doing, won the independence of Scotland.

It was in September or October 1307 that Bruce crossed the Grampians. Barbour makes him meet there Sir Alexander and Simon Fraser, 'with all the folk thai with thaim had,' and immediately proceed to Inverurie. At Inverurie Bruce fell ill, and lay for several weeks in danger of his life. His force was not yet large, Inverurie was not well protected, and the Earl of Buchan and Sir David de Brechin were at hand with a large following. So Edward Bruce deemed it advisable to remove the sick King to the greater security—and the greater hardships—of the hill country of Strathbogie. Buchan and de Brechin followed; the latter attacked Bruce's outposts, and Bruce, rising from his sick-bed at the news of the brush, led his men against his foes, where they lay in fancied security near Inverurie on Christmas Eve, 1307, not on 22nd May, 1308, as later historians

<sup>1</sup> *Hist. of Scotland*, i. 213.

<sup>2</sup> *Robert the Bruce*, 174.

have averred. For, as we shall presently see, Bruce was in the Earl of Ross's territories on the latter date. The victory of Inverurie was followed by the 'Hership of Buchan,' by the capture of Aberdeen, and by the winning of the whole of the modern counties of Aberdeen and Kincardine to the cause of Independence. By the end of July Bruce's lieutenants had completed the work so well begun, and in all Scotland north of the Tay only Dundee Castle and Perth were held for England.

Now, two questions immediately arise. Why did Bruce strike first for Aberdeenshire? And how did he attain such success with a force which Barbour—whose numbers are usually to be trusted—places at 700 men? The answer to the second question is to be found in the answer to the first. Aberdeenshire had always been friendly to Bruce and to the cause of Independence. Bruce himself as King, as well as by descent from the Earl of Huntingdon, was feudal superior of the Earldom of the Garioch, while he was at the same time the natural guardian of his nephew, the youthful Earl of Mar, then, and for several years afterwards, a prisoner at the English court. For Bruce's sister Christian had married Gartney, Earl of Mar, who died in 1306, leaving her a widow with two young children, while Bruce himself had married in 1295 Gartney's sister Isabel. The Earls of Mar and the Bruces had for many years been closely connected; and, indeed, when the elder Bruce was a competitor for the Crown, the Earl of Mar, Earl Gartney's father, was his chief supporter.<sup>1</sup> So it was natural that Bruce should expect to find adherents in Mar and the Garioch. Mar, too, was one of the ancient Celtic earldoms, and as it lay close to the Province of Moray, it had in all probability received the attention of the Bishop of Moray and his fellow 'preachers.' For in the Forfar letter, above quoted, the writer states, on the authority of 'Sir Reginald de Chen, Sir Duncan de Ferendrauth, and Sir Gilbert de Glenkerni, and others who watch the peace both beyond and on this side of the mountains,' that the people are ready to support Bruce.

Immediately after the Hership of Buchan, Bruce advanced into the Province of Moray. Here the influence of the Bishop was at once apparent. The whole country rallied to Bruce's side, the castles held for England were captured or gladly surrendered, and the very officials whom Edward I. had appointed in September 1305 to govern the north in his name came over to Bruce. Inverness Castle, the principal fortress north of the

<sup>1</sup> *Scots Peerage* (Balfour Paul), v. 577.

Spey, was taken by surprise, probably before Bruce's actual arrival, as the whole district was strongly in his favour, and had a brave and capable leader in the person of Alexander Pilche, the colleague and chief lieutenant of Andrew de Moray in 1297. This Alexander Pilche was a burgher of Inverness, and a man of great influence in Moray. He remained constant to the cause of Independence until its seemingly final overthrow in 1303, when, like many other Scotsmen, he was compelled to accept the inevitable. With him Edward followed his usual practice of endeavouring to conquer his greatest opponents by trusting them, and we find him Governor of Inverness Castle for England in midsummer, 1304, though by the following year he seems for some reason to have been out of favour.<sup>1</sup> In him Bruce found a staunch supporter, and it was probably owing to his influence and skill that the Castle of Inverness fell so easily. For the rest of his life Alexander Pilche was high in Bruce's favour, and he subsequently died Sheriff of Inverness. Bruce found the Castle of Inverness a place of great strength, and ordered it to be levelled with the ground in order that no rallying-place might be left to the English faction in the north.<sup>2</sup> For the Earl of Ross was still Edward's man.

From Inverness Bruce marched at the head of nearly three thousand men against the man who, little more than a year before, had given signal proof of his loyalty to England by violating the Sanctuary of St. Duthac in Tain, and surrendering Bruce's Queen to Edward—the Earl of Ross. Him Bruce speedily brought to terms. During April and May he marched through Ross, Sutherland, and Caithness, and when the Earl showed signs of resistance, a threat to lay waste his territories proved effectual. With the example of Buchan before him, the Earl agreed to a truce till 1st June, 1308. These things we know from a letter<sup>3</sup> still in existence from the Earl himself to Edward II. But if the Earl looked for help from England he looked in vain, and at last he made a formal and complete surrender to Bruce at Auldearn, near Nairn, on the 31st October, 1308.<sup>4</sup> Bruce treated him generously, gave him a new grant of all his lands, and granted him, in addition, the lands of Dingwall and

<sup>1</sup> Bain, ii. 438.

<sup>2</sup> For full account of Alexander Pilche and the war in the north, see my *Inverness in the Middle Ages*, pp. 51 to 68.

<sup>3</sup> *The Sutherland Book* (Sir Wm. Fraser), iii. 10.

<sup>4</sup> *Acts of Parl.* i. 477.

Ferncrosky. From that time onwards the Earl of Ross was one of Bruce's staunchest friends and supporters.

The surrender at Auldearn marks the conclusion of Bruce's campaign in the north. It had been a wonderfully short and a wonderfully successful campaign. Indeed, so strongly was the north on his side, that it had been, at least north of the Spey, a practically bloodless campaign. A few English garrisons driven out, and perhaps one or two slight skirmishes with the Earl of Ross's men prior to the truce in April or May, provided the only fighting worthy the name. The witnesses to the Earl's surrender perhaps show best the extent to which Bruce had the north behind him. The first witness is the patriotic Bishop of Moray, and the second, Thomas Bishop of Ross, whose appointment to the see Edward I. had himself approved in 1297. Then follow, among others, no less than three of the Sheriffs whom Edward I. had appointed for Scotland north of Aberdeen in September 1305,<sup>1</sup> viz.: Sir John de Stirling, Sheriff of Inverness, Sir William Wiseman, Sheriff of Elgin, and Sir Walter Berkeley, Sheriff of Banff. Sir John de Stirling was a landholder in Moray, but, it is interesting to observe, he had in 1291 leased from Sir Robert Bruce, lord of Annandale, all Bruce's land in the Barony of Inverbervyn.<sup>2</sup> Sir William de Haya, who was Edward's sheriff at Inverness in 1295-96,<sup>3</sup> is also a witness, as are also Sir David de Berkeley, and Sir John de Fenton. Sir David de Berkeley was, of course, an adherent of Bruce from the very first, while Sir John de Fenton appears to have been of the family of Sir William de Fenton, who married Cecilia Byset, one of the co-heiresses of the last Byset of Lovat. The document is also witnessed by Walter Heroc, Dean of Moray, William de Crewsel, precentor of Moray, and 'by many other nobles, clerics, and laity, assembled at same time and place.' These signatures prove that the north of Scotland, noble, cleric, lay, and official, was strongly on the side of Bruce and independence. Thus by the close of 1308 all the Highlands proper—the most Celtic part of Scotland—had once again thrown off the English yoke. Barely three years before Edward I. had made what he deemed a final settlement of the Highlands, yet at the first opportunity the church, the nobility, and the people declared for Bruce, the very sheriffs who governed for England abandoned her cause, and the greatest magnate in the Highlands, who was bound by the closest ties of interest and policy to

<sup>1</sup> Bain, ii. p. 458.

<sup>2</sup> Bain, ii. p. 121.

<sup>3</sup> Bain, ii. p. 264.

England, who had wronged Bruce more deeply than any other man in Scotland, was compelled, whether he liked it or not, almost as soon as Bruce appeared in the Highlands, to sue for pardon. These facts speak for themselves, but it may be pointed out as a further indication of the real attitude of the north, that from 1297 to 1303 Scotland north of the Spey had been absolutely independent. In the latter year Edward in person crushed all resistance in the north, but the very men he had appointed to govern in his name had, most of them, been prominent on the patriotic side down to 1303. Like the vast majority of Scotsmen elsewhere, they had no choice but to become Edward's men when in 1303-1304 Scottish Independence seemed at last to be finally crushed. But the English conquest took no firm hold of the north, for the people were not 'Lowland Scots in origin mainly of English descent,' and they had all the old Celtic preference for a king of their own race. Bruce was in their eyes the rightful King of Scotland. He claimed the throne by virtue of his descent from the old Celtic kings; his mother was a Celtic princess in her own right, and his own earldom of Carrick was a Celtic earldom. And to crown all, only three years had elapsed since the north had last met England in battle. Then the north had been beaten but not subdued. And, as we have seen, there were not wanting patriotic spirits to keep the fire smouldering.

The results of the adherence to Bruce of Scotland from Caithness to the Tay were far-reaching. With the north behind him Bruce was able to proceed with the task of wresting the Lowlands and Argyle from English hands. Between November 1308 and March 1309 he subdued the latter, while his brother Edward secured Galloway. Affairs proceeded so favourably that on 16th March he was able to hold his first Parliament, that Parliament which met at St. Andrews, and drew up the letter to the King of France declaring that Bruce was now King of Scotland. The record of that Parliament is exceedingly interesting.<sup>1</sup> Three of the great Celtic Earls were present in person, the Earls of Ross, Lennox, and Sutherland, while the other Celtic earldoms of Fife, Menteith, Mar, and Buchan, and the earldom of Caithness, whose heirs, the record states, were in ward, were represented. Bruce's tried and trusted friends, his brother Edward, James the Steward, Donald of Isla, Gilbert de Haya, Robert de Keith, Thomas Randolph, Sir James Douglas, Alexander de Lindsay,

<sup>1</sup> *Acts of Parl.* i. 459.

William Wiseman, David de Berkeley, and Robert Boyde, are also specifically mentioned, while the names of Alexander of Argyle, Hugh, son and heir of the Earl of . . . (Ross?), and John de Menteith, 'and the Barons of the whole of Argyle and Innisgall and the inhabitants of the whole Kingdom of Scotland,' complete the record. Thus, of the twenty-four names mentioned specifically in the document, no less than fourteen are representative of the ancient Celtic Kingdom of Scotland, while several of the others are more or less connected with the north. Some doubts have been expressed as to the trustworthiness of the record, but the names it gives are confirmed in a striking manner by the events I have narrated. The Earls of Ross and Sutherland, Hugh, son and heir of the Earl of Ross, William Wiseman, and David de Berkeley, are all mentioned in the contemporary documents from which I have compiled my narrative, as having been, by 31st October, 1308, of Bruce's party, while of the remaining names that of Alexander of Argyle is the only one doubtful.

The events I have just narrated, and the names I have given, prove, I think, that Celtic Scotland had declared itself for Bruce at the crisis of his fate, and three years before he made any headway in the Anglicized Lowlands. He could only have made the headway he did in Celtic Scotland in so short a period by the support of the people of the country. It follows that the people who won the War of Independence were not, as Mr. Lang says, 'Lowland Scots (in origin mainly of English descent) fighting under standards of leaders, more or less Norman by blood,' but the inhabitants of the Celtic part of Scotland fighting under leaders, many of them Celtic, and under a king whose mother was a Celtic countess, and who claimed the crown by virtue of his descent from a Celtic king. And I do not think it can be disputed that, if Bruce had not secured the support of the north in 1308, the independence of Scotland would not have been won. From the north he obtained men and staunch support when he needed both most. From Celtic Scotland in the west his armies raided England. From Celtic Scotland in the north and west he captured one by one the strongholds of the Scottish Lowlands. For it cannot be denied that it was not until he had Celtic Scotland behind him that the strongholds of the south fell. Lanark was held for England as late as October 1310, while in 1312 the whole of the Lothians and a large part of Scotland south of the Forth were in English

hands. There were English garrisons in Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Stirling, Bothwell, Linlithgow, Dunbar, Yester, Luffenok, Dirleton, Kirkintilloch, Selkirk, Jedburgh, Livingston, Lochmaben, Buittle, Dalswinton, Dumfries, Caerlaverock, and Cavres, as well as in Perth and Dundee, and English sheriffs still ruled in Berwick, Roxburgh, Edinburgh, Haddington, Linlithgow, Stirling, and Perth.<sup>1</sup>

It is interesting to observe that the narrative as I have told it is borne out by Barbour, in a passage often quoted, but always with the comment that nothing is known of events in the north. The passage is as follows (the poet has just described the Hershship of Buchan):

‘The King than till his pess has tane  
The north cuntreys, that humbly  
Obseysyt till his senyowry.  
Swa that be north the month war nane.  
Then thai his men war euirilkane.  
His Lordschip wox ay mar and mar.  
Toward Anguss syne gan he far;  
And thought sone to mak all fre  
That wes on the north half the Scottis Se.’

An interesting sidelight on the views I have advanced is that the only two parliaments which Bruce held prior to Bannockburn met in the old kingdom of Celtic Scotland, the one at St. Andrews in 1309 and the other at Inverness in 1312.<sup>2</sup> The latter was an exceedingly important parliament, and one which would in ordinary circumstances have been held in the capital of the kingdom. It was the parliament at which Bruce in person met the envoys of the King of Norway and ratified with great solemnity the treaty made between the Kings of Norway and Scotland in 1266. As befitted the occasion, Bruce was attended by a great retinue, the most important members of which were witnesses to the treaty. They were the Bishops of Aberdeen, Moray, Ross, and Caithness, and the Earls of Ross, Athol, and Moray. Though the Earl of Moray was Thomas Randolph, the witnesses unmistakably are all representative of Celtic Scotland.

I do not desire to exaggerate the part played by the north of Scotland in the War of Independence, nor to lay myself open to the charge of holding a special brief for the Celts. But

<sup>1</sup> See Bain, vol. iii., for various entries relating to these places.

<sup>2</sup> *Acts of Parl.* i. 459 and 461.

the facts I have stated show how important was the part played by Celtic Scotland in the War of Independence, and that it was the old kingdom of Celtic Scotland which really maintained and ultimately won that struggle. For I think I have shown that there is sound historical evidence for the view that in the north of Scotland, Bruce found his earliest and staunchest supporters; that the north declared for and stood by Bruce while the Lowlands were as yet lukewarm or hostile; and that, therefore, to the north was his ultimate success due.

EVAN M. BARRON.

## An Edinburgh Account-Book of Two Hundred Years Ago

ON or about May 12th, 1699, while William of Orange was still on the throne—five years before Blenheim and eight before the Union—there died in her house in Blackfriars Wynd, Edinburgh, Anna Broun,<sup>1</sup> widow of John Wilson, merchant there, daughter of Robert Broun, stationer, and half-sister of Charles Broun of Gleghornie.<sup>2</sup> This was a small estate near North Berwick, famous as the birthplace of John Major or Mair, scholar, historian, and philosopher, who had among his pupils John Knox and George Buchanan.

As nearest relative Charles now took charge, and issued the following invitation to the funeral: 'Sir, the favour of your presence to accompany the corps of my sister Anna relict of Ja. Wilson mert. in Edr from her dwelling house in Blackfrier Wynd to her buriall place in the Greyfrier Church yeard on Munday ye 15 instant at seven o'clock at night is earnestly intreated. Coaches shall attend you.' With some slight alterations, such as the substitution of 'remains' for 'corps,' and change of the appointed hour, the invitation might have been issued yesterday.<sup>3</sup>

It will be noticed that the hour appointed for the funeral was

<sup>1</sup>The intrusions of the curator on this estate are contained in a number of sheets, amongst the Colstoun papers now in my possession. J. G. A. B.

<sup>2</sup>The said Charles afterwards married a distant cousin, Jean Broun, who succeeded to the estate of Colstoun on the death of her father and two brothers by drowning, as told elsewhere.—*Blackwood's Magazine*, July 1907.

<sup>3</sup>The word 'relict' still survives in Scottish obituary notices, and perhaps in legal documents, though there is no apparent reason for its continued existence. It was in use in the sixteenth century, but cannot compare in point of antiquity with 'widow,' nor indeed in any other way. 'Widow' arouses sympathy and respect, not so 'relict,' which seems to denote something of no importance, a mere appanage of the husband, not worth taking with him. The word no doubt came to Scotland from France, as did many others to which no objection can be taken.

'seven o'clock at night,' and it may be presumed that this was about the usual time. Apart from any question of its appropriateness for the ceremony, being near sunset, it was no doubt the most convenient time of day for those invited to attend, for there were no trains arriving or departing; the day's work, of whatever kind, would be over or nearly so, and friends and neighbours would be at liberty.

But there was another reason, and that was the 'dragie,' or dirgie, as this curious word was more usually and more correctly spelt. 'Dirige,' the first word of the antiphon at Matins in the Office of the Dead, was used as a name for that service but acquired another meaning, and was more commonly used to signify the drinking of the company after the interment, as Jamieson puts it. Obviously, therefore, the evening was the most suitable, and probably in some cases the most decent, time for that essential part of the obsequies, and admitted of a more prolonged session for busy people. And there is no doubt of the meaning of 'dragie' on this occasion, for a servant had ten shillings for attending thereat and giving out tickets for wine. The wine and ale provided cost £44 and the plumcake and biscuits £30—a more respectable proportion than the half-penny worth of bread to two gallons of sack, which provoked a famous remonstrance. Moreover the account is in Scots money, and as the pound Scots was worth then about one shilling and eightpence, the amount of liquor provided could not have been great, unless it was unusually cheap, so that the dragie seems to have been quite a moderate one. There is, however, a previous item in the account which is difficult to explain. 'To Mrs McRae for 8 bottles sack ye night ye said Anna died.' No light is thrown on the subject by any other entry. One bottle for a posset or other prescribed drink would not be remarkable, but eight are somewhat difficult to account for in that way, and yet surely the drinking customs of the time did not include such an immediate memorial service of wine.

The account includes also payments to the gravemaker, bellman, town officer, and Kirk Thesaurer, the latter of whom received 5 rexdollars or £14 10s. Scots. The mortcloth, no doubt hired for the occasion, according to use and wont, cost £8, the 'dead-linnens' or shroud £26, and the coffin, for which flowers were provided—oh for a list of those flowers—£30. Nor were the poor or the 'blewgouns' forgotten, for they were supplied with meat, and thirty-nine shillings were distributed among them.

The funeral over, Charles Broun proceeded without delay to wind up his late sister's affairs, and the first step was the taking of the 'Inventar' of her goods and gear. She lived in a hired house, for which she paid £70 a year. There were a parlour and dining-room, which were furnished with sets of chairs, one of cane, and the other of gilt wood, each set including one arm-chair, besides tables, mirrors, and chests of drawers. Of beds there are specially mentioned a throne bedstead, and a 'langsadle' or longsettle. There was good store of bedding, including blankets spranged (*i.e.* striped) and unspranged, linen sheets, and sheets of strakin—linen made from coarse flax. The kitchen utensils consisted of a large pan and a small one, a couple of frying-pans, a brander or gridiron, dripping-pan and strainer, girdle, and pestle and mortar. The table equipage, which included porringers, dishes, trenchers, sugar-dish, and 'saltfoot' or salt-cellar, was of pewter, as were two flagons, and a stand of stoups, pint, chopin, mutchkin, half-mutchkin, and gill. The crockery comprised a posset dish, trencher, and two plates of earthenware—a very modest amount. There was besides a small quantity of silver—a server, a dish, two jugs, and a cathel or caudle pot.

The taking of the inventory was speedily followed by the roup, which was completed by May 23rd, while the board, intimating that the house was to let, was in position before the 17th, so that little time was lost. At the roup Deacon Inglis, the silversmith, bought the silver server, dish, and cathel pot for £127 10s. The silver spoons fetched £3 4s. the ounce, and the pewter was sold at 12s. the pound. An iron frying-pan brought 10s., which seems a high price, but it was in Scots money. The roup realised altogether about £800, and with the cash which his sister left, Charles Broun had £872 to account for, to begin with.

For Anna left something more important than goods and gear, to wit, a daughter Margaret by name, to whom uncle Charles became curator and guardian. His intromissions with her property, or at any rate the account of what he spent on her behalf, whether out of her funds or his own, for the next ten years comprise about five hundred entries, from which something may be gathered of a child's upbringing in Edinburgh two centuries ago. One of the earliest items in the account is 'an extract of ye sd Margaret her age,' for which 14s. 6d. were paid. The age is not given, but as she

was at school in 1700, and went to a masquerade in 1708, she was probably nine or ten years old at the time of her mother's death. Margaret was boarded out, at first with a Mrs. Foulis, and afterwards with Anna Edgar, for £36 a quarter. She remained with the latter until November, 1706, when she went to Colstoun; returned to her in October, 1708, and was with her when the account came to an abrupt conclusion in February, 1709. Whether these ladies provided education, as well as board, is uncertain, but as no payments are mentioned for teaching, except in special subjects, it seems probable that they did. The special subjects were: music, which included playing on the virginals or spinet, singing, arithmetic, and pastry, which probably included all the operations of the still-room. Margaret was, on the whole, blessed with good health, but had occasional colds, for which she was treated with syrups of sugar and oranges, sugar and poppies, sack and prunes, and conserve of roses. Here is a recipe for the last-named remedy should anyone care to try it. 'Take your roses before they be full-blown, pull the leaves, and clip off their white ends, then beat them very well in a mortar, then take two times their weight in sugar, and beat them together till they be well mixed, then put in a gallipot for use.' How the conserve was to be used, whether externally or internally, is not quite clear. Besides the above remedies there were also provided 'jessamie and oyl' three mutchkins of wine to steep herbs in, five of white wine for a diet drink, and hungary water at 12s. the bottle. During her stay at Colstoun, however, there was evidently a more serious complaint, and Dr. Stirling was called in and paid a guinea for his advice; the result of which was that Margaret was bled by Provost Edgar, of Haddington, who was a chirurgeon by profession, at a charge of £3 for the operation.<sup>1</sup>

While Margaret's health was attended to, her religious upbringing was not neglected. Her extremely scanty library was, so far as can be gathered from the accounts, confined entirely to religious books. In September, 1700, she was furnished with a proof catechism, and in February, 1703, with a *Confession of Faith*, which being lost, or worn out—the former, most likely—was replaced by another copy in 1706.

<sup>1</sup>This Dr. Stirling was probably the surgeon in Edinburgh, and Member of Parliament for the city, whose daughter married Alexander, fourth Lord Elibank.

The *Confession* was evidently considered an essential possession for a child in those days, when the dogmas of Westminster were accepted without demur or reservation. In 1707 Margaret received a pocket Bible and *Dolittle on ye Sacrament*.<sup>1</sup>

Poor Margaret; her mind was certainly not distracted from more serious reading by light literature, unless Anna Edgar supplied her charge with something of the kind, which was indeed at that time not very easy to do. For recreation she learnt jappanning and practised that art upon sconces, prints, snuff-boxes, and picture-frames; for which purpose the following materials were provided: vermilion, dragon's blood, silver leaf, ivory black, lamp black and flake white, with varnish, oils, and turpentine. Another entry in the same connection is 'a quarter ounce rushes.' This material was difficult to identify, but 'rushes' was no doubt the trade name of the juice of a tree of the sumach tribe named *Rhus vernicifera*, which is used for lacquering by the Japanese. For the sconces there was supplied prince's metal, an alloy said to have been first prepared by Prince Rupert, who seems to have been an inventive genius as well as a dashing soldier—is he not the reputed father of mezzotint engraving? Anything else in the way of amusement must have been paid for out of Margaret's pocket money, which beginning at £1 9s. was subsequently raised to £2 18s. a quarter. Besides this subvention, she was furnished with hansel money for presents, and tips for various persons, such as the doctor and under-doctor of her school, who received £2 and £1 respectively.

Information concerning her wardrobe is somewhat scanty, because the tradesmen's bills are entered in sums total, and details are not given; but stuffs were purchased in lengths for making up. An early entry is 'for 2½ ells bustine to be a waistcoat to her, and making £1 12.' This material is described as a cotton fabric of foreign make, or a species of fustian, and is mentioned in Allan Ramsay's *Gentle Shepherd*, where Patie describes his sweetheart Peggy, saying 'Neat, neat she was in

<sup>1</sup> Dolittle was a clergyman of the Church of England, and becoming a non-conformist, was ejected from his charge of St. Alphage, London Wall. He was an eminent preacher, and kept an academy at Wimbledon for some time; had many troubles, some of which were caused by the Plague, and Fire of London; belied his name by publishing twenty books on Divinity, and died in 1707.

bustine waistcoat clean.' Other materials which were, as a rule, of an inexpensive kind, comprised twill, worsted for petticoats, alamode and lutestring—two silken fabrics—cambric, calico, Scots muslin and temming, which was a kind of woollen cloth. The highwater mark of extravagance was reached in 1705 when £136 12s. 6d. was paid for a silk gown, etc. There are also mentioned a dust-gown of camlet lined with crape, and a 'Marseils' petticoat. The latter stuff appears to have been either a stiff cotton fabric, or quilting. For headgear she was provided with commodes, which were wire frameworks—foundations for a superstructure, linen mutches, and headsuits. The latter term does not convey any definite idea of what is meant, but the headsuit was composed of various materials, including lace, which was, no doubt, its highest form. Margaret used powder, which was purchased by the pound, and for ornament she got a cheap necklace now and then: in 1709 24s. were paid for a 'necklass and anchor.' She was also supplied with a fan at 20s. Besides ordinary shoes and pattens, she had others of marikine or morocco, and capron or goat-skin of some kind. Gloves of washing material may complete the list of Margaret's usual outfit, but there was one article which deserves notice. This was a 'Strae bone grace' at 13s. According to the *New Oxford Dictionary* a 'bonegrace' was 'a shade or curtain formerly worn on the front of women's bonnets or caps to protect the complexion from the sun.' Scott, describing the appearance of Meg Merrilies in the third chapter of *Guy Mannering*, calls it 'an old fashioned bonnet,' and Jamieson merely a 'straw bonnet'; so that by a process of evolution, not without parallel, the part came to denote the whole. The bonegrace is still worn by field workers in the Border counties, but the name has departed along with many another of French origin to the limbo of glossaries and dialect dictionaries.

With this note the analysis of Charles Broun's accounts on behalf of his niece comes to an end. Of her subsequent life and adventures there is no record, though, perhaps, diligent search might reveal something; were it worth while. And so exit Margaret Wilson, and enter Thomas Broun, nephew of the aforesaid Charles, who became his curator in December, 1702, and kept an account of all outgoings, for ten years at least. In that year Thomas succeeded to the lands of Eastfield, near Ratho in Midlothian, and some property at Gogar-

stone in the same county; being heir of entail to his uncle James, son of Thomas Broun, stationer, and bailie in Edinburgh, who purchased the estate of Eastfield in 1696. His exact age is not discernible, but as he was still at school in 1712, and in a state of tutelage in other respects, it is evident that he was quite a little boy when he came into his kingdom. Nevertheless one of the earliest entries in the account is for 'a wig to sd Thomas' at £3 5s., which seems a strange accoutrement for a boy of tender years, but as no more wigs are mentioned, it is probable that he had lost his hair somehow, and a wig became a necessity. Shortly afterwards three ells of tartan were purchased to make him a nightgown or evening frock, which in combination with the wig must have made a queer little figure of him.

The first business to be attended to at Thomas's succession was the letting of his property, and accordingly Robert Taylor was sent to Kirkliston, Ratho, Currie and Corstorphine, 'to intimat at the Kirkdoors that Gogarstain was to Sett.' This not producing the desired effect, six months later the bellman of these villages and of Collingtoun and Libertoun besides, was paid 5s. for intimating that it was 'to be sett by way of roup,' which intimation was also made by a Sheriff's officer at the Cross of Edinburgh. The roup proved successful in so far as getting a tenant was concerned, and the tacks were signed a week later. Eastfield, however, was not let till the beginning of 1705, when Sir Robert Murray became tenant, but to account for the delay, there was a good deal of repairing to do. For this purpose trees and deals were supplied by John Henderson, wright, for the house and stables; and six hundred flooring nails and a quarter hundred double floorings, as well as door nails and ironwork, were purchased. So it is evident that the woodwork of the house was in a bad state. However, there was no further outlay during the period covered by the account, and the only expense was the cess, and a small sum occasionally for the repair of Cramond Bridge. After the properties were let, and sundry legal matters settled, the accounts are chiefly concerned with the boy's clothing and education, which seems to have begun in 1705. The only entries for his clothing are for shoes and stoquens—an unusual but picturesque spelling—hats and gloves, muslin for 'gravates,' linen for shirts, and nightcaps, and 'corderins' or corduroys. All else is hidden away in tradesmen's accounts entered in sums

total. The schoolmaster was paid £2 18s. a quarter, and the doctor half that amount; but the former received in addition a present from the pupils at Candlemas, which was called bleize money or candle-money, the amount of which varied—on one occasion it was 14s. 6d., on another £2 14s. 6d. Another master received £2 a quarter for teaching Thomas to write.

An interesting entry occurs in 1706, when a cock was purchased for him for 6s., and 4s. were paid for setting it down and taking it up. It does not recur in 1707, but in the three following years the same sums were paid and the same services rendered; on one occasion, at any rate, by the doctor, the boy providing the bird, but otherwise taking no part in the performance. The doctor was evidently what would now be termed an expert in cock fighting. The fights took place about the same time in each year, the middle of February—the usual day was Shrove Tuesday. It was a strange custom and an old one, which survived into the nineteenth century. In *My Schools and Schoolmasters* Hugh Miller writes, 'The School like almost all the other grammar schools of the period in Scotland had its yearly cock fight.' The period was about 1812. Every boy had to pay the dominie twopence for leave to bring his birds to the pit; but in Hugh Miller's time, though the fees were exacted, it was no longer necessary to bring the birds, of which circumstance he took advantage. These fees were recognised as part of the income of the schoolmaster, which in 1790 was formally stated, in the case of Applecross, to be composed of salary, fees, and cock-fight dues. The books supplied to Thomas, which give some idea of the character of his education, form the most interesting element in the accounts. His earliest acquisition was a New Testament in 1705, which was followed by a 'pair of rudimenis,' that is, a set of rudiments,—what was included in the set?—and by a gilded Psalm Book in Turkey. In 1706 he was furnished with Kirkwood's grammar.

This James Kirkwood was a scholar and notable character in his day. He was born near Dunbar, date unknown, and in 1674 became master of the school in Linlithgow at a salary of 400 merks—say £22 sterling—and served in that post for fifteen years. He then quarrelled with the magistrates, who were his superiors, and was dismissed, being moreover forcibly ejected from his dwelling along with his Dutch wife; while

his books and furniture were flung into the street. For these injuries, moral and material, he got damages to the amount of 4000 merks after much litigation. While at Linlithgow he had the honour of boarding and educating the second Earl of Stair, of Dettingen fame, who was a good scholar as well as a good soldier. He subsequently started a school in Edinburgh, and finally became schoolmaster of Kelso, where he died some time before 1720. Kirkwood published a Latin grammar in 1674 and, after the Revolution, at the instance of Lord President Stair, was consulted by the Parliamentary Commissioners for Colleges as to the best Latin grammar for schools. The Lord President asked him what he thought of Despauter's grammar. He replied, 'a very unfit grammar, but by some pains it might be made a good one.' Being desired to be more plain, he said, 'My Lord President, if its superfluities were rescinded, the defects supplied, the intricacies cleared, the errors rectified, and the method amended; it might pass for an excellent grammar.' He was accordingly appointed to reform Despauter, and in 1695 published a revised edition, which was used in schools until superseded by Ruddiman's *Rudiments*. Despauter was a Fleming, and his Latin grammar was used in the schools of France, whence, no doubt, it was introduced into Scotland. 'Too long,' says a French writer, 'it caused the despair of youth, who shed many tears over its obscurities.' Despauter died in 1526.

In addition to Kirkwood's grammar, Thomas received in 1706 two copies of *Rudiments*, and a *Child's Guide*. In 1707 the year began with *Phaedri Fabulae*, and closed with *Majora Colloquia Erasmi*, a *Confession of Faith* coming between. The next January added Ovid's *Epistles* to the list of Classics, and Coles' *Dictionary* was also purchased. This *Dictionary* was published in 1677 by one Elisha Coles, a schoolmaster, who compiled two, whereof one was English and the other Latin, but which of the two was purchased on this occasion is not specified. In January, 1709, Thomas began to read *Cornelius Nepos*, and in May he got Gustius' *History*, which was probably the History of the World from the Assyrian Monarchy down to the time of Augustus Caesar, by Justinus, a Roman historian. This book was in the original Latin, which was 'made English' by T. Brown three years later—too late for poor Thomas. In the same year he got Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and,—just in time for the Christmas holidays—Buchanan's *Psalms with ecphrasis*.

The next year began badly for him with *Exercises to the Accidents*, which was followed by Smetius' *Prosodia*—Smetius or Smet being a Belgian poet, who has long ceased from troubling. An improvement, however, took place in April, when *Virgil cum Notis Minelii* was purchased, followed in October by Caesar's *Commentaries*, and, early next year, by *Horace with Minelius' notes*. From this rapid succession of classical authors it would seem that Thomas had scarcely time to make the acquaintance of one, before being introduced to another. The only other book purchased in this year, 1711, and indeed the last one mentioned in the accounts, was another copy of Buchanan's *Psalms with ecphrasis*—no escape from that branch of learning. In September, 1711, the boy went on horseback to Haddington, where he was put to school with one Watt for a quarterly payment of £3—surely sterling money—and was boarded with Margaret Wilkie, relict of Thomas Warrander, painter. He was at Haddington in September, 1712, when the accounts close abruptly. His life cannot have been a long one, as his uncle Charles succeeded to the estate of Eastfield.

J. G. A. BAIRD.

## Letters of Cardinal Beaton 1537-1541

THE following letters are perhaps of more linguistic than historical interest. They show us how a gentleman of Scotland wrote in the middle of the sixteenth century. But his Eminence, like Sir George (Bluidy) Mackenzie, omitted the year-date in his correspondence, and thereby nearly drove me out of my five poor wits.

Whoever reads the text of this holy man will perceive that the letters are of date August 22-October 25. In Letter II. (Mascon, September 13) is a reference to the bad health of 'Casso the fule,' a Court jester. In Letter V. ('of Dongeoune,' October 25) the statement of September 13, as to Casso, is repeated. The correspondence, so far, appears to be of August-October, but in what year? We know (*Treasury Accounts*, vol. vii. p. 497) that Beaton left Scotland in July, 1541, with the 'Unicorn,' and (*Hamilton Papers*, vol. i. 83) that he sailed in the 'Mary Willoughby.' The same papers (vol. i. 148-149) show that he came home by August 14, 1542. But, in Letter V., he is 'of Dongeoune' (which I took for Dungeness), on his way home, on October 25, 1541. Letters II. III. refer to James's meeting, never held, with Henry VIII. at York, of which the date is September, 1541. The letters are of September 13 and 14. Letter IV. (October 22) on the other hand is all about James's negotiations for marrying Mary of Guise, a match arranged in 1537!

Nearly reduced to the condition of a gibbering idiot by this mixture of 1537 with 1541, and by 'Casso the fule' permeating the correspondence, I consulted Mr. Hume Brown. He rescued my sanity by pointing out that Letters I. II. III. V. are of 1541, while Letter IV. is an interloper from the autumn of 1537. That would have been my own verdict, but for 'Casso the fule,' who appears in Letter II. (Mascon, September 13) and in Letter V. ('of Dongeoune,' October 25). Dongeoune cannot be Dungeness, for Beaton will later come to Paris, he says.

For the rest, the student may pick out of the letters such matters as interest him, whether he care for hawks, boars, 'cocks of Ind,' or old diplomacies. It is not my business to masticate the *kava*, in Fijian fashion, into a refreshing beverage for the student. Here is the *kava, au naturel*. The papers were copied for me by Miss E. M. Thompson.

A. LANG.

I.

Add. MS. 19401. f. 34.

Sire; pleise 30<sup>r</sup> grace to onderstand quhow I come heir to Douure y<sup>e</sup> xxii day of august and passis ower to Boulloigne to morne god willinge and yairefter sall do ye best diligence I may to pass fur<sup>t</sup>wardes to ye kingis grace 30<sup>r</sup> fader quhome I beleif to find in fontainebleau I have gottin seur worde y<sup>t</sup> he is bly<sup>t</sup> and mery of ane gentill man y<sup>t</sup> departit fra him w<sup>t</sup>in yir five or sax dayis. I onderstand be 30<sup>r</sup> graces writting send to me be Alex<sup>r</sup> Gordonis seruand y<sup>t</sup> 30<sup>r</sup> grace suld be informyt y<sup>t</sup> ye tailzo<sup>r</sup> suld haif put awaye ane greite part of ye geir q<sup>lk</sup> he had in charge quharof I merweile mekle for I wait na man my<sup>t</sup> do mayr to knaw ye verite yan I did for I geve na credence to him bot to ye Inuentaies maid yairapoune and als to Madame montreul and sundry oyer of ye gentill wemen beseiking 30<sup>r</sup> grace y<sup>t</sup> diligence may be maid y<sup>t</sup> ye verite may be knawin quhidder ye report maid to 30<sup>r</sup> grace be trew or no<sup>t</sup> and I sall no<sup>t</sup> fail to Inquire ye verite quhar I pass in ye best sorte I can.

Sire I am in seur beleif to bring ye materis at 30<sup>r</sup> grace directit me apoune to gud and haisty effect I sall no<sup>t</sup> tyne day nor heure in my defalt will god quhill I ken ye vterest and yaireftir 30<sup>r</sup> grace salbe aduertist w<sup>t</sup> all diligens possible the King of Ingland was nathing contentit at 30<sup>r</sup> grace schew zow sa affectit to ye king 30<sup>r</sup> graces fader quhowbeit I ken perfity y<sup>t</sup> ba<sup>t</sup> he and his counsale sall haif zow in greter estimatioun quhill yai leif—and I wait ye king of france will think y<sup>t</sup> 30<sup>r</sup> grace hes done 30<sup>r</sup> part Mons<sup>r</sup>. de Lymoges quho is heir in cumpanye w<sup>t</sup> me commendis his humble seruice to 30<sup>r</sup> grace and desirit me to writt to 30<sup>r</sup> grace in fauo<sup>r</sup> of yis berar q<sup>lk</sup> wes lang in dunbar to ye effect y<sup>t</sup> he may be helpit in sum sorte.

Sir efter ye maist humble recommendatioune of my seruice to 30<sup>r</sup> grace I pray ye creato<sup>r</sup> preserue ye samyn eternellie. Of Douure ye xxij day of august.

30<sup>r</sup> grace avne maist humble  
seruito<sup>r</sup> ARBROHT.

[Holograph.]

Addressed: To the Kingis grace.

## II.

Add. MS. 19401. ff. 35-36.

Schir It will please your grace to understand that I have ever differed to write to your grace since my cummyne to your court quhilk was the <sup>1</sup> day of August last bypast, because your king your grace's father was ever removing and I could never get him and his counsel together quharthrou I my<sup>t</sup> have resolution of sic things I tho<sup>t</sup> was necessary to advertise your grace. I shew your king your grace's father at great length diverse times your god and constant mynd toward him quhilk he findis and knowis veray weil, and I assure your grace als for affectit toward your grace, as he shewis plainlie as he is to any of his sons and thankis your grace mekle that your grace wald no<sup>t</sup> condissent to na metinge w<sup>t</sup> your king of ingland quhilk he thinkis could never be to your grace's surte nor hono<sup>r</sup>. And gif your king of ingland were of your mynd to invade your grace or realme he is determinit to declare him his enemy incontinent and to vse all his forsis aganis him, and to gif your grace ye succuris and supple that ze may or that ze will desire of him, and said to me that he was als diligent as he my<sup>t</sup> be to know be his ambassadeur, beand in ingland your maner and occasioun of your kingis passing in your nor<sup>t</sup> partis, and gif he my<sup>t</sup> have knowin that it was to invade your grace or realme he suld no<sup>t</sup> have taryt quhill he had bene aduertist and requirit be your grace to do your thing that your father is haldin to do for your sone, bot suld have send you your supple that he my<sup>t</sup>. I shew at great length baith to your king and his counsel your great preparationis that your king of ingland hes maid on his bordo<sup>r</sup> and how he hes fortifit all his towns and strenthis in sic sort that other your grace mon do siclik or ellis it my<sup>t</sup> be great hurt to your grace and your realme quhilk was occasioun to put your grace to great coist and expensis and besot his grace to have consideratioun your of and of your King of inglandis great riches and substance and it was difficult for your grace to fortifie your bordo<sup>r</sup> nor provid you of munitionis wy<sup>t</sup>out help to resist his pissance. And gif your king here dred any besines or cummer to cum haistelie betuix him and ingland, that he wald provid in tyme and help your grace that ze my<sup>t</sup> be meit to resist him and no<sup>t</sup> to differ quhill your better houre quhilk were na tyme to provid for your grace's suretie and weil, quhilk your king and his counsel fand ry<sup>t</sup> resonable and said that he wald glaidlie help you in all behalfis and that he wald persauwe haistely quhat were able to be betuix him and your emprio<sup>r</sup> and als your king of ingland. I spak your mater to him because I fand your disparit of ingland in cause your empero<sup>r</sup> and your king your grace's father fall out, and beleaf surlie that you sall consider to giddir in his contra, your is na traist betuix your king and your emprio<sup>r</sup> and great apperence of trouble and weire betwene your. Howbeit I traist your salbe na great thing ado your zeir w<sup>t</sup> your help of god salang as I am here I sall no<sup>t</sup> be negligent bot as your tyme occurris sall handill your materis your best I may to your grace's hono<sup>r</sup> and profit eftir

<sup>1</sup> Blank in the original.

ye wit and knowlege yat god hes gevin me. The king 3our gravis fader schew me laitlie how ye king of ingland had proponit mariage to his ambassado<sup>r</sup> being w<sup>t</sup> him betuix his dochter and mons<sup>r</sup> de orleance and his grace haldis ye samin bot dissimulatioun no<sup>t</sup> ye less he interteins him no<sup>t</sup> gevand traist nor credence to him. I can no<sup>t</sup> weill schaw 3our grace be writ ye grete fauo<sup>r</sup> and luf yat ye king 3our gravis fader schewis to haue to 3o<sup>r</sup> grace and siclik mons<sup>r</sup> Doulphin quhay is cummyne ane wyise vertuose prince and beris grete fauo<sup>r</sup> and luf to 3our grace and sua dois mons<sup>r</sup> De orleance and all ye laif of yis cumpany. My lord constable is clane out of credit heir and ay ye langer ye mair and as I beleif surlie he salbe put at scharplie the kinge gevis him all ye wytt of ye empryo<sup>r</sup>s cummyne throu fraunce quhilk hes bene occasioun of grete hurt to ye kingis effaris. Howbeit 3our grace want ye constable heire 3our grace may beleif weill yat yair is na thing 3our grace hes ado bot ye king 3our gravis fader will cause it be done. As for ye pension his grace hes commaundit to pay it incontinent howbeit yai haue mekle ado wy<sup>t</sup> siluer and praxis to haue ane litill patience and it salbe weill pait yair wilbe na falt yair untill. And als his grace commandit incontinent to discharge ye impositioun made apoun ye merchandis howbeit ye counsall makis grete difficulte yar untill because it is tane of all ye kingis awin subiectis and thinkis strange to mak strangearis freare nor his awin subiectis no<sup>t</sup>yeless I beleif haistelie to gett it done be ye kingis speciall command in fauouris of 3our grace.

I am seurlie informit yat mons<sup>r</sup> de guise wes of purpose and yire trublis had no<sup>t</sup> happinnit betuix ye king and ye emprio<sup>r</sup> to haue cummyne throu ingland bepost to Scotland bot I traist yair salbe oyer thinge ado or ye nixt 3eir, and sa lang as I am heire I sall tak tent and do conforme to 3our gravis directioun gevin to me in yat behalf. 3our grace hes ben euil done to throu report and reherse of sum fellus yat is cummyne in yis cuntre yat hes maid mony and diverse lesingis quhilk is cummyne to ye king 3our gravis faderis eris and all ye laif of yis cumpany quhilk I haue gart him and yame all onderstand ye contray it were lange to writ to 3our grace of yai purposis bot I sall schaw 3our grace all wy<sup>t</sup> tyme will god, bot I dare weill assure 3our grace yat it is no<sup>t</sup> in ye power of na levand man to gare ye king 3our gravis fader to trow ony thing of 3ou bot gud and hono<sup>r</sup>. Schir I have written to ye pape and hes commoint at lenth w<sup>t</sup> his ambassadeur being heire anentis ye contributioun and because maister George Hay as I onderstand hes commission to know 3our gravis mynd gif 3oure grace will yat ane seruand of ye papis cum in scotland to 3oure grace I traist quhill ye pape be aduertist of 3oure gravis mynd yaruntill yair salbe na resolutioun nor answer gottin in yai materis. Beseikand 3our grace yat I be aduertist of 3our gravis mynd and plalur in yat behalf and all oyeris and I sall do yareftir. And in ye meyntyne I sall do ye best I may and sall remembere on <sup>1</sup>3ouris memoriall in all behalfis will god. 3our gravis

<sup>1</sup> '3our' omitted.



him in seruice allegeand yat he wes ane able man to do seruice and yat he my<sup>t</sup> haue had seruice of ye emprio<sup>r</sup> and refusit ye samin. He is now passit to wenis bidand answer of mons<sup>r</sup> de Hannebo and is furnist as I am aduertist be ane gentilwoman quhilk come w<sup>t</sup> him fra birgis in flanderis and kepis ane tryne of xx horse and may. I schew ye kinge at lenth ye gret offence and falt he maid to zoure grace and how graciouse zour grace wes agane to him. And fra tyme he herd ye verite he said he wald haue na ado w<sup>t</sup> him nor na oyer yat zour grace wes no<sup>t</sup> content wy<sup>t</sup>. And I pray god preserue zour grace eternallie written of mascon ye xiiii day of septembere.

[Signed]: z<sup>r</sup> gracis awne maist  
humile seruite<sup>r</sup> off Sanctandr<sup>r</sup>.

[Postscript written in margin]: Sr madame la Doulphines writis presentlie to z<sup>o</sup>r grace quha is als affectit to z<sup>o</sup>r grace as ony frend z<sup>o</sup>r grace hes in erd.

[Addressed]: To the Kingis grace.

IV.

Add. MS. 14901. ff. 39-40.

Schir pleise zour grace to onderstand yat yis berer and his companzeoins come heire to leonis ye vij day of yis instant moneth wy<sup>t</sup> five falconis and ye sext deit be ye way. And or yaire cummyne ye Dolphin and ye grete maister wy<sup>t</sup> him was reddey to depart our ye hillis to ye veris sua I tho<sup>t</sup> no<sup>t</sup> expedient to present na halkis to ye grete maister at that tyme bot deliuirit twa of ye saidis halkis to ye cardinal of Veneur (?) quhay wes mervellouse glad of ye samin and ye toyer thre halkis to ye cardinal of tourney quhay is and hes bene euir zour gracis gud seruand and frend. And at yis heure is in als grete credit wy<sup>t</sup> his maister as ony man in yis cuntre. I traist zour grace variit neuir halkis bettir nor yai ar.

Schir as to zour affaris heire I haue pretermillit na tyme bot hes bene doand ye best I culd conforme to zoure gracis directioun and resolucioun tane at my departing and w<sup>t</sup>in ane moneth eftir ye departing of Johane charteris and thomas crage I presentit zour gracis vther writtingis to ye king zour gracis fader and schew him how zoure grace thankit him hartly of his gud counsel gevin to zour grace quharby ze persauit euir maire and maire his gud and hertly mynd toward zour grace quharthrou ze wald euir continew and perseucire his hertly luffit sone, and howbeit zour grace had na mynd nor haiste desire of mariage considering ye recent deceise of zoure quene no<sup>t</sup>yeless zoure grace wald euir conforme zou to his gud counsal and mynd and to yat effect zour grace had send me writingis how zour grace had condiscendit to madame de Longueveil and how ze had send me power and commissioun to end throuch conforme to his mynd and counsel, quharof ye king schew him mervellouse well contentit & said yat he wald accept hir as his dochtir and gif hire for ye samin to z<sup>o</sup>r grace wy<sup>t</sup> mony gud wordis of hire wisdome and gidding. And

als ye cardinal said yat he and yaire house wes perpetually oblist to remane zour guid seruandis and yat zoure grace suld fynd yame als reddy as ony subiect zoure grace had in ye warld. And yaireftir ye king directit incontinent ye samin day ane gentilman of his chalmer for mon<sup>s</sup> de guise quhay wes in champanze to cum heire ye post for ye ending and concluding of yire materis quhay come to Leonis yis xxi. day of october, quhome apoun I haue tariit. Heire sene ye kingis departing, quhilk wes ye x day of ye samin moneth I haue spokin at lenth wy<sup>t</sup> ye said mon<sup>s</sup> de guise quhome I find mervellouss desirouse of ye expeditioun and haiste end of ye mater, the cause yat he come na soner wes, yat he hes done diligence and send ye post baith to ye Duke of loraine and to his dochter and hes gottin yaire mynd and beneuolence to ye fulfilling and ending of ye said mater. And now yis day he departis of yis toun ye post toward ye king quhay is in grenenoble quhilk is viii legis fra yis. And I sall follow him fast will god. I beleiff surly wy<sup>in</sup> veray short tyme to haue ane final end in yis mater and how sone resolutioun and end beis maid I sall send w<sup>t</sup> all extreme diligence aduertising of all to zour grace, war no<sup>t</sup> ye grete besines yat is heire ado and ye kingis passing vp in yire partis yire erandis had bene done or now for I find ye king cardinal and mon<sup>s</sup> de guise als desirouse of ye end yarof as is possible and elikwise all oyeris noblemen In yir partis. And euery man thinkis zour grace ane noble wise and constant prince yat bydis sa ferme at ye king zour fader quhay schawis planely to euery man that he hes na less fauo<sup>r</sup> na will do na less for zou thane ze ware his awin carnal sone. Schir sene all yire materis gais sa weill and na apperand difficulte bot all sall cum sone and weill to gud effect, for ye luf of god and weill of zour gracis successioun realme and subiectis haue pacience for ane litill tyme for in gud faith ye tyme is langsummer to me nor to ony vther levand man quhill I se zoure grace, and I traist in god to do sua yat ye wyntir sall no<sup>t</sup> stop us bot we sall haistely cum hame sua yat gud sett wedder may be had. loving to god scho is stark and weill complexionit and may indure travel. scho is presently wy<sup>t</sup> her moder in champanze bydand on ye resolutioun yat is takin heire. I dare assure yat yaire wes neuir greter diligence done in ane mater nor is done in yis considering ye tyme and cummaris yat are heire ado, for ye king tuk his voyage of fontaneblew ye morne eftir my cummyne to his grace and sene syne hes continually travellit and na thing heire ado bot assambleing of men of weire. bai<sup>t</sup> suesis almannis etalianis and frenchemen sua yat he is at yis houre vtouch XL<sup>M</sup> fute men j<sup>M</sup> men of armes and xij<sup>o</sup> leicht horse. The principall occasioun and cause of ye sending of ye Dolphin o<sup>f</sup> ye hillis is for ye victalling of turing pynzerel and other strenthis w<sup>in</sup> pemond. quhilk beand done I traist ye army sall skaill for yis wynter. ye Inemys ar no<sup>t</sup> stark aneuch to resist yame sua I traist yai sall have done yat yai haue ado w<sup>in</sup> ane fiftene dais ar yarby. The Turk is reterit and past away and hes done bot sobire skaith apoune cristin men lovinge to god, quhilk is liker to be be mirakle nor vyer way considering yat he had na forse nor party to

resist aganis him he wes mekle persecutit be turment of evil wedder. As for peire weiff yaire can na thing be had of him for he allegis yat ye quene quhome god assolze wes awand him maire nor ye hail soume yat he hes resauit no<sup>ye</sup> less or I depart I sall do yarto yat is to me possible. As for ye money of zour counte of gyane it wilbe gottin and I sall waire ye samin vpoun wyne and sic vyer necessaie thingis as I sall think for zour grace, and as it plesis zour grace to aduertise, beseikand the samin to aduertise me of zour gracis mynd and plesur in all behalfis and I sall no<sup>t</sup> fail to fulfill ye samin at ye vtermaist of my power. And yes eftir maist humile commendatioun of my maist lawle seruice to zour grace I beseik ye trinite to preserue ye samin eternally. Of Leonis yis xxij day of october be zour gracis

Maist humile & maist obedient

servito<sup>r</sup> ARBROHT.

[Addressed]: To the Kingis grace.

V.

Add. MS. 19401. ff. 41-42.

Schir I resauit zour gracis writting fra James Skrymgeo<sup>r</sup> ye xiiii day of yis instant moneth [of octo]ber ye gidder w<sup>e</sup> ye xiiij falconis quaharf I presentit xii to ye kingis grace and ye toyer to lorge montgumry quha is w<sup>3</sup><sup>t</sup> ye king in gud credit and is zour gracis gud seruand. ye king zour gracis fader wes ry<sup>t</sup> bly<sup>t</sup> of ye saidis halkis and thankit zour grace gretumlie yarof and estemit yame mekle, and send to me twa dais yarefter viii faire gzire falconis quhilkis salbe at zour grace ye sonest yat is possible as yai may be cariit ye gidder w<sup>t</sup> ane falconare yat can mak and handill yame. As for casso ye fule I wrait to zour grace of befor how he is ane sely seikly body and may na way travel. And as to ye sangelers and cokis of ynd I sall provid for ye samin w<sup>t</sup> diligence bot I dreid ye tyme of zeire be no<sup>t</sup> conuenient to cary yame now I sall pretermitt na thing in yat behalf nor oyeris yat may be done will god. Schir pleise zour grace to onderstand yat yair is intelligence and labouris makand betuix ye king and ye king of ingland tuichinge ye mariage of mons<sup>r</sup> de orleance and ye kinge of inglandis dochter as I wrait of befor to zour grace, and sum thing hes bene in heid yar ane meting suld be betuix yame in ye sprynge of ye zeire, and ye king zoure gracis fader schew me gif ony sic thing were he wald aduertise zou in tyme to be at ye samyn bot now w<sup>t</sup>in yir twa dais quhene I spak last w<sup>t</sup> him I fand him of ane oyer purpose and and to send sum ambassatouris to ingland and to comone on yat and oyer materis. And yat he tho<sup>t</sup> necessar yat zour gracis ambassatouris were yaire elikwise yat his ambassatouris and zouris my<sup>t</sup> concur togidder and na thing to be done yaire by zoure gracis avice. And said yat he suld aduertis zoure grace in dew tyme or he send ambassatouris to ye effect yat zour grace my<sup>t</sup> send siclik. quhat followis of yire purposis I sall no<sup>t</sup> fail to aduertise zoure grace heireftir. As to ye payment of ye queenis pensioun it is reddy in to paris and wilbe deliuiert how sone ye king cummis



## Sir Thomas More in his English Works

THE passing of four centuries has not sufficed to remove the career and memory of Sir Thomas More from the region of heated discussion. Everything that concerns him, the fame attaching to his literary ventures and friendships, the part played by him in great events, the religious passions which stormed round his latter days, the very martyrdom itself, adds to the controversy, and makes it easier to attain picturesque effects than to give a complete portrait of the man, correct in its every detail. To attempt a rectification of so exciting a calculation in controversial psychology from the actual records of the fray, and to weave from the many pages of More's English writings an accurate conception of More's mind, may savour of paradox. But the experiment is worth trial. More had a capacity for putting himself into all he wrote, and the fourteen hundred pages printed for William Rastell, in 1557, include work, from his first youthful sallies, down to the last tragic lines written in charcoal from the Tower to his daughter Margaret. It is true that almost the whole volume is devoted to theological debate; but, in theology laymen have a way of revealing more than their theological opinions, and Thomas More was peculiarly free from the strict methods of the divinity schools. Even the casual references and asides of the book have significance for the study of its author. Indeed, in any final portrait of the man, the English works must claim their place along with Erasmus's letters, Holbein's portraits, the *Utopia*, and Roper's *Life* as essential data; and as such, they demand careful, unprejudiced, imaginative study. Yet appreciators of *Utopia* have failed to temper their eulogies of emancipated intellect by even a partial study of these pages; and apologists have inclined to draw from them rather food for argument than a knowledge of the truth.

'When this towardly youth,' says Cresacre More, 'was come to the age of eighteen years, he began to show to the world his ripeness of wit; for he wrote many witty and goodly epigrams,

which are to be seen in the beginning of his English works.'<sup>1</sup> It is hardly fair to remember against More the sins of his youth, but the earlier pages of Rastell's great volume may at least remind us of the brilliant young man of Henry VII.'s reign, concerning whose marvellous future Cardinal Morton had spoken so confidently. Apart from the jesting or sententious poems, the volume reveals More, even before *Utopia* had set him among the Renaissance leaders, as the fervent admirer of another Renaissance youth, 'that singular layman, John Picus, Earl of Mirandula'; and, in the fragment on Richard III., as an historian of quite unusual promise. Although the bulk of the English writings is of a date fully ten years later than the period of *Utopia*, these preliminary fragments and essays supplement the earlier record, and throw light on More's Renaissance and literary fervours.

But students of More are less interested in elaborating the details of his Renaissance fancies, than in reconciling, if it be possible, the scholar in him with the saint, and in connecting the mood which produced *Utopia*, with these later serious and argumentative pages. The problem lies in a supposed intellectual cataclysm in More's life; the end to be sought, some self-consistent reconstruction of the man's mental life. The difficulty hinges on the *Utopia* and inferences drawn from it. The book seems admirably fitted to stand as the gospel of a new intellectual faith, with its gleams of wonder caught from the discoveries of that day, its instinctive love of things literary, and its wilfully un-Saxon capacity for intellectual conceptions. The ingenious mind finds in the *Utopia* proof after proof of what must be labelled Renaissance wares; and its publication assuredly established More's reputation in Europe, as the most elegant English writer of the day, and the prophet of a new advance in culture. Scholars spoke of the honour More had done to England, and desired either introductions to him, or descriptions of his person and life. Erasmus himself, after its publication, lamented that More had not set himself to head the intellectual world, and, even at his death, learned Europe lamented the loss of intellectual as much as of moral force. Here, then, is a book most distinctively progressive and ideal in its doctrines; and here, too, a definite impression made through it on Europe, that its author had a vital connection with that radical intellectual change,

<sup>1</sup>*The Life of Sir Thomas More*, by his great-grandson, Cresacre More, p. 24. Edited by the Rev. Joseph Hunter. (London, 1828.)

which had swept Italy clear of old beliefs, if not of old practices. Did the book correspond to a serious mood of enlightenment, dismissed later in a panic of orthodoxy? or, was it a 'sport' of the intellect; or, after all, something not so different from the rest of his life, when viewed in true perspective?

A very casual reading of More's *English Works* must force even the most orthodox of his apologists to own at least two 'Utopian' characteristics: an extraordinary sense of humour, and an equally extraordinary capacity for seeing and stating both sides of a question. Of his ironic humour, there is of course sufficient external evidence, from the time when, as a boy, he furnished wit at Morton's table, till the last jest was spoken to the headsman on the scaffold. But More's humour was never more apparent than when he girt himself for the theological fray. 'Myself,' his shade, Antony, in 'Comfort against Tribulation' confesses, 'am of nature even half a giggler and more.'<sup>1</sup> The messenger in the 'Dialogue' accuses him—'Ye use to look so sadly when ye mean merrily, that many times men doubt whether ye speak in sport when ye mean good earnest';<sup>2</sup> and he was Master Mocker to the heretics, for not even in the heat of conflict did he spare his jests. Quips and flouts, and the most charmingly informal illustrations and proverbs bring a suggestion of humanity into the arid regions of discussion. Being distinctly personal in his references, he evolves, through these many pages, quaintly ironic portraits, unnamed, of himself, and his wife, and men, like Wolsey, whom he had known and could parody. Cavendish's conscientious panegyric of the great Cardinal may receive humorous corrections from More's anecdotes, and there are so many unmistakable hints of the admirable, shrewd, faithful, commonplace woman who was his second wife, that one is forced to quote, by way of illustration. It is in a discussion concerning those who 'bear a rule, command and control other men, and live uncommanded and uncontrolled themselves.'

'I never was ware,' says More's representative, 'it (this habit) was so great, till a good friend of ours merrily told me once that his wife once in a great anger taught it him. For when her husband had no list to grow greatly upward in the world, . . . she fell on hand with him (he told me) and all to-rated him, and asked him, "What will you do, that you list not to put forth yourself as other folk do? Will you sit still by the fire, and make goselings in the ashes with a stick, as children do?"

<sup>1</sup> *English Works*, p. 1171.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 127.

Would God I were a man! and look what I would do." "Why, wife," quoth her husband, "what would you do?" "What, by God, go forward with the best. For my mother was wont to say, God have mercy on her soul, it is ever more better to rule than to be ruled. And therefore, by God, I would not, I warrant you, be so foolish to be ruled where I might rule." "By my truth, wife," quoth her husband, "in this I dare say, you say truth. For I never found you willing to be ruled yet."<sup>1</sup> We do not hear that Lady More read her husband's works.

Now humour, like imagination, is a dangerous gift in controversy. It tends to make the controversialist face inconvenient facts, and to emphasise both sides of a question; for the humorist, being an artist, is at the mercy of his inspiration. So, throughout these pages of apologetic, More constantly connects himself with the great school of Reformation satirists, of which Erasmus, Rabelais, Lindsay and Skelton are notable disciples. Conventional panegyrists must find room in their estimates of More, not merely for his constant sallies of Aristophanic humour, but for most disconcerting hits at clerical weaknesses. If natural and unrestrained humour be a disqualification for saintship, Thomas More's vices in this region have been overlooked.

As a more serious aspect of this quality, those who long for some conventionally saintly figure, must also force themselves to acknowledge the splendid honesty and capacity for self-criticism, which form perhaps the most distinctive note of More's polemics. The disciple of Colet, the plain critic of Henry and Wolsey, the comrade in Erasmus's most daring clerical criticisms, did not forget his craft when, even after 1528, he turned to defend his Church against the Lutheran attack. It is doubtful whether there exists anywhere in controversy so powerful a statement of the positions to be demolished, as More puts into the mouth of the 'messenger' in his 'Dialogue.' Ecclesiastical miracles, tricks of saints' relics, the whole minor paraphernalia of sixteenth century shrine worship, have their weaknesses stated with an adverse power, which even Erasmus might have envied, and stated, be it remembered, preliminary to refutation. Well might Tyndale accuse More of 'faintly defending the things whereof he wrote.' Nor was More unconscious of this feature in his work. When Tyndale taunted him with being otherwise minded, in the days when Erasmus drew inspiration for his *Praise of Folly* from the talk at Chelsea, More confessed:

<sup>1</sup> *English Works*, p. 1224.

'That book of Moria doth indeed but jest upon the abuses of such things, after the manner of the disour's part in a play; and yet not so far neither by a great deal, as the messenger doth in my dialogue.'<sup>1</sup> From first to last, in spite of vehement abuse of his opponents, and manifold quibbling, Thomas More contrived not only to give the other side fair hearing and honest quotation, but even to imagine their positions with a skill, not always possessed by their occasionally lumbering intellects. Admirers of the 'Utopian' More, may find, then, traces of the mood they love, even in heated orthodox controversy, and lovers of sacred calm and irreproachable deportment, must not let the halo blind them to a twinkle in the eye of the saint, and to his persistent habit of blending piety with ironic intelligence.

But the *English Works* enable us to see, as the *Utopia* never could, the limits to the activities of this intellectual and artistic More. The disillusionment with which More's later career afflicts the lovers of his Renaissance mood, proceeds simply from a miscalculation of the importance due to that mood, even in his earlier years. The famous letter to Peter Giles might have prevented the mistake: 'While I do daily bestow my time about law matters; some to plead, some to hear, and some as an arbitrator with mine award to determine, some as an umpire or a judge with my sentence finally to discuss; while I spend almost all the day abroad among others, and the residue at home among mine own; I leave to myself, I mean to my book, no time.' The truth is that More never considered himself a literary man, or professed illuminist like his friend Erasmus. Erasmus was, if not the artist, at least the scholar of the day, and gladly paid the tithes of practical efficiency, and even moral power, which is the ordinary levy made on all who enter, as professionals, the scholarly or the aesthetic life. But Thomas More was too busy living, to acquiesce in the sacrifices of the higher intellectual life. *Magis amare potest studia quam colere*, was Erasmus' verdict. He was the chief lawyer of the day; his connection with government first dragged him into domestic affairs, then made him one of Wolsey's most trusted diplomatic agents, and finally gave him the most responsible office in the kingdom. Possibly he was reluctant to enter the Royal service, but the record of his labours forbids the idea that he performed them perfunctorily. When one adds to all this, the absorbing interest which his children and the family

<sup>1</sup> *English Works*, p. 422.

life had for him, it must become apparent that the Utopian fancies formed no dominating intellectual gospel, but were the pleasant leisure dreams of a busy man. The life of ordinary happiness and business, unstimulated by the headier kinds of pleasure, was his calm choice, and by that choice he set himself in opposition to ideals which, on one side, made Erasmus in manhood more a monk than he had been in youth, and on another, took from Italian scholars the taste for ordinary existence, and created the dazzling but unproductive civilisation of early sixteenth century Italy.

Now, in this fact, of More's sheer practicality, lies part of the solution to the seeming contradiction in his character; and here the *English Works* help to a completer understanding. More writes everywhere like a responsible practical statesman. Fancies he had, and ideals, but like all members of the administrative class to which he belonged, he had a natural conservatism, and an impatience of theoretic criticism, or of light-hearted Radical programmes. His idle imagination seems really to have welcomed the communistic basis of Utopian society, but these private fancies fail to represent his firm public opinion. It is a striking comment on the neglect of More's *English Works*, that no prominence has been given to More's own explicit criticism on the position assumed in his famous republic 'where nothing is private.' 'The rich man's substance,' he declares, with a note of modern capitalistic pleading in his voice, 'is the well-spring of the poor man's living'; and further, 'For this I think in my mind a very sure conclusion, that if all the money that is in this country were, to-morrow next, brought together out of every man's hand, and laid all upon one heap, and then divided out unto every man alike, it would be on the morrow after, worse than it was on the day before.'<sup>1</sup> This is the voice of fundamental British conservatism, and half of what critics call reactionary panic in More, is simply the statesman's love of order, of compromise, of deeds as opposed to words, expressing itself naturally. More furnishes a most admirable example of this administrative conservatism in the argument of his 'Debellacion of Salem and Bizance,'<sup>2</sup> a treatise, discussing with the coolest and ablest of all his opponents, legal procedure in the case of heretics. The main point at issue concerned the process

<sup>1</sup> 'Comfort against Tribulation', *English Works*, pp. 1207-8.

<sup>2</sup> *English Works*, pp. 929-1034.

*ex officio* by which, contrary to English tradition, legal procedure was used entirely to the disadvantage of the accused. More's opponent, with a fine humanity and moderation, 'minded to show that, in heresy, the suit of office might be left, and that, by the leaving, there should none harm follow to the Catholic faith, because heretics might as well come to correction by the way of open accusers, as by that manner suit.'<sup>1</sup> Nowhere is More less ingenuous, nowhere does he carp and quibble more brazenly, for he shuts his eyes to the plainest facts, and gives just a hint of the timid bureaucrat, as he defends non-popular tribunals and secret methods of accusation. But the truth is that the Whig in him, the efficient administrator, all for government and not at all for criticism, rises in judgment against the rash radical who opposes him. Men must be judged by the standards of the careers they choose. The author, the scholar, the irresponsible social enthusiast, may cherish comfortably his unacted schemes of social progress, the revelations of his artistic New Jerusalems, without fear of stiffening into orthodoxy; but when More, before ever he created *Utopia*, chose a life of affairs, he chose also this possible development, not simply characteristic of his calling, but the chief virtue of it. Those who admire the initial choice must accept all its consequences.

So far, the picture afforded by the *English Works* has been of no unusual type. The author is most obviously a man in authority, with a keenly trained and practical mind; on the side of government and order, by every instinct and acquired characteristic; a cleanly conservative, more than a little contemptuous of the noisy brawling heresies, which seemed to him to be tainting society with moral and social excesses. Equally obviously, he is one whose sense of honour is too exalted to condescend to misrepresentation. And everywhere a quaint genial humanity breaks through the rigour of his argument, with gleams of strong imagination, and hints of a most lovable irony. To this man, the *Utopia* must have been the most natural employment for leisurely and less serious moments—a *jeu d'esprit*, rather than fervent breathings of a troubled social conscience.

There is, however, one region, and that the most important in More's life, wherein the *Utopia* affords hardly any true indication of the man; yet where the *English Works* must be used with some discretion—I mean religion. In *Utopia*<sup>2</sup> they

<sup>1</sup> *English Works*, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> *Utopia*, Bk. ii. 'Of the religions in Utopia.'

defined virtue as life according to nature, and the end of moral action for them was strictly utilitarian. In the spirit of their philosophy, they denounced all forms of asceticism, fasts, tortures, self-denials, the practices recommended by More's own church, holding them very mad, except where some greater public end was thereby attained. Corresponding to this naturalism in ethics, the Utopian religion may be presented as a simple rational theism, for even Christianity recommended itself to them, not through its supernaturalism, but because early Christian communism agreed with ordinary Utopian practice. Apart from its large dim churches, and ritual, solemn, if simple, the religion of Utopia has none of the notes peculiar to the Roman practice. Based on pleasure or utility, it condemns, not merely fasting, but such conventions as set a great body of clerks apart to form an *otiosa turba*, and, although a few holy ascetics are permitted, and even revered, it is in spite of reason. Its church services are without the usual aids to devotion—images or invocations, or any details of supernaturalism. Its God is nearer the *Être Suprême* than the mediaeval Trinity, and he is worshipped in solemn prayers, which need not have caused offence to French Encyclopaedists. Above all, it refuses to propagate or defend itself by violence; for, and historically it is the most striking fact, this utilitarian philosophy and rational belief trusts to reason alone, and, save in criminal and political cases, refuses to assist truth by anything more forcible than argument. What exactly More meant by all these details, it is not always easy to say; but nothing could be more incorrect, than to assume that their creator intended them for a statement of his ideal creed and ritual. Whatever the influence of Erasmus may have been, and however freely Thomas More may have speculated, his *English Works*, both by main argument and casual reference, forbid a suggestion of free-thought. In view of theories on either side, it seems eminently desirable to state the plain facts.

External evidence of More's constitutional piety exists, of course, in superabundance. However much his earliest biographers may have over-emphasised this aspect, the truth they colour is, after all, self-evident. Allowing for Cresacre More's exaggerations, his picture is indeed notable for a sixteenth century layman: one who 'at eighteen or twenty had begun to wear a sharp shirt of hair next his skin';<sup>1</sup> 'who had an earnest mind to be a Franciscan friar, that he might serve God in a state of

<sup>1</sup>*The Life of Cresacre More*, p. 24.

perfection';<sup>1</sup> who modelled himself on the loftiest example of Renaissance piety, Pico;<sup>2</sup> 'who never undertook any business of importance but he prepared himself first by confession and receiving the blessed sacrament devoutly';<sup>3</sup> finally, 'who was singular wise to deceive the world with mortifications, only contenting himself with the knowledge which God had of his actions.'<sup>4</sup> We have absolutely no evidence that More ever ceased to be this unusual creature, a layman peculiarly fitted for the honorable worldly life and consciously living it; while, all the time, he had powerful emotions and ambitions working in direct opposition. But even when this point has been established, a real difficulty still remains, the adjustment of More's varying religious moods into a psychological unity. If the imaginary portrait of a tolerant scholar, drawing in his later days to spiritual panic, and the cruelty consequent on such a panic, have no real basis in fact, one must not too completely acquiesce in that of the pious layman, defending vigorously, but without any keen imaginative outlook, the ancient ways of orthodoxy. On this ground the *English Works* are final, for they give the opinions of More's maturest years, from 1525 to 1534; yet it is very possible, even with the honestest of intentions, to misuse them in the interests of the faith.

That More ever questioned, as Erasmus must have done, any of the greater verities, may at once be denied. Granting every suspicion of Theism, or loose spiritual theorising, which may be gleaned from the *Utopia*, they have still nothing to do with the fabric of More's real opinions. Everywhere, in such a book as his *Dialogue*, he proceeds on the assumption that there is a truth of revelation, something uniquely given to men from God, through that special process which we call inspiration. Everywhere, too, he has implicit trust in the scriptural promise that this truth will be continuously and progressively revealed, and given in trust to some authority. Challenged by his opponents, he defines repeatedly not merely what he means by truth, but the channels through which truth must come, and the superintendents of its distribution. One of his ablest and most philosophic chapters,<sup>5</sup> to quote his own heading, 'declareth the pre-eminence, necessity, and profit of holy scripture, shewing nevertheless that many things have been taught by God without writing; and many great things so remain yet unwritten, of truths necessary to

<sup>1</sup> *The Life of Gasacre More*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* p. 27.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* p. 193.      <sup>4</sup> *C.M.* p. 294.

<sup>5</sup> *The Dialogue*, Bk. i. c. 25.

be believed. And that the new law of Christ is the law, so written in the heart, that it shall never out of his church. And that the law there written by God, is a right rule to interpret the words written in his holy scripture ; which rule, with reason, and the old interpreters, the author sheweth to be the very sure way to wade with, in the great stream of Holy Scripture.' Add to this the complementary sentence, that 'the church (in which Christ is assistant and his Holy Spirit) cannot, to God's displeasure and their damnation, fall in any false belief in any substantial point of the faith,'<sup>1</sup> and we have More's authority. Of the earthly head of the church, More to the last spoke without perfect confidence. 'I was myself,' he wrote to Cromwell in 1533, 'sometime not of the mind that the primacy of the see should be begun by the institution of God, until that I read in the matter those things that the king's highness had written, in his most famous book against the heresies of Martin Luther.'<sup>2</sup> Convinced apparently by Henry's argument, he still could say, 'never thought I the Pope above the general council, nor never have, in any book of mine put forth among the king's subjects in our vulgar tongue, advanced greatly the Pope's authority.'<sup>3</sup> His ultimate authority was a general council, and for him a denial of the truth of God, vested in his visible church, expressed and discovered through its countless offices, and summed up before men in an oecumenical council, was a medley of ignorance and revolutionary crime. That such was the consistent reasoned conviction of More, even in his sprightliest days, is beyond question. It is elaborated in successive arguments, with an ability and candour which have had no superior since his death. Nevertheless, lovers of the man, who cannot share all his convictions, but who still appreciate the brilliance of his church apologetic, turn in sorrow from certain detailed consequences of his main beliefs. His Utopia had been a land where thought developed free in reading and discussion ; where the forms of religion were reduced to a splendid and awful generality ; where, in the most famous sentence in the book, it was a decree 'that it should be lawful for every man to favour and follow what religion he would, and that he might do the best he could to bring other to his opinion ; so that he did it peaceably, gently, quietly and soberly, without hasty and contentious rebuking and invehing against others.'<sup>4</sup> But in these *English Works*, More seems

<sup>1</sup> *E.W.* p. 160.

<sup>2</sup> *E.W.* p. 1426-7.

<sup>3</sup> *E.W.* p. 1427.

<sup>4</sup> *Utopia*, Bk. ii. c. 9.

wantonly to turn his back on the progressive methods of Utopia, and affects his readers with an impression of reaction.

The most curious, although not the most important of these minor matters, concerns prayers to saints, worshipping of images and going on pilgrimages. More's friends and teachers all came of a school little inclined to favour these matters. What Erasmus thought on these subjects, his *Colloquies* bear eloquent testimony, and the most veracious of these, the 'Peregrinatio,' involves More's father confessor and the noblest christian of the Tudor church, John Colet, in the author's disbelief. More himself seems often to be on the verge of a declaration in criticism. Nowhere in his *Dialogue* does the messenger reach a more convincing power, than in the chapters criticising prayers to saints, the worshipping of images, and going on pilgrimages—indeed, it is hard to believe that More really answers the points he raises; and there is one outburst of critical eloquence<sup>1</sup> so serious and vehement, that one almost believes the author's heart to be in alliance with his head as he writes. And yet, however badly he may manage his argument for the church, he leaves no doubt as to his final conviction; 'that those things, images I mean, and pilgrimages, and praying to saints are things good, and to be had in honour in Christ's church, *sith the church believeth so.*'<sup>2</sup> For More, the real importance lay in the last words. I cannot think that the natural man in him could always check wandering, mocking thoughts—how could Colet's pupil and Erasmus's friend be other than sensitive to ritualistic absurdities; and, of course, his church had always regulated with slack hand a certain kind of profanely humorous criticism. But the church of Luther's day never relinquished the use of these things; for More, the church was the one alternative, utter darkness the other, and since the church stood firm, More could not but acquiesce. There was a definite movement, retrogressive if you will, in More from earlier to later opinions, but it corresponded to no ossification of his mind. Times had changed, the church had stiffened her discipline, and More, the practical politician, recognised that circumstances govern the world. He has explained his position in one of his weightiest sentences: 'I say therefore' (it is in reference to his connection with the *Encomium Moriae*) 'in these days in which men by their own default misconstrue and take harm of the very scripture of God, until men better amend, if any

<sup>1</sup> *E.W.* p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> *E.W.* p. 176.

man would now translate *Moria* into English, or some works either that I have myself written ere this, albeit there be none harm therein, folk yet being (as they be) given to take harm of that that is good, I would not only my darling's (Erasmus) books, but mine also, help to burn them both with mine own hands, rather than folk should (though through their own fault) take any harm of them.'<sup>1</sup>

This reference to the people and their turmoils raises a second, but really minor difficulty in reconstructing More's intellectual personality, his attitude towards a free use of literature, and more especially of the English scriptures. But space forbids any detailed examination of the point, and in any case the principles which control his conduct elsewhere apply here also. No such elimination however is possible when we arrive at the final testing point in the history of More's opinions—his theory of toleration and persecution. More stands forth in history as a persecutor—that is the rock of offence to all earnest protestants from Tyndale to Mr. Froude; and supporters of the vaguer gospel of culture reproach him further with turning his back on an earlier belief in toleration. Now, whatever the Utopian sentences may mean, the cold fact of More's actual opinion is indubitable, as the most casual reading of his *English Works* will prove. But the fact is one thing, its significance for More's character quite another.

Before giving More's position in detail, it may be well to suggest the world in which he held it. This spiritual and intellectual patrician had been watching, for ten years, the growth of heresy and its ally, democracy. Now piety is aristocratic; the church, which is the reservoir of piety, is the elaboration of aristocracy, and tradition, the foundation of the church, despises both the crowd and the future, that playground of the crowd. The good plain home-spun lollardy of the people, the sturdy ignorant appeal to an English or a German Bible, the rough and ready argumentative tests of truth proposed by the new faith, the very stress which Luther laid on the individual religious experience, became not merely hateful to More, but a cause of terror. With the prescience of a great politician he warned his son-in-law of the future: 'I pray God that some of us, as high as we seem to sit upon the mountains treading heretics under our feet like ants, live not the day that we gladly would wish to be at league and composition with them, to let them have their churches quietly to themselves, so that they would be contented

<sup>1</sup> *E.W.* 422-3.

to let us have ours quietly to ourselves.’<sup>1</sup> But these words must not be interpreted to suggest toleration. Broadly and plainly, Thomas More believed in persecution because, socially, political stability seemed to be threatened by heresy; and because, religiously, no other view was possible to him. In spite of the famous Utopian scheme, More never could have believed in the practicability of moderation, and in the sphere of politics, to doubt the practicability of an idea is to recognise its falsehood. Belief then was actual on both sides, a matter of something deeper than life and death. It expressed itself in very concrete phrases; it connected itself with great punishments and rewards; it had not yet learned to turn hysterical appreciations of pain, into arguments against the existence of evil or the pursuit of righteous repression. Besides all this, which amounted to the sinfulness and awful consequences of intellectual error, the church represented social stability, and Lutheranism might justifiably present itself to conservatives as a kind of anarchy, bringing war and bloodshed in its train.

It is customary to apologise for More in this field, when the truth is that, on his own hypotheses, in religion and politics, his conduct was the only perfectly righteous course. He made no attempt at disguise. Persecution he was forced to practice; the only questions were those of degree and method. In the *Dialogue* his very chapter title is clear and bold: ‘The author sheweth his opinion concerning the burning of heretics, and that it is lawful, necessary and well done, and sheweth also that the clergy doth not procure it, but only the good and politic provision of the temporality.’<sup>2</sup> Under the circumstances, when Germany was on fire with popular discontent, More tended rather to the civil, than to the spiritual argument for repression. Even in England, he held, the heretics had opened the attack; they had begun with violence, and when the messenger attempted a Utopian defence, pleading for a rule whereby ‘no man were constrained to believe but as he could be by grace, wisdom, and good works induced,’<sup>3</sup> it was ‘the great peril and jeopardy of the realm’ which More gave as an answer to his wishes. Believing then in the essential rightness, for More, of his theories, we must be prepared to find him hold them to the end. In the epitaph, which he wrote for himself in the summer after he resigned the

<sup>1</sup> Roper's *Life of More*.

<sup>2</sup> *The Dialogue*, Bk. iv. c. 13.

<sup>3</sup> *E.W.* p. 275.

chancellorship, among the qualities of which he was not ashamed, he recorded that he had been 'furibus, homicidis, haereticisque molestus,'<sup>1</sup> and lest it be taken for one more ironic jest of this constant humorist, we have a letter to Erasmus with a declaration perfectly explicit: 'I have purposely stated in my epitaph that I molested the heretics, for I so hate that folk, that unless they repent, I would rather incur their animosity, so mischievous are they to the world.' The truth is that we moderns can be tolerant, only because we have lost the possibility of clear belief. Conviction, with its corollary repression, is, like patriotism, one of the dying virtues, and historians find it easier to evade the question than to reconstruct an austere hero like More in full light of the facts. We may consistently praise some retired thinker for his philosophic basing of toleration, or some rash poetic dream for its anticipations of the future. But Thomas More was a man, as we have seen, immersed in living, founding that public conduct which we eulogise, on theories essentially at one with those which drove him to intolerance, and professing a most exalted piety, whose temper stood the final test, because it had been prepared to risk lives, both its own and others', for the faith.

There is a peculiar fitness in the fact that Rastell's volume closes with the letters to More's beloved daughter Margaret. The chief service rendered to More's memory by the *English Works* is that they shatter partial estimates of him, as literary man or social idealist. But it is no fierce theologian of the older school whom they substitute for the lighter figure, only a noble Englishman, of whom these letters are the most inspired expression. In mere detail of literary power they leave the *Utopia* as far behind as life does day-dreams, looking for rivals only to the simpler and less theatrical moments of Shakespeare's genius. But their highest value lies in their revelation of More's character. Not every martyr can believe so utterly as More, and not every martyr can find the creed for which he dies adorned, as More did his, with memories and great traditions like some old cathedral. But the unique thing in these personal records of his trial is the urbanity and humour they reveal. Martyrs may die like Christians, but it is not always easy to play the gentleman to the bitter end. Yet in prison, and to the very scaffold, we may watch More keep the perfect good-nature which won him friends through Europe; his wit and repartees levelled at jailors,

<sup>1</sup> *E.W.* p. 1420.

executioner, child and wife, would have made the reputation of a dozen courtiers; the piety which raised him above even the venerable bishop of Rochester, who suffered with him, continued still to be tempered with sanity and shrewdness; and the father's love which had already caught the imagination of Europe, met its reward in one heroic scene. 'I never liked your manner toward me (it is his last letter to his daughter) better than when you kissed me last: for I love when daughterly love and dear charity hath no leisure to look to worldly courtesy.' He has lived and will live, not through any literary grace, or intellectual progressiveness, but because, like few others, he combined perfect sanity with the deepest piety; could, even in death, hit an admirable compromise between laughter and tears; and because he sacrificed the most brilliant intellectual gifts for a practical effectiveness, which, although worldly, had never a stain of baseness in it.

J. L. MORISON.

## Chronicle of Lanercost<sup>1</sup>

**M**A RTIN the Fourth, a native of Touraine, succeeded to Pope Nicholas, and sat for four years. In his time, Peter, King of Aragon, took Sicily, having expelled Charles, and held it against all the power of the Pope and of  
A.D. 1281. the King of France, a crusade made against him taking little effect.

This [Pope] was named Simon, and was sent as special legate to France, but particularly to Paris, to allay discord among the scholars; for Satan had sown among them something of a schism, and every nation was striving for the highest place in the university. The legate having arrived and hearkened to the controversy, promulgated the law that the English had priority in that university; for, said he, Baeda went to Rome, and, coming to Paris, held classes before anybody else, founding sacred theology upon the gospel of S. John, and, by first teaching regularly, opened the way to all other sciences after him.<sup>2</sup>

He [the Pope], being under vows to S. Francis, on the feast of Pentecost, without any suggestion (unless it were that of the Holy Ghost), decreed and bestowed upon [the Franciscans] by his plenary power the privilege of preaching the word of God, and hearing the confessions of all and sundry, not without [exciting] the wonder of many and the indignation of great persons. For at that time the friars in various provinces had been prohibited by twenty-one bishops from the exercise of the aforesaid [offices]. When he was dying he directed that he should be buried at the feet of S. Francis; nevertheless, contrary to his wishes, he was interred at Viterbo.

At this time the King of England, intending to hunt in parts of Westmorland, prepared to set out for Gascony [provisioned] with all kinds of game, because Gaston de Biern, once loyal,

<sup>1</sup> See *Scottish Historical Review*, vi. 13.

<sup>2</sup> The Legate's ruling may have been right, but his argument was wrong, for Bede himself tells us that he never was out of England.

but now a rebel, drawing back from his allegiance. In a short time he forced them [to desist] from their rash purpose, and returned home.<sup>1</sup>

It happened in the same year that two Minorite Friars of the convent of Dumfries were travelling the country of Annandale to preach at the holy Nativity of the Lord.<sup>2</sup> Howbeit, there was near where they passed the steward of a certain church and overseer of the rector's glebe, who, being oppressed with infirmity, felt obliged to make confession, but, intending not to do so honestly, concealed twenty gold pieces<sup>3</sup> which he had embezzled from his master. Having received from his master the rector instructions to prepare the house for his coming, the sick man quitted the hall wherein he had lain until that time, and moved into a wattled barn, where a single girl ministered to the needs of his ailment. But one of these nights when these [two] were resting apart, there came some satellites of Satan, who entered the house about cock-crow, lit a fire, placed upon it a cauldron, and poured in water to heat it. A little afterwards two of these devils were sent to the bed of the sick man, lifted him out, soused him in the boiling water,<sup>4</sup> and then bound him dripping to the cross-beam of the house, tearing him with their nails, and jeering at him with—'Take that for the twenty pieces of gold.' This was done three times in succession, the woman all the time witnessing the punishment and listening to the accusation. Having perpetrated the cruelty which God permitted, his tormentors carried the wretched man back to bed. Then one of them exclaimed—'What shall be done to that woman lying there?' To whom the leader replied, 'That water is not suitable for her. She is the priest's whore, and hotter water will suit her better.'<sup>5</sup>

When he said this, they all departed; and the woman went to the sick man, and asked with trembling how he was, who answered her—'You beheld my torments; need you ask how I

<sup>1</sup> This passage must have been misplaced by the compiler. King Edward did not go to Gascony in 1281, and the reference is probably to his expedition in 1286-89, though the facts are very inaccurately stated.

<sup>2</sup> Christmas.

<sup>3</sup> *Solidos*. The term in late Roman coinage denoted a gold piece, the older *aureus*; but in this place it may have signified 'shillings.'

<sup>4</sup> *Lixa aqua*.

<sup>5</sup> The meaning seems to be that devils are afraid of hot water, as explained by one of them in an episode described in the *Chronicle*, ad ann. 1257.

am? but, for the fear of God, let a priest come to me, and seek safety for yourself.'

Therefore when it was light she went a distance of five miles to Annan, where, having confessed herself, she found plenty of hot water.

In this year Sir John of Newcastle took the monk's dress at Holcultram, upon which H. observed :

'With altered habit, habits too must alter,  
Much need that John with sin no more should palter.  
Unless to mend his ways he doth not fail,  
White gown and snowy cowl will nought avail.'<sup>1</sup>

In the same year Sir Nicholas of Carlisle was sent to reside at Gisburn, and became a monk there.

The Friars of the Cross who inhabit the land of Robert de Chartersborough, and raise pleasant buildings there, A.D. 1282. having carried architectural work<sup>2</sup> through the middle of the church, were preparing for themselves a lower choir, where lies the body of that just man, leaving the lower part to pilgrims, [who come] thither in order to perform vigils and burn candles. The spirit of the just man resented this and a tremendous flood, such as no man there remembers, carried the waters of the Nidd into the upper part and the middle of the church, destroying the vaulted work in the night, and [the spirit of the just man, Robert] allowed [the friars] to stand together, not as his masters but as his comrades, on the pavement which was raised only a little [above the flood].<sup>3</sup>

About the same time the rector of the church of Bothans<sup>4</sup> in Lothian caused the woodwork of his choir to be carved during Lent, to the honour of S. Cuthbert, whose church it is and for the credit of the place. But when the work was finished, on the vigil of the Saint,<sup>5</sup> while the rector was worrying himself about how the scaffolding, made of huge, rough beams, which

<sup>1</sup> *Mutatis pannis mutetur vita Johannis  
Ut melioretur et ei constantia detur.  
Si tibi sit pulla capa, forte, vel alba cuculla  
Et virtus nulla, merces tibi non datur ulla.*

<sup>2</sup> *Arvali opere* in Dr. Stevenson's edition, which Mr. Neilson reasonably suggests is a misreading of *arcuali*.

<sup>3</sup> This passage is very obscure : but Mr. Neilson has elucidated it by revising the punctuation, and showing that *aqua de Nith* is not the Scottish Nith but the Yorkshire Nidd.

<sup>4</sup> Abbey S. Bathans.

<sup>5</sup> 19th March.

the workmen had erected on the ground, could be removed so that it should be no impediment to the celebration, one of the workmen went up and loosed the upper lashings so that the supports threatened to fall down. And while the artizan was at a loss how to get down, suddenly the whole scaffolding collapsed, carrying him with it. A great shout arose, for the men supposed that he was crushed [to death], seeing that he had fallen upon a stone pavement; [but], on removing the beams they found the man not a bit the worse, even making fun of it with his rescuers. Thus did the Saint renew his ancient miracles [performed] at the time of his translation in the scaffolding of vaulted building.

About this time, in Easter week, the parish priest of Inverkeithing, named John, revived the profane rites of Priapus, collecting young girls from the villages, and compelling them to dance in circles to [the honour of] Father Bacchus. When he had these females in a troop, out of sheer wantonness, he led the dance, carrying in front on a pole a representation of the human organs of reproduction, and singing and dancing himself like a mime, he viewed them all and stirred them to lust by filthy language. Those who held respectable matrimony in honour were scandalised by such a shameless performance, although they respected the parson because of the dignity of his rank. If anybody remonstrated kindly with him, he [the priest] became worse [than before], violently reviling him.

And [whereas] the iniquity of some men manifestly brings them to justice, [so] in the same year, when his parishioners assembled according to custom in the church at dawn in Penance Week, at the hour of discipline he would insist that certain persons should prick with goads [others] stripped for penance. The burgesses, resenting the indignity inflicted upon them, turned upon its author; who, while he as author was defending his nefarious work, fell the same night pierced by a knife, God thus awarding him what he deserved for his wickedness.

In the same year Sir Hugh of Ireland obtained a license to enter stricter religion in his country; but in the same year he suffered rejection because of discord between the Prior and the Convent. Wherefore H. remarked:

‘What profits it to leap and thus to fall?  
No son of man prevails to conquer all.

Better, sometimes, to halt than forward press ;  
 Virtue may profit e'en from ill success.  
 A change of scene proves often no bad leech ;  
 One hankers less for what seems out of reach.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year Henry de Burgh was arrested at Durham and confined for three days in the castle because of an execution which he had performed for the Archbishop of York, wherefore he wrote to Master R. Avenel as follows :

' Robert ! if legates pass their way  
 With privilege, as all men say,  
 Then let me out this very day  
 From prison walls wherein I stay.  
 Cloisters, not towers like these, befit me,  
 Thus prison rules the harder hit me ;  
 Wherefore to pray your grace permit me,  
 Command my jailors to demit me.  
 God's House to all should aye be free  
 To come and go. I cannot see  
 Why I, who canon am professed,  
 Should thus in person be oppressed ;  
 The benefit we clergy boast of  
 Is what at present I lack most of.  
 Guiltless I languish in this cell.  
 God help me ! Who dost all things well.'

Hugh de Burgh<sup>2</sup> wrote thus to the Archbishop:

' O Primate of York ! 'twas for you that I paid  
 With my freedom in Durham. They did me upbraid,  
 And maltreat my person. My servants departed  
 And left me the victim of men evil-hearted.  
 Three days I remained in that horrible tower,  
 Forbidden to leave it, alone hour by hour.  
 Holy Sire ! if you do not avenge such an outrage,  
 Nor clergy nor brethren can brook it without rage.  
 Thus study to rule us, upholding the law,  
 Keeping good men in safety and rebels in awe.'

In the same year Llewellyn, Prince of Wales, was captured in a skirmish and beheaded incontinently.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Quid prodest facere saltum et sic resilire ?  
 In nullo genere genus est quod circuit omne.  
 Sed quando tantum est casus causa salutis ;  
 Robur virtutis passum dat saepe gravamen.  
 Est medicinalis mutatio saepe localis ;  
 Res minus optatur prope si non esse sciatur.*

<sup>2</sup> Henry and Hugh must have been the same monk.

<sup>3</sup> He was slain in the field.

On the day following the feast of S. Agnes,<sup>1</sup> the King of Scotland's son, Alexander, was taken from this world, being only twenty years of age, dying on his birthday, A.D. 1283. changing the rejoicing for his birth into lamentation for his death; forasmuch as, had he lived, he would have been the light of his country and the joy of his kindred. He was carried off in Cupar-in-Fife by a lingering illness, with which he suffered a degree of mental aberration; [but], coming to his senses late on Thursday evening, he foretold regarding his death, on the morrow at sunrise should set the sun of Scotland; and for King Edward of England he said: 'My uncle shall fight three battles; twice he will conquer; in the third he will be overthrown.' These things I learnt from information of those who were with him when he died, whereof one was a knight and his tutor, the other was rector of the church and his priest.

In like manner his sister, the Queen of Norway, took the way of death in the following month of February, only thirty days later, in order that God's long-suffering should by many afflictions<sup>2</sup> soften to a proper [degree of] penitence<sup>3</sup> the heart of the father through whose wrong doing these things came to pass.<sup>4</sup>

In the unlucky course of that year, the Welsh nation, unable to pass their lives in peace, broke over their borders on Palm Sunday, carrying fire and sword among the people engaged in procession, and even laid siege [to some places]; whose Prince Llewellyn, deceived (more's the pity!) by the advice of his brother David, fiercely attacked his lord the King; as we read written about Christ, 'him whom I loved most hath set himself against me.' For the King had given his own niece, only daughter of the Earl of Montfort, a lady of noble birth [endowed] with the ample possessions of her father, in marriage to Llewellyn, by whom he had two sons. But David was so much in the king's confidence that he got himself appointed

<sup>1</sup> He died on 28th January. St. Agnes' day is the 21st, which was his birthday.

<sup>2</sup> *Jaculis.*

<sup>3</sup> *Patientia*, which Mr. Neilson rightly suggests must be a misreading for *penitentia*.

<sup>4</sup> Certain clerics never wearied of imputing to Alexander III., the best king that the Scots ever had, responsibility for all the calamities which befel both his country and his family.

guardian of his [the King's] head in place of the Great David ap Udachis.<sup>1</sup> And forasmuch as nothing is so deadly as an enemy within the household, he persuaded his brother to rebel, trusting after the act to conciliate the king by his [David's] proved devotion. Having therefore raised an army, the King went in person to Wales, accompanied by gallant men; where, albeit at great expense and loss of men, he first occupied the land of Anglesey [which was] fertile, abounding in all good things. Which [island] he divided among English farmers, removing the Abbey of Aberconway and founding it elsewhere; but in that place<sup>2</sup> because of its suitability he built a town, a castle and a spacious harbour, the ditch surrounding the castle with the tide.

At this time the head of Llewellyn, who had been slain by the treachery of his own people, was sent to the King, although he would not have approved of this being done.<sup>3</sup> However, it was taken to the Tower of London, and fixed upon a stake. Arising out of these events, the King took proceedings against the traitor David; for, having returned to Hereford, he intended to revisit the seat of his government, when fresh rumours reached him that the author of perfidy could not desist from adding to his iniquity. The King therefore resumed the campaign, and, determined to exterminate the whole people of that nation, he caused them to be beset by land and sea in the district of Snowdon with a great fleet, so that by famine he might crush those stoney hearts which relied upon [safety in] stones and rocks.

At length [David], having been conquered through privation, surrendered, and the King sent him forward to the Tower of London with wife and children; and, having built Flint Castle, received the common people to mercy, having appointed his own bailiffs and [made] many new laws. He also possessed himself of the ancient and secret treasures of that people, [dating], as is believed, from the time of Arthur; among which he found a most beautiful piece of the Holy Cross, carved into a portable cross, which was the glory of their dominion and [carried] the presage of their doom. Which

<sup>1</sup> Obscure. Stevenson's edition reads *vice magni David apud achis*, which is unintelligible.

<sup>2</sup> At the mouth of the Conway.

<sup>3</sup> The fate of Llewellyn ap Gruffudd has been briefly noted already *ad ann.* 1282.

[cross], it is said, Helena kept after the Invention as a special portion, and brought with her when she returned to Britain with her husband. The Welsh had been accustomed to call it, after the fashion of their own language, 'Crosnaith.'

Thus the King returned from the said campaign about the Nativity of the Glorious Virgin,<sup>1</sup> bringing with him as proof of his triumph the ensign of salvation of the human race; and, with a great procession of nobles, bishops and clergy, brought that monument of our redemption to London to be adored by the citizens.

David's children were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, but David himself was first drawn as a traitor, then hanged as a thief; thirdly, he was beheaded alive, and his entrails burnt as an incendiary and homicide; fourthly, his limbs were cut into four parts as the penalty of a rebel,<sup>2</sup> and exposed in four of the ceremonial places in England as a spectacle; to wit—the right arm with a ring on the finger in York; the left arm in Bristol; the right leg and hip at Northampton; the left [leg] at Hereford. But the villain's head was bound with iron, lest it should fall to pieces from putrefaction, and set conspicuously upon a long spear-shaft for the mockery of London. Just as the holy Jeremiah composed metrical dirges for the desolation of Judaea, so the Welsh nation composed a heroic elegy upon the death of their Prince and the desolation of their nation, at the end whereof they always commemorate David with curses, forasmuch as he was the author of this misfortune, whereon H. spoke these lines:

' David of Wales, a thief and traitor,  
Slayer of men, of Church a hater,  
A fourfold criminal in life  
Now dies by horse, fire, rope and knife.  
The ruffian thus deprived of breath  
Most meetly dies by fourfold death.'<sup>3</sup>

In the same year, John, Prior of Lanercost, resigned, for whom adequate provision was granted and confirmed under the seal of Bishop Ralph.<sup>4</sup> In the same year, on the morrow of the

<sup>1</sup> 8th September.

<sup>2</sup> *Depellatoris*, probably an error for *debellatoris*.

<sup>3</sup> *David Walensis, equus, ignis, funis et ensis,  
Infelix, fatum tibi dant recis et cruciatum.  
Es nece quadrifida—fur, proditor ac homicida,  
Hostis et ecclesiae debes de jure perire.*

<sup>4</sup> Ralph de Ireton, Bishop of Carlisle.

Assumption of the Blessed Mary,<sup>1</sup> Simon of Driffield was elected Prior.

Item, in the same year, on the fifth of the Ides of January,<sup>2</sup> William, Archbishop of York, was translated, whose translation was procured and the expenses thereof borne by Sir Antony Bek, who, in the same [year], was consecrated Bishop of Durham, in the presence of the King and chief men of the country.

In the same year, Edward the Fifth, son of Edward the Fourth, was born at Carnarvon.<sup>3</sup>

At the feast of Holy Trinity,<sup>4</sup> Robert de Coquina, Bishop of Durham, died, and when he was about to be interred in the chapter house of that place, those who were making  
A.D. 1284. the grave impinged upon the tomb of a bishop unknown to them, Turgot, who had been Prior of Durham, and afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews in Scotland, but returning to Durham, ended his life in that place. By this time he had lain in the depth of the earth eight score and nine years, yet he was not only found entire in his body, but also in his vestments, the diggers having accidentally broken the case containing his pastoral staff. Having therefore shown the unchanged remains of this venerable man to several persons, they filled in the place with the earth that had been thrown out, and prepared elsewhere a grave befitting such remains.

We have seen this man, about whose funeral we are now speaking, in life bountiful enough and merry, also quite facetious enough at table. It occurred to me once to extract a meaning from his sport, by way of example. For instance, he kept in his court, after the custom of modern prelates, as some relief from their cares, a couple of monkeys—an old and a young one. One day at the end of dinner, desiring to be refreshed by amusement rather than by food, [the bishop] caused a silver spoon with whitened almonds to be placed in the enclosure of the younger monkey, the bigger one being kept away [from it]. She [the little monkey], seeing the coveted food, and wishing to avoid being despoiled by the bigger one, made every endeavour to stuff all the contents of the spoon into her left cheek, which she managed to do. Then, just as she thought to escape with the spoil, the

<sup>1</sup> 16th August.

<sup>2</sup> 9th January.

<sup>3</sup> The chronicler reckons the Saxon kings named Edward in the list of English kings.

<sup>4</sup> 4th June.

older monkey was released, and ran to her, seized the right cheek of the loudly screaming little one, drew out all that was stuffed into the left cheek, as if out of a little bag, and refreshed itself, until not a single [almond] was left. Everybody who saw this burst out laughing, but I perceived therein an image of the covetous of this world, calling to mind that proverb of Solomon in the twenty-second [chapter]: 'He that oppresseth the poor to increase his riches, shall himself give to a richer man and come to want.'<sup>1</sup>

At the feast of All Saints in this year, Alexander, King of Scotland, took a second wife, Yoleta by name, daughter of the Comte de Dreux, to his own sorrow, and to the almost perpetual injury of his kingdom, as will be repeatedly made clear.

In the same year [a son] was born to King Edward at Carnarvon in Snowdon, upon whom was bestowed his father's name on S. Mark the Evangelist's day.<sup>2</sup>

During that war in Wales a bridge of boats was made in the place called Menai, that is, between Snowdon and Anglesey, where Sir William de Audley, Lucas Tanay, Roger de Clifford and many others, old and young, were drowned.

In the same year there was granted to my lord the King of England a twentieth of all the churches of England.

Pope Martin departed from this world, to whom succeeded Honorius the Fourth, who sat for two years. Feeble and gouty, he was made Pope from [being] Cardinal, A.D. 1285. and being able neither to walk nor stand, made for himself a revolving chair. On the day of his consecration, one of the cardinals made these verses upon him at the instance of certain brethren :

'They place a wretched hulk in Peter's seat,  
Maimed of both hands and lamed in both his feet.'<sup>3</sup>

Howbeit, he did one good thing in publicly reproving [all] false apostles, *orbanibulos* and ribald persons who had started in the city itself without authority from the Roman see, and in issuing written orders that if any such persons were apprehended, they should first be warned to relinquish their sect and enter the

<sup>1</sup> The vulgate here differs in sense from the authorised version, where the passage runs, 'and he that giveth to the rich.'

<sup>2</sup> 25th April.

<sup>3</sup> *Ponitur in Petri monstrum miserabile sede,  
Mancus utroque manu, truncus utroque pede.*

cloister of holy religion, and if they did not comply with this, they should be handed over to the public authority. In connection with this a certain trustworthy burgess of Hartlepool declared on his return from Rome that he knew of a dozen of these fellows being beheaded in one day. Two of them also were arrested in Berwick, with their wives and children, and were found to be carrying long daggers at their hips and purses full of silver.

In the course of this year King Alexander of Scotland was removed by sudden death from the world after he had reigned thirty-six years and nine months. He departed from the world on the fourteenth of the kalends of April,<sup>1</sup> late on Monday night, being the vigil of S. Cuthbert, Bishop and Confessor, the liberties and bounds of whose Bishopric he [Alexander] had violated for three years past. And whereas it was held by the superior [clergy]<sup>2</sup> that the Lord would remove from the world both his children and his wife during his own lifetime for his chastisement, and [whereas] that did not cause him to reform, any one may perceive how there was fulfilled in him holy Job's prophecy, which saith: 'God will visit upon his children the sorrow of the father, and when he has accomplished [this] he shall know it.'

Of a truth it was foretold to him by just men that the Lord had shaken His sword against him, that He had bent and made ready His bow against him, and had prepared many arrows against him, etc. Besides all this there was repeated in the province throughout the whole of that year a fatal saying by the Scots, that at that time should come the Judgment Day, at which many trembled and a few scoffed.

In December preceding, next before these [events], under the sign of Capricorn, many terrible thunderings were heard, and lightning was seen, which, in the opinion of wise men, presaged the overthrow of princes, who were [thus] warned to take heed to themselves. But whereas all these and other warnings were of no avail to enlighten his [Alexander's] mind, God punished him by the means He appointed. For he [Alexander] used never to forbear on account of season or storm, nor for perils of flood or rocky cliffs, but would visit, not too creditably [both] matrons and nuns, virgins and widows, by day or by night as the fancy seized him, sometimes in disguise, often accompanied by a single follower. On

<sup>1</sup> 19th March.

<sup>2</sup> *Superioribus*, perhaps meaning 'old people.'

that very day, then, when judgment was imminent (though he suspected it not) there arose such a mighty tempest that to me and most men it seemed disagreeable to expose one's face to the north wind, rain and snow. On which day, he [Alexander] was holding a council in the lofty Castrum Puellarum<sup>1</sup> with a great assembly of the nobles of the land, for the purpose of replying to the emissaries of the King of England, who were due at Norham on the third day [after] with the bodily presence of Thomas of Galloway, whose release from prison was besought at that time by Sir John de Baliol, the son of the older Baliol.

When they had sat down to dinner, he [Alexander] sent a present of fresh lampreys<sup>2</sup> to a certain baron, bidding him by an esquire to make the party merry, for he should know that this was the Judgment Day. He [the baron], after returning thanks, facetiously replied to his lord: 'If this be the Judgment Day, we shall soon rise with full bellies.'

The protracted feast having come to an end, he [Alexander] would neither be deterred by stress of weather nor yield to the persuasion of his nobles, but straightway hurried along the road to Queensferry, in order to visit his bride, that is to say Yoleta, daughter of the Comte de Dru, whom shortly before he had brought from over the sea, to his own sorrow and the perpetual injury of the whole province. For she was then staying at Kinghorn. Many people declare that, before her engagement beyond the sea, she had changed her dress in a convent of nuns, but that she had altered her mind with the levity of a woman's heart and through ambition for a kingdom.

When he arrived at the village near the crossing, the ferry-master warned him of the danger, and advised him to go back; but when [the King] asked him in return whether he was afraid to die with him: 'By no means,' quoth he, 'it would be a great honour to share the fate of your father's son.' Thus he arrived at the burgh of Inverkeithing, in profound darkness, accompanied only by three esquires. The manager of his salt pans, a married man of that town, recognising him by his voice, called out: 'My lord, what are you doing here in such a storm and such darkness? Often have I tried to persuade you that your nocturnal rambles will bring you no good. Stay with us, and we will provide you with decent fare and all that you want till morning light.' 'No need for

<sup>1</sup> Edinburgh.

<sup>2</sup> *De murena recenti.*

that,' said the other with a laugh, 'but provide me with a couple of bondmen, to go afoot as guides to the way.'

And it came to pass that when they had proceeded two miles, one and all lost all knowledge of the way, owing to the darkness; only the horses, by natural instinct, picked out the hard road. While they were thus separated from each other, the esquires took the right road; [but] he, at length (that I may make a long story short), fell from his horse, and bade farewell to his kingdom in the sleep of Sisara. To him Solomon's proverb applies: 'Wo unto him who, when he falls, has no man to raise him up.' He lies at Dunfermline alone in the south aisle, buried near the presbytery. Whence [comes it] that, while we may see the populace bewailing his sudden death as deeply as the desolation of the realm, those only who adhered to him most closely in life for his friendship and favours, wet not their cheeks with tears?

But, whereas a chronicle which strews its course with extinguished cinders will be deemed too dry, I shall here relate, to the praise of the incorrupt Virgin, what befel on the Annunciation<sup>1</sup> immediately after this event. In that kingdom there is a village called Stanehouse<sup>2</sup> on this side of the burgh of Stirling, wherein a farmer, not sufficiently respecting the feast of the Conception of the Son of God,<sup>3</sup> went to the plough, yoked his team, and, having set his own son to drive the animals, began to plough the turf. But as the oxen did not go fast enough, and by avoiding [the yoke] drew a crooked furrow, the obstinate fellow cried to his son to goad them, and shouted curses on the beasts. At length, wrought into a fury, he seized a plough staff, and, meaning to deal a heavy blow on the restive one of the oxen, he aimed amiss, and struck the head of his own son, who fell dead. Thus he became the murderer of his own offspring, an outlaw from his own people, obnoxious to the Author of Salvation, and the betrayer of his own [cause].<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> 25th March.

<sup>2</sup> Probably Stonehouse in Lanarkshire.

<sup>3</sup> *I.e.* the Annunciation. Father Stevenson, confusing it with the Conception of the Virgin, noted it as 8th December.

<sup>4</sup> It was by tales like these, diligently circulated, that the clergy terrified their flocks into due observance of holy days; but in this instance the moral had been more apparent if the punishment had fallen upon the impious father instead of the innocent son.

*(To be continued.)*

## Reviews of Books

HENRY STUART, CARDINAL OF YORK, AND HIS TIMES. By Alice Shield. With an introduction by Andrew Lang. Pp. xvi, 335, and sixteen illustrations. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 12s. 6d. nett.

THIS work, which follows that written by the authoress in conjunction with Mr. Andrew Lang, *The King over the Water*, might fitly be entitled 'The Last Stuarts.' It is indeed the story of the exiled James and his two sons, and during the period of their lives there is much more about James and his elder son, Charles Edward, than about the less known Henry of York.

It was perhaps fitting that the last of the Stuarts should adopt the career of a Cardinal Prince of the Roman Church. It was the Church to which all his ancestors had adhered, either openly or in secret, except during the Anglican interlude covered by the reigns of James VI. and his son Charles I. For its sake both his father and grandfather may be said to have forfeited their crowns, and the religious enthusiasm which they had manifested was to some extent inherited by Henry of York. He at least obtained a title which could be recognised by every one without compromise of political convictions. His life was fairly worthy of his sacred and dignified profession, a profession which rendered impossible the continuance of a line upon which fortune persistently refused to smile. 'Henry,' to quote Mrs. Oliphant, 'set his red hat as a seal to the tomb of the Stuarts.' At the outset of his life he had relied upon his brother, to whom he was deeply attached, to retrieve the family fortunes, and he had chosen his own career before that brother had proved an utter failure. It would be perhaps well for the enthusiastic admirers of bonnie Prince Charlie not to read this book. Let the mists fall upon him as he sails away in the French ship from the western shores of Scotland. The Scottish episode is not only the most picturesque, but it is the most worthy in his fairly lengthy career. The young man who, whether shining in all the tinsel of Holyrood, or riding at the head of his victorious clans, or hiding in Highland caves, never ceased to call forth admiration, ere he approached old age had fallen a victim not only to bitter chagrin and foolish pride, but to that vice which so often successfully tempts the unfortunate in all walks of life. Intemperate habits are not only charged against him by his enemies or such scandal-mongers as Sir Horace Mann. Writing in 1767, when Charles was still in the prime of life, the Cardinal says,

'I am persuaded we should gain ground as to everything were it not for the nasty bottle, that goes on but too much, and certainly must at last kill him.' There is evidence, however, that towards the end of his life his habits improved. 'He was impossible' says his latest biographer, Mr. Andrew Lang, and all must concur in the verdict.

His father, the old Pretender, appears in a much more favourable light. His attempt to recover the ancient kingdom may have been even a greater failure than that of his son, and his contribution to Scottish history so small as to have been almost forgotten, but he remained to the end of his life an upright, temperate, and religious man. The Faith, with which Charles was inclined to play fast and loose, was to him a reality, and we may feel sure that not even to gain the crown of England would he have abandoned or even concealed his beliefs. He might, however, have led a happier existence had he possessed less pride and a more equal temper. It is sad to find how the harmony of these three lives was marred by trifling causes, and one can only attribute it to the deterioration of character which a hopeless exile and the worries of a petty court were sure to bring about.

It is perhaps somewhat difficult to form a proper estimate of Henry's character from this book. He is constantly cropping up in its pages just to disappear again. Now he manifests affection and generosity, again temper and pride. He seems to have been a respectable ecclesiastic, but not popular, and to have bored at least one Pope with his talk. He had had but a scanty preparation for his sacred profession, and more natural piety than acquired learning. But he was faithful to his duties, and endeavoured to maintain a strict discipline. Probably his brethren were inclined to envy him as one who hardly deserved all the rich gifts of the Church so liberally heaped upon him, and as one who owed much to his royal rank.

He was attractive in childhood and youth. Reports bear out the impression given by Largillière's charming portrait in the National Portrait Gallery. The Earl Marischal writes in 1731, 'I never saw any child comparable to him.' A later writer describes him as 'much liked on account of his handsome face and pretty manners.' There were no indications in these childish days of the peaceful profession he was subsequently to adopt. When his brother set off to see war at the siege of Gaeta, Henry, then aged nine, was impatient to accompany him, and is said to have thrown away his toy sword in disgust when, not unnaturally, refused permission. He was still a mere boy when offered the cardinal's hat. His acceptance of this offer is said to have filled his brother with rage. His prospects of recovering England were not likely to be improved by the step which Henry was about to take. It was even said that the Hanoverian government had a hand in the business. Yet Charles was, in after life, greatly to benefit by the pecuniary assistance which his richly endowed brother was able to afford. But the Prince, who had just returned from Scotland, was still hopeful of further attempts, and it was convenient to keep the family religion in the background. One Jacobite wrote that the duke's change of state was looked upon by

everybody as of much worse consequence than Culloden. Even the Scots College stood aghast.

Ordained a sub-deacon upon August 18, 1748, he was a priest by September 1. Various nations gave, or at least promised, benefices. From this date forward his private life for many years was that of a dignified prelate living in his palace, developing the musical services in his cathedral, and collecting jewels and works of art. Before the end came, and in the weakness of old age, he had to flee before the great storm of the Revolution, which showed no respect for princes either secular or sacred. But he survived to regain something like his old position, and died in dignity and peace. Although they had bitter quarrels, and were separated for long, the brothers maintained throughout life the mutual affection of their early years. When Charles died, Henry gave him a royal burial in his Cathedral of Frascati, and erected a monument to his memory. As everyone knows, they now sleep side by side in St. Peter's. While inclined to discourage Charles' demands for recognition as a king, Henry, after his brother's death, protested his own right to the throne of England, and accepted kingly honours from those who surrounded him. Of any attempt to recover that throne there is no evidence, yet it has been said that he was implicated in the Irish Rebellion of 1798. The Irish would have probably welcomed any claimant in their rage against England, and there was the great bond of a common faith between them and the Cardinal, but it is a mere tradition which rests upon no solid foundation.

The attitude which Henry assumed towards his sister-in-law, the Countess Albany, is just an illustration of the way in which an unprincipled woman may deceive a good and honourable man. More pleasing is the fact that, although at first opposed to her legitimation, he afterwards became attached to, and fully recognised the merits of, his niece, the devoted daughter who attended so nobly to Charles in his declining years.

Miss Shield has an interesting style, and has evidently bestowed great labour upon this book, and made a really valuable contribution to the history of the Stuart family, of which it may be said to form the last chapter. We note one slip. Charles was not forty-nine years old in 1766. It may be pointed out that the Lord Sempil frequently mentioned in these pages is not the bearer of the Scottish title who fought under Cumberland at Culloden, but a creation made 'over the Water.'

Mr. Andrew Lang has contributed a short but most attractive preface, and the illustrations, nearly all portraits, are excellent.

W. G. SCOTT MONCRIEFF.

THE GOVERNMENT OF ENGLAND. Two Vols. By A. Lawrence Lowell, Professor of the Science of Government in Harvard University, U.S.A. Vol. I. pp. xv, 570; Vol. II. pp. viii, 563. Demy 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd. 1908. 17s. nett.

SOBRIETY of judgment, a keen sense of proportion, and absolute lucidity of exposition are the outstanding qualities of these admirable volumes. If the work appears somewhat colourless in places, this is merely because

the author has deliberately restrained himself, preferring usefulness to brilliancy. If he has added to our knowledge comparatively little that is new, it is because he prefers, in treating of well-worn themes, to adopt and improve the conclusions of recognized authorities rather than to confuse his readers by the invention of subtle paradoxes, or to lead them astray by straining after an appearance of originality. As a consequence, he has produced a work of solid merit, equally thorough and reliable in every one of its numerous and well-proportioned sections, a book to which Englishmen and foreigners alike may confidently appeal, without anxiety that its conclusions are vitiated by the intrusion of any personal factor into the equation.

It seems natural to compare what this transatlantic writer has now done for the English Constitution with the similar service rendered many years ago to the American Commonwealth by Mr. Bryce. The two treatises, indeed, have much in common. Each of them maintains throughout a dead level of somewhat monotonous excellence, and each of them is likely to remain for long the standard authority on the system of government it describes. Considered as a whole, Mr. Bryce's treatise has a wider range, embracing the social, racial, and even physical aspects of the American Commonwealth, and not merely the political institutions, to which Prof. Lowell confines his attention. Mr. Lowell's work, again, is the more compact, more concrete, and terser of the two; while Mr. Bryce is richer in suggestive and germinating ideas for the student of political science in the abstract. Mr. Lowell, however, has many shrewd observations on English politics and institutions, as, for example, that 'the Frenchman has tended in the past to draw logical conclusions from correct premises, and that his results have often been wrong, while the Englishman draws illogical conclusions from incorrect premises, and his results are commonly right' (vol. i. p. 14).

A catalogue even of the important topics handled by Prof. Lowell would occupy too much space. While dealing adequately with the main features of the central and the local government respectively, he gives lucid information on many special topics not usually treated by writers on constitutional law. There are admirable chapters, for example, on private bill legislation, on imperial federation, on the benefits and dangers of municipal trading, on the legislation that has gradually built up the present system of national education, on the part played by official experts in the government of boroughs, and on many allied themes. On the permanent civil service, and its value to Great Britain, he has some illuminating remarks: 'The nation has been saved from a bureaucracy, such as prevails over the greater part of Europe, on the one hand, and from the American spoils system on the other, by the sharp distinction between political and non-political officials' (i. 145).

Such themes, important as they are, are merely subsidiary. The subject of which Mr. Lowell, author of *Governments and Parties in Continental Europe*, may claim to speak with special authority—what he himself calls 'the central conception' of his treatise—is contained in fourteen chapters on 'The Party System.' He uses his description of

the rise and failure of the Birmingham Caucus to point a moral: 'The story of the Caucus illustrates also the central conception of the book, that in the English parliamentary system leadership must be in the hands of the parliamentary leaders' (i. 534). His graphic comparison of the action of party in England and America respectively is particularly noteworthy: 'Parties in America are not, as a rule, despotic on public questions, because they have little cohesion; but their influence, or rather the influence of the machine, or of the individual politician, is freely exercised in things quite apart from those issues of public policy which form the only rational ground for party activity. In short, the boss is not a prime minister who directs policy, but an electioneering agent and a private bill and office broker' (ii. 95).

Comprehensive as Mr. Lowell's work is, there are notable omissions. Little is said of the relations of the individual subject to the Government, or to the various organs, which Mr. Lowell so well describes. The reader will not find a single word on such fundamental topics as the right of public meeting, the liabilities of Colonial governors, Petitions of Right, general warrants, martial law, or the *habeas corpus*. Comparatively little information is vouchsafed on the National Church; while Scotland is deliberately excluded from the scope of the work, except for some casual references. 'The Scotch,' for example, 'regard themselves as an elect race who are entitled to all the rights of Englishmen and to their own privileges as well' (i. 138), while social influence has least influence in politics 'in Scotland where the people have a sturdy independence that is far less open to social blandishments' (ii. 12). On one point Mr. Lowell is better than his word, for he gives an excellent chapter on private bills affecting Scotland.

A remarkable feature of these volumes is the high level of accuracy that has been maintained throughout. Errors are extremely rare.

The labour of writing these volumes must have been immense. Any one section opened at random will be found packed with carefully sifted and verified information, logically and conveniently arranged; but admiration deepens when it is realized that the same holds good of each succeeding section. It may be necessary to consult other authorities for fuller details than Mr. Lowell's limitations of space permit; but anyone in search of information on any topic connected with the Government of England will be well advised to turn, in the first instance, to these volumes as the most likely place to find a masterly summary of the subject, treated in broad bold outlines.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

SKOTLANDS RÍMUR. Icelandic Ballads on the Gowrie Conspiracy. Edited by W. A. Craigie. Pp. iv. 144. Crown 8vo. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1908. 5s. nett.

IT was a liberal thing to edit and print this Icelandic poem. It is of no Scottish historical value, because the author knew nothing of the Gowrie affair beyond what was given in the official narrative. It is of no peculiar literary interest, for there are many Icelandic *Rímur* elsewhere, and they

are most of them made after the same pattern; one may have enough of them. But this publication is a distinct addition to knowledge. It throws light on a quaint, remote, and little appreciated region, on the intellectual life of Iceland in the seventeenth century, which differed little in its fashions from the fifteenth or the early nineteenth. With its description of the nature of *Rimur*, their metres and poetical diction, it makes an easier approach to some of the mysteries of Icelandic verse than was to be found before in this country; nor is there anything in any of the northern languages that does precisely what is done here. The careful student of Mr. Craigie's book will find that he has learned from it much more about Icelandic poetry than is contained in *Skotlands Rimur*.

Mr. Craigie says that *Rimur* 'may be described as ballads.' This sounds a little like irony—as from a lexicographer accustomed to the inaccuracies of language, and therefore tolerant. Mr. Craigie probably means that they may be described as ballads, because there is hardly anything which the literary historian will not at some time or other be tempted to describe as a ballad, whether it be so or otherwise. *Rimur* are the product of a country which has been educated in literature from its earliest years, self-conscious, grammatical. The freedom of the ballads is quite unlike the careful art of the *Rimur*. The *Rimur* might enter for prizes at an Eisteddfod; there is a close affinity between the Welsh and the Icelandic standards of poetical success, in their attention to minute points of alliteration, rhyme, and metre. The historical instances in this epic of Gowrie are like what are found in many Irish poets. Nero, Saul, Antiochus, Arius, and Achitophel are used for their ornamental value in the preludes which are required by the custom of *Rimur* before each separate canto. 'Some talk of Alexander,' but not, as a rule, in the older sort of ballads.

*Rimur* are very commonly made out of prose books; almost anything may be turned into this poetical form. There was the same sort of dependence on prose materials in the Faroës; it is curious to compare the Faroëse manner, which is more or less that of the Danish ballad, with the taste of the Icelandic poets, so very much more artistic and scrupulous.

Mr. Craigie gives the contemporary Danish translation of the Gowrie narrative: 'Historiske Relation om it gruelig Forræderi, Som tu aff Kong. Maiestats i Skotland Kong Jacob d. VI, hans Vndersaatte haffde sig fortagen mod hans Maiestats Person.' The difference between the lumbering ill-spelt Danish prose and the confident, conceited Icelandic verse is amusing. And the prose has life in it, and the story in all its forms is worth thinking about.

W. P. KER.

HISTORY OF GERMANY, 1715-1815. By C. T. Atkinson, Exeter College, Oxford. Pp. xx. 732, with maps. 8vo. London: Methuen & Co. 1908. 12s. 6d. nett.

THIS thick volume of 700 pages represents a difficult and laborious task worthily and solidly accomplished, and will interest every reader who has had experience of the perils which beset the historian who would pass safely between the Scylla of over-abstractness and the Charybdis

of elaborate irrelevancy. The material with which the author deals is common property; his task has been one of condensation and arrangement. His account of the Seven Years' War, for instance, is based on the researches of M. Waddington in the Archives of Vienna, and for the Napoleonic period, in its political aspect, he accepts the general conclusions of Mr. Fisher. But he has wisely recognised the necessity for abstraction in dealing with the tangled skein of the history of the German States during the eighteenth century, and his adoption of the military point of view is fully justified by the precise and illuminating results which his special knowledge has enabled him to obtain.

During the eighteenth century Germany was the battlefield of Europe, and the campaigns waged without its borders were subsidiary to the decisive operations which found their motive and their theatre in the unhappy and tormented regions east of the Rhine. As Mr. Atkinson indicates, the wars in North America in which Great Britain was engaged, and even the short struggle of the '45 had their effect on the military operations in Germany, and derived their deepest significance and truest interpretation from their relation to the politics of Central and Western Europe. Mr. Atkinson accordingly treats Germany merely as a field of operations, and the constantly changing States which made it up primarily as strategical positions or recruiting grounds. His Germany has nothing in common with that which Madame de Staël discovered, and in his eyes a Stein is more important than a Goethe. He is a student of strategy and tactics, and his accounts of the campaigns of Frederick the Great, of the War of the Austrian Succession, and of the Napoleonic struggle are unusually concise and intelligible. This is particularly the case when he deals with the general features and possible developments of the military situation, either at the commencement or at the close of a campaign. His grasp of the range and significance of the operations of warfare gives Mr. Atkinson's volume an interest and authority which are seldom gained by the condensed history of a critical period, and place it above the level of the average historical text-book.

The danger that besets the writer who is dealing with a period from a special point of view is over-abstraction, but Mr. Atkinson never allows his interest in military matters to make him insensible to the wider issues involved. The ghost of the Holy Roman Empire stalks across his pages; Austria's *gran rifiuto* and her mistaken preference for Italian expansion to that south-eastern movement which would have solved the Eastern Question almost before it had arisen, are sufficiently indicated; and the reader is constantly reminded of the policy of Great Britain, and of her presence on the horizon always ready to intervene in the interests of the Balance of Power. But, above all, true historical perspective is maintained by appropriate references to the slow progress towards that German unity which gained partial realisation in 1870, and whose possible accomplishment in the near future is viewed with forebodings by those who remember what dire conflicts have marked each stage in its development. It is perhaps inevitable that in his

difficult task of compression Mr. Atkinson should have omitted, or failed to do complete justice to, questions and episodes to which some of his readers may attribute an importance which he does not observe. His treatment of the question of Poland strikes one as inadequate, and the interesting career of Joseph II. had a more permanent effect on the development of Germany in certain directions than he would have us believe. Again, Napoleon's choice of Marie Louise in preference to a Russian princess had a determining influence on his future which Mr. Atkinson does not indicate. Had the Emperor allied himself with Russia, instead of with the Hapsburgs, he would have 'contained' the more central power and preserved that balance of forces on which his existence depended. But on the whole Mr. Atkinson's treatment of his subject is remarkably adequate, and it is to be hoped that he will complete the task, which he has apparently undertaken, with a volume on the period from the Congress of Vienna to the Peace of Versailles.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

THE MAKING OF IRELAND AND ITS UNDOING. 1200-1600. By Alice Stopford Green. Demy 8vo. Pp. xvi, 511. London: Macmillan & Co. 1908. 10s. nett.

'It is the object of these studies to gather together some records of the civilization of Ireland before the immense destruction of the Tudor wars; to trace her progress in industry, in wealth, and in learning; and to discover the forces that ruined this national life.' So the author describes her purpose in the preface. In fact, she sets herself to establish a thesis. She maintains, with much vigour, eloquence and attractiveness of style, that in the four centuries which preceded the death of Queen Elizabeth, Ireland was a highly civilized country, and that its advancing prosperity was destroyed by the greed and cruelty of English rulers and English merchants. Every genuine student of Irish history will examine her arguments with care; for there is no subject which stands in greater need of impartial investigation than the social condition of Ireland, and its relation to England, in the later middle ages.

We fear it is impossible to say that Mrs. Green has given the final answer to the question which she discusses in such interesting fashion. No discussion can lead to a conclusion which will be permanently satisfying, unless it fulfils two conditions. It must take account of the whole of the evidence, and it must deal with the evidence in a judicial spirit. The volume before us can scarcely be regarded as fulfilling either of these conditions.

In the first place, much evidence of the highest importance is neglected. Of Mrs. Green's industry, it is true, there is no doubt. She makes diligent use of the Calendars of State Papers, and of the interesting appendix to the tenth Report of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in which an account is given of the municipal records of Waterford and Galway. She quotes abundantly from the Four Masters, and from the poets whose verses are described in Mr. S. H. O'Grady's Catalogue of Irish Manuscripts in the British Museum—too abundantly, perhaps, or at

any rate too trustfully, for as she says, 'the poets wrote with pardonable enthusiasm,' and the remark applies with equal force to the annalists. But it is strange that she never refers to the Calendars of English Patent and Close Rolls: stranger still that a writer on Irish History should exhibit no knowledge of the publications of the Irish Record Commission and the Public Record Office of Ireland. Yet so it is. Mrs. Green apparently does not once allude to the Calendars of Irish Chancery Rolls, which cover the entire period of her study, nor to the Calendars of the Justiciary and Pipe Rolls of Ireland, which are in course of publication, nor to the *Fiants* of the Tudor Sovereigns from Henry VIII. to Elizabeth, nor to Dr. Berry's *Early Irish Statutes*, the first volume of which appeared a year ago. And this rather long list of omissions is by no means exhaustive. To take another example, we are told (p. 260) that no complete list of Irish translations from Latin, French and Spanish writings can be made 'till the Irish manuscripts in Dublin have been catalogued.' The writer is evidently unaware that there are catalogues of the two principal collections in Dublin: the Trinity College catalogue printed in 1900 and the Royal Irish Academy catalogue in manuscript. In short, Mrs. Green has limited her investigations to a portion of the accessible material.

In what spirit then has she dealt with the evidence which she has examined? With a considerable prepossession, it seems to the present writer, in favour of her own thesis, and with a strong anti-English bias. The impression left is that, in the long struggle between the two countries, all the virtues were on the Irish side, all the wrong-doing on the English. That is not, to say the least, *a priori* probable. 'By their first missionaries the Irish gave to the English the alphabet and the Christian faith. The English made return by breaking the Irish schools and destroying their libraries' (p. 235). That is Mrs. Green's summary of a thousand years of history. Its inaccuracy is as evident as its epigrammatic neatness. But it is equalled, or excelled, by an earlier statement about Limerick Cathedral (p. 23)—'The stately church, built by Irish hands a generation before the coming of the English, with a marble altar (now degraded) some feet longer than that of the new Westminster Cathedral, and a roof of carved wood which could scarcely be destroyed by English tools a few years ago, and its fragments turned into ornaments for local parsonages.' All this is really irrelevant; for O'Brien's church was founded before the period began of which this book treats. And it is a tissue of misrepresentation. Whether the church was stately or no, we cannot tell, so little of it now remains, but the oldest work is certainly very rude; the marble altar did not belong to it, for it was constructed in the seventeenth century; the roof of the south chapels of the present cathedral, older than the altar by perhaps a century, was removed, without special difficulty and by *Irish* workmen, in 1892, because it was crumbling away. The sounder parts of it were, it is said, made into ornamental furniture: but whether some of this was deposited in parsonages it is hardly necessary to inquire.

We shall not expect the writer of sentences such as those that have been quoted to be a dispassionate interpreter of records. And a comparison of a

good many of Mrs. Green's conclusions with the evidence alleged in favour of them justifies the warning that her statements must be subjected to considerable scrutiny before they are accepted. It may suffice to examine a few of them which concern the trade and the learning of the citizens of Waterford.

The city of Waterford 'consisteth,' according to the testimony of the citizens in 1574, 'and alwaies did consist of trafficke and marchaunt trade.' But of what character was the export trade? Did the Irish export only hides, fish, and the like, or was there also a considerable trade in manufactured articles, with a corresponding organized industry? Mrs. Green reminds us that the imports were largely luxuries. The women of Waterford, including servants and nurses, were not content to wear home-made stuffs, but attired themselves in foreign fineries—furs, fringes, lace, silk, woollens and linen (p. 30, note 3). Such imports could not be paid for, she assures us (p. 31), by raw hides and salt fish. Hence the existence of an 'active and organized industry with skilled manufacturers and a wide commerce' (p. 32) is inferred. But Mrs. Green does not inform us at this stage that the very document which tells us of the gay attire of the women of Waterford tells us also that by their extravagance the city was impoverished and the inhabitants reduced to idleness. The obvious conclusion is that the manufactures must have been small indeed if they could be so easily destroyed. Elsewhere, indeed, Mrs. Green seems to recognize this to be the true inference. The enactment of the corporation that the wearing of foreign attire was to cease was a 'last attempt' to save the weaving trade of the city (p. 223). But we cannot have it both ways. The plain fact is that the extensive use of imported fineries in Waterford or elsewhere does not necessarily indicate a corresponding export in manufactured goods.

But again, successful trade in the cities implied friendly relations with the Irish who lived around them (p. 169 ff.). And so Mrs. Green draws a pretty picture of the amenities of life in Waterford (p. 219 f.). She quotes, as an instance of the desire of the citizens for peace with their neighbours, the municipal law that if a Waterfordian should receive hurt from a man of one of the neighbouring 'nations,' the mayor and bailiffs were to 'pray and require' a remedy; but she does not add the following words, 'and if they may have no remedye sufficient, then the said Maire and balliffs shal restraine for that said hurte' (H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. p. 291 ff. no. xl.). She quotes (rather misquotes) a law that no citizen was to 'defame' another by calling him 'Irishman' (*ib.* no. iv.); and she leaves us to infer that Irishmen dwelt freely in the city. The statute of Kilkenny (40 Edw. III. § 4) may suggest that 'Irishman' was a nickname applied to an 'Englishman born in Ireland'; but, however that may be, 'Irishman' was evidently a term of opprobrium even in Waterford. She tells us, again, that every citizen 'be he never so simple'—'that is,' she remarks, 'every Irishman in the town'—carried arms. The gloss is interesting, but it is not warranted by the law on which she relies, which implies, moreover, that the wearing of arms was not a privilege, but a duty which was specially disliked by 'simple' citizens (*ib.* no. lxxviii.). 'Their

language was secured to the Irish,' we are told. But one of the laws enacts that only English shall be permitted in the court 'excepte one party be of the countre; then every such dueller shalbe att liberte to speke Yrish' (*ib.* cxxx.). Further, she asserts, the Irish were made freemen with only certain safeguards to avoid outside interferences, and the 'outcome man' of any nation, Irish or another, was fenced round with precautions 'as all other strangers.' But the laws run thus, ordering exceptional precautions in the case of the Irish (*ib.* no. lxxvii.).

'It was ordayned . . . that there sholde no oute commes man nor strangere be receivid freman . . . unto tyme that he be abiding and duelling thre yere housholdere in the saide citie or suburbes. . . . And if he be of Irishe blode, that than *he have his liberte of the Kyng* ere ever he putte in his petition . . . to be fre . . . and that he be of English aray, habite, and speche.'

This rule is several times partially repeated in the laws of the city (cf. *ib.* nos. xlv, lxiii, lxxiv.).

One other law must be quoted to which Mrs. Green does not seem to refer (*ib.* no. lix.):

'No manere man, woman, or childe, shall gyve, borrow ne sill [sell] bords, yren, pitche, rosene, nor tarre, ne othre thyngs whereby a bote sholde be made, to any ydle man [*i.e.* gentleman] of the counties of Waisforde, Kylkeny, Tiperary and Watirforde.'

Such a law is hardly consistent with relations entirely friendly with the neighbouring Irish.

But the civilization of Ireland manifested itself, according to our author, not merely in trade but in learning. The grammar schools in the towns rose 'to great importance as the boroughs, with their increasing wealth and commerce, became the natural centres of culture for the neighbouring Irish gentry' (p. 364). At Waterford there was certainly some sort of school in 1519, since in that year the corporation forbid the sale of wax to 'scolors.' But why Mrs. Green infers from that prohibition that the scholars were 'as numerous as poor,' or that they 'made their own candles' (p. 367) is not easily understood. We know, too, that the father of Donall O'Sullivan, then a child of twelve, was 'at school in the city of Waterford' about 1550 (C.S.P. 1586-1588, 344)—a fact, by the way, which scarcely warrants the general statement that 'there the heirs of the O'Sullivan territory were sent to learn English'; and that one Fagan, a graduate of Oxford, was schoolmaster, probably about that time. We learn also from the records (H.M.C. Rep. x. App. v. p. 307) that as early as 1470 children of Irish gentlemen were 'fusterid or kepte in sojorne within the said citie' by citizens; but that the children were sent to school, and, in particular, learnt 'Irish geography and history' is a very doubtful gloss of Mrs. Green. In fact, we know very little of the school at Waterford before Peter White took charge of it about 1570; and to state that it was a 'great school' (p. 365), or that Waterford was a 'centre of culture' in the days of its commercial prosperity, is merely to talk at random.

These examples of Mrs. Green's curious method of dealing with the evidence that lay before her have been mentioned with the object of

showing that much caution must be exercised by readers of her book. The list might easily be largely increased. The scientific progressiveness of the Irish is inferred from the adoption of the Gregorian Calendar in those parts of the country which were most under Papal, and least under English influence (p. 252). The skill of Irish smiths, A.D. 1200-1600, is argued from the legend of St. Findchu, and the presence among them in later days of plenty of fire-arms (p. 59), though we know quite well that they imported such things from Portugal and Spain (p. 29). And so on. Mrs. Green has collected a considerable amount of fresh information; but all her references to authorities must be verified by a careful student; and when the laborious process is accomplished very many of her most confident assertions will be found to have little or no evidence to support them.

H. J. LAWLOR.

THE HERALDRY OF THE HAMILTONS, WITH NOTES ON ALL THE MALES OF THE FAMILY, DESCRIPTIONS OF THE ARMS, PLATES, AND PEDIGREES. By G. Harvey Johnston, F.S.A., Scot. Pp. 140. 4to. Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston, Limited. 1909. £1 1s. nett.

THE *Heraldry of the Hamiltons* proves a worthy sequel to the former works on the armorial bearings and pedigrees of other distinguished Scottish families which Mr. Harvey Johnston has previously published. Bound in the Hamilton colours, red and white, and copiously illustrated with representations of no less than a hundred and thirteen coats of arms duly emblazoned, it forms, from a merely pictorial point of view, a very attractive volume. But besides this it has solid merits of its own. The pedigree of each family is succinctly treated; and the birth, death, marriage, and issue of every male representative are given either down to the present time or to the extinction of the branch in the male line. All this is very good, and, so far as it goes, very thorough. The author does not pretend to have made much original research, but he has gathered together in handy compass the information contained in the various books on the subject, notably in Anderson's *Memoirs of the House of Hamilton*, but correcting the mistakes in that work whenever it was in his power to do so, and adding much information collected from more recent and more trustworthy works. Of course a book like this, containing so many isolated facts, cannot be altogether free from errors, and in view of a second edition being called for, it may be as well to note a few of these. On page 19 it is stated that James, Lord Paisley, married Catherine, daughter of William Lenthall, of Burford. William Lenthall was the celebrated Speaker Lenthall, but it was not his daughter that Lord Paisley married, but that of his brother John. On the following page the date of Frances Jennings' death should be 6th, not 17th March, 1730. She was buried at Dublin on the 9th. On page 77 Daniel, the sixth son of Robert Hamilton of Presmennan, did not marry Mary Hamilton, the daughter of Monkland (as stated in the *Scots Peerage*). She was the wife of another Daniel Hamilton, a writer in Edinburgh, a brother of Gavin Hamilton of Inverdovat. It may also be of use to note that the date of the marriage

of the third Lord Belhaven was 17th January, 1697. The skeleton tables of the pedigrees of the various branches form not the least useful portion of this volume. One could have wished for a somewhat fuller bibliography of Hamilton literature. There is, for instance, a curious 17th century MS. in the Advocates' Library, called a 'Briefe Account of the Family of Hamilton,' by Baillie of Carnbroe, and there are also the better known memoirs of two of the Dukes by Bishop Burnet.

J. BALFOUR PAUL.

JEAN DE BRETAGNE, COMTE DE RICHMOND: SA VIE ET SON ACTIVITÉ EN ANGLETERRE, EN ÉCOSSE ET EN FRANCE (1266-1334). Par Inna Lubimenco. Pp. xv, 161. Paris: Librairie Picard. 1908. 3f. 50.

BIOGRAPHY, once confined to the first-rate personalities, long ago declined to the second rate; in John of Brittany, nephew of Edward I., it has reached the third, fourth, or fifth rate. His was a career of failure, which began in France when he fled from the battlefield in front of Rions in 1294. He had no better luck as administrator of Gascony in 1295. At Bonnegarde in 1297 he again was the first to flee, although his English colleagues gained the victory notwithstanding. 'He would much rather have been at Oistrehan,' said a sarcastic poet. At Falkirk, in 1298, Edward did wisely to place him well in the rear. Only in the expedition of Carlaverock in 1300 did song rise in praise not of himself, but of his followers, who were like 'lions of the mountain.' Evidently in favour with Edward I., he had been in 1299 raised from a position of little or no means by the grant of a lordly endowment from the confiscated revenues in England of King John Balliol. In 1305 Edward made him Governor of Scotland, and in 1306 preferred him to the earldom of Richmond. On the accession of Edward II. the earl was again appointed Lieutenant of Scotland, and did some service against Bruce, although apparently—for once in luck—he was not at Bannockburn. His niche in Scottish history is due to his being in command of the English force which Bruce surprised and routed at Byland in 1322, when Richmond himself was captured and his men ran like hares. Feeble counsellor of a distracted king, Richmond at last, to the deep mortification of Edward II., forsook him when the royal fortunes were at their lowest ebb. He went over to the Queen's party in 1326, returning no more to England, and dying an old bachelor of 67 in 1334. The author has been at pains to search the annals closely, the chronicle of Villani being, however, one that has been missed. Editions used are often not the latest. Barbour's *Bruce* (referred to in Jamieson's text) is cited for the curious story of King Robert's indignation against Richmond, on which fresh light is still to seek. No attempt is made to magnify Richmond's achievements or to make him in act or character less insignificant than he was. The work is a dispassionate biography of a commonplace public man, whose most striking appearances in history are not to his advantage. As a study in political movement, its merit lies in its careful tracing of the course followed through years of futility and trouble by 'the hero (!) of the last campaign of Edward II.'

Its best chapter is that which deals with his rôle in the conflict between the lords ordainers and the king. Owing his public positions to nepotism, and without merits military or administrative to justify them, his history marks him as a type of the inefficiency of the court circle of Edward II. Madame Inna Lubimenko merits welcome among the continental workers on Franco-British medieval history. She may care to note that her hero, poetically compounded with Sir Ralph Cobham, appears as 'Sir Rauf Rymont' in Blind Harry's *Wallace*, in which the victory of Bruce at Byland is transferred from the real victor to Wallace.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE GIRLHOOD OF MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS FROM HER LANDING IN FRANCE IN AUGUST, 1548, TO HER DEPARTURE FROM FRANCE IN AUGUST, 1561. Pp. xlv, 471. 8vo. By Jane T. Stoddart. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1908. 12s. nett.

THE title of Miss Stoddart's book does her a double injustice; it raises erroneous expectations and it minimises the scope and essential importance of her researches. In a new book dealing with 'the Girlhood of Mary Queen of Scots,' the reader expects to find some fresh evidence that will alter or materially modify existing opinion regarding Mary's character. It cannot be said that Miss Stoddart has produced any fresh evidence of such a nature, and the reader, with the suggestion of the title in his mind, is disposed to lay down the book with a feeling of disappointment. The truth is, however, that Miss Stoddart's subject is of far wider reach than the 'girlhood of Mary.' The theme revolves round Mary, but she is not the central object of interest. The story which Miss Stoddart tells is that of one of the great political games of the sixteenth century—a game audaciously played and disastrously lost by those who played it—on which the future of Europe may in simple truth be said to have depended. There is, indeed, no more signal example in history of the futility of men's councils, of the sport which destiny will make with their most securely laid schemes, than the story of baffled ambition which is recorded in Miss Stoddart's pages. Read in this light, the book assumes its true importance as a valuable contribution to a subject of prime interest for every student of the sixteenth century. Details which may appear irrelevant or trivial to the reader who wishes to hear only of Mary, acquire significance when it is recalled that there were many players in the game, and that to follow it in all its developments it is necessary to understand the characters, the circumstances, the conflicting interests of the personages whose stake in it was deepest.

What was this game on which the eyes of Europe were fixed during the thirteen years covered by Miss Stoddart's book? It may be said to have begun with the birth of Mary in 1542—the event which for a full half century was to make Scotland a central point of concern in European diplomacy. Round her very cradle began the rivalry between England and France for her possession, for on her union with a French or an English prince might depend the issue of the perennial struggle between the two countries. For two sufficient reasons Scotland would not have an

English prince as the consort of their queen; she was still a Catholic country while England was Protestant, and on good grounds she feared that her independence was incompatible with such a union. Once for all to avert the possibility of an English alliance the step was taken which might have changed the destinies of Christendom. In August, 1548, Mary was sent to France in the full understanding on the part of both nations that she was eventually to be the wife of the heir-apparent of the French throne; and it is at this point that Miss Stoddart takes up the story which she narrates with a wealth of detail that enables us to follow every turning in the game.

The moment that Mary touched French soil the principal personages who were interested in her fortunes realized that the capital card was in their hands. 'France and Scotland are now one country,' Henry II. is said to have exclaimed when he heard of her landing. The caprice of destiny apart, the union of Mary and the Dauphin Francis was now assured; Scotland would become the appanage of France, and the conquest of England, of whose crown Mary was the rightful heir in the eyes of every Catholic, must sooner or later follow. It may have qualified Henry's exultation, however, that there were other parties who would profit by the fulfilment of these sanguine anticipations. Mary, as the daughter of Mary of Lorraine, was 'the chief staff and pillar' of the family of the Guises, and, as Miss Stoddart reminds us, Francis I. had warned his successor, Henry, of the dangerous ambition of that masterful race. Meantime, however, the interests of Henry and of the Guises were one, and it was their common anxiety that she should grow up to womanhood French in heart and mind. Miss Stoddart is moved by the solicitude with which the Guises and Henry watched over Mary's health and upbringing, but their tenderness was assuredly not wholly disinterested.

But for the ominous ill-health of the Dauphin, the progress of events bade fair to realize all the hopes that were centred in the Scottish queen. In 1554 her mother became Regent of Scotland, and it might be anticipated that she would prepare that country to accept its destiny as a province of France. In 1558 the future was further assured by the marriage of Mary and Francis, with its sinister secret treaty which gave away the independence of Scotland. The death of Henry II. in July, 1559, from a wound received in a tilting-match, seemed at length to have realized the ambition of the Guises: Francis and Mary were proclaimed sovereigns of France and Scotland, the arms of England being assumed at the same time, and the Duke of Guise and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine, directed affairs at their will. But even already there were forces at work which were to play havoc with the fortunes of the family. In Scotland the policy of Mary of Lorraine alienated the country, with the result that by the Treaty of Edinburgh (July, 1560) France and Scotland were finally dissevered. In France itself fortune began to 'banter' the Guises, and in her picture of the growing gloom that settled on their House Miss Stoddart's concluding pages read like the close of a tragic drama. The ominous beginnings of the religious strife which was to distract France for a

quarter of a century, the discontent among all classes with the Guise ascendancy, the sombre Court preoccupied with the precarious health of Francis, combine to make as fateful a chapter as any to be read in history. On December 5, 1560, came the event on whose contingency depended every hope of the Guises: on the evening of that day Francis II. died, the Guise ascendancy was at an end, and Christendom was freed from a combination which no country had greater reason to dread than Scotland.

Such is the momentous chapter of sixteenth century history which it is the main object of Miss Stoddart's book to relate. Of the thoroughness with which she has done her task there can be no question. She has consulted every available authority bearing on her subject, and to the study of sources she has added personal inspection of every important locality where her chief personages led her. It has to be added that her freedom from bias and her critical handling of authorities inspire confidence in her selection of materials and the general soundness of her judgments. The most serious defect of the book is a lack of organic unity—loosely connected paragraphs and even chapters occasionally suggesting that they have been stitched together and not wrought into the general whole. Usually Miss Stoddart is a strict weigher of historic evidence, but there is something of naïveté in the seriousness with which she takes the juvenile correspondence of Mary and Francis, and the polite letters of the great persons who report their perfections. Her pronounced sympathy with the Guises, and especially for the chief of them, the Cardinal of Lorraine, seems hardly justified by certain of her own statements regarding them. The Cardinal, she says, 'won the hatred of Catholics as well as Protestants' (p. 306), and in another place she gives a sufficient explanation of the general detestation with which he was regarded: 'It was the lifelong subordination of national interests to family and party intrigues which wrought the Cardinal's ruin' (p. 139). Again, is she quite fair in her absolute condemnation of Queen Elizabeth for refusing Mary a passport till she signed the Treaty of Edinburgh? By refusing to sign that Treaty Mary virtually maintained her claim to the English Crown and left it open for her to make good her claim with the assistance of France at the first opportunity. Moreover, one half of Elizabeth's subjects were still Catholic, and Mary's presence in England might have sown seeds of mischief which it was simple prudence on Elizabeth's part to avert.

On these as on other points some readers may differ from Miss Stoddart, but they cannot fail to recognise the general fairness of her conclusions and the wide range of knowledge on which they are based. She has made her own the period with which her book is concerned, but there are earlier periods in the relations between Scotland and France on which much light might still be thrown, and it may be hoped that with her special accomplishments for the task Miss Stoddart may one day give us what is still a desideratum in Scottish history—an adequate account of the Franco-Scottish alliance in all its bearings on the national development.

P. HUME BROWN.

THE IMPERIAL GAZETTEER OF INDIA. THE INDIAN EMPIRE.—  
 HISTORICAL. New Edition. Published under the Authority of  
 H.M. Secretary of State for India in Council. Pp. xxxv, 573.  
 Demy 8vo. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1908. 6s. nett.

‘THE Indian Empire,’ the single introductory volume of the official Gazetteer of India, has, in the new edition, been almost wholly rewritten, and has been expanded into four volumes, entitled respectively, Descriptive, Historical, Economic, and Administrative.

In the composition of the Historical volume eleven writers have shared, each already distinguished in the subject allotted to him, some being of the highest authority. The majority belong, or have belonged, to the Indian Civil Service. Most of them write of what it has been the business of their lives to understand, and, in aid of their researches, have had official resources and authority.

Although for the orthodox Hindu the records go back 5000 years, Hindu literature does not contain reliable historical memorials of very early times. Professor Macdonell, to whom the chapter on Sanscrit literature has been intrusted, places the commencement of authentic Indian history about 500 B.C. After this a few definite dates begin to appear, but it is many centuries later before a regular chronology is available. All scholars, however, do not hold that history and chronology are interminous, and nearly half of this volume is devoted to prehistoric antiquities, ancient architecture, numismatics, epigraphy, and the religious-poetical Vedic literature in which chronology is conjectural and true history altogether absent. What we know of human activity in India down to comparatively recent times has had to be pieced together from a chaos of varying traditions, innumerable scattered inscriptions, monuments, coins, survivals of ritual, the bones of language itself, the fortuitously preserved records of the journeys of Chinese travellers, the histories of foreign nations—Persia, Greece and Rome, all sought out with the patient industry of the *chiffonnier*, and verified, compared, arranged and synchronised with the trained judgment and skill of accomplished scholars. This volume is largely the result of such labours.

Needless to say scholars differ. New materials are accumulated every year, and, as the preface points out, large portions of the early history of India are still the field of conjecture and controversy. Statements made with confidence a few years ago are no longer accepted, and even the authors of this history are not wholly in agreement. On page 365 we read that Firoz Shah, in the fourteenth century, was the first to remunerate officials by assigning to them the land revenue from villages, ‘the modern *jagir*’ not seeming to have been known in his time. But on page 300 we read that under Harsha, in the seventh century, ‘officials were paid by assignments of lands (*jagir*).’ On page 359 it is stated that Queen Raziyah ruled in Delhi from 1236 to 1240 and was ‘the only female sovereign in Indian annals till our own day.’ But on page 341 it is also stated that the Ganapati queen, Rudramma, reigned in Southern India from 1257 to 1295. Editorial care might perhaps have avoided

or explained such seeming contradictions. The writer of the chapter on Epigraphy and the writer of the chapters on the Archaeology of the Historical Period and The Early History of Northern India differ by nearly two centuries in the date they assign to Kanishka, the greatest of the Scythian conquerors of India. The acceptance of the conclusion of either writer will throw the dynastic chronology of the other out of gear.

The authors write freely of the far-off past, and furnish besides for it extensive bibliographies. But of the events of the last generation we are frankly told that it would be unsuitable to attempt anything beyond the barest summary. And the bibliography for these years names, besides the official record, but two works, and these peculiarly *ex parte*. Thus, although the narrative is brought down to Lord Curzon's resignation of the governor-generalship in August, 1905, the reader will find little information as to the general public movements and public feeling of late years. He will find evidences of India's intellectual and spiritual forces, long latent, now, as it would seem, awakening. But he will find no mention of the National Indian Congress. Non-official writers might have discussed, or provided materials for discussing 'the present unrest.'

But a book must have the defects of its qualities. This one is a treasury of historical knowledge, is authoritative in its sphere, and is a monument to the scholarship of its authors and the efficiency of the department to which we owe it.

ANDREW MARSHALL.

THE EDINBURGH PERIODICAL PRESS, being a Bibliographical Account of Newspapers, Journals, and Magazines issued in Edinburgh from the Earliest Times to 1800. By W. J. Couper, M.A. Two Vols. Vol. I. pp. xvi, 256; Vol. II. p. 285. With three illustrations. Stirling: Eneas Mackay. 1908. 10s. nett.

IN these two laboriously compiled volumes Mr. Couper has given us, in effect, the history of Scottish journalism up to the date which he has fixed as his *terminus ad quem*, for till close on 1800 the few newspapers that existed outside the capital were of but little political or social influence or literary importance. It was in 1642 that Edinburgh first saw '*The Diurnal Occurrences*, touching the dailie proceedings in Parliament from the 27 of December to the third of Januarie, 1642.' This was, of course, an exact reprint of the journal of the same name issued by John Hamond in London, with the date 1641, for the English year, unlike the Scottish year, still extended from March to March. The second number bore the device of Robert Bryson, who worked 'at the Signe of Jonah,' and who is entitled to the credit of being the father of Scottish journalism, though, as Mr. Couper remarks, 'the honour would have been much greater had his production been original to the north country.' It was many a long day ere our journals became 'original to the north country,' for even at the beginning of last century the Edinburgh and Glasgow newspapers were made up for the greater part of cuttings from the London newspapers; and Ruddiman once pleaded that his print was not a newspaper, because no mail

arrived in Edinburgh on the day of its publication. The *Diurnal Occurrences* and its immediate successors were intended to keep the English soldiers in touch with events in the south; and not till 1651 did there appear the first genuinely Scottish periodical in the *Mercurius Caledonius*, edited by Thomas Sydeserf—a son of the prelate who occupied successively the Sees of Galloway and Orkney—and published by ‘A Company of Edinburgh Stationers.’ It was extremely royalist in its policy; its editor adds one more to the legion of the victims of the Merry Monarch’s ingratitude.

From these early beginnings down to the records of three publications still active—the *Edinburgh Medical Journal*, dating as *Medical and Philosophical Commentaries* from 1773; the *Edinburgh Gazette*, which as at present constituted dates from 1792, and has in it all the elements of immortality; and the *Congregational Magazine*, which goes back to 1796—Mr. Couper traces the story, and sets forth what might be termed the vital statistics, of the journalism of the Scottish capital. Papers are described which, born but to bloom and die, saw no second number, as well as those, like the *Courant* and the *Caledonian Mercury*, whose existence endured beyond a century, and came to an end only within memory of the middle-aged. In his progress, the author passes many landmarks in the history of civil progress, as well as one or two points in literary history, such as the newspaper publication of poems by Burns and his elder brother in the Muses and in misfortune, Robert Fergusson. The liberty of prophesying through the press was in those days strictly circumscribed by the party that happened to be in power, and woe betide the unlucky newsman who gave offence, even unwittingly. The taxes upon knowledge, as they came to be called, in the form of imposts upon weekly publications containing news, were a heavy handicap in the struggle for existence; and evasion was sought by various means, including the issue of an eight-day print; but even the learned Ruddiman, who made the attempt, found the forces of the Revenue too strong for him. It is worth noting that even the right to have the paper for newspapers stamped in Edinburgh, instead of London, ‘was conferred only after a vigorous agitation carried on from Glasgow.’

Many curious and interesting matters are rehearsed in the pages of these volumes, and Mr. Couper, by their compilation and publication—furnished as they are with illuminative introductory essays, as well as reference apparatus—has placed under a deep debt of gratitude not only the ordinary bibliographer and the general reader, but also the professed historian, who too often overlooks such minutiae as are to be found here, with loss to the accuracy of his work and to the cause of historical truth which he seeks to serve.

W. STEWART.

ETYMOLOGISK ORDBOG OVER DET NORRØNE SPROG PÅ SHETLAND.

I Hæfte. København: Vilhelm Priors Kgl. Hofboghandel. 1908.

DR. JAKOB JAKOBSEN, the great Færoese scholar, has issued the first half of a Shetland etymological dictionary with interpretations in Danish. This comes in 240 pages to *gopen*, and carries out in detail the survey

which was given in another form in Dr. Jakobsen's earlier works (English and Danish) on the language and place-names of Shetland. Under *banger* the phrase 'to skirl op de banger' is quoted and derived from O.N. *bang*. But the source of it is elsewhere. Dr. Jakobsen translates it as meaning 'to sing strong and loud.' Is it used in Shetland as mere slang without any sense of its origin? Or is it Shetland jealousy of Scotland that refuses to acknowledge its debt to the Scotch poet? The oversight may be compared with John Wesley's theory (at Selkirk) that in Scotland the hostler is called 'the lord of the stable'; and with Kinglake's 'Kokana,' the nickname of a good and masterful Scotch woman in the camp of the 93rd at Balaclava. The Shetland dictionary can well afford a trifle like this. It is full of matter; taking *sortes*, one finds under *dag* the feast of the great Icelandic churchman: *Todleses-dag*, St. Thorlac's day, Dec. 23, and under *daga* the story of the swan and the heron, and the swan's song when he was first to see the daybreak:

Hegri! hegri! dagalight i' de hedder!  
I ha'e de double doon and du de single fedder!

Dr. Jakobsen has also brought out the first part of *Diplomatarium Færoense*, containing Færoese documents down to the time of the Reformation (Tórshavn H. N. Jakobsens Bókahandil; København, Vilh. Prior; 1907). The introduction and notes are written in Færoese; they deal both with history and philology; with (1) early historical notices of the Faroes, (2) the Færoese bishops, who had their seat at Kirkjubæ till 1540 (or thereby); (3) the documents here printed, (4) the old language of the Faroes, (5) place-names. The islands sent out (A.D. 1174) one great man, Sverre King of Norway, sometime pupil of Bishop Roi. The documents are chiefly valuable for their information about ordinary matters, e.g. the first in the series is a legal reform, a letter of King Hacon Magnusson (1298) giving the law to the Faroes; chiefly about pasture, and hence known commonly as the 'sheep-letter,'—an excellent clear and well-preserved example of the relation between the King of Norway and his colonial subjects, before the kingdom of Norway quite lost its independence and its power.

In connection with these documents, it should be noted that the Orkney and Shetland charters, etc.—*Diplomatarium Orcadense et Hialtlandense*—are being published by the editors of Orkney and Shetland *Old-Lore*.

W. P. KER.

THE ENGLISH FACTORIES IN INDIA, 1622-1623. A Calendar of Documents in the India Office and the British Museum. By William Foster. Pp. xl. 390. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. 12s. 6d. nett.

THIS is a continuation of the admirable series of Calendars of the papers emanating from the factories of the East India Company during the two eventful years 1622 and 1623. The present volume is marked by the same careful editing that characterized its predecessors. In several respects

the period covered is one of great interest and importance, including the capture of Ormuz and the massacre of Amboyna. The former event is fully described, but the latter is illustrated rather from the point of view of antecedent causes than by descriptions of the tragedy itself. The records of the friction that had arisen at so many points in the working agreement between the English and Dutch are valuable as showing the causes of quarrel between the servants of the two companies. Thus it can clearly be seen that while on paper there was supposed to be co-operation there was in reality animosity due to personal and commercial causes. The importance of the full calendar of the documents dealing with these events which retains the vivid personal narratives of the actors, and even indicates the turns of expression of the writers, will be appreciated by every student who endeavours to obtain any exact knowledge of the history of British India at this period.

W. R. SCOTT.

THE HISTORY OF TWENTY-FIVE YEARS, Vols. III. and IV., 1870-1880.  
By Sir Spencer Walpole, K.C.B. Vol III. pp. xv, 331. Vol. IV.  
pp. xii, 410. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.  
1908. 21s. nett.

MR. A. C. LYALL, who edits these two posthumous volumes, states in his preface that Sir Spencer Walpole, before his death, completed the design of his historical work with the exception only of two concluding chapters. The author's earlier *History of England from 1815 to 1857* dealt with events from the Battle of Waterloo to the close of the Indian Mutiny. His later work, now completed, is really a continuation of the other, and brings the narrative of events down to the fall of Lord Beaconsfield's Government in 1880. As in the two previous volumes, published four years ago, the relations of Britain with foreign affairs are made to afford the predominant interest, which the author held sufficient to justify his change of title. Thus, considerable space is devoted in volume III., to the diplomatic narrative of the Franco-German War and the Alabama claims, and in volume IV. to the Eastern Question and the Russo-Turkish War. In each volume, nevertheless, the bulk of the matter deals with the less heroic, if not less pregnant movements of affairs at home. In volume III. these affairs are entirely political; but in volume IV., besides the record of political government, there is a chapter on 'Ritual and Religion' which affords an interesting review of the peculiar developments brought about in the Anglican Church by the scientific and aesthetic cultures of the middle of the nineteenth century. Next to Hansard and the State Papers, the author has perhaps drawn most largely, for his authorities, upon the biographical literature which has been so marked a feature of the period. It is to be regretted that Sir Spencer Walpole has been unable to dissociate himself from a strong party bias. At times, and most markedly in the later chapters of his work—in the case of the 'Bulgarian atrocities,' for instance, and the purchase of the Suez Canal shares—he appears to hold a very distinct brief for one of the parties in the arena. In these pages the statements

of Lord Beaconsfield are apt somewhat too invariably to be treated as mere 'sonorous and empty phrases,' which Mr. Gladstone 'brushed aside in a few decisive sentences.' If, however, the work cannot be regarded as altogether impartial or judicial, it has the merit of furnishing a picturesque account of a most engrossing political period, and the final chapters afford unconsciously a highly interesting example of the spirit and sentiments of the old-fashioned Liberalism of a quarter of a century ago.

G. EYRE-TODD.

HUMPHREY, DUKE OF GLOUCESTER: A Biography. By K. H. Vickers. Pp. xviii, 491. Demy 8vo. London: Archibald Constable & Co., Ltd. 1907. 15s. nett.

THE 'good Duke,' in spite of his popularity, deserved or undeserved, has waited long for a competent biographer. The neglect has now been amply atoned for by the comprehensive and competent volume which Mr. Vickers has devoted to the various aspects of his complex character and chequered career. With a thorough knowledge of the available sources, published and unpublished, original or derivative, Mr. Vickers has carefully sifted all facts bearing on Duke Humphrey's life. He does not shrink from measuring his own conclusions against those of writers of weight: of Stubbs, for example (pp. 105 and 111); of Sir James H. Ramsay (pp. 104, 174 and 301); or of both combined (p. 267). The authorities for his facts, and the arguments on which he bases his deductions, are fully given, and usually carry conviction. His attitude is, on the whole, impartial, avoiding an error common in biographers: that of turning the subjects of their memoirs into heroes. Duke Humphrey's defects of character are unsparingly laid bare. It is said of him in 1422 that 'his volatile nature, his incapacity at a period of crisis, his inability to prosecute any venture to its legitimate end, now begin to appear' (p. 108), and in 1431 that 'once more Gloucester showed that personal gratification was more to him than patriotic considerations' (p. 228); yet, on the other hand, at the opening of the quarrel with Beaufort, Mr. Vickers uses somewhat strained reasoning to justify Gloucester's refusal of an invitation to meet his rival and effect a settlement before the Council at Northampton in 1426 (p. 177).

Mr. Vickers' pages again would scarcely seem to do adequate justice to the important constitutional topics illustrated by Duke Humphrey's career, in equal measure with the affairs of war or diplomacy. He appreciates, indeed, what he rightly calls the 'platitude' that 'under the Lancastrian kings England had advanced in constitutional theory much further than in administrative efficiency'; but he does not analyse the causes of this. Nor does he utilize the incidents of Gloucester's career to illustrate the relations between the Council and the Parliament during Henry VI.'s minority. The so-called 'disfranchising Act' of 1430, again, which fixed the 40s. freehold as the county voter's qualification for four hundred years is treated merely as a measure 'to prevent the ascendancy of Gloucester in the councils of the nation'

(p. 218). Mr. Vickers' main interests do not lie in such questions as these, and it is perhaps unfair to blame him for this. He gives in compensation a valuable and admirable account of Duke Humphrey as a patron of learning. This is a section in which students of Humanism in England in the fifteenth century will find much to interest them. 'As an apostle of progress,' Mr. Vickers assures us, 'Humphrey stands alone among his fellow-countrymen,' but he surely goes too far in saying, 'What Petrarch did for the world, Humphrey did for England.' There are several valuable appendices, including one on 'Books once belonging to Gloucester still extant,' and a comprehensive bibliography, to which the leading authorities for the constitutional phenomena of the period might have been added with advantage.

Every part of the volume gives evidence of labour well-bestowed. In spite of some omissions, and of a tendency in places to special pleading, and of violence occasionally done to correct perspective, Mr. Vickers has made a conscientious, thorough, and useful contribution to the history of the period.

WM. S. MCKECHNIE.

HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL ESSAYS. By W. E. H. Lecky. Pp. 317.

Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 10s. 6d. nett.

THIS volume of occasional papers forms an appropriate memorial of the historian whose death removed from the stage one of the last representatives of a once predominant and influential school of thought. The historian of our day, with his keen sense of the spirit of a period and his simultaneous appreciation of the common humanity which underlies all the varying phases of human development, has little sympathy with the point of view which found adequate expression in the writings of W. E. H. Lecky. The former endeavours to present the life of a generation as that is reflected in its treatment of the enduring questions which present themselves to every age; while the school to which the latter belonged was too apt to depict an epoch in the light of peculiar and exaggerated phases of thought and types of character, which were truly little more than by-products of its working forces. This distinction must not of course be pressed too far. Some of Lecky's work shows traces of the influence of a younger generation, but it may be said that the toneless character of much of his writing is due to the pathological bias of the Victorian school to which he belonged.

This volume of essays will add nothing to the reputation of its author, but it has a biographical interest as representing the carefully weighed judgments of a doctrinaire mind which, towards the close of a long life, had gained a disillusioned sanity as the result of a laborious examination of historical development. The essay on the '15th Earl of Derby' is a measured and penetrating study of a type of character to which Lecky himself belonged, and has a value which most of the other essays lack. The essay entitled 'Thoughts on History' contains an interesting observation on the tendency of the historian to exaggerate the importance of public men who have been before their age, and have foreseen the future with a clarity which rendered them unable to bear the burden and heat

of their own day. This observation is a striking instance of the rule that a writer is often unconsciously the best critic of his own work. Lecky was too apt to emphasise the importance of the contributions of doctrinaire thinkers to historical development, and in dealing with the questions of his own time he displayed both the merits and defects of that type of mind. Had he kept his own maxim before him his work would have gained the richness and breadth without which no contribution to history can outlast the age in which it is produced.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

A HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF THE BRITISH COLONIES. VOL. V., CANADA. PART II., HISTORICAL. By Hugh E. Egerton, M.A., Fellow of All Souls College, Beit Professor of Colonial History in the University of Oxford. Pp. viii, 365. With 10 Maps. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 4s. 6d.

ONE of the delicious inventions about the Duke of Newcastle recorded by Macaulay represents him as saying, 'Cape Breton an island! wonderful!—show it me in the map. So it is, sure enough.' The reproach of ignorance of their colonies so long and so justly brought against the inhabitants of these islands is being taken away by means of the admirable series of which this volume forms a part. The series is intended principally for the advanced classes of secondary schools, where in the hands of competent teachers it is bound to be of the highest value. The history of Canada is both interesting and instructive, and on the whole Professor Egerton treats his subject successfully. In one part of it, the experience of Canada during the war with the United States in 1812, he has been anticipated by Lucas's *The Canadian War of 1812*, a book noticed in a recent number of this *Review*. As handled by Professor Egerton the history of Canada might be used to stimulate in older scholars an intelligent interest in some urgent problems of the day, e.g. the bilingual difficulty in South Africa, the question of coloured races throughout the Empire, the education tangle in England, the fiscal dispute, and the relation of the Mother Country to the Colonies. On all such points the story of Canada is full of instruction and suggestion. Scotsmen have, of course, been specially conspicuous in the development of the country, and this is fully recognised. The compression necessary to unfold the narrative of so many years in brief compass is apt to lead to some obscurity, but it is only very rarely that the reader of Professor Egerton's pages is troubled by this.

A. M. WILLIAMS.

THE PROSE WORKS OF JONATHAN SWIFT, D.D. Edited by Temple Scott. Vol. XII. Bibliography and Index. Pp. viii, 428. With two Portraits. Cr. 8vo. London: George Bell & Sons. 1908. 5s.

WITH this volume, comprising, besides the bibliography and index, essays on the portraits, etc., there is completed an excellent edition of Swift, registering no small degree of fresh material and often throwing valuable

light on the Dean's literary method and fortune. The prefatory note pays a special tribute to our former contributor, Mr. Litton Falkiner, as well as to his father, whose essay on the portraits of Swift and Stella is part of the present volume. 'The loss of both father and son will be deeply felt in the world of scholarship and letters.' With 132 pages of bibliography, largely utilising Dr. Lane Poole's prior work on the subject, and thus attempting to describe all editions of Swift's writings down to the end of the eighteenth century, and with 182 pages of general index to the whole twelve volumes, Swift is now equipped for literary study in a manner worthy of modern editorial canons; although the index too often omits important matter in the bibliographical section. Representing much research, the fruit of several specialists' labours, this addition to Bohn's Standard Library, enriched with a biographical introduction by Mr. Lecky and with many portraits, has obtained premier place among editions of Swift.

INVERNESS IN THE MIDDLE AGES. By Evan M. Barron. Pp. 70. Demy 8vo. Inverness: R. Carruthers & Sons. 1907.

THE curious fact mentioned in the files of the *Courier* for 1839, *sub* Jan. 16, that William Pitt, Prime Minister, was in the habit of purchasing a great part of his port wine in Inverness, may be the more readily understood by a knowledge of its position in the Middle Ages. A rapid survey is given in five chapters, which treat of the Beginnings of Inverness, The Rise of the Burgh, Inverness and William the Lyon, Inverness under the Alexanders, The War of Independence. The whole is intimately connected with the history of the province of Moray, and is a reliable and well-informed sketch, which may be consulted with advantage.

THE NORTHERN HIGHLANDS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. NEWSPAPER INDEX AND ANNALS (from the *Inverness Courier*). By James Barron. Vol. II. 1825-1841. Pp. xlv. 352. Crown 4to. Inverness: Robt. Carruthers & Sons. 1907.

THIS work is an authentic chronicle of events of interest in the North during the period specified. The facts are varied, and bear on social life and changes, and old customs and characters. There are notes on the *coronach* at the funeral of the Mackintosh in 1838; on the old rites at Loch mo Nàir, Strathnaver; on the death of Willox the Warlock (Gregor MacGregor); and on remarkable characters. Anecdotes illustrating most sides of life in the Highlands are given—sides as far apart as ecclesiastical life and smuggling. And yet another side appears—that of progress, *e.g.* 'The first coup-cart made in the North was constructed under the superintendence of the late Mr. Welsh of Millburn, of an ash grown in the island of the River Ness, about the year 1775.'

There is a slip on p. 238, under Nov. 28, but the letterpress is otherwise correct. A good index and a useful introduction and appendices reflect great credit on Mr. Barron.

GEORGE HENDERSON.

Sir William R. Anson has now published the concluding portion of the new edition of his well-known *Law and Custom of the Constitution* (Vol. II. The Crown. Part II. Third Edition. Pp. xxiv, 348. 8vo. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1908. 8s. 6d. nett). So well-established an authority stands in no need of further commendation; but the new edition has been amplified and brought thoroughly up to date. The first edition of Sir William Anson's volume on 'The Crown,' consisting originally of 494 pages in 1892, has now been expanded into two convenient volumes of 283 and 347 pages respectively. In the interval several valuable new treatises have been published on the British system of government, but this work still holds its own for the purposes for which it was originally planned.

The valuable nature of the Studies in Historical and Political Science issued monthly during the past twenty-five years under the direction of the Johns Hopkins University has been long recognized in this country. The recently issued brochure by Mr. Sedley Lynch Ware, A.B., LL.B., on *The Elizabethan Parish in its Ecclesiastical and Financial Aspects* (Johns Hopkins University, Studies in Historical and Political Science. Series xxvi. Nos. 7-8. Pp. 93. 8vo. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1908. \$4.00), ranks with the best of the series. It is a specimen of scholarly work of the highest type, well-directed, conscientious, and thorough. It is to be feared that such work as this, useful and unpretentious, too often proves a comparatively thankless task, in view of the immense labour involved on the one hand, and the limited circle to whom such specialized studies appeal, on the other. It consists of two chapters entitled respectively, 'The Ecclesiastical Government of the Parish' and 'Parish Finance.' The 93 pages of which the whole consists will be found tightly packed with reliable information, fortified in frequent footnotes by references to numerous authorities, many of them rescued from obscurity in the transactions of Archaeological and other local societies. Mr. Ware makes the welcome statement in his Preface that 'these chapters are but part of a larger work on the Elizabethan parish designed to cover all the aspects of parish government.' Meanwhile this instalment of his treatise should be in the hands of all who are interested in the problems of local government in Tudor England.

*The Oxford Student's History of India*, by Vincent A. Smith (Clarendon Press, 1908, pp. 254, price 2s. 6d.), primarily meant for the matriculation examination in Calcutta University, is a succinct, lucid, and practical handbook, with maps, portraits, and illustrations. Equal attention is paid to the native dynasties, the European settlements, and the British development. Lord Curzon is perhaps too timidly handled, as his administration is still so sharply within the pale of party opinion. An appeal to 'my young Indian readers' to further the peace of the Empire, closes this sound little book with a tactful recognition of the newer problems of to-day.

*An Austrian Diplomatist in the Fifties*, by the Right Hon. Sir Ernest Satow (Cambridge University Press, 1908, pp. 59, price 1s. 6d. nett), being the Rede Lecture of June, 1908, is a review by a diplomatist of another diplomatist's reminiscences. Hubner's *Souvenirs* of his negotiations with Napoleon III., first as regards the Imperial name, and afterwards on the Italian question, give occasion to incidental discussion of the ambassadorial function, and to a conclusion that the study of history as a forecast of the future resembles the science of meteorology. The figure suggests that the diplomatist is a sort of self-registering barometer, with almost as little effect on the weather. Hubner's experiences illustrate the vanity of human wishes both on the Austrian and the French side of the question of Italy. By the disappointments of both came Italian unity. Diplomatic reviews, as well as retrospects, are apt to be brighter when there are indiscretions.

In the essay on *Sir William Temple* (Oxford: B. H. Blackwell, 1908) which has won the Stanhope Prize for 1908, Mr. Edward S. Lyttel, of University College, gives a well-informed and thoroughly competent account of the failures and achievements of that cautious diplomatist and not too daring or successful statesman. The author's interests are apparently more intimately engaged in the foreign politics of the period than in constitutional developments, and his treatment of the important scheme for remodelling the Privy Council is perhaps somewhat superficial. The little book, although making no strikingly original contribution to its subject, contains a useful summary of events, and is worthy of its place in the honourable series of Stanhope Prize Essays.

Saunders' self-styled Edition de Luxe of *The Baronial and Ecclesiastical Antiquities of Scotland* by R. W. Billings, edited by A. W. Wiston-Glynn, M.A. (Edinburgh, E. Saunders & Co.), has reached Part VII. in its serial monthly issue. The plates are rather flat but still keep their virtue. The text, besides confusing misprints, e.g., on pp. 138, line 2, and 140, line 8, disturbs the chronology of the work by inefficient editing. We read at the end of a description of Dunblane—'The Cathedral has been recently restored, from designs by Sir Rowand Anderson.' This is up to date. But on the next page we find a footnote saying that the Aberdeen Breviary is to be edited by the Spalding Club, followed by another echoing the wish that 'the Rev. Mr. M'Gregor, Stirling,' (*sic*) may be induced to publish his original matter touching Dunblane. As the uninitiated readers are not to know how long it is since Bishop Forbes brought out the Breviary, or how many decades have passed since Mr. M'Gregor Stirling was laid in his grave, they might draw perilous inferences if they supposed that p. 143 was under the charge of the same editor as p. 144.

The Clarendon Press is making a hopeful effort to bring home the history of English counties to English school children. *Stories from the History of Berkshire*, by Edmund A. Greening Lamborn (Oxford, 1908, pp. 96), should be attractive even to very young pupils. From the Roman

times at Silchester to the days of Jack of Newbury, the clothmaker, Archbishop Laud, and Thomas Hearne, the antiquary, Berkshire men have made for themselves a story worth telling.

Mr. Harold St. George Gray has written a very thorough *Report on the Excavations at Wick Barrow, Stogursey, Somersetshire* (published at Taunton Castle for the Somerset Archaeological and Natural History Society: with maps, plans, and many illustrations, pp. iv, 78, price 4s. 6d. net), which describes the operations conducted by the Society, and details the articles which were unearthed and are now deposited at Taunton Castle. Believed to date from about 1800 B.C., the barrow is of the Early Bronze Age, and has a circular walled enclosure about 30 feet in diameter. Within this were found three skeletons, each in contracted posture, and with a beaker accompanying the interment. The flint instruments found in association with two of the skeletons are knives, scrapers, and daggers, and there is a polishing stone of sandstone. Two of the skeletons are photographed in position as found. The one relatively perfect skull is described as 'mesocephalic, with a mean cephalic index of 78.0,' but as round-headed rather than long. The exploration and Mr. Gray's record of it alike do credit to archaeology in Somerset.

Bazaars are occasionally fruitful in good works even in Scots history. A case in point is *The Book of the County of Inverness*, published on behalf of the Inverness-shire Sanatorium Bazaar, and edited by Mr. Evan M. Barron (pp. xxiv, 115. Inverness: Robert Carruthers & Son, 1908), which has not only excellent pictures of castles, mansions, and landscapes, but portraits of the fair dames and maids of the county, for the most part bearing names and titles known to Highland fame. Mr. Barron has utilised the opportunity to sketch very unobtrusively the local connections of the clans and families. Thus the Aird goes with the Frasers of Lovat, Badenoch with Macpherson, Glenmoriston with Grant, the Isles with Macleod and Macdonald, Lochaber with Macintosh and Cameron; and a short word is devoted to the connection of each. The necessities of the bazaar and its personalities, however, are serious obstacles to a consecutive story, and only one brief, well-written, sympathetic chapter on the town of Inverness is free from interruptions which are not history. An essentially modern pictorial and personal record, the book derives a charm from the studied effort made to correlate antiquity.

A Scottish item of interest in the *English Historical Review* for October, is the text of a message supposed to date between November, 1304, and September, 1305, addressed to the King of France relative to the English homage for Guienne. It begins with a reference to an embassy to Edward I. at 'Saint Andrew en Escoce' requiring Edward or his son to do homage at Amiens. The latter course was to be adopted, and as a condition of Prince Edward going, it was stipulated that his safety should be ensured by a royal escort, 'and that the Scots and other notorious enemies [of the English] who dwell in France should be driven away.' But (in spite of the opposite conclusion

entertained by most recent historians) it now seems from this document that the prince did not go in 1304, for the reason assigned, that the promised royal escort was not forthcoming, and that, as the English ambassadors represented to King Philippe le Bel, his realm 'was not voided of the Scots nor of the other enemies as was agreed.'

In the *Modern Language Review* (October) Mr. T. D. Hall adds to the argument against unity of authorship in the various recensions of *Piers Plowman*. Prof. Macaulay annotates 'positive law' and other things in Chaucer. Prof. Kastner by parallels shews Spenser's borrowings in Sonnets XVIII., XXII., XLVIII., L., LX., and LXIX., from the French of Desportes. Chapman, Ben Jonson, Milton, Goethe, and Espronceda, supply subjects for a variety of papers, and Dr. Priebisch edits an O.F. prayer-poem to the Virgin.

*The Reliquary* (Oct.) has capital illustrations of grotesques, bronze arms, and medieval jewels. A striking plate gives the 'Volto Santo' of Lucca—the holy face by which William Rufus swore. Mr. Fred. R. Coles contributes a good note, well illustrated, on Scottish ecclesiastical relics, including a decorated altar candle of wax, and a chalice and paten of wax from the tomb of Bishop Tulloch of Kirkwall, circa 1461.

In *Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* (September) there is a notice of the recently erected brass at Whitechurch to the memory of Admiral Sir George Somers 'shipmate of Sir Walter Raleigh.' His shipwreck in the Bermudas in 1610 gave Shakespeare his theme for the *Tempest*. Winter's punning sonnet in Somers' praise is printed in the article which includes a copy of the admiral's will, bearing to be made by him when 'intending to pass the seas in a voyage toward the land called Virginia.'

In the *Rutland Magazine* (Oct.) the editor Mr. G. Phillips concludes his account of Exton with remarkably fine photographic plates of the marble monuments of Sir James Harrington (1591), and of Baptist, fourth Earl of Gainsborough.

*The Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Journal* has recently had rather an overdose of pageant, but continues notwithstanding its sound work in antiquities, chiefly ecclesiastical. Its architectural illustrations, such as those of Cholsey Church, are admirable. Churchwardens' accounts deserve transcribing, but their interest is restricted. Feet of fines under Georges II. and III. must carry a large body of pedigree and chronicle for local students.

*Orkney and Shetland Old-lore* (Oct.) varies its studies of wrecks, 'sheep-ca'ing,' and family history, with special contributions on Shetland phrases by Miss Saxby, and on Orkney dialect by Mr. J. T. S. Leask. There is, besides, a stout bunch of documents of 1527-63, edited by Mr. Henry Paton.

Volume i. of the *Transactions of the Buteshire Natural History Society* (Rothesay, Chronicle Office, 1908, pp. 76, price to non-members, 2s. 6d.) merits the welcome due to a new arrival. It offers a prospect of occasional service to archaeology. The Society, as appears from the constitution adopted in 1905, was formed with the approval of the remaining members of the earlier Archaeological and Physical Society of Bute, for the purpose of the study not only of local natural history but also of archaeology and cognate subjects. In the present volume two papers are of a historical type, one being Mr. Murdoch Mackenzie's garrulous but interesting collection of reminiscences of Edmund Kean's residence at Rothesay, the other Mr. A. D. Macbeth's well constructed chronicle-memoir of the M'Caws of Garrachty in the south-west end of Bute. A few old parchments and papers beginning with a sasine of 1507 enable Mr. Macbeth to present a considerable body of vouched fact regarding the M'Caws, and incidentally regarding land tenure and agricultural conditions in the island. A certain cheerfulness in disagreeing with Dr. Hewison is a prominent characteristic of the essay. An odd Christian name of the M'Caw family appears variously as Gillenow, Gilnow, Gilnew, Gilnef, and Gilnaov—suggested to be 'Giolle naomh,' pronounced 'gillyneeve,' and to mean 'the saint's man.'

*The American Historical Review* for July contains the conclusion of a paper by Professor George B. Adams on the 'Origin of the English Constitution.' It lays great stress on the continuity visible in the expedients adopted to control the sovereign, and thus closely links with Magna Carta the baronial scheme of 1244, the Provisions of Oxford in 1258, and the Ordinances of 1310. Professor Beazley, almost as much historical as geographical, describes the eastward movement of Russia, chiefly through Novgorod, prior to 1500. Other studies deal with the administrative polity of Napoleon—generally just and vigorous as well as original—and with the historical economics of the slave question in the southern States.

*The American Historical Review* (Oct.) contains a summary view of the recent international historical congress at Berlin, and prints one of the papers, being Ambassador Hill's discussion on the Ethical Function of the Historian. It is somewhat of a protest against statistical and mathematical deductions, and indicates a strong preference for human and individual aspects of life rather than for economic and physical generalizations as the true province of history. Alongside of it is a demonstration of the part played by economic factors in the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, shewing the effect the many *lettres de maîtrise* granted to Protestants had in fomenting the opposition to them which culminated in the disastrous revocation by Louis XIV. in 1685 of Henry IV.'s edict of tolerance in 1598.

*The Iowa Journal of History and Politics* for October completes an instructive narrative of the liquor legislation of Iowa. The last section describes the prohibition movement ending in the Amendment of 1882, prohibiting the manufacture or sale of intoxicants, carried by 155,000 votes over 125,000, but declared invalid by the Supreme Court. Re-

enacted in another form in 1884, prohibition was put on trial under stormy conditions to begin with, and ultimately with results so checkered that campaigns of debate, agitation, and reaction ended in the Mulct Law of 1894, whereby, without abolishing prohibition, the legislature provided that on payment of a tax of 600 dollars a trader in liquor should be exempt from prosecution if he filed the written consent of a majority, or in small towns 65 per cent., of the electorate. A series of maps forms a capital diagram of the effects of prohibition and local option. Mr. Dan E. Clark has justification for believing that his article contains matter of value for guidance in liquor legislation.

In the *Revue Historique* (Sep.-Oct.) two soldiers, General Dagobert (1736-94) and General Reynier (1771-1814), afford scope for sketches in military biography, and Jerome Lucchésini for a study in diplomacy, 1786-92. Promise of no small interest is given by the announcement of a number of record-notes by Monsieur E. Déprez on the English wars in France in the fourteenth century. The series begins with a notice of the double treason—first to Philippe le Bel and afterwards to Edward III.—of Godefroi de Harcourt, who went over to the English side in 1345, but, quickly repenting, returned penitentially submissive, 'la touaille double mise de ses propres mains en son col,' to the French king in 1347. A second note gives the corrected text of the famous treaty of 1358 (erroneously dated 1351 in Rymer's *Foedera*) between Charles of Navarre and Edward III. M. Déprez does not mention the fact that M. Luce's paper, establishing the true date, was popularized in his *La France pendant la Guerre de Cent Ans*, first series.

In the *Revue des Etudes Historiques* (Sept.-Oct.) the French views on British foreign politics—the financial question of the Canadian bills, the 'éternelle affaire' of Newfoundland, the destruction of the port of Dunkirk, and the East Indian disputes—are interestingly presented by M. Coquelle in a sketch of the Comte de Guerchy, ambassador of France at London from 1763 to 1767. Guerchy's correspondence indicates that had Pitt's brain not given way in 1766 he would have led Britain into a war which in M. Coquelle's opinion would have been equally a colonial and a maritime disaster to France. Guerchy retired in July, 1767, to be worried into his grave by a poetical blackmailer with a satirical libel in ten cantos, *La Guerchiade*, which he offered to withhold from the press for 100 guineas, but the threatened publication of which Guerchy's death in September, 1767, forestalled. Another article discusses in the defence interest General Pichegru's treason to the Republic in 1795-7—the incriminating circumstances including his relations with the British ministry financially and otherwise.

## Queries and Replies

PRINTERS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW (*S.H.R.* i. 457-9; v. 369, 501). To Mr. James Coutts, formerly of the University of Glasgow, we are indebted for the following notes supplementing the information already given.

Under date 1st May, 1827, it is stated in the University Records that a letter was received from Mr. Andrew Duncan resigning his position as University Printer, and that the letter was ordered to lie on the table. This brings Mr. Duncan's holding of the appointment down to 1827, instead of 1824 as formerly noted, and it may be that the appointment was not terminated for some considerable time after 1st May, 1827.

Mr. Khull was mentioned as Printer as late as 1837, but Mr. Coutts has now found a pamphlet in Gaelic entitled 'Combradh mu lehor Na H-Eaglais,' dated 1843, bearing the imprint Edward Khull, Printer to the University, Dunlop Street.

COLLATE. What is the signification of this place-name? The name used to be applied to a few houses, now called Holmend, in Moffat, at the junction of the roads from Moffat to Selkirk and from Moffat to Carlisle. Between the town-foot of Moffat and Collate, the Selkirk road runs along a number of fields known as the Viccarlands; these Viccarlands, previous to the Reformation, were the property of the Church, and under the jurisdiction of the Diocese and Bishop of Glasgow.

Millbank, Moffat.

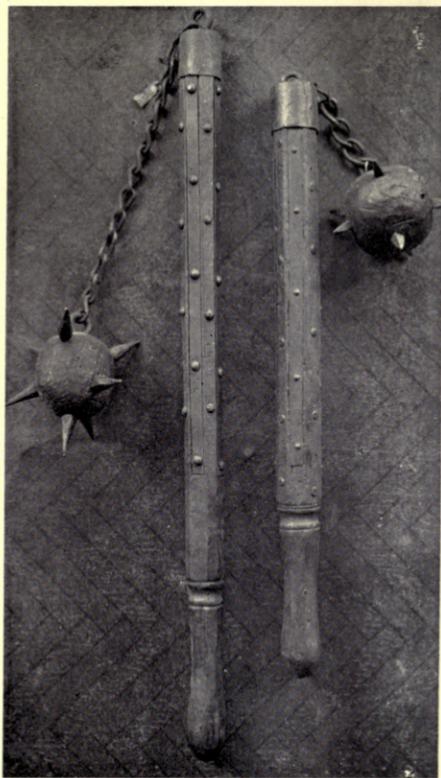
JOHN T. JOHNSTON.

SIMSONS OF ISLAY. Andrew Simson was Master of the Grammar School, Perth, 1550 to 1560. Other members of this family were, John Simson, 1667-1740, Professor of Divinity in the University of Glasgow; Robert Simson, 1687-1768, Professor of Mathematics in the University of Glasgow; and Thomas Simson, 1696-1764, Professor of Medicine in the University of St. Andrews. What relation were these Simsons to the Simsons of Bowmore, Islay, who were descendants from the Rev. David Simson, minister of Killean and Southend in the presbytery of Kintyre from 1656 to 1672?

M. G. C.

HIGHLAND TARTANS. I would be glad to know of any Bibliography of Works on this subject later and more complete than that in D. W. Stewart's *Old and Rare Scottish Tartans*, 1893.

J. H. MAYNE CAMPBELL.



MEDIEVAL WAR FLAILS.

*In the collection of Mr. R. C. Clephan, F.S.A.*



## Notes and Comments

THE Society of Antiquaries of Newcastle, in issuing Volume IV. of the third series of *Archaeologia Aeliana*, sufficiently attests its possession of an effective working membership. Special and local contributions consist of Exchequer memoranda on Northumbrian estates and litigations, a pedigree memoir on the Marrs of Morpeth, a topographical paper on Holystone, a chapter of Newcastle typography, and a full and important report of the excavations of Corstopitum (Corbridge) in 1907. Besides there are a sketch of the decline of serfdom in Durham county, a continuation study of Flails, by Dr. Allison (see *S.H.R.* v. 258), a legend of St. Julian, and a heraldic note on the Rayme family of Bolam, with three admirable reproductions from a fourteenth century illuminated manuscript. Serfdom lingered in the Palatinate through the sixteenth century, although the last mention of an episcopal serf was in 1481. Along with his innumerable threshing flails Dr. Allison briefly comments on war flails and on the kind attributed to Galloway. A medieval type of the war flail (the *Kriegsflegel* of German warfare) is shown in an illustration which we are permitted to reproduce. The Julian story deals with the well-known invocation of the saint. It tells how William of Percy, one of the Conqueror's followers, on setting out to war with his king against the Scots, left orders with his chaplains for invocations to be made every morning. The instructions were obeyed and Percy prospered beyond the measure of any of his comrades. But on returning he made light of the saint, and refused to pray any more for his countenance and hospitality. Naturally everything went wrong with the recalcitrant afterwards till the succession of misfortunes brought him to his knees, with the happy effect to be anticipated from his repentance. Mr. Julius P. Gibson prints the story from a British Museum manuscript. He does not allude to Chaucer's reference to the habit of invocation of Julian nor to the earlier examples in *Gawayne and the Green Knight*, l. 774, and in (Barbour's) *Legends of the Saints*. The assigned date of the text edited by Mr. Gibson being the twelfth century, its testimony is of high value for the 'custom of prudent men in England' when setting out on a journey to commend themselves and their horses to God's grace 'by the intercession of the blessed Julian.' Barbour's observation (which is part of an introductory excursus to the legend of St. Julian forming an original

addition to the text translated) is a peculiarly apt illustration of the practice.

The trawalouris thane custume had  
That al day zed ore rad  
And for trawale ware wery  
Quhene thai come til thar herbry  
And namely fra thai mycht it se  
Quhethyr that it ware scho ore he  
Hat or hud tak of ore clath  
The rycht fut of the sterape rath

And to Sancte Julyane dewotly  
A paternoster say in hy  
In hope that al gud herbry suld haf  
That in sik wyse it suld crafe  
Sic hope into Sancte Julyane  
The trawalouris than had tane  
As mony men zet are  
That sammyne oysis here and thare.

*Legends*, xxv. ll. 9-21.

Archaeologically the most important contribution to this volume of *Archaeologia Aeliana* is the report on the excavation of Corbridge (noticed in *S.H.R.* v. 261), edited by Mr. R. H. Forster, whom some of our readers may know as author of *The Amateur Antiquary*, a picturesque itinerary-sketch of the Roman Wall. Full descriptions are given of the various sites opened, and the details of buildings and objects discovered are recorded in excellent plans and photographs. Prof. Haverfield contributes to these descriptions a fine account of the inscribed stones, chief of which is a magnificent slab to Antoninus Pius, set up by Quintus Lollius Urbicus. It is true that only the Q of the name is actually preserved, but Prof. Haverfield completely establishes his reading by reference to a corresponding stone from Bremenium (High Rochester). The general sense is:

To (or In the reign of) the Emperor Titus Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Pius in the third year of his tribunician power (A.D. 140) and in his third consulship Father of his country this (slab or building) was set up under the care of Q. Lollius Urbicus governor of Britain by Legion II. Augusta.

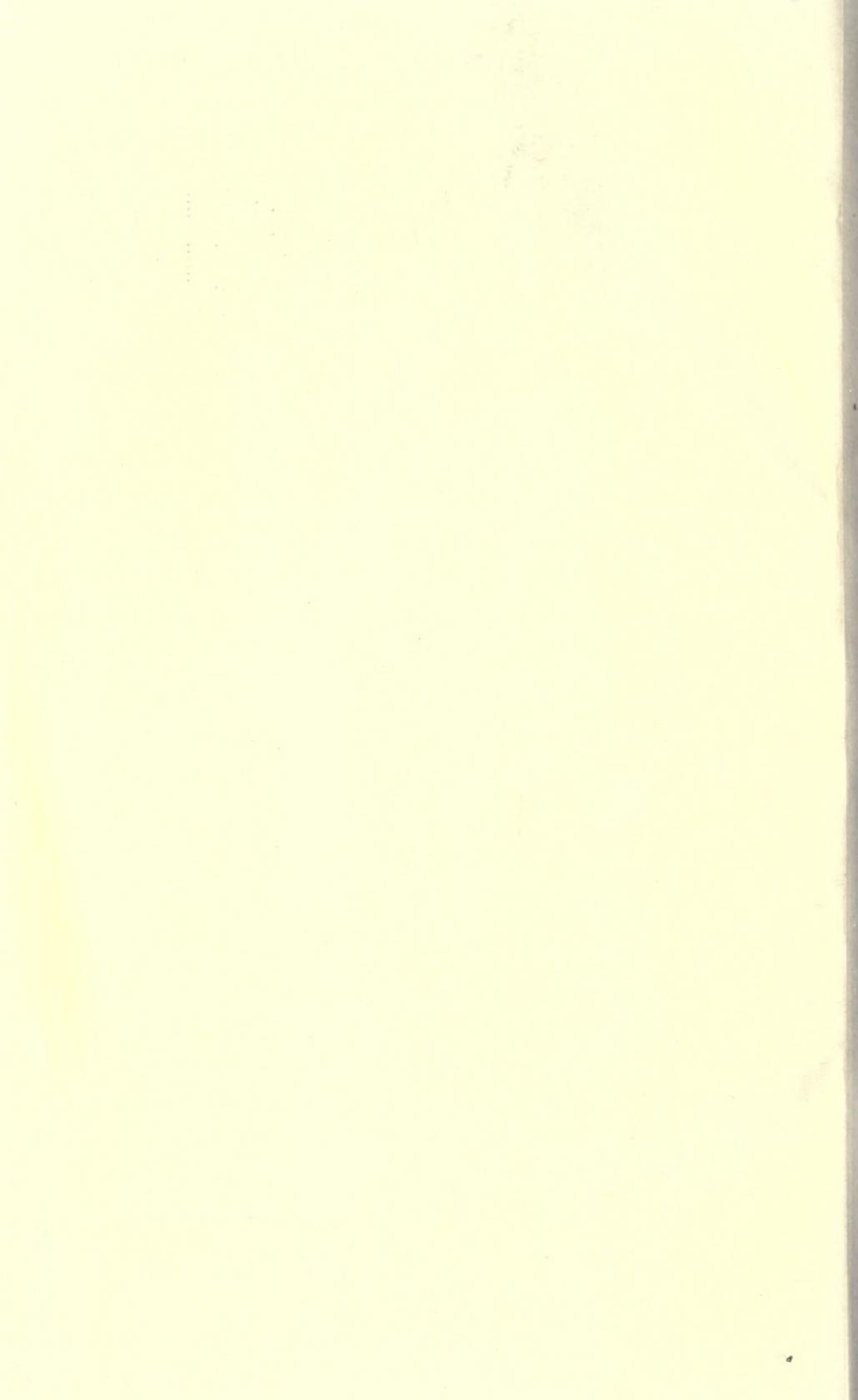
'In A.D. 140, as we know otherwise,' says Prof. Haverfield, 'Urbicus was taking steps to advance beyond the Wall of Hadrian and erect the Vallum of Pius along the isthmus between Forth and Clyde, an isthmus previously fortified by Agricola but soon abandoned. Many inscribed slabs witness to his work and all closely resemble the new find in style and character of decoration.' Beside this Urbicus stone was an ornate slab showing a pilastered façade in which stands an ensign inscribed VEXILLUS LEG. II. AVG. interpreted as (=vexillum) the flag of the second legion. The architecture is examined by Mr. W. H. Knowles, who emphasises the unusually massive character of some of the masonry.

Mr. H. H. E. Craster analyses the coins, nearly 700 in number, most of them forming a hoard discovered in a solid mass of metal, as if a box containing the coins had been in a burning house. They date chiefly from 330 to 340 A.D., but (not reckoning one legionary silver coin of Mark Antony) the series found in the diggings of 1907 begins with A.D. 92 and ends *circa* A.D. 375. A piece of sculpture of greater historical interest than of artistic achievement is that of a



IMP CAES . t AEL . Hadrian o  
 ANTONINO . Aug. plo trib. pot .  
 III COS iii p. p.  
 SVB CVRA o Lolli Urbici  
 LEG AVG. pro. praetore  
 LEG II . Aug.....

INCOMPLETE INSCRIPTION AT CORSTOPTIUM, NAMING LOLLIVS URBICVS.  
 SCALE  $\frac{1}{8}$



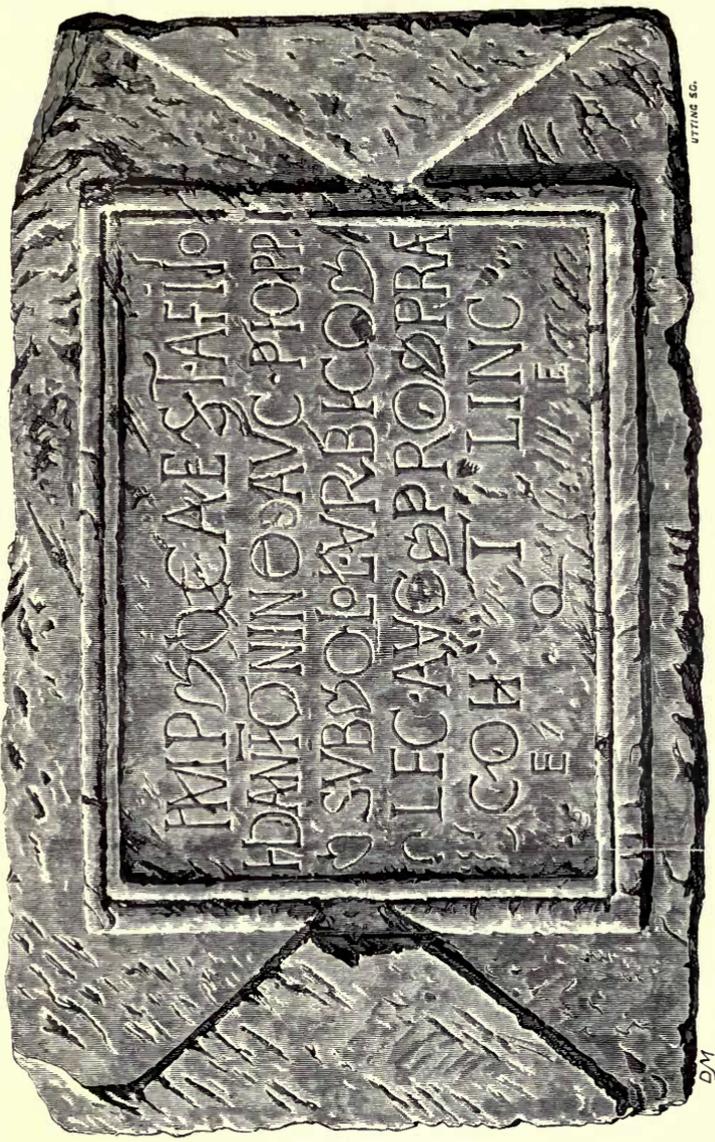
group representing a lion in the act of killing a stag. There is vigour, and even ferocity in the lion, whose mouth, the explorers think, may have served for a fountain.

THAT Protestant study in Irish history is being actively pursued is evident from the first annual *Report of the Presbyterian Historical Society*, adopted in February last and since published by the Society, which has its headquarters, as might be expected, in Belfast. Its object is to collect and preserve the materials for, and promote the knowledge of, the history of Presbyterianism in Ireland; and it purposes to register all records, session books, baptismal and marriage registers, manuscripts, and relics, as well as to form a collection, already instituted, to be kept in the Church House, Belfast, as a sort of ecclesiastical museum. The Report shows lines of good work undertaken. One contributor has drawn up a preliminary list of Presbyterian MSS. Another describes the *Adair Narrative*, the work of Patrick Adair, a Scots preacher settled at Larne and Belfast from 1646 until his death in 1694. He 'was himself,' says the note about his manuscript, 'an eminent actor in far the larger part of the events, worthy of the title romantic, which he records in homely and attractive English. We have it on his own authority that he was in Edinburgh on that famous day when the Dean's attempt to introduce the Service Book received such a rude reception'—in 1637. A third describes the *Campbell MS.*, the work of a Newry man, William Campbell, D.D., educated at Glasgow University. Settled in Antrim and Armagh (1759-1805) he wrote, amongst other works yet unprinted, sketches of Irish presbyterian history last heard of in the possession of Mr. John Gordon, of Belfast, and now being searched for by the Society, which would welcome any information. A portrait of the Rev. John Kinneir, D.D., is given. A great collector, this venerable booklover has made gifts of between 5000 and 6000 volumes to the Magee College and the library of the Society. It is a pleasure to recognise the spirit of history thus variously manifesting itself in the North of Ireland.

THE late Mrs. Gavin Tait, who died in Inverness in February, 1908, had a distinct recollection of her grandmother, from whom in her childhood she used to hear tales of Culloden. In 1746 Mrs. Tait's grandmother was a young girl, living with her grandfather (Mrs. Tait's great-great-grandfather) in the vicinity of the battlefield. One reminiscence in particular remained with Mrs. Tait. It was that of hearing her grandmother tell how the English soldiers came into her grandfather's house after the battle and took him prisoner. Nothing more was ever heard of this ancestor of Mrs. Tait's, the presumption being that he paid the penalty of his Jacobite sympathies. It thus appears that as late as a few months ago there was living, in the person of Mrs. Tait, one who in her childhood had listened to the story of Culloden from a relative who, if not an actual eye-witness of the battle, was living so near the scene as to be involved in its immediate sequel.

MILTON'S Tercentenary has had fit honours paid by the British Academy in fine performances of *Comus* and *Samson Agonistes*, as well as *Milton's Tercentenary*. in special orations and critical studies. Two of the essays have been published for the Academy by the Oxford University Press, and others will no doubt follow. *Milton as an Historian*, by Prof. Firth (pp. 31, 1s. net), examines the historical methods and standpoints of the author of the *History of Britain* with results which throw light on the question whether the poetic and the critical temperament can co-exist in one man. Milton disbelieved Arthur and most of the other creations of Geoffrey of Monmouth. He discredited all legends of saints, yet accepted (as Beda did) King Lucius, and he declined to recognise Constantine the Great's mother, Helena, as a British princess, although he hesitated and temporised about the Brutus dynasty. He poked mild fun at Buchanan's readiness to adopt myth when it redounded to the glory of the Scots, but he did not forestall futurity by any scepticism concerning Ingulf's *Chronicle of Croyland*. His historical model was Sallust; his pet antagonisms were popery and woman; and his historic passion a tendency towards academic equations of liberty and virtue and moralisations therefrom. He scoffed, alas! at Dodsworth and Dugdale, and though distinguishing sometimes between antiquaries and 'antiquitarians' could sneer at Camden as a lover of old coins and monasteries for antiquity's sake, and disdain to 'wrinkle the smoothness of history' with rugged names 'better harped at in Camden and other chronographers.' His history seldom loses an occasion to point the moral of virtue and liberty and apply it to his own time, and as Prof. Firth says, 'to warn the England of Charles II.' One quotation called for a note of commentary we miss. The well-known reference to 'the wars of kites, or crows flocking and fighting in the air' is perhaps less a jibe at early British tumults than at the portent-loving chroniclers who told such tales as that of the 'foedum certamen inter corvos milvosque' (quoted e.g. from Pontanus *sub anno* 1462 by Wolfius in his *Lectio-num Memorabilium*, i, 907), which had survived the Renaissance and remained a prognostic with the uncritical.

Professor Courthope's paper, *A Consideration of Macaulay's Comparison of Dante and Milton* (pp. 16, 1s. net), occupies more space than Macaulay's incidental contrast itself in a rather thin attack on the undoubtedly vulnerable antitheses of the great, if rhetorical, essayist. One wonders whether at a tercentenary time more generous measure might not have been allotted to the glowing tribute which the young Macaulay paid to Milton in 1825, and whether the carping British Academician of to-day is so much nearer the mark than the critic of eighty years ago, whose rhetoric he finds so old-fashioned, and whose Whiggism he disapproves as heartily as he does the commonwealth politics of Milton himself. There are extravagances in Macaulay's contrast, yet his insistence on the crude, concrete, medieval concepts of Dante as against the vast impressionist abstractions-corporate of Milton remains as true as the fact which Professor Courthope by implication denies, that a war of faction in Florence was a puny affair for civilisation compared with



SLAB FOUND AT HIGH ROCHESTER (Bremenium).

Now in the Alnwick Castle Museum, similar to fragmentary slab discovered at Corstopitum.



the facts in England which made Milton secretary to a republic. As a substantive exposition, how little is gained by a generalisation that the *Divine Comedy* is 'an exact and faithful mirror of European thought in the Middle Ages.' This is just as true as, and no truer than, the same proposition would be about *Paradise Lost* for the seventeenth century. Surely Macaulay had ample warrant for recognising party as a mighty element in the making of both: in both the mirror was distorted—in Dante much more obviously distorted by politics than in Milton. The world 'credits what is done': the rebellious mood was a necessary incentive to both, and gives a piquancy that both need: and there are still some of us who like our poet entire, and our Cromwell with his warts.

Among the intimations which the tercentenary has evoked is an announcement of unusual, and doubly Scottish, interest in a paragraph of the *Glasgow Herald* (19 Dec.) regarding a probable Milton relic in the possession of Mr. J. T. T. Brown. This is a copy of the folio volume of 1616, in which Ben Jonson collected his *Works*. The nine plays have each a title page. *Cynthia's Revels* and *The Poetaster* have title pages with elaborate borders. In Mr. Brown's copy, on the title page of *Cynthia's Revels*, in the space between the title and subtitle is the signature 'John Milton,' and underneath, in another space, the date '1634.' The signature is in the bold Italian script generally used by the poet when he subscribed his name. In the eighteenth century the volume belonged to the historian and philosopher, David Hume, whose book-plate is on the inside of the front cover. There are no other evidences of early ownership. That the seventeenth-century owner read it with care is evident from the marginalia on nearly every page. The notes are mostly in the older court hand of the seventeenth century, which Milton not infrequently used, as many manuscripts of his testify. Some, however, are in the Italian hand. There is no doubt that all are written by the same person, although at different times, and with change of quill. The ink is of differing degrees of blackness, and the calligraphy changes both in size of character and in clearness. The marginalia are for the greater part in English; a number are in Latin. A perusal of them gives the impression that Jonson had been studied not merely as a dramatist, but for his diction. Characteristic phrases and words are nearly all noted and repeated in the margin, e.g. 'itching leprosie of wit,' 'suburbe humour,' and hundreds other such.

An adequate idea of their import would need much space, but one or two characteristic notes may be given. In the epilogue to *The Poetaster*, added to the play in 1616, where Jonson speaks of his spending

half my nights and all my days  
Here in a cell, to get a dark, pale face  
To come forth worth the ivy or the bays.

The annotator's note is—'painful student.' In *Every Man out of his Humour* (Act III., sc. 4), in the long passage where Carlo Buffone

counsels Mucilente how he ought to carry himself as a gentleman—'Love no man. Trust no man. Speak ill of no man to his face, nor well of any man behind his back,' etc., the decisive and curt comment is—'damnable dissimulation.' Another note on a passage in *Cynthia's Revels* is also worthy of mention. Jonson uses the word 'preposterous' in a bad sense, as Shakespeare does in Sonnet cix.; in *Troilus and Cressida* (Act v., sc. 1); and again in *Othello* (Act I., sc. 3). In the Jonson play the word occurs in Act I., sc. 3. The annotator's note is 'preposterous rude nymph,' and he double-underlines the adverb. Whenever Jonson praises 'poesy' or 'the poet' there the adjacent margin is filled. Opposite the long list of Greek and Latin poets named in *The Poetaster* there is the note—'the famous poets named and highlie praised.' In other places, too, we find on the margin 'honour of poetrie,' 'poetrie bewitcheth,' 'praise of poetrie'; and the disquisitions on comedy and tragedy which Jonson so frequently gives in his plays are all carefully marked with catch-words as if for easy reference at some future time. Jonson's remark on the faulty metric of some of his contemporaries, who eked out their lines by 'helpe of some few foot and halfe-foote words,' has the note opposite, 'sesquipedalia verba': 'poets wanting judgment.'

Specimens might be indefinitely multiplied—'praise of a scholar'; 'barking dogs'; 'beauties of theft'; 'concords' and 'dissonances'; 'good and bad princes'; 'mischiefes feed like beasts, when they are fat they bleed'; 'Puritans threatened'; 'comparisons odious,' and such like. Of more interest is it to note the method followed by Jonson's early annotator. The first thing that strikes one is, that while the lyrics in the plays are underlined, there are no words of comment on the margin either of praise or dispraise. The same is true as regards Jonson's 'filchings from classical authors': the long passage from Book IV. of the *Aeneid*, incorporated in *The Poetaster*, Act v., sc. 2, is here and there underlined, but the margin is white. To Milton, Ben's translations no doubt would appear harsh and crude, his Virgilian attempts specially so. The *Epigrams* also exhibit a clean margin, but underlinings of the text show that they have been read, and the same is true of the *Forest*. There are only a few marginalia in the case of the *Entertainments* and *Panegyrics*, but Jonson's learned notes and glosses, especially those in Latin, have evidently been closely studied. The Latin verses and notes are nearly always underlined.

The volume has, unfortunately, suffered from the guillotine of a ruthless bookbinder, in consequence of which, final letters of words on the outside margin have, in most cases, been pared away. But for that manifest defect, the present binding might easily have passed for the original. Most likely, however, the book was rebound before it passed into the possession of David Hume.



SCULPTURED GROUP OF LION AND STAG DISCOVERED AT CORSTOPITUM.



# The Scottish Historical Review

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## The Highlanders at Macclesfield in 1745

THE following letters, most of them written from Macclesfield, are interesting as showing how the Jacobite army 'commandeered' supplies on the march to Derby and back to Carlisle, and if the worst that the Highlanders did is recorded here, surely none can say that they were vindictive or oppressive.

The first of these letters, dated September 20th, 1745, the day before the battle of Prestonpans, shows the earliest sign of alarm in the North of England.

The following dates in the Jacobite march will help the reader in following the incidents mentioned in the letters. Prince Charles entered England November 8th; Carlisle was summoned 10th and surrendered 15th. The Prince left Carlisle on the 21st for Penrith, Kendal 23rd, Lancaster 25th, Preston 26th, Wigan 28th. He halted at Manchester the 29th and 30th; reached Macclesfield December 1st and left for Leek December 3rd. He reached Derby on the 4th and the retreat began on the 6th, on which day the Prince reached Ashbourne, Leek 7th, Macclesfield 8th, Manchester 9th, Wigan 10th, Preston 11th and 12th, Lancaster 13th and 14th, Kendal 15th and 16th, Shap 17th, Penrith 18th, reached Carlisle 19th and crossed into Scotland the following day.

I have added some footnotes identifying the Jacobite officers mentioned and a few other items. I know nothing of the writers of the letters or of the local authorities mentioned.

W. B. BLAIKIE.

LETTERS<sup>1</sup>

To Mr. Stafford an Attorney at  
Macclesfield

20th. Septembr. 1745.

Sr.

Whereas a Rebellion is actually begun and has made a Considerable progress in Scotland a General meeting of the Gentlemen and Clergy of the County of Chester will be held at the Castle at Chester on Wednesday the second day of October next by Eleven o'Clock in the forenoon to consult on such measures as may be thought necessary for the support of the King and Government and for the Immediate Defence of this County at which time and place your Company is desir'd

I am Your Humble Servant

THOS. HALL

To Mr. Stafford Attorney at Law  
At Macclesfield  
Cheshire

Dr. Cousin,

I got safe Home last Saturday and found the whole town in some confusion about y<sup>e</sup> progress of y<sup>e</sup> Rebels. I w'd have writ to you by y<sup>e</sup> last Post but had nothing material to acquaint you w<sup>th</sup> but this morning brought me an Acct that Genl. Cope's Army was defeated that he ran away, that Hamilton's Dragoons behaved little better, that Coln. Gardner was kill'd bravely fighting that we had 652 killed & 188 wounded and taken Pris'ners amongst whom are upwards of 63 officers, that the Rebels are on y<sup>e</sup> field of Battle and are suppos'd to be between 15 & 20000 in number: We have sent an express into Scotland and expect a return every hour w<sup>ch</sup> I will communicate to you: 'tis thought the Rebels will take y<sup>e</sup> Yorkshire Road I have not seen Mr. Strickland since

<sup>1</sup>[For these letters, with reference to the marches of Prince Charles's army through Lancashire, the Editor is indebted to Mr. Walter Jerrold, Hampton-on-Thames. In the *Scottish Historical Review*, v. 285-296, was printed a long letter dated 2nd December, 1745, by Mr. J. Stafford, Attorney, Macclesfield, with a note by Mr. Andrew Lang. The correspondence and documents here printed supplement in many particulars Mr. Stafford's letter.—Ed. S.H.R.]

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my return but I hear y<sup>t</sup> he is well at Home. My best complem<sup>ts</sup> attend y<sup>r</sup> good family, Miss Gattons, Cousin Eccles, &c. I am Dr. Cousin,

Your affectionate Kinsman & hble. Serv<sup>t</sup>

ALLAN HARRISON

Lanct. Sep: 27th. 1745

Sister Eccles and Cousin Hanah are both here and present their Compliments. to you all and desire their Duty to Cousin Eccles.

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To Mr. Stafford

Hond. Sr.

The most certain intelligence that we have had is just now Come to Mr. Chas. Row who says he Set out from Leek at 11 o Clock & abt 300 were then come in there & that the main body was following 'em. He says he passed a small party at Danes Bridge Coming this way but whether they are all the Van Guard or a Reconnoitring party knows not but we rather Judge 'em to be a Scouting party—When anything material happens If possible I'll send a messenger—Mr. Jackson upon the alarm went away but on Enquiry none of the Family or attendants know whither—As to keeping the Doors and Gates made upon this Emergency I really think not advisable as a Great Number of the Inhabitants are fled and left their houses and as Mr. Glover & his Family and Mr. Roydon & his Family all stay I don't see why we sho<sup>d</sup> lock up us more than them but as they behave shall be my Guide.

Sally has Sent the Linnen you mentioned by the bearer I think it is quite I'll Concerted for Familys to leave their houses and lock up the Doors so that If they come here the Consequences may be bad upon the rest Especially If the whole body Comes to lye here—I recd. the Inclosed Just now & am

H<sup>d</sup> Sr

Yrs &c

J. C.

None are Come in yet We just now hear from Newcastle that an army is Encamped ab<sup>t</sup> Coventry

half an hour past three of the Clock.

---

For Mr. Stafford at Shrigley

Dr. Sir

I am very much obliged to you for the favour of yours—but am almost frightened of my senses for fear of Mischief at parting, my wife had upwards of 20<sup>l</sup> by her & I hope she let Mr. Glover have it, if occasion—The Van Guard Came to Stockp<sup>t</sup> last night and were all most outrageous for two or 3 of their men being shot at by the Guard Towns Watch the night before, none of 'em were killed but it's reported a Horse was found dead ab<sup>t</sup> the Midway yesterday morning Supposed to belong to them, Mr. Osborn's man was one of the Watch but being fled they have taken his Master into Custody along with one Sam: Lees another of the Watch, They have tried the constables . . . for disobeying some of their orders and threatened to shoot him, By order from L<sup>d</sup> Cho—the Inhabitants have cut trenches in and ab<sup>t</sup> the river to prevent their passing the fords, this I fancy has exasperated, the Van Guard set out this afternoon for Macc<sup>d</sup> their main body are coming into Stockp<sup>t</sup> where they intend to stay all night and have ordered the Excise to brought on this evening—on the 3 persons passing the watch on Saturday evening a messenger was immediately dispatched to Macc<sup>d</sup> the town alarmed by a Fire Bell and it's reported two of them are taken and that they are Macc<sup>d</sup> men—I hope to be at Lyme this Evening or tomorrow early & will then consult with you ab<sup>t</sup> doing something for the poor Sufferers—All here send their compl<sup>ts</sup> to you and all at Shrigley. I am Yours faithfully

SAM: COOPER

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December 1745

To M<sup>rs</sup> Stafford at Shrigley

Dear Lucy,

I desire you'll make yourself easy, for I see no reason to apprehend anything from ye' Gentlemen, but very Civil treatment. It was very well that some of y<sup>e</sup> Gentlemen of y<sup>e</sup> Town stood their ground or y<sup>e</sup> whole might have suffered. The p. cam in this morning on horseback close by where I stood & went to his old Quarters. We had nobody last night. I have been drinking &c with two Officers, & have just recv<sup>d</sup> a Billet for six more & their Serv<sup>ts</sup> horses & 30 men.

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A party is just gone tow<sup>ds</sup> Crostford Bridge But when y<sup>e</sup> rest will move is uncertain. The foot are not yet come in: They say y<sup>e</sup> Train of artillery is to be at this end of y<sup>e</sup> Town.

I'll come to you in y<sup>e</sup> evening if possible But if I shl<sup>d</sup> not, pray make yourself easy.

I am My D<sup>r</sup> y<sup>r</sup> affectionate husband &c

JO. STAFFORD.

My Compl<sup>ts</sup> to all w<sup>th</sup> you.

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Stockp<sup>r</sup> half an hour past one aft<sup>m</sup>  
Nov. 29: 45.

That all the Soldiers were drawn up to-day their Artillery were brought into ye Cannon ffield 14 Pieces of Cannon, and 2 Mortars.

120 of the Highlanders were drafted out, & well arm'd & sent off, but whither no one cou'd tell, before they went, they paid off their Quarters very justly.

Sr.

the Above 120 were Horse and came to Cheedle wich way they went when over we canot Tell but will let you know &c. an half an hour past 6 o'clock.

---

Macc<sup>fd</sup> 1<sup>st</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1745.

Rec'vd by me as having power from the Secretary to his Royal Highness Cha<sup>s</sup> Prince of Wales &c from James Nixon the Sum of One pound Seven Shillings & Seven pence as the Duty of Excise on ale due by him at & preceding the 15th Instant.

ANDREW LUMSDEN.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Andrew Lumisden (or Lumsden). He became Private Secretary to Prince Charles at Edinburgh in 1745 and accompanied him throughout the whole campaign, of the battles of which he wrote an account. The MS., now in my possession, has never been printed. He was attainted, escaped to France; became Under Secretary to the Old Chevalier in 1757 and Secretary on the death of James Edgar in 1762. Returned to England in 1773; received a full pardon in 1778 and died in 1801.

Macclesfield } In the County of Chester To the Constables of  
 Burrough } the Township of Bollington in the said County  
 To Wit

You are hereby Comanded imediately to Seize and press within your Township nine good and able Carriage horses with Cart Saddles and Geers and to bring the same to where the Train of Artillery & Wagons now are within the Said Burrough by foure of the Clock to Morrow Morning Herein fail not Given under my Hand and Seal at Macclesfield aforesaid the first Day of December 1745

SAM<sup>LL</sup> COOPER

You are also to press three Carriages to be produced at the same time

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Macclesfield, 1st Dec<sup>r</sup> 1745.

These are ordering you to Issue out pper Orders to your Serjeants Petty Constables & others within your district to bring in by 6 o'clock to-morrow morning to where the Train of Artillery and Waggons now lye to the number of 150 horses with proper Carriages such as Carts &c for at least sixty of those for Carrying the above Train & other Carriages belonging to the Army under his Royal Highness from this to the next pper Stage—make out a list of the District from whome you Demand these horses & Carriages with Certification of Military Execution imediately to be done against Recusants.

PAT: GRIEME.<sup>1</sup>

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To Sam<sup>l</sup> Cooper Esq<sup>r</sup> Mayor of Macc<sup>fd</sup>

S<sup>r</sup>

Please to put the Bell round to pay the Excise due to the Secretary's Office at the Princes Quarters this night by 6 & bring their last Receipts with 'em.

ff: P:

Maccles<sup>fd</sup>. 1st Dec<sup>r</sup> 1745.

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<sup>1</sup> Patrick (or Peter) Graeme or Graham, a cousin of Graeme of Gorthy, Perthshire, was a lieutenant in the Perthshire squadron of horse. He also served as a commissary in the army.

# The Highlanders at Macclesfield in 1745 231

To the Mayor of Macc<sup>nd</sup>

Macclesfield 1st Decem<sup>r</sup> 1745.

These are ordering you to send Instantly to the Artillery Yard Six Carts loaded with Hay & 10 Sacks or Loads of Oats. This you'll Instantly cause to be executed for wch this shall be your sufficient Warrant.

M. BROWNE.

Macclesfield 2nd. December 1745.

Allow the Bearer John Stafford Esq<sup>re</sup> to pass from this with his wife and three Sisters to Shrigley without let or molestation—by his Highnesses Command

J. MURRAY.<sup>1</sup>

To all his Majestys

Civil or Military.

To the Honble the L<sup>d</sup> Mayor of Macc<sup>nd</sup>

Macc<sup>nd</sup>. Dec. 2<sup>nd</sup> 1745.

These are ordering that you pay and replace Each person who had just claims in furnishing fforrage for the Princes Army out of the Warrants drawn by me of this Date as they are particularly Condeschended upon by a list herewith delivered to you

WILL: COMRIE Comp<sup>r</sup>.<sup>2</sup>

	Hay	Oats	Straw
Messrs. Leah Stonier & Morris ffarmers			
all of Sutton - - - - -	600	100	3
ffarmers in Park Lane - - - - -	500	100	4
S <sup>r</sup> W <sup>m</sup> Meredith & M <sup>r</sup> Rowbotham -	2000	400	6
Esq <sup>rs</sup> Ward & Copesthorne - - - -	500	150	2
Hugh Gorman of Broken Cross - - -	500	100	2
Clayton Shaw Randal & Oldham			
Tythernigton - - - - -	400	100	2
M <sup>r</sup> Rich <sup>d</sup> Calrow Beetley - - - - -	2000	300	6
Cha <sup>s</sup> Lee Esq <sup>r</sup> , Adlington - - - - -	1000	200	4
M <sup>r</sup> John Lucas Dr <sup>r</sup> . - - - - -	1000	300	4
	8500	1750	33

<sup>1</sup> John Murray, of Broughton. The well-known Secretary to Prince Charles who turned traitor after the campaign. Fifth son of Sir David Murray of Stanhope. Became baronet on the death of his nephew in 1770 and died 1777.

<sup>2</sup> William Comrie before the campaign was steward to the Earl of Moray at Donibristle, Fife. He joined the Prince at Perth in September, 1745. This mention of him as comptroller is the only indication I know of showing the position he held in the Jacobite army.

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To the Mayor of Macc<sup>fd</sup>

By His Royal Highness the Prince.

You are required & ordered to have a Quantity of Bread furnished out of every house in Town for the Use of the Army & ready to be delivered to them this night. This Order all persons Concerned are to obey under the Pain of Military Execution to be done ag<sup>st</sup> their persons & effects this 2<sup>d</sup> Day of December 1745

By the Secretarys Order

CHA<sup>s</sup>. STEUART.<sup>1</sup>

These are Ordering & requiring you to send to the Artillery Park at 4 to-morrow morning three understanding Guides with fifty pioneers who must have all either Spades Pick Axes or hatchets they are to be delivered to the Captain of the Artillery Park. Given at Macclesfield this 2<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1745

M. BROWNE.<sup>2</sup>

Macclesfield 2<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1745.

To the Constable of Macc<sup>fd</sup>

You are hereby required to cause all the Bakers here bake as much bread as they possibly Can with<sup>t</sup> loss of time upon Pain of burning their houses.

By His Highnes's command

J: MURRAY.

To the Bakers in the Neighbourhood of  
Macc<sup>fd</sup>

Macc<sup>fd</sup> 2<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1745.

The Bakers in Town having been already advertized you are hereby ordered to Bake & p<sup>'</sup>vide what bread you possibly Can

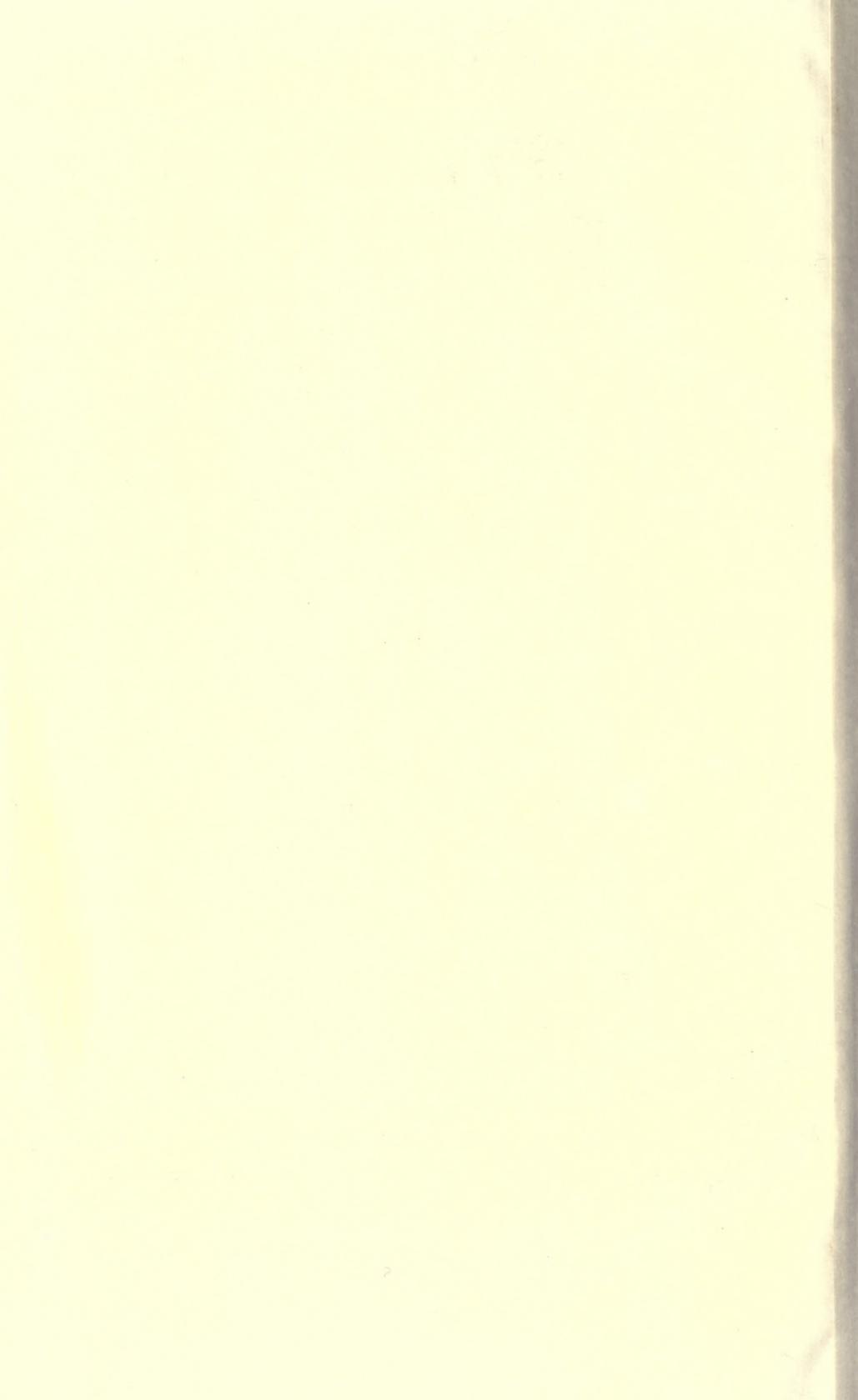
<sup>1</sup> Charles Steuart (or Stewart): a member of the Appin family; originally a lawyer at Maryburgh (Fort William), was an assistant in the office of John Murray of Broughton. Many of the receipts for payments to the Jacobite administration are in his handwriting and bear his signature.

<sup>2</sup> M. Browne: a Franco-Irishman, captain in Lally's regiment. Came over to Scotland with the French envoy (Marquis d'Éguilles) in October, 1745, and was made colonel and A.D.C. to Prince Charles. He was sent to France in January, 1746, with despatches after the Battle of Falkirk. He returned to Scotland in the celebrated ship 'Hazard,' which was driven ashore at Tongue, in Sutherland, on March 25th, on which occasion Browne was made prisoner of war along with 126 others of various ranks.



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STEWART.

*By B. Gannari. In the Collection of Sir James Hamlyn Williams-Drummond, Bart.*



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and bring it into Town, either to such places as you Comonly use for Sale or to the Town Hall and you shall be assured of your mony with Certification If you fail of Military Execution against you.

PAT: GRIEME.

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These are requiring you to get a Chaise with 2 horses to carry a Sick Gent<sup>l</sup>. One Stage only wch then shall be returned to you. It must be ready at 5 °Clock to morrow morning, this you'll punctually obey as you shall be answerable. Given at Macclesfield this 2<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1745.

M. BROWNE.

---

Macc<sup>ad</sup> 3<sup>d</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1745. These do order you the Constable in this place to send two Baggage horses for Capt<sup>n</sup> ffairquison's<sup>1</sup> Company in Lord Ogilvy's Regiment on your Peril w<sup>ch</sup> is your Warrant.

DAVID OGILVY.<sup>2</sup>

---

Maccles<sup>d</sup> in the } To the Constables of the Township of  
County of Chester } Bollington in the said County

You are hereby Order<sup>d</sup> and commanded imediately to send to this Town ten — bushel of Oats One hundred stone of Hay for the use and service of his royal Highness Troops now in this Town. Herein you are not fail on pain of military Execution.

Given under my hand this 7th. Decr 1745

G. BROCKLEHURST

H. Constable

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<sup>1</sup> Captain ffairquison: William Farquharson of Broughdurg, Forfarshire, who was a captain in Lord Ogilvy's regiment.

<sup>2</sup> David Ogilvy: Probably David Ogilvy of Coull, in the parish of Tannadice, Forfarshire. He was a captain in Lord Ogilvy's regiment, and after Culloden escaped to Norway, where, however, he was made prisoner at Bergen.

There were two other Forfarshire gentlemen of the same name—David Ogilvy—officers in the Jacobite army: (1) the laird of Pool in Lintrathen parish, who served in the Prince's Life Guards; and (2) the son of the laird of Shannaly in the same parish, a lieutenant in Ogilvy's regiment; but it seems most likely that it was the laird of Coull who wrote the above letter.

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To Mr. Stafford

Hon<sup>d</sup> Sr.

11 o Clock

Mr. Glover has this moment been with me to Inform me that an Order is Just now delivered to the High Constable to levy the Subscription money that was Subscribed at Chester at the Association and begs you'll on the receipt of this Come here to Consult with the Inhabitants ab<sup>t</sup> it. I am Concerned to send you this Account but a Delay may be of bad Consequence to the Town I am

Yrs &c

J. COOKE

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Macclesfield, 9th. Decr. 1745.

Rec<sup>d</sup> by me as having power from the Secretary of his R.H<sup>s</sup> Charles Prince of Wales from John Stafford ten pounds as his subscription money in the Association here.

ANDREW LUMISDEN.

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To Mr. Stafford

10 ° Clock Morn.

Hond. Sir—

I had yours by Broad & am very sorry to hear you are Indisposed—The Gentlemen of the Town desir'd a Composition which was refused and every person was to pay his own Share—I paid the 20<sup>l</sup> to Mr. Glover who has since given me a Receipt from the Se'retary for 10 your Share the other ten he has disposed on in somebody's Else's behalf and says he'll give me that Receipt which I Conveive is to be rep<sup>d</sup> you again by the person for whose use it was paid—A Great many had no money at all by 'em so that we were obliged to assist them—I find Sev<sup>l</sup> have not p<sup>d</sup> and some have sworn it off & some of 'em who have p<sup>d</sup> now begin to repent—They are now near all marched but the Rear Guard & talk of Coming again in a Fortnights time—It is Reported Legoniers army will be here in a day or two. I am Your Obt. Servt.  
J. C.

The Gentlemen who lay in Miss Fanny's Room have broke her looking Glass—I don't as yet hear of any other Destruction (save Meat and Drink) in the house.

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The Highlanders at Macclesfield in 1745 235

To M<sup>r</sup> Stafford, Macclesfield.

Dear Sr.

Monday Evening, 9 Dec<sup>r</sup>.

We have been extremely sorry for you and poor M<sup>rs</sup> Stafford on account of the frequent visits you have lately rec<sup>d</sup>. On Wednesday and ffriday last I wrote to you, on the former of those days my messenger went to a place called Neubourne which he says is within a mile and half of Macclesfield, and then return'd greatly terrified with the approach of the Rebels, on the second day he did not stir at all. I then putt my Mercury into the post office and about 8 on Saturday night read an account of the Highlanders having renewed their acquaintance with you for which reason I thought it advisable to remand my letter from Brereton Green. pray let us know how you all do, and how you have kept up your spirits, for upon my word we are in great concern about you. I should acknowledge my obligations to your family and Mr. Tatton for the civility shewn to my son, but that and what remains shall be the subject of another opportunity—pray what is become of our heir? We are in no great pain about him being well assured he is in good hands, but it would be proper to know where he is, or where he may be heard of—I have been laid up for some days with a violent cold, and I cannott quitt the Clod the Kings forces being expected here to morrow, but we are at no certainty about them—Our compliments waite on M<sup>rs</sup> Stafford, and the family and I am D<sup>r</sup> Sr,

Yours very sincerely

W. S.

D<sup>r</sup> Sr.

Midlewich 12 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1745.

I am very glad to hear that you are all in health and have escaped the resentment of those merciless miscreants who appear in no better Colours than a Banditti of Robbers. this is an awkward way mthinks of setting their prince on the throne, but t'is my daily petition that they may be overtaken and meet with the fate they so richly deserve. A pack of villains! to rob and plunder a Corporation so distinguished for zeal and loyalty in opposing the measures of their principal enemy, and to make no distinction betwixt Magistrates and Common persons is monstrous. Without doubt this uncommon rage, fury and ill treatment must be owing to the address presented at the late Association, and the error of making too free

with Lives and fortunes appears now too glaring. I must march towards the memorable manor of Buglawton to morrow if my health will permitt, and if I can hobble thither I will endeavour to scramble 7 or 8 miles further on Saturday morning. The poor lady at Daisybank I hear, has once more parted with a Son and heir—some hurly burly or another always happens to nip the growth of these tender Infants which never yet exceeded in Stature the size of a bumble bee. The Coach team I hear, has been in danger and the Squire's arms and ammunition which supply the family with provisions three fourths of the year—poor Squire Howells Equipage suffer'd greatly in the late Wars—pray have they done him no mischief? How did the Deer escape:—The Carrier stays—Adieu,  
W. S.

'Tis the opinion of most people that you measure a full inch & half more since you entertained a prince of the blood—I presume I must have stuck to my sword or not be received—pray what may be the price current for a view of the [Royal] Bed. I presume you are to receive the title of Duke of B . . . m.

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To Mr. John Stafford Attorney at Law In  
Macclesfield

Congleton 14th Dec: 1745

Sr I wrote to you upon Satterday Last about a Cart Left by the Rebels y<sup>e</sup> Mannor of Boglawton and carried or Taken away in to Congleton Liberty and had no Les than 4 laid claim to it I Told em the had nothing to do with it or to moof it out of y<sup>r</sup> liberty with out y<sup>r</sup> Leave and took 2 mares & feched it to my premises in y<sup>r</sup> name til oned in a proper manor where one Clark seem<sup>d</sup> to claim it I told him he should leave a pledge in my hand of 21s. until I had y<sup>r</sup> letter y<sup>t</sup> you were satisfied with his claim the Brought a Letter with y<sup>r</sup> name to it but no thing to y<sup>r</sup> being Sattisfied. Y<sup>r</sup> answer to this & I will return the pledg from your Servent

J. WHITEHURST

I think on shilling as Littel as can be Thought for my Troubel

Sr if you or any frend of yrs is at want of Hay I can fit you or them with 6 or 8 Tunns very good upon Reasnobel Rates

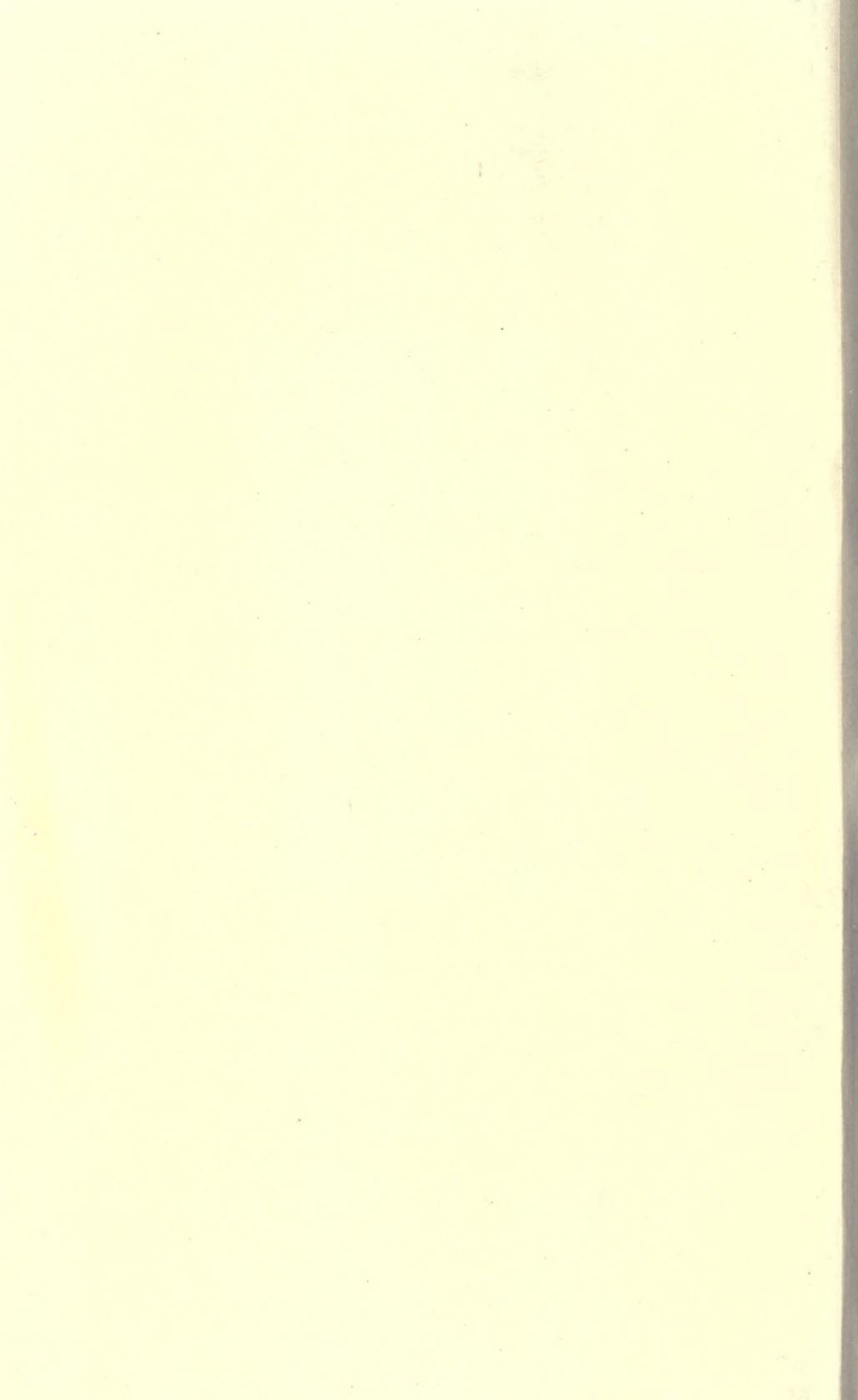
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PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STEWART.

*From Coloured Engraving by Cooper, Edinburgh 1745.*

*In the Collection of W. B. Blaikie, Esq.*



Dr. Sr

14 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1745

I had answer<sup>d</sup> y<sup>r</sup> last Letter sooner but that from the 1st. of this month 'till this very day we have been in Continual hurry The Rebels Stayd two days in their march and 2 Nights in their Return The Officers for ye most part behaved pretty well but ye Comon men like Devills especially in their retreat for they not only lived upon free Quarter in every house but pilfered and plundered people of their money Bedding Cloths and every thing they co<sup>d</sup> carry off. But on Tuesday last we were Joyfully relieved by ye arrival of ye Kings forces, and his Royal highness ye Duke of Cumberland did me ye honour of taking up his Quarters at my house wherein he lay 3 nights & yesterday morning went for Wigan. I followed ye Camp as far as the River Mersey w<sup>ch</sup> ye Duke forded ab<sup>t</sup> 11 O'clock at a place called Hollin Ferry (all ye bridges on ye River being Broke down & ye Boats sunk). He showed his officer the way over the River w<sup>ch</sup> was very Deep but ye bottom proved good. The General Rendezvous was to be at Wigan last night And I fancy this day their army will march tow<sup>ds</sup> Preston where ye Rebels were yesterday morning But greatly Dispirited & Quarelling among 'emselves so that according to my Notion the Kings forces (I mean ye horses) having nothing to do but to Get up with 'em and trample 'em under foot for I think they'l not fight

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Lancaster—Wednesday 11 o'clock forenoon.

(18th December 1745.)

Sr.

A messenger is just arrived from Kendal who brings advice that the Rebels are at Shap, and that Gen<sup>l</sup> Oglethorpe with the advanced Party is got beyond them and joined by a detachm<sup>t</sup> from Marshall Wade's Army The Duke of Cumberland set out from Kendall at 6 o'clock this morning and said he would not stop till he came up with 'em which we hope he has done it being only 12 miles from Kendal.

The Bellman is now going through this Town to order the Inhabitants to get Dinners for the Foot directly who are Hourly expected. 1500 Horses are already got ready here to carry the Foot forwards for Kendal this night.

I am &c.

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Kendal, the 18<sup>th</sup> Dec<sup>r</sup> 1745.  
7 in the Morn<sup>g</sup>.

Sir.

I received here this morning your letter of yesterday, all I can say about the bread is, that it must be sold for what it will fetch, & whatever that may be, will be so much saved to the Government, but if it cant be sold at all, care must be had it is not lost, and it may be distributed to the poor of the Town, & the neighbourhood. if you would be so good as to furnish Money for the Person who came with the bread, Mr. Crawford, I will take care that it shall be repaid you in what manner you may best like—it must be such a sum as may be necessary for his Expenses, or for a clearing with his Waggons if that should be necessary. I have paid the Express £2. 2. on acco<sup>t</sup>—I am

Sir your most humble Servant

EVERARD FAWKENER.<sup>1</sup>

J. Stafford Esq<sup>r</sup>  
Macclesfield.

Be pleased, Sir, to forward the enclosed by the Post, or by Express of any going, but not to send one on purpose—

Sir— Lanc<sup>st</sup>. Dec<sup>r</sup> 20 at 5 o'Clock in the morning—

By an Express from Penrith that the Duke fell in with the Rear of the Rebels & cut off 100 of them with the loss of 10 of his Majesty's Soldiers, they expected the Foot up the next Day, had they been present with the Duke would have finished the Affair the Main Body of the Rebels are at Carlisle.

An Express is this moment come from Gen<sup>l</sup> Wade who went to him by the Duke of Cumberland's Directions with orders for Wade to march his army immediately to intercept the Passage of the Rebels into Scotland the Messenger said the whole Army was in full march on Tuesday last and would be time enough to stop them

<sup>1</sup> Sir Everard Fawkener: Secretary to the Duke of Cumberland. Originally a London mercer and silk merchant; was the friend and host of Voltaire when in England, 1726-29. Fawkener abandoned commerce for diplomacy; was knighted 1735 and sent as ambassador to Constantinople. Became secretary to the Duke of Cumberland; for his services in Flanders was made joint Postmaster-General (May, 1745). Accompanied the Duke throughout his campaign in Scotland: died 1758.

Dear Br<sup>o</sup>.

Yours I rec<sup>d</sup> this evening by Serjeant Kilnor & am glad to hear you are all well as we are at present; the vanguard (as they call them) of the Rebels being about 120 came to Kendall this day sennight and an express coming from Kirby Lonsdale (y<sup>t</sup> the main body of Rebell army was cut off) about 20 minutes before they came into town; the townsmen having not their arms ready (being hid hearing the Rebels were at Burton the evening before) the alarm bell being rung fell on them sticks and stones being the only weapons they had till they had taken 2 horses and 2 men prisoners & unhorsed some more which made their escape & was supposed killed some of the Rebels being seen to fall from their horses with the firearms they took from the prisoners, the Rebels killed 3 of the Mob having fired about 30 shot amongst them & threatened to Burn the Town but in an hours time went their way doing some damage to a house or 2 as they went & carried their wounded men with them. The next day the remainder of the Rebels came to town the foremost of them about 1 a'clock & 4 horses belonging to Lord Murray<sup>1</sup> being ordered to a stable at the far end of the town some country people being under arms seized the horses and made off. Word was brought to the Pretender (who was at Dinner at Mr. Shepherds with severall other of their gentlemen) Col<sup>l</sup> Stuart<sup>2</sup> rose in a passion from the table and going to meet some more of their horsemen that were coming in, went up to the hills on the west side of the town & drove in all the country people they came att, and have carried about 40 of them prisoners to Carlisle beside severall that made their escape that night & the next and obliged the town to pay 130<sup>''</sup> & give bill for 200<sup>'</sup> more & next morning were very rude and plundered the town in severall places & stript shoes of most they came att, & wearing apparell from severall and threatning to burn the town & sett fire to one house but was soon got out & quitted twixt 10 & 11 a'clock in the forenoon & plundered all the houses in the roads—the Yorkshire hunters & some Company's of Dragoons came

<sup>1</sup> Lord George Murray, Lieutenant-General of the Jacobite army.

<sup>2</sup> John Roy Stewart: a highlander from Speyside; a poet and a soldier, formerly a quartermaster in the Scots Greys: subsequently in the French army and held a commission as captain in Lord John Drummond's regiment, the 'Scots Royal,' in the French service. Joined Prince Charles at Perth, and commanded a regiment raised partly in Edinburgh. Died in France 1752.

to town tuesday forenoon & went forward about noon. an other party came in about 2 & scarce halted & twixt 3 and 4 came in his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland with about 3000 more & tarried all night going out next morning about 6—Wednesday night came to town about 2000 foot, mostly brought that day by Country horses from Preston and next day carried by other horses to Penrith On Wednesday evening the Duke with a party of his horse had a skirmish with some of the Rebels at Clifton 2 miles of Penrith where they kill'd 10 Dragoons & severall horses shooting out of the houses gardens & from behind the fences.<sup>1</sup> how many of the Rebels was kill'd is uncertain they in the night time throwing them into bye-places severall were taken prisoners. Another part came up with the Rebels at Lowther Hall & killd & took prisoners about 60. My man came from Penrith yesterday twixt 2 & 3 in the afternoon & says the Duke was to sett out for Carlisle to-day & that an Officer told him they had taken above 100 prisoners in all about Penrith & that the Rebels were gott to Carlisle on Thursday & should have gone Northward yesterday, but the rivers were so swell'd with the late rains were obliged to return. 3 of the Rebels came to Bro. Gibson's to seek for horses as they came southward but finding none worth while came no further.

Kendall 21<sup>st</sup> December, 1745.

To M<sup>r</sup> Gervas Cartwright, in Macclesfield, Cheshire, This—  
Turn at Boarshead—

Sr.

Near Carlisle, Dec<sup>r</sup> 22<sup>nd</sup>.

The Duke's Servants hav<sup>e</sup> orders to return, Pray be so good to assist them with what money they may want to bear their Expences upon the road, and I will pay it to your Order

<sup>1</sup> This letter refers to the skirmish on Clifton Moor, between Lowther Hall and Penrith, celebrated in Sir Walter Scott's *Waverley*. On the evening of Dec. 18th Lord George Murray with the Jacobite rear-guard, contrary to orders, engaged the advance-guard of the Duke of Cumberland, then in hot pursuit. The skirmish was technically a victory for both sides. Cumberland drove the Jacobites off the field, but was unable to follow up this advantage the following day. Lord George on his part secured his object, the safe retreat of the Jacobite army to Carlisle and subsequently to Scotland.



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD STEWART'S PISTOLS.

*This pair of Pistols is now in the collection of His Majesty King Edward.*



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in London, or as you shall please to direct—Excuse this trouble from

S<sup>r</sup>. Your most obed<sup>t</sup> Servant,

W<sup>m</sup> WINDHAM.

Pray my Service to M<sup>rs</sup> Stafford & the rest of your family  
The Rebels are all in Scotland except 300 left in the Castle at  
Carlisle, which we shall be masters off to-morrow, or next day.

To M<sup>r</sup> Stafford at Macclesfield.

D<sup>r</sup> S<sup>r</sup>.

Knutsford, 22 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1745.

M<sup>r</sup> Aldercroft of Chester brought from Jo. Flintt & delivered to me a parcell with 20<sup>l</sup> in cash which I now send you having given no Receipt for it you'll mention it to him when you write. We have settled a correspondence at Lancaster but have had no Letter from Home since Friday Of our two last Letters I have here sent you copies but notwithstanding what is said in em I am apt to believe that the Rebells will get into Scotland without much Loss. The Duke having no cannon, & but few ffoot and the Country being not very proper for his Horse to act to advantage. It may be presumed that he will not care to attack the main Body of the Rebells and there is no assurance of Gen<sup>l</sup> Wade's Army being advanced so far as to intercept them, on the Contrary from a Paragraph in the Preston Paper, giving an acc<sup>t</sup> of the motions of Gen<sup>l</sup> Wade, it seems impossible he should come up to 'em, sooner than at or near Edenborough—which in my humble opinion seems to be the Place where we are to expect any thing extraordinary to happen. Pray are you a Master Ext<sup>r</sup> in Chancery—I want to swear to my Proven acct<sup>s</sup> and shall be glad to slip out some Day to see you & the Ladies after such vicissitudes as have lately happened with you. We all join in the compliments of the Season & I am,

S<sup>r</sup>, Your affectionate humble serv<sup>t</sup>

JA. WRIGHT.

For Mr. Stafford of Macclesfield.

Sir

Penrith, Dec<sup>r</sup> 27<sup>th</sup>. [1745]

Yesterday morning early the Rebels let down a person of figure over the walls of Carlisle wch some Country people observing shot 3 Balls into him and stript him of 60 odd Guineas & a Gold Watch, the Batteries will be compleat this Evening: To Morrow his Highness will begin to storm and it is said will begin at the little Tower wch is a Brick Tower and thought weak. Just now we are sending from those parts 500 persons with picks and Spades to make Trenches, the Duke's determin'd not a man shall Escape.—Gen<sup>l</sup> Hawley now commands all the Foot, but under Gen<sup>l</sup> Wade. they are march'd for Scotland We expect the Duke back after the Reduction of Carlisle, Just now we are told the poor Inhabitants cry out hunger over the Walls to Country people within their hearing.

Sir

Dec. 29<sup>th</sup>

A Gentl. came to Preston this night and has given the following account to M<sup>r</sup> Mayor that 4000 Rebels were counted passing Annon Bridge<sup>1</sup> on Saturday last & did 500<sup>'</sup> Damages there, and at Newby one mile further did 100<sup>'</sup> damage, particularly to this persons ffather & three other Inhabitants wch is the whole number there, they ffirst found out the Ale and poured it out & fill'd the Bottles with Wine and after found a pipe of Brandy & then pour'd the Wine away & fill'd the bottles with Brandy wch was a whole pipe drank & carried away, & march'd on Saturday last to Dumfries & that one man who was going out of Dumfries to see some horses and demanded 2000<sup>'</sup> & 100 horses & 1000 pair of shoes & of wch 1100<sup>'</sup> was paid & horses & shoes & for the nine hundred they took the late Provost and the present Provost as hostages & march'd on Sunday last to Glasgow, the Duke hang'd 4 Deserters near Carlisle wch caused the Rebels to hang 4 Inhabitants at Carlisle hang'd 'em over the Walls, this person set out on Thursday last from Annon & further says that there were only 8 persons drowned 5 Women and 3 Men. the late

<sup>1</sup> Prince Charles, leaving a garrison behind him, left Carlisle on Dec. 20th (his 25th birthday) and with the main body of his army spent the night at Annan; next day marched to Dumfries and thence by Drumlanrig, Douglas, and Hamilton to Glasgow, which he reached on December 26th.

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Provost's name is Bell, the present Provost Crosby, he further says that the Pretender & all his chiefs are there & that they have no Cannon with 'em but 12 Carriage Carts—

Preston, Dec<sup>r</sup> 31<sup>st</sup>

By an Express just now arrived at our house gives an acc<sup>t</sup> that on Saturday last the Duke with his Army & Artillery began to Batter Carlisle & makes no Doubt but can take it very soon, the Duke has hang'd 5 Rebels over against the Castle that they may see their fate. our Men ly out all this while, but the Country people are very kind to 'em the Duke fir'd the ffirst himself ab<sup>t</sup> 8 o'clock on Saturday morning.

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To M<sup>r</sup> John Stafford, Attorney in Macclesfield.—

Stockport 2<sup>nd</sup> Jan<sup>y</sup> 1745/6

Good S<sup>r</sup>.

I rec<sup>ed</sup> your oblidging Letter and ere long hope to give you a Detail of my Highland March. . . .

This minute we have news y<sup>t</sup> Carlisle<sup>1</sup> has surrendred at Discretion, y<sup>t</sup> there are about 800 prisoners English, Scotch & Ffrench, That ye Duke had but one Man kill'd and y<sup>e</sup> Town not much damaged, and that ye best of the Inhabitants had got away before the Rebels return<sup>d</sup> thither. I greet you thereupon—

ALEX. ELCOCK.

To M<sup>r</sup> Stafford, Attorney at Law

Dear Cos. Stafford,

I thank you for y<sup>rs</sup> w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>r</sup> Directions. As I am not intimate with M<sup>r</sup> Wilbraham of Dartfold I desire you will be so good as to write to him. I sh<sup>d</sup> have bin glad to have seen y<sup>r</sup> Rev<sup>d</sup> Kinsman, Stafford, his Directions are not exceeding clear, as I know not where Lady Tankerville lives. I am glad y<sup>e</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Cumberland reached Carlisle on Dec. 21st. Thence he sent for siege guns to Whitehaven. The Jacobite garrison surrendered on Dec. 30th. The actual number of prisoners captured was:—English, 21 officers, 93 N.C.O. rank and file; Scottish, 18 officers, 256 N.C.O. rank and file; French, 3 officers, 5 N.C.O. rank and file. Total, 42 officers, 354 N.C.O. rank and file.

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Information ag<sup>st</sup> y<sup>e</sup> Orator<sup>1</sup> gave you some Satisfaction. He is a Jewel & a shining Light to y<sup>e</sup> Jacobite Party. L<sup>d</sup> Radnor writes me word y<sup>t</sup> when Lord Lovat was brought before y<sup>e</sup> L<sup>ds</sup>. he answered his Character as an Arch, Artfull Fellow, and gave a Sample of w<sup>t</sup> they were to expect at his Tryal. Our complim<sup>ts</sup> of y<sup>e</sup> Season attend you all, I am,

Y<sup>r</sup> very Faithfull F<sup>d</sup> & Hum<sup>ble</sup> Serv<sup>t</sup>

C. LEGH.

23 Dec<sup>r</sup> 1746.

<sup>1</sup>The Orator: Rev. John Henley, known as 'Orator Henley,' a Cambridge man, a scholar, a wit, and a poet, but eccentric and ribald. He set up what he called an 'Oratory' in London for secular lectures on week days and sensational sermons on Sundays. Having preached pro-Jacobite sermons in November, 1746, he was committed to custody on Dec. 2nd, but released on bail on the 20th, and further proceedings against him were abandoned. He died 1756.

## 'A New-Year's Gift for the Whigs'

THE original of the ballad which follows is in Lord Crawford's collection, and I am much indebted to his kindness for allowing me to copy it. The ballad is the production of some London writer, and its interest lies in the illustrations it affords of the connection supposed to exist between the English and the Scottish Whigs. The author, like many of those who assailed the English opposition, endeavours to utilise the acts of the Scottish rebels as an argument against them. In the first three verses he attacks London politicians of the period; in the last three relates an incident in order to show what would happen in England if they ever obtained power. The allusion to the exiled Huguenots in verse two is curious. Tory fanatics regarded them as recruits for the Whig party and gave them a very unfriendly welcome in England. In his prologue to the 'Duke of Guise' Dryden sneers at them as 'godly beggars,' and in the epilogue to 'The Loyal Brother' there is a similar reference.

The assassination of the two troopers recorded in the last verses is told by Fountainhall, and quoted from him in Napier's *Memorials of Dundee*, ii. 423.

'20th November, 1684: The news came this morning to Edinburgh, that some of the desperate fanatics had last night fallen in upon two of the King's Life Guards, viz., Thomas Kennoway and Duncan Stewart, who were lying at Swyne Abbey, beyond Blackburn in Linlithgowshire, and murdered them most barbarously. Whereupon the Privy Council ordained them to be searched for and pursued, if it were possible to apprehend them; and called for Carmichael, landlord of the house, and examined him and others. This was to execute what they had threatened in their declaration of war.'—Fountainhall, *Historical Notices and Decisions*.

C. H. FIRTH.

## A NEW-YEAR'S GIFT FOR THE WHIGS :

Or, a True Relation of Threescore Presbyters (Foot and Horse) that surprized Two of the Kings Guards in their beds, at an Inn seven Miles from Edenborough, Cutting all the Flesh off their bones till they were Dead, and carried the pieces to their Respective Friends, and there burned them in Contempt of God and their King.

*Tune of, 'Then, then to the Duke let's fill up the Glass.'*

[A printed tune given.]

Great Souls that are free from Faction, rejoyce,  
and stand on y'r guard for y'r Country & King  
Observe the success of Papillion, Duboice,<sup>1</sup>  
of Bethel and Cornish,<sup>2</sup> and Tony's black Sting:<sup>3</sup>  
Walcot<sup>4</sup> and Colledge,<sup>5</sup> and Young Horned Dotage,  
see how some are hang'd, and the rest run away;  
Let this be a warning, to Whigs rigid scorning  
who choose to be Damn'd rather than to Obey.

Yet still with the Scotch they dare to Conspire,  
the Dutch are not idle the French to send o'er;  
The Scum of the Country from France do retire,  
to support the Old-Cause, come to breed on our Shore;  
To joyn with the Dutch or the Whigs of our Nation,  
must be the Design of those Presbyter Saints;  
To th' ruine of our trade they have made an invasion,  
pretence of Religion protects their false Cants.

Whigs constant to nothing, but treason and change,  
o'er-charging their Noddles with notions of State;  
With Trimming reflections on loyal L'Estrange,  
more profligate Villains ne'r peept thru' a Grate;  
Let Oats be remember'd, ten thousand times perjur'd,  
and keep the Beast chained, until the next Term;  
And then through a Casement, to th' Whigs great amazement,  
and next Sessions after he'l Tyburn adorn.

The Scotch-Covenanters to rouse up our Knaves,  
hath given us a Signet, as they did before;  
When the Bishop's brains against the Coach-Naves  
they dash'd out, to shew what a God they adore:

<sup>1</sup> Whig candidates for the post of Sheriffs of London and Middlesex in 1684.

<sup>2</sup> Slingsby Bethell, immortalised as Shimei in Dryden's 'Absalom and Achitophel,' was sheriff of London in 1680 with Henry Cornish for his colleague.

<sup>3</sup> Tony, *i.e.* Anthony Ashley Cowper, Earl of Shaftesbury.

<sup>4</sup> Captain Thomas Walcot, executed in 1683 on the charge of complicity in the Rye House Plot.

<sup>5</sup> Stephen College, executed for high treason, August 31, 1681.

By th’ light of the Spirit, some sixty in number,  
surpriz’d in their beds two of the King’s Guards;  
Alive legg and limb they cut ’um asunder,  
By Yea and Nay, Brother, they merit reward.

With the flesh on the points of their swords they retir’d  
in Triumph, cry’d, This is the work of the Leard;  
For this holy Murther by th’ Saints we were Hir’d,  
Geud faith the next time let ’um stand on their guard.  
Had they been the King and the Duke, we had glory’d,  
and a Thanksgiving-day had been hum’d in our Kirk,  
For their blood we do thirst, but their name we abhor it,  
for we worship no King but the De’el and the Turk.

And thus they disperc’d with the blood of their prey,  
in hopes of a better next time they do meet;  
This is the Religion our Saints hopes to sway,  
in murder and plunder thinks nothing more sweet.  
But God bless the King, the Duke and the Dutchess,  
for the Royal line let’s Fight to maintain  
’Gainst all that upon the Prerogative touches,  
conclude with this Health, let Charles ever Reign.

Printed for J. Deane, Bookseller, in Cranborn-street, near Newport-  
house, in Leicester-fields.

## A Northern Baronial House

‘And Delgaty baith stout an’ keen.’—*Old Ballad.*

**I**N the character of Dugald Dalgetty of Drumthwacket Sir Walter Scott has sketched a marked type of the seventeenth century in Scotland. We can trace in actual soldiers of the time one or two of the features. The novelist acknowledges his obligations to Munro and Turner, Colonel Strachan perhaps suggested the county of the Lairdship as well as the surname of the ‘Elias’ who had acquired it, and Sir John Hurry—‘a robust tall stately fellow with a long cut in his cheek’—the impartiality with which at a moment’s notice Sir Dugald was ready to adopt either side, and his undoubted courage. The name, however, must have been taken from the real Dalgetty (so Saint Serf writes Delgaty) who was also a ‘renowned Colonel,’ had been ‘bred at the warres,’ and was ‘a gentleman of invincible resolution.’ There the similarity ends, and to carry it further would be unjust to the real historical figure and to Sir Walter, who, in the *Legend*, makes Montrose speak of ‘my gallant friend Colonel Hay.’ Sir William Hay of Delgaty was no impoverished owner of a miserable lairdship in a barren Kincardine moor, but the lord of a stately baronial castle, of broad acres, and a following to suit; he was no rough soldier of fortune, but the constant companion, the devoted friend, and the heroic fellow-sufferer of the cultured and chivalrous Montrose. Sprung from one of the most high-spirited of Scottish houses, ‘the gallant Hays,’ he was near of succession to his chief, the Lord High Constable of Scotland, and during the Earl of Erroll’s minority it was to him that the duty fell of summoning their vassals to the field, and apparently of deciding the policy of at least the northern Hays during the momentous period of ‘The Troubles.’

The history of the house of Delgaty, so far as it can now be traced, is illustrative of the times and of a phase of Scottish sentiment that has perhaps received less attention than it

merits. It discloses a back eddy of the great conflict that the Reformation initiated over northern Europe, and indicates some of the hidden forces that helped to mould events during the Civil Wars. It was long before the Highlands as a whole became Protestant, and a thick veil enshrouds the process by which districts that were practically outside the Presbyterian pale at the Revolution were imbued a century and a half later, even more thoroughly than the Lowlands, with the highest form of Presbyterian ecclesiastical tradition. The process, that must have been gradual in the Highlands in the eighteenth century, had also been a gradual one in the north-eastern Lowlands in the seventeenth, and we have considerable insight into its features from the old Presbytery and Synod books. It combined conviction with compulsion. For long after the establishment of the Presbyterian Kirk by statute, the old faith had powerful adherents in the north-east, and the Catholic lords were strong enough to try a fall with their opponents. On the field of Corrichie the Regent Moray broke for the time the power of the House of Huntly, but thirty-two years later the combined forces of Lord Huntly and Lord Erroll, on the braes of Glenlivet, defeated the large army of Argyll, and in King James's words 'sent him hame some like a subject.' The old ballad of the battle of Balrinnes opens with the reflection :

'The ministers I fear  
A bluidy browst hae brewn,'

and records how amid the array of the northern cavaliers

'Andrew Gray upon ane horse  
Betwixt the battles rade,  
Making the sign of halie cross,  
*In manus tuas* he said.'

The Earl of Erroll who fought at Glenlivet survived till 1631, and is described by Spalding as 'a truly noble man, of a great and courageous spirit, who had great troubles in his time, which he stoutly and honourably still carried, and now in favour died in peace with God and man, and a loyal subject to the king, to the great grief of his kin and friends.' His son only survived him for five years, having 'lived in so splendid a manner that he was obliged to dispose of his paternal estate of Erroll granted to his family by William the Lyon.' His heir was a minor when the Civil War broke out, and his age, the diminution of the estates, and the concentration of the family

interests in the north probably account for the facts that the great name of Erroll scarcely appears in the records of the Troubles, and that the leadership of the Erroll following was assigned to Hay of Delgaty in Aberdeenshire, rather than to Hay of Leys, the oldest cadet, or Hay of Dronlaw the immediate younger branch of Erroll, from which the Hays of Delgaty had in their turn sprung.

The Hays of Delgaty had followed their chief in continued adherence to the old faith for long after the Reformation, and were intimately allied with another outstanding Catholic family, the Leslies of Balquhain. Their seat was the grand old castle of Delgaty, near Turriff, which remains one of the finest specimens yet inhabited of the baronial mansion. The notices of the family are scattered and disconnected, but it is possible to trace the generations.

Sir Thomas Hay of Erroll, who died in 1406, and was the great-grandfather of the first Earl of Erroll, had married Elizabeth, daughter of John, Lord of the Isles, by Princess Margaret, daughter of Robert II. Their second son, Sir Gilbert of Dronlaw, who appears as witness to a charter by his chief in 1436, was the ancestor of the Hays of Dronlaw, Delgaty in Aberdeenshire, and Park in Galloway. In 1470 Elizabeth of Balhelvy, with consent of Gilbert, Lord Kennedy, her husband, gave sasine of the lands of Ardendraught and Auchleuchries to William Hay, son of Alexander Hay of Dronlaw, her brother.<sup>1</sup> These lands are situated not far from Lord Erroll's castle of Slains in the parish of Cruden in the Buchan district of Aberdeenshire, and the superiority of them at least long remained in the hands of the Hays of Delgaty. In 1492 Johnston of Caskieben and others were ordered to pay a heavy fine to William Hay of Ardendraught for burning the house of Ardendraught in Cruden. On 9th June, 1494, there is an indenture between Gilbert Hay of Delgaty and John Cheyne of Essilmont, while on 1st April, 1497, Alexander Waus, prebendary of Turriff, granted a charter of Kakinche to Gilbert Hay of Delgaty, son and apparent heir of William Hay of Ardendrath. There appear to have been money difficulties, for the bond to Essilmont appears in 1501, in 1503, and 1504; there was a reversion, and a redemption of Delgaty, and it was not till 26th April, 1503, that Gilbert Hay

<sup>1</sup> *Auchleuchries Charters* in Appendix to the *Diary of General Patrick Gordon*, Spalding Club.

was formally returned as heir to William Hay in the lands of Ardendraught and Auchleuchries. In October, 1501, he was a witness to an indenture between the Earl of Erroll and Keith of Inverugie, and to a perambulation of marches between the lands of Fechil and Tibbertay. His chief was, on the 9th of September, 1513, 'slain with King James IV. and 87 gentlemen of his own family name,' on the fatal field of Flodden. Whether the Laird of Delgaty was among the eighty-seven is not known, but he was not likely to fail his chief and king. His name occurs for the last time in 1512, and in 1522 Alexander Hay appears as superior of Auchleuchries.

In 1540 Alexander Hay of Delgaty received a charter of Ardendraught from Lord Glamis: on 3rd June, 1546, he is named one of Lord Erroll's referees in 'a bond' between Lord Huntly and Lord Erroll 'anent the marriage of John Gordon and Effem Hay,' and in 1548 he was present at the Court of the *Vice comitatus* of Aberdeen. He is named in charters granted to George, sixth Earl of Erroll, in December, 1541, as fourth in succession to the lands of Erroll, and was married to Janet, daughter of the sixth Lord Forbes, and widow of John, Earl of Atholl. She survived him, and married a third husband, William Leslie of Balquhain, who saved the cathedral of Aberdeen from destruction at the Reformation. Alexander Hay's second son, Thomas, was a Knight of St. John, Secretary to Queen Mary, and Abbot of Glenluce. He obtained part of the Abbey lands at the Reformation and founded the family of Park.

In 1556 there is a charter of Ardgeyth to William Hay of Delgaty, in 1579 Alexander Hay of Delgaty paid £1000 as 'caution that his brother, Father John Hay, should go abroad,' and in 1580 a charter of Ardgrain was given to a William Hay of Delgaty. In 1589 there is a sasine to William Hay of Delgaty, grandson and heir of William Hay of Delgaty and Ardendraught, of the superiority of Auchleuchries.

In 1617 Alexander Hay of Delgaty consented to a charter of Auchleuchries, and on 12th April, 1622, he and Dame Isobell Lesley, his spouse, are mentioned in a sasine of the superiority of Auchleuchries. In 1626 Alexander Hay acquired much of the Leslie property that had belonged to his relative the Baron of Balquhain by disposition from him, and in the following year he

parted with Fetternear, which had been for so short a time in his possession, to Balquhain's nephew, Abercromby of Westhall. In 1633 Alexander Hay of Delgaty, knight, is mentioned in the Book of the Annualrentaris and Wadsetteris,<sup>1</sup> and on 9th November, 1634, he granted a charter to his eldest son, William Hay of Delgaty, of Ardendraught, of the fishings of Cruden, and of the superiority of Auchleuchries. This William was the friend and follower of Montrose.

Sir Alexander Hay's name is found in connection with more exciting episodes than are commemorated in charters and sasines. The alliance of his family with the house of Forbes, who were the most zealous of the great Reforming families of the north, had existed prior to the Reformation. The Laird of Delgaty's brother, Father John Hay, for whom caution was given in 1579, was a member of the Society of Jesus, and author of a Latin work published at Antwerp in 1605, under the title *De Rebus Japonicis, Indicis et Peruvianis Epistolae recentiores a Io. Hayo Delgatiensi Scoto Soc. Jesu in librum unum conservatae*. On the occasion of the battle of Glenlivet, the Earl of Erroll had mustered his men at Turriff, in the near vicinity of Delgaty, and was doubtless followed to the field by his kinsman. Certain it is that the family, like their relatives the Leslies, adhered to the old church. In 1622 Balfour mentions 'the Laird of Delgatie' as 'one of the most scandalous and irregular of the adversaries of the Truth,' and in 1625 he was imprisoned in the Castle of Edinburgh and fined because he would not go to the Protestant meetings.

The first occasion on which William Hay's name appears with his father's is in connection with an event long remembered in the north. They were among the witnesses summoned to Edinburgh in the investigation into the burning of Fren-draught. It was in convoying Fren-draught and his friends home in safety from an attack threatened by Leslie of Pit-capple, that Lord Aboyne and John Gordon of Rothiemay had found their way to the fatal tower, and the cavalcade had passed 'without sight of Pitcapple by the way.' It would seem that it was thought desirable to account for the proceedings of the Leslies that night, and 'the Laird of Delgatie and William apparent heir' deponed that that afternoon they supped at Pitcapple, rode on afterwards to Balquhain, slept there, left at nine o'clock next morning, and came to Pitcapple about twelve

<sup>1</sup> *Spalding Club Miscellany*, vol. iii.

o'clock. The widow of the unfortunate Aboyne was their kinswoman—

‘O Sophia Hay, Sophia Hay,  
Bonnie Sophia was her name.’

The burning of Frendraught happened in 1630: on 13th November, 1634, Alexander Hay of Delgaty was summoned by the Privy Council to give evidence about the disorders in the north. It was just before that he had granted the charter of the estates in Cruden to his son, who either before or after that date must have gained the experience of Continental campaigns indicated in the statement that he was ‘bred at the warres.’ When he succeeded to Delgaty is uncertain, but he married Dorothy Bruce of Pittarthy, and was probably in possession before the Civil Wars began.

When muskets began to be looked to and swords to be sharpened in the year 1639, the Earl of Erroll was a minor, but his people rose in the Covenanting interest ‘under conduct of the Laird Delgatie.’ They assembled at Kintore, marched into Aberdeen, and met the well-appointed army which ‘the Tables’ had sent north under the Earl of Montrose ‘in kindlie manner.’ Delgaty was present at a meeting at Turriff on 26th April, and along with the Laird of Towie Barclay plundered muskets from the young Laird of Cromarty, the famous Sir Thomas Urquhart. More serious work was in store. On the 13th of May, for the first time, swords were crossed and blood drawn in ‘the Trot of Turriff.’ In the early dawn of a spring morning the volley and charge of the Cavalier Gordons swept the associated Covenanters before them out of the village, but Delgaty seems to have done his best to stem the ebbing tide of battle. ‘Albeit,’ says the Parson of Rothiemay,<sup>1</sup> ‘Sir William Keith of Ludquharn, a resolute gentleman, and Sir William Hay of Delgatie, a gentleman bred at the warres, called to the most resolute of their side, and did all that in them lay for to breathe courage in their comrades and keep off the Gordons, who were pressing hard to enter, yet all was in vain.’ The author of *Britane’s Distemper*<sup>2</sup> indicates that Delgaty did his duty well, though not without misgivings. ‘Delgatie,’ he says, ‘being their leader, drew them up in order of battel, albeit he was there against his will, being in his heart Royalist.’ He singles him out along with Ludquharn and his son as retaining their presence of mind in the panic

<sup>1</sup> James Gordon’s *Scots Affairs*, ii. p. 258.

<sup>2</sup> Patrick Gordon’s *Britane’s Distemper*, p. 20.

which ensued. 'All these three strive to encourage them, first by fair persuasions and then by threttings to rally them, but all in vaine.' Hay and Keith seem to have lost no time in endeavouring to repair the disaster, for a fortnight later they took 'the place of Foveran,' and on 25th May Delgaty was present with other Covenanters in Aberdeen.

Sir William Hay is next found under different auspices and amid other companions. 'The Barons' war' was past; the Pacification of Berwick had come and gone; the King had paid his visit to his northern kingdom; the defensive National Covenant had been succeeded by the aggressive Solemn League and Covenant; Cavaliers and Roundheads were fighting hard in England; and Montrose, with whom Delgaty had been previously associated, had raised the Royal Standard on Scottish soil. Like many northern Cavaliers, Sir William had attached himself to the Royal forces in the north of England. He accompanied Montrose in his first abortive effort to penetrate into Scotland. On 11th February, 1645, a Decreet of Forfaultor passed in the Scots Estates against the Earls of Montrose, Nithsdale, and others 'for the Invasion in the South.' Among the others was Hay of Delgaty, and the charges set out no inconsiderable military activity. It was matter of accusation

1. That they joined with the Marquis of Newcastle in England, against the Scottish army sent out of this country, and took Dumfries in April last.
2. That they joined with Colonel Clavering, an avowed and notorious enemy of the Parliament of England, and took Morpeth, garrisoned by Colonel Somerville.
3. That they took the fort on the Tyne at South Shields garrisoned by Captain T. Rutherford.
4. That they had persisted in arms with the popish, prelatial, and malignant partie in England.

They were cited at the Market Cross of Edinburgh and Pier and Shore of Leith on 11th June, 1644. Eleven days after the forfeiture a *signator* was ordered to be passed in favour of James Hay of Moirefauld of the lands and barony of Delgatie upon the resignation of William Hay of Delgatie. His name does not appear in the decree of forfeiture of the same date for 'the Invasion in the North,' the reason being that Montrose had not then been joined by the companions of his campaign with the English Cavaliers. Spalding records that on the 11th of April the Laird of Delgatie's arms, along with those of Lord

Gordon and others, 'wes revin at the Cross of Edinburgh, thaimselfis declairit traitouris to their countrie, and thair landis foirfaultit for following the King. Strange to sie!'

The victories of Montrose had, however, fired the blood of the Scottish Cavaliers in England, and inspired them to one of the most daring enterprises recorded in the history of the Civil War. Before long he was joined by the Laird of Delgaty, Lord Aboyne, the Master of Napier, and the Laird of Keir younger, 'who with the Earl of Niddisdail and Lord Herries had broken out of Carlisle with about 28 horse throw David Leslie's army desperatlie, yet happillie saif and sound.' 'Thus,' adds Spalding, 'Aboyne, Naper, Delgatie and Keir came into Montrose's beyond Dee, who was all joyful of others.'<sup>1</sup> Patrick Gordon describes the exploit with more detail. 'Aboyne,' he writes, 'takes with him 16 gentlemen who did there attend upon him, and issued out of the town about the shooting in of the night: he passes by the court of gard, charges through the strong watch, and being all well mounted makes himself away through their inner and outer sentries at full gallop. You may imagine how this charge coming at unawares bred divers apprehensions amongst them, and that with such confusion that he was passed their reach before they knew what he was resolved upon. Efter him they sent forth a partie, but followed not far, being glaid they saw no hopes of his returne, and thereby was rid of such mad and desperate adventurers.'<sup>2</sup>

From that time forward Delgaty seems to have accompanied Montrose, his valour and experience being of great service. He was wounded in the triumphant strife of Alford, and when Middleton was pressing close upon the retreating Royalists, Delgaty was among the 70 or 80 of 'Montrose's bravest men' who were left to dispute the passage of the river near Inverness 'with invincible resolution.' He, or perhaps his son, remained in Scotland when Montrose left the country, for 'William Hay of Delgatie and his mother' are found on 25th January, 1647, in the 'Roll of those to whom the Major-General (Middleton) has given remissions and assurances upon their enacting themselves betwixt and the 1st of November, 1646.' His lands were among those which authority was given to stent on 16th March, 1649.

Sir William Hay was with Montrose in his last campaign in the north of Scotland. Along with Lord Frendraught, Colonel Hurry, and others he was taken prisoner after the rout at Inver-

<sup>1</sup> Spalding's *Memorials of the Troubles*, ii. 469.

<sup>2</sup> *Britane's Distemper*, 119.

carron, and brought to Edinburgh to meet his doom. He had in April, with Sophia and Anne Hay, his daughters, been excommunicated 'for poperie' by the Synod of Aberdeen. The Records of Parliament of 14th May, 1650, contain the entry: 'The dec<sup>et</sup> of forfaulter aganis the Laird Delgatie redd, and the Estaitts declares that the s<sup>d</sup> dec<sup>t</sup> w<sup>t</sup> executione to follow there-upon shall not prejudge the Earl of Erroll of his right to po<sup>n</sup> of his estait, and orders this to be extendit in form of ane act.' On the 23rd of May 'the House' notes Balfour 'ordained the prisoners taken at Harbister, as the Viscount of Fren draught, Mr. James Hay, brother to the Laird of Naughton, Major St. Claire, Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Hay of Delgatie, etc., that are as yet not come to Edinburgh to be written for to be sent thither, with this especial provision that if such as has them in custody lets them escape, the keepers to be answerable on their peril for them.' On the 31st the 'report anent Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Hay of Delgaty Baronet, who was forefaulted by the Parliament in St. Andrews *anno* 1645, and excommunicated thereafter for popery was ratified'; and it is recorded that Delgaty, on being asked if he had anything to say in bar of sentence, said nothing but that he had gone to the King for a pass, and was by him 'commanded to attend James Graham to this country.' The procedure was summary in respect of the previous forfeiture, and a precedent for that followed years after in the case of the second Argyll, and he was sentenced to be beheaded on the 4th of June. On that day 'the Estaitts of Parl<sup>t</sup> continued the executione of the L. Dalgetie till fryday next.'

On the 7th the execution took place. Spottiswoode and Hurry had preceded, and Colonel Sibbald accompanied Delgaty on the scaffold. 'The next couple,' says the biographer of Montrose,<sup>1</sup> 'was Sir Francis (*sic*) Hay of Dalgety and Colonel Sibbald, than whom the nation could not afford two persons more accomplished both in body and mind. The first being a Roman Catholic in his religion, and therefore not coming within the compass of the Ministers' prayers, without speaking a word to any body, but throwing some papers out of his pocket, took off his doublet, kissed the fatal instrument, kneeled down and received the blow. The other with a little more composure smiled, and talked a while to the disorderly rabble about him, then with an undaunted behaviour he marched up to the block, as if he had been to act the part of a gallant in a play.'

<sup>1</sup> Wishart's *Memoirs of Montrose*, p. 322.

The last request of Delgaty, knowing that the mutilated trunk of Montrose had been consigned to the felons' sepulture in the Borough Muir, was that he might be buried in the same grave, and this was given effect. Eleven years later the Records of Parliament again have references to the names of the victims 'most cruelly murdered' in 1650. On 4th January, 1661, 'The king's Matie's Com<sup>r</sup> Represented unto the Parliament That it was his Matie's expresse pleasure, that the bodies bones and head of the late Marquesse of Montrose, and Sir W<sup>m</sup>. Hay of Delgatie should be gathered and honourably buried at his M's expense, whairwith the Estaits of Parliament being well satisfied, Did by ane unanimous vote appoint the Magistrates of Edinburgh to sie his M's will and pleasure herein punctually observed, and that they take the advice of the present Marquis of Montrose as to the manner of it.' In the 'Relation of the True Funerals of the Great Lord Marquesse of Montrose His Majesty's Lord High Commissioner and Captain-General of his Forces in Scotland, and of the renowned Knight Sir William Hay of Dalgetty,' Saintserf, the Secretary of Montrose, refers to the desire of the deceased cavalier, which was then for the second time being given effect, in these quaint words: 'We shall show the honour done to the memory of that renowned Colonel Sir William Hay of Dalgetty, who suffering martyrdom with him in the same cause, ambitioned his funeral under the same infamous gibbet, prophetically certain that he might participate with him the same honour at his first bodily resurrection.' With all the pomp of heraldry, while the guns of the castle salvoed, and the troops fired 'excellent vollies of shot,' the bodies of the two cavaliers were, on 11th May, 1661, laid in the aisle or chapel of St. Giles' Church, which still bears the name of the Montrose Aisle. Saintserf has preserved the names of the relatives and friends who attended specially to do honour to the Laird of Delgaty. 'The corps of Sir William Hay of Dalgetty followed in this order:—Captain George Hay son to Sir John Hay late Clerk Register carried the Standard of Honour: William Ferguson of Badifurrow the Gampheon: Master John Hay the Pinsel of Honour: Alexander Hay the Spurs and Sword of Honour: Master Harie Hay the Croslet: Master Andrew Hay the Gauntlets.

'Next followed his four branches: Hay—House of Errol carried by Alexander Hay: Lesly—House of Bonwhoyne (Balquhain) by George Lesly of Chapelton: Forbes—of the House of Forbes by Forbes of Lesly: Hay—of Dalgetty by Robert Hay of Park.

‘Two close trumpets in mourning.

‘Then the corpse garnished with scutcheons and epitaphs attended by

‘The Earl of Errol, Lord High Constable of Scotland ; the Earls of Buchan, Tweedale, Dumfries, Kinghorn : the Viscount of Frendraught : The Lords Rae, Fraser, Forrester : Master Robert Hay of Dronlaw, George Hay of Kininmonth, with a multitude of the name of Hay and other relations.’

Thus were the two comrades laid to rest, near to the hall where they had heard their doom, and the Tolbooth where they had awaited the summons to ‘the great gibbet of thirty feet high’ that stood beyond the church between the Cross and the Tron.

After the erection of the Montrose Memorial in 1888, a mural tablet was placed on the wall of the Montrose aisle, in accordance with the precedent of the Montrose Monument, by the descendants of those present at the ceremony of 1661 in connection with Sir William Hay’s obsequies, by others of his name, and a few otherwise interested. It is placed directly under the large window, the frame being of red sandstone, and the inscription slab of grey marble with gilt lettering. The arms of Sir William Hay and his wife Dorothy Bruce of Pittarthy surmount the tablet, and on either side is carved the ox yoke which was the crest of his branch of the family. The inscription, rendered in Latin by Professor Ramsay, runs :

IN HONOREM  
GULIELMI HAY DE DELGATY EQUITIS

QUI AD CRUCEM EDINENSEM  
ULTIMUM PERTULIT SUPPLICIUM  
A.D. VII. ID. JAN. A.D. 1650.  
REGI DEDITUS DUCIQUE  
ID SOLUM MORIENS OBSECRAVIT  
UT CUM DUCE ILLO DILECTISSIMO  
MORTUUS JACERET.  
CUJUS COMPOS VOTI  
HIC SEPULTUS EST  
A.D. XI. ID. MAI A.D. 1661.  
A COGNATIS AMICISQUE  
QUORUM POSTERI  
HOC MONUMENTUM POSUERUNT  
A.D. 1888.

Time Deum. Regem honorificate.

Sir William Hay had a son, William, who succeeded him in the estate of Delgaty, and was for a short time (1687) Bishop of Moray. His daughter and heiress married Cuthbert of Castlehill, but during part of the eighteenth century the lands of Delgaty were in possession of the Earls of Erroll. There was a ratification to Lord Erroll of the Lands and Barony of Delgaty in 1701 and in 1722. Mary, Countess of Erroll, with consent of her husband, Mr. Alexander Hay of Delgaty—by birth a Falconer—granted a precept in favour of Patrick Gordon of Auchleuchries, the son of the famous General of Peter the Great. Delgaty passed from the Erroll family about 1762. The standing of the house during its period of power and prosperity is testified by the old distich :

‘There be six great barons of the North,  
Fyvie, Findlater and Philorth ;  
And if ye wad ken the other three,  
Pitsligo, Drum, and Delgatie.’

JAMES FERGUSON.

## Saint Maolrubha<sup>1</sup>

**S.** MAOLRUBHA or Sagart Ruadh (both names mean the *Red Priest*) stands out in history as one of the most interesting of the missionaries to the Picts of Alba (Scotland). He was himself a Pict on the mother's side. He laboured in Alba during the latter part of the seventh century and the beginning of the eighth century.

Both the name and the history of Maolrubha have been greatly confused by historical writers. Either among a non-Pictish branch of the Celts, or owing to popular fancy, the name Sagart Ruadh came to run concurrently with the Pictish name Maolrubha. For example, in the parish of Lairg<sup>2</sup> the Saint is popularly known as Sagart Ruadh, while the parish Church has always been known as S. Ma-rui's,<sup>3</sup> and the island on Loch Shin where the ancient cell stood is 'Innis Ma-rui.'

The two names misled some of the Roman Catholic writers, and even so great an authority as Dr. Reeves,<sup>4</sup> into supposing that Maolrubha and Sagart Ruadh were different persons. The Roman Catholic writers also confused Maolrubha with S. Rufus of Capua.<sup>5</sup> Dr. Reeves identified Sagart Ruadh with a certain

<sup>1</sup> *Maol* in old Irish. Also *mael*. Welsh *moil*=bald. This is the spelling in the account of the mothers of Irish saints. Some Irish and modern Gaelic writers spell the name *Maelruadh*. Tighernac's spelling is *Maelruba*. There is evidence that in the Roman Catholic period the *bh* was not aspirated; but sounded, sometimes as a *v* and sometimes as an *f*. Those who used the latter sound assimilated the latter half of the name as nearly as possible to Rufus and took *rubha*, *rúfus*, and *ruadh* as equivalents. Whether the *bh* in *rubha* is due to Latin influence on the Celtic, or represents a development from Indo-European *dh* parallel to *f* in provincial Latin, I leave to specialists.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. *History of the Parish of Lairg*, by Rev. D. Macrae. p. 10.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Dr. Hew Scott, *Fasti. Eccl. Scot.*

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Reeves contributed a paper to the Antiquarian Society on S. Maolrubha in 1862. He had previously dealt with the saint in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Journal* in 1849. See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. iii. pp. 258-296.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. *Breviary of Aberdeen*. S. Rufus' day is August 27.

Gilla-Patrick the Red, a reputed ancestor of certain Ross-shire lairds.<sup>1</sup> These Ross-shire lairds, however, claimed descent not only from Gilla-Patrick the Red, but from Maolrubha or Sagart Ruadh himself. This claim we can quite understand and explain when we remember that those who made it held Maolrubha's lands of Applecross, to which they had to profess some sort of title.<sup>2</sup>

Dr. Reeves,<sup>3</sup> at the outset of his inquiries, prevented himself from recognising that 'Sagart Ruadh' is the later Gaelic-speaking people's variant of the Saint's name, by interpreting 'Maolrubha' as either 'Servant of Patience' or 'Servant of the Promontory.' 'Maolrubha' means, The Tonsured-one with the Red-hair, or with the Ruddy complexion.

There is more in this name 'Maolrubha' than is conveyed to an English ear. One of the secondary meanings of *Maol* refers to the bare forehead.<sup>4</sup> The Picts applied the name with this sense to the *bald* brow of a mountain, and the name still survives in many districts.

When we recollect that the Celtic tonsure was from ear to ear, we can fully appreciate the appropriateness and historical

<sup>1</sup> I understand that two of the families concerned did not thank Dr. Reeves for his laboured attempt to identify the Sagart Ruadh with Gilla-Patrick the Red. If Dr. Reeves had been correct the origin of these families would have been put about 500 years later than is reputed.

A Sutherland family also claimed descent from Maolrubha. While the Ross-shire lairds claim through a daughter, the Sutherland laird claimed through a son. Needless to add, the Sutherland laird also held land belonging to a church of Maolrubha.

<sup>2</sup> Both the Rosses and the MacKenzies claim descent from Sagart Ruadh of Applecross. Each family has its own peculiar tradition. The tradition of the MacKenzies, being the later, is the more impossible and fanciful of the two.

Evidently when the Vikings made Applecross untenable as a religious centre the O'Beollans, the ancestors of the Rosses, usurped the rights and powers of the Ab.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. iii. 1862, and *Irish Ecc. Journal*, 1849. Dr. Reeves was unintentionally misled by information supplied by Dr. Skene. He was also further misled by some folk-gossip collected and supplied to him by the minister of Lochcarron.

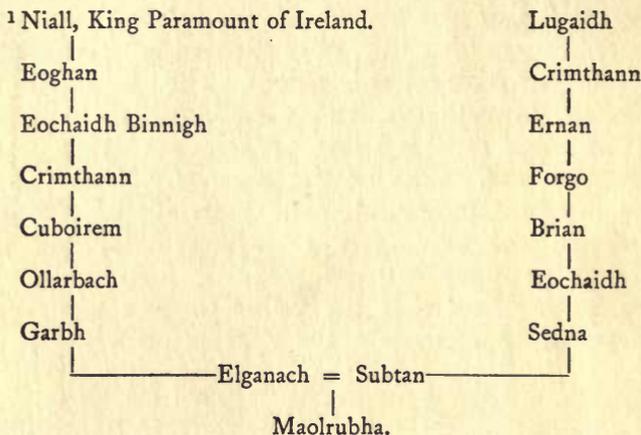
<sup>4</sup> The early Irish shaved the heads of all captives or slaves. The shaving was a token of servility. Hence *Maol*, apart from the tonsure, would be very appropriate to those who were followers of Him who took upon Himself the 'form of a servant,' and, who rejoiced in being servants of the servants of God.

Cf. Dr. Reeves' interpretation of *Maol*, and MacBain's hypothetical *Mag(u)lo* = servile, short-haired, bald.

value of the name 'Maol-rubha.' It is a name which in no way suggests the hollow tonsure of the Latin Church, and could not be accurately suggested by it.

#### MAOLRUBHA'S FAMILY AND ORIGIN.

Maolrubha's ancestors on both sides can be traced to about the year 398 A.D. He was of the Irish Royal line, being descended on his father's side from Niall, Sovereign Paramount



of Ireland. Consequently he shared the same blood as Aidan, King of the Scots of Dalriada, and S. Columba.

In all likelihood the popularity of Maolrubha in Argyll was due more to his lineage than to his message. He was attracted to Argyll by the descendants of the conquered Picts; but he appears to have won also the affections of the people of Dalriadic origin.

More influential on Maolrubha than the Royal blood of his father's people was the saintly strain of his mother's family. His mother, Subtan,<sup>2</sup> was a niece of S. Comgall the Great of Benchar (Bangor).

S. Comgall had been trained with S. Columba under S. Mobhi in the famous religious house of Glasnevin. Ultimately, S. Comgall surpassed S. Mobhi in popular favour and founded

<sup>1</sup> See *Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot.* vol. iii. 1862.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Feilere of Aengus. The genitive Suaibsech in the tract on the *Mothers of Irish Saints* is a variant, not a scribe's error.

It is interesting to note that colloquially the Gaelic people vary the name Susan into Su'an and Susac to this day.

the College and Retreat of Benchar where S. Columbanus and many other great missionaries were trained.

It is worth while for the critical historian to note the relations between S. Columba (Columcille) and the great Pictish teacher S. Comgall, when we remember that one of S. Columba's objects in going to Alba was to help the Dalriads<sup>1</sup> to assert themselves against the Picts, who had very nearly driven them back to Ireland in 560 A.D.<sup>2</sup> People usually forget that Columcille had a diplomatic as well as a religious mission to Alba.

It is suggestive to find S. Comgall associated with S. Columba while he was a student, and also, journeying with him to Alba and to the Pictish court there, but finally, finding it necessary to return permanently to Ireland; and equally suggestive that we find Maolrubha, his nephew, passing northward on the same coast as Iona and founding a great religious centre of his own, close to localities worked from Iona.

Maolrubha was born in the district to the north-west of Loch Neagh,<sup>3</sup> in the territory of the Cinel Eoghain, his father's clan. Some remains of an early settlement still survive in the traditional locality.

Under the influence of his mother, whom he greatly loved, he went to the religious house of Benchar to be trained under one of the successors of the venerable S. Comgall.

In consequence of the slip of an annotator in the *Kalendar of Marian Gorman*,<sup>4</sup> Maolrubha has been represented as Ab of Benchar.<sup>5</sup> This was not the case; but Maolrubha, on quitting Benchar, left as missionary-Ab in a *muinntir* of his own.

Maolrubha was twenty-nine years of age when he left Ireland for Scotland, at the head of the usual *muinntir*, or college of workers. For two years he moved about, mostly in Argyll; became acquainted with his new country; planted certain churches; and, at the end of this period, established his *muinntir* at Abercrossan<sup>6</sup> in the western territory of the Picts.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. S. Berchan's prophecy.

<sup>2</sup> Gabhran of Dalriada, grandson of Fergus Mhor, was slain, and the Dalriads were driven into Kintyre by one of the Brudes; see *Chronicles Picts and Scots* 67, and Skene's *Celtic Scotland*, ii. 79.

<sup>3</sup> In Derry.

<sup>4</sup> The tradition and note misled several of the annalists.

<sup>5</sup> Dr. Reeves points out that in the list of Abbots recited in the *Antiphony of Benchar* Maolrubha's name does not exist.

<sup>6</sup> Applecross in the west of Ross. Why should this name not be changed to its proper form?

Like S. Donnan he passed the gates of Iona as the leader of an independent religious community. He made his headquarters in a district where no Dalriad would be welcome.

#### CHURCHES FOUNDED ON THE JOURNEY TO ABERCROSSAN.

S. Maolrubha landed in Scotland on the peninsula of Kintyre. One tradition claims Islay as his first landing place. There was a Perthshire tradition that he passed eastwards from Argyll as far as Strath-Bran and Dunkeld. This tradition is no longer available in any reasonable form.

There is abundant evidence, however, to indicate that he spent the two years between his landing and the founding of Abercrossan in planting certain churches which lie between Kintyre and the mountains which flank Glen-Shiel on the southern border of Ross. These churches, so far as traceable, were at

Kilmarow (spelling 1697), in Killean and Kilchenzie.

Kilarrow in Islay (Kilmolrew, 1500).

Kilmalrew<sup>1</sup> in the peninsula of Craignish.

The old church site in Stra'lachlan,<sup>2</sup> Loch-Fyne.

'Cill Mha'ru', Eilean-an-t-sagairt, Muckairn.

'Cill Ma'ru', the ancient church of Arisaig.

The dates of the original churches of these places lie between 671 A.D. and 673 A.D.

Muckairn has always been specially associated with S. Maolrubha in the old Lorn traditions. It was here that he had his headquarters when, as is said, he crossed into Perthshire.

Maolrubha's cell was on Eilean-an-t-sagairt in the Lochanan Dubha near the modern farmhouse of 'Kilvaru'. The old people had memories of a small churchyard on this farm.

At the 'iil of Kilmolru,' Campbell of Cawdor<sup>3</sup> received the allegiance of the Clan 'Dunlaves'<sup>4</sup> sworn on the 'Mess buik' and the 'relic callit Arwachyll.'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Spelling in old document.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. J. Campbell MacGregor says that no remains of this church survive.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. *Book of the Thanes of Cawdor*, p. 129.

<sup>4</sup> Livingstones, communicated by Rev. G. D. MacIntosh.

<sup>5</sup> Air a bhacul.

This relic<sup>1</sup> was not the bachul of S. Maolrubha, but the bachul of S. Moluag of Lismore. The Livingstones were its hereditary custodians. The clansman who held it was 'Baron Bhacul,' and it was transmitted from father to son with great care.

#### S. MAOLRUBHA'S SETTLEMENT IN APPLECROSS.

During his wanderings in the territories to the north of Argyll, S. Maolrubha became acquainted with Abercrossan. He selected the strath of the stream anciently called 'Abhainn Crossan' to be the permanent headquarters of his *muinntir*. Here also he planted his chief Church. There is no record of the motives that dictated his choice, but we can clearly see the wisdom of it.

He would be in the midst of a purely Pictish people. The very name *Abercrossan* is a testimony to the length of time that this territory remained Pictish. The little bay is sheltered from the fury of the greater storms that sweep the Minch; and the land is not opened up by any arm of the sea that would have invited the Frisian Vikings,<sup>2</sup> who had already visited the northern coasts. Unfriendly tribes in the interior, and hostile Dalriads in the south, were shut out by the mountains that screen the strath of the Crossan from landsmen everywhere.

The Gaelic-speaking people call the present parish of Applecross 'a' Chomraich,<sup>3</sup> the Sanctuary. In the case of Abercrossan this name was not interpreted as an asylum for refugees seeking a fair trial merely, but as the territory divided off, to belong to S. Maolrubha, and to be under his jurisdiction.<sup>4</sup> We see this especially in the claims made by Ross-shire laymen after the destruction of the Celtic Church to the lands known as

<sup>1</sup>The late Duke of Argyll long envied the Bachul. He used to address Mr. Livingstone of Lismore, the holder of the relic, as 'my lord.' His Grace told a friend of the writer that Livingstone was the oldest peer in the realm, being a Baron of the kingdom of the Scots of Dalriada. The Bachul is now at Inveraray.

<sup>2</sup>The people who martyred Maolrubha are called *Danes* in the Scottish documents.

<sup>3</sup>From a root signifying defence or warding off.

<sup>4</sup>The persistent and peculiar Gaelic idiom for 'in Applecross' testifies to this. It is always 'air a' Chomraich'; see Watson's *Place Names of Ross*, p. 201.

'a' Chomraich Mhaolru.' They supported these claims by professing descent from the great Abbot.

When it is remembered that no Celtic churchman, not even Columcille, has left such a persistent and commanding memory of power and virtue as S. Maolrubha among the Highlanders, Abercrossan deserves to be venerated among the most sacred spots in Scotland. The Vikings made the work of the Celtic missionaries impossible; they checked Celtic civilisation and reduced northern and western Scotland to barbarism; they changed place-names everywhere, and modified the speech of the Celts; but they were unable to obliterate, even where they were most supreme, the memory of the great and earnest man who ministered to half a kingdom from the banks of the Crossan. From his church in the little Strath he carried the Gospel into territories unvisited by other missionaries, or kept the faith alive where it was threatened by new race movements. From Cape Wrath to the Mull of Kintyre, and from the Hebrides to Banffshire the power of his presence and word must have been intensely felt, because they have been intensely remembered.

#### S. MAOLRUBHA'S JOURNEY TO THE ISLANDS.

Probably S. Maolrubha's journey through Skye and across to Lewis was his first missionary effort from Abercrossan. Skye lies over against Abercrossan, separated by a narrow sound. The Saint left very vivid memories in Skye, and the two ferries from the island to Abercrossan still bear his name.<sup>1</sup>

The old settlement at Portree grew up around a church of S. Tarlogan. S. Maolrubha either reorganised this church or planted another. His name is as persistently associated with Portree as S. Tarlogan's.

In the Roman Catholic period S. Maolrubha was still venerated at Portree. The 'Féill Mharui',<sup>2</sup> Maolrubha's festival, used to be regularly celebrated on the first Tuesday of September.

<sup>1</sup> Churches had been planted in Skye by Columba, Donnan, and Donnan's disciple, Tarlogan.

<sup>2</sup> The Féill degenerated into a market latterly. At Portree, as in many other places, the Roman clergy confounded S. Maolrubha with S. Rufus of Capua. The Féill was originally held on S. Rufus day (27th Aug.). The market which took the place of the festival was held for convenience on the first Tuesday of September. Cf. *Aberdeen Prognostication*, 1703.

Another place in Skye connected with S. Maolrubha's landings or leavings is Aiseag, three miles northward from Kyleakin. The older natives called it Aiseag Ma-Rui', Maolrubha's Ferry.<sup>1</sup> Here Maolrubha planted a church. Like the mother-church it had a stretch of 'sacred' territory, only of less extent. The Church<sup>2</sup> and precincts afforded sanctuary to refugees.

Near the old church-site is Tobar Ma-Rui', frequented of old by sick folk, who, to effect a cure, had to reach the well after sunrise and to leave before sunset, but not without depositing an offering.

In the vicinity is the rock, Creag-na-Leabhair—Rock of the Book. The ancient traditions say that here S. Maolrubha used to read the Gospel. On a tree near by he hung a bell, which, the people said, rang-in the Sabbath, and marked the hours of service without any promptings from man. In the Roman period this bell was removed to the church, Cill-Chriosd, in the same district, where it remained dumb ever after.

Another of the saint's churches was Cill-Ma-rui',<sup>3</sup> on the Strath-Aird side of Loch Slapin. Evidently the Vikings found this church flourishing when they settled in the district, because they called the settlement 'Kirkabost.'<sup>4</sup> Cross-marked stones have been found near this church. At Elgol, on the way to one of Prince Charlie's caves, there is an ancient churchyard where other cross-marked stones were found.

Higher up on the west coast of Skye, at the head of Loch Eynort, is a church ruin still called 'Kilmalrui.' Near it is another church of the Roman period, evidently built to take the place of S. Maolrubha's Church at some time after it had become decayed. From this latter Church there is in the Scottish Antiquarian Museum a sculptured font, with a representation of the Crucifixion.<sup>5</sup>

At Sartle, in Trotternish, near Quiraing, is an ancient churchyard where the natives say a Church, founded by S. Maolrubha, stood. Beside it was a healing well, called Tober-an-Dòmhnach, to which people used to resort for cures.

<sup>1</sup> 'Aiseag Maolrubha, Aite iomallach an domhain'—Maolrubha's Ferry, a place on the brink of the world. Compare a saying of similar import, also originally Gaelic, 'Out of the world, into Kippen.'

<sup>2</sup> The church has disappeared, but the churchyard is still used by the people of Strath.

<sup>3</sup> Kilmaree.

<sup>4</sup> Kirktown.

<sup>5</sup> See *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries*, vol. viii. p. 230.

S. Columba and S. Donnan both laboured in Skye. Either their work was undone, or Christianity had deteriorated, because S. Maolrubha's Churches form a chain round the entire island.

The only place in Lewis which has retained the name of Maolrubha is the site of an ancient Church on the Harris side of Loch Seaforth.

#### S. MAOLRUBHA'S EASTWARD JOURNEY.

S. Maolrubha's eastward journey took him along a line approximately represented by the Dingwall and Kyle of Lochalsh railway. He has left no traces about Inverness, so we may assume that he ferried over from the Black Isle to Moray, and pressed eastward as far as Keith. Here is his most easterly Church.

This is nearly as far as S. Donnan travelled on *his* eastward journey. As there was no geographical hindrance to either of these missionary enthusiasts carrying their work as far as the Aberdeenshire coast, we may accept various items of evidence which indicate that there was no religious need for them there. The ancient Celto-Pictish church of Buchan, with its well-established centres at Deer and Turriff, appears to have maintained an organised ministry to the eastward of the Deveron Valley.

The chain of S. Maolrubha's churches stretching eastward from the mother-church is represented by

Lohcarron,  
Contin,  
Urquhart, on the Cromarty Firth,  
Forres,  
Rafford,  
Keith.

Lohcarron<sup>1</sup> village used to be called Clachan Ma-Rui'. The ancient graveyard is called Cladh a' Clachain. Not far from the manse is Suidhe Ma-Rui'.<sup>2</sup> Near the village, on the right bank of the Burn of the Waterfall,<sup>3</sup> are some ruins that mark a place

<sup>1</sup> At Courthill in this parish, beside Cnoc a' mhòid, was S. Donnan's chapel and burial-ground.

<sup>2</sup> As in the case of the Suidhe Donnain in Kildonan, S., preaching, reading the Gospel, delivering judgment, and resting have all been associated in tradition with the *seats* of S. Maolrubha.

<sup>3</sup> The Tao'udal water.

called Teampull—very likely, originally, a Cell of S. Maolrubha, or of a deputy from his *muinntir*. To the westward somewhat, is Alltan an-t-Sagairt, Priest's rivulet.

The occurrence of the Cell ruins called Teampull, and the name *Sagart* at this spot, are interesting, because we will find the same features exactly reproduced far away in Sutherland, where S. Maolrubha was martyred.

Nothing remains of the church which S. Maolrubha founded at Contin.<sup>1</sup> This place used to be a much more important centre than it is now. Near Jamestown there is a consecrated spot called Praes Ma-Rui'—Maolrubha's grove, a burial-place of the Coul family. Féill Ma-Rui' used to be celebrated at Contin before it was transferred to Dingwall.

In the parish of Urquhart, in the Black Isle, there is the site of a well-known Church planted by S. Maolrubha. It is interesting to note that the name Urquhart is compounded of *air* and *Cardden*,<sup>2</sup> meaning 'before the wood,' or simply 'woodside.' Let it also be noted that although Urquhart is geographically in Easter Ross, it was from 1476, and very likely for a considerable time previous, reckoned to be in *Nairn* for administrative purposes.<sup>3</sup> These two facts, as we shall see, evidently helped to mislead the Aberdeen Breviarist<sup>4</sup> when he thought that Urquhart was the place where S. Maolrubha was martyred.

<sup>1</sup> Is Tarvie in Contin = 'place of Bulls,' one of the spots where the people in comparatively recent times sacrificed Bulls to 'Mourie'?

There is an old Ross-shire tradition which says that the Islesmen massacred a hundred men and women of Ross who sought sanctuary in S. Maolrubha's church, Contin.

The *Aberdeen Breviary* says that the people massacred were holding the Saint's festival.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. MacBain and also Mr. Watson.

<sup>3</sup> In 1430 the King confirmed certain lands in Urquhart to Donald, Thane of Cawdor.

In 1476 William, Thane of Cawdor, had the former lands and others granted to him, and incorporated into 'unum et integrum thanagium de Culdor,' with all the liberties and privileges of a barony.

<sup>4</sup> Dr. Reeves says, evidently with the Breviarist in his mind, that it is difficult to avoid believing that he founded on traditions 'comparatively recent and debased.'

It would seem to the writer that more than one hand compiled the part of the *Aberdeen Breviary* which relates to S. Maolrubha.

Internal evidence indicates that one of the scribes had heard the old and accurate traditions about S. Maolrubha's death, but he misinterpreted, misunderstood, and misapplied them.

At Forres S. Maolrubha's Church is forgotten. His festival, however, was celebrated down to recent times under the name of 'Samarive's' fair on the 27th August.<sup>1</sup>

There is an old tradition that the original church of Rafford was founded by S. Maolrubha.

The flourishing town of Keith has remembered S. Maolrubha as the founder of its first Church, but has forgotten the half of its own name. It used to be known as Keth of Ma-Rui', just as we have seen that a place in Skye was Aiseag Ma-Rui'. In a charter of the time of Alexander II. the town is called 'Keth-Mal Ruf.' The festival of the Saint became latterly the Keith market. It was held on the first Tuesday<sup>1</sup> of September under the name of 'Samarive's Fair,' as at Forres.

#### S. MAOLRUBHA'S NORTHERN JOURNEY.

This journey was his last. His churches are :

The chapel on Eilean Ma-rui' in Loch Maree.

An untraceable church about the head of the Easter Carron.

The chapel on Innis Ma-rui' in Loch Shin, Lairg.

The original church of Durness in the north of Sutherland.

The ancient chapel at Farr Parish Church.

The Teampull at Skail in Strathnaver.

Apparently S. Maolrubha first sought to work his way northward by the west coast. His day was kept by Lochbroom people; but no church remains have yet been brought to light in that parish associated with S. Maolrubha. In the parish of Gairloch, on the other hand, he not only had a Church, but was nearly as much venerated as in Abercrossan. Probably the settlements of heathen Vikings on the north-west coast barred S. Maolrubha's way northward.

On his northward journey S. Maolrubha revives the plan which he had adopted in Muckairn. He places two of his churches on islands in inland lakes. This suggests the presence of hostile forces, most likely Vikings who had begun to use the Straths in passing from the east to the west coast.

<sup>1</sup> See the *Aberdeen Prognostication*, 1703. See Dr. Reeves for the date of the Forres festival.

Traces of S. Maolrubha's Gairloch Church on Isle Ma-rui' are still apparent. Near it was a well noted for its virtues. There is also an ancient burial-ground.<sup>1</sup>

The people of the three parishes of Loch Carron, Applecross, and Gairloch appear to have tried the patience of the ministers of the Reformed Church rather severely. They refused to forget Maolrubha in spite of the obliterating influences of the devastating Vikings and turbulent clans. Sometimes, alongside the simple tradition of his work as a religious teacher, we find him represented as a god,<sup>2</sup> sometimes as an undefined hero.

It is interesting and informative that the debasing of Maolrubha's name did not take place at the mother Church of Abercrossan, but at the Church on Isle 'Mourie' in Loch Maree.

In 1656 the Presbytery of Dingwall took proceedings against parishioners of Applecross and Loch Carron for sacrificing bulls<sup>3</sup> at the Loch of 'Mourie' (Maree). These sacrifices were for the 'derilans'<sup>4</sup> of Mourie. 'Derilans'<sup>5</sup> seems to mean the possessed or the afflicted ones.

Within living memory barbarous cruelties were practised on epileptics, and other ailing folk at Loch Maree, followed by certain unrevealed rites at the church of S. Maolrubha on Isle Ma-rui'.

A reliable account<sup>6</sup> has been given of an afflicted girl who was made to drink of the waters of S. Maolrubha's well on Isle Ma-rui' and then immersed in the loch and towed through the water. Instead of being cured the poor girl was made insane. It is regrettable that these barbarities should have been associated with one whose name in other parts of the Highlands is always linked with a benevolent and popular ministry.

When S. Maolrubha turned from the west coast track to the north, he struck north by east. Judging from the ecclesiastical remains, he would take the old track eastwards from

<sup>1</sup>The name among the coast-living people for Loch Maree was Loch Ew. Possibly this preference was due to Scandinavian influences.

Although Timothy Pont uses the name *Ew* in 1662, the Presbytery of Dingwall about the same time use the name *Loch Mourie*.

<sup>2</sup>'The god Mourie.'

<sup>3</sup>For bull sacrifices, cf. *History of Burghead*.

<sup>4</sup>'Mourie his derilans.' See Records of Presbytery of Dingwall, 1656.

<sup>5</sup>Gaelic *dearail*=wretched, feeble; *deàrlan*=brimful.

<sup>6</sup>Contributed to the *Inverness Courier*.

Torrison which joins the Strath-Carron Road at the east of Loch 'Chroisg<sup>1</sup> (Rosque). Two places on this road bore the name Suidhe Ma-Rui'. One was between Torrison and Kinlochewe, the other was close to Loch 'Chroisg. Near the second Suidhe was a cross-marked stone. The general name of the spot is Bad a' Mhanaich—the Monk's Thicket.

From the road between Achnasheen and Dingwall S. Maolrubha probably turned northward at Garve, where there was one of the very old Christian settlements of Ross.<sup>2</sup>

The next traces of the Saint are said to be on the eastern Carron.<sup>3</sup>

Though we cannot tell where precisely S. Maolrubha crossed easter Strath Carron, we know that he must have passed the original church which S. Ninian founded about the mouth of the Carron Valley and out of which the later Abbey of Fearn developed.

Northward across the Oykell S. Maolrubha reached Loch Shin. There on Innis Ma-rui' he planted the first Church of the parish of Lairg.<sup>4</sup>

The road along Loch Shin leads away north-westward to Durness, the parish in which is Cape Wrath. The original Church of this parish was founded by S. Maolrubha. It is said to have been at Bal-na-Chille (Kirktown).

On the island of Hoan, to the west of the mouth of Loch Erribol, in this district, there was an ancient Cell the name of which has been forgotten. The burial-ground is still traceable.

Along the north coast to the eastward at the bottom of Strath Naver, formerly known in English as 'Stra' Nawarn,'<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup>From the existence of the cross-marked stone here this loch was almost certainly originally Loch of the Cross rather than Loch of the Crasg or Crossing. We may be sure that it had its name before the drovers regarded it as a 'crasg' on their way to the Lowlands.

<sup>2</sup>Cill-Fhin at the west end of Loch Garve.

<sup>3</sup>Unless these are about Amad na h-Eglais, now Amat, I cannot discover them.

<sup>4</sup>This is the first place where the writer had his attention drawn to the people speaking of the saint as Ma-rui' or Sagart-ruadh indifferently, while the church has always been S. Ma-rui''s, and the island on Loch Shin, Innis Ma-rui'.

<sup>5</sup>Stra' Nair' or Stra' Na'r<sup>n</sup> in modern native speech. Strath Nawarne, 1427. Straith Navern, v=w, 1499. Stranavern, 1515, and in Bishop Pococke's *Tour* (1760)—Loch Nevern, Strath Nevern, v=w. Lieutenant Campbell's *Survey* (1794)—Loch Navern.

stands the parish Church of Farr. The chapel that preceded the Church was founded by S. Maolrubha.

In the churchyard stands one of the most interesting and beautiful of the sculptured stones of Scotland.

An island that formerly existed between the Clachan burn and the churchyard has long been known as Eilean tigh an t-Sagairt—*island of the house of the Priest*.

About nine miles up Strath Naver (or Nawarn) from Farr stands the last cell that S. Maolrubha occupied. It is called *Teampull*, and this and the other names strikingly suggest S. Maolrubha's other *Teampull* in Loch Carron. The little eminence close by has been called at various times 'Cnoçkan,' 'Cnocan an t-Sagairt,' and 'Cnocan an t-Sagairt-rhuaidh.' There is a thread of water from a spring called 'Alltan an t-Sagairt.'

There is an unique feature in this *Teampull*. Instead of being a simple bee-hive cell, it is a bee-hive cell against the inside wall of an older Pictish building. It was described to the writer by a skilled archaeologist who saw it over thirty years ago, when the cell was more entire, as 'a bee-hive shaped structure inside a rounded building of Early Pictish type.' Both the exterior building and the cell have been greatly tampered with by people looking for handy stones.<sup>1</sup>

In the neighbourhood of the *Teampull* S. Maolrubha was slain by Viking invaders. The old traditions represented the actual spot as being 'at a woodside.' Whether speaking descriptively or using a proper name, this would be represented in Celtic speech by *Uair-Chard*<sup>2</sup> or *Air-Garaidh*<sup>3</sup>—in front of the wood or thicket.<sup>3</sup> Twice, different Strath-Naver men have pointed out the upper end of the wood below Skail as the traditional place where S. Maolrubha was slain.

The following place-names ought to be carefully noted in view of the old traditions (which appear to have been known to the Aberdeen Breviarist) that S. Maolrubha was slain *before a wood*, and his body dragged into the *thickets*.

<sup>1</sup> A story related to the writer by a crofter in 1906 deserves to be recorded. Lord Balfour of Burleigh as Secretary for Scotland visited Skail. He heard of a crofter who was using the *Teampull* as a quarry. He immediately called the nearest crofters together and under threat of instant proceedings cautioned them against lifting a single stone from the Temple.

<sup>2</sup> *Uair Chard* would be the older, and *Air-Garaidh* the later Celtic form.

<sup>3</sup> A cottage site near *Teampull* still perpetuates the name 'Woodhead.'

The district below Teampull was known colloquially before the 'Clearances' as *Air-Garaidh*, the Wood-front. The whole wood was named from one part of it—*Sron air-garaidh*,<sup>1</sup> the Point on the Wood-front. A piece of land some distance below Skail is still known as *Ach air-garaidh*, the field of the Woodfront.

S. Maolrubha was buried close by the side of the beautiful river Naver (or Nair<sup>n</sup>) within a few hundred yards of the Teampull. The grave is marked by a rough cross-marked stone.<sup>2</sup> The Cross is incised and of a simple early type. It stands in significant contrast to the beautiful Cross at the bottom of the Strath, vindicating to the eye of the archaeologist its right to mark S. Maolrubha's resting-place.

In olden times this sacred spot was surrounded by a low wall which has completely disappeared. The struggling crofter reaps his corn up to the edge of the small plot where the venerated Saint sleeps unheeding. The crofter is only the tenant of the surrounding land, but he protects the little spot reverently. The landlord is the richest Government in the world, represented by the Congested Districts Board for Scotland. Some day, perhaps, the British Treasury will enclose the grave of the brave martyr whose long mission was peace, and who was known to his countrymen as 'Maolrubha naemh,' Maolrubha the holy.

#### S. MAOLRUBHA'S DEATH AS RELATED IN SCOTTISH WRITINGS.

The account of S. Maolrubha's death in Scottish writings is mistaken and misleading. Yet, judging from internal evidences, one of the authors of the principal account, in the lessons of the *Breviary* of Aberdeen, appears to have had an accurate knowledge of the main part of the ancient oral traditions concerning the Saint's death and burial.

The simple unvarying ancient tradition which survived the Clearances was that Maolrubha or Sagart Ruaidh, when an old man, was attacked and slain by Scandinavians<sup>3</sup> in 'Nair<sup>n</sup>' or 'Nair<sup>n</sup>,' at a woodside, and buried near where he fell.

<sup>1</sup> *Chard* and *Garaidh* have both the meaning of *thickets*. Cf. Reeves translating the *Aberdeen Breviary* on S. Maolrubha—'dragged his body into the *thickets*.' Cf. Pont's *Stroncherry* in Blaeu's *Atlas*.

<sup>2</sup> The stone has been very much chipped and broken by natives taking pieces as relics or charms.

The writer has seen several such pieces in various hands far away from *Stra' Nair'*.

<sup>3</sup> Or Danes.

The only Roman Catholic writer who correctly understood the locality indicated in that tradition was David Camerarius.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately, by a slip, he notes the tradition not opposite Maolrubha or Sagart Ruadh, but opposite Dunanis (S. Donnan, whose principal church is in the next valley to where Maolrubha suffered. Donnan's parish extends to within a few miles of Maolrubha's grave). The entry of Camerarius is 'July 19, 670.<sup>2</sup> Coelo ipsum dedit Strath Navernia<sup>3</sup> Scotiae provincia sub Christi annum 670.'<sup>4</sup> We can easily see that it is S. Maolrubha's entry and not S. Donnan's that Camerarius is making, because in parts of Ross and Sutherland S. Maolrubha was celebrated towards the end of July, as suited local convenience.<sup>5</sup> The Bollandists, who were advised by a native of Ross, enter the Saint opposite the 27th of July, but notice him under the 27th August for his works.

That the writer already referred to in the *Breviary* of Aberdeen also knew the simple ancient tradition, although his geographical limitations led him astray, is evident, because he fixes on Urquhart<sup>6</sup> (= Woodside) as the place of the Saint's death. Although Urquhart is in Easter Ross geographically, it was under the jurisdiction of *Nairn* of Moray, and had the appearance of being in harmony with the tradition. The Breviarist overlooked the fact that Urquhart of Ross did not fall into Nairn until the fourteenth or fifteenth century, whereas S. Maolrubha suffered in 722, before there was a county of Nairn.

The *Breviary* tells also that a wooden chapel was erected where S. Maolrubha was slain, and that his body was carried to Applecross for burial.

<sup>1</sup> *De Scotorum Fortitudine, Doctrina, et Pietate*, 1631.

<sup>2</sup> S. Donnan's day is 17th April (617).

<sup>3</sup> V = w.

<sup>4</sup> 670 is an error. It was not the year of Maolrubha's death, but the year quoted roughly for his birth, which took place in 671.

<sup>5</sup> S. Finbarr's festival was changed twice—once by an Earl of Sutherland, again by the Scottish Parliament. It was put a whole month out.

<sup>6</sup> The Breviarist was not aware that there is strong evidence that Urquhart was not a place-name in E. Ross when S. Maolrubha was slain.

It seems to be an imported name. The accounts say that the parish and place took its name from one of the Urquharts who settled in E. Ross from Loch-Ness side.

The Urquharts themselves claim to be descended from the keeper of Urquhart Castle on Loch-Ness. This keeper, Conachar by name, did not flourish until the end of the twelfth century. Cf. *Urquhart and Glenmoriston*, by William Mackay, of Inverness, p. 11.

Wm. Urquhart, of Cromartie, is mentioned as sheriff of that county in the lists ordered by Edward I.

Memorial chapels were not the early Celtic practice. In S. Maolrubha's day the primitive dry-stone Teampull rather than a wooden erection was the fashion in the Highlands.

There has long been a fanciful story to explain the different 'Seats' of S. Maolrubha. It was said that his body was rested at these several places on the way to Applecross. The 'Seats' are so situated that they do not suit this story. Doubtless the Saint's body did rest upon them, but not his corpse.

Partly through following the *Breviary*, and partly through a misinterpretation of *Cladh Ma-Rui*, the story that S. Maolrubha was buried at Applecross has been widely believed by those who were ignorant of his grave in Na<sup>r</sup><sup>n</sup> of Sutherland.

We may see the misinterpretation taking form in the twentieth century. An inquirer goes to a native and asks, 'What do you call this churchyard in Gaelic?' The native answers 'Cladh<sup>1</sup> Ma-Rui.' 'What is "Cladh?"' asks the inquirer. 'A digging, a grave, a burial-place,' responds the native. 'O yes, burial-place of Maolrubha,' and the inquirer goes away satisfied. Next time we hear of this inquirer is in print, where he asserts that the natives say that S. Maolrubha is *buried* at Applecross, and that he has stood at the place where he is interred.

One wonders how often this misconstruction has been put upon the speech of the native during the centuries that have gone. It must have happened very frequently, because we find similar wrong ideas about the burial-places of SS. Donnan, Ronan, Moluoc, and others.

'Cladh Ma Rui' is the burying-place by the church originally 'blessed' by S. Maolrubha, not the place where S. Maolrubha is interred.

The tradition that the pagan Vikings<sup>2</sup> who martyred S. Maolrubha 'landed in the East of Ross' affects in no way the account of the Saint's death in Strath-Na<sup>r</sup><sup>n</sup>. We cannot interpret mediaeval ideas of the North by a modern map of Scotland. 'Ross' was a vague term used until comparatively

<sup>1</sup> Cladh = churchyard. Early Irish, a trench.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Reeves takes serious objection to the story of a Danish inroad in East Ross so early as 722, because the first Danish invasion of England is dated 787.

But the Scandinavians and later Danes were not the only Vikings who invaded and even settled in the north and east of Scotland.

The archaeologist finds traces of Frisians who invaded the north of Scotland long before the end of the eighth century.

S. Donnan was martyred by Vikings in 617.

See also the expeditions to the north recorded by Nennius.

recent times to include every district north of Moray that was not in Caithness. Sutherland was the south land of the Catti, and ecclesiastically it was reckoned in Caithness. It was not the territory we now see on a modern map, but the strip of coast from Helmsdale to Dornoch, with a very narrow hinterland. The territories behind had often more communion with Ross proper than any other district. One old writer speaks of 'Roosia' as being on the south and the 'Orchades' to the east of 'Cathania,' as if Ross marched with Caithness. On this idea Stra'-Nair<sup>n</sup> would lie on the eastern side of Ross.

We have already noticed that the *Aberdeen Breviary* confounds S. Maolrubha with S. Rufus of Capua.

Adam King in his *Kalendar*, probably by a personal slip, or a scribe's error, enters S. Maolrubha as martyred 'be ye daneis at Marne in Scot.'

Thomas Dempster in the *Menelogium*<sup>1</sup> enters—'Julius xxvii.<sup>2</sup> Marnae Malrubi Eremitae et Martyris a Danis interfecti.' In adopting Adam King's error, Dempster was probably misled by the popularity of S. Rufus, the historical double of S. Maolrubha in the Mearns district, to which he belonged.

Bishop Keith,<sup>3</sup> who also belonged to the Mearns, but who, from his knowledge of Scotland generally could hardly help knowing the original tradition about S. Maolrubha, realised that Adam King had made a mistake, and corrected Marne to *Nairn*.

The Bollandists,<sup>4</sup> who had the great advantage of a competent native correspondent and inquirer, were seemingly so unconvinced (as well they might be) that S. Maolrubha had suffered in Nairn of Moray, or in the outlying portion of Nairn, where Urquhart of Ross lies, that in despair they left the place of his martyrdom as it had been entered in Adam King's *Kalendar*, interpreting it as 'Marnia or Mernis.'

#### THE IRISH RECORDS AND S. MAOLRUBHA'S DEATH.

Tighernac<sup>5</sup> records the Saint's death as follows: 'Maelruba in Apercrossan, anno lxxx etatis suae et tribus mensibus et xix

<sup>1</sup> 1622.

<sup>2</sup> The customary date was exactly a month later, but doubtless Dempster adopted the date on which S. Rufus was celebrated in Forfar and the Mearns.

<sup>3</sup> *Account of the First Planting of Christianity in Scotland* (1755).

<sup>4</sup> *Acta Sanctorum*, Aug. tom. vi. pp. 131, 132. . . . 'narravit mihi P. Macra noster eis in oris missionarius et amicus meus.'

<sup>5</sup> *Tighernac and Annals of Ulster, Four Masters, 732.*

diebus peractis in xi Kal. Maii tertie ferie die pausat.' His death took place in the year 722 A.D.

Dr. Reeves was much troubled to find in the Irish writings an account so exact as to time, without mention of any of the details of the Saint's death familiar to the Scottish writers.

When we try to picture eighth century communication between Teampull in Stra' Na'r<sup>n</sup> and Abercrossan, and again between Abercrossan and Ireland, we can quite realise that the Annalists at first might only hear the bare fact of the Saint's death, and may have waited for details that never came; or, if they came, were never recorded.

We can see that either might well have resulted when we recall that Failbe, son of Guaire, successor of S. Maolrubha, was drowned in the open sea in 737 with twenty-two of his sailors. With Failbe and his people a store of information would certainly be lost.

Then, at a later date, Abercrossan itself was plundered by Vikings, who perished with their booty 'in a calm sea.'<sup>1</sup> This booty would in all likelihood include the records.

Again, for some unexplained reason, the annals of the mother-church of Benchar were not available to several of the Irish writers; because the scribe of *Tamlacht*, the annotator in the *Kalendar* of Gorman, the O'Clerys in the *Kalendar* of Donegal, and the *Four Masters* all describe the Saint as Ab of Benchar.

It is only fair to the Irish Annalists to note that S. Maolrubha died after fifty-one years of tireless, isolated work in the remotest part of distant Alba. He must have outlived many of his contemporaries, and some must have forgotten the exact story of his younger days. He appears never to have revisited Ireland; although he kept up correspondence with the mother-church of Bangor.

There is a tradition in Ireland of the great love that he had for Subtan, his mother. Under the 21st April in the *Felire of Aengus* we have:

'Inalpain conglaine,  
Jarlcud cechsuba,  
Luid uainn conamathair  
Armbrathair Maelruba.'

In Alba in shining purity,<sup>2</sup>  
Having relinquished all happiness,<sup>3</sup>  
Went from us to<sup>4</sup> his mother,  
Our brother Maelruba.

<sup>1</sup> *Breviary* of Aberdeen.

<sup>2</sup> Pure, with the idea of brightness. Cf. *γενεiv* and *clean* all from the same root.

<sup>3</sup> Suba = joy

<sup>4</sup> Or *to be with*.

## S. MAOLRUBHA IN MODERN LIFE.

It will seem like importing the prose of political experimenting into the region of Christian romance and heroism, to mention the Congested Districts Board of Scotland along with S. Maolrubha.

Yet there were many people of respectable twentieth century education who feared that in their efforts to re-people Strath Naver (Stra' Na<sup>r</sup><sup>n</sup>) the Congested Districts Board would be the indirect agent in evicting S. Maolrubha from his grave at Skail (Teampull).

The fear arose in this way. It appears that S. Maolrubha, while he preached in the valley, prophesied that the time would come when the clansmen would be driven out of the valley as a punishment for their sins, and would not be allowed to return until his bones were washed to the sea, from their resting-place by the cross-marked stone.

The people have treasured this prophecy, and it has added great interest to the grave of the Saint. Every Highlander knows, of course, how the first part of the prophecy was fulfilled in the beginning of the nineteenth century.

After the 'Clearances' the River Naver (Na<sup>r</sup><sup>n</sup>) cut into its left bank above S. Maolrubha's grave and threatened to wash the sacred dust to the sea.

A sheep farmer who held the best of the land from which the people had been driven away, took alarm. He did not want the people to come back, to reoccupy the cleared ground where his sheep wandered; so he constructed a substantial outwork of stones and brushwood, and turned the current of the Naver to a more auspicious direction.

The upper part of the Strath has been re-peopled within recent years, but the river still leaves Sagart Ruadh's bones in peace.

The bard of the Mackay country voices the unsatisfied, who would like to see the Saint's bones in the ocean.

'Then sweep, Naver! sweep, for the dark clouds are hovering,  
 Towering in masses on corrie and steep,  
 Tear the Red Priest from his fern-shadowed covering  
 And bear him away to the sonorous deep.

Then softly shall stream the red beams of the sunset  
 Over Strath Naver when peopled again,  
 And the glory of peace for poor hearts shall be won yet,  
 And they who are sad shall yet sing love's refrain.

And the blue smoke shall curl yet from many a dwelling,  
 And love shall go wandering beneath the green trees,  
 And happiness float on the breezes soft swelling  
 From the low wooded hills to the storm-circled seas.<sup>1</sup>

One other curious reminiscence of S. Maolrubha has been preserved. Just as we have seen the Ross-shire lairds claiming connection with S. Maolrubha, through an alleged daughter, for the sake of the church lands of Abercrossan, so we find in Durness and Farr a family who claimed connection with S. Maolrubha through an alleged son. This family bore the name of *Reid*,<sup>2</sup> which was a translation, under Scandinavian influence, of their ancient name of Rubha or Ruadh.

The Reids appear to have owned property that at one time had been ecclesiastical; but they not only used their alleged descent from S. Maolrubha to infest themselves in the property, but also to justify them in holding a *spiritual* ascendancy over the people. They were laymen, but they claimed the right to some sort of ministry. They seem to have anticipated 'the Men.'

So troublesome were they to the regular clergy in the Roman Catholic period that the Bishop of the diocese had to come to terms with them, and on one occasion one of them was ordained to a regular charge. The descendants of these Reids were scattered after the 'Clearances,' and some of them are to be found in the various colonies of the Empire, and some of them in the great cities at home.

The writer does not believe in the claims, either of the Rosses, the MacKenzies, the Reids, or the MacDonalds to be connected by blood with S. Maolrubha, but these claims are interesting to the historian and the archaeologist, and deserve to be recorded.

ARCHIBALD B. SCOTT.

<sup>1</sup> These verses were taken from an interesting little work on Lairg, where they were quoted by the author, the Rev. D. Macrae, B.D. The verses are by 'Bard Dutach Mhic Aoidh.'

<sup>2</sup> My attention was drawn to the story of the Reids by the Rev. J. K. MacLean, Lairg, who was minister of Farr, a parish which was of old in Durness, and which now contains Strath Naver, where S. Maolrubha was slain, and where he lies buried.

## Chronicle of Lanercost<sup>1</sup>

AFTER so evil a fate as the death of their king, the magnates of the realm of Scotland, adopting sound counsel for themselves, elected from the prelates A.D. 1285. as well as the nobles, Guardians of the Peace for the community, until such time as it should be made clear by deliberation what person should be accepted for such rule. They governed the country for six years, transacting the affairs of the people, and, before all, of the Lady Queen, widow of Alexander, assigning a portion as her terce. But she, resorting to feminine craft, was pretending to be pregnant, in order to cause patriots to postpone their decision, and that she might more readily attract popularity to herself. But just as a woman's cunning always turns out wretchedly in the end, so she disquieted the land with her pretences from the day of the King's death till the feast of the Purification,<sup>2</sup> nor would she admit respectable matrons to examine her condition; [and], in order that she might return ignominy upon those from whom she had received reverence and honour, she determined to deceive the nation for ever by foisting on herself the child of another. She caused a new font to be made of white marble, and she contrived to have the son of a play-actor to be brought [to her] so that it might pass for hers; and when as many as collected to dance by license [in honour of] so important an accouchement had come to Stirling (the place where the aforesaid lady was staying) at the time for her to be brought to bed (which she herself had arranged beforehand), her fraud was detected and revealed by the sagacity of William of Buchan, to the confusion of all present, and to all those willing to trust

<sup>1</sup> See *Scottish Historical Review*, vi. 13, 174.

<sup>2</sup> 2nd February.

\* \* *Erratum.* Stanehouse, referred to *S.H.R.* vi. 186, was not, as suggested in the footnote, Stonehouse in Lanarkshire, but Stenhouse in Larbert Parish, Stirlingshire.

her who heard of it afterwards.<sup>1</sup> Thus did she, who was first attracted from over the sea only by the prospect of wealth and was united to the King in marriage, depart from the country with shame. That I have said so much about the fidelity of women is my reason for adding another instance in a different matter.

Four years before this time there befel something else which, out of reverence for God's name and worship, must not be concealed. Certain scholars, residing at Oxford for the purpose of study, yielded themselves to sleep one of these days after supper. One of them, less careful about his comfort than the rest, but as merry and lively as the rest, went to his usual bed in some upper chamber. About midnight his companions were alarmed to hear him shouting, striking and gnashing his teeth, and roused their fellow-lodgers. Hastening to his bedside they found the man speechless, behaving as if on the point of death; but, which is very wonderful, his whole body presented such a horrible appearance that you would have believed him to be a filthy Ethiopian rather than a Christian. And so, as all of them thought that his peril was urgent, one of them of more fervid faith than the others, exclaimed: 'Let one of us begin the holy gospel of God according to John, and I hope it will relieve the sick man.' Whereupon the others, stimulated by faith, began to recite the holy gospel in parts, because they did not know the whole of it; and lo! the evil spirit having gone out of him, in the hearing of them all, shook to the ground the great stone stair which led to the door of the chamber, leaving after his exit such a stench that they almost thought they would be suffocated. The sick man, however, restored to life by the sound of the holy words, shortly afterwards returned from the sooty appearance to his natural looks. This was related by a trustworthy person who was among them, and saw, heard and noted [the occurrence], and first of all pronounced [the words of] the gospel.

In the same year, on the sixth day of the week before the nativity of S. John the Baptist,<sup>2</sup> there occurred at Bywell, near Newcastle, something which ought to be remembered. There was in that place a married man, steward to the Lady of *Vallnor*, who under cover of his office had acquired many things dishonestly, and enriched himself from the property of others. Arriving at the close of life, he was advised by a

<sup>1</sup> For *confodere* in Stevenson's text read *confidere*.

<sup>2</sup> 19th June.

priest that, among other things to be settled by the dying man, he should provide out of his property for the redemption of his soul. The one firmly insisted upon this, and the other on the contrary denied it, besides swearing falsely that he had nothing to make a will about, and could scarcely be persuaded to bestow sparingly part of each of his different kinds of property, saying: 'Whatever is over I commend to Satan.' After the close of his life, while his body was being carried to the church, and the funeral feast was being made ready in the house for the neighbours by the son and the servants, suddenly fire burst out from his house, which was towards the western part of the town, and consumed the whole buildings on either side of the street, following the body towards the east so swiftly that the mass to be celebrated for him could scarcely be fully performed, nor could the wretched corpse be committed to the grave with the proper rites. Nay, but the devouring flame even consumed two large and beautiful parish churches, all their contents being burnt, one [being] S. Peter's, where he [the dead man] was committed to the earth, the other, S. Andrew's. And inasmuch as the wind had increased in violence, a ball of fire crossed the adjacent river and reduced to ashes two villages distant half a league. These facts were known to the whole country, and to myself also, who shortly afterwards beheld the traces of conflagration, and was instructed very fully about the event by the inhabitants.<sup>1</sup>

About the same time, or a little before, it happened in Lunedale, in the diocese of York, that a certain widower, who was called Clerk of the Chapter, was accused, and falsely, by a certain woman, of having plighted troth<sup>2</sup> with her in youth upon oath, as she pretended. The clerk, however, being summoned, denied it altogether, although freely confessing that when he was young and lustful he had committed common fornication with her. But he was deemed by all his acquaintances so worthy of credit that he could by no means assent to the falsehood. Therefore a day was assigned for the woman to prove her charge; while the Episcopal judge, as well as the Dean and the rest, urged the clerk not to conceal

<sup>1</sup> Bywell, on the North Tyne, consists of two parishes, Bywell-St. Andrew's and Bywell-St. Peter's, the churches being close together and locally known as the White church and the Black church respectively.

<sup>2</sup> *Praestita*.

the truth from them, and they themselves would provide means of escaping [the consequences]. He, on the contrary, became ever more immoveable, declaring and swearing that the affair was not otherwise [than he had stated]. At last, after many precautions and delays, the woman was brought up with the witnesses for her, and the duties of episcopal judge in this part of Lancashire were committed to a certain rural vicar who had formerly been Dean. And because he hesitated to accept the oath offered, believing it to be an afterthought, he publicly requested all present that they would unite in repeating before God the Lord's Prayer, so that He should grant them on that day that they should not proceed with an unjust cause. At this moment the woman, kneeling down, stretched out her hand to the book, when suddenly she fell upon the bosom of the said vicar, as if composing herself to sleep. But the vicar, thinking that she was trying to cajole him by such wanton behaviour (for she was beautifully adorned), said: 'Get up! why do you lie down thus? Finish what you have begun.' But when she gave no sign of feeling or movement, he raised her in his hands, and showed to all [present] that she was dead. He who told me this had it from the lips of the vicar who held the chapter.

In this year the Welsh again brought upon themselves misfortune, provoking afresh a royal expedition against themselves; and David himself, author of the mischief, was taken and slain (as you will find in the ninth chapter).<sup>1</sup>

At this time on the vigil of S. John the Baptist,<sup>2</sup> William of Wykeham, Archbishop of York, came to Durham for a visitation, where he suffered an undignified repulse, not only from the monks but from the laity also, so that he thought he must appeal to arms. Which insult God beheld from on high, and, albeit he is slow to vengeance, yet he afterwards vindicated [himself] through Antony,<sup>3</sup> who afterwards visited them severely enough.

In the same year, on All Souls Day, the body of Thomas, first Lord of Multon, was moved.<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See page 180 *antea*.

<sup>2</sup> 23rd June.

<sup>3</sup> Antony Bek, Bishop of Durham.

<sup>4</sup> *Translatum. Corpus domini Thomæ de Multona primi.* The title *dominus* is ambiguous; sometimes it means a feudal lord, sometimes, merely an honorary prefix to a cleric's name.

In the same year John Peckham, Archbishop of Canterbury, attacked vigorously the preaching friars<sup>1</sup> upon the unity of form.

At the octave of the Epiphany,<sup>2</sup> Antony Bek, King's Clerk, was consecrated Bishop of Durham in presence of my lord the King and the Queen and almost all the nobility A.D. 1286. of the land, not without great searching<sup>3</sup> of conscience as to what kind [of person] should be appointed Christ's vicar and suffragan of His church.

On the following day, with the utmost rejoicing, they translated the relics of Archbishop S. William<sup>4</sup> enclosed in a costly shrine, who when living was profligate for a time, but turned himself resolutely to righteousness.

About the same time, as he himself informed me, there lived at Rome a certain Minorite Friar of English birth, who, in travelling round the places of the saints, arrived one day after dinner at a house of virgins consecrated to God, erected in honour of S. Agnes. After he had inspected the church thereof, he found an old cardinal sitting with his [clergy] behind the high altar; who, the boards fixed to the back of the altar having been removed, was contemplating, for the strengthening of his faith, the body of the martyr without a taint of corruption consecrated to God; because this [cardinal] was perfectly faithful to God. When he had bedewed his face plentifully with tears, he uncovered the virgin [martyr's] countenance, which was hidden under a black veil, and beheld, with all [the others], the youthful features as it were of one sleeping, showing no hollows except at the point of the nose, and also the shoulders and fingers as flexible as they may be seen in a man lately dead and not long passed away. In addition, the arms and the body, which was not larger than that of a girl of twelve years old, were clothed with a tunic of some unknown white material, so fine [in texture] that none who beheld it could doubt that it was the raiment brought to her from heaven by angels.<sup>5</sup> But if any one should be at the pains to collect the records of early times, he will find that

<sup>1</sup> *Prædicaciter* in Stevenson's text is probably a misreading for *prædicatores*. Peckham supported the doctrine of unity of form of Christ's body in the Eucharist, and was actively promulgating it at this time.

<sup>2</sup> 13th January.

<sup>3</sup> *Singultus*.

<sup>4</sup> William Fitzherbert, Archbishop of York, d. 1154, canonised in 1227.

<sup>5</sup> The reference is to the miraculous robe which was brought to Agnes by angels when she was exposed naked in a brothel.

there were then completed one thousand years from the time of her martyrdom. These things therefore I have described in order that the reader may note by what a distance God separates the incorruptible sons of corruption from the sons of iniquity.

In the same year John Romanus returned consecrated by the Roman court.<sup>1</sup>

In the same year King Edward of England sailed across to Gascony.

Nicholas the Fourth was created Pope after Honorius, and sat for four years, one month and twenty days. He A.D. 1287. was formerly called Jerome, being a Minorite Friar and Minister General of the Order, [and] Cardinal of La Sabina. As Head of the Church he displayed such humility as to discharge the guards<sup>2</sup> which his predecessors had for the protection of their persons, and caused jesters' bladders to be carried before him. So sincere a friend also was he of poverty that he entirely abandoned the suits of wealthy persons to his colleagues, and specially reserved for himself the suits of the poor. He granted privileges very seldom, and even these were insignificant; but he was most earnest in raising funds for an expedition to the Holy Land, wherefore he decreed that a sexennial tithe should be collected in every parish church for that purpose.

Because of the fame of this [Pope's] justice, the aforesaid Lord Archbishop of York hastened to his Court to lay before him the case of his church, and on the journey was struck down by fever at *Pountenei* and died, feeling that the thing in his life which he chiefly regretted was that he had received and consecrated an unworthy [Prior of] Durham.<sup>3</sup> It is affirmed by very many persons that the truth of his life manifests itself in miracles at the place where he lies, and it is said to possess special benefit for fever patients.

My lady Eleanor, mother Queen of England, now, for Christ's sake, despised the withering flower of this world wherein she had formerly delighted, and on the feast of the Assumption<sup>4</sup> was made a nun at Amesbury, where she had already dedicated

<sup>1</sup> As Archbishop of York, 1285.

<sup>2</sup> *Clavarios.*

<sup>3</sup> Alluding to his controversy with Antony Bek over the subjection of Durham to the see of York

<sup>4</sup> 15th August.

her own daughter to God. For love of her my lord the King, her son, increased the wealth of that house with large rents.

In the same year Risamaraduc, one of the most noble men of Wales, began hostilities against royalists, and especially the English. Wherefore my lord the King of England expended 15,050 pounds of silver upon infantry alone, besides the expenses of the nobles. He [Risamaraduc] was ultimately captured and drawn at York.

At this time the wall of Castle Droslan fell and crushed Sir William de Michens and the Baron of Stafford.

In the same year a certain esquire named Robert Chamberlain,<sup>1</sup> with his accomplices, set on fire the booths of tradesmen at S. Botulph's,<sup>2</sup> and, as the fire spread, he burnt down a great part of the town and the church of the Preaching Friars; and while the tradesmen exerted themselves to put out the fire so as to save their goods, they were slain by the said esquire and his people, and their goods were plundered.

There was such abundance of crops in England this year that a quarter of wheat was sold in some places for twenty pence, in others for sixteen and [in others] for twelve.

In the same year the Carmelite Friars changed their habit at Lincoln on the day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross.<sup>3</sup>

Sir John de Vesci died and was buried at Alnwick.

In the same year there abode with us William Greenrig, who used to eat neither flesh nor fish; about whom H. said:

'You may not seek the monkish dress to wear,  
Who cannot feed yourself on common fare?'<sup>4</sup>

Also about a certain malefactor, H.:

'For the sinner who fears not the keys of St. Peter,  
Than death at the stake what reward can be meeter?'<sup>5</sup>

On the vigil of the Lord's Ascension<sup>6</sup> the church of Gisburn in Cleveland was burnt by an unfortunate accident. For the plumber to whom was committed the duty of A.D. 1288. repairing the roof of the church had been employed in making

<sup>1</sup> Or Chambers, sc. *Camerarius*.

<sup>2</sup> Boston.

<sup>3</sup> 14th September.

<sup>4</sup> *Vivere sub veste non quaeras canonicali,  
Commune more qui nequis, hortor, ali.*

<sup>5</sup> *Qui se dant scelerei, claves Petrique vereri  
Nolunt, terreri debent de morte rogi.*

In these couplets H.'s prosody is even more shaky than usual, at least according to classical standards.

<sup>6</sup> 5th May.

good some defects about the bell tower. He had carelessly put a fire which he had for heating his tools near the timbers of the church, and when he went down to the lower buildings of the monastery had taken no heed to the danger. As the monks, having performed their solemn litanies, were returning through the fields and houses, fire broke out suddenly in the upper part of the tower, and as there was no remedy at hand, only a few valuables were got out and many thousand marks' worth was burnt.

There happened also something else to enhance the honour of S. Francis, which at that time had not become sufficiently well-known to the northern part of the English province.<sup>1</sup> A certain burgess in the town of Newcastle, who is alive at this day, Alexander Furbur [by name], contracted such a severe hot dropsy that he was given up by the physicians, and, from the swelling of his body, presented the appearance of a great tun, while his legs were beyond the compass of any leggings. This man, constrained between dread of praying and love of his children,<sup>2</sup> being ill-prepared to meet death, brought himself round to seek God's pardon and the help of the saints. By advice of his friends he caused himself to be measured<sup>3</sup> with various saints upon whose assistance his hope more fully relied. And whereas he felt relief from the power of none of them, he made a vow to S. Francis that he would personally visit his tomb, if through his help he should recover the health he desired. In that very moment, therefore, he was affected by a flow of water so continuous that it never ceased running for the rest of that day and the whole of the following night, so that it sufficed to fill a very large tub. Hence the skin of his body became so loose through loss of flesh that, to the neighbours who gathered to view him he would stretch out his skin like a garment, and it seemed as if he could make himself leggings about his shins out of his own hide. Having thus recovered some degree of strength, straightway he set out upon

<sup>1</sup> Of Franciscans. The 'English province' was early divided into two parts, one being Scotland, the other England.—*Monumenta Franciscana* R.S. i. 32-3.

<sup>2</sup> *Inter timorem precaminum et amorem pignorum.*

<sup>3</sup> *Mensurari*: a common form of invoking a saint's help. A string with which the saint's body had been measured was passed round the forehead of the sick person (see Camden Society's *Rishanger*, p. 152). Other explanation occurs in a late edition of Ducange, to the effect that a candle of the height of the sick person was placed in the saint's shrine.

a journey piously to fulfil his vow, and shewed forth the praises of God's saint in presence of many persons, returning home happy and healthy, having many witnesses, including myself, to this event.

On the other hand, I will relate something that may instruct posterity how great is the difference between God's service and worldly vanity. There lived at that time in the diocese of Glasgow a young cleric, strong and handsome, and beneficed out of the patrimony of Christ; but, as is to be deplored, more concerned in mind about getting into the company of rich men than about the cure of souls. He who neglects his own [soul], despises or vilifies that of another. And so this vain man, called Adam Urri, learned as a layman in lay law and disregarding God's precepts against Ulpian's *Prætorialia*,<sup>1</sup> used to employ the laws for litigation, lawsuits for quibbling, the statutes of the Emperors for pecuniary gain. But when he had become advanced in years and had become notorious for his villainy, and was endeavouring to involve the affairs of a certain poor widow in his toils, the divine mercy arrested him, chastising his body with a sudden infirmity and enlightening his mind so that he should discern more of hidden things and discourse of another life. For, lying in bed for four days and having made confession, he altered his intention of wronging the widow, foretold the day of his death, vehemently condemned the court of pleaders, and ordered his servant to come quickly to him, adding that just as he himself would go first on the Saturday, so he [the servant] would follow next Monday, just as the event turned out in the end.

At that time King Edward was staying in Gascony, and on a certain day when he and the queen, having met together in a chamber, were sitting conversing upon a couch, a flash of lightning entered a window behind them, and, passing between them, killed two domestics who were standing in their presence, they themselves remaining wholly unhurt. All the rest who were present were amazed on beholding what had happened, discerning that a miracle had not been wanting for the royal safety.

At this time on the fourteenth of the kalends of August,<sup>2</sup> Brother N. de Mor received the canonical habit. The Dominical letter was then C.

In the same year many of those who burnt Botelstane<sup>3</sup> were hanged.

<sup>1</sup> Roman law.

<sup>2</sup> 19th July.

<sup>3</sup> Boston.

The King of England returned from the lands of Gascony, whether he had gone to put down the sedition among  
 A.D. 1289. the people of Bordeaux. For, having received there an embassy from Scotland urgently beseeching him that he would deign to assist them in their leaderless condition, and that he would take charge of their realm until they should succeed in getting a prince regularly elected, he set out with them to his native land, where he soon heard grave complaints about the corruption of the justiciaries of the province, who, in the king's absence, and blinded by bribes, had betrayed the justice of their country. Moreover, there were in collusion with them,<sup>1</sup> enfeoffed knights or beneficed clergy, whose misdeeds, when detected, brought much treasure into the royal store, that the Solomon's precept should be observed, who says in the twenty-second of Proverbs: 'He who oppresseth the poor to increase his own wealth, shall himself give to a richer man and come to want.' Those, then, that are greedy of fame and rob the poor, when they are adjudged punishment for the deeds they have done, lose also what they appeared justly to possess. This happened manifestly to these [persons], although I am unable to state the fine [inflicted upon] all of them, yet I know that one of them, a rector of Holy Church, paid to the king upwards of thirty pieces<sup>2</sup> of silver and as many carucates of land.

Concerning the Jews, I will relate an instance of their injustice occurring at this time, which may be of no small service to posterity against the crime of perjury and fraud.<sup>3</sup> In upper Lindsey, then, there is a priory, in the place called Marchby, occupying long and broad pastures for feeding stock, not altogether by exclusive right, but sharing with their neighbours a common liberty by gift of the patrons. But whereas avarice, [which is] in the minds of all men of the present day, endeavours to make all common [lands] private property, the aforesaid monastery brought an action in London to the prejudice of all their neighbours, the suit having been suborned and the judges bribed. But as they [the commoners] defended their cause at great legal expense, the matter was at length submitted to the

<sup>1</sup> Or 'frequently'; *communiter*.

<sup>2</sup> *Bigatus* is a synonym for the Roman *denarius* = 8½*d.*; but the term *bigatus* evidently represents a far larger amount here.

<sup>3</sup> *Pervasionis*.

verdict of twelve. But they [the jury] casting aside all reverence for God and the truth, and perpetrating fraud for the sake of favour, adjudged the ground to be freehold of the said monastery, and they [the monks] caused a great part of the land to be ploughed in token of seisin. But, on the other hand, God did not allow His name to be usurped with impunity, and he sowed the furrows of unrighteousness with the infamy of the act. For the twelve jurymen began to be steadily, but gradually, removed from the world, and ever as they were removed they were submitted to a terrible yoke. For during about two years afterwards there appeared in that country a fiery plough, glowing like hot brass, having a most foul fiend as driver, who drove the dead men, harnessed in that manner, to the ground where he had incited them to guile when living. Many persons beheld these wretches clearly, committed to the plough like oxen, always at the hour of noon, and this, I imagine, was done because it is at such an hour men most assiduously press litigation<sup>1</sup> before the judges. Those coming to behold the spectacle were warned to be careful for their safety; nor did they know<sup>2</sup> for whom were reserved those yokes which they perceived to be empty. Howbeit, after these years Alan of Hotoft, the spiritual advocate of the said prior in this suit, and the contriver of the fraud which it is not expedient to explain in detail, was seen plainly before [men's] eyes after his death driving and guiding the said plough; and repeatedly addressing many of them, he explained to them the reason for that punishment, and implored urgently that the judgment which had been pronounced might be revoked, if in compassion they proposed to mitigate the punishment of these [persons]. Although all this was made public throughout the province, yet was I unwilling to believe it easily, until I heard particulars of the truth from the lips of a certain nobleman, who lived not more than three miles from the place in question.

<sup>1</sup> *Prætoria negotia.*

<sup>2</sup> *Innotescabant.*

(*To be continued.*)

## Reviews of Books

SCOTTISH ANNALS FROM ENGLISH CHRONICLERS. A.D. 500 TO 1286.  
By Alan O. Anderson, M.A. Edinb. Pp. xiii, 403. 8vo. London :  
David Nutt. 1908. 10s. 6d. nett.

HOWEVER we may regard the fact, it is not to be forgotten that our national history till the close of the thirteenth century would be all but a blank page but for the existence of extraneous sources. It is to Tacitus and other Roman writers that we owe such information as we possess regarding the beginnings of Scotland as a separate territory on the world's map. It is from Adamnan and the Irish annalists that we know of the process by which the different peoples in North Britain became united under a single ruler. To these foreign sources must be added another, without which the history of Scotland from the reign of Malcolm Canmore till the death of Alexander III. in 1286 could hardly be written. It is in the incidental references of English chroniclers to the northern kingdom that we have the fullest account of the most important Scottish events of that period ; and it is only with the general aid of these chroniclers that a continuous narrative is possible. We have but to glance at the authorities for the period quoted by such writers as E. W. Robertson, Skene, and Lord Hailes in his *Annals of Scotland* to realise the extent of their debt to these English sources.

In view of these facts Mr. Anderson's book can hardly fail to be received as one of the most important contributions that have been made to Scottish history during recent years. For the first time he has brought together, in the compass of one volume, all or nearly all the materials supplied by English chroniclers for the history of Scotland from 500 A.D. till 1286. The task was not a light one. Mr. Anderson has made translations from more than forty writers, whose mediæval Latin is frequently as difficult to understand as it is difficult to render in equivalent and intelligible English. Moreover, the relevant passages had to be selected, texts collated, and contradictory statements illustrated from the different chroniclers who have recorded the same events. Of the thoroughness with which Mr. Anderson has done his work every page of his book bears evidence. The introductory Table of Reference is German in its *Gründlichkeit*, and the same may be said of the appended notes, which are more voluminous than the text.

From the nature of Mr. Anderson's work it can hardly as a whole appeal to the general reader, but for the serious student of Scottish history its interest and instructiveness are apparent. He has here the chief

materials out of which the history of the period has to be constructed, and from which he can receive his own direct impression of the events that are recorded. Many of the excerpts merely state briefly that an event occurred, but others record at considerable length all the circumstances that occasioned it. Such, for example, are certain passages from Bede, Ailred of Rievaulx, and Matthew Paris, where incidents and characters are presented with a vividness which the modern historian cannot reproduce. In view of the increasing interest in our national history, indeed, a selection of such passages might form a school text-book which would possess an educational value that would go far to stimulate an interest in historical studies in Scotland. Except for a few later periods we have no such books, composed from contemporary records, as are available in other countries. If Mr. Anderson's book could be utilised for this purpose, his countrymen would owe him an added debt. And there is another work which, as we gather from his book, he has the necessary equipment to undertake. He is a Celtic scholar and a practised transcriber of Celtic MSS.; could he not do for Celtic records what he has done so admirably for the English chroniclers?

P. HUME BROWN.

FOLK-MEMORY; OR THE CONTINUITY OF BRITISH ARCHAEOLOGY. By Walter Johnson, F.G.S. Pp. 416. With many illustrations. Med. 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. 12s. 6d. nett.

THIS book, by an honoured worker in the prehistoric field, is mainly a summary of the results of the labours of others; a handbook and bibliography such as could only have been compiled by one familiar alike with antiquities and with antiquarian literature. In one chapter, at least, that on 'Old Roads and Trackways,' he makes good use of his own facts, and throughout he has 'done diligence' to verify the facts of his predecessors. The central idea, expressed in the alternative title, is of course not now for the first time enunciated; but he has well earned the right to be remembered hereafter as its systematic exponent. Yet, though he has seen so much, he has usually seen it through great men's spectacles; this excess of veneration, and some defect of verve, make him seem almost dull compared with (for instance) Sir Arthur Mitchell, whose already classical book is written from a not dissimilar standpoint.

The foundation is laid in the second chapter, which recapitulates the received classification of prehistoric man into stone-users, bronze-users, and iron-users, with intricate subdivisions and transition stages; the thesis, very plausibly argued, being that the evidence does not require us to believe (as an earlier school taught) that any two successive stages were divided by such a break as to make it impossible that men of the later period could have learned something from their forerunners. This once accepted, it becomes conceivable that customs and beliefs may have been transmitted continuously from the earliest stone age to the present day. Something of the kind is claimed in a later chapter for the manufacture of flints; the actual evidence of continuity being weaker than one would have expected. In other chapters the author endeavours,

with different degrees of success, to show the influence of the various classes of old time remains upon later custom and belief.

Other chapters begin at the other end, and trace existing industries to their remote origin, sometimes with a good deal of *Apriorismus* (to borrow a word from Pope Pius X.), especially in chapter xiv. on primeval water supply; but never failing to be suggestive. Perusal of this comprehensive digest naturally raises reflections; two, not startling, may be instanced. One is, that of the forms of 'folk-memory,' the most enduring is custom, the most evanescent, at all events in Great Britain, is tradition proper. The other is that tradition persists longest where the population is predominantly non-Teutonic; the only good examples come from the 'Celtic fringe.' From eastern England, however, we have a quasi-tradition in the name 'Dane-hole,' corrupted by the literary into Dene-hole, applied to certain remarkable excavations of unknown age in Essex and Kent. On this, Mr. Johnson pertinently remarks, 'One can hardly believe that the pits were dug as refuges from the foe,' Danish or otherwise, though they may have served that purpose later. Perhaps the Teutons took little interest in the relics of an inferior race, until they came to have their own associations with the pits. A passage from a romance of the 'Arthur Cycle,' reproduced not long ago in certain newspapers and duly cited in this book, makes it highly probable that an earlier tradition relative to those very 'Dane-holes' was still current in Wales in the twelfth century.

The opening chapter deals with the metaphysics of 'Folk-memory.' The theory of a 'subliminal race-self,' there maintained, in which ideas lie latent and periodically emerge into consciousness, is well illustrated in that passage of the eighth chapter where we are taught (within quotation marks) that 'we may regard many of these fairy sagas as told by men of the Iron Age of events which happened to men of the Bronze Age in their conflicts with men of the Neolithic Age.' Eliminate the improbable from legend and the residuum is history—that doctrine has appeared before. Euemerism had an immense vogue for many ages, especially among the deeply learned and the pre-eminently able—at last, having no root it withered away. Has it come back to stay? For the present, Mr. Johnson, in favouring it, is in the height of fashion and the best of company.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

A SURVEY OF LONDON. By John Stow. Reprinted from the Text of 1603. With Introduction and Notes by Charles Lethbridge Kingsford, M.A. Two Vols. Vol. I. pp. c, 352. Vol. II. pp. 476. With Illustrations, Maps, Indexes, and Glossary. Demy 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. 30s. nett.

THE ITINERARY OF JOHN LELAND IN OR ABOUT THE YEARS 1535-1543. Parts vii. and viii. With Appendices, including Extracts from Leland's Collectanea. Edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith. Vol. IV. pp. x, 216. With Map. Foolscap 4to. London: George Bell & Sons. 1909. 12s. nett.

It is fitting that the republication of these famous topographical works should be noticed on the same page, seeing that we owe the preservation

of so much of Leland's text to Stow's indefatigable labours. The lives of the two great antiquaries overlapped for a short space, and the mantle of the elder may be said to have been bequeathed to the younger. Miss Toulmin Smith has not failed to recognise her indebtedness to the enterprise of Stow. His copy of the *Itinerary*, she says, made only twenty-four years after the author's death, before the original had suffered much injury, was of the greatest importance in restoring Leland's text, filling up *lacunae* caused by decay, and supplying the whole of three lost books. Five bound volumes, transcribed in Stow's small, neat handwriting out of Leland's works, exist in the Bodleian Library, and have been largely used in the collation of the original text that has survived. It is high testimony to the importance and popularity of topographical studies that the texts of Leland and Stow should have attracted the services of two scholars so accomplished as Miss Toulmin Smith and Mr. Kingsford, who have produced what must be regarded, by reason of their intrinsic merits, as the standard editions of these remarkable works.

Mr. Kingsford has given us an edition of the *Survey of London* for which antiquaries have been in want for a considerable time. Following out the suggestion of Hearne, made two centuries ago, he has reprinted the text of the black-letter edition of 1603, collating it with that of the first edition of 1598, and adding notes on the variations between the two versions. Not the least valuable portion of the editor's work is the full appendix of notes, covering over one hundred pages of well-digested historical and explanatory matter, which makes the edition of surpassing interest to the professed student as well as the general reader, indeed to all who wish to understand the allusions in the text. There is no occasion to criticise the value of Stow's researches, or to point out modern indebtedness to his enterprise. Mr. Kingsford has done both for us with a loyalty and reverence one would expect from the pupil to the master. There is no disposition to accept all his historical facts. When an error is found it is corrected in the notes, and the authorities are given on which the correction is made. Stow, for instance, on the assumed authority of Hector Boece, gave 1395 as the year of the joust on London Bridge between Sir David Lyndesay and John de Welle, the respective champions of Scotland and England, but the statement was not allowed to pass without correction. Scotland Yard, now a well-known place in London, the acquaintance of which few Scotsmen at the present day are disposed to cultivate, is situated between Charing Cross and Whitehall, 'where the kinges of Scotland were used to be lodged.' It was traditionally known to Stow as 'Scotland,' but at a much earlier date as 'the king of Scottis ground.' The monument of 'John Dore, Want Water,' in the Charterhouse, as printed in the editions of 1598 and 1603, must have been a puzzle at first sight, though it was easy enough to see that it was an error. The correction to 'John Dorewentwater, knight,' was made from Stow's manuscript list in Harley MSS. Nichols printed this list in 1834 in *Collectanea Top. et Geneal.* i. 21, from certain collections said to have been made by

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Robert Aske in the reign of Henry VIII. The origin of this and similar lists of London burials calls for some elucidation.

Miss Toulmin Smith's fourth volume of the *Itinerary*, composed though it is of miscellaneous matter, keeps up the reputation of the series. There are references to no less than thirty-two counties in England, four in Wales, and to the Channel Islands, but the English counties specially dealt with are Cheshire, Gloucester, Kent, Leicester, Nottingham, Lancashire, and Yorkshire. In the notes and illustrations we have a repetition of the skill and circumspection heretofore pointed out in this *Review* (v. 98-9) in our notice of previous volumes. It is disappointing that Leland's page is torn away at the critical place where John Wyclif's supposed birth-place was given, but the want has been supplied from Stow's transcript. The maps are again of much value, not the least interesting of which is a thumb-nail sketch of the Channel Islands from the manuscript of Leland's *Collectanea* in the Bodleian.

The local historian will have no excuse in future if he fails to take advantage of collections so renowned as those of Leland and Stow. With the illuminating editions of Miss Toulmin Smith and Mr. Kingsford, so conveniently arranged and so well indexed, to guide him, he should seldom stumble or fall into error in their interpretation. Sound texts of these ancient writers in agreeable type and in volumes of handy size have been at last supplied.

JAMES WILSON.

STUDIES AND NOTES, SUPPLEMENTARY TO STUBBS' CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY, DOWN TO THE GREAT CHARTER. By Charles Petit-Dutaillis, Rector of the University of Grenoble. Translated by W. E. Rhodes, M.A. Pp. xiv, 152. Medium 8vo. Manchester: the University Press. 1908. 4s. nett.

FOR students desirous of initiation into the mysteries of English constitutional origins, there is, at the present day, only one recognised avenue of approach. The monumental work of Bishop Stubbs, in its three compact volumes, forms the only trustworthy and adequate authority. Since that was published, twenty-five years ago (1873-1875-1878), no writer has seriously attempted to rival or supersede it, although the intervening period has been notable in the annals of English historical scholarship because of the amount of labour expended upon the original materials of history and also of the floods of light which recent works of research have thrown upon almost every aspect of the subjects on which Dr. Stubbs wrote.

That so distinguished a French historian as Professor Petit-Dutaillis should have selected Stubbs' famous work as the best medium for introducing his fellow-countymen to the study of the English constitution, forces a reconsideration of the place occupied by that book in relation to modern scholarship. The Rector of Grenoble, while fully appreciating the greatness of the work which he is introducing to French readers, finds what many English teachers have already found, but yet have hesitated to express freely—namely that the *Constitutional History*, considered as a

text-book for tyros, is marred by somewhat grave defects. It is unnecessary here to speak of the merits of a work, the excellences of which are known to all. It must not be forgotten, however, that the *Constitutional History of England*, planned originally for mature scholars, was never exactly suited to the needs of beginners, and that its doctrines have necessarily been rendered obsolete in numerous particulars by the advances made by historical research to which the labours of Bishop Stubbs himself formed the chief stimulus.

In spite of a natural reluctance to admit the existence of spots on the sun, it may not be unprofitable to consider in what respects the cherished work of Bishop Stubbs falls short of perfection. In the first place, the genius of that writer was of a broad and eclectic type, delighting rather in the accumulation of detailed facts than in arranging them according to theories of his own. From one point of view—an important one—this characteristic forms a merit rather than a defect; for to it is due much of the permanent value of the work considered as a book of reference for researchers. From another point of view, however, it is regrettable that the three volumes of the history must be considered as a quarry for future workers rather than as a completed and artistic structure. Parts of the first volume, in particular, are unfinished and inconclusive. Further, in the absence of pronounced political theories of his own, Bishop Stubbs at times allowed his judgment to be too readily biassed by the impetuous zeal of Professor Freeman, whose one-sided preconceptions have exercised a distorting influence on the trend of English historical studies for nearly half a century, and are only now being gradually discarded as erroneous. These preconceptions were inherently inconsistent with a great proportion of the facts amassed by Dr. Stubbs; and attempts made by him, more or less unconsciously, at reconciling the irreconcilable resulted often in obscurity and nebulousity. These defects became more prominent in later editions, in which the eclectic tendency is even more pronounced; for the late Bishop of Oxford was more willing to make additions to his treatise than to discard matter that had become obsolete. On numerous points, such as the theory of the mark, folkland, and Henry II.'s attitude towards the Church, Dr. Stubbs was forced to yield a reluctant assent to the destructive criticisms of recent scholarship. While adopting the newer theories in footnotes, or even in the text itself, he would almost seem to have been constitutionally incapable of remodelling the rest of his work, so as to bring it into harmony with them. While 'the mark,' for instance, was grudgingly admitted in his later editions to be dead and even buried, its ghost was still allowed to stalk through many of his pages. The result is that parts of a great book have come to be very much of the nature of patchwork. This lack of organic unity increases the difficulties of students, by rendering whole passages vague, inconsistent, and deficient in a sense of form and proportion. For still another reason, the *Constitutional History* would seem to require supplement; since, as was only natural for one of his generation, Bishop Stubbs laid more stress upon the chronicles as materials for history than upon the record evidence—the exact reverse of the method approved by historians trained a quarter of

a century later. These defects, more than counterbalanced as they are by compensating excellences, somewhat diminish the confidence with which the teacher of constitutional origins places Dr. Stubbs' masterpiece in the hands of inexperienced pupils. Supplementary lectures are required to fill up gaps, to clear away ambiguities, and to rectify statements which later discoveries have shown to be erroneous.

Our entire constitutional history, indeed, requires to be re-written by some one capable of welding the imperishable ore of Stubbs' classic book into one whole with the products of more recent research. In the absence of such a work, English scholars will warmly welcome, as the next best thing, the *Supplementary Studies* of Professor Petit-Dutaillis, which attempt to provide, within narrow compass, the materials necessary for bringing the *Constitutional History* up to date. These studies form an appendix to the first volume of the French translation, the only one yet published. Excellent footnotes and a fuller index make this French edition the best one even for English readers. M. Petit-Dutaillis, however, has done more than this. While giving French students access to the *Constitutional History* in their own language, he has sought to guard them from accepting theories that are now generally discarded. No one could be better qualified for such a task than the distinguished French scholar who has been trained to clearness of thinking, precision of language, and lucidity of exposition in a school that still follows classical models, a historian who is comprehensively equipped for his task and thoroughly versed, in particular, in everything that pertains to the medieval history of England, as is evidenced by his references to England in his *Etude sur la vie et la règne de Louis VIII.*, a book of established reputation. Of his twelve valuable *Supplementary Studies*, containing accurate and comprehensive summaries of recent discussions on various topics of importance, the most valuable are, perhaps, those on 'The Evolution of the Rural Classes and the Origin of the Manor,' 'The Origin of the Exchequer,' 'English Society in the Feudal Period,' 'The Origin of the Towns in England,' 'London in the Twelfth Century,' 'The Unknown Charter of Liberties,' and 'The Great Charter.' It is, perhaps, ungrateful that, while welcoming these useful monographs, we should suggest that M. Petit-Dutaillis has neglected other topics that called equally for similar treatment. The value of his work would undoubtedly have gained materially from the inclusion of studies on such subjects as the Origin of the Hundred, the rise and fall of the Mark Theory, the powers and composition of the Witenagemot, the alleged Debate on Danegeld (1163), the Oxford Debate on Foreign Service (1197), the origin of Trial by Jury, the relations of Frithborh and Frankpledge, the Writ Process, the Title to the Crown, and the growth of the Common Law.

Of actual criticisms passed on the work of Dr. Stubbs, we have left too little room to speak in detail. The inadequacy of his treatment of scutage and the military tenures is made plain in more passages than one. It is also pointed out how inconsistencies between the text and footnotes of the *Constitutional History* have arisen from a reluctance to

discard entirely the exploded democratic theory of 'folkland.' Professor Petit-Dutaillis might have extended a like criticism to the half-hearted rejection of the 'mark theory.'

With all their admirable features, Professor Petit-Dutaillis' studies are not free from a few imperfections of their own. He fails, for example, to note the difference between grand and petty serjeanties (p. 57). Such omissions are, however, few in number, and do not detract from the value of the work taken as a whole. These monographs by the Rector of Grenoble, indeed, so far as they go, are admirably suited to their purpose. Their originality lies not so much in the discovery of new items of knowledge, but rather in the new results gained by the combination into systematic wholes of the numerous contributions that others have made to the sum of our knowledge. The admirable lucidity of his writing makes even familiar truths appear in a fresh light, and brings out aspects that may previously have escaped attention. M. Petit-Dutaillis' knowledge of recent English authorities is marvellous. Nothing seems to have escaped his vigilance—not even casual references scattered through the numerous volumes of the new *Victoria County Histories*, or items of information contained in articles contributed to recent historical and legal magazines.

Readers of the French translation were thus placed at a distinct advantage over those who had to be content with the original, until Mr. Rhodes, a former Fellow of Manchester University, has now redressed the balance by translating the *Supplementary Studies* into English. This task has been carefully and well performed, under the supervision of Professor Tait, who has written a short but adequate introduction. This little book ought, without delay, to be added to every public or private library that contains a copy of the classic work to which it forms an indispensable supplement.

WM. S. McKECHNIE.

THE MAID OF FRANCE, Being the Story of the Life and Death of Jeanne d'Arc. By Andrew Lang. Pp. xvi, 379. With illustrations and maps. Royal 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 12s. 6d. nett.

THE life of Jeanne d'Arc is a unique phenomenon in history. There is in it a supernatural element ('supernormal' the cautious call it) that might be explained away as legendary, or brushed aside altogether, if she had lived in a remote past with scanty records; but she lived and died almost on the threshold of the Renaissance, when the world was very much alive, when friends and foes watched every step in her short career, and their evidence remains to this day in numberless documents that have exercised the acumen of sincere seekers after truth and of theorists with axes of their own to grind. Many widely diverging conclusions have been reached, which, at the beginning of the twentieth century, might be arranged as the steps of a ladder, with the beatification of Jeanne in Rome at the top and the 'Vie de Jeanne d'Arc' of M. Anatole France on the lowest rung. The 'Maid of France,' avowedly a reply to the 'Vie de Jeanne d'Arc,' occupies a place very near the summit.

The key-note to the volume under review is struck in these wise words of the Introduction: 'In studying history we must accept the past as it existed: when occupied with the characters and events of the Middle Ages, we must learn to think mediævally.' So Mr. Andrew Lang takes his stand in the fifteenth century; he listens to all the witnesses, friendly or hostile, examines their evidence in the atmosphere of the time, accepts what appeared true to the contemporaries, and does not attempt to explain what he cannot understand. That Jeanne had visions and heard voices is proved, whether they were from within or from without he does not decide: 'I cannot tell, God knoweth,' was said long ago in circumstances not wholly dissimilar. That she foretold events was generally believed; why waste time in trying to explain? The great miracle of her life is what she did, not what she said.

After a few chapters describing the state of France and the childhood of the Maid, we start with her from Domremy, which she never saw again, we follow her step by step, almost literally day by day, every statement being supported by references to the best contemporary authority, till she has accomplished her mission and suffered her martyrdom at the hands of Bedford and Cauchon in the Old Market of Rouen before she had attained her twenty-first year. Mr. Lang is certainly not a Burgundian; he is French throughout; so were the Scots in those days, as he loves to tell us; but the best exposition of his views will be found in the noble words in the last page of the book. 'I incline to think that in a sense not easily defined, Jeanne was "inspired," and I am convinced that she was a person of the highest genius, of the noblest character. Without her genius and her character, her glimpses of hidden things (supposing them to have occurred) would have been of no avail in the great task of redeeming France. Another might have heard Voices offering the monitions; but no other could have displayed her dauntless courage and gift of encouragement, her sweetness of soul, and her marvellous and victorious tenacity of will.'

It is well known that Mr. Lang loves nothing better than to have a tilt at an adversary; practice has made him a skilled hitter, and also a hard one. One feels at times, however, that he yields too readily to that diversion when dealing with his chief opponent, the clever novelist and satirist, who in a moment of aberration mistook himself for a historian, to the sincere regret of his admirers. Almost every page contains some reference to his shortcomings, to the annoyance of the reader who is quite willing to accept the guidance of the Maid's champion without being pulled up suddenly simply to be told that somebody else has blundered again. It would be an improvement if, in a future edition, these allusive remarks were left out altogether, or relegated to the notes, which have wisely been placed at the end of the volume for the very purpose of not disturbing the reader's attention.

Everyone knows also that, out of the stores of his mansided knowledge, the author takes delight in bringing out 'modern instances,' and old ones too, that generally illuminate his subject, even when they startle by their unexpectedness. We should resent the absence of the familiar sign-manual,

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though once or twice we may feel a painful jar, as in connexion with the incident of the 'sowing of beans' at Troyes, p. 174.

Along with some clear maps the volume contains a portrait of Charles VII. and two of Jeanne. The second of these two should appeal to the imagination of the reader. One feels inclined to fancy that the painter had known the Maid, and that his hand was less skilled than his memory was faithful.

F. J. AMOURS.

THE RUSSIAN CONQUEST OF THE CAUCASUS. By John F. Baddeley. With Maps, Plans, and Illustrations. Pp. xxxviii and 518. Royal 8vo. London: Longmans. 1908. 21s. nett.

THIS volume is a notable contribution to our knowledge of Russian history. The author—Mr. John F. Baddeley—tells us in the preface that he has travelled through and through the regions he describes, lived with the people, and become acquainted with their character and ways of life, and gathered by hearsay many traditional stories of the patriot chiefs who fought for independence against the Russian invader. The work has evidently been a labour of love, and must have involved an immense amount of research among Russian and German authorities. Scarcely anything has been written on the subject in English, and no complete history of it in any language.

The mountain chain of the Caucasus stretches in a south-easterly direction from the Black Sea to the Caspian, and appears to have been inhabited from the earliest times by a mixed race, with many independent savage tribes and free communities, who were in a continual state of war with each other if not with Russia. The religion was Muhammadan. To the south of the mountains lay the Christian communities of Georgia, and it was in order to protect these Christian communities that Russia first found a reason or an excuse for attacking and subjugating the semi-civilised tribes which peopled the intervening regions.

The area of warfare is roughly divided into three great tracts. First, that on the west near the Black Sea, and, second, that on the east near the Caspian. Between these was a gap through which lay the road over the mountains to the country south of the Caucasus. This country formed the third tract, bounded on the south by the Turkish and Persian Empires.

The early chapters sketch the history of the war from the time of Peter the Great to the Peace of Adrianople in 1829, and are mainly taken up with the wars with Turkey and Persia for the possession of the Georgian provinces, which were one by one annexed to the Russian Empire. It was in 1771, during the reign of Catherine the Great, that the revolt of the Tartars took place described by De Quincey in his famous essay—'a fantastic performance,' says Mr. Baddeley, 'magnificent as literature, but historically beneath contempt.' The war with the western tribes is only incidentally mentioned, although it continued longest, not being finally concluded until 1864. The tribes bordering on the line of communication between north and south appear to have

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accepted Russian rule more or less completely. The second part of the book is the history of the long life-and-death struggle made by, and the final conquest of, the warlike tribes inhabiting the eastern tract, comprising Daghestan and Tchetchnia. These held out until 1859, or three years after the close of the Crimean war. On the north very little progress seems to have been made during these early years. Many of Russia's leading generals took part in the war. There is a succession of brilliant soldiers and administrators, such as Todleben, Tsitsianoff and Yermoloff, Klugenau and Freitag, some drafted to the Caucasus after distinguishing themselves at Austerlitz, Bautzen, and Kulm. It was the grave of not a few reputations. Another great name is that of Veliamonoff, who advocated 'methods of barbarism.'

The total population of the Caucasus at the time of the war is given roughly at four millions, and that of Daghestan at half a million. The Avars, who were the most warlike of the tribes, numbered 125,000. Daghestan has a seaboard on the Caspian, while the inland parts are made up of barren plateaus of mountains, intersected by rivers, which have cut their way thousands of feet deep. Villages, or 'aouls,' as they are called, were placed here and there in spots capable of easy defence. The Daghestanis are described as 'men with blue eyes, fair hair, and well-cut features and somewhat prominent cheek-bones, whose like may be seen any day north of the Tweed.' The region of Tchetchnia, lying more to the north, was, on the other hand, covered with dense forests, which afforded shelter in times of trouble. It was not until Yermoloff's plan of campaign was followed and the country made accessible by roads and clearings that the inhabitants were forced to submit. 'In the long run it was by the axe and not by the sword that the conquest was effected.'

This latter part of the war, from 1829 onwards, is called the Murid War, from the religious character which it assumed. Murid is a mystic term meaning 'one who desires to find the way.' The fanaticism of the tribes was aroused by the preaching of the Ghazavat or Holy War.

The main interest centres round the leader Shamil, who was proclaimed Imám in 1834. The stern discipline introduced and the fanaticism aroused by him welded the tribes together in a way that had never been known before, and with varying success he maintained his position and authority over the tribesmen, who in their mountain strongholds and almost inaccessible fastnesses defied the might of Russia for more than twenty years. The Russians suffered many terrible disasters in the course of the war, and even though our sympathies may go with the rude defenders of their native mountains, we are compelled to admire the splendid courage and dogged persistence of the Russian soldier in the face of overwhelming difficulties. The whole of the latter part of the book is full of stirring incidents. The retreat of the ten thousand after the Dargo expedition, the invasion of Kabardá, and the assault on Gherghébil are conspicuous examples of these terrible conflicts, where, as a rule, quarter was neither asked nor given. Shamil himself is one

of the most interesting and picturesque 'Kings of the mountain,' to be met with in history, while the name of his lieutenant Hadji Mourád was on one occasion sufficient to put to flight 1500 native militia under a Russian officer. This Hadji Mourád was by far the most daring and bravest of all Shamil's lieutenants, and his death, brought about by his chief through jealousy, is one of the darkest spots on Shamil's memory. It was in this war, we are told, that Count Tolstoy gained his experience of Cossack life and Caucasian warfare which he has used to such good purpose, and it is interesting to know that Hadji Mourád is the hero of a work by the great novelist, not to be published until after his death. Shamil was cruel, even among a people who cared little for human life, and in the end this is said to have contributed to his downfall. He had, among other qualities, an unsurpassed faculty for organisation, and was able to seize on the weak point of an enemy's position with unerring certainty, while the secrecy of his movements and the quickness with which he struck rendered him a terror to his foes. It is pleasant to turn for a moment to a more humane aspect of this warrior chief. Shamil's son, a boy of twelve years of age, was taken from him at the siege of Akhoulgó and grew up to be a uniformed servant of the Tsar. It was not until sixteen years afterwards that Shamil was able to procure his return in exchange for two captured Georgian princesses. By that time, however, the son had become a stranger to his father and his native land, and the estrangement was a bitter grief to his father.

By a systematic plan of campaign, the building of forts, and the opening up of the country by means of roads and bridges, Shamil was at length driven from one stronghold to another, until he was fairly hemmed in by his enemies on all sides. Russia, after the Crimean war, had wakened up to the danger involved in having a hostile foe within her own borders—a fact which the Allies seem not to have appreciated at its full value—and she now brought her full force to bear on the doomed chief. It must be remembered, too, that Shamil had no artillery save what he could capture from the Russians. Prince Bariatinsky was at this time Viceroy, and Yevdokeemoff led the main attack. The last scene described is the surrender of Shamil in 1859 at Gouneeb, a fortress in his native Daghestan whither he had fled with his family and a few hundreds of his most devoted followers. He was taken to Russia, where he was kindly treated, allowed in later years to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, and died at Medinah in 1871. After Shamil's surrender the tribesmen settled down quietly under Russian rule—a result due in some measure to the ruthless despotism with which they had been treated by their own leader.

It is difficult to speak too highly of this book. It is a masterpiece in its way, and recounts in nervous language an episode well worthy of remembrance, and one that is little known to English readers. The style is bright and clear, and the author carries the reader's attention on with him throughout the terrible conflict with unflinching interest. It is more than a mere military history, and contains some profound

observations on the problems raised when civilised nations come into conflict with barbarous ones.

The book is well supplied with good maps and plans. There are several illustrations and portraits, including a beautiful one of Shamil by Mrs. Tyrrel Lewis, and there is a copious index. The system of transliteration gives the ordinary reader a very fair idea of how the unpronounceable Russian names ought to be sounded. The work is written with impartiality and sobriety, and is valuable for the light which it sheds on a people well worth studying, and on a region which the author tells us may some day come to be a larger 'playground of Europe.'

J. B. DOUGLAS.

SKETCHES OF RULERS OF INDIA. Four Vols. By G. D. Oswell, M.A., Oxon., Principal of Rajkumar College, Raipur, Central Provinces, India. Vol. I. pp. xxviii, 171; Vol. II. pp. 215; Vol. III. pp. 228; Vol. IV. pp. 232. Crown 8vo. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1908. 2s. nett per vol.

PUBLIC attention is at the present time being directed towards India. These volumes give in compressed form the earlier chapters in its history.

The author does not claim originality; his work as a whole is based on the series of 'Rulers of India,' edited by the late Sir W. W. Hunter. His interpretation of the term 'Ruler' is generous, and the choice of subjects has been made with the view of acquainting the reader with every phase of Indian life and history. The historical background is well preserved, so that while the sketches are mainly biographical, indirectly a careful resumé is given of the rise and progress of the problems in Indian administration that still confront and concern those in charge of it, and these problems are enlarged on in the lengthy introduction which forms an important part of each of the volumes. Vol. IV. deals with the native rulers and races of India, Vols. II. and III. with the names most prominent in the struggle for British supremacy and in the foundation of British rule; while Vol. I. deals with the central figures of the Mutiny Era and the period which marked the complete transfer of government to the Crown.

The character sketches are short and interesting, but the author has not allowed himself a free enough hand. Both the sketches and the introductions suffer considerably by an excess of quotations from other writers, and these quotations are not always aptly used. Throughout the volumes the author fills the rôle of hero-worshipper and overdoes it. No field of British activity has been richer in heroes and public-spirited servants, but the author is too indiscriminate and unmeasured in his praise to convey a correct estimate of the careers he portrays. He seldom makes due allowance for the controversies that have been waged round many of the great names connected with India, and notably those of our Indian pioneers. A somewhat similar want of balance marks the introductions to Vols. III. and IV., where he deals with the events of

recent years and the present conditions of unrest in India. His thirty years' experience in that country, chiefly in educational work, lends weight to his remarks generally ; but the force of much of what he says is marred by too evident an enthusiasm. And again, many of the conclusions at which he arrives are weakened by being set forth as if drawn from experiences that are personal to the author, whereas they are really the conclusions at which all intelligent study of India and its peoples, arrives.

These volumes, however, will furnish the general reader or the advanced pupil with what is required for an understanding of the nature and magnitude of the responsibility that rests upon, and the difficult and delicate problems that face, Great Britain in her relations with India. A fifth volume treating of the careers of the viceroys of the last fifty years is promised, and should complete a very useful and informing set of books.

A. R. DUNCAN.

LANDS AND LAIRDS OF LARBERT AND DUNIPACE PARISHES. By John C. Gibson. Glasgow: Hugh Hopkins. 1908.

A COMPLETE parish history of Larbert and Dunipace would require qualifications hardly to be found combined in one individual. Stenhouse with the site of Arthur's Oon, Torwood with its Broch and (apparently) its strange medieval legend told in the *Lai del Désiré*, might well tempt an archaeologist : several fine old houses are there to attract the architect : the district is now a considerable centre of industry. Mr. Gibson has very wisely resisted the seductions of borrowed lore. On the antiquities he confines himself to brief quotations ; on the architecture, to the reproduction of a series of excellent sketches ; on industrial development, to an interesting chapter on the Carron Company.

What he does give us is a series of genealogical accounts of all the important families who have held land in the parishes from the fifteenth century onwards, interspersed with extracts from contemporary records, enabling us to realize in a measure the characters and modes of life of his subjects. This from an expert genealogist and capable record student, and dealing with numerous ancient and distinguished families, and with many remarkable men, of whom the two illustrious Bruces of Kinnaird are only the most conspicuous, fills a well-proportioned and well got up volume which to my mind has not an uninteresting page. Of course faults may always be found. The little that there is to tell of the medieval proprietors is not exhaustively nor always accurately told. The footnote on page 146 is puzzling ; why should Huguenot refugees, even though they were the ancestors of Sir James Simpson, be brought in to account for the Jarvies, who (as easily accessible records show) were established in Stirling-shire at least two generations before the Reformation ? But the general trustworthiness of the work is unmistakable, and there is very little that even the most microscopic criticism can carp at.

J. MAITLAND THOMSON.

THE ELDER OR POETIC EDDA, COMMONLY KNOWN AS SAEMUND'S EDDA : Part I. The Mythological Poems. Edited and translated with Introduction and Notes by Olive Bray ; illustrated by W. G. Collingwood. Pp. lxxx, 327. Medium 8vo. London (Viking Club Translation Series, Vol. II.): David Nutt. 1908. 15s. nett.

THIS volume is the second in a series of praiseworthy attempts to attract readers, by means of translations, to a literature well deserving study in the original. Although the text is given side by side with the version, the book is not offered to scholars and students of Old Norse literature, to whom the original is easily accessible in many continental editions, but to general readers interested in mythology ; the only extant English version being Vigfusson's, which is buried under a mass of other material in the *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*. The present volume is not therefore overburdened with editorial matter, the explanatory footnotes being few and short. Nor is the text edited to any great extent : it has been taken from current standard editions, with some rearrangement of strophes in several poems to render the sequence clearer.

Miss Bray has done her part well ; her version is idiomatic and unaffected, and sufficiently close. The chief difficulty in translating these poems is the extreme condensation and terseness which constitute the main attraction of their style. This must often be sacrificed, if the version is to be intelligible. Some passages in *Grimnismál* and *Vafthrudnismál*, for example, would be strings of unintelligible names, without some expansion ; Miss Bray, therefore, either paraphrases the proper names, or gives both name and paraphrase. Unnecessary expansions are few.

The Introduction contains a clear summary of the history and manuscript sources of the Edda, with a short discussion and analysis of each poem. In analysing origin and meaning, there is perhaps too strong a tendency to nature interpretation, and too little consideration of the part played by culture and custom in forming myth : this is noticeable in the treatment of Frey ; while in discussing the Balder myth, so fertile a field for speculation, Miss Bray seems to acknowledge modern research and theory only to hint her dislike of their results. In discussing the place of authorship, she follows the sounder and more probable view which assigns them to Iceland, at the close of the heathen times. Though probably in the main written then, they are not a representative expression of Northern paganism. They throw little light on the ancient beliefs of Scandinavia, except what can be gained by working back from story to custom, by comparison with the myth and custom of other races and with what is known from other sources of Germanic religion. In the past the whole subject suffered by the attributing to the Edda of a grey antiquity to which it has no claim ; it has long been recognised to be a literary production.

The outward form of the volume is very attractive, and the decoration is appropriate and often imaginative. Mr. Collingwood gets beyond the Gothic style dear to illustrators of the Scandinavian, and attains a

primitive effect in keeping with the feeling of the poems. In some cases his pictures are based on suggestions from Scandinavian monuments in England.

L. WINIFRED FARADAY.

THE BERNSTORFF PAPERS. THE LIFE OF COUNT ALBRECHT VON BERNSTORFF. By Dr. Karl Ringhoffer. Translated by Mrs. Charles Edward Barrett-Lennard and M. W. Hoper. Two Vols. Vol. I. pp. xvi, 350. Vol. II. pp. viii, 333. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1908. 21s. nett.

THE life of Count Bernstorff consists largely of extracts from despatches, state papers, and correspondence, and affords material of great interest for the student of those very important years in nineteenth century history, 1848-1871. To the English reader, at any rate, it is of more interest from this point of view than as a study of Bernstorff's career, for he did not stand in the front rank as a creative statesman. The principal posts which he held were those of Prussian Minister at Vienna, 1848-51, and at London, 1854 until his death in 1873, except for the year 1861-2, when he was Prussian Minister for Foreign Affairs. His position in Vienna was very trying, for, in spite of his own views as to the necessity for Prussia assuming the leadership in Germany at the expense of Austria, he had to submit to Prussia's humiliation at Olmütz.

The greater and most eventful part of his career was spent in England. He found there great ignorance of the affairs of Germany, even amongst politicians. The Queen understood German questions better than most of her ministers. According to Bernstorff, Lord Palmerston's policy was inspired by antipathy to Prussia. Of Court life Count and Countess Bernstorff saw a good deal, especially during the negotiations for the marriage of the Princess Royal.

During the Crimean War the King's hesitation made it impossible for Prussia to follow any definite policy. This so annoyed the English Ministers that Bernstorff at one time feared that England would declare war on her. The difficulty of his position was increased by the special mission of Usedom to the English Court. During the dispute over the Schleswig-Holstein question he was also afraid that there might be war between the two countries.

At the close of the Franco-Prussian War Bernstorff was engaged in several attempts to negotiate peace, notably with the Empress, with whom he had an interview at Lord Cowley's house in London. Dr. Ringhoffer gives 1870 as the date of the Benedetti draft-treaty between France and Prussia, whose publication caused much ill-feeling in England against France, but it is more probable that it was drawn up in 1866 or 1867. The document was taken to the *Times* office by Bernstorff's son.

The translators have done their work well, but the use of italics is somewhat confusing, as no indication is given whether these are due to the transcriber or to the original writer of the despatch or letter.

THEODORA KEITH.

RELIGIO SCOTICA, ITS NATURE AS TRACEABLE IN SCOTIC SAINTLY TRADITION. By Robert Craig Maclagan, M.D. 8vo. Pp. viii, 233. Edinburgh: Otto Schulze & Co. 1909.

THIS strange book may be taken as a symptom of one of the intellectual infirmities of our time so far as it illustrates the tendency to discredit and uproot the accepted verdicts of past history. If excessive credulity can be ascribed to a former generation of students by reason of too great an inclination to believe historical traditions, the swing of the pendulum is apt to throw us into the corresponding danger of equal credulity in our denial of them. Superstition arising from unreasonable doubt is as much to be deplored as the superstition of unquestioning faith. It does not help us to call our new methods by meritorious names: labels are not always true definitions: what is conceived as an evidence of superior intelligence may be nothing else than the very vice we have endeavoured to avoid: reaction against the easy credulity of belief may reappear under the form of what has been tersely described as the credulous incredulity of doubt. In other words, there is as much gullibility in the making of the sceptic as of the saint.

Dr. Maclagan, a painstaking and well-read scholar of the modern type, has set himself the task of reversing the old accounts of the origin of the Scotie name and religion, and in the course of his studies he has discovered a theory sufficient, as he thinks, to determine the mythology which surrounds the cradle of Scotie beliefs and habits. The theory is first formulated, and then the early traditions of the ancient people, as history has handed them down, are accommodated by an ingenious array of philological combinations so as to fit in with the author's scheme for their interpretation. Scot is not the name of a tribe, as we have been accustomed to think, but of a religion, and, from its etymology, an unsavoury religion associated with the works of darkness. The Gael, of course, originated in Egypt about the time of the Exodus, and we know that one of the plagues at that time was a miracle of 'darkness that could be felt,' which affected the Egyptians only and not the Hebrews. Scota, daughter of Pharaoh and ancestress of the Gael, was evidently meant to personate Venus, the goddess of night. Caesar connected the Celts with the under-world, and made them descendants of Pluto, which has significance from its connexion with darkness and wealth as seen in reproduction.

All subsequent manifestations of the cult take their colour from this common origin of the Scot, Gael and Celt. The worship of the human functions of generation, male and female, is but a natural growth from this root of darkness. 'The result,' says the author, 'as we find it in the stories of the Gaelic saints, is that the female potency itself, regarded as a pre-Christian object of reverence, appears with lunar attributes and bears the same name as the principal saint of Christian times, Brigit,' and therefore Brigit is the eponymous representative of the cult in its Christian shape.

It is not possible here to follow the author in his interpretations of early Scotie history and legend, or to enumerate the steps by which he has reached his conclusions. The reader must be referred to the book. But

it may be stated that such historical personages as Columba, Patrick, Aidan, Hilda, Adamnan and the rest emerge from the critical laboratory as only mythological personifications of some feature or function, organ or act in the physiological process of human reproduction. In fact, the phallic cult is the veritable fetish which accounts for the whole story of early traditional beliefs which has hitherto passed as history in many of its features. The argument of the book is pictorially illustrated on the title-page by a figure of the phallus surmounted by a crucifix.

Few will read this essay without a feeling of sadness that a man of genius and culture should have undertaken to build so vast a structure on such flimsy foundations. The most innocent stories of early Christian folk-lore and the sacred sites with which they are connected have been tortured through a series of etymological speculations, that they might give forth the odour and take the shape of occult mysteries. If an instance of reckless etymology is needed, one may recall the odd hallucination which adopts with approval the explanation of the 'Tracht Romra' of Adamnan's narrative as the 'Roman shore.' Nor is this etymology more fanciful, though it is less prurient, than the representation of Columba in the new hagiology as the male instrument of life, and Iona as its female counterpart. To believe with Dr. Maclagan that early Scotie tradition contains no germs of genuine history, and is only to be regarded as the drapery of an obscene cult, surpasses the medieval credulity which delighted only in wonders and prodigies.

The most that can be said in the author's favour is that he writes with candour, and while he is conscious of entertaining unorthodox and gross opinions, he has presented them in a courageous and by no means offensive way.

JAMES WILSON.

THE KIRK AND PARISH OF AUCHTERTOOL. By the late Rev. William Stevenson, M.A., Minister of the Parish, with a MEMOIR OF THE AUTHOR, by the Rev. J. Campbell, B.D., Kirkcaldy. Pp. 223. Kirkcaldy: 1908.

THIS, though a posthumous work and lacking the final touches which its accomplished author would have given it, is really a model Parish History, distinguished alike by breadth of view and accuracy of detail. It is surprising with how many events of national interest, from the days of Malcolm Canmore to our own, the rural Fifeshire parish has been associated, and the student of the main currents of Scottish History cannot fail to derive light and illustration from the pages of this unpretentious little book. The notice, for example, of the family of Kirkcaldy of Grange, the first lay 'heritors' of the chief estate in Auchtertool, is luminous in regard to one of the few true heroes in the story of Queen Mary. Not less interesting is the connexion of the Carlyles with the Manse, where the historian and his wife were frequent visitors. In fact, it was in the Manse drawing-room that Carlyle wrote the first chapters of *The French Revolution*, and the well-known passage 'rises the little kirk' was composed with the Church of Auchtertool literally in the writer's eye.

## 310 Sandeman: Calais under English Rule

Mr. Campbell has contributed a graceful memoir of the author—a clergyman whose early death was a serious loss alike to the scholarship and the administrative work of the Church of Scotland.

JAMES COOPER.

CALAIS UNDER ENGLISH RULE. By G. A. C. Sandeman. Pp. 140. Post 8vo. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1908. 2s. 6d. nett.

THIS Essay, one of the two awarded the Arnold Prize for 1908, is a useful and interesting contribution to the History of the English border towards France. The materials for a connected account of Calais as an English possession are, Mr. Sandeman remarks, somewhat scanty and incomplete. Many papers no doubt disappeared at the time of the siege in 1558; and the life of such a town was so many-sided that it must certainly have been no easy task to shape a coherent history uniting the various phases of it, from Records and Annals dealing with separate interests and even isolated facts connected therewith. The result is that Mr. Sandeman's book produces somewhat the effect of an interesting collection of materials for history, rather than a piece of thoroughly welded historical writing. Perhaps he would have put his picture of Calais in better perspective had he added to the introduction a brief summary of the great events of the English occupation with one or two dates; and it is to be regretted that there is not even a sketch-map of the Pale. There is much excellent matter carefully marshalled in the account of the Garrison and Defences of Calais, of the Royal officers (Lord Berners, be it remembered, was one of the most notable of many notable Deputies), of the military, social, municipal and commercial history of the town and Pale. We wonder if there is any good reason for referring to the inventor of herring-curing as 'Benchelens of Barsliet,' 'Barsliet' at least is impossible surely. Willem Beukelszoon of Biervliet apparently died in 1397, but if this be so it is an injustice to his memory to bring down the date of his beneficent invention to 1416, as Mr. Sandeman has it on page 57.

Calais was, of course, chiefly important to England as a commercial centre; the wool staple was established there permanently in 1363, and the presence of large numbers of foreign merchants in this connection, together with the primary fact that the town was the gateway into the great enemy's territory, necessitated the presence of a strong garrison; the English kings always took a keen interest in the town and its fortifications, the upkeep of which cost roughly about £8000 a year in time of peace, and varied to any extent in war-time. But by 1558 the staple had declined—methods of commerce were changing—the Hundred Years' War was over, 'and,' says Mr. Sandeman, 'it may be argued that Calais had outlasted its utility. Its loss was disgraceful, but it was not a national disaster, apart from the fact that it involved diminished prestige in Europe, for as a fortress its value was gone.'

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE: THE GLADSTONE ESSAY. By Murray L. R. Beaven. Pp. 130. Post 8vo. Oxford: B. H. Blackwell. 1908. 2s. 6d. nett.

MR. BEAVEN'S brief introductory account of the various branches of the Temple stock during four centuries, gives his careful and competent study of the seventeenth century diplomatist an excellent setting; Sir William Temple takes honourable rank amidst his distinguished relatives, amongst whom, it is almost needless to mention, appear the well-known names of Pitt, Grenville, Buckingham, Palmerston, and Dufferin.

Sir William was, unlike some of them, essentially not a fighter nor a party man: he was not very ambitious of place or power, nor at all desirous of money: from his boyhood his ideals in life were not of the strenuous order—'health and peace and fair weather,' he says in one of his Essays—but such as they were they were the expression of a temperament which has been interpreted by his modern biographers a good deal to his disadvantage. Mr. Beaven does entire justice to Temple's diplomatic work: he gives a full and dispassionate account of his successful conduct of affairs, and speaks sympathetically of his reasons for retiring, at fifty-two, from public office.

Temple had been in active diplomatic and other service for sixteen years and more; he had made the Triple Alliance; had seen it unmade; renewed the peace; brought about the marriage of William and Mary; besides doing a great deal of less obvious work. He had thoroughly tested the untrustworthiness of Charles' disposition, and the political dishonesty of the time. He had not hesitated, like more than one of his relatives in a later day, to speak with much firmness and independence to his Sovereign, and at the latter's urgent request had finally tried to help with the Privy Council scheme—wise or unwise. His health was not good; he had had losses in his family; and chiefly he was a diplomatist and not a practical politician, and as such considered himself totally unfitted to cope with the conflicting problems and factions of home politics. So that all things considered it is perhaps not quite fair to speak of *il gran rifiuto* and put down to extreme selfishness his desire to possess his soul, cultivate his garden, and write works which he seriously meant to be of use to the community.

Mr. Beaven's account of the politics and personalities of the time is written in a clear and pleasant style; the essay is distinctively from the point of view of political history; therefore it is not surprising perhaps that the literary criticism of Temple is somewhat inadequate, and there are various conclusions that might be challenged if space permitted. The author, by the way, differs from Macaulay in giving less credit to Temple for far-reaching intentions in the establishment of the new Privy Council; and he backs his view by adducing a considerable weight of contemporary opinion, besides the agreement of two nineteenth century historians of the period, that Temple was much less solely responsible for the scheme than he himself represented, or than has been frequently thought.

MARY LOVE.

A BLACK WATCH EPISODE OF THE YEAR 1731. Compiled from Contemporary Records. With an Introduction and Notes. By H. D. MacWilliam. Pp. 50. La. 8vo. Edinburgh: W. & A. K. Johnston, Ltd. 1908. 5s. nett.

WITH patient zeal the author has got together some new facts which add considerably to our knowledge of the early history of the Black Watch. He prints the Orders for Raising and Augmenting the Companies in 1725 and 1727, and in some points corrects General Stewart of Garth. The 'Episode' he puts before his readers was the killing of Ensign James Grant, by John M'Neill of Lord Lovat's Company, in August, 1731. A court-martial was held on the prisoner, then he was again tried, and was eventually sentenced (through the influence of Lord Lovat, who wrote that 'the drunken villain is well out of the way') to transportation to America for life.

The whole history of this incident is interesting from the Highland customs it reveals and the genealogical facts it shows, and the author is to be congratulated on his careful work.

RUINED AND DESERTED CHURCHES. By Lucy Elizabeth Beedham. Pp. 106. With numerous illustrations. Post 8vo. London: Elliot Stock. 1908. 5s.

THIS fascinating little book is likely to have a wide circle of readers, not only for the pleasant gossip it contains about ruined and disused churches, but for the original pictures which give a charm to a well-written narrative. The lady who planned it can use her camera with as much skill as her pen, and it is the blending of these accomplishments in so rare a combination which makes the book so attractive. We shall be much surprised if the publication is not welcomed by the antiquary, artist, architect, and ecclesiologist, as well as by the unprofessional book-lover who wishes to study at his leisure some of the most beautiful objects of our English landscapes.

CAESAR'S COMMENTARIES ON THE GALLIC WAR. By T. Rice Holmes, Hon. Litt.D. (Dublin). Pp. xx, 297, with Plan. Post 8vo. London: Macmillan & Co. 1908. 4s. 6d. nett.

REGARDED either as an English rendering to be used for translation purposes, or as a companion volume to Dr. Holmes's *Caesar's Conquest of Gaul* and *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, this work is admirable. The English is free and literary, and at the same time true to the meaning of the original. The book is well furnished with footnotes, explanatory of the text and its subject-matter and giving references to works bearing on the subject, and it has an excellent map and a very complete index.

The tract on *The 'Interpretations' of the Bishops and their influence on Elizabethan Episcopal Policy*, by W. H. Kennedy (Alcuin Club Tracts: Longmans & Co. 1908) forms an interesting contribution towards the

solution of the vexed question of the correct interpretation of the Ornaments Rubric in the Book of Common Prayer. The 'Interpretations' have been known to students in different and generally imperfect forms since the time of Strype; but Mr. Kennedy has been able to produce what will generally be accepted as the authoritative version, based as it is on a careful examination of sounds. Mr. Kennedy in his introduction treats the document as evidence of 'a wider policy' on the part of the bishops, and as 'the earliest attempt on their part to dispense with some of the legal ceremonial requirements rather than alienate the vast majority of the clergy.' He has satisfied himself that 'the ceremonial compromise erected by the document was in some cases effectual.' The subject is a thorny one, and the document is open to widely differing interpretations, but all students of the period are indebted to Mr. Kennedy for the production of a complete text for the first time.

DAVID BAIRD SMITH.

To the Clarendon Press we are indebted for a very pretty reprint of Galt's *Annals of the Parish* (pp. xxiv, 216; with frontispiece, 2s. 6d. nett), to which Mr. G. S. Gordon, of Magdalen College, has contributed an interesting introduction. We are inclined, however, to think that Mr. Gordon underestimates the interest taken in Galt when he says that 'the present generation knows nothing about him.'

The English County History movement for schools already noticed in Mr. E. A. Greening Lamborn's little story-volume on Berkshire (*S.H.R.* vi. 213) is carried further by the same author's *School History of Berkshire* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908, 8vo, pp. 256, with 61 illustrations, price 1s. 6d.), which is a bright, popular sketch. Its illustrations, the work of the author's pupils, are distinctively architectural, and the work shows kindred sympathies. In the notice of Windsor the error, corrected by Mr. J. T. T. Brown, as to King James I.'s prison being Windsor is repeated. The *Kingis Quair* may have been in some degree a historical romance of Berkshire, but Mr. Lamborn is clearly wrong in supposing that the royal author was continuously a prisoner at Windsor. Berkshire annals are full of spirit, and a spirited interpreter of them, like Mr. Lamborn, may well make the schoolboy's task of study a patriotic pleasure.

*The English Historical Review* sustains a level of excellence which is beyond the reach of envy, and is chiefly due to its cultivation of studies at first-hand by specialist authorities and to its constancy of textual contributions. The January number shows its customary catholicity, covering themes so widely apart as the campaign of A.D. 324 between Constantine and Licinius, which determined the fortunes of the Empire and made Europe Christendom, the Counter-Reformation in Germany as illustrated in the career (1521-69) of the Jesuit Petrus Canisius, the economic causes of the Scottish Union, and the British relations with Napoleon in 1802. Dr. Figgis draws from the memorials of the suave and able Canisius a spirited sketch of the clerical, social and political conditions prevalent

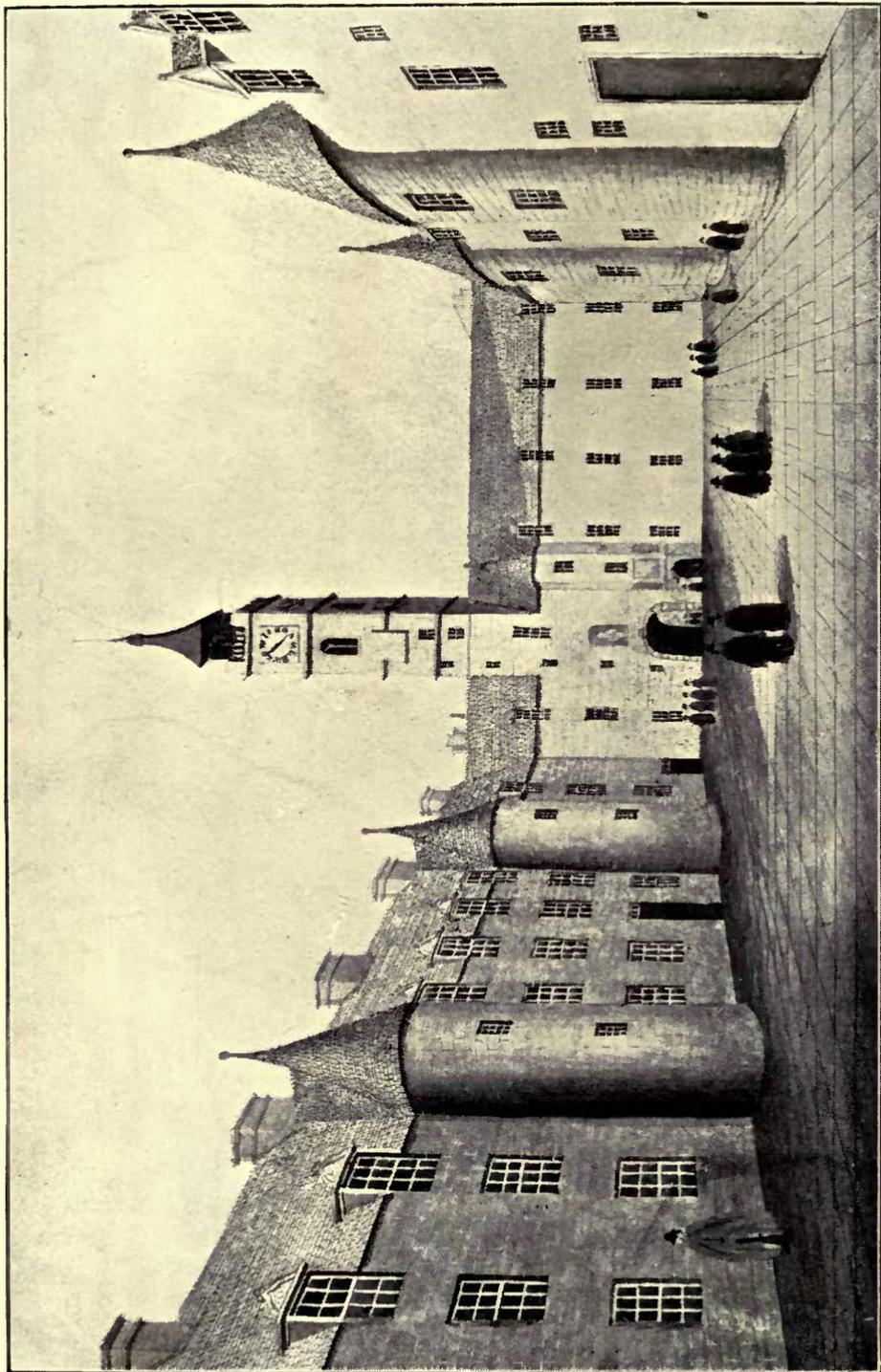
between the classes which made the long debate and struggle of the Reformation, especially the students and controversialists of the time. Numerous citations from his utterances are lively and pregnant reflections of a disputatious age. Miss Theodora Keith, in tracing the influence of trading relationships upon policy in England and Scotland, appears to advantage in a field to which some of her studies in our own columns have served a useful purpose of introduction. Her present essay emphasises the direct force of the economic cross purposes, combined with the question of the succession, as the compelling elements of the Union. In a paper on an Italian rendering of Tito Livio's *Vita Henrici Quinti*, Mr. Hamilton Wylie by printing several pages of the Italian MS. text gives the proof that the translator worked from Tito Livio's original, not from the expanded narrative attributed to Thomas Elmham. The latter work Mr. Wylie inclines to regard as only a version of the life by Tito Livio 'expanded and embellished by himself.'

*The Genealogist* (Oct.) among its pedigree records, which are many and serviceable, with heraldic plates, prints a Roll of Arms of 1673.

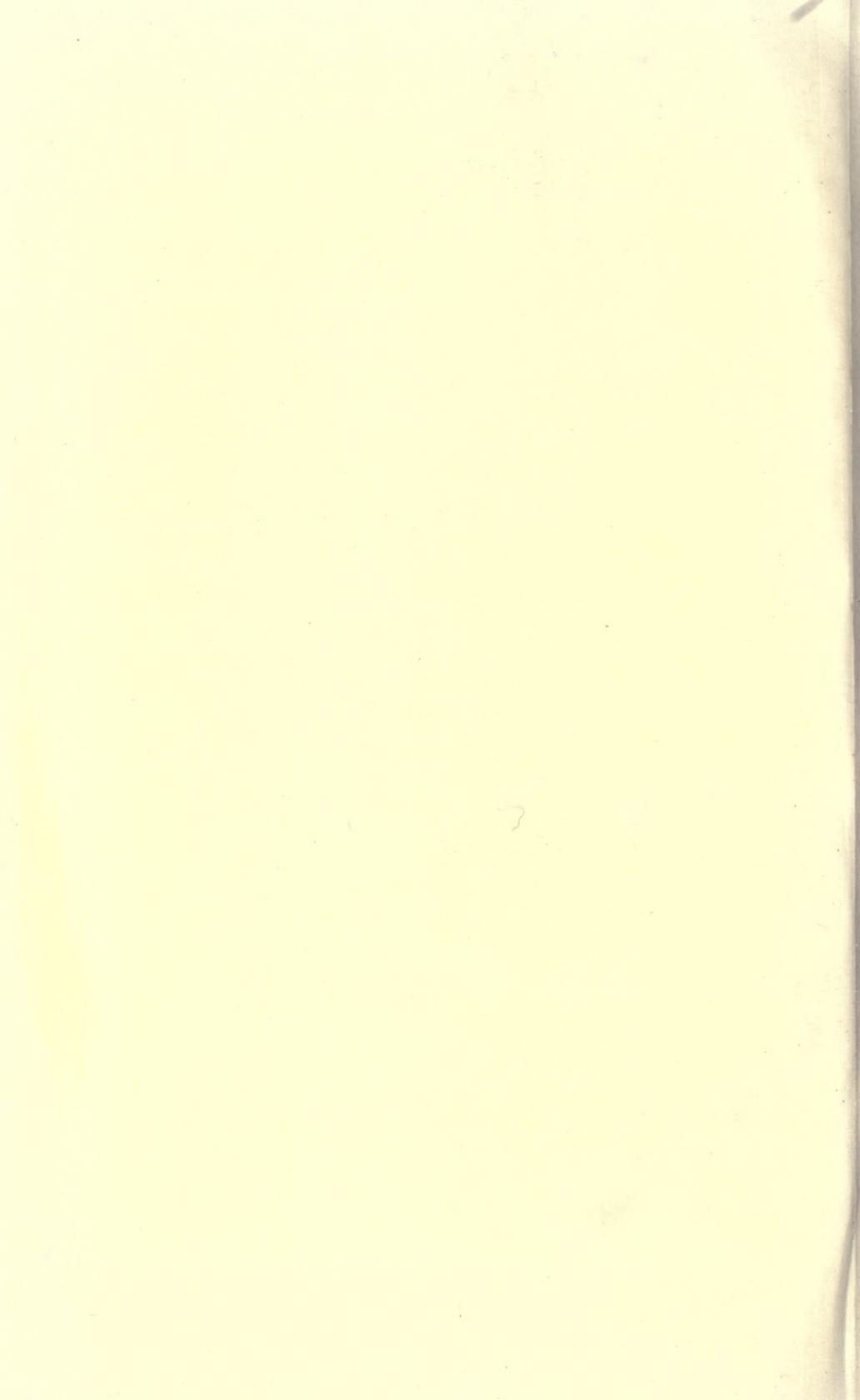
The Devonshire church of Branscombe and the Sussex manor house of Cowdray are chief themes of the *Reliquary* for January. Its illustrations comprise fine bits of early pottery.

*The Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (May-Nov.) collects an endless variety of provincial memorials, and illustrates many of them. The high cross of Drumgolan, the heraldry of Clonoe churchyard, the cross-slabs in the Franciscan friary at Doe Castle and at Dunsford Protestant Church, the records and insignia of Irish volunteers, the O'Neill Castle at Seafin, and the round church of Carrickfergus Castle, supply pictures and text as interesting as the portraits and biographies of Ulster notables of whom the poets and harpers are a *genus* by themselves. Andrew Craig, Presbyterian minister of Lisburn, wrote an autobiography in or about 1787, and the frontispiece of the May-August number reproduces an original drawing by him of Glasgow University *circa* 1790, showing the interior of the quadrangle, with gowned figures promenading the flagstones, and giving a peep through the archway under the clock-tower to High Street. By permission of Messrs. Davidson and M'Cormack we reproduce this.

Several papers in the January number of the *American Historical Review* concern European subjects. One of these by G. Seeliger takes up a vital side of feudalism in an attempt to ascertain the relations between seigniorial authority and the state in early German history. He dismisses the proposition that seigniorial authority was the true cradle of German territorialism, and that out of it the German states were developed. He denies that the German town grew out of seigniorial institutions concerning agriculture, holds that the empire formed the German state, which was never broken up into the dominions of private lords, as



UNIVERSITY OF GLASGOW, CIRCA 1790.



Germany was never fully feudalised, and arrives at the major conclusion that all the essential elements of corporate and communal power originated in the empire, and are imperial powers transferred to local spheres. But these opinions are provokingly theoretical and unconvincing.

Another essay, very different, by Prof. Alex. Bugge, deals with the origin and credibility of the Icelandic Saga. He asserts that the saga developed in the Viking settlements on the British Isles earlier than it did in Norway or in Iceland. The first saga to arise concerning a Norwegian king was the Saga of Olaf Tryggvason who fell in the year 1000. A saga of him was narrated in England in the eleventh century. Olaf was, according to Prof. Bugge, confounded with another Olaf, the Northumbrian king, known by the Celtic name Cuaran. He fought at Brunanburh in 937, and has been regarded as the prototype of Havelok the Dane (*S.H.R.* i. 446). Mr. Bugge is to discuss the entire question in a Year-book of Northern Antiquities, after which Prof. Skeat and Prof. Gollancz may have a word to say about the interesting romance-pedigree.

A statement that Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum* 'is full of Viking stories,' and that Geoffrey was quoting from an Irish saga on the battle of Clontarf when describing the fight of the armies of Brennius and Belinus, is hardly established by the citations made. The armies met near a forest named Calaterium, says Geoffrey (iii. 3), and their cohorts fell 'like corn before the reapers.' The same phrase is used in an Irish saga about the fall of the warriors in the forest at Clontarf in the battle of 1014, and the Irish saga connects with an ancient Norse saga of King Brian. There is bold, ingenious and not unpersuasive speculation in thus equating King Brennius with King Brian Boru, the forest and battlefield of Calaterium on the sea coast with the forest and battlefield of Clontarf, near Dublin, the harvest-like fall of Norwegians and Britons with the slaughter—'as when a great host are reaping a field'—of Danes and Irish in 1014, and the final flight of the defeated Brennius and his Norwegians to their ships pursued by Belinus to the flight of the defeated Danes pursued by the victorious troops of Brian Boru. But it is a very far cry, and before believing one would fain seek further and better grounds of faith.

The *Annual Report of the American Historical Association for the year 1906* (vol. i. pp. 454, vol. ii. pp. 572, Washington Government Printing Office, 1908), although naturally taken up chiefly with material of American history, displays at once the catholicity of research and the energetic prosecution of study abroad as well as at home. Indian Consolidation and the Civil War are native themes discussed, and the whole of the second volume is devoted to reports on the public and local archives of various states. Several papers deal with phases of British history prior to the Declaration of Independence. Miss Susan M. Kingsbury compares the Virginia Company, organized in 1609, with the English trading companies of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and shows the concern not only as a trading company but also as a vital part of the general

commercial movement which advanced the colony and made easy the development of Crown control on the dissolution of the association. Her conclusion urges the imperative need for publication of many records of similar companies in order to disclose the economic history of the seventeenth century. Mr. G. L. Beer surveys the general colonial policy of Britain from 1760 until 1765, in which dominant considerations were the desire to encourage colonial production of goods imported by Britain, to play off the British West Indies against the French in the Antilles, and to levy a share of the costs of garrisons from the colonies on which they were stationed.

Professor E. Channing, in an appreciation of William Penn, emphasizes the want of practical judgment which explained the failure of his fine theories and intentions when applied to the mechanism of actual government in Pennsylvania. Pedagogic reports of great interest register a conference on the teaching of history in the elementary schools, and another on its place in the college curriculum. The syllabus for school courses connecting European and American events from Roman times to the present day is a capital programme, while the views of contributors to a discussion on more advanced general teaching display healthy disagreements, both as regards sequence of subjects and method, as well as matter, of instruction. Nor is the interest of the medieval student left wholly ungratified. Prof. Dana C. Munro has found an attractive title to work upon in the 'Renaissance of the Twelfth Century,' which he seeks to establish by its development of political ideas, of literature, and even of science, especially instancing geography nourished by the crusades. John of Salisbury's argument for tyrannicide is connected with Suger's career as a statesman and the preaching of St. Bernard. Mr. H. O. Taylor has allowed himself only a little more scope in 'A Medieval Humanist,' viz. Bishop Hildebert of Lavardin (1095-1134), whose letters and verses reward a re-examination. His verse was worth quotation; there is still charm in such a couplet as this about the remains of statuary at Rome:

'Hic superum formas superi mirantur et ipsi,  
Et cupiunt fictis vultibus esse pares.'

But when the Bishop drops into the free leonine hexameters familiar to his age, his critic should hardly commit the solecism of saying that his pen was freed from the restraints of metre.

In the issue for October last of the *Annales de l'Est et du Nord*, M. Petit-Dutaillis gives in nearly eighty pages of most valuable and curious text, the concluding instalment (see *S.H.R.* v. 381, 515; vi. 100) of the letters of remission granted by Philip the Good between 1438 and 1467. A strange record of crimes is presented by the documents. Much of it is drunken violence originating in the tavern, whether *le Paon*, *le Baers*, *le Coquelet*, *le Tour a vaiches*, *les Trois Roys* or *la Fleur de lys*, and the quarrels are sometimes rendered with a vigour extraordinary for such writs. Revenge and jealousy are frequent motives of disturbance in spite of the 'peace and satisfaction'—a security for good behaviour to which parties have previously had to subject themselves. Types closely

similar to instances cited in previous notices constantly recur, for vengeance and turbulence are chronic.

An example or two may be added. Jehan Lecdoul had complained of getting a beating from Jehan Caudun. Soon after Denis Caffet, brother-in-law of Jehan Lecdoul, came one night upon Jehan Caudun and in revenge attacked and stabbed him with a boar spear on the thigh, so that he died; wherefore Denis fled and went a-crusading into Turkey in 1464 and elsewhere, and afterwards on pilgrimage to Rome. On his return to Lille in 1467 Denis, with six others, went to drink in the tavern of the *Fleur de lys*. His comrades left him there without paying the score, and as it was 'the custom of the said town that the last pays all,' he was sent to the town prison, where says the good Duke who pardoned him, 'he is doomed to end his days if our grace and mercy are not granted to him.' Occasionally advantage is taken of the privilege of sanctuary. A form of insult is to refuse to drink with one who proposes it, the refusal leading in the case of Cornille Gheeritssone to a mishap *en chaude colle*—'of the which stroke the said Therry about five or six days afterwards terminated his life by death.' Subsequently Cornille made peace and compact with Therry's relatives, which the Duke confirmed by a remission. Some of the narratives suggest how surprisingly little variation the vocabulary of personal abuse shows in the Newgate Calendar of Europe from the fourteenth century to our own. M. Petit-Dutaillis, by the tribute he has drawn from the archives, justifies the conclusions of his introductory dissertation by a body of authentic evidence as remarkable for its actuality and vividness as for its social, historical and legal significance. How grimly the old order was dying, yet how steadily it was dying, has nowhere been better shown than by the series of these articles which we are almost reluctant to see completed.

## Queries and Replies

WINE ON THE NIGHT OF A DEATH (*S.H.R.* vi. 141). Mr. J. G. A. Baird thinks it difficult to account for the purchase of '8 bottles of sack ye night ye said Anna died' (12th May, 1699). I venture to suggest that it was for the use of those who would 'wake,' or watch, the body during the three days and nights between the lady's death and her funeral. I asked my mother—an old lady of ninety-six—about the custom of 'waking' the dead, as she remembers it in Banffshire in her early days.

The origin of the custom, she informs me,—so, she says, she used to be told,—was lest rats, or cats, 'or other vermin,' should begin to gnaw the corpse! Houses, especially in the country, were very open—the doors did not close; and there were many wild creatures about, polecats and foxes, as well as rats. Obviously, if this reason for the practice existed in Scotland, it existed no less in Ireland, where the cabins of the poor were so wretched.

So far back as my mother's memory extends—and she clearly remembers deaths among her kindred in 1820, and before that—the practice of 'waking' the dead had been given up among the better classes, whose houses were well finished; but there were some families even in the upper ranks who retained the old custom, simply because it was a custom. Among the poor, however, in their miserable cottages (the older sort of which, as she remembers them, had no structural partitions whatever), the need continued, and with the need the observance. Friends and neighbours sat with the dead by turns, both by day and night. Among the more pious, one of the little company would read aloud a chapter of the Bible; possibly the same thing might be done where there was less piety, for the purpose of scaring 'bogles.' Readers of *Rob Roy* will remember how Andrew Fairservice employed 'the namiest chapter in Nehemiah' as an exorcism; while readers of *Redgauntlet* will recall how 'naebody cared to wake' the dead Sir Robert, 'like any other corpse.' Dougal provided himself for the occasion with a tass of brandy; the genteel friends of the Edinburgh merchant's widow very naturally would have 'sack.' The Banffshire peasants of the first half of the nineteenth century took care to provide either beer, or a bottle of whisky, and bread. The custom was still necessary in the Old Town of Keith, and still in use there, when my mother left that county in 1845. JAMES COOPER.

The University, Glasgow.

20th February, 1909.

THE MAKING OF IRELAND AND ITS UNDOING (*S.H.R.* vi. 194). The questions opened in this book have been hitherto little studied. In fact, the whole history of the Celtic races comprised in the United Kingdom is in a very backward state, not only in Ireland but in Scotland. Ignorance has remained entrenched behind a theory of barbarism. When that theory is broken down we shall have a more true, a more varied, and a more interesting survey of the history of these islands than is now possible.

In his review of my book Dr. Lawlor's object is to show that no serious attention need be given to my argument for a richer trade and a higher culture in Medieval Ireland than has been formerly supposed. I should regret if the idea prevailed that I have proved nothing, and that there need be no further curiosity; because I am particularly anxious to awaken curiosity, so that new workers, and many of them, may open fresh studies in the history of Ireland and Scotland.

On this ground alone I ask for some explanation in your pages.

A few words first as to the authorities which Dr. Lawlor accuses me of leaving out. Much leniency is shown to those who maintain the orthodox legend of Irish barbarism. They may leave out what they choose.<sup>1</sup> A sudden strictness, on the other hand, is discovered for those who dare to question the legend. I may venture a word on my own behalf. I was not writing a general history of Ireland, but merely gathering together some indications as to the trade, social life, and culture of medieval Irishmen—a study which has been too generally ignored by historians. Some selection of materials was inevitable. The Statutes are very important, and I quoted those of England and Ireland so far as they related to my subject. I did not quote them from Berry's *Early Irish Statutes* because that volume appeared after most of my book was in print. There is very little for me in the *Pipe Rolls*. The *Calendar of Justiciary Rolls* covers so far eight years, and for that time confirms my statements as to foreign trade. The *Calendars of Patent and Close Rolls* give certain licenses, mostly to Englishmen, for trade, and incidentally strengthen the argument for the export from Ireland of corn, peas, beans, and wool, and add some evidence for the trade with Scotland. The references confirm my story, but they are not of much use to me. The *Fiants* are quite useless for my purpose; grants of lands, fees, pardons, they contain scarcely anything on trade, and nothing on culture. The trade and culture of Ireland were not all organised by the English Government, and were indeed mainly independent of it. The most important references are not in the English records. I might rather have been blamed for not having used the *Hanseatisches Urkundenbuch*, a fault which I have remedied for a future edition.

We now proceed to the main body of criticisms. I have gone over a wide ground in attempting to gather up indications of trade, social life,

<sup>1</sup> Has not Mr. Bagwell omitted in his many volumes of Irish history to give any reference to the records of the Bruges Staple or of the Hanse towns for Irish trade, or the evidences of Irish culture given by Stanihurst, in Irish manuscripts, or in the work of scholars such as Dr. Norman Moore or Mr. Whitley Stokes?

and culture in the Middle Ages. Dr. Lawlor takes a small part of my account of Waterford, and examines half a dozen points. My special contention with regard to Irish towns is, that the colonists and the Irish got on well together in them, and through trade and marriage and common interests learned to live together happily and profitably for their country. It is interesting to find how singularly unwelcome this theory is. I am quite unable to understand the particular kind of jealousy felt by Englishmen in Ireland for the reputation of their ancestors or fore-runners. No slur on their fair name seems to be as dark as the suggestion that they ever made friends with an Irishman, gave him equality of opportunity, or lived even for business purposes on good terms with him. At once the Englishman of Ireland is up in arms. *That* at least their worthy ancestors and models of behaviour never did! The stainless colonists were too 'loyal' for that. They lived on their own little local industries, a small thing indeed, but the laborious Englishman's own; what had he to say to the 'hinterland,' what need to make friends with any Irishman? It seems even now to hurt an Englishman less to tell of his plundering, hanging, selling into slavery, refusing religion or education to the Irish, than to suggest that he took them into his towns and did prosperous business with them on equal terms. Surely we may exclaim with Lynch, 'That time could not slacken or cool down the fiery ardour of this hatred, that English obstinacy should be eternal, is truly astonishing.'

Dr. Lawlor is not without this characteristic jealousy for his race. He cannot believe that Waterford drew from its 'hinterland' Irish manufactured goods. We need not fancy manufactured articles were sent out to pay for silks and furs and wines and spices. 'Foreign fineries' were bought in some ruder and more indolent a fashion. He blames me for not informing my readers of the document that tells how the extravagance of women in dress brought their city to poverty and idleness, with the 'obvious conclusion' that a trade must have been small indeed to be thus easily ruined. I can only answer that there is no such document. As there is positive evidence of a large trade (for medieval times) we are not left to fancy conjectures. We know the merchants bought cloth from all the Irish counties round them. I have given proofs (pp. 145-152) that English traders during and after the wars of conquest, were backed by the English government in carrying away 'yarn unwrought,' for the benefit of English weavers and to the loss of the Irish. I have shown how Lord-Deputy Sidney attempted to save 'the manufacture of commodities within the country,' and how his efforts were foiled. Waterford, an active manufacturing centre, shared in the poverty and distress which this policy was bringing on Ireland. The Council sought to revive the home industries, first by forbidding export of wool, then by an order for the use of home fabrics. In this ordinance of 1599 nothing is said of extravagance; but only a complaint that citizens and their servants 'do wear in their attire no part or parcell of anything wrought within this city or realm'; and to the end 'the inhabitants of this city may be withdrawn from idleness and made to work and content themselves with the clothes wrought

and made within this realm,' it was ordered that no citizen or his servants 'shall wear in their attire or garment any fur, fringe, lace, silk, or any woollen or linen *save such as shall be wrought within this city or realm.*' The economic situation was very like that of our own day in Ireland. It would be manifestly absurd to accuse the modern Sinn Fein party, who urge the use of Irish fabrics, of having brought Irish commerce to ruin by their previous spendthrift extravagance in dress. The question was really the violent capture of the market by the dominant partner, then in a very dominating mood.

2. Dr. Lawlor accuses me of quoting, or rather misquoting, the rule against defaming a man by calling him Irishman. I did not quote or misquote, but gave a summary which I see no reason to alter. The ordinance was made in 1384, and may have been taken from two Statutes passed some few years before, in 1357 and 1366, forbidding quarrels between Englishmen born in England or in Ireland. Whether there were enough new in-comers of English birth in 1384 into Waterford to make such a rule necessary I cannot say. It would seem at least possible that in the common use of ordinary people the phrase came to fit the facts, and was used to forbid quarrels and defamations between men of English and mixed Irish blood. If the rule took this wider meaning in Waterford (as I think it must inevitably have done in Galway) then it shows more fusion of races than was contemplated or desired in the Statute of Kilkenny.

3. As to Irish as well as English freemen carrying arms (1470) I quoted the words 'be he never so simple,' because in the circumstances of the capture and settlement of Waterford, it is probable that the class described 'be he never so simple,' would contain Irishmen. I think my sentence as it stands is liable to mistake, and I alter it to the statement that every freeman, Irish or English, 'be he never so simple,' was bound to carry arms.

4. Dr. Lawlor objects to my saying that 'their language was secured to the Irish.' The ordinance of 1492 decreed that freemen and foreigners were to plead in English in the courts, the foreigner having 'a man that can speak English to declare his matter, *except one party be of the country; then every such dweller shall be at liberty to speak Irish.*' This seems to me to give what I contend for, that no Irishman was forced to speak English in court. How much Irish was used in the courts depended on how many Irishmen there were in the town.

5. In his suggestion that Irishmen were put under a special disability by the town's requiring them to have 'their liberty of the king' Dr. Lawlor overlooks the conditions of the case. The rule that a man of Irish blood must have his freedom from the king before he was received into the city does not imply any distrust or hostility of the towns to the Irish. By English law Irishmen, unless enfranchised by special charters, were not admitted to the benefit and protection of the laws of England; and they were therefore disabled from bringing actions in court, and so far out of the protection of the law that it was often adjudged no felony to kill a mere Irishman in time of peace. (See

Davies, *Discovery*, 77-101; Berry, Stat. 211; *H.M.C. Rep.* x. app. v. 308.) Now by the rules of Waterford, as distinguished from the laws of the English government, the slaying of a man, English or Irish, was punished under one law (*H.M.C. Rep.* x. app. v. 309-7); and all pleas were tried in the same court. It was thus essential that every Irish citizen should be openly admitted to the use and protection of the common law, to preserve the order of the city, and to prevent legal complications. The English government, if we believe Davies (p. 86), intended to make a perpetual separation between English and Irish. The city rulers, on the other hand, united them on terms of complete equality in the courts, which, I think, was a reasonable and friendly relation.

6. Again, Dr. Lawlor says I do not 'seem to refer' to the ordinance against selling materials for a boat to any idle-man of the surrounding counties—which law, he says, 'is hardly consistent with relations entirely friendly with the neighbouring Irish.' Dr. Lawlor takes idle-men to be Irishmen: Mr. Dunlop in the *Quarterly Review* assumes them to be Englishmen. In any case I have pointed out on p. 182 that ordinances of this kind were the usual medieval precautions taken by towns everywhere against the smuggling competition of outland or country men. Waterford had a large traffic throughout the counties of Waterford, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Wexford, and Carlow, for frieze, timber, and victuals, much of it river-borne. A considerable timber trade in the fifteenth century was carried in boats, the number of men to each boat, and their wages being fixed, and all sworn to be true to the king and *the city* (*H.M.C. Rep.* x. app. v. 296, 299, 325). No doubt the monopoly of boat traffic was jealously guarded, not only against the Irish smugglers of the surrounding counties but against the English interlopers also.

So far for my 'curious method of dealing with the evidence' as regards the towns. I still adhere to my belief, founded on many illustrations which I have given, that in the towns as in the country there were friendly relations and a gradual fusion of the two races. It is such instances that prove to me the belief I have expressed that all the wrong-doing was not on the side of the English. (See p. 233.) Where the English and Irish settled down together to do their common business, and take share alike in the development of the country, they did well enough. An 'exploiting' government from London, and 'adventurers' flocking over to grab the land and expel the 'natives,' made another story.

Finally, Dr. Lawlor confounds me as to the culture of Ireland by a single effort. He says I have made too much of Waterford School. Here is a list of my assumptions. I state that in 1518 the scholars were numerous, because I presume that unless there had been a good many 'scholars' who bought wax to make their own candles, the town would not have troubled to forbid that practice. In 1469 there were a large number of Irish gentlemen's children boarded in Waterford, and considering the general love of education in Ireland, and the universal speaking of Latin as a second tongue, I believe they went to school to learn it. In such a centre of commerce is it conceivable that some

of these for business purposes learned somehow English, French, or Spanish? We have later evidence that it was the custom of the Irish gentry to send their children to town schools for training. In reply to an imaginary assertion that the Irish lived as far as possible from the towns—'the new Irish and the old dwell in the same places,' said Lynch. 'If the character of the townsmen were so depraved, then the whole nobility of Ireland, both of the ancient and of the newer stock, would not send their children among them to be instructed both in letters and in polite manners.' I further presume the school was a sufficient one, because Peter White, bred at Waterford, had gone thence to Oxford and was lecturing there on metaphysics in 1563. Other Waterford men, Walshe and Quemerford, were at Oxford in 1530 and 1535. I suppose they had some education first. And I venture to guess they learned Irish geography and history, because Richard Stanihurst, pupil of Peter White the Waterford man, had learned something of these studies, and neither master nor pupil would have gained any such knowledge at Oxford. I suppose Peter White picked up something of them at Waterford.

These are my suppositions. Dr. Lawlor may prefer other suppositions, that these Waterford Englishmen learned nothing, having too petty and narrow a trade to need even Latin, and taught nothing to the Irish who came among them. Does therefore the whole evidence I have given of learning in Ireland fall to the ground? Is there nothing worthy of attention in the cumulative argument I have offered in some 150 pages? Will it be possible in future to write of Ireland on the unquestioned assumption that its people were barbarous in customs, incapable of manufactures, and recalcitrant to learning?

I have not space to notice a number of other points to which I should have liked to call attention, and I can only in conclusion urge that Celtic history shall be taken up on all sides with new vigour, by men earnest to open up fresh fields of enquiry and knowledge. It is ardently to be hoped that Scotch students will pursue the study of Celtic Scotland on better lines than those of Skene, and will collect what may still be known of its medieval trade and culture, and its relations in both these directions with Ireland.

ALICE STOPFORD GREEN.

I have read Mrs. Green's remarks with care, and with all readiness to be convinced. But I see no reason to modify or to withdraw anything that I said in my notice of her book; and it seems to me that no good purpose would be gained by examining afresh the points raised in her reply. I content myself, therefore, with an attempt to remove a misconception by which it appears to be in large measure inspired. Mrs. Green describes me as an Englishman in Ireland jealous for the honour of my ancestors, 'the stainless colonists,' and arguing (so she insinuates) with corresponding prejudice. But 'very many of her most confident assertions will be found to have little or no evidence to support them,' and in the present case I am unable even to guess the grounds on

which her assumption rests. I should have supposed that my surname would have led one so well versed in Irish affairs to a different view of my nationality. The fact is that I am an Irishman; and I have good reason to believe that there flows in my veins not a drop of the blood of the 'colonists,' except such as may have filtered through generations of men *Hibernis ipsis Hiberniores*. But I am a seeker for historic truth, and I have yet to learn that I should be more likely to attain the object of my search if I allowed myself to be guided by anti-English animus.

H. J. LAWLOR.

#### CELTIC SCOTLAND IN THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

The thesis of Mr. Evan M. Barron, in *The Scottish Historical Review*, vol. vi. pp. 129-139) is that 'the old Celtic kingdom of Scotland really maintained and ultimately won that struggle.' What is or was 'the old Celtic kingdom of Scotland'? If Mr. Barron means as much of Scotland as was held, say, by Duncan ('the gracious Duncan,' or the usurper properly punished by Macbeth, as you please), nobody will differ from him. Again, all over Scotland in the time of Robert Bruce, the people, even when they had long been English in speech and in institutions, must have had in their veins a good deal of the blood of ancestral Celts or, at least, of ancestors who spoke a Celtic language.

Mr. Barron's argument, however, is that 'the part played by the *North of Scotland* in the War of Independence has been consistently ignored by Scottish historians.' This would suggest that Southern Scots alone have written the history of Scotland. Why have the northern men been so indolent? But the fact seems to me to be that Mr. Barron conceives of 'the north of Scotland' and 'Celtic Scotland' as synonymous terms, while he also appears to regard 'the Lowlanders' as necessarily the people of the south. By the Lowlands, when I write of the Lowlands, I mean 'the low countrie,' as the bereaved lady sings in 'I wish I were where Goudie rins.' I mean the fertile low country which is found all along the east coast and in the *hinterland* of the east coast in Fifeshire, Angus, Aberdeenshire, Kincardineshire, the county of Moray, Ross-shire, and the shire of Inverness, and so on. By Bruce's time in the greater part of this territory burghs were established whose inhabitants were English in language, ideas and institutions, while the *seigneurs* were usually English, Anglo-Norman, or, even when of Celtic origin, Anglicised in name, speech, and manners. Take the names of the leaders who, at one time or another, sided with Bruce, north of Forth. David de Moravia is not a Celtic name: we all know that the higher clergy were either English or Anglicised by the time of Bruce, like Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews. Does Mr. Barron suppose that the Bishop of Moravia preached a 'Holy War'—in Gaelic, and that in Gaelic the preachers of the North-Eastern Lowlands addressed their flocks, including, for example, the writer of the well-known letter from Forfar?<sup>1</sup> I shall be happy to consider any evidence to this effect.

<sup>1</sup> Bain, ii. p. 513.

We may ascertain the speech, and to some extent the race of the leaders of northern Scotland from Perth to Elgin, by the inspection of the portion of Ragman's Roll for that district. Out of more than eighty names of signatories, I find only six at most which, I think, may possibly be Celtic. Fitzcan, perhaps, is Macan (?), but I have not observed a 'Mac' in the northern list. Now, no fewer than forty-five clan names with 'Mac' occur in the volume of Bain's Calendar which contains Ragman's Roll. I am not denying that many of the gentlemen and burghers who sign may have had Celtic blood, more or less, but they were Anglicised in names, speech, and ideas. Mr. Barron's Frasers, Cheynes, Hays, Berkeleys, Wisemans, Fentons, are non-Celtic names; non-Celtic is the great Alexander Pilche, like the famous cricketer Fuller Pilch.

Again, Mr. Barron must be aware that the landowners of Aberdeenshire and Angus were ancestors of the men who, at Harlaw, when 'Donald came branking down the brae,' repulsed the truly Celtic warriors that had trysted their galleys in Loch Aline. They were Lowlanders, the cavalry who

'Rode the ranks sae rude  
As they would among the fern,'

when

'Hielands and Lowlands might mournful be,  
For the sair fecht o' Harlaw.'

The regions where the leading men were Celtic are the west and the Isles. Their policy, as far as they were united in a policy, was alliance with England against Anglicised Scotland, against the Scottish Crown. This policy endured till the fall of the Lords of the Isles, and appears in the Treaty of Ardtornish and Westminster.

The north of Scotland did to Bruce knight's service, who denies it? He was superior of the Earldom of Garioch, and natural guardian of the young Earl of Mar, as Mr. Barron says. He had these claims on the north, and I have shewn irrefutably that, in the north, the leading men were Anglicised Lowlanders in an enormous proportion. Their followings, Celt or English, followed them. Bruce won the towns more rapidly than in the south, because they were more remote from the English base, and the burghers and knights were Anglicised, were Lowlanders.

When we add to the northern leaders of non-Celtic names,

Douglas,  
Randolph,  
Keith,  
Lindsay,  
Wallace,  
Stewart,  
Ramsay,  
Thomson,  
Boyd,

we see that the men who made Scotland independent were almost all 'Lowland,' 'Anglo-Norman,' and (whether they had Celtic ancestors or not) were men of English speech, bred under English institutions.

The most eminent and serviceable Celts who joined Bruce were Donald of Islay, Sir Niall Campbell, the Knight of Lochow, whose clan, till the days of the gleyed marquis, was true to the Crown, and Angus Og, to whom, I think, Bruce owed his Highland and Island contingent at Bannockburn. Without these Celts the Maccowalls would have been too heavy for Bruce, and these Celts played a noble part in shaking off the English yoke. But surely no southern historian has denied to the Celts their share in the glory? Again, the followings of the Lowland or Anglicised nobles, knights and bishops of the north (present at Inverness in 1312) must have been, to a large extent, of Celtic origin. But they were brought into the cause by their leaders, men of English speech, bred in English institutions.

I no more 'hold a special brief' against the Celts than Mr. Barron holds a brief for them. It was not 'unpatriotic' for the western Celts to be old enemies of Anglicised Scotland, as they proclaim themselves in their dealings with Henry VIII. Their king was the Lord of the Isles, or any Macheth or Macwilliam, their ally was England, their cause was the retention of their land and institutions, and recovery of the territory from which the English had been driving them for many centuries. Their Bannockburn was Nechtan's Mere: their defeat was Harlaw. They were not to be successful; they had little education, had scarcely a truly Celtic town, and they had no horses fit for cavalry use.

ANDREW LANG.

**THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE.** Mr. Evan Barron's complaint that Scottish historians have given undue credit to the people of Lowland Scotland for their share in winning independence for the realm, raises a somewhat invidious question which, in the interest of civil harmony, it might perhaps have been wiser to allow to slumber. He attributes Bruce's success 'to the support he obtained in the north and in other parts of Celtic Scotland.'

Now Celtic Scotland, roughly speaking, consisted in the fourteenth century of the Highland counties (not including Caithness, Orkney, and Shetland, where the population was chiefly Scandinavian), the Western Isles and Galloway. In these districts, owing to their physical character, Bruce and his adherents most naturally sought shelter in times of stress. He found in the Celtic and semi-Celtic north several powerful territorial lords, chiefly of Norman or Flemish descent—Fraseres, Hays, Keiths, Morays, Lindsays, etc., who brought out their feudal retainers in his cause. That the people at large—the burgesses, kindly tenants and *adscripti glebae* cared little of which king they were subjects we may surely believe; as little as did the Atholl clansmen whom Lord Tullibardine had to burn out of their houses to make them fight for Prince Charlie in 1745. Ensign Small, employed on secret service in the Highlands in 1750 no doubt reported

truly that—‘The gentry are fond of a rising; the commoners hate it’; and so it must ever be in dynastic war. In the southern uplands of Galloway, a thoroughly Celtic district, the chiefs and their people were all for Norman Balliol and entertained a deadly hatred for Bruce.

Most of the hard fighting, from Stirling Bridge in 1297 to Bannockburn in 1314, went on in the lowlands; the burden of defence lying especially and constantly upon the English-speaking countries of Lothian and the Border. What forces could Bruce have reckoned on had the stout pikemen of Annandale and the Upper Ward of Lanarkshire failed him? How would his cause have been affected by defection of the Knight of Liddesdale’s border riders or the bowmen of Ettrick and Teviotdale?

Turning to the ethnology of the most prominent champions of independence, the preponderance is certainly not Celtic. Besides Robert Bruce (himself, like John Balliol, of Norman descent, but born of a Celtic mother) there occur to mind Wallace, his colleague young Andrew Moray, Randolph, Earl of Moray, Sir James Douglas, Sir Christopher Seton, Malcolm, Earl of Lennox, Sir Robert Keith, who commanded the small force of cavalry at Bannockburn, Walter the Steward, who shared with Douglas the command of the left wing at the same battle, Sir Simon Fraser, Bishop William Fraser of St. Andrews, and Bishop Robert Wishart of Glasgow. Of these, Wallace may be claimed as a Brythonic Celt—*le Waleys*, the Welshman—a native of Strathclyde, part of ancient Cumbria or Wales, but in no sense a Scottish Highlander. Of the rest, Randolph was descended from the Galloway Pict, Dunegal of Straithnith, but he was no Highlander, deriving all his influence from the lands of his family in Nithsdale. Lennox certainly was a Highland chief, but Andrew Moray and James Douglas were probably of common descent from Freskin the Fleming, whom David I. had planted in the turbulent district of Moray 150 years earlier. Wyntoun admits that the pedigree could not be clearly traced, but cites the similarity of their armorial bearings as confirming the tradition.

Of Murrawe and the Douglas,  
 How that thare begynnyng was,  
 Syn syndry men spekis syndryly  
 I can put that in na story.  
 But in thare armyeis bath thai bere  
 The sternys set in lyk manere;  
 Til mony men it is yhit sene  
 Apperand lyk that thai had bene  
 Of kyn be descens lyneale,  
 Or be branchys collaterale.

[*Cronykil*, B viii. c. 7.]

It will be remembered that, previous to Sir James Douglas’s mission with the heart of Bruce, the arms of Douglas consisted only of ‘the Moray’s silver stars’ set on a chief azure.

The other leaders mentioned above were all of Norman or English descent. In this brief note I cannot pursue the analysis further, and can only direct attention to some of the chief enemies of Bruce among the

Scots—the Comyns; Patrick Dunbar, Earl of March; Sir Dougal Macdouall of Galloway, who captured Thomas and Alexander Bruce, brothers of the King, and sent them to the gallows at Carlisle; John of Lorn, who brought his 800 gilly-lightfoots to hunt Bruce out of Glentroof. All these were pure Celts.

I cannot claim to have given the question raised by Mr. Barron much attention, nor can I consider it of very great importance, having regard to the large number of Norman and Flemish barons holding sway in the Scottish Highlands. I submit that, allowing full credit to the Highlanders for the hospitality shown to Bruce from time to time, and to the Lowlanders for having borne the brunt of the fighting, not only in Bruce's day but for two hundred years after it, the verdict on the part played by Celt and Saxon in the struggle for independence should be 'Honours easy!'

HERBERT MAXWELL.

[The editor of the *Scottish Historical Review* has shown Mr. Barron a proof of Mr. Lang's and Sir Herbert Maxwell's papers, and has heard from Mr. Barron that he is no way convinced by the above replies. He states, that in his original article in the January number he put forward the theory that Bruce's success was due to the support which he had obtained in Scotland, north of the Forth, at the most critical period of his career, and in support of that theory he related a number of facts which had never before been put together as a whole; while Mr. Lang, and Sir Herbert Maxwell also, in the above notes have argued that Scotland, north of the Forth, was not so Celtic as they think Mr. Barron believes; into that question Mr. Barron says he did not enter at all. His contention is that Bruce's ultimate success was made possible, not by the support obtained from the Lowland Scots or in the Lowlands, but by the support he obtained in the North and other parts of Celtic Scotland, and he is prepared to prove that his contention is not in any way shaken by the arguments of Mr. Lang and Sir Herbert Maxwell, many of which he regards as either inaccurate or irrelevant.

The editor regrets that the space at his disposal precludes him from finding room for a more full discussion of this matter, for the present at least.]

DID THE EARL OF CASSILLIS AND THE EARL OF EGLINTON DESERT MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS? In Mr. Andrew Lang's *History of Scotland*, vol. ii. p. 237, dealing with the events which happened during Lennox's Regency, and Argyll's deserting Mary and making terms with Lennox, August 12th, 1571, the following sentence occurs, 'Cassillis, Eglintoun, and Boyd also turned their coats.'

On turning to the *Scots Peerage*, edited by the Lord Lyon King of Arms, vol. ii. p. 472 (article 'Cassillis'), I find that Gilbert, fourth Earl of Cassillis, held out from complete allegiance to the new Government until the spring of 1571, when he was forced by Lennox at the head of a large force to surrender and suffer imprisonment (in Dumbarton Castle)

until about 25th August, 1571, when he joined the King's party and his forfeiture was not carried out. See *Acta Parl. Scot.* iii. p. 63, where the escheats of Argyll, Eglinton and Boyd are also remitted.

Further details of Cassillis' surrender are given in Bain's *Calendar of Scottish Papers*, iii. pp. 488, 503, 509, 510, 517, 518, 531, 535, 584, 643, also in *Register of the Privy Council Addenda*, vol. xiv. pp. 90, 323, 324. There is also in the Culzean Charter Chest a letter from Mary Queen of Scots to Cassillis dated at Sheffield, 6th May, 1571, excusing him for having been constrained to concur with her adversaries for fear of loss of his goods (*Family of Kennedy*, Printed 1849, Appendix, pp. 24, 25).

On turning to *Scots Peerage*, vol. iii. pp. 440, 441 (article 'Eglinton'), I find that the third Earl of Eglinton (like Cassillis) was 'one of the first to join Queen Mary's standard after her escape from Lochleven, and after the battle of Langside he was among the last to go over to the King's party.'

'He was compelled to join by being thrown into ward in Doune Castle 1571, and on 12th August he and the Earls of Argyll and Cassillis with Lord Boyd, bound themselves to serve the King and Regent.'

As a matter of fact, Cassillis and Eglinton had had their estates ravaged by Lennox and Glencairn at the head of not only a large Scots army, but also of a large English force lent by Elizabeth for the purpose of ruining Mary's followers.

On looking at *Scots Peerage*, v. p. 159 (article 'Boyd'), I find that the fifth Lord Boyd, at the meeting of nobility at Dunblane, 17th July, 1571, is recorded as having endeavoured to bring all to the Queen's side; but on 12th August he, together with the Earls of Argyll, Cassillis and Eglinton 'considering the calamite quahairwith this realme, thair native cuntre, is plagit,' and that the Queen was detained in England, came to an agreement with the Earls of Morton and Mar to serve the King (*Calendar of Scottish Papers*, iii. pp. 631, 635).

Surely the term of turning their coats is not applicable to these devoted adherents of the unfortunate Queen, who held out for so long after Langside, and who were at last compelled to desist because they saw

'Now all is done that men can do,

'And all is done in vain.'

CASSILLIS.

ROBERT HAMILTON, merchant, burghess of Edinburgh, 1577, died before 20th April, 1608 (*Testaments, Commissariot of Edinburgh*), leaving five daughters, heiresses portioner, namely: Barbara, Elizabeth, Marioun, Margaret, and Beatrix (*Reg. P. C. Scot.* vol. ix. p. 537). The three younger daughters seem to have been under age, and James Hamilton, 'servant to Sir Thomas Hammiltoun of Byris, Secretary of this Kingdom,' was appointed tutor-dative (*Ibid.*).

Barbara Hamilton married, 30th July, 1607, John Mein [Meane or Meyne] (*Edinburgh Marriage Register*). According to Wodrow (*Analecta*, vol. i. p. 64) it was 'the constant belived tradition that it was Mrs. Mean, wife to John Mean, merchant in Edinburgh, that cast the first stool when

the Service-Book was read in the Neu Kirk, Edinburgh, 1637.' John Mein, elder, merchant, burgess of Edinburgh, and Barbara Hamilton, his spouse, died before 23rd November, 1654 (*Testaments, Commissariat of Edinburgh*). Elizabeth Hamilton was the second wife of Richard Dickson, minister of Kinneil (Scott's *Fasti*, vol. i. p. 171). She survived her husband, and died in 1667 (*Reg. of Interments, Greyfriars, Edinburgh*). Beatrix Hamilton married as his first wife, the Rev. Robert Blair, A.M., minister of St. Andrew's, who, in right of his wife, entered burgess of Edinburgh, 16th July, 1626. She died in July, 1632, aged 27, leaving two sons and a daughter (Scott's *Fasti*, vol. ii. p. 390).

Information wanted as to the ancestry of Robert Hamilton.

A. W. GRAY-BUCHANAN.

HERIOTS OF TRABROUN (*S.H.R.* iv. p. 231). Mr. Robert Heriot of Lymphy does not seem to have been of the Trabroun family. He is described in 1550 as 'son of the late John Heriot,' and as a 'kinsman or cousin' of Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross (see Mr. J. C. Gibson's *Lands and Lairds of Larbert and Dunipace*, pp. 128, 171). John Heriot was probably a rentaller in the Barony of Glasgow, and may be identical with a John Heriot, witness to protocols, 1503 to 1511 (*Diocesan Registers*). He had three sons: Allan, Mr. Robert, and Gilbert. Allan was rented, 31st December, 1518, 'in Ramishorn and Medwflat, and in the twa part off Gardarrow (Cardarroch) afftyr his modyr deses and off hir consent' (*Diocesan Registers*, i. p. 76), failing him his two brothers to succeed (*Ibid.* i. pp. 76, 77). Allan died before 4th October, 1531, when his widow, Marion Flemyng, pleaded the privilege of 'Sanct Mungo's wedo' (*Glasgow Protocols*, iv. No. 1096), but probably without success. Mr. Robert Heriot was occupier of the four merk land of Cardarroch, and the 33s. 4d. land of 'Rammishorn and Medow Flat' in 1545 (*Diocesan Registers*, i. p. 128), and he and his wife, Helen Swynton, are again mentioned, 9th November, 1555 (*Ibid.* i. p. 161). He was dead before 1558-9, his relict, Helen Swynton, being permitted, 27th February, 1558-9, to marry Mr. Edward Henderson, and to 'bruk' the lands of Ramshorn and Meadowflat (*Ibid.* i. p. 172).

A. W. GRAY-BUCHANAN.

## Notes and Comments

PROFESSOR W. P. KER's brilliant dissertation *On the Philosophy of History* (pp. 25, MacLehose, 1909, price 1s. nett) begins with a sort of text in the story of Hegel's being asked by another philosopher to 'deduce his quill pen' and proceeds in the shadow of that 'frivolous problem' to ask 'whether the Philosophy of History is not the same kind of impossibility.' With equal dexterity of criticism and happiness of wit he cross-examines the testimony of literature, leaving on the reader an impression of ingrained scepticism, despite the evident and deep impress of Hegel on his thought. 'Historians are naturally inclined to be suspicious or unrespectful about the philosophy of history. They regard it as an amateurish and at the same time pretentious way of cutting the difficulties. What there is good in it is history: what is not history in it is superfluous. This opinion,' concludes Professor Ker, 'is not unreasonable.'

From his essay, with its sparkling points which are most luminous, albeit the light is oftenest by way of parable, we can turn to Professor George B. Adams's graver and more direct, though hardly less interesting, discussion of *History and the Philosophy of History* in the *American Historical Review* for January. It begins with a verse of *Sordello*:

God has conceded two sights to a man—  
One of man's whole work, time's completed plan,  
The other of the minute's work, man's first  
Step to the plan's completeness.

Perhaps the last word is said in this finely apt motto. Professor Adams after glancing at Ranke's influence on the standards of scientific method in historical study, contrasts two questions. 'It is one thing to raise the question, Is human action dominated by law, and can we by discovering those laws construct a science of history in the sense in which there exists a science of chemistry? It is quite a different thing to ask, Can methods of investigation which are strictly scientific be applied to the study of the past action of the race in such a way as to give a knowledge of what happened greater certainty? The school of Ranke has never endeavoured to go beyond this last question, but their answer to it has been clear and, I believe, an indisputable affirmative.'

In his conclusion he denies any call superior to Ranke's, proclaiming the first duty of the historian to establish *wie es eigentlich gewesen*, and he declines to add *wie es eigentlich geworden*. 'To the true historian,' Prof

Adams says, 'the being of a fact has always included all the portion of its becoming which belongs to the definite understanding of it. What is more than that we can safely leave to others.' In describing changes of concept as to the matter and method of history, he indicates a striking forecast of the effects of five elements of change—the results to be anticipated from political science, geographical study, economics, sociology and social psychology. He instances Lamprecht and Ferrero as modern authors of great histories, evincing remarkable applications of economic and sociological principles, and 'especially interesting as the first promise of the harvest which the new culture may bring forth.' The function of the historian, the discovery and recording of what actually happened, Prof. Adams finds perfectly compatible with a philosophy of history in the sense of Buckle. 'He may well hold to the belief that the facts which he is establishing tend to prove this or that final explanation of history.'

It is only on rare occasions that the *Revue Historique* ceases to be impersonal. In the last number issued (Jan.-Feb.) the editors, Messrs. Gabriel Monod and Charles Bémont, by way of introduction to this, the first part of the hundredth volume of their great periodical, each prefix an address to the readers. M. Monod surveys the course traversed by the review since 1875, when as original editor he revised the proof sheets of its first articles.

We can appreciate the sentiment of deep satisfaction and legitimate pride with which he briefly and simply registers the biography of the review, which has changed neither its printer nor its publisher since it began, and with the editing of which, first in only a junior capacity as secretary and, since 1882, as co-editor, M. Bémont has been associated. They have striven to maintain the highest standards of French historical workmanship—standards which change and develop always in the direction of better penetrating behind the outward shows, so as to 'comprehend, recover, and express the soul' of things, and ascertain the true bonds of relationship in the manifestations of civilisation as well as the causes which produce them. Glancing at the condition of study in Germany, 'the classic land of erudition and criticism,' M. Monod prophesies a reaction in France analogous to that in Germany, on the same lines of broader and deeper synthesis, and of wider yet more precise historical generalisation on the greater forces and currents of civilisation, in the study of which sociology appears to strike him as of the profoundest interest. His definition is worth quoting. 'Sociology is an effort to establish upon scientific bases the philosophy of history in submitting the essential elements of social life and of the development of humanity to a double process, first of abstraction and then of synthesis, in order to reach and determine the laws, or at any rate the modalities, of the evolution of societies.'

M. Bémont briefly defines the aspirations of the *Revue* in the field of European history other than French. Incidentally he regrets the meagreness of historical material in course of publication regarding Canada,

'whose history interests the French on so many counts.' Need we say how heartily we tender homage and congratulations as well as good wishes for yet greater successes to the *Revue* and the band of scholars who conduct it?

Among the contents of this inaugural part of 'Tome C.' is a sequel by Prof. Ch. V. Langlois to an article (noticed in *S.H.R.* iv. 105) on the complaints made against crown officers in thirteenth century France. The text of many representations of grave and petty injustices is incorporated in the paper. Among them may be noted claims of a fine *pour sesines brisiées*, of others for playing at dice, for bad language, for digging below the highway, for appropriating timber, and for not paying the custom. There is mention of *maletolt*, of the crusader's *essoign* or privilege—*car il estoit croisié*—of failure to fulfil a *corvée*, of putting a Templar *in gehina* (probably a torture chamber) and slaying him there, of a charge against a woman *que ele avoit prise blanche monnoie*, and of putting people wrongfully in prison, and, in one case, into a pit at a fair and tying them round the waist with cords like thieves. An interesting cross-examination, dating from about 1295, brings out the witnesses agreeing that a promise to pay 28 l. for a *mesconte* to the provost of Orleans had been made *en chastelet par desous ou plaidoir*. The *plaidoir*, as the second witness explains, was the place in Orleans where the provost held his pleas. But the two disagreed about the time, the one said it was *environ la Toussains* (Nov. 1), the other said it was *apries la Saint Remi* (after Jan. 13). This discrepancy nonsuited the claimant, and the provost was 'assoilized of the demand.' Great as is the interest of these rolls of the grievances of small people against the men in office—provosts, sergeants, and bailiffs—resulting from commissions of enquiry *pro correctione curialium*, not less may be expected from other representations made by local communities, clergy, and townsmen for the rectification of abuses. Some of these are to be the subject of future studies by M. Langlois, who never fails to vivify his documents.

REPORTS of archaeological and historical enterprises performed or in progress reach us from various bodies. That of the Committee on Ancient Earthworks and Fortified Enclosures succinctly registers (1) sundry steps taken for the protection of English earthworks, (2) a bibliography of the year's publications touching the subject, (3) a note of known cases of partial destruction of such works, and (4) an account of explanatory operations. Mere allusion is made to a description of the earthworks at Arthuret associated with the battle of Ardderyd *circa* 573.

From Dorset comes an interim account by Mr. H. St. George Gray of excavations made last year at Maumbury Rings, near Dorchester, regarded by many as a Roman amphitheatre. Cuttings through the encircling bank have disclosed Roman and Romano-British pottery, traces of post-holes indicative of wooden buildings, a coin of Claudius I. A.D. 51-54, iron shears, an iron javelin, and a bronze fibula. Below the Roman deposits flint flakes and chippings, perhaps from a Neolithic flint workshop, were

*Reports on  
Earthworks  
and  
Excavations.*

got; also nine antler-picks, supposed to have been used by Neolithic men in cutting the chalk-shaft where they were found.

WE have received the Second Annual Report of the Historical Association, of which Professor Firth is President, and with it a volume of leaflets published by the Association during its two years' existence. The aim of the Association is to collect information as to existing systems of historical teaching at home and abroad, to represent the needs of the study of history to governing bodies, and above all to further the proper teaching of history in schools, whether public or private. For this last its leaflets are issued and are admirably fitted to effect their object. They give excellent bibliographical guidance on historical source-books, on text-books for teaching general English, European and Ancient history, on authorities for special periods, and on books useful in supplementary reading. They also furnish a list of illustrations, portraits, and lantern slides suitable for schoolroom purposes, and a summary of historical examinations affecting schools.

But as well as providing definite information the leaflets endeavour to help the teacher by publishing addresses on the teaching of history in schools by men such as Dr. Hodgkin and Mr. James Bryce, and on local history as a means of first awakening a love of history, by Professor Child.

The Association is to be congratulated on the work it has already done, and on the invaluable aid it is rendering to historical teachers—above all to those isolated teachers who are far from libraries and centres of learning.

WE are indebted to Mr. Thomas Ross for the interesting account of the so-called Chapter House of Restalrig, which is situated in the Churchyard on the south side of the old Parish Church. About two years ago the Ecclesiological Society called the attention of the Earl of Moray to the condition of this building, and by his directions it has been put in proper order. It had been used as a burial vault from the sixteenth century, and both inside and outside of the building there was much earth piled up. During the removal of the earth from the interior of the building constant difficulty was experienced owing to water rising from below the floor of the building. After several ineffectual efforts to get rid of the water it became apparent that this building had never been anything else than a well.

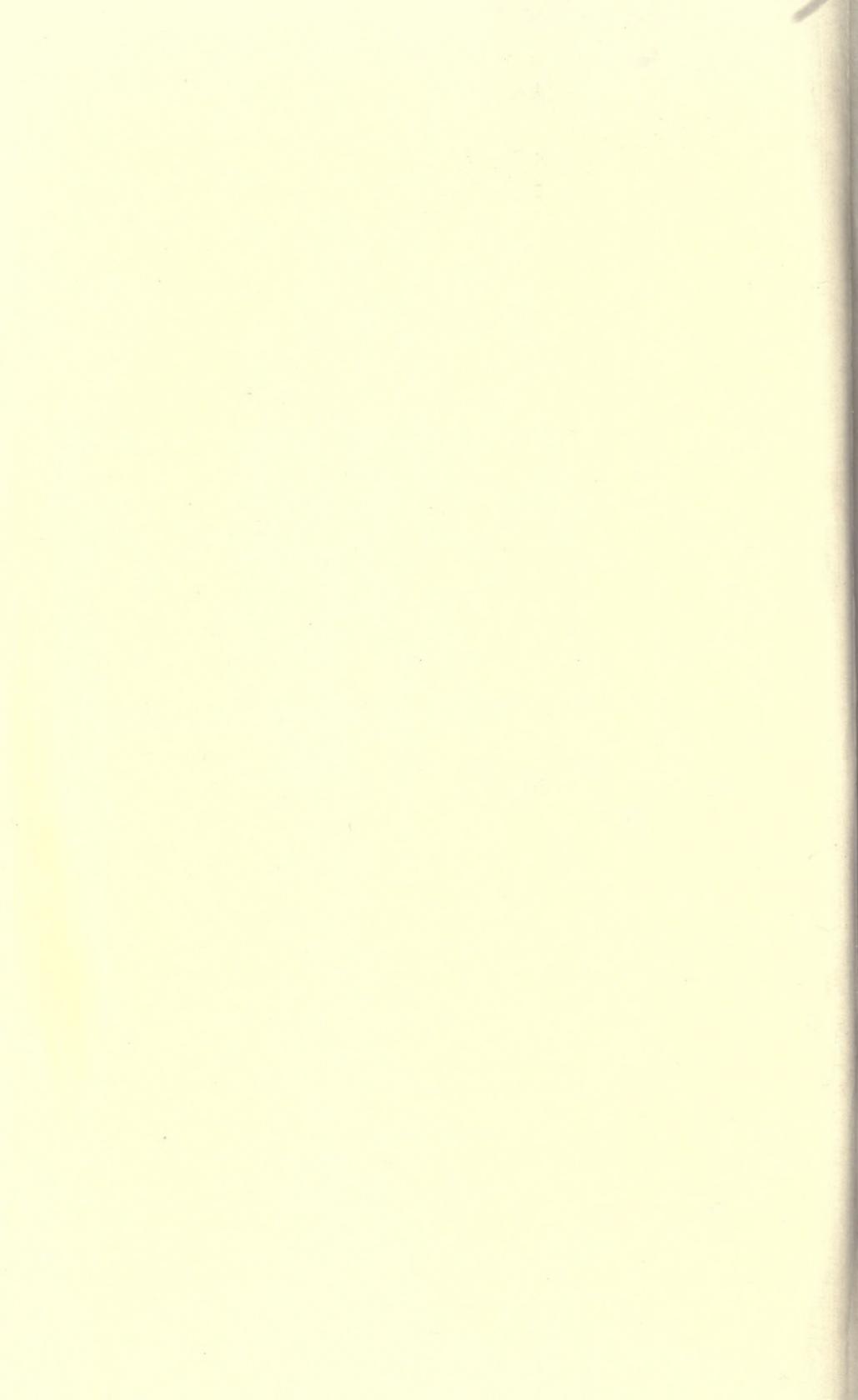
The mullions and tracery of the east window had been removed so as to effect an entrance to the burial vault; the other two windows had been built up and their mullions destroyed. These have now been restored, as has also the finely moulded base of the central shaft, which otherwise was found perfect.

On the new roof of the building is a figure of St. Triduana, who worked, died, and was buried at Restalrig. Throughout the Middle Ages her well was resorted to by people with injured eyes. Her legend is that Nectan, King of the Picts, was so captivated by her bright witching eyes that,



SCOTTISH ECCLESIASTICAL PEWTER VESSELS

*Exhibited at the Pewter Exhibition, Provand's Lordship, Glasgow.*



to prevent his following her, she plucked them out and sent them to the King on a thorn.

These and many more particulars with regard to Restalrig are to be found in the interesting paper which Mr. Ross contributed to the *Scotsman* on Christmas day. It is a matter of gratification that this ancient well has now been put into good order, and we are indebted to the Earl of Moray for the care that has been given to the matter.

THE recent exhibition of old pewter, domestic and ecclesiastic, in Provand's Lordship, Cathedral Square, Glasgów, has attracted considerable attention, and the Provand's Lordship club is to be congratulated on their very interesting collection, and on the admirable catalogue which has been prepared. *Exhibition of old Pewter.*

In his speech, when opening the exhibition, Mr. George Neilson, LL.D., complimented the Club on the line it had taken up in pursuing what he called the antiquities of the household, and the specimens of domestic ware exhibited in the cases were of genuine interest as illustrating the home life of the past. The collection of Church pewter from Churches widely apart in doctrine as well as geographically was of even greater importance, and it is of their success in obtaining these for exhibition, that the Committee have most reason to be proud.

We are indebted to Dr. William Gemmell and to Mr. Lewis Clapperton for the accompanying engraving of some of the ecclesiastical vessels shown in the exhibition. The large centre flagon in the back row of the engraving is from Govan parish, and is by a Glasgow maker at the end of the eighteenth century. On either side of it, is a chalice from St. Andrew's Episcopal Church, Glasgow Green; these chalices, which are most uncommon, are each nine inches high, quadrangular in shape, on a pillared stem rising from a beautifully moulded base. At either end of the back row is a Presbyterian Communion flagon lent by the Kirk-session of the Tron Church, Edinburgh. On each is engraved 'For the use of the Holy Sacrament of our Lord's Supper in the South-east Parioch of Edinburgh—Anno 1688'; their modelling is remarkable for its simplicity and strength.

In the centre of the front row is a very beautiful chalice and cover, both of them engraved with the sacred monogram in a glory. These are from old St. Paul's Episcopal Church, Edinburgh. On either side of these is an example of chalice of early form from the Episcopal Church of St. Laurence, Laurencekirk. On either side of these again, are two Italian chalices, each belonging to a different private collector. The two large flagons near the ends of the front row are of English make, but belong to the Cathedral of Glasgow; the small chalices at the extreme ends are both Church of England vessels, that on the right dividing into three pieces for easy transport to the bedside of the sick.

The oldest piece of Scottish pewter known is a piece at Slains Castle, Aberdeenshire, made probably in the sixteenth century. In 1496 pewterers and coppersmiths are mentioned for the first time among the crafts of the Incorporation in a charter granted by the Provost, Magistrates and Town Council of Edinburgh to the Hammermen of that city. In 1518

the Town Council of Edinburgh framed regulations as to the stamping of vessels used by innkeepers, and ordered that a 'talpoun' or 'plook' should be inserted in the neck of each measure to mark the point up to which the liquor must be filled.

The various Incorporations of Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Dundee and other towns tried, very much as the English Pewterer's Company was trying, to protect the interests of their trade by getting Acts passed and by making regulations as to the stamping of pewter with the maker's 'touch' or mark, the quality of metal used and the weight of the articles, and as to the admission of members after apprenticeship and trial. In 1652 William Abernethie of Edinburgh was punished for using bad metal—the only instance of the kind recorded, whether because it was the only instance that ever occurred, or whether because they did not care to chronicle such falls from virtue, it is impossible to say.

The first pewterer in Glasgow designated as such appears in a list of 1648. Part of the fees of entry to the craft of Hammermen was devoted to the up-keep of an altar to Saint Eloi, which was apparently in the Cathedral. An essay piece was always required from a craftsman when he sought admission to the Incorporation, and in 1775 in Glasgow the required essay is described as a 'bulged decanter.'

The eighteenth and nineteenth centuries saw the steady decline of the pewterer's craft. The Incorporations lost their power of control. The marking of articles with the maker's touch-mark only, had become a dead letter, and makers used stamps as they pleased, and the importation of foreign pewter went on unchecked. Self-advertising became common. The makers too lost their originality, and their care to suit the form to the purpose, and more and more became content to copy forms designed, and only suited, for gold and silver.

The cheapness of glass, china, and crockery, the invention of block tin (or steel coated with iron), Britannia metal and German silver, and the discovery of nickel drove pewter from the inns and the kitchens of the people, and the pewterers were too lazy or too overweighted to fight against extinction. The last touch-mark at Pewterers' Hall, London, is dated 1824. A Mr. James Moyes had a shop in Edinburgh till about 1875, but since then the trade has become almost extinct, except that a few firms still make public-house measures. The Church vessels, the domestic plates, spoons, candle-sticks, pepper-pots, and teapots of our day are made of other material, and now, thanks to the increasing interest in pewter, an interest which the Provand's Lordship Exhibition has done a great deal to increase, any specimens of old pewter that have escaped the solder-pot have a chance of spending a dignified old age in a museum case or on a collector's shelves.

# The Scottish Historical Review

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## On the So-called Portrait of George Buchanan by Titian

THE relation between the Earl of Buchan and the brothers Foulis throws some light on the gallery of portraits and other paintings formed by the Earl.

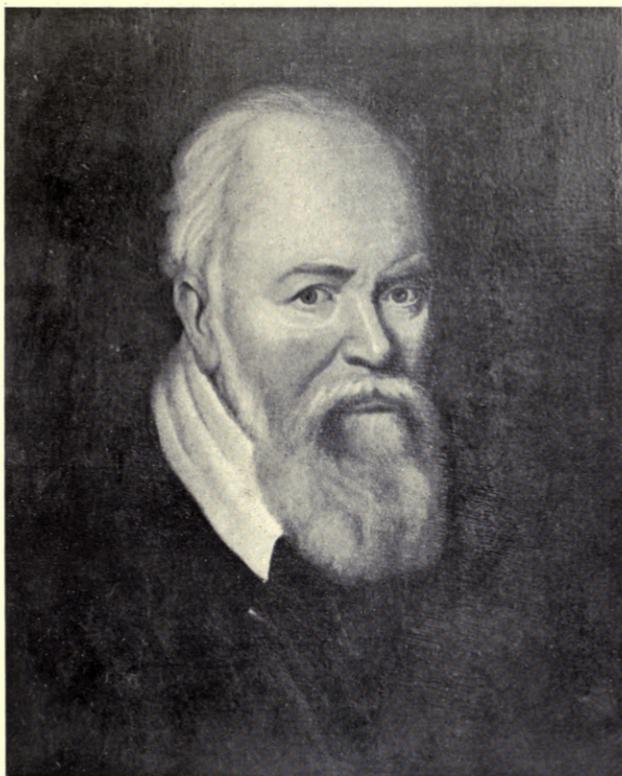
Lord Buchan was born in 1742. He received his early education from James Buchanan, who believed himself to be a relation of George Buchanan. His teacher, doubtless, laid the foundations for the great admiration Lord Buchan entertained of George Buchanan. In his later life, when naming the eleven great men of Britain, he placed Buchanan alongside of Bacon, Newton, and Milton.

He studied at Glasgow University, and while there he became a pupil in the Academy of Art, which had been established by R. and A. Foulis, the famous printers. When they conceived the idea of founding such an academy, Robert, the elder brother, visited the Continent in 1751 to collect works of art for the gallery and to secure teachers for the academy. In 1753 he returned to Glasgow with his treasures. Lord Buchan published in the first volume of the *Transactions of the Scottish Antiquarian Society* an etching which he executed while he was a pupil in the academy. He went to London in 1765 to study diplomacy under Lord Chatham, and in the same year became a Fellow of the Royal Society, signing the Register as David [Lord] Cardross. His interest in Buchanan no doubt made him interested in his portrait, believed to be genuine, which hung in the Society's rooms. The death of Lord Buchan's father in 1767 brought him back to Scotland.

The Art Academy of the printers was a financial failure. The owners attempted to dispose of their pictures, but with little success. The difficulties that beset the famous printers are well known. Captain Topham, in his *Letters from Edinburgh*, says, in a letter written 23rd February, 1775, that when he went to Glasgow to visit the famous printers, 'I had heard of their Printing, but never of their Academy. It was in vain that I asked for books; I had always a picture thrust into my hand; and like Boniface, though they had nothing in print worth notice, they said they could show me a delicate engraving.' 'They bought paintings which nobody else would buy again,' and, he adds, they run 'after paltry copies of good paintings, which they had been informed were originals.' Andrew Foulis died in September, 1775, and Robert in the following year disposed of what remained of the treasures of his Gallery by public auction in London. It is said that, after paying expenses, he realised only a few shillings from the sale. He died very suddenly at Edinburgh on his way home.

During the seven or eight years after his return to Scotland before the London sale took place, Lord Buchan was no doubt importuned by the owners of the Art Academy to help them in their difficulties, and I suggest that he then acquired from them the portrait that he determined to be that of George Buchanan and to have been painted by Titian. Drummond (*Portraits of Knox and Buchanan*, 1875, p. 20) says the Earl 'had got together an extraordinary collection of historical portraits, good, bad, and indifferent.' The Earl contributed to Dr. Anderson's monthly journal, *The Bee*, papers recording personal matters under very transparent disguises. In his letter from Albonicus to Hortus, written in imitation of the ancients, and dated Tweedside, July 25, 1791 (*The Bee*, vol. iv., p. 165), he describes the ruins of Dryburgh, and, in some detail, his own villa. 'This room,' he says, 'if I am able, I mean to stucco, and dedicate to the portraits and contemplation of the illustrious Scots, and to give the name to it of *The Temple of Caledonian Fame*. I see by your strenuous efforts to apply your superabundant fortune to the succour of struggling merit in Scotland, that you are desirous of increasing my collection of pictures. May my countrymen strive to enter in at the strait gate of this venerable apartment! Marcus Aurelius and Seneca are on the outside of the building. None can enter that are not truly Scots.

Veni Robur Scotiæ anemosa pectore Robur,  
Veni Robur Scotiæ inerctum pectore Robur!'



PRESIDENT JEANNIN

*From the painting belonging to the Earl of Buchan, which he believed to be a portrait of  
George Buchanan by Titian*

*The property of St. Andrews University*



It is not so difficult to understand how Lord Buchan recognised the unnamed portrait in his Temple to be a likeness of George Buchanan as how he discovered it to be the work of Titian. He was acquainted with the portrait at the Royal Society, and the engravings from it in the editions of Buchanan's *History*. The general aspect of the face, the beard, and the collar agreed so fairly well with what was accepted as a genuine likeness of the historian that it was a fair conclusion that his unnamed painting was the portrait of the same person in a different position by another painter.

The source of the error was the determination by Thomas Povey, F.R.S., that his portrait of a George Buchanan was that of the historian, and this error was strengthened and perpetuated by his presentation of the painting to the Royal Society, who accepted it on the testimony of their Fellow, and gave it a place among the famous portraits on their walls. The first portrait to be identified from this painting belonged to Dr. Richard Mead, who was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1703; it is now at Dunrobin Castle. This was engraved by Houbraken towards the middle of the eighteenth century. The Earl of Buchan made a further discovery that an unnamed portrait in Hamilton Palace was that of the historian when he was a young man. This was engraved for Pinkerton's *Scottish Gallery*, 1799. The engraving in the seventh edition of the *History* (1799) is from a copy of the Hamilton Palace portrait, made for Professor Anderson, and now in the Glasgow and West of Scotland Technical College.

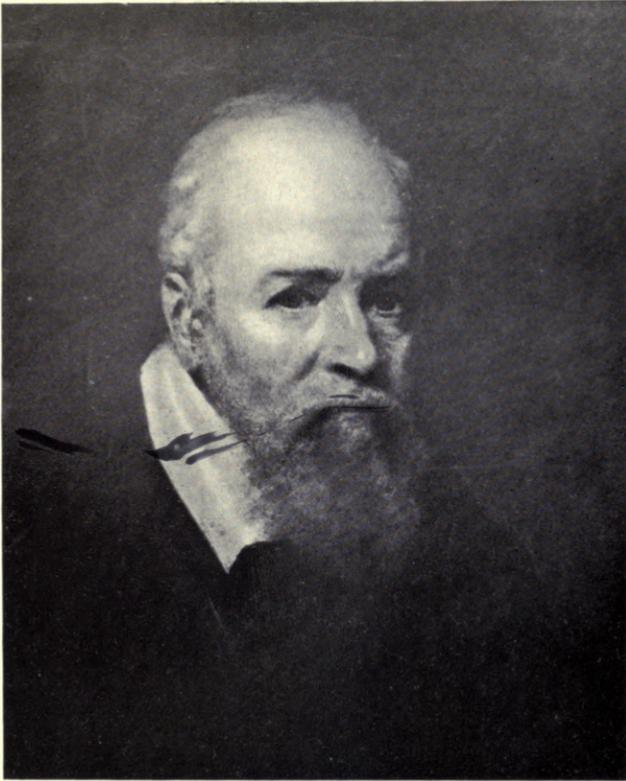
From a drawing by Lord Buchan of his Titian painting, Woolnoth made an engraving, which was published in Tilloch's *London Philosophical Journal*, October, 1810. Drummond, in his *Portraits of Knox and Buchanan*, says that Lord Buchan, 'calling with an impression to astonish a friend, who at the time was sitting in his library, asked him if he had ever seen that print before; but going to his book-shelves took down a volume, and opening it, asked his Lordship if he had ever seen that before. His expression may be better imagined than described, for here was a large and most characteristic engraving of the same portrait, which was that of Peter Jeannin, Finance Minister to Henry IV. in *Les Hommes Illustres*, etc., par C. Perrault, Paris, 1696-1700.'

Nothing is heard of this portrait till 1814. We learn, from a valuable communication to *The Glasgow Herald* of 12th Dec.,

1908, by Mr. J. E. Ewing, of Baillie's Institution, that Sir Henry Raeburn, on 7th February, 1814, wrote to the Earl of Buchan for 'permission to copy your portrait of Geo. Buchanan for the representative of that family.' The letter is endorsed by the Earl, '1814, Feb. 7. Fine arts. Henry Raeburn, Esqre, desires to copy the Portrait of Buchanan for the family of Drammikill. The picture is now at Mrs. Fletcher's, in North Castle Street, and is to remain with Mr. Raeburn till I come to Edinburgh or send for it. B.[uchan].' The Titian portrait was committed to the care of Sir Henry Raeburn, and was copied. Mr. Ewing's suggestion is, I have no doubt, correct that the representative of the family was Robert Buchanan of Ross Priory. The painting is still in that house, and is the property of Sir Alexander W. Leith-Buchanan, Bart. Later in the year Lord Buchan wrote to the treasurer of the Buchanan Society, Glasgow, a letter, which was read to the directors of the Society on 18th October, 1814. The letter stated: 'that his Lordship had an original painting of the celebrated George Buchanan, the Scottish Historian, and politely offered to allow any artist to take a copy of it for the use of the Society.' Sir Henry Raeburn was commissioned to make the copy, which was delivered to the Society in December of the same year, and is still in their possession.

The Titian painting was in the possession of Sir Henry Raeburn during the year 1814. Lord Buchan appears never to have sent for it. The present Earl informs me that 'the portrait of Buchanan attributed to Titian is no longer in my possession, nor can I give you its history.' Sir Henry Raeburn died in 1823, Lord Buchan in 1829. There is no trace as to where it was till 1884, when it was purchased from a picture dealer in Edinburgh by the University of St. Andrews as a genuine portrait of the historian by the famous Italian master. The present representatives of the firm who sold it to the University cannot trace any entry in their books referring to the transaction. After the purchase it was sent by the University to the Exhibition of Scottish National Portraits held at Edinburgh in 1884 as the portrait of George Buchanan painted by Titian.

An important contribution to the final determination of the person represented in the Buchan portrait has come into my hands, by the favour of Sir William Bilsland, Bart. When Lord Provost of Glasgow he visited Lyons and Dijon along with his colleagues on the invitation of the Municipalities of those cities. At Dijon they were taken round the Public



PRESIDENT JEANNIN

*Raeburn's copy of 'George Buchanan by Titian'*

*The property of the Buchanan Society Glasgow*



Gallery by the Deputy Mayor. Sir William saw there a portrait which he recognised as that of George Buchanan, but on closer inspection he found it to be the portrait of Jeannin, president of the local parliament at Dijon. It was labelled 'Portrait de President Jeannin,<sup>1</sup> 1540-1623, Ecole Française,' and had across the top of the painting 'LE PRESIDENT IANIN' in old capital letters. He made a note of this and after returning home wrote for the photograph of the painting which is here reproduced. That this portrait, the one at St. Andrews, and that in possession of the Buchanan Society are portraits of the same individual there can be no doubt. A comparison of these three here reproduced shows that the copyist of the St. Andrews portrait failed to reproduce the broad forehead of the original, and Raeburn followed the copy. Other differences will present themselves on a close scrutiny; the most obvious is the treatment of the collar. In the original this is almost equal in width throughout, and lies flat, with a straight front edge. In the St. Andrews copy there is a distinct decrease in the width at the back, and a curve on the front edge, both these characters are intensified in the Raeburn copy. In the original there is a depression from the dark wrinkle on the back of the collar to the front, while in the St. Andrews copy there is an elevation continued to the curve on the front edge, and Raeburn has intensified this in harmony with the greater curve in the front.

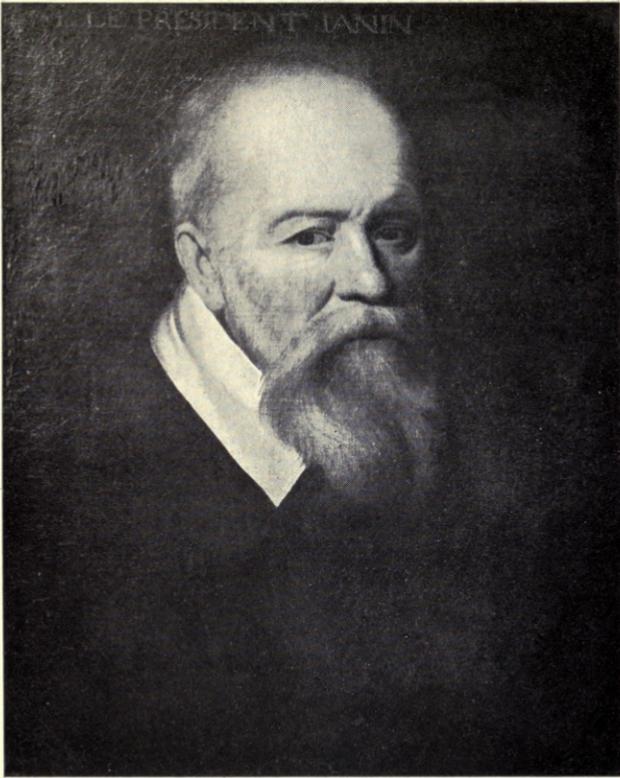
The engraving by Woolnoth is an important witness as to the

<sup>1</sup> It may interest the reader to know something of President Jeannin. He was born in 1540, and lived till 1623. He studied law and became a successful advocate. He was elected by the States to take charge of the affairs of Burgundy. The order for the massacre of the Huguenots on St. Barthelemew's day, 1572, he refused to execute. A few days afterwards the order was withdrawn. As an earnest Roman Catholic he joined the Holy League, believing that its only purpose was to advance religion. When he found that its objects were to secure the individual supremacy of the Pope, and to prevent the succession of the King of Navarre, the heir to the French throne, he separated himself from the League and became the chief instrument of its overthrow. Henry III. appointed him the First President of the Burgundy Parliament which held its meetings at Dijon. He was held in the highest esteem by the King, who afterwards added him to his Council. When Henry of Navarre ascended the throne, Jeannin was appointed his treasurer. He concluded a defensive alliance between France and the Netherlands in 1606, and in the year following he obliged Spain to recognise the independence of these provinces, and to conclude with them a treaty for twelve years. Cardinal Richelieu declared that he found the best instruction in the memoirs and negotiations of this great man, and that they formed his chief reading in his retirement at Avignon.

original Titian. The engraving was made, as has been stated, for Lord Buchan from his painting. It is a hard but true reproduction in all the specified details of the St. Andrews portrait.

It appears to me that one cannot hesitate to declare that the first copy of President Jeannin's portrait is that in St. Andrews University, and that this is the portrait that belonged to the Earl of Buchan, which was copied by Raeburn for the family of Drummikill and for the Buchanan Society.

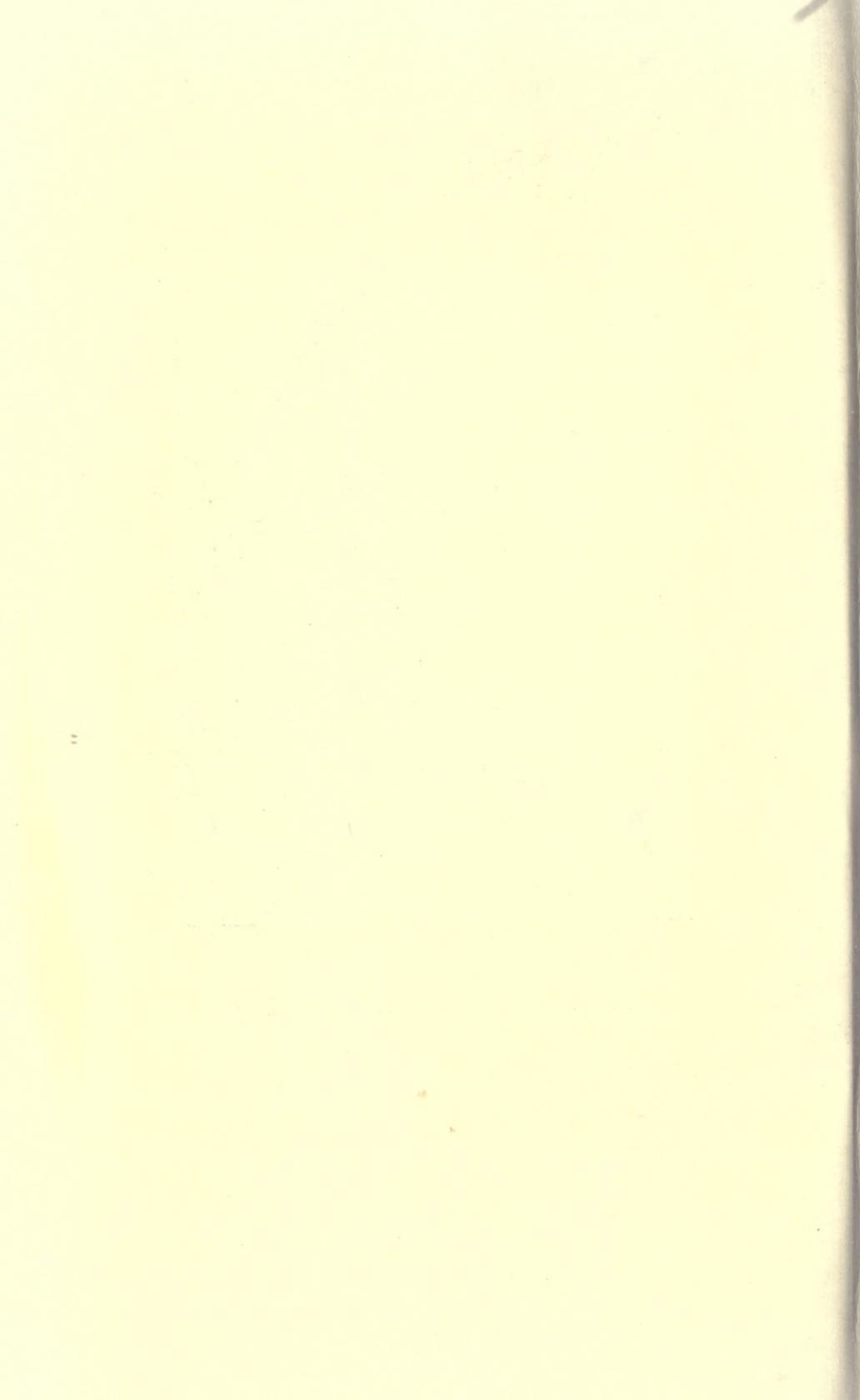
WILLIAM CARRUTHERS.



PRESIDENT JEANNIN

Painter not known French School

*From the original painting in the Public Gallery Dijon*



## Scotland in the Eighteenth Century<sup>1</sup>

WHAT precise period are we to understand by the eighteenth century in Scotland? The French reckon their eighteenth century from the death of Louis XIV. in 1715 to their great Revolution in 1789; while in England 1689 and 1789—the dates of the two Revolutions—are generally accepted as the limits of the period. All such delimitations of human history must, of course, be more or less arbitrary, and are liable to be altered as the world changes its point of view. For example, the Middle Age, as we now define it, is not what was understood by the eighteenth century; as our knowledge widens and at the same time becomes more exact, there is a tendency to break up historical periods just as the astronomer with finer instruments breaks up the nebulae into individual heavenly bodies. Still it remains the fact that there are periods of history distinguishable from each other by certain broad characteristics that cannot be mistaken. We see these characteristics in the representative men of the time—in their prevailing mood and temper, in the subjects which interested them, in their manner of handling them. We have but to imagine any great man transplanted from one age to another to realise what is meant by the spirit of the age to which he belonged. Had Milton lived in the nineteenth century instead of in the seventeenth, could he have used the language he did in his controversies with Salmasius? Had David Hume been born in 1811 instead of in 1711, how different would his judgments have been on many things—on the historical import of religion among others. There *is*, then, such a thing as the ‘spirit of an age,’ and it may even be said that it is the historian’s prime business to discover in what that spirit essentially consists. What are the representative facts, the leading tendencies, the main preoccupations, that mark off one age from another? In clearly discerning these and setting them forth in their mutual relations, the historian is helping us to understand

<sup>1</sup> Lecture delivered in the University of Edinburgh, (Oct. 1908).

at least one integral part in the history of the race. Is it not, indeed, the goal—probably the unattainable goal—of historical research to compass such a survey of man's history from the beginning as will enable us to detect and apprehend the successive 'notes' that have gone to fill out what the poet has called 'the great chorus of humanity'?

In the case of Scotland there are good reasons for fixing the years 1689 and 1789 as the limits of its eighteenth century. At either end of the period delimited by these years there was a new departure in the national life that sharply marks it off from what went before and what came after. The expulsion of the Stewarts in 1689 definitely closes an age which had its beginning so far back as the Reformation of religion in 1560. The dominant characteristic of that age had been the conflict between the Crown and the most strenuous section of the people regarding the type of religion that was to express the national ideal. The governing events of the time were all determined by religious and ecclesiastical considerations, equally on the part of nation and ruler. It was religion that dethroned Mary and Charles I., religion that mainly influenced the policy of Charles II., and religion that cast out the Stewart dynasty in the person of James VII.

The year 1789 equally opens a new chapter in our national history. The extraordinary industrial development of Scotland throughout the eighteenth century had its due effect in quickening the mind of the people at large. In most of the important towns and in many of the villages there sprang up a class of artisans, mainly weavers, who early began to display the characteristics of their class. They were not content to accept the opinions they had received from their fathers, and they discussed questions of politics and religion in a fashion that was fitted to disquiet the classes, who, with their vested interest in things as they were, regarded with alarm any suggestion that they might be changed or improved. When the ideas of the French Revolution reached Scotland, therefore, there was a numerous class among the people prepared to receive them, and the result was the beginning of that ferment which is signalled by the State Trials of Muir and other political reformers, by the Radical War of 1819, and eventually by the Reform Bill of 1832. In 1789, as in 1689, therefore, the nation made a new start in its history, and so the intervening period may fitly be treated as an epoch marked by characteristics specifically its own.

There is one outstanding characteristic which sharply distinguishes the eighteenth century in Scotland from the century and a half that preceded it—the predominance of secular over religious and ecclesiastical interests. At the Revolution of 1689 the policy of statesmen in establishing Presbyterianism instead of Episcopacy was dictated by no regard to supernatural sanctions, but simply by considerations of expediency. The disastrous Darien Scheme strikingly shows to what extent the Scottish people had now become imbued with the commercial spirit. From every class in the country many came forward to invest their last penny in the doomed enterprise. Not since the uprising which produced the Covenants had the nation been so moved as by the prospect of the material advantages that were to accrue from the visionary scheme of the settlement on the pestilential shores of Darien. At the period when the Covenants came to birth such a dream of purely material advantage would have been impossible as men's spirits were then pitched, and the change that had come over the nation's ideals was a signal proof that Scotland, like other countries, had entered a new stage of her development. In the case of the Union of 1707 we have another testimony to the ascendancy of secular considerations in the conduct of public affairs. The weightiest reason that influenced the Scottish statesmen who advocated union was that Scotland would become a partner in England's trade, and would thus find herself on the high road to commercial greatness and prosperity.

The hopes of statesmen for a golden harvest that was immediately to follow the Union were, as we know, doomed for a time to bitter disappointment. The immediate fruits of the Union, it seemed, were only diminished trade and increasing friction with the sister country. Nevertheless, neither the disaster of Darien nor the apparent failure of the Union diverted the nation from the new paths on which it had entered. In spite of impediments, partly due to disadvantages at home and partly to the unequal yoke with England, trade, commerce, and manufactures became more and more the absorbing interest of a rapidly growing number of the population. By the year 1730 that material prosperity had fairly begun which by the close of the century was to transform Scotland into a commercial and industrial nation, and one of the competitors for the markets of the world. During the first half of the century the two most sensational public events were the Risings of 1715 and 1745.

There were many causes that doomed both of these attempts to failure ; but, as economic writers now tell us, it was commerce and the modern spirit that were the most formidable obstacles to the restoration of the Stewarts. The fundamental conception on which the Stewart rule had been based—the divine right of kings, with its implication that, in spiritual and temporal things alike, subjects must accept the guidance of their rulers—was at once alien to the modes of thought that now prevailed and antagonistic to the free development of the national will and character. So it was that, in spite of widespread dissatisfaction with the Union, neither in 1715 nor in 1745 did the mass of the Lowland population show any disposition to make terms with the representatives of their ancient kings.

It is only what we should have expected that the secular spirit, as it manifested itself in material interests, should have had its own influence in the sphere of thought and speculation. And such was indeed the case in notable degree. In the intellectual tendencies of the first half of the eighteenth century we have unmistakable indications that the intelligence of the nation was breaking with its past, and was opening to ideas which must carry it far from its ancient moorings. In literature, in speculation, in religion itself, there began a play of thought which was unknown in the period previous to the Revolution. Take, for example, the poems of Allan Ramsay (1686-1758), the most prominent literary figure of the time. The theme of his poems is the purely natural man, devoid of all movements of soul or mind inspired by the Christian theology. He treats of men and women—their loves, their pleasures, their backslidings, their adventures, their misfortunes—as any Pagan poet might treat them. True, he was far from being acceptable to a large section of the community whose conceptions of life were bounded by the religious creed which they had inherited from their fathers. But the significance of Ramsay is that he appeared at the time he did, and that his writings appealed to an educated class which in the latter half of the century was to give its prevailing tone to Scottish society. The coterie—for as yet it was little more than a coterie—which surrounded Ramsay and applauded his genius—would have been impossible at an earlier time ; and in this fact alone we have the sufficient proof that he belongs to another epoch than that of the seventeenth century.

Religion itself was not left untouched by the spirit of the time. It was now that the type of religion began to assert itself which,

under the name of Moderatism, was to attain its full fruition in the latter half of the century. In its essential spirit Moderatism was an attempt to adapt Christianity at once to the tone of existing society and to the current thought of the time. The name Moderatism was peculiar to Scotland, but the thing existed elsewhere under other designations. It was Bangorianism or Latitudinarianism in England, the *Aufklärung* or *Enlightenment* in Germany, and Newtonianism in France. Moderatism in Scotland was no doubt partly due to reaction against the Covenant theology, but that reaction is itself traceable to currents of thought of which Moderatism was only another manifestation. Throughout the seventeenth century speculation in Europe had raised questions which touched the very foundations of the Christian revelation. During that century the Copernican theory, which deposes the earth from its central place in the universe, had taken full possession of the minds of thinkers and fundamentally influenced their speculations. Could Christianity, as it had hitherto been understood, hold its own in this overturning of the accepted order of nature? Thus it became incumbent on the champions of Christianity to discover new defences which they might set up against the attacks of its enemies. And they had a double task before them if their defence was to be successful: they had to justify Christianity both as a theology and as a religion. The line they took with reference to the Christian theology was to adapt it to ordinary human reason as the arbiter of all beliefs which the human mind was bound to accept; and in this attempt it was necessary to reduce the Christian mysteries to a minimum and to give the first place to the ethical system which they extracted from the Christian books. In the case of the Christian religion, as prescribing a code of conduct for its believers, the line taken was also that of accommodation. The standard of Christian living must be such as was compatible with the pleasures of the world, asceticism and spiritual excitement being assumed to be the most dangerous enemies of a reasonable faith.

Such were the tendencies of religious thought which began to manifest themselves in Scotland during the first half of the eighteenth century, but which did not attain their full development till past its middle. As we know, the result was a cleavage in the national religion which may be said to exist to the present day, and which is one of the central facts of the age we are considering. There were many interested in religion, both divines and laymen, for whom the Moderate attitude towards Christianity

implied the surrender of all that constituted its essence as a divine revelation. Finding their sole foundation in the doctrinal system they had inherited from the Reformation, these persons maintained that to give up one mystery was to give up all, and that to make terms with the world as the Moderates proposed was to pervert religion into lifeless morality. Between these two religious types there could be no compromise, and the conflict that arose between them is one of the dominant facts of the century. On the one hand the Moderates, on the other, the party known to their opponents as the 'Highflyers' or the popular party, appealed to the nation as the true custodiers of the faith. As every Scotsman is aware, the struggle between them mainly turned on one question, the question of the rights of congregations to have a voice in the election of their own ministers. But this question has its historical significance only in the fact already stated—the essential opposition between the two parties in their conceptions of what Christianity is, and of the methods and agencies by which its gospel should be proclaimed. The struggle was bitter and protracted, and engaged the minds and hearts of many in every class of the people, but the fact to be noted in the present connection is that the controversy did not, like religious controversies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, involve political revolution. The State was no longer dominated by theological considerations; and the disputes of divines, however they might excite the passions of the people, had no influence on public policy. In this one fact, then, we have a notable illustration of the distinctive differences between the eighteenth century and the age that preceded it.

The first half of the century thus saw a new departure in literature and religion, and it also saw a new departure in a sphere in which Scotland was to make a great name in the world—the sphere of speculative thought. From 1720 onwards, Ramsay of Ochtertyre tells us, metaphysical speculation began to take the place of theological and political controversy, and clubs were formed for the discussion of questions which it would have been perilous to raise not many years before. It was as late as 1697 that the divinity student, Thomas Aikenhead, with the approval of the majority of the Edinburgh ministers, was executed for airing certain views on the Trinity. But the questions now raised went far beyond the speculations of Aikenhead: the existence of God, the trustworthiness of human reason, the immortality of the soul; these and other kindred questions were debated with a

freedom and publicity which less than half a century before would have been summarily solved for the adventurous disputants. A portentous birth was the outcome of these speculations. In 1739 appeared the *Treatise of Human Nature* by David Hume, himself a member of one of these debating clubs. The book, its author tells us, fell 'deadborn from the press'; yet, as we know, the ideas it threw out were to determine the subsequent course of philosophic thought. The logical conclusion of the *Treatise* has been described as 'intellectual suicide,' a strange conclusion, as might appear, to have been reached in Scotland, which for nearly two centuries had been the peculiar home of dogmatic assertion on ultimate questions; yet, as we have seen, Hume only systematised and gave precision to modes of thinking which were current in Scotland in the earlier half of the eighteenth century.

Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature* was the first in a succession of works—each epoch-making in its own department—which were to give Scotland a unique position in the intellectual commonwealth of the nations. The list is certainly an imposing one, and, within the same period, without a parallel in any other country. Besides the philosophical writings of Hume that followed the *Treatise*, there were Reid's *Inquiry into the Human Mind*, Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, the Histories of Hume and Principal Robertson, and the book that drew the gaze of Europe to Scotland beyond every other—Macpherson's *Ossian*. Add to these productions in philosophy and literature the scientific discoveries of Black, Leslie, Hutton, Cullen, and John Hunter, and we have a tale of intellectual effort the more surprising when we remember that the total population of Scotland did not then amount to the number of two millions. 'It is an admirable result of the progress of the human spirit,' wrote Voltaire, 'that at the present time it is from Scotland we receive rules of taste in all the arts—from the epic poem to gardening.' The words were meant ironically, but they point to what was an indisputable fact, the intellectual activity of Scotsmen in every important sphere of thought and their original contribution in each of them.

It was the latter half of the eighteenth century that saw this flowering of the national spirit; and, when we speak of the eighteenth century in Scotland, it is this latter half we must have mainly in view. To this period, therefore, what follows will be directed.

It was in the period of repose that followed the '45 that Scot-

land, for the first time in her history, found the opportunity for the free expansion of all her resources. No convulsive struggle now distracted her; intercourse with England, in spite of lingering prejudices, became more frequent and cordial; the example and stimulus of other nations reached her more directly; and it was her good fortune to produce at this very time a succession of master-minds in the most important departments of human thought.

Turning first to her growth in material prosperity, we find the period marked by an increase in her various industries, by an extension of her trade, and by the construction of public works, unexampled at any previous time. Take, for example, the case of the linen manufacture. For the year 1727-8 the total value of the linen made in Scotland was £103,000; for the year 1770-1 the value was over £600,000. As the result of the war with the American Colonies arose the cotton manufacture—the raw stuff being imported from the West India Islands. Most important, however, in the industrial development of the country was the utilisation for the first time of her stores of coal and iron. In 1760 were started the Carron Iron Works, which the traveller Pennant, who visited them in 1769, describes as ‘the greatest of the kind in Europe,’ and where he found 1200 men employed. In agriculture there was equally rapid development. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, the methods of tillage were those of the Middle Ages; at its close Englishmen came to Scotland to receive lessons from her farmers. During the same period, also, the construction of public works was undertaken, which at any previous time could not have been conceived. After a labour of twenty-two years the Forth and Clyde Canal was completed in 1790 at a cost of £300,000. The deepening of the river Clyde at Glasgow, considered a stupendous work at the time, the construction of the Tay Bridge at Perth, and of the North and South Bridges in Edinburgh were other public works of which a previous age could not have dreamed.

Such was the growth of material prosperity in the period following the '45; but what of the development of opinion? After the death of President Forbes in 1746, says Ramsay, ‘a new tide of opinions set in strong,’ and he tells us what this ‘new tide of opinions’ meant. ‘At that time,’ he says, ‘Deism, apparelled sometimes in one fashion and sometimes in another, was making rapid progress in Scotland,’ and the statement is amply borne out by other testimony. The evidence

is, in fact, convincing that during the period of which we are speaking the prevailing type of thought—most strongly marked in Edinburgh—was a pagan naturalism, for which Christianity was a temporary aberration of the human mind. The fashionable mental attitude received curious illustration on the publication of Beattie's *Essay on Truth*, expressly written to combat the positions of Hume. In view of the prevailing philosophical opinion no Edinburgh publisher would venture to give it to the world; and it was only by a 'pious fraud' that it issued from an Edinburgh press. 'Absolute dogmatic atheism is the present tone,' wrote Dr. John Gregory, Professor of the Practice of Physic in the University of Edinburgh. In England there was a general opinion that Scotland was given up to infidelity; and in that country Beattie's reply to Hume was received with far greater enthusiasm than in his own. In the House of Commons Thomas Townshend, afterwards Viscount Sydney, made eulogistic reference to Beattie's book, and took the opportunity to say that 'the Scots were not all freethinkers.'

It was amid these tendencies of thought that arose in the Church what was called the 'New Moderatism,' to distinguish it from the less pronounced type which had appeared in the earlier part of the century. In the year 1751, Carlyle of Inveresk tells us in his *Autobiography*, 'the foundation was laid for the restoration of the discipline of the Church.' For Carlyle and those associated with him, the restoration of the Church's discipline meant a due subordination of its different Courts, involving the supreme jurisdiction of the General Assembly in all matters under dispute. The consummation of this 'discipline,' as we know, was the suppression of the claims of congregations to have a voice in the election of their ministers and the resolute enforcement of the rights of patrons to presentation. With the long controversy regarding this question which arose between the two parties in the Church, and which had its memorable issue in the Disruption of 1843, we are not now concerned. It is with Moderatism as a type of thought, as an attempt by a section of the Church to adapt Christianity to existing society that we are now considering it. What we see is that Moderatism was in its season a perfectly natural growth. We have noted what was the general tendency of the educated opinion of the day—a tendency which carried men far away from dogmatic theology and Puritanism of life. In the view of the Moderates the problem of the Church was to present Christianity under such an aspect as would con-

ciliate the freethinkers and such as demanded a wider latitude of life than was permissible under the inherited creed. If this end was to be attained, it could be attained only in one way—by accommodation, accommodation in the Church's teaching and accommodation in its standard of Christian life. In the case of three representative Moderates we may note the different degrees of compromise which the body was prepared to make to attain its end. The three are Carlyle of Inveresk, 'Jupiter Carlyle,' who has already been named, Dr. Hugh Blair, and William Robertson, Principal of the University of Edinburgh. All these men, be it noted, were not only representative Moderates, but representative men of their age; and it is under this aspect that we are now concerned with them.

Carlyle has left an *Autobiography* which, as a picture of Scottish educated society of his time, is an invaluable historical document. If ever man was born to move with ease, grace, and acceptance in a thoroughly mundane society it was this minister of the parish of Inveresk. His magnificent personal appearance (Scott calls him the grandest demi-God he had ever seen), his courtly manners, and his splendid vitality made him a notable figure wherever he appeared. Scott says that he had not a spark of poetry in him,<sup>1</sup> but the statement must be taken with some qualification. When Wordsworth's poems first appeared, Carlyle read them with a keenness of appreciation which proves that even in old age he possessed a freshness of heart and mind which was denied to the brilliant Jeffrey, for whom the Wordsworthian manner was only imbecile affectation. Carlyle's chiefest joy in life was to mount his horse, and with some like-minded companions ride up to London and taste the pleasures of that city, cultivating to the extent of his ability the society of persons distinguished by rank or fame. When he visited some hospitable house, his main interest was the quality of its mutton and claret, the goodness or badness of which he is always careful to record. This was the type of man whom the eighteenth century made the pastor of a rural congregation. He has himself told us how he was regarded by that congregation when the patron presented him. They considered him, he says, 'too full of levity and too much addicted to the company of his superiors.' David Hume once had the privilege of hearing him preach, and after the sermon twitted him with treating his hearers to 'heathen morality' and to a *réchauffé* of Cicero's Academics.

<sup>1</sup> He 'was no more a poet than his precentor.'

Carlyle represented the extreme lengths to which Moderatism was prepared to go in accommodating Christianity to the times. Of a higher type as a Christian divine was Dr. Hugh Blair, the most famous preacher of his day in Scotland. Dr. Blair's fame was not limited to Scotland: in England his sermons were widely read, and, translated into several European languages, were the admiration and envy of continental divines. It has long been the fashion to smile at the type of devotion which found edification in these sermons of Blair's. In literature, both secular and religious we now demand something more intense than did the eighteenth century: quite recently Gray's *Elegy* was described as a flat and commonplace production. It is well to remember, however, that readers so unlike as Dr. Johnson, Jane Austen, Madame Necker, and George III, all found spiritual stimulus in Blair and spoke of him with gratitude and admiration. It must, therefore, be put to the credit of Moderatism that it produced a preacher who found acceptance with certain of the choicest spirits of his generation.

But the brightest ornament of the Moderates was not Blair but William Robertson, who for twenty years was their sagacious leader, and to whom more than to any other they owed their victory over the popular party in the General Assembly and in the Church at large. In Robertson we see Moderatism at its best—its interest in secular studies, its respect for order and decorum, its type of religion in which emotion was subordinated to reason. In his youth Robertson chose as his motto, '*Vita sine literis mors est*,' and, as his voluminous Histories prove, he was faithful to it from the beginning to the end of his career. It is an admirable motto for a man of letters, but we may ask what would St. Paul have said of the preacher who took such a motto as his watchword in his care of souls? Here we are far indeed from the *unum necessarium* which Christianity originally presented as its unconditional demand from all who would call themselves by its name.

The same temper of mind and the same intellectual conditions that brought forth Moderatism also gave birth to another product, more distinctively Scottish, and of wider and more enduring influence. It was the same second half of the eighteenth century that saw the appearance of what is specifically known as the 'Scottish Philosophy,' which till near the middle of the nineteenth was to be the dominant system of thought

in Scotland, and was to find wide acceptance in France, and, though not to the same extent, even in Germany. All the intellectual products of any age necessarily partake of the same spirit and throw mutual light on each other. There is thus a kinship between Moderatism and the Scottish philosophy which is apparent on the surface. It was one who began his career as a Moderate minister, Dr. Thomas Reid, who was the father of that philosophy, and whose writings embody its teaching. He was himself an 'intruded' minister; and it is on record that on his first appearance in his parish of New Machar he was ducked in a horse-pond, and that when he preached his first sermon he had to be defended by a drawn sword. The scope and tendency of his philosophy were essentially identical with that of the religious party with which he was associated. The aim of Moderatism was to commend religion by presenting it in such a guise that it would neither offend by its mysteries nor repel by its standard of conduct. Similarly the aim of the Scottish philosophy was to reconcile speculation with religion by an appeal to what it claimed to be the final test of universal experience. It was the boast of both to appeal to the common sense of mankind, and we have a singularly interesting testimony that, in the case of the philosophy, the boast was made good. In a characteristic and remarkable passage Goethe has summed up what gave the teaching of Reid its value in the eyes of thinking men.

'The reason,' he says, 'why foreigners—Britons, Americans, Frenchmen, and Italians—can gain no profit from our new (German) philosophy is simply that it does not directly lay hold on life. They can see no practical advantage to be derived from it; and so it is that men turn more or less to the teaching of the Scottish School as it is expounded by Reid and Dugald Stewart. This teaching is intelligible to the ordinary understanding, and this it is that wins it favour. It seeks to reconcile sensationalism and spiritualism, to effect the union of the ideal and the real, and thus to create a more satisfactory foundation for human thought and action. The fact that it undertakes this work and promises to accomplish it, obtains for it disciples and votaries.'

From what has been said, the truth of a statement by the late Professor Masson must abundantly have appeared: the latter half of the eighteenth century, he said, was the period of 'Scotland's most energetic, peculiar, and most various life.' It is certainly

the period when, by the testimony of foreign observers, she made her largest contribution to the world alike in the sphere of speculative and practical ideas. Let me briefly summarise what that contribution was in the domains of science, of philosophy, and literature.

In science there are the names that have already been mentioned, those of Cullen, Hunter, Leslie, Black, Hutton; and another illustrious name has to be added, that of James Watt. In their various departments, be it noted, all these men were pioneers: Cullen and Hunter in pathology, Black and Leslie in chemistry, Hutton in geology, and Watt in engineering. And in connection with science an interesting fact deserves to be noted: when the Newtonian system was still rejected in Oxford and Cambridge, it was taught by David Gregory in the University of Edinburgh—an interesting testimony to the openness of mind which was indeed the characteristic of the best Scottish intellects of the time. In speculative thought we have seen that Scotland was the purveyor to Europe. The current of metaphysical philosophy received a new direction from the speculations of Hume, and the specifically Scottish philosophy reigned for more than half a century in the schools of Europe. In the new science of political economy Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations* still remains the central work. In the domain of history proper, Hume and Robertson each produced composite wholes such as had not previously appeared in any modern literature, Hume's being perhaps the acutest intellect ever applied to the events of history, while Robertson's practical sagacity and width of survey have rarely been surpassed. In the literature of imagination there were at least two Scottish writers whose work had a potent influence on the literature of other countries. The literary historians of France and Germany both assign a direct and powerful influence to the author of the *Seasons* on the poetry of their respective countries. Thomson's work belongs to the first half of the century, but of far more resounding fame and quickening effect was the *Ossian* of James Macpherson, which appeared in 1762-3. Macpherson now stands in a somewhat dubious light; nevertheless, it is an indisputable fact that his *Ossian* struck a note which vibrated throughout Europe, and did more than any other intellectual product to draw the general gaze to the country which gave it birth. The works that have been named were all epoch-making in their respective subjects; but, as Voltaire's ironical words imply, there was a crowd of books written, which,

though they did not attain to this distinction, yet exercised a wide influence in their day. What especially strikes us is the number of Scottish books of the period that were translated into the continental languages. The works of Lord Kames, the *Sermons* of Hugh Blair, Beattie's *Essay on Truth*, to mention only a few, all made the tour of Europe, significant evidence of the amount of truth that lay behind Voltaire's sarcasm. In view of her achievements in so many fields, therefore, it can hardly be gainsaid that the latter half of the eighteenth century was for Scotland 'the period of her most energetic, peculiar, and most various life.'

P. HUME BROWN.

## An Elegy and a Ballad

THE following elegy on Colonel Gardner is printed from a broadside in my possession which is copiously decorated with death's-heads, cross-bones, and the like. It bears no printer's name, but from its appearance and style seems to be contemporary.

The ballad on Lord Lovat's execution is derived from a copy in Douce's collection in the Bodleian Library.

C. H. FIRTH.

### AN ELEGY

On the Memory of the Honourable Colonel James Gardner, who was cruelly murdered by the Antichristian Mob near Tranent, Sept. 21, 1745.

Who can but ly in sable Weed,  
As fill'd with Grief and Wo,  
That knows our worthy Gardner's dead,  
And past from us below.

As Gardner cuts the tender Plant  
Even with his pruning Knife,  
So Death spares not the greatest Saint,  
But him bereaves of Life.

For here below too mean a Place  
Was for his lofty Soul,  
While here he staid an Heir of Grace,  
Does now in Glory roul.

Although the Messenger named Death  
Came in a bloody Way,  
And him bereft of common Breath,  
While on the Field he lay.

From Rome a Limb of Antichrist,  
Join'd with a Hellish Band  
Of Highland Thieves, came here in haste,  
God's Laws for to withstand.

To introduce the Man of Sin  
 It sure was their intent,  
 'Gainst God their Battle did begin  
 Hard by the Town Tranent.

Our Men in Armour did appear,  
 As being fill'd with Hope  
 Of Victory, and free of Fear,  
 Till sold by Traitor Cope.

When Soldiers fand, that to their Hand,  
 For Slaughter they're design'd,  
 And sold unto the Hellish Band,  
 To kill as they inclin'd.

Dragoons they fled with greatest Speed,  
 Him left to stand alone,  
 And in his Time of greatest Need  
 With him sure was not one.

These cruel, base and bloody Men  
 Did on his Body seise;  
 His Life did not suffice alone,  
 Could not their Lust appease.

His Body's laid in Blood and Gore,  
 A Sacrifice to be,  
 For Bloody Monsters to devour  
 And on the Prey to flee.

This dear Saint's Blood sure cries aloud,  
 And will bring Vengeance down  
 On Steuart's Cause, and on their Laws,  
 And them with Vengeance Crown.

What's done unto this Saint Of God,  
 God reckons done to Him:  
 They'll surely find it heavy Load,  
 For He'll requite their Sin.

O Charles! cursed cruel Wretch,  
 Remind what thou hast done;  
 Unless that I from Hell do fetch,  
 A Match for thee is none.

O bloody Beast! bewail the Death  
 Of him that thou hast slain;  
 Thou'rt threatned with a Weight of Wrath,  
 That's hast'ning on amain.

For Person, Parts, or Piety,  
 Sure few can now compare;

In Battles knew not how to flee  
For Honours had his Share.

His Person stately and divine,  
Of a majestick Air,  
A Terror stroke on all about,  
That loud and wicked were.

His King-like Carriage sure foretold  
His higher Views than's here,  
He ne'er would thole the Laws controul'd,  
That cost his Lord so dear.

A Soldier brave, did well behave,  
Both to his God and King,  
He both did serve, and did not swerve,  
And now he sure does reign.

He passed hath from State of Wars  
Unto his Master's Joy,  
Altho' in Battle he got Scars,  
They now him nought annoy.

The Soldiers rude, as trembling stood,  
Afraid to curse or swear;  
Such Penalties on such he laid,  
As made them Vice forbear.

He ruled well his House at Home,  
Offenders stood in Awe,  
His Children in his Presence came,  
Rul'd with paternal Law.

A loving Husband always deem'd,  
By all that sure him knew,  
Was always sweet and grave esteem'd,  
A Love from all he drew.

For Union he did always long,  
'Mong Sons of Zion's King,  
And liked Love among the Throng,  
That sure with him shall reign.

And now his Song exceedeth far,  
Their Songs while here below,  
Where high he sings without a Mar,  
God's Praises forth does show.

He does extol without controul,  
And trumpet forth his Praise  
Does sweetly roul, and without Toil  
Doth high his Glory raise.

Altho' his Blood does cry aloud  
 For Vengeance to come down,  
 And sure it shall, as is God's Will,  
 Yet He'll the Martyr crown.

They surely shall have Blood to drink,  
 Who dares to draw a Sword,  
 To fight, oppose, and so to think,  
 'Gainst Him that's God the Lord.

Tho' he in Battle lost his Life,  
 His Victory's complete,  
 He's surely ended all his Strife,  
 His Joy now is sweet (*sic*).

He'll rise again, see Christ his King,  
 See Angels round the Throne,  
 The Glory's Train that Christ shall bring,  
 And he shall join the Throng.

Douce, *Ballads*, iii. 55 verso.

Lord Lovet's Reception by the Spectators, as He passed through the City, on Thursday, March the 19th, 1747, to receive his Sentence.

*Tune of*, 'I wish I had never been married, been married.'

As through the City Lord Lovet did pass,  
 the People in Hundreds did follow,  
 And cried you Old Fox you are catch'd safe at last,  
 while some hiss'd and others did hollow:  
 To Westminster Hall you are going to be tryed,  
 by the Peers of the Realm who your cause will decide,  
 And bring you in Guilty to humble your Pride,  
 And now you old Fox do you love it, do you love it,  
 and now you old Fox do you love it.

Your cause was so bad, and was proved so plain,  
 this wicked Rebellion you aided;  
 To prove your innocency was but in vain,  
 for you by no means could Evade it;  
 You underhand acted we plainly can see,  
 or you'd ne'er have been found in the old hollow Tree,  
 But on Tower Hill a Head shorter you'll be;  
 and now you old Fox, etc.

The Lords could perceive your artful sly Tricks,  
 altho' you began to dissemble,  
 High Treason upon you most plainly is fix'd,  
 their Sentence did make you to tremble;

You fairly was Tried and fairly was cast,  
to answer for all your vile Tricks that are past,  
For Justice indeed has o'ertook you at last,  
and now you old Fox, etc.

Altho' you for so many Years did Escape,  
a Hatchet, a Gun or a Halter,  
From Scotland they have Conducted you safe,  
and Tower Hill soon will you alter;  
Where you on a Scaffold must quickly appear,  
when Jack Ketch with Hatchet and Block will appear,<sup>1</sup>  
With numerous Spectators, who at you will stare,  
and now you old Fox, etc.

To tell all the Vilianous actions he's done,  
sure any one's patience would tire,  
He such a vile Course has for many Years run,  
as makes ev'rybody admire;  
It soon will be over you sure may depend,  
you behaved so well you have scarce got a Friend,  
Jack Ketch with pleasure will on you attend,  
and now you old Fox, etc.

Your Tenants no more will lie under your lash,  
or now be expos'd to your Fury,  
Your Neighbours may now at home keep their own cash,  
For you made yourself both Judge and Jury,  
Their Houses you plundered their Cattle you Stole,  
their Persons imprison'd and sent into Goal,  
but the headsman will soon pay you for't in the whole,  
and now you old Fox, etc.

Your torturing Engine being now laid aside,  
Your Tenants enjoy their own freedom,  
No more shall they Victors become of your Pride,  
nor You any longer would need them;  
In the Highlands You will be miss'd I believe,  
because from your Neighbours you used to Thieve,<sup>2</sup>  
Their is few or none at your misfortunes will Grieve,  
and now you old Fox, etc.

Some say that Tyburn's long wanted his due,  
but Tower Hill fairly has got it,  
blest with such a vile Villian as You,  
it seems almost for to shock it;  
Jack Ketch see your Hatchet is sharp e'er you go,  
To cut off the Head of old England's Foe,  
Like a Workman be sure to strike it off at one blow,  
Then farewell to wicked old Lovet, old Lovet,  
Then farewell to wicked old Lovet.

[2 cuts, Head of Lovat and Scaffold.]

<sup>1</sup> So in the text. Probably the author wrote 'will be there.'

## A Scot in France in 1751

THE old MS. Journal<sup>1</sup> in faded handwriting which I hold in my hand, cannot be better introduced than by the writer's own words at their commencement: 'I set out from London, September 16th 1751, on my journey thro France, taking leave of Britain, and everything British for some time.' The writer was a young Scottish gentleman, William Cuninghame, a son of the house of Enterkine, in Ayrshire, whose bookplate adorns the handsome vellum-bound folio in which his travels are written. He was an engineer and on his way to assist his regiment in Minorca.

From his Journal we know him to have been a man of wide knowledge and excellent education, and a travelled man, for had he not been in France already, in 1736? We learn from Horace Walpole's letters that he 'greatly distinguished himself at Minorca,' and we know that he died a colonel at Guadaloupe in 1759. Colonel Cuninghame left a full journal not only of his travels in France, but also of the military operations in which he took part at Minorca; but it is only the pacific first part that I deal with here.

The journal of a traveller in the eighteenth century is always of some interest, and especially so when the writer, as in this case, was a prudent Scot, well born, of an observant nature, cultured habits, Hanoverian sympathies, and a philosophic mind. 'In travelling,' he writes, 'one finds great inconvenience carrying along useless luggage. These properly are the superfluous customs and little attachments we carry from one country to another, as one has contracted by a longer or shorter residence; which when we get to another ought to be laid aside as having no foundation, but on the whim and caprice of the nation to which they belong. And unless we possess such maxims and manners as are generally esteemed right, we ought never to introduce them into any foreign country or nation.' With this

<sup>1</sup> In the possession of Mrs. Rainsford-Hannay, *née* Forbes.

wise maxim he set out, but, like Job, it was from his friends that he mainly suffered. 'Sometime before I set out two accidents happened that almost stopt my journey.' The first was a friend, who, to purchase a post, used his credit. 'Trusting to his honour and friendship I thought nothing more of the sum than that he would replace it on the misgiving of the purchase, when, contrary to my expectation or indeed to my great surprise, the money was taken up and spent without my knowledge till a few days before I left town.' The next was 'a man of quality [who] came to ask me if I could relieve him in the greatest necessity. I excused myself. On which he prest me to apply to some of my Friends. This I was foolish enough, in spite of long experience, to give into, and borrowed a sum for him in his urgent necessity, and tho' I told him every day of my intention to begone, and had not wherewithall to defray my own expenses he left me in the lurch to make the best of his bankrupt debt. These two Anecdotes I keep in view as Beacons to steer by.' He started, however, and was glad of it, as 'on going a journey it is much gained to get one stage clear of London,' even though one, like himself, arrived at Dartford only to find a stupid and drunken landlord and consequent bad entertainment. 'We had escaped Highwaymen from London but got into a nest of pilferers here tho' in the best Inn at Dartfoord.' Next day the journey was passed 'agreeably tho' not entertainingly' posting through the rich land of Kent. 'We dined at Canterbury, where we could scarcely get past the chaises in the entry to the low parlours that were crowded with French players, valet(s) de Chambres, Barbers and Taylors, their dress denoting their trade. . . . I found all expected to make their fortune at London, from which opinion I did not discourage them, knowing the extravagant value put on these pert strollers.'

At Dover he met more, 'some just come over and others returning,' and also some English on their way back from France. 'They had brought over a good deal of the French impertinence without much of the solid or true lustre that travelling gives the mind.' Among the fellow travellers was the astronomer, M. Monier, whom Cuninghame had met in Scotland with Lord Morton, when he had been sent over by the Academie des Sciences to make observations on the eclipse of the sun in 1748. A rich London lady and gentleman were more amusing, however. 'The Captain of the Packet who

had connived at their smuggling French Commodities was invited to dine with us, and by the frequent whispers t'wixt him and the fair one, with the character she gave him of being one of the honestest best sort of men that used the passage, it was easy to see the French dress for her next winter's appearance depended on his fidelity.'

The wine of the Inn was bad, so 'it was necessary to treat the lady to a little Burgundy. "*Verses un Ver,*" says she, "it is so difficult to get off a language one is accustomed to." We have all met this lady! In this case she came from Boulogne, where she had most likely been at least a few weeks.

'Freed from one plague,' continues the Journalist on the departure of these travellers, 'many others succeeded.' The Ambassador (Lord Albemarle) was going over. 'All his suite crowded the Inn. Parlours, Kitchen, and every place was filled with couriers, cooks and Valet(s) de Chambres eating, drinking, dressing themselves or their meat, and such a noise all night long that his Excellency complained next morning of wanting rest. Tho' everybody else who lodged there had more reason to complain of the insolence of office.' Our author, with another gentleman (whose relatives had been ruined in the Rising of 1745), hired a ship to take them to Boulogne for three guineas, all included. 'The ship masters don't care to go to Boulogne as they can't so readily find passengers as at Calais. But if the wind serves it is as easy going to Boulogne and saves 3 posts and  $\frac{1}{2}$  travelling,' so that was a real gain in spite of the very bad landing. Of the inhabitants of Boulogne, that refuge of English innocence, we have the following description: 'People of all characters, except good ones, resort here from Britain, that is if you allow those who are outlaws of their country to go in the reckoning. Criminals of all Denominations are to be found here, and mix without ceremony or shame in all company in the place. Some good sort of people of our Country carry on the trade of wine here and are the only exceptions.' This exception no doubt refers, among others, to Mr. Charles Smith of Boulogne, who was not only a Scottish Wine Merchant but had also been secretly a Jacobite Agent.

Cuninghame and his companion now hired a post-chaise to take them to Paris. 'We went by turns in the chaise and rode. . . . This method is a relaxation to both,' and he describes the posts as better served than in England, and the horses more cared for although not 'near so quick.' They went

through the county of Picardy which was then, as now, flourishing. 'It is not productive of wines, yet is abundant in what turns to better account. There manufactories are numerous. Abbeville and Amiens have great trade in the Woollen being supplied with much of that commodity from Ireland. . . . It is as much planted as makes the views agreeable (and) not too much to interrupt these or too little to make the country look naked, but is not sufficiently watered.' So much for Picardy. The Inns, however, he thought inferior to those of England, at least those on the great post-roads. At Clermont, where it is noted that the Duc de Fitz-James, a son of the British Duc de Berwick, had a fine place, they met an English exile of different politics—a Jacobite refugee—and then pushed on to Chantilly, which our writer had been immensely impressed with on his first visit, and which still seemed 'a fine old castle.' He animadverted, 'How necessary it is for right judging to view things stricter and at different times. For this reason every one who wishes to form a proper judgement should make a double tour of travels at some distance of years.' He went over the pictures—the battles of the great Condé—and the gardens, which, he says, 'are full of minch py (mince pie) work and waterspouts. Everything in the old style.' The manège and stabling were 'more magnificent than anything at Versailles,' but, as the Prince de Condé was only fourteen years old, the policies were more neglected than was usual. On visiting the stables he says, 'I happened to have my gloves on, which the groom told me was never allowed in the Prince's stables, that (reason) or any other, I suppose, to make a forfeit.' He computed the Duc de Bourbon's estate as about eighteen leagues square, and believed him to be 'the most considerable subject in Europe,' but adds, 'Vanity subjects mankind to many inconveniences. I know none of the kind liable to (distress) more than that of bringing a high-road close to one's gate. Yet this prevails in France, and is so at Chantilly, one of the greatest thoroughfares in the Kingdom.'

A slight *contre-temps* now stopped our travellers, for, though twelve horses or so were in the posting stable, and they were desirous of some steeds to take them on to Paris, they were told by the post-master that ten of them were reserved for the use of M. le Comte de Charolais, a Prince of the Blood. Cuninghame's comment on this is 'Happy Britain, first come, first served!' but after two hours his companion astutely stated

that he must get on as he had business that night at Paris with the British Ambassador! This ruse succeeded, and they got on to within two stages from Paris but slept in a wretched Inn. 'It was however the Posthouse, and best Inn of the village. How surprised I should have been to see so bad an alehouse so near London, for nothing could bespeak more misery.' This was near St. Denis, and it is noted that the roads about Paris were 'all well planted avenues.'

Paris was then, even more than now, the Mecca of the Pilgrim. From the time of Louis XIV. it had given the *ton* to every Court whether of friendly or hostile nations. Cuninghame thus writes of it, 'Paris is the place in Europe where society is most universal, and on the best footing. I mean that of entertaining and amusements. It is a little world where you can have people of all countrys to converse with, and all things to purchase that other countrys produce.' He thought that it stood on little more ground than the half of London, and was the happier 'with half this space and I believe, modestly judging, the fourth of the riches. 10,000 Livres yearly does very well for a house and little equipage at Paris, when 2,000 sterling will fall short at London.'

Remise coaches were very nearly as costly as coaches in London at twelve livres per diem. The first places at the plays cost six livres, but every other expense, he says, was 'considerable lower.' The ordinaries for eating all over Paris were then, as now, 'of great use to a stranger.' 'In the first-rate ones you eat for 35 or 40 sous, wine included. One is never at a loss for company. It is an introduction to a general acquaintance (and), so far as it goes, is amusing and often useful.' He adds that the exclusive English profited less by it than any other strangers, preferring to have their meals sent in from a *traiteur* 'who is well acquainted with the weight of their purses and makes them pay accordingly.' Then, as always, the Parisians were clever salesmen. And they had the custom of surrounding each post-chaise as it stopped, and proffering their wares, 'so that in a few hours you are as well fitted out in equipage and everything at Paris as in other places in as many days.'

The *Valet de louage* he thought the perfection of a servant—in his own way—'in effect to lie, pimp, and pilfer. That is, they make free with everything at home, and run snacks with everybody you employ abroad.'

The French, the writer found, 'with all their politeness,

exceedingly curious,' and that among them Fashion had a stronger following than in England. 'Dress, manners, morals and belief are all subjected to Fashion. Right and wrong depends chiefly on him that takes the lead'—and this was in the wicked times of Louis XV.—'I mean only as to those who are entirely men of mode and these are allowed to be more numerous here than in any place of the world.' 'Different Nations excel in different things; I think we may easily allow the French what relates to dress since we are generally allowed to exceed them in more essential points'; but in spite of this complacency, he was forced to admit that they had in his time 'gained most courts of Europe to their side and established this accepted authority in what is called the gentle company of these Countrys.' We have also an interesting summary of the position of the British tourists of the eighteenth century, not altogether in their favour. Their money, which they spent freely in Paris, gained them 'the greatest attention and readiest service from all who can make profit of them.' They did not 'study the language and manners so much as they might. One that is flush of money imagines (that) every pleasure should meet him, at least, that he has every one in his power without giving himself the trouble of acquiring by study and pains.' Do we not find these charges still made against *Perfide Albion* even in these days of *l'entente cordiale*? He continues, 'From this arises the abuse of money and all pleasures; luxury and excess; debauchery and every vice.' He had another criticism to make on the English which we still hear whispered occasionally. 'Those of the same nation naturally flock together. The English are remarkable for it here and are observed to have more connection and stricter friendships with their countrymen than ever they have afterwards. . . . It is even remarked, and I believe not unjustly, (that) they forget these attachments whenever they go home.'

Our traveller did not feel at home with these British tourists. 'They profited,' he says, 'very little by being at Paris. The sum of it was this. They spoke very bad French, swore a great deal at their coachman, footman, and people of the house. . . . They drove to the Tennis Court in the morning, dres't, dined; then to the English or Irish haunts in the Coffee-houses about the Pont Neuf. Afterwards from playhouse to playhouse (as at London) then to supper, at 10, either at the Ordinary or oftener at home where they told me they got a bit they could eat, dres't after the English way. Then send

for girls, or away to Madame Paris';' whose Hôtel du Roule readers of French *Mémoires* know from Casanova's description. He was not happy with his compatriots. 'I asked some of these gentlemen to go and see the Curiositys of the place, but they went to see the famous Woman player at Tennis,' (the British sportsman all over!) 'and left me to see the fine collection of pictures made by the late Duke of Orleans,' then housed in the Palais Royale. Though our author would have liked to see the sights of Paris again, time pressed. While in France he wished also to 'see the face of the Country adorned with what is most agreeable to the eyes and taste'—the vintage. So, having received Lord Albemarle's despatches for Commodore Keppel, who commanded the Mediterranean Squadron, he set out for the South of France, first halting at Fontainebleau, 'nine posts from Paris, where the Court then was'; and was like everyone else charmed with 'the Forrest,' if not with the furnishing of the palace, which was 'not at all so rich or so modern as in the other Palaces of France I have formerly seen.' The King, when they arrived had been out hunting the stag, but after dining and dressing, all the Court went to the Play. 'The Queen came into the State box, but His Majesty (as they told me) seldom or never did, but peeped throu a Lettice above. Everybody well dress'd is allowed to come in; strangers particularly have the preference.' Our author was impressed with the decoration of the stage and boxes, but shocked at the poorness of the piece, which was 'The Twenty-four Misfortunes of Harlequin,' only passable 'for a mob to laugh at'; not for a Court. 'Mr. Voltaire and others of the modern French poets,' he adds, 'have much censured the incorrectness of our stage, I believe with justice in some particulars. But if they were to look at home they might banish whole pieces. . . . They plead these are Italian pieces. I think it is more blameable to adopt the bad performances of other nations than to be prejudiced in favours of those of our own.'

Like Casanova his loyal eyes blinked when Louis XV. came on the scene. 'The Court appeared in the Rooms after the play, but not with the usual splendour, being then in mourning. The King seemed to me the best-looking man of his Court, of a healthy countenance; robust, but rather fat; with a great deal of Majesty,' no doubt 'a model of Deportment' in the contemporary opinion.

The presence of the Court had its disadvantages for travellers. 'The posts incoming and going are double. Other things are more, in this proportion. So we found at our Inn.' But Cuninghame's Scottish caution did not desert him, and he promptly compounded for half his bill for lodging, though he paid the 'extras' not to 'derogate too much from the profuse honour of our nation and the title of "Milor."' With a sigh, no doubt, he added the words, 'No people have more the art of talking strangers out of their money.'

For the journey to Burgundy the author's prudent 'companion' (his name is never divulged) had bought a post-chaise (of one seat) and they drove and rode, as before no doubt, on 'their Bidets good little Tits . . . (which) keep always at a canter. None of our Company had a fall all the while we travelled together.' The first halt was at the old and ruinous town of Sens. At the Inn a Highlander spoke to them. He had since the Rebellion 'been in France with his Master, who lived there with many others concerned in that unhappy affair, who had chosen this place for the cheapness of living, and the Civilitys they received from the Archbishop.'

Auxerre was the next stop, and the author's companion, 'who was a better judge of wines than I,' recommended the vintages. The police of the roads was well regulated and the travellers went in comfort. The next day's journey was through Viteaux to Dijon, the capital of Burgundy and 'Parliament seat of that Province'; but there was no Session and the town was consequently dull. Two posts further on was Nuys [Nuits], where the travellers rested some days in the house of M. Marées, a Wine Merchant 'of great repute'; and there they learned something about the high prices of wine which astonished them, the highest being '1200 Livres a pipe, that is about £30 a hogshead.' They visited Volne and Pomar as well as Bonne (Beaune), 'wall'd and famous for its wines,' and were impressed with the commerce of Chalons. It was 'surprising,' however, that 'there are not better Inns in so considerable a place.' They were in bad luck with their Inn, and, we hope, exceptionally so, 'for our further comfort the kitchen chimney took fire while our supper was dressing, and with great difficulty we got the mob kept out of the house by shutting the gates, while our Cook extinguished it' by the old salt cure.

At Chalons the travellers joined those who had come in the diligence from Paris and embarked for Lyons on the 'Coche

d'Eau,' one of the transport barges. The Parisian company who took the best places were noisy and troublesome, and our author 'declined accepting their kind invitation of preference to their room, and kept at a distance with my book.' They spent the night at Macon, and next day our hero paid for his admiration of beauty. 'Our landlady pas't us in review from her bar, and every one payd as he went out. She was very handsome and show'd a very fine neck to advantage with a loose robe which diverting my attention from counting my money, she made me pay for the sight, by taking one third more than from any of the Company.'

The travellers sailed down the Saone, through 'a very delightful country' to Lyons, where they were invaded by Frenchmen, until 'I believe our Company could have muster'd as many as the King of France sent with the Young Pretender for the recovery of the Crown he claimed. We had indeed two (or) three of his officers with us, dres't in feathers and stockings of various colours, who, to the disturbance and scandal of the whole Company, used the people who offered their service to carry their baggage . . . with the grossest language and abuse, insulting the people in the streets.' The travellers were glad to withdraw from their company and see the town.

'Every creature is busy and employed here,' wrote the diarist about Lyons. He thought the streets well adorned, the houses magnificent, and the people opulent. 'The Country about (is) bespangled with pretty little retreats, so that all the hills and country about Lyons seems one continued town.' The travellers saw the 'sights,' the Jesuits Library, the 'Academy for Exercises,' and the manufactories, where the gold thread and gold lace and the Lyons silks were made. Of 'gold drawing,' we are given a full description too long to quote here, but he entered also that 'The grounds about Lyons are as embroidered with houses as their silks are with gold and silver. The views from the hills round the town above the banks of the two rivers are delightfully pleasant.'

On account of the fear of robbers by road, Cuninghame and his friend proceeded by boat—the common passage-boat—down the Rhone to Avignon. Among their co-voyageurs were M. de Fien, interpreter to the King for Oriental languages, the Chevalier Labord, a sailor, and M. de Chateauneuf, a soldier, who related their travels and adventures by sea and land, and beguiled the voyage. The rest of the company were officers,

merchants, and priests, who chiefly narrated *contes grivois* and their own *amourettes* for the benefit of the rest until they arrived at Vienne having enjoyed 'a prodigious variety of romantic views all along the Rhone.'

It took three days to reach the papal city of Avignon, and the travellers arrived there in time for the feast of S. Louis,—which was celebrated by many Chevaliers of his Order,—and to attend an opera 'which lasted till near midnight, and sent us home fully disposed to rest.' The writer was informed that 'The Young Pretender kept family here, consisting of the proper officers for a Prince as if he actually resided here, tho' as they told me he had not been seen at Avignon for two years. The Pope's Vice Legate received him after his banishment from France<sup>1</sup> with much show and magnificence. He had come to town privately, but afterwards entered publicly, and had great entertainments and balls. Those strangers I talk't to of him seemed not to have the least idea where he was,' and this uncertainty lasted for a good many years, until his father's death in 1766, put an end to the Prince's incognito.

From Avignon the travellers went on their way to Aix-en-Provence, a tedious journey for which they went fortified with a breakfast of 'excellent sauciges, Ortolans and Cyprus wine.' Aix was much resorted to 'by people of all ranks in Provence for business and pleasure; by strangers, more particularly (by) the English.' It was an early health resort too, and they found it one of the best built towns in France. Here the chief man had seen something of Britain in the '45. 'The Marquis D'Aiguilles, who was vested with the sham character of Ambassador to the Young Pretender during the Rebellion in Scotland, is now President to the Parliament here. He was taken prisoner at Culloden in the character of a Captain of Foot, afterwards went to Carlisle and Penrith as Commissary for the French prisoners then with us, and married a Parson's daughter of that Country, whom he carried over to this place.'

Marseilles was the last French town of Cuninghame's Odyssey, for it was from that port that he had to sail to Minorca. He wrote, 'Marseilles may be justly esteemed the richest, fairest and most trading town in France. The mart of the Mediterranean and the Center of the West India Commerce. The new town . . . is large, with straight fine streets all built of free stone. The old town has very high

<sup>1</sup>Dec. 27, 1748.

buildings (and) narrow streets and only inhabited by the lower class of people. So straight are these streets that coaches cannot go. I suppose it is of late that any equipages have been kept here for in the spacious new buildings the ladys all go in chairs.'

Here, having to wait for his boat, the writer whom we have followed for so long, found himself among a coterie of compatriots 'enjoying the rational pleasure of a domestick travelling life, improving themselves and doing all the good in their power' and with this society he spent from October the 24th to the 15th of December (old style), on which day he set sail for the island of Minorca.

A. FRANCIS STEUART.

## Ecclesiastical Persecution in the Seventeenth Century

THE following extracts are from a Narrative written by the Rev. Robert Landess of Robroyston, which has been preserved among the family papers of Major John Henry Lamont of Lamont, the XXI. chief of the Clan Lamont. The first thirty-eight pages are unfortunately wanting, but the extant portion, extending from 1660 to 1703, consists principally of an account of the author's settlement and experiences as a Presbyterian minister at Ballymoney, in Ireland, his differences with the Irish presbyteries over his subsequent return to Glasgow, and of his ministerial work in Glasgow and the Parish of Blantyre, in Lanarkshire. The portion of the Narrative here printed is interesting as a contemporary record of ecclesiastical persecution and of domestic life in Scotland in the latter half of the seventeenth century and covers the ten years between 1662 and 1672.

Owing to the loss of the earlier portion of the Narrative information as to the author's family is probably now irrecoverable, but from internal evidence it appears that Mr. Landess was born in January, 1630, and was a man of some means. He obtained his degree in Arts at the University of Glasgow where he held a bursary in 1658, and was licensed as a preacher, as appears from the Narrative, by the Presbytery of Hamilton. After leaving Scotland in 1672 he had charge in County Antrim of a congregation at Ballymoney in the Presbytery of Rout (Kilrut) where he ministered for fourteen years, but owing to the state of his health and the impossibility of living upon the scanty offerings of a scattered and poor congregation, he returned to Scotland in 1686. In 1687 he appears as a member of the Synod of Glasgow and Ayr, and was called *ad interim* to officiate in one of the meeting houses in Glasgow, and had charge of the East Quarter till April, 1690, when, owing to the better supply of ministers after the re-establishment of Presbyterianism, he was at his own request relieved of his charge in the city. In July,

1690, he received a call from the Parish of Blantyre and was inducted on 12th August of that year. He demitted office on 29th December, 1702, on account of his age and failing health and died in 1705, in the seventy-sixth year of his age, and was buried, according to a note on the cover of the Narrative, within the High Church of Glasgow. The writer, however, on an examination of the Register of Burials kept by the Town Clerk, does not find this borne out.

In 1692 Mr. Landess purchased the lands of Robroyston, the title being taken in name of himself and his second wife, Janet Baillie, and the longest liver of them in liferent, and his son Robert Landess in fee, and by various transmissions during the eighteenth century the lands of Robroyston came into the possession of the family of Archibald Lamont of Lamont, XVII. chief of the Clan, one of whose sons in 1779 married Katherine Landess, a great-grand-daughter of the author of the Narrative. The lands of Robroyston were recently purchased by the Corporation of Glasgow from the family of Major Lamont, to whom we are indebted for permission to publish these Extracts.

ROBERT LAMOND.

**A**T Whitsunday in ye yeir 1662 I found it not convenient to continue in Glasgow, and therfor I and my familie went to the Hags which belonged to Sr Georg Maxwell of Nether Pollok wher we hade severall conveniences both temporall and spiritual. In the Latter end of November 1662 Master Hugh Smith Minister at Eastwood and his familie came also to the place of ye Hags and after his comeing ther we hade the benefit of privat Meetings in ye night time for which Mercie I then hade & yet have cause to bless the Most Hie.

And at thet time when Mr. Smith and his familie came to ye Hags all these Ministers who wold not accept presentations from their patrons wer also charged to remove out of thair parishes by a proclamation that was published at Glasgow on the : 1 : day of the preceeding October. The yeir imediatlie after Mr. Hugh Smith came to dwell at the Hags there was no regular incumbent placed in Eastwood. The vacancie ther made way for the more private exerceis of religious worship in the place of Pollok and at the Oldhouse neir the Kirk of Eastwood wher Master Alexander Jamison (that was Minister at Govan) dwelt with his familie. Upon the 8 day of April 1663 my wife was delivered of a Son called George. I got him baptized on ye 12 day of ye forsaid month by Mr. James Wallace who was Minister at Inchinan. This child lived only ffourten weeks or therby and was buried at Govan. After this, the said Mr. Hugh Smith and I wer advertisd by some freinds that the Bishop of Glasgow hade gotten information of our haveing meetings privatlie and therfor we wer desird to be upon our

guard; this warning did necessitat us to retein sometymys from the Hags at night, to some nighbors houses neirby, that wer not suspected. After we hade used this method some time, he and I resolved to remove from the Hags and take our families farther from Glasgow.

In the Month of Feberuar 1664, He and I went to several places in the West, at length I agried with John Hamilton of Barr, for his house called ye Barr in the parish of Lochwinoch with the yairds, and the third part of ye Mayns belonging to it: and at the tyme of our agriement I lent him ffyften hundreds merks: the annual rent whereof was accepted by him as a part of his rent yeirlye during my tack of ye lands of Barr. Then I agried with Hugh Sempill who was tenent to ye tuo parts of Barr and he caried on ye plowing and laboring of ye land in my absence. At the Whitsunday in ye yeir 1664 I went with my familie to ye Barr; Wher Mr. Hugh Peebbs was Minister and not removed then from that parish becaus he was on of those ministers that had entred to his ministrie ther with a presentation from the patron befor the yeir 1649

Mr. Peebles continued at Lochwinoch and hade the exercise of his ministrie ther, to the great satisfaction of many in that countrie side, for the space of a yeir and more after I went to the Barr. But Satan and his agents envyed him and about the month of Agust 1655 prevailed so far, as to sumond him to compeir befor the counsell at Edenburgh, wher he was requird to take the Oath of Supremacie, which he refused & therfor was sentandc with confinement at Fforfar in the Shire of Angus wher he taried more than a yeirs space and hade the favor of many who lived in the nighbourhood, but he took not his familie ther.

Upon the 8 of December 1664 being Thursday my daughter Joan was borne and upon ye 18 day of the said month was baptizd at Dalry by Master Robert Bell Minister ther.

Upon the Sixt of Jun 1666 my daughter Mary was born: at this time Mr. Robert Aird, formerlie Minister in the Isle of Cumbray came to Lochwinoch: who declared to me and many others in that parish that my Lord Dundonald hade brought him ther by his moyoun without regard to the Bishops Licence or allowance and upon his entrie ther several ministers in that corner of ye countrie advised the people of that parish not to withdraw from his Ministrie in regard he was once lawfullie ordaind by the presbyterie of Irwin. Onlie we were desird to testifie our dissent at his intrusion in that parish which was done accordingle. And upon the 24 day of the forsaid month of Jun he baptized my daughter Mary and several others.

Within a short time after his entrie ther, he was verie active to have these that wer elders in that parish joyning with him but they refusing he became very rude in his words against them, and withall threatend to bring them to trouble, as also in his preaching he became heterodox: Wherupon the people generallie disownd him afterward.

Upon the 21 of Jullii 1667 at eight hors in the morning being the sabboth my son Robert was born and baptized at Dalry by Mr. Robert Bell on the IIth. day of Agust following. Upon the        day of April

1670 my daughter Margret was born : and her mother continued verie weak and sicklie for the space 20 days and then departed this life. This last day of her natural life Mr. Hugh Peebles and his wife wer with her a considerable space. In whose hearing she gave a plain discoverie of her Minde in words : saying : these four and twentie yeirs I have been ayming at seeking of the Most Hie God in Christ Jesus, I cannot now say that I have assuranc of being with him for ever : however my soul inclyns to cleave to him and trust in him. With these words her breath failld in the view of several freinds beside these above named and the thrie children Joan, Mary and Robert looking on, which peircd my heart in a great measure ; not only then, but afterward. The chyld Margret was put to a nurss and being verie weaklie for the space of a month after her mothers decease, she also departed this life and was buried in ye church yaird of Lochwinoch neir her mother's grave. I hade now at this time the forsd thrie children kept alyve ; but when I thought upon the loss that the children wer at in the want of thair kynd mother, a mother that was serious in holding up thair cases to him who formd them in the womb, a mother that wold have been examplarie to them in a special maner ; a mother that wold have been verie active in reproveing them for any escap that she came to perceive in them, if she hade been kept alyve with them, These and the like thoughts overwhelmed me many a time in such a degrie that I could hardlie sitt with them in the house wher we dwelt ; nor could I continue any space at a distance from them.

Within the space of a month after the child's death ; Tuo troupers came and took me allong with them to ye Kirktown of Lochwinoch : and after we wer sitten down together in an ale house ther they told me that thair Captan hade sent them to bring me to Paisley becaus I was disorderlie in my cariage and therby discouraged Mr. Robert Aird. Then I desird them to send for Master Aird that they might hear him and me discourse together about that matter. Then they sent for him and when he enterd the rowm wher wee wer and saw me in thair company he wold not come neir them. Upon this I said to the troupers You sie, I am willing that you should hear him and me, but he refuseth to come wher I am.

In the meantime I prevailed with them to take some refreshment befor we went any further : And when we hade dynnd, they desird me to promise that I should come to thair Captan at Paisley when he requyrd. This I did promise and after I hade payd about four pound Scots, for what was eaten and drunken at that meeting they went away verie peaceable and thair Captan never calld for me.

When I returnd to ye children and servants in the afternoon I came to be a litle melancholious and thoughtie as formerlie, which continued with me Ay, and whil I was taken with a pairtie of horsemen in the month of Agust 1670. The maner was this. Thrie horsmen came to ye Barr wher I dwelt and requyrd me to goe allong with them to thair Captan at Castl Sempill. Then I took my horse, and

I was not well sett in the saddle upon him untill I found a remarkable removal of my anxious thoughts concerning my young motherless children. Then I was in some measur helped to beleive that the ever blissed Lord wold own them and make up the absence of mother and father unto them in his own way. Within a little tyme another pairtie of horse comes up to us who hade taken a neir neighbor of myne called Robert Orr of Milnbank. These horsemen caried him and me to thair Captan at Castlsempill and when we came neir to ye house of Castlsempil a great many papists wer looking out at the windows upon us, for that house was a receptacle for all that wer popish.

My Lord Sempill pretended to plead with the popish Captan in our favors, that he might suffer us to stay at home, offering himself as cationer that we should appear if ever we wer requyrd by the Counsell at Edenburgh. But all that we could obtain was only a libertie to return to ye Barr that we might have a shift of clean linings and from that the pairtie of horsemen wer orderd to take us allong to Edenburgh and deliver us to ye Duke of Lauderdaill.

Accordinglie we wer taken to Glasgow that night and on the morrow to Edenburgh. When we came to Edenburgh we wer made prisoners in the cannongate tolbooth. Upon the morrow at ten hours we wer conveend befor the Duke of Lauderdaill and ye Lords of the secret councill, each of us by our selfs and not together. When I was brought befor them they askt me several trifling questions as first. Wher Was I licentiat to preach. 2dlie, What movd me to goe to Robert Orr's house and preach when I should have gone to the church wher the publik worshipe of God was performed.

These and the like questions being put to me: I told them that I was licent to preach by the presbyrie of Hamilton: As also I told them that I went to Robert Orr's house becaus he was desireous to have me and I hade not full freedom in my mynd to goe and hear Mr. Aird then, for when I heard him last, he was verie heterodox in his doctrin, which I am readie to give an account of it.

Then my Lord Dundonald interrupted me and so I forbare to speak any further of it. Then I was desidrd to remove a litle and when I was called upon the clerk did read the draught of a bond which was worded thus: I Mr. Robert Landess do hereby binde & oblige me to attend the publik worship of god in the parish church of my residence. When I heard this read I was mynded to subscribe it, and withall to have left the parish of Lochwinoch and gone & dwelt in some other parish wher some indulged ministers preacht at that time. But the clerk hade no sooner read over that draught in the hearing of all present then my Lord Dundonald said to the Duke of Lauderdaill My Lord this bond is not full enough for by it he should be obliged not to keep conventicles. Then I was desidrd to remove a litle and when I was calld in the draught of ye bond was worded thus I Mr. Robert Landess do hereby bind & oblige my self not to keep conventicles but shall frequent the publik worship of god in the parish church of my residence.

The Duke of Lauderdale desired me to subscribe this bond. Then I said My Lord, May it please your grace to hear me give my reasons why I cannot subscribe this bond as it is now worded. 1 First because I do not know what our civil law calls a conventicle 2 Secondlie because there is no law (so far as I know) which obligeth us to forbear conventicles.

Then My Lord Dundonald said, My Lord, I will informe him: and then he repeated the act against conventicles that was then agreed upon by that Session of parliament that was then sitting but it was not published. After that my Lord had given an account of that Act I directed my answer to my Lord Lauderdale and said My Lord I do not suspect my Lord Dundonald's memorie but before I can rationally subscribe any bond against conventicles I must see the Act it self and have some time to consider not onlie the words of the Act but also the preface and scope thereof.

Then I was desired to remove a litle and when I was called in the Duke of Lauderdale required me to subscribe the bond: Then I said My Lord if it please your grace I humbly beg to be excused for I cannot subscribe this bond until I be further satisfied in my mind anent it. Then the Duke of Lauderdale said This cursed crew of ye presbyterians will not accept of any favor from his Majesty though graciously dispense unto them.

Immediately he told me in name of ye council that they required me to petition the Parliament this afternoon for access to subscribe the bond as it is now worded; and if not my sentence is perpetual imprisonment and no person to have access unto me. When I was coming away the clerk gave me the draught of the bond, and the sojourn that waited at ye outer court conveyed me to the tolbooth; After that my fellow prisoner Robert Orr was examined and sent all along with me.

When he and I returned to the prison, these that were prisoners there for being at conventicles they asked what was said to us: Then I gave them the draught of the bond which they required me to subscribe and told them that it contained the sum of all that was said to me but what was said to my neighbor I did not then know. However I purposed to forbear the subscribing of that bond.

At three hours in the afternoon Robert Orr and the four that were prisoners for being at conventicles were taken in to the parliament and a sentence of Banishment was pronounced against them and others that were prisoners in the High town tolbooth.

When the Jailor of ye canongate tolbooth heard that they were so sentenced and remitted to the Jailor of the High town tolbooth until such time as a ship should be ready to carry them away,—The Jailor of the High town tolbooth not being acquainted with these prisoners that were brought from the canongate tolbooth, he did not own them; and when the prisoners that formerly belonged to the canongate tolbooth saw that none meddled with them, they retired each of them to their particular acquaintances that night: Onlie the said Robert Orr he came

of his own accord to the Cannongat tolbooth wher I remaind, And after he hade told me what past that afternoon and particularlie how the four that wer prisoners in the cannongat with him and me hade escaped, he told me also that he might have made his escap but he choysd rather to undergoe the sentance of Banishment in his own person than that his wife & bairns should by a sentance of forfaultrie (that my Lord Dundonald could easielie have obtained upon his Land in Lochwinoch) be brought to povertie. After that I was sentand with perpetual imprisonment Sir Georg Maxwell came to me in the prison and told me that he wold deal with the Duke of Lennox who was then in Edenburgh to interpose his moyen with the Earle of Tuedall who was to be president of the Secret Councell when the Duke of Lauderdale was gone to England which wold be shortlie; and therfor Sir Georg desird me to wait patientlie in prison, for he was very hopefull of my liberation within few weeks.

After this I continued prisoner tuo months in which space the ever blessed Lord of Heaven & earth made me to meet with many mercies.

1. As first I was made willing to wait for the Lords time and way of giving me an outgate.

2. I was acquainted by a freind that my motherless children and the servants that wer with them wer all in health and in good case.

3. That several nighbors in Lochwinoch and their wyvs wer verie carefull and kindlie towards my families welfare in my absence.

4. My fellow prisoner Robert Orr was christianlie cheerfull and patient all the tyme.

5. The under Jailour was verie strict at first, and to gayn his favor I told him that if he wold suffer us and the rest of the prisoners to have fellowship together at convenient hours I wold propose the expediencie of haveing some innocent recreation amongst us; and whatever sort of recreation or pastime we agreed upon amongst ourselves I doubt not but all of us will consent unto ye laying down of some litle money and who ever gains anything they shall be obliged to give it to him, or lay it out for drink to be made use of befor we part on from another, wherof he should have his share. This motion was so acceptable to him that he gave me the command of all the keys within the outter door. By this mean we hade access to meet together everie weekday from on ye clock till neir thrie in ye afternoon as also we hade access on ye saboth day to meet together in the forenoon from Ten to Tuelve and in ye afternon from tuo to four or fyve. And withall he gave us a signe wherby we should know when to reter to our several rowms when he was coming in to the tolbooth, and this was, his causing the chayn that was upon the outter door to reel loudlie; This friedom that all the prisoners hade here at this time was a mercie to us all in comon and to everie on of us in particular for which I then hade and yet have cause to bliss the Lord that made me and ye rest to find favor with the Jailour so unexpectedlie.

6. Sixtlie amongst the rest of ye comon mercies that I met w<sup>h</sup> at this time and in this case this was on viz. Ther was a certan person

that lived in Paisley who was indue a litle money to me for the space seven yeirs and more so that I was almost hopeless of getting it without persueing at Law for it: yet when I was in prison I wrot to that person, and ther upon it was verie carefullie sent to me.

7. Many at that time hade nothing wherupon to live in prison but what they received in charitie from others, yet the liberal giveing Lord of Heaven and earth kept me from being burthensome to any, for which I desire to bliss his blissed name.

The Earle of Tuedall came to Edenburgh and being President in the counsell James Stewart (as I was afterward informd) gave in a petition in my name on the first councill day, and the Archbishop Sharp was present: The President gott an order granted for my releise out of prison without requireing anything of me. At the end of two months after Sir Georg Maxwells visiting me as said is, came this order to ye cannongate tolbooth and ther ye young man that brought it gott access to me with it at eleven hours in ye forenoon. Upon the sight of ye order We sent for the cheife Jailour and haveing payd him for my dyet and half a merk for everie night that I hade been in prison, I askt if I might goe furth. He answered I behovd to pay half a mark for the night that was to come befor I went out. Then I desird the young man that brought the order to bring the bailli of ye cannongate and when the bailli heard the jailour seek payment for the night to come he boasted ye jailour and desird me to goe allong with him to dinner which accordinglie I did. In the evening of that day I came again to the tolbooth and took my leav of all the prisoners ther, and so parted with them.

At this time my fellow prisoners wife came to visit him who was continued ther neerby a fourtnight after I was sett at libertie But she returnd home within a litle space and I hade access to ride befor her upon her horse. But befor I left the toun I took occasion to visit all the prisoners in the Hie toun tolbooth As also I wrot a letter to Master Andrew Mortoun who was then prisoner in the castl of Stirling and gave a true account of my liberation to him; wherupon he wrot to a freind in Edenburgh who gave in a petition to ye councill in his behalfe and obtaind an order for Master Mortons freedom. Within the space of a fourtnight Robert Orr my fellow prisoner was sett at libertie upon his giveing bond to appear when called and so his trouble of that natur came to an end: for he was never required to appear after that.

When I returnd to Lochwinoch I was informd Barr hade given his Brother in Law William Cuningham a tack of what I possesst of ye lands of Barr: Wherupon I went to Barr and inquired if he hade done so. Then he told that William Cuningham persuaded him that I wold never return to ye Barr. Upon this I askt if he wold pay me my money: his answer was that William Cuningham was to pay me at the term of Martimess then nixtcome. Within a litle tyme I mett with the said William and askt him if he wold buy the crop and beasts that I hade ther: he told me he wold upon reasonable rates. Then we sett a time for meeting upon the bargan and after he

hade seen all he and I agried: and within a few days he payd me the thousand pounds that Barr was owing to me and also what he hade promist for the crop and beasts which I hade sold to him.

A litle time after I hade been at home with my children and servants, I came to understand that the tuo maid servants did not agrie betwixt themselves: Therfor I parted with on of them and made readie for removeing my children and on servant woman to wait upon them at the term of Mertimess then nixt ensueing. At Martimas 1670 I got my thrie motherless children setled in a chamber which belonged to Walter Scot in Renfrew Hopeing that his wife being my sister wold oversie them carefullie Ffor then I was thinking of going abroad: and therfor spok to my sister and her husband desireing them to concern themselves in providing necessars for them and told them I wold give them wherupon to doe it. Moreover I orderd such a certain sowm of money to everie child and if the Lord removed any of them by death then that child's portion should belong equallie to the tuo that remaind alive, and if tuo of them wer removed then all should belong to ye liveing child; and if it should happen that all the thrie wer removed by death then and in that case anything that was should belong to ye said Walter Scot and his wife thair aires or assignes. But my sister and her husband wold not take the oversight of them at all and therfor I was necessitat to tarie with them now and then as I hade access. But then I could not well resolve wher to take up my residence with the children, for in Renfrew I could not tarie with them without observation from those who wer no freinds to presbyterians at that time. In the meantime I behoved to be in Glasgow to try for a sure hand that wold be trustie to whom I might lend the money I hade by me at that time and when I was in Glasgow I spok to John Balmanno who told me that he wold give me his bond for the hundreth pound sterlin that I hade to lend out: When I heard this I was verie well pleasd and upon giveing him the money I gott his bond for it.

Then John Balmanno spok of Jonet Baillie and advisd me to sett about the mindeing of this motion which he hade made to me, for he assurd me that she was a verie fitt wife to any man in my circumstances. This that he said encouraged me to think upon it and the nixt night to goe and visit her, being my old acquaintance. After that I hade been with her a litle space I took occasion to propose the motion and desird her to think upon it untill I came again. About the space of eight days after this I went again, and then I desird to know how she relisht that, which I spok to her when I was last with her: then she said that she could not give me any answer untill she acquanted some of her freinds: With this we agried that she should acquaint her freinds and I told her that I resolv'd to sie her the nixt week, and then I hop'd she wold be pleasd to lett me know What I might exspect.

The nixt week I went to her;—Then she told me that her freinds wer content with the motion itself, but they feard she wold find it a difficultie how to carie towards my children. Unto this I answerd

that my children are young and easilie guided now and if they wer kept alyve untill they come to ye yeirs of discretion I hoped the Lord wold inclyn them to carie dutiefullie towards her. Then she and I agried that we should have freinds meeting togiether the nixt week which accordinglie was brought about and our mariag contract subscribed and in the third week of December 1670 we wer maried.

Within a few days after our mariag we went to Renfrew and brought the children and servant woman that attended them to have thair abode with us in Glasgow. But finding that I could not get liveing ther peaceable I went in Januar 1671 and took a countrie house w<sup>h</sup> some land belonging to it in the Lochrige within the parish of Kilburni wher Mr. William Tullidass was minister and at the term of Whitsunday following ther came als many horse and men from Lochwinnoch to Glasgow as caried all our houshold plenishing with the children to the Lochrige verie convenientlie.

At Lochrige my wife and I with the children continued togiether the spac of a yeir, But in the sumer of ye yeir 1672 I gott an invitation from the peopl of Ballimonie with the consent of the presbyterian ministers in that part of Irland which obliged me to give them a visit. Wherupon I went to Irland with my wife's full consent and she with the children and servant stayd at the Lochrige.

## Chronicle of Lanercost<sup>1</sup>

**A**T this same date King Edward gave his daughter, the Lady Joan of Acre, in marriage to Gilbert Earl of Gloucester, with great celebration, that the bond of love should be more strongly knit. Also in the same year the king gave his second daughter Margaret to John, son and heir of the Duke of Brabant.

In the same year John Romayn was created Archbishop of York, a man of mean birth but sufficiently distinguished in science; in fact he was an eminent authority in dialectics and theology.<sup>2</sup>

The clipping of coins which was detected at this time rendered the new coinage necessary, which is now current; but forasmuch as the Jews were afterwards found to be the perpetrators of clipping both the old coins and the new, besides being authors of all kinds of crime—usury, rapine, sacrilege, theft (which is excessively common among them), and corrupters of the Christian faith—they were all proscribed in accordance with the advice of Parliament, unless they either professed the faith of the Church or supported themselves exclusively by manual labour. Besides, there was a day appointed for their clearing out of the realm,<sup>3</sup> so that those [who should be found] within the bounds of England after the day of S. John the Baptist<sup>4</sup> should suffer penalty.

On the feast of S. Bartholomew,<sup>5</sup> Patrick Earl of Dunbar, departed this life at Whittingehame, a man whom we have seen to be addicted to many vices, but who was mercifully forgiven by God on his deathbed. His body rests in the church of Dunbar, lying buried on the northern side.

Also, Duncan Earl of Fife, was cruelly slain on the Saturday

<sup>1</sup> See *Scottish Historical Review*, vi. 13, 174, 281.

<sup>2</sup> Already recorded *ad ann.* 1286, whereas the consecration took place in 1285. This is another indication, were one required, of the chronicle having been compiled from several different sources.

<sup>3</sup> *Limitate eliminationis.*

<sup>4</sup> 24th June, 1290.

<sup>5</sup> 24th August.

preceding the Nativity of the Virgin.<sup>1</sup> He was the chief Guardian of Scotland for the time. As a young man he was cruel and greedy beyond all that we commonly have seen, abstaining from no injustice whereby he could minister to his avarice. And when curses without number had accumulated upon him, and enmities provoked by his deeds had been deservedly roused against him, he was slaughtered on horseback by his own men and kinsfolk as he was travelling along the king's highway to Parliament, and was buried in Cupar Abbey.<sup>2</sup> He had recently married the Lady Joan, daughter of the Count of Gloucester, who being with child at the time of her husband's murder, afterwards bore a son who still lives, bearing his father's name by hereditary right.

About the same time something marvellous happened in England near Richmond,<sup>3</sup> in a village which is called Dalton.<sup>4</sup> Whereas this place lies close up to the forest, and pasture abounds there for cattle, a certain man of advanced age, John Francis by name, being too careless in his [conduct], had fallen into serious neglect of the faith. For when his neighbours sought the precincts of the church for the sacred office of the Lord's day, and refreshed the spirit of devotion by the sacrament, this brutish man was in the habit of hurrying off to inspect his beasts, turning his back upon the church and traversing hill and dale. So, having wandered into the wilds one Lord's day, he penetrated to a remote spot full of the powers of the air, who were all of small stature like dwarfs, with hideous faces, falsely imitating in the garb of an abbot the sacred vestments of the church, and following one superior to the rest, as though he were invested with sacerdotal authority. They summoned the astonished and deluded layman, insisting that he should hear the Lord's day service. They began with laughter in place of song, and with a wretched murmur instead of a chant, together with a clever subtlety of a kind to uproot the faith of a layman. At last it came to the time, as it seemed, for the aspersion of water, when the leader went round and besprinkled all his comrades in iniquity as a punish-

<sup>1</sup> 10th September.

<sup>2</sup> He was murdered at Petpollock, 25th September, 1288, by Sir Patrick Abernethy and Sir Walter Percy, but Sir Hugh Abernethy was the real instigator. Moray of Bothwell took him and Percy. Sir Hugh was imprisoned for life in Douglas Castle, Percy was executed, and Sir Patrick Abernethy escaped to France.

<sup>3</sup> In Yorkshire.

<sup>4</sup> In Topcliff parish near Thirsk.

ment for their guilt. But coming to the living man last in order to besprinkle him, he assailed the fool, not with spray but with blows, so that to this day he [Francis] knoweth not whether he was struck by drops of water or by stones; but this was afterwards ascertained on the testimony of many persons that he was bruised over his whole body by the blows of volleys of stones, so thoroughly was he found to have been pelted by such a hurtful shower. Further, when he beheld these seducing spirits rising bodily as if about to fly away, he seemed to feel a force compelling him to fly away with them as they departed. But by means of grace he recovered himself, and, terrified by his imminent peril, he recalled to memory by degrees as he was able the passion which the Lord endured; and, as often as he began to fly, recalling to memory Christ's passion, he clung to the earth, and, grasping the turf and lying prone on the ground, strengthened his faith until the spirits of iniquity had all departed. And so, when he had reached home, lain down in bed and described the event to friends who visited him, during eight days following he strove to fly, until by truthful confession he set right the infidelity of his mind. For, as he confessed, suddenly and at certain times, when these spirits presented themselves to him in the air, he stretched himself upwards as if he were about to fly, had he not been held down by the main force of his servants.

On the top of other ills, in this year the city of Tripoli in Syria, which was girt about with three walls, was lost by reason of the sins of Christians. The Saracens took possession thereof, together with many tenements of the Templars and Hospitallers, many knights being killed there. I leave to be remembered by posterity two notable things in the course of this affair.

On one of those days, while the citizens, besieged by the enemy, were deliberating how they might escape slaughter, there was present among them a Minorite Friar, an Englishman by birth, well known for his courage. Perceiving that their minds were in panic, he ascended a high place, and, setting forth the word of God, he endeavoured to kindle their hearts with boldness to attack and firmness to endure; but the populace on the other hand, demoralised by despair, greeted him with derision, saying, 'Thou who boldly advisest us to be brave, wilt flee like a dastard when thou beholdest a spear. For see, the enemy have made an assault: they are storming

the walls ; show what you can do in such a strait, while we look on !'

Fired by faith he straightway seized the greater cross, which is wont to be displayed freely before the people, and, gripping it in his arms, placed it on his shoulder, and going before the armed ranks bade them stoutly follow him though he was unarmed ; and he led the way most impetuously to the breach where the enemy had broken in. But the purblind Gentiles, beholding a ragged man carrying a crossed beam against them, contemptuously cut him down. First they struck off his left arm, which notwithstanding he quickly changed the cross to the other shoulder, [whereupon] they cut off his remaining arm, and throwing his body to the ground, trampled it to pieces under the hoofs of their horses. Thus did he who had vowed to bear the cross of Christ, who thirsted after the the cross in his pilgrimage, and preached the cross in time of siege, earn a triumph through the cross in martyrdom. Many of the faithful, inspired by his example, and preferring to die bravely rather than cravenly, went out voluntarily against the enemy, and, committing to the Lord the issue of the matter, were either slain or taken, becoming a sacrifice for Christ.

Now there was in that city a convent of nuns, into which, as into other places, the enemy forced their way, carrying off everything they found there, [and] either killing or violating God's handmaidens. But there was a matron of the nuns, charming in person, still more distinguished by faith and bearing, who, when captured, fell by lot to the share of a certain Emir ;<sup>1</sup> and because of her beauty, and in the hope that she would change her religion, she was kept alive. And when that Gentile, attracted by her beauty, meditated betrothing to himself the bride of Christ, and to this end reiterated kisses and embraces, this wise virgin called to mind that carnal love was brief and brittle ; and in order to beguile the attention of her lover, and that she might escape through martyrdom to her true spouse, she sweetly said to the lover—'If I am to have you as my dear husband, I wish to secure you against the peril of death. I know the words of a potent charm of power, which, if you will learn from me and repeat faithfully when in difficulty, you will be preserved from all harm.'

The ignorant man approved of the proposal, desiring eagerly to be instructed by her skill ; whereupon Luceta, for that was

<sup>1</sup> *Cujusdam admirandi.*

the virgin's name, replied: 'That you may test for certain the virtue of the charm I spoke of, I will begin to chant before you the sacred words; and you, having drawn your sword, will attempt, if you can, to cut my throat.' When he heard this, he shuddered, declaring that he would on no account do such a thing. In reply, she said: 'Yes, but you can safely do it, if you love me, and thereby you will have proof of my teaching.' Therefore, impelled by the tenderness of his love, for he did not wish to displease her, he obeyed her by drawing his sword, and when she, bending her head, began to repeat in a low voice—'Ave Maria!' he struck his sword into her neck, cutting off her head and throwing her body to the ground. Thus was Luceta, a daughter of the light, joined to the ministry of the heavenly lights and to the brightness of the eternal light to which she had devoted herself. Thereupon, in consequence, this barbarian would fain have stabbed himself for grief, when he beheld his love so cheated and what cruelty he had wrought. One who well knew the virgin's face and conversation afterwards consigned her to the tomb, [namely,] my Lord Hugh, Bishop of Biblis,<sup>1</sup> of the Order of Minorite Friars, whose episcopal see and city were destroyed in that devastation, and we beheld the worthy bishop himself remaining two years in England under favour of King Edward. These things have I briefly noted about Tripoli as I received them.

As to the rest, the friar above-mentioned, who has encouraged many others to martyrdom by his example, had been for a considerable time warden of a monastery in Oxford. Being distressed once by the scarcity of food among the brethren, when the service of vespers was being offered one [evening] before the image of the cross he commended the sons<sup>2</sup> under his charge to the Father of Mercies. In that very night there appeared to a countryman of that district in his sleep a terrible apparition, reproving him thus with piercing words for his hardness: 'Thou foolish and stingy man! thou never ceasest to be vigilant in piling up thy heaps of pence, and carest not to afford help to my servants who are vigilant in prayer in that place [and are] in want. Arise quickly, on peril of your head, and see that they receive relief according to my commands!'

The country farmer rose without delay, and taking his way

<sup>1</sup> *Episcopus Bibliensis.*

<sup>2</sup> *Filios, i.e.* the friars.

through the dark shades of night, he stood at dawn knocking at the gate of the friars. When the janitor, not without amazement, asked what he wanted, he stated that he wished to speak with the master of the place. The other, supposing him to be a master of the schools, replied: 'I dare not knock at his private door<sup>1</sup> so early in the morning, when he is applying himself to study what he has to read.' But the layman said: 'I demand [to see] him who has authority of ruling in this house.' When [the warden] was brought to him, he [the farmer] begged him civilly that he would deign to show him the church and the altars. When he entered he began straightway to behave like a scrutator in going round, muttering to himself. 'It is not thou,' quoth he, 'nor thou.' Coming at last before the crucifix, to which the warden committed him [the farmer] and his. 'Of a truth,' exclaimed the man, 'thou art he who hast appeared to me this night and shown me what I ought to do!' The meaning of the above-mentioned revelation being thus made manifest—'If there is anything,' said he turning to the warden, 'which I can do to assist thy Mother, make it known to me at once.' 'Surely,' replied the other, 'we have a payment of ten marks due to creditors in the town, if you deign, sir, to come to our help in this.' 'Gladly,' exclaimed the farmer, 'will I pay the whole at once.' The friars, wondering at the countryman's spirit, praised God as their provider.

The Bishop of Biblis afore-mentioned, a person of honourable life and a man skilled in many things, imparted in conversation many edifying things while he lived in our province. He used to say that he had known a German knight who, having entered the Holy Land upon a pilgrimage, forasmuch as he was ignorant of the position of the holy places where the Saviour of the world went about working out our salvation in the heart of the land, sent for a native of that country and took him into his following for hire; from whom he extracted an oath that he should serve him faithfully and conduct him in his search for the sacred footsteps of Christ round all the places wherein, on the authority of the Holy Gospel, human devotion might show forth any praise of the Lord's work. The bargain having been struck, the servant fulfilled it without guile, the knight setting forward with a light heart. Examining here and there the venerable memorials of the acts of Christ, they arrived after many days, according to historical order, to the place of the Lord's ascension, where his

<sup>1</sup> *Ostiolum*.

footsteps still remain impressed upon the dust.<sup>1</sup> Then did the servant claim to be discharged of his oath, saying: 'See, my lord, hitherto I have pointed out to your pious desire the stations of Christ upon earth; what remaineth beyond I cannot do, seeing that here he took flight into heaven.' When he heard this the knight burst into tears, with groaning of the heart, and prostrated himself on the ground, placing his mouth in the dust that he might obtain hope from the Eternal Love. Rising erect at length and gazing to heaven with streaming eyes: 'O God,' said he, 'Thou didst undergo in this land a pilgrimage of labour and sorrow for my salvation, and I, coming hither out of love for Thee, have followed the ways of Thy holy journey up to this place; even as I believe that Thou didst here leave the world and go to the Father, so command that here my soul may be received into peace.' Thus saying, he paid the debt of nature and went to rest in Christ.

The aforesaid bishop related another thing, how that between the place of Olivet (where the Lord replied to the chiding Jews: 'If these should hold their peace, the very stones will cry out') and the gate of Jerusalem (which he entered for his passion, seated upon an ass), you could not lift a pebble and break it without finding within it the likeness of a human tongue, that, as is evident, the Creator's word may be fulfilled.

It pleases me to add in this place what ought to have found a convenient place in the beginning of this eighth part, forasmuch as it happened at that time, although I did not receive timely notice of this matter. Now there lived in the city of Milan a celebrated man named Francis, abounding in riches, intent upon usury, and, which is worst of all things, contumaciously disdaining to pay tithes to God and the Church. The rector of the parish, taking no notice for a while in hopes of amendment, at length became so incensed by this [conduct] that he pronounced sentence [of excommunication] against him, and demanded without delay papal letters confirmatory of the published sentence. But while the rebel was biting his lips and uttering threats, one of these days, he invited the parson of the church, half in spite and half in jest, to dine with him. The other declined this, unless he would comply with the commands of the Church. 'Suspend the sword of sentence for the nonce,' said he [Francis], 'and come, so that I may be able to confer

<sup>1</sup>Mandeville (*ob.* 1372) states that in his time the imprint of the left foot still remained on the stone.

reasonably with you.' When they had sat down to a splendid banquet, having the servants in attendance to wait upon them, the man of wavering faith said: 'Sir rector, why should I care for the vexation of your sentence, seeing that I possess all that you behold, and soundness of heart to boot? But if you would compel me to believe that your malediction can avail to do me hurt, curse that white bread placed before you, that I may see what virtue may be in your authority.' Whereupon, while the man of the Church was disquieted in conscience as being unworthy because of his own character, and the other as a reprobate insisted, lest the faith should suffer reproach, he stretched forth his hand, trusting in the goodness of God, and said boldly, 'On behalf of Almighty God and by authority of the most high Pontiff, I place thee, oh bread, prepared for the use of that rebel, under the ban of anathema!' No sooner was this spoken than the bread displayed a smoky hue and the cracks of staleness. When the impenitent<sup>1</sup> man saw this, he exclaimed in terror: 'Since you have shown sufficiently what you can effect by cursing, I now beg that you will show me what power you have in absolving.' Then the ecclesiastic, made more confident through the grace granted to him, by the same power restored the bread to its original appearance. The layman, in consequence, immediately feeling sorrow and devotion said: 'How long is it, sir father, that I have defrauded God and the Church, yea, and my own soul also, of what was due in tithes?'—'. . . . .'<sup>2</sup> said the other. 'Then,' said he [Francis], 'I offer satisfaction for my rebellion; moreover I entreat for solemn absolution in presence of the clergy, and I now endow the church over which you preside with an annual rent of twenty marks.' This said, they both rise from table and hasten to the parish church; and the bells being rung,<sup>3</sup> clergy and people hurry in, and, when the occasion has been explained, the priors of the Church perform the desired absolution. At that very hour, certain clerics, who afterwards informed me of the circumstances, travelling from Scotland to Bologna, entered the city. Dismounting from their horses they hastened thither<sup>4</sup> still fasting, to witness and marvel [at the event].

In the same year died Alan de Mora, about Eastertide, and Sir John of Galloway, formerly Prior of Lanercost.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Imperitus* in Stevenson's text, probably a misreading for *impenitens*.

<sup>2</sup> Blank in original.

<sup>3</sup> *Personatis campanis*.

<sup>4</sup> To the church.

<sup>5</sup> Resigned with a pension 1283, *ob.* 1289.

In the same year died Dervorgilla<sup>1</sup> de Balliol, about whom H. said:

Thy peace, oh King of Kings! may we implore  
 For noble Dervorguilla, now no more?  
 Give her among the sacred seers a place,  
 Uniting Martha's faith with Mary's grace.  
 This stone protects her and her husband's heart,  
 So closely knit not even death could part.<sup>2</sup>

These verses are inscribed upon her tomb. In the same year [1293] died John of Kirkby. In the twenty-first year of the king's reign, about the feast of S. Michael,<sup>3</sup> the king's daughter, Eleanor, was given in marriage to Henry, Comte de Bar, by whom he had a son, Edward, and a daughter whom Earl John de Warenne took to wife.

In the same year there was granted to King Edward of England a half of their goods by the clergy, a sixth by the citizens, and a tenth part by the rest of the people as a subsidy for his war in Gascony.

In this year there was a great scarcity of victual in England, and the suffering poor were dying of hunger.

In the twenty-fourth year of this king's reign (1296), his daughter Elizabeth was married to John, son of the Count of Holland, at whose death Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, married her.

At the same time Pope Boniface bestowed the archbishopric of Dublin upon William de Hopume, giving him indulgence to be consecrated by any Catholic bishop wheresoever he chose. This William was Provincial Prior of the Order of Friars-Preachers and a Master in Theology; he was jocund in speech, mild in conversation, sincerely religious, and acceptable in the eyes of all men. Having travelled with the king to Flanders, he there received the rite of consecration from my Lord

<sup>1</sup> Daughter and co-heiress of Alan, Lord of Galloway, married John de Balliol the Elder, and was mother of John Balliol, King of Scots. She built Sweetheart Abbey (*Abbasia Dulcis Cordis*) in her husband's memory, causing his heart to be embalmed and placed in a 'cophyne' of ebony and silver which she kept constantly beside her. When she died in 1290 it was buried beside her according to her instructions.

<sup>2</sup> *In Dervorvilla moritur sensata Sibilla,  
 Cum Marthaque pia contemplativa Maria.  
 Da Dervorvillæ requie, Rex summe, potiri  
 Quam tegit iste lapis cor pariterque viri.*

<sup>3</sup> 29th September.

Antony of Durham, by whose mediation on the part of the English and the Duke of Brittany's on the part of the French, a truce was arranged between the kings.

[The chronology of these later paragraphs has been dislocated in compilation.]

*(To be continued.)*

## Reviews of Books

SIR GEORGE MACKENZIE, KING'S ADVOCATE, OF ROSEHAUGH. His Life and Times, 1636?-1691. By Andrew Lang. Pp. x, 347. With four illustrations. Med. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1908. 15s. nett.

MR. ANDREW LANG has of late been performing a useful function. It is not exactly that of the Devil's Advocate, for this personage deals only with saints, and his duty is to throw doubts upon their reputation for sanctity—such work he has indeed done, but he has also taken up the cause of the sinners, and if he seeks to show that the former are not without their failings, he discovers for us unsuspected virtues in certain of the latter, who have been in many cases the victims of popular and partisan prejudice. At all events he endeavours to prove that they have not always been so black as they are painted. Sir George Mackenzie is one of those men who have been very generally condemned without much of a hearing. According to popular history, which still continues to flow from the Press, he deserves the epithet which has been prefixed to his name. It is sufficient that he was the public prosecutor under and the legal adviser of the Government to which is justly attributed the many cruelties which mark the period between the Restoration and the Revolution. If the fact be recalled, that he was a gentleman of broad and philosophical views, with some pretensions to literature, it only serves to leave him without excuse as one whose practice did not square with his theories, and who, to serve his own worldly ambitions, did much cruel and ignoble work. While Claverhouse and other rude soldiers performed the actual shedding of blood, it was this cunning lawyer (they say) who was mainly answerable for sending the saints to the scaffold. He has even been held 'chiefly responsible for the introduction of torture to extract the truth from suspected persons.' The fact that he defended Argyll and other covenanters only affords proof that he was a turncoat. Sir Walter Scott, in one of the finest passages he ever wrote, has well enlisted the popular sympathy, depicting him amidst a group of infernal ghosts joining in their ghastly revelries. Mackenzie, the author of the *Religious Stoic*—the friend of Evelyn and Dryden—is remembered in Scotland as an unprincipled lawyer—a torturer of covenanters and witches, and a man so fond of blood, that the very manner of his death exhibited Heaven's testimony to the fact.

It was certainly his misfortune to have been born and lived his life in Scotland during the seventeenth century. He passed away just as that

period of rest and peace was dawning, in which literature and philosophy were again to have a place. Imagine Mackenzie a century later, when reverend Principals wrote history, and ministers wrote plays, when your Renwicks and Cargills had given place to Blairs and Carlyles, and when the worst act of tyranny he could have performed would have been the prosecuting of a radical. The question is, would this period not have come sooner, had the Government which Mackenzie served, the Government of the Restoration, adopted a different policy? Mr. Lang cannot deny Mackenzie's share in the course which was actually followed. But he seeks in some measure to justify it. The Restoration found the great mass of the Scottish people wearied out with the conflict through which they had passed—joyful at the disappearance of the English sectaries and full of sentiment for their rightful king. There was much loyalty for him, but there was also a loyalty for the Kirk, and the latter could be more easily excited. Should that Kirk be restored? This was the main question which Lauderdale's administration had to decide. Mr. Lang answers it in the negative. So convinced is he of the share which the ministers, and their beloved Covenant, had in the miseries of the past, that he thinks nothing but a repression of the Presbyterian system, and in particular of the General Assembly, would serve to secure peace. 'How,' he writes, 'the pretensions of the preachers could have been reduced save by the ferocities of repression, I am unable to imagine.'

But Scotland had just afforded an illustration of how the preachers could be kept in hand, and their Assembly silenced, when it did not behave itself, without persecution. Under Cromwell, these preachers had turned to their own proper work—because they knew they had to deal with one who, while he sympathised with that work, would stand no nonsense. Hence, during the period of the usurpation, one of their own number tells us, much good was done which was occasioned through ministers 'preaching nothing through all that time but the Gospel, and had left off to preach up parliaments, armies, leagues, resolutions, and remonstrances.'

But leagues were formed, resolutions and remonstrances revived as soon as prelacy raised again its hated head. No doubt it was of the most shadowy description, yet it was prelacy, and at once four hundred pulpits were emptied, to be filled by the curates whom Burnet described as the worst preachers he ever heard, and Leighton calls owls and satyrs. Not only so, the outed ministers and their flocks were not allowed the peaceful possession of the hillsides, to which they had fled; they were pursued and scattered, and men were forced to 'sit under' the satyrs. In 1843 a similar exodus took place, and there was much fanatical agitation. But there was no persecution, and in course of time Free churchmen settled down under the sway of reason. Mackenzie, himself, says that it falls with heretics as with tops, 'which so long as they are scoured keep foot and run pleasantly, but fall as soon as they are neglected and left to themselves.'

It must be admitted that the Scottish preachers of this period were most difficult men to deal with, and that they had been responsible for

much mischief in the past, owing to their insatiable love of politics and assertion of spiritual powers. But, had the Government secured the support of the great mass of sensible men, it could have afforded to ignore the movements of the extremists. As it was, the sympathy excited by the covenanting agitation was just sufficient to make it dangerous and to keep the country in a state of disorder, which ultimately brought about the Revolution. No consistent system was adopted. Now, there was a concession, again an outburst of cruelties. The individual rulers were hated, and much of the persecution was due to their own dishonest propensities. It was in such a government that Mackenzie worked, and it is not surprising that in spite of all his efforts Mr. Lang can only plead that there was something of Dr. Jekyll as well as of Mr. Hyde in his composition.

Mr. Lang, quoting these words of Mackenzie, 'So strange and dangerous thing is advancement,' says that they 'sum up the tragedy of his own career.' The advancement was rapid enough. Admitted to the bar in 1659, we find him one of the counsel for Argyll in 1661. This fact in itself by no means indicates that Mackenzie was then in opposition to the Government. It was merely the case of a rising young advocate whose services were secured for an important client. Although he was a junior, he had a speech to make, and the argument he advanced must have made his judges feel awkward. If, he contended, Argyll were guilty, because he complied with Cromwell, then all were guilty, since all had found it convenient to accommodate themselves to circumstances. But his position with regard to other matters points to his having started with, and maintained for years, bold and independent views. Thus, when certain of the Scottish burghs presented a letter to the King, calling for a new Parliament, a step which resulted in the imprisonment of the provosts concerned, it turned out that Mackenzie was the author of the letter. Again he signed the document drawn up by his rival Lockhart, relating the grievances of the majority of the Scottish bar who had been driven into exile because they would not abandon their heretical belief in the right of appeal to Parliament.

He was certainly a bold man, but he was also an ambitious man of the world, who quite recognised the wisdom of keeping in with those in power, whose rule had every prospect of being a long one. These were not days when a sudden change of the popular vote might give to the opposition the sweets of office. A great man like the Duke of Hamilton might oppose, but for an advocate with his way to make, the wise policy was to be on the Government side. To be on the other meant exile in Holland. As it was in Edinburgh a hundred years later, so it was then—to be a Whig lawyer was, from a worldly point of view, folly. Lauderdale, the all powerful, held out a kindly hand to him, and he became henceforward Lauderdale's man. He had his reward, but Mr. Omond is in error when he states that he obtained a knighthood at this time, as the *Justiciary Records* show that he was 'Sir George' at a considerably earlier period. But he soon became King's Advocate, and ceased to defend popular rights. His career in this capacity, and the

prosecutions which he conducted, are not likely to be forgotten while his countrymen recite the tales of the Covenant. The facts that in the time of James II. he was again in opposition and actually appeared as counsel for covenanters are not so well known.

The greatest blot in Mackenzie's official life is connected with the trial of Mitchell. It is not the mere fact that he prosecuted, for he prosecuted much less guilty men, but that he defended the monstrous action of the Privy Council by preposterous reasoning. For it was with this body rather than with the Justiciary Court that the chief blame lay. That the former, through one of their number duly authorised, had given Mitchell an assurance 'as to his life' in return for his confession of guilt, is proved not only by Haltoun's letter, but by the Act of Council in which that assurance was formally withdrawn in respect that before the Justiciary the prisoner had not adhered to his confession, and which contains a full narrative of the whole affair. A copy will be found in the *Justiciary Records*, vol. ii. 307. There was something to be said for the withdrawal of the assurance under the circumstances, but nothing for the denial of the fact that it had been given. And yet this denial was solemnly made by the unprincipled councillors who appeared in the witness-box at Mitchell's trial. One after another they stood up, and either by direct perjury or still meaner equivocation deprived the wretched man of the only slender chance he had. All that was against Mitchell—his confession—was remembered; all that was in his favour—that assurance as to his life—was conveniently forgotten. The only concession which Mackenzie, as prosecutor, made to the defence was the permission to read to the jury the Act of Council founded on. But he knew well that the Court would, upon a technical plea, refuse to find it relevant, so that this concession was a perfectly safe one. The finding of the Court may have been partly justified by our somewhat unelastic system of criminal procedure, a system which however tells just as often in the prisoner's favour as against him. But what can be said for the wretched Rothes, Lauderdale, Haltoun, and Sharp? Surely this action alone is sufficient to link their names with eternal infamy. But Mackenzie, Lauderdale's henchman, exerted his ingenuity and eloquence in order to procure a conviction. He actually contended that the Act being *ex post facto* proved nothing, and suggested that it was issued lest a false rumour of this assurance should have got abroad.

Mackenzie very early in his professional career became, as Justice Depute, a criminal judge. It is in connection with his judicial functions that Mr. Lang writes of him as a defender of witches. The position which such a man, in so many respects in advance of his age, and superior to the prevailing ideas which characterised it, assumed towards the popular notions regarding Satanic agency, is an interesting subject, and especially attractive to those who, like our author, pursue psychical research. Scottish superstition partook of the climate and theology,—it was gloomy and depressing. The gay and light-hearted fairies had given place to a set of wretched women—mostly old and poor, who, as everybody then covenanted, must needs have their covenants with Satan. It sometimes

fell to Mackenzie to try them. What did he think about it all, and how did he act? He has written upon the subject, and his views are sensible. He will not deny the possibility of witchcraft, and thus go against the Bible and the law of Scotland, nor will he define what is, and what is not, possible. Are we not ourselves in these days becoming less dogmatic, and more inclined to suspend judgment regarding the supernatural? We invite mysterious experiences, and record them. But there is little doubt that the ordinary witch had a better chance with Mackenzie than with the parish ministers and kirk sessions, ever ready to wring out false confessions by means of illegal torture. Mackenzie recognised the existence of hallucinations; he did not believe that a woman could take the shape of bird or animal. He knew what want of sleep and food, in addition to inflicted pain, could do in bringing forth strange stories, which, as recorded, bear a marked family resemblance. He denounced the knaves who traded upon superstitions. He found 'prickers' who were 'villainous cheats.' He called for the most convincing probation, and he condemned, next to the witches themselves, 'these cruel and too forward judges who burn persons by the thousand as guilty of this crime.' Mr. Lang attributes in part to his action the temporary disappearance in 1662 of the usual commissions from the Privy Council, to ministers and others, to try confessed witches, a monstrous source of cruelty. Perhaps the most successful part of this book, viewed as a vindication of Mackenzie, is that which proclaims him a 'defender of witches.'

'We will put them all to the torture,' writes Mackenzie to Lauderdale, referring to a number of suspects in connection with the murder of Sharp. Cruelty was of course a special charge made against the King's Advocate. In virtue of his office, he must certainly have come a good deal in contact with this vile method of extracting confessions. He saw the horror of it in the case of witches, but there is no evidence that his sympathy ever extended to the Hugh Mackails, and other victims of Privy Council tyranny. If information was necessary in the interests of the State, he certainly would not have scrupled to make use of the 'boot' and thumb-screws upon the persons from whom it was to be drawn. But Mr. Lang is right in pointing out that the charge against Mackenzie in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, of being the introducer of torture, is not supported by evidence. Torture had revived before he had become a leading man, and at a time indeed when, as a young counsel, he was defending Covenanters. When he came into office, he must have found this practice well established, and he accepted it as a matter of course. Let it be noted that those who denounced torture when applied to State prisoners conveniently ignored the barbarities from which the poor witches suffered. Mackenzie in his Vindication defends torture as legal, which in our barbarous country was the case, and he rather ridicules the inconsistent position taken up by the 1688 reformers, who, while they condemned torture as inconsistent with human nature, were nevertheless prepared to reserve the right of inflicting it to the King and Parliament.

As Mackenzie only survived the coronation of William and Mary for two years, one can but speculate as to whether, had he lived longer,

he would have joined in Jacobite plots or buried himself in libraries. 'If,' he writes to Lord Yester in 1689, 'I cannot be allowed to live peaceably, I will goe to Hamburgh, or goe to England, which last shews that I will live peaceably and with great satisfaction under the new elected King, for tho I was not clear to make a King, yet I love not civill warrs nor disorders, and wee owe much to him.' He certainly did not owe much to James, who had deprived him of office and put Lockhart in his place. He did in point of fact go to England, as Leighton had done, and it is pleasant to think of him at Oxford and studying in the Bodleian. Mr. Lang says, '*Deus nobis haec otia fecit*, Mackenzie may have murmured to himself in the uninvaded peace of the gardens of Magdalen or St. John's, in the crystal October days.' It was about this time that Evelyn met him in London, and entered the note of his conversation in his diary. Mackenzie seems to have dwelt only upon the faults of the Covenanters, some of which he traced to the Jesuits. He died in St. James Street in May, 1691, while, for a lawyer at least, in the prime of life.

The characters of seventeenth-century Scotsmen drawn by their contemporaries are of little value. They partake too much of either flattery or scandal. A good illustration of the latter element is afforded by the covenanting accounts of Archbishop Leighton. According to the author of *Naphthali*, quoted by Mr. Lang, p. 95, he was a hypocritical papist, who sought his own advancement under the cloak of humility. That a good man should have been on that side was inconceivable—the very idea intolerable. If Leighton could not escape, such a man as Mackenzie had but a poor chance. At this distance of time we can arrive at a safer judgment. Mr. Lang has done his best for his subject. He has rightly felt that certain popular impressions of the man are not altogether warranted by the facts. The truth is, that there were two Mackenzies—there was the author who wrote very nicely, and there was the man of affairs who acted very badly. To the one we are indebted for certain learned works and the foundation of a great library, while to the other must be attributed transactions which, for the credit of our country, we should like to forget.

W. G. SCOTT-MONCRIEFF.

SIR FRANCIS WALSINGHAM UND SEINE ZEIT. Von Dr. Karl Stählin, Privatdocent an der Universität Heidelberg. Erster Band. Heidelberg: Carl Winter's Universitätsbuchhandlung.

THE biographer of Sir Francis Walsingham is certainly not embarrassed by the bulk of the material relative to the earlier life of his subject. Sir Francis had reached middle age before he attained to anything like eminence in the political history of his country. Born about 1530, he does not emerge into official prominence before the embassy to France which he undertook in 1570 and which lasted till 1573. In view of the obscurity of his life previous to this date, it may almost be said that his biography only begins in his fortieth year. What is authentically known of him during his youth and earlier manhood might be compressed into a few pages. Froude had already noted the meagreness of the sources

relative to this period of the life of the great Elizabethan statesman, and Dr. Stählin, the author of this new biography in two volumes, of which this forms the first instalment, has been unable, in spite of his keenness of investigation, to materially enlarge our defective knowledge.

Despite the lack of pertinent material, the author devotes nearly one-half of this bulky volume to this long and obscure period in the life of his hero. The greater portion of these preliminary chapters is made up of a general review of the history of the time. This review forms a painstaking piece of generalisation, and the author leaves no movement or circumstance in the history of England and the continent untouched that might illustrate the environment at home and abroad in which Walsingham grew to early manhood and middle age. In this respect these chapters are a good example of German thoroughness of treatment and at the same time of the author's wide knowledge of contemporary history. They bear, too, gratifying evidence of the breadth and objectivity of view which Ranke, above all others, infused into the study of international history in Germany, in contrast to historians of the pronouncedly patriotic type of a Treitschke, and helped to foster in this country and America.

At the same time, from the point of view of a biography of Walsingham, they reveal a tendency to discursiveness which proves rather trying to the patience of the reader. The sense of proportion is an indispensable requisite in the work of a biographer who undertakes to review the history of the time in addition to that of his hero. He should from the outset carefully weigh the relative importance of the person whose life he relates to that of the age, and adjust his treatment of the particular and the general history accordingly. Some great works of biographical and historical research, such as Masson's *Life of Milton* and Seeley's *Life of Stein*, have been marred by this lack of true perspective, and it seems to me that Dr. Stählin, whose subject is, of course, of more limited scope and importance than that of either of these great writers, has, like them, not sufficiently considered this essential preliminary question.

To make of an individual life the theme for a general history is an almost inevitably futile task except in the case of a man like Napoleon, who really was the mainspring of a great part of the activity of his age. To do so in the case of a man like Walsingham is to review general history for a specific end out of keeping with the purpose of a biography. The title of the work, *Walsingham and his Time*, does not invalidate this objection, for in the first half of the volume it merely covers the attempt to generalise the history of England and Western Europe in connection with that of a man who played absolutely no rôle of any importance in that history up to his fortieth year, and of whom very little is indeed known during these years. The only excuse for these digressions lies in the prospective eminence of the future Elizabethan ambassador and secretary of state. Even so, they might have been curtailed with advantage. The mere fact, for instance, that Walsingham spent a short time as a student at Padua in 1555-56 is hardly a sufficient ground for a long review of the history of contemporary Italy for the purpose of bringing before the

reader the facts and influences which *might* have interested and impressed the foreign student, especially as we have no evidence worth mentioning of what he did or thought whilst a member of the 'English nation' of the Venetian seat of learning. Whilst both interesting and readable in themselves, they are for the most part unnecessary to the specialist, and they would have been more serviceable to the general reader if they had been shorter. The general reader who wishes to peruse a biography of Walsingham will, in fact, find some difficulty in 'seeing the wood for the trees,' and will be inclined to wish for greater compression of this introductory matter. At all events, Walsingham's 'time,' in the sense of his active participation in its political and religious history, cannot be said to date before the reign of Elizabeth, and even during the first ten years of this reign all that can be said of him is that he was a quiescent member of her first two parliaments, and was employed by Cecil towards the end of the decade in attempts to discover the intrigues and plots of which Elizabeth was already the object on the part of her enemies.

In the second half of the volume the author may be said to launch *in medias res*, and this part is satisfactory from both the biographical and historical points of view. Here we see Walsingham, as ambassador at Paris, in closest touch with the mighty Reformation and Counter-Reformation movements, and his activity as ambassador during the two critical years preceding the massacre of St. Bartholomew enables his biographer to delineate, without undue rambling, the religious and political currents and counter-currents in the international history of the period in portraying the efforts of Walsingham to negotiate the alliance of England and France which culminated in the Treaty of Blois in April, 1572. In striving to draw the two countries into this alliance against Spain, Walsingham was following the bent of his religious as well as his political convictions. He was the staunch advocate of a decisive and aggressive policy on behalf of Protestantism against the vacillating moods of Elizabeth and the more cautious statesmanship of Burghley, who, in contrast to his more zealous Puritan colleague, had been trained in the opportunist school of Henry VIII. and Northumberland. In him the militant spirit of Calvinism found its most insistent exponent among the great Elizabethan statesmen, and the author has brought forcibly out this side of his political activity in the long and tedious negotiation for the Anjou marriage with which his diplomacy was so intimately concerned as a means to the greater end he had in view. Unfortunately, his able and intricate diplomacy proved ultimately futile, in spite of the treaty of Blois, and instead of the Anglo-French co-operation in behalf of the struggling Dutch Protestants, which he succeeded in negotiating on paper, came, four months later, what seemed the wreck of the Protestant cause as well as of the ambassador's work in the massacre of the Huguenots on the 24th of August, 1572, and the following days. One of the most interesting chapters in the work is the delineation of Walsingham's desperate situation in Paris during these terrible days.

This part of the work may be welcomed as a contribution to the history of the subject, even if the patience of the reader is somewhat tried



SIR PHILIP SIDNEY

From *Historical Portraits* by C. R. L. Fletcher



in following the windings and turnings of the long negotiation for the marriage of a queen who persisted in toying with Hymen for purely political purposes, in spite of the insistence of both her ministers and parliaments on this crucial point. In connection with these and other episodes, in which Walsingham took so important a part, the author has done a considerable amount of research in the original authorities. He is, however, greatly indebted to English writers like Pollard for the earlier part of his work, and Froude for the later as well as the earlier part, and it is rather surprising to find an author who has so large a knowledge at first hand of the state papers of the period citing such second-hand collections of parliamentary statutes as Lee's *Leading Documents of English History* and Prothero's *Select Statutes*, instead of going direct to the *Statutes of the Realm*. In dealing with French history he has made ample use of the work of Ranke and of Mark's biography of Admiral Coligny as well as of contemporary sources. He is, however, evidently unacquainted with the recent *Histoire de France* edited by Lavisé, which is an improvement on Ranke for this period, and the work of Mark's is not the only recent book by a foreigner on sixteenth century French history which merits attention. In his treatment of Scottish history he has largely relied on Froude, and seems to be ignorant of the more recent research work done by Scottish writers on the period since Froude wrote. The Scottish student will accordingly find nothing new in his incursions into Scottish history, as it centres round such figures as Queen Mary and the Regents Murray and Morton, though it is interesting to have this history reviewed in connection with the general religious and political history of the period.

JAMES MACKINNON.

HISTORICAL PORTRAITS. RICHARD II. TO HENRY WRIOTHESLEY, 1400-1600. The Lives by C. R. L. Fletcher. The Portraits chosen by Emery Walker. With an Introduction on The History of Portraiture in England. Pp. xxiii, 199. Quarto. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1909. 8s. 6d. nett.

PERHAPS some day the *The Dictionary of National Biography* may have a companion collection of portraits. For the personages of British history prior to 1600 such a work is handsomely begun by this fine gathering of one hundred and three portraits, admirably reproduced. Thirty-six are full-page plates, to many of which this large size ensures impressiveness and an added conviction of truth, as for instance the likenesses of Richard II., Henry VI., Henry VII., and Henry VIII., the sketch of James IV., and the attractive picture of James V. Mary Queen of Scots is represented by the winsome crayon sketch attributed to Clouet, and John Knox by the gowned, bearded, and capped portrait (anonymous) in the National Portrait Gallery.

Many plates combine two or more portraits—often significant in their position, as in the case of Margaret Tudor, Queen of James IV., and her sister; Katharine, Queen of Henry VIII., and Anne Boleyn; the Dowager Queen Mary of Guise and Cardinal Beaton; Maitland of Lethington and

the Regent Moray, and—most striking contrast of all—the full length figure of the overgrown, loutish Darnley and the compact and telling miniature of Bothwell, looking, as he was, *capable de tout*. George Buchanan is placed, as became a scholar, alongside of Casaubon, although we can hardly forgive Mr. Fletcher for telling us that Buchanan's history 'remains perhaps the best and most trustworthy history of Scotland for the three centuries preceding the Reformation.'

The biographical sketches are swift brisk notes of biography, not severely exact in style. Mr. Fletcher ranks Falstaff as Shakespeare's 'most immortal' creation. He ignores some criticism when he declares Shakespeare's Stratford bust an 'unassailably authentic' portrait. He is satisfied of the 'innate baseness' of Bacon's character.

In the estimates of the Scottish personages his standpoints are generally orthodox. Margaret, Queen of James IV., he reckons 'probably the worst specimen of the great House of Tudor.' For the political difficulties of Cardinal Beaton and the Dowager Queen Mary he makes full allowance, and George Wishart (represented by the Glasgow University portrait) has his zeal, eloquence, and courage duly appreciated. To our Queen Mary, in the matter of Darnley, he gives perhaps as much doubt as the case demands, which he thinks is not much. Darnley appears as sufficiently futile: his marriage with Mary, and the dispensation for it, are incorrectly recorded, Father Pollen's recent studies (*S.H.R.* iv. 243) being overlooked. Bothwell is 'a most dangerous fellow.' To Knox and Buchanan Mr. Fletcher is sympathetically fair. Maitland of Lethington gets small credit, and Regent Moray becomes almost equally a creature of intrigue.

The picture gallery has a running commentary of biographical summary and judgment, full of national history. Prefixed is an introduction on historical portraiture in England, acknowledging the meagreness and generally crude workmanship of the earlier pictures, but deducing from both documents and extant paintings the fact that a prosperous school of pictorial art already existed in England in the fifteenth century. While it is true, as the introduction owns, that nearly all the paintings reproduced are primitive, and many are stiff and hard, there are splendid exceptions. Perhaps Holbein's Henry VIII., Sir Thomas More, and the third Earl of Norfolk are glories out of the concourse, but Richard III., Queen Margaret Tudor, James V., and Sir Walter Raleigh are eminently real character-pictures. The debonair Colet, the grammarian Linacre, the pensive Spenser, and the rotund Sir Nicholas Bacon speak from the canvas, and the veritable dandy Sir Philip Sidney still reflects to a nicety the mingled grace and affectation of *Arcadia*. Biographical as portraits, mirrors of contemporary dress and personal ornament, such paintings are doubly historical in being the autobiography of art.

This excellent and moderately-priced popular collection of them is a very great service to study as well as attractively pictorial in itself. The hope expressed by the publisher that subsequent volumes may carry the series down to the middle of the nineteenth century, every lover of British biography will hail as implying a welcome promise.

GEO. NEILSON.

THE ARCHBISHOPS OF ST. ANDREWS, vol. ii. By John Herkless, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of St. Andrews, and Robert Kerr Hannay, Lecturer in Ancient History in the University of St. Andrews. Pp. 267. 8vo. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1909. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS volume is entirely devoted to an account of Andrew Forman, the fifth archbishop, and deals with his history both before and after his elevation to the primatial see. The leading features of Forman's career are concerned rather with politics and the arts of diplomacy than with ecclesiastical affairs; and several pages are occupied with the tangled negotiations of European states (including the papacy) during the closing years of the reign of James IV. The picture presented is not very clear; but it is probably beyond the reach of any in our day to reconstruct in quite intelligible form the perpetually shifting policy and complicated intrigues of the period.

As regards the religious and ecclesiastical condition of Scotland little that is new will be found in this volume. Some interesting documents from the MS. Style-book, or *Formulare*, of a notary of the time (and the authors give reasons which make it highly probable that he was one John Lauder) are summarised, and made public for the first time. Joseph Robertson in the *Statuta Ecclesiae Scoticanæ* made considerable use of this manuscript, now in the possession of the University of St. Andrews; and, despite the element of doubt as to the exact historical value of records appearing in a book of this kind, when unsupported by other evidence, it would be a real advantage if the whole original text were printed. Could Prof. Herkless or Mr. Hannay be persuaded to undertake this useful piece of work? It is worthy of note that in one of the few cases in which we can in some measure test the historical accuracy of the *Formulare*,—the question as to the prelate who was the consecrator of Gavin Douglas,—our authors (p. 167) set aside the testimony of the *Formulare* in favour of the statement of Myln in his *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*.

As in the case of the first volume (see *Scottish Historical Review*, vol. v. pp. 346-349) all manner of sources of information have been ransacked by the writers; and yet in the handling of the documents there are instances where the result leaves something to be desired. Thus, when noticing (p. 96) a representation to the Pope from Scotland in 1514 that the Apostolic See had been accustomed to await nominations to certain Scottish prelacies for a period of eight months, and that Julius II. had observed this practice even when prelates had died at Rome, we find the not very intelligible note, 'The implication was that a see might strictly be held as vacant *apud sedem*.' Why not? If a bishop of Aberdeen died at Rome, it was reasonable to suppose that the see of Aberdeen was void. The real point is that it was for some centuries an accepted principle that if a foreign prelate died at the Apostolic See, the Pope had the right, without any capitular election, to nominate his successor, and that Julius had waived even that right in the case of Scotland. There is a startling lapse when we are told (p. 34) that 'Dryburgh was a foundation of the White Friars.'

Again, among the requests of Henry VIII. of England to Leo X. after

Flodden was that Coldingham should be restored, not 'to the see of Durham' (p. 85) but to the *priory* of Durham, of which in early times it had been a cell. It is not quite accurate (p. 97) to say that Margaret Tudor, in her letter of 5th Aug. 1514, to Leo about ecclesiastical appointments 'had no new choice to announce.' It was then suggested that Crichton, abbot of Holyrood, should have Aberdeen, while at an earlier date Andrew Stewart, bishop of Caithness, had been the nominee for that see (p. 87).

Once again, our authors are too ready to infer from the Synodal Constitutions of Forman (as given in the *Formulare*) that the prohibitions of the Constitutions necessarily present us with a picture specially characteristic of the current evils and abuses of the time. It is familiar to students of ecclesiastical legislation in the medieval period that statutes were again and again re-enacted to keep them in force. Non-user for a period of forty years, if not protested against by those in authority, was regarded as evacuating a canon of its binding authority. And several of Forman's canons were little more than re-promulgations of canons as old as the thirteenth century. The general truth, here referred to, must always be borne in mind in attempts to reconstruct pictures of church life from the ecclesiastical legislation of any particular epoch.

A word of explanation should have been given as to the manual *Manipulus Curatorum* (p. 205), which the clergy with pastoral charges were required to study. It was the treatise of Guido de Monte Rocherii (a Spanish theologian of the fourteenth century) which was again and again printed in the fifteenth century, and continued to be a favourite in the sixteenth. Again, liturgists need not be puzzled when they read that the clergy were 'to prostrate themselves on the ground when prayers were being said' (pp. 201-2)—a rather astounding statement—if they can turn to the original and find 'in vocationibus,' a word of a narrow technical significance, which in early times in England was used for certain suffrages of the Litany. I suspect that Lauder, the notary, may have erroneously copied 'in invocationibus,' a more common expression. But whatever it means it certainly does not justify such a wide rendering as 'when prayers were being said.'

Our authors allow but few virtues to Andrew Forman; but among these they in more places than one claim that his character was not disfigured by sins of incontinence. I have to acknowledge that I was ready with gladness to accept a view which added one to the few prelates of the period whose lives were beyond reproach in this respect; but a learned friend has supplied me with a reference to the *Acta Dominorum Concilii* (xxxii. fol. 76), where we find the record (22nd Feb. 1518-19) of the marriage contract, made at the Abbey of Dunfermline, between, on the one part, Archbishop Forman 'and Jhane Forman his dochter naturale,' and, on the other part, Sir John Oliphant of Kellie, knight, and Alexander Oliphant, 'his oye and apperent air.'

Prof. Herkless and Mr. Hannay assume throughout, and contrary to the view of previous writers, that the Cottingham in England, of which Forman was commendator, was only the parish church, and not also the

Austin Priory of Haltemprise, or Cottingham. Cottingham parish church was in early times an appropriate church of the Priory, and I am unable at present to say how its advowson fell to the Crown. If earlier writers like Keith are in error, they were, not inexcusably, guided by such expressions as 'commendatarius de Pettinweme et Cottinghame in Anglia.' Several small errors of reference and of print need not be noticed.

It is to be regretted that a book which shows so many evidences of research should be occasionally marred by a certain *du haut en bas* style in treating the lives and characters of the personages dealt with. The superior standpoint of the authors is emphasised in a somewhat provocative manner.

JOHN DOWDEN.

THE SCOTTISH STAPLE AT VEERE. By the Late John Davidson, M.A., D.Phil. (Edin.), sometime Professor of Political Economy in the University of New Brunswick, and Alexander Gray, M.A. Pp. xi, 453. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1909. 12s. 6d. nett.

PROFESSOR DAVIDSON and Mr. Gray have made a very valuable and interesting addition to Scottish economic history. Not only do they deal very fully with Scottish trade to the Netherlands, but they also devote several chapters to a useful sketch of the organisation and nature of early Scottish trade in general. The organisation and regulation of foreign as well as of inland trade and of interburghal relations were under the control of the Convention of Royal Burghs. The result of this was, as Professor Davidson says, a considerable 'measure of uniformity in burghal life and regulation'; and also that the burghs were able 'to pursue . . . a general policy in which the interests of all were observed.' This, of course, only applies to the Royal Burghs, which jealously guarded their very considerable privileges from infringement by the other burghs. One of the most important of these was the exclusive right of their burgesses to take part in foreign trade. Scotland's chief exports were raw materials, especially wool, woofels and hides. The authors give lists of exported commodities from several sources, but have omitted one of the most detailed, the 'Table of Scottish produce exported yearly' (1614), from the Mar and Kellie Papers. The imports were principally manufactured goods.

Trade was carried on chiefly with England, France, the 'Eist seys,' and the Netherlands. English trade, after the War of Independence, which dealt a severe blow to Scottish prosperity, was much hampered by hostile laws and regulations on both sides of the Border. Scottish hostility to England also influenced her commercial relations with France, where her merchants enjoyed considerable privileges. These were, however, gradually withdrawn in the seventeenth century, as a result of the Reformation and the Union of the Crowns. The Baltic ports which the Scots chiefly frequented were Dantzic and Königsberg; but the most interesting features of this connection were the extensive settlement of Scottish families in Prussia and Poland, and the number of Scots pedlars who traded in these parts.

The trade with the Low Countries seems to have been more important

than any other. During the reigns of Malcolm and David Scots merchants chiefly traded thither, and in the thirteenth century there was a considerable trade with Flanders. During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries this trade chiefly centred at Bruges, which in 1407 made a definite commercial treaty with Scotland. Competition on the part of various cities in the Low Countries in the early years of the sixteenth century ended in an arrangement being made with Veere, or Campvere, in 1541, by which the Staple for Scottish trade was fixed there. But for a few short intervals the Staple remained at Campvere until the connection came to an end in 1799 with the disturbances of the Revolutionary Wars. A contract was drawn up in 1578 which was several times ratified and renewed during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The essence of the arrangement was that certain Scots commodities, known as Staple goods, and including all the most important exports, should be conveyed to Campvere and to no other port in the United Netherlands. The Scots, in return, were generally exempted from the payment of duties on their goods. During the early years of the seventeenth century trade flourished considerably, but after the Restoration the Staple policy, advantageous and necessary in the early years of commercial development, gradually became an anachronism, and the prosperity and usefulness of the trade declined.

Contract making and renewing, the fixing of Staple commodities, the regulation of trade, and the supervision of the merchants were amongst the functions of the Convention of the Burghs. The supervision of affairs at Campvere and the maintenance of Scottish privileges there were in the hands of the Conservator, an officer generally appointed by the King, but responsible to the Convention. In time he became the King's Agent in the Low Countries, and similarly the Staple gradually assumed some administrative functions, supervising the execution of commercial legislation. All merchants trading to Campvere were required to lodge in the Conciery House, provided for their use by the town. Even there the merchants were pursued by the regulations of the Convention, which laid down rules concerning the daily bill of fare, changes of table linen, etc., and imposed a tariff of fines for breakages, swearing and various offences, including 'Ane pund Fleymes' for calling 'any ane vther ane knaif or lowne.' The Scottish Church, to the history of which some chapters are devoted, was an important element in the life of the colony from 1614, when the first minister was appointed, until 1799.

The authors draw a very interesting comparison between the Scottish Staple and two great English institutions to which it was somewhat akin—the Merchants of the Staple and the Merchant Adventurers Company. The resemblance to the former is more in name than in constitution and object. The English Staple was primarily a fiscal device; the Scottish was primarily for the encouragement of trade, and was only secondarily made use of for fiscal regulation. The Merchant Adventurers Company, on the other hand, was organised, like the Scots, for the benefit of the merchants, but it was managed as a private enterprise, while the control of the Scots trade was in the hands of the Convention, a national authority.

Professor Davidson and Mr. Gray have examined a great deal of Dutch

and Flemish material, as well as almost all the available Scottish records, and have therefore been able to give a very full account of the history of the Staple. More might, however, have been said of the effect of Scotland's relations with England upon her trade in the seventeenth century, when commercial interests were becoming extremely important. The Navigation Act of 1651 was probably injurious to Scottish trade with Holland, but the prohibition of some of her chief exports, owing to her complete union with England, was even more detrimental. The disastrous effect of Charles II.'s Dutch Wars on Scottish trade is not mentioned. In this period, too, England, engaged in developing a strong protective system by successive Navigation Acts, viewed with jealousy her rival Holland's trade connection with the still commercially independent Scotland.

The book has a full index and some interesting appendices giving the text of some of the contracts with Campvere, etc. There are also photographs of some picturesque buildings at Campvere, which were connected with the Scots Staple.

THEODORA KEITH.

IRELAND UNDER THE STEWARTS AND DURING THE INTERREGNUM. By Richard Bagwell, M.A. 2 vols. Vol. I. 1603-1642, pp. xv, 370; Vol. II. 1642-1660, pp. xi, 388. Demy 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. 1909. 28s. nett.

IN these two volumes Mr. Bagwell continues his elaborate history of Ireland, of which three volumes, covering the ground from the Norse invasions, have already been published, while a third in the present set is here promised to carry the narrative to the Restoration. The scale of the work may thus be guessed at. It allows the author scope for that minute analysis of events—political, economic, and military—which is his most impressive accomplishment. He has consciously preferred this part, as he explains in his preface where he affirms the principle that 'the true function of history is to bring out the facts, and not to maintain a thesis.' And he is equally conscious of the probable result of this attitude: 'No party will be pleased with the present work' in a land where party seems to colour every form of human activity. We must therefore take Mr. Bagwell on his own profession, and pronounce that he has given us a study distinguished throughout by a patient disentangling, and luminous and judicial presentation of a complicated series of events, such as, in a peculiar measure, suggest persistently that easy and attractive method of partisan treatment which he has made it his aim to avoid.

For these are critical and determinative years—years of religious and dynastic struggles, of rebellions and massacres, of conquests and plantations, of Davis, Strafford, and Cromwell. At certain stages we should have felt grateful to Mr. Bagwell for a more general summing up of events, and an indication of the new problems which were likely to arise from the attempts to solve old ones. Some judgment would have been welcome on the political propriety and value of the plantation policy. We are shown clearly its failure in details, partly because it was at no time fully carried out on the lines laid down, but on the wider issue Mr. Bagwell leaves us to

form our own conclusions. At least it made the Irish problem predominantly an agrarian one, where there already existed sufficient difficulties of another kind. And it is clear that in allotting the natives to reservations, excluding them from towns, and forbidding intermarriage with the settlers, seventeenth-century statesmanship in Ireland had not progressed an inch beyond that of the Plantagenets.

Mr. Bagwell, however, is not quite so austere in his handling of personalities, and his method is perhaps seen at its best in the case of Strafford, the champion of a ruthless and routine efficiency, with not a little to recommend him as an administrator and not without more attractive traits of character, to which due consideration is given. Scottish readers will be interested in his high-handed and entirely illegal attempt to forestall any active sympathy with the Covenant among the Scots of Ulster. His imposition of the Black Oath, his proposal to deport the Scots, and his vicious utterances upon the Scottish rising, undoubtedly helped to prejudice in that country not only himself, but, by implication, the case of his royal master. To this influence upon the struggle it is possible our Scottish historians have not given sufficient weight. Then come the dramatic changes, when the loyalist settlers are the rebels and the disloyal Irish are joined with the royalists. On Cromwell's sophisticated harshness and his essential failure Mr. Bagwell might have been as precise as he is upon the failure of Strafford. Drogheda and its successors are not to be humanly, or even politically excused, by the plea that the massacres were not contrary to the laws of war, and Cromwell's own excuses are condemned by the facts. Other disputable matters, such as Tyrone's flight in 1607 and the Ulster massacre of 1641, are handled in an impartial, common-sense fashion; and even the case against Sir Phelim O'Neill is strongly countered for the defender, which is saying a good deal. Necessarily there is much painful reading, none the less so for the author's unimpassioned unrolling of a passion-driven record. Each volume is introduced by a map, and these significantly strike the dominant note of the period, for they represent phases of the plantations. Mr. Bagwell maintains throughout his judicial attitude and mode of utterance; his analysis of economic and military operations and of personages is always good; he has made use of much manuscript material; and his volumes will thoroughly recommend themselves to those whose suspicions might be aroused by a less equable and restrained treatise. And the 'parties' will at least find them serviceable in the interests of their respective theses.

W. M. MACKENZIE.

THE SCOTS PEERAGE. Edited by Sir James Balfour Paul, Lyon King of Arms. Vol. V. pp. vi, 639; Vol. VI. pp. vi, 601. Ry. 8vo. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1908-9. 25s. nett each.

OUR last notice of the Scottish Peerage appeared in October, 1907, and the literary 'output' of a volume a year having been steadily maintained, vols. v. and vi. are now before us, containing articles of no less than twenty-three different writers. With such variety of talent it will be quite safe to quote the first part of Martial's line, '*Sunt bona, sunt mediocria,*' though we will



MONTROSE

From *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul



not be unkind or unjust enough to apply the rest of the hexameter. Among the good ones we should certainly single out Ingram, Viscount Irvine, of which the title only and not the grantee has anything to do with the kingdom of Scotland, as anyone can tell who reads the first few lines about the citizen and tallow chandler of London who married the daughter of the York haberdasher—a humble opening much more in the style of the cynical and sceptical G. E. C. than of the courtly and credulous Burke.

This account in vol. v. seems to us just what it ought to be, being marked by precision and relevance: and the same remarks apply to 'Newhaven' in the next volume, which we had selected for an award of merit, not because we realised that it was by the same writer, but because we had observed that it contained what, alas, is too rarely found, the places where, as well as the dates when, events occurred. Even better, because dealing with matters more obscure and difficult, is the article on 'Oliphant' in vol. vi. by Mr. Maitland Thomson. The number of new facts and dates which have never before appeared in any history of the family is very noticeable, and is a great tribute to the energetic and successful research of the author.

We believe that some Scotsman was found to say of himself, or some other base Saxon to say of him, that he joked wi' deeficulty, but we have come on an easy, delightful, and, we trust, intentional jest in Mr. William Macmath's work, vol. v. p. 116, where Viscount Kenmure expostulates with his Roman Catholic sisters and brother-in-law on their 'rotten religion,' and the reference given in the notes for this broadminded and charitable remark is to *Heavenly Speeches*, 17!

We will now turn to the long article on the Douglas Earls of Morton, which is the joint work of Lyon and his able coadjutor the Rev. John Anderson; perhaps the most striking and revolutionary feature therein is the abolition of 'Dalkeith' as a peerage title, although it had not been assailed before either by G. Burnett or by G. E. C.

Although we were a little startled to find poor Sir James Douglas, who had been 'one of the first persons dignified with the title of a *Lord of Parliament*,' now called upon to take up the comparatively obscure position of a laird, yet we are bound to admit that there seems little or no evidence that a Barony of Dalkeith was ever created, or that it was anything more than a subsidiary and courtesy title of the heirs apparent of the Earls of Morton, and as is pointed out on p. 350 the supposed Lord is described in Royal charters before and after his death merely as 'James, Lord of Dalkeith, Knight.' All that can be said on the other side is that Robert the eighth (Douglas) Earl of Morton is called Lord Dalkeith in a charter dated 3 Nov., 1632, before his accession to the earldom, and on 9 Sept., 1672, his son William, Earl of Morton, formally by deed renounced his right to the style and designation of Lord Dalkeith, although the estate of that name had been alienated nearly thirty years before.

By the way, to contemplate quite another subject, what cold-blooded scoundrels many of these grand old Scottish nobles were. Imagine the delicate sense of honour and family feeling of John Maxwell, Earl of Morton, who, when his uncle the Regent of Scotland was in trouble, made

a bargain with the Earl of Lennox that they should divide his property between them if he was forfeited, and then proceeded to sit on the jury which found the aforesaid uncle guilty of high treason, and condemned him to death!

Of course there would be no difficulty in filling a whole number of the *Historical Review* with a detailed examination of these two stout and handsome tomes, but we think we have already said enough to show that there is no falling off from, and if anything an advance on, the high standard previously attained.

VICARY GIBBS.

A HISTORY OF ENGLISH JOURNALISM TO THE FOUNDATION OF THE GAZETTE. By J. B. Williams. With illustrations. Pp. x, 293. 8vo. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1908. 10s. 6d. nett.

LITERARY and political historians have alike had cause to revere the memory of George Thomason, a London bookseller of Civil War and Restoration times; for to his forethought and energy they are beyond measure indebted. His idea that a complete collection of the pamphlets that were pouring from the press at the outbreak of the Great Rebellion would be valuable for future ages was put into practical shape with great diligence, intelligence, and expense; and 'the result is a collection which has no equal of its kind in the world, for it contains a mass of fugitive and ephemeral literature, much of which would otherwise have perished.' This priceless collection was bought by George III. for what is very properly described as 'the absurd sum of £300,' and presented to the British Museum in 1762. The existence of this collection must have greatly simplified the researches which have resulted in the production of this volume, and have given Mr. Williams a signal advantage over workers in cognate fields like Mr. Couper, whose book on the Scottish Press was reviewed at pp. 204-5 of this volume of the *Scottish Historical Review*. Moreover, where the Thomason collection failed him Mr. Williams had equally accessible material in the Burney collection, covering the period before and after that embraced by the Thomason assemblage. But the accessibility of his material, while simplifying research, has not tempted him to shrink from laborious investigation: it has rather enabled him to reach at a first attempt an approach to that definitive treatment of his subject which is, as a rule, only reached by the slow labours of a succession of workers.

As in Scotland, so in England, the earliest periodicals dealt with matters outside the kingdom. The earliest English papers dealt with foreign affairs, while the first Scottish periodical, being a reprint of one of the early English periodicals, may also be said to deal with 'foreign' affairs. 'England was entirely without any printed periodical of domestic news until the end of the year 1641. . . . When the periodicals of domestic news really come into being, they come with a rush—a veritable deluge—and as if to make up for the tardiness of their arrival, no other country in the world has anything at all comparable either in number, matter, or manner to the newsbooks which appeared during the years 1643 to 1649



MORTON

From *The Scots Peerage*, edited by Sir James Balfour Paul



inclusive.' With patient labour Mr. Williams has pieced together the story of the genesis and careers of those periodicals—the 'Corantos' and 'Mercuries' and 'Intelligencers'—with annotations drawn from the contents of the papers and from other sources, and has interwoven biographical notices of the individuals—often though not always political vicars of Bray—who furnished the news to an avid if limited public. Among them are shady characters like Henry Walker and Marchamont Nedham, more reputable characters like Henry Muddiman, the founder of the *London Gazette*, and even the great Milton himself, who, however, was an editor in the modern sense rather than a newsbook 'author.'

The law that brought forth the 'Areopagitica' pervades the volume, sometimes evaded or defied, but continuously hampering the action of the newsman. The licensing law had its strictest application under Cromwell—Mr. Williams is no admirer of the Protector—who preferred that people should know only what he chose to tell them; but even he could not altogether suppress the Royalist *Mercuries*; and Mr. Williams is able to reprint in an appendix the complete contents of *Mercurius Elencticus*, No. 1, which 'describes events at the murder of King Charles I. It has escaped notice owing to the fact that the date is 1648-49 and has been bound up among the periodicals of 1648.' It settles the identity of the man who spat in the king's face, and the meaning of the word 'Remember.' A chapter of great interest deals with the history of advertising; and, indeed, every subject relating to newsbooks as they were conducted down till the *terminus ad quem* selected by Mr. Williams—the foundation of the *Oxford*, now the *London Gazette* in 1665—is exhaustively treated. The illustrations, except for the frontispiece portrait of Charles II., are reproduced from early periodicals.

W. STEWART.

THE GILDS AND COMPANIES OF LONDON. By George Unwin, Lecturer on Economic History in the University of Edinburgh. With Thirty-seven Illustrations. Pp. xvi, 397. Medium 8vo. London: Methuen & Co. 7s. 6d. nett.

THIS book aims at giving an outline of the continuous organic development of the gilds and companies of London, with special reference to their bearing on the constitutional history of the city and on the social and economic development of the nation at large. In an opening chapter the author alludes to the contrast between the gilds of China and other Eastern countries where, preserved and fostered in the interests of order, much of their original form is retained, and those of Western Europe where, as regards their old organisation, the gilds are lifeless because they have performed the most useful of their functions, and, moving in the path of progress, have helped to build up a social structure by which they have been superseded. Passing from preliminary observations to the special topic on hand, it is noted that a gild of knights, combining a social with a religious element, and a Frith gild for the suppression of theft, are vaguely heard of in the tenth century, and about two hundred years later informa-

tion regarding the gilds becomes comparatively full and reliable. Associations of the Bakers, Fishmongers, and Weavers are found conducting their affairs and holding courts in the twelfth century. In 1155 the Bakers were paying into the Royal Exchequer £6 a year for their gild, a contribution which seems to have been the compounded value of tolls or market dues which the king was entitled to exact. A few years later fines, varying in amount from half a mark to forty-five marks, were imposed by the king on eighteen separate gilds, including goldsmiths, cloth workers, and butchers for having come into existence without licence, evidencing a widespread system of organisation among Londoners at that time. A municipal body had not yet been constituted, but the grant of Mayor and Commune came in 1191, hastened, it is believed, by the spread of civic opinion as indicated by the rise of so many voluntary associations.

As many as one hundred and eleven London crafts are counted in 1422, at which time the population of the city was about 50,000, but later on a number of the crafts disappeared or were amalgamated with others. The term 'craft' in the middle ages signified a trade or calling generally, and the typical member of a craft was a well-to-do shopkeeper, a tradesman. Though he had gone through an apprenticeship to the manual side of his craft, the full master of a craft was always a trader, and as trade and industry developed, the master rose in the social scale. The system of grouping several branches of a craft under one denomination did not prevail in London to the same extent as in Scottish towns, mainly perhaps on account of the wide difference in population. Edinburgh and Glasgow had only fourteen incorporated trades each, but to show how grouping existed, it may be mentioned that in Edinburgh the Hammermen craft embraced seven branches, six of which appear as separate crafts in the London list of 1422. Up till the fifteenth century livery had been worn by all members of the London companies, but some of those incorporated about that time contained members known as the yeomanry, and only the more prosperous of these were advanced into the livery. In 1430 the Grocers had 55 members in the livery, 17 in hoods, and 42 householders not in the livery. The practice of the livery companies possessing halls of their own did not become general till well on in the fifteenth century. Feasting is heard of at a much earlier date and that hospitable custom has been continuously upheld.

From the earliest times an influential part of the industrial population of London had been made up not only of 'foreigners' from English counties but likewise of alien strangers, and the influx was always on the increase. These new settlers were indispensable for the due development of manufactures and commerce, but all the citizens did not look upon them in that light, and much diplomacy was employed in allaying agitation and feuds, and in framing regulations for preserving the trading privileges of the gilds, and at the same time fostering the material interests of the community. Besides the craft-gilds there were, at least from the fourteenth century, a number of local or parish fraternities connected with the churches and having as their chief object the securing of religious observances. At the Reformation the endowments of chantries and obits, whether of the crafts

or parish gilds, were forfeited to the king, but, in consequence of a scheme of repurchase, it is thought that no serious loss was sustained.

During the past eight centuries the London gilds and companies have played a prominent part in social, commercial, and civic affairs, and, in their earlier stages especially, the gilds afford the best material for the history of the city. Many and radical are the changes which have from time to time taken place, both in their own constitution and in their relationship to the municipality and the state, and the more important of these are ably discussed in Mr. Unwin's pages. The mass of facts collected by him from all available sources is skilfully arranged and digested, being handled with the freedom enjoyed by an author who is thoroughly at home in his subject. The book is enlivened with several quaint illustrations, and there are occasional passages of an entertaining character which come as a relief to the strain of following an exposition of no little complexity.

Referring to the court books of the companies, most of which begin about the middle of the sixteenth century, the author says that, apart from 'such formal items as the registering of apprenticeships and the admission of freemen or of householders, perhaps the most constantly recurring class of item is the record of disputes settled amongst members. Very often these have arisen out of hard words and insulting gestures. A pewterer named Wiltshire tells a fellow-craftsman named Scot that he "plays a Scot's part and has a Scot's heart," and Scot tells Wiltshire that he is a beggarly knave. One barber likens another to Æsop's dog. A tailor declares his fellow to be a prating boy. The disputants are bidden to be friends and bring the matter no more in question; or a light fine is inflicted with the warning that if they mock or scorn each other henceforth it will be a more serious matter. Sometimes it is an apprentice that has to be admonished or chastised for riotously wasting his master's substance, or for drawing blood from his mistress; or a master is imprisoned for unlawfully breaking an apprentice's head. Sometimes a journeyman complains that he cannot get arrears of wages, or an employer wishes to have a workman who owes him money restrained from working for anyone else till the debt is paid. Small debts of various kinds are ordered to be paid by instalments. Unsatisfactory bargains are revised. Ill-executed work is condemned. A barber-surgeon, who had undertaken to cure a client's wife "*de morbo Gallico*," and had not given satisfaction, is ordered to pay the customer 20s. or cure his said wife, and prefers to pay.'

ROBERT RENWICK.

LA LIBERTÉ DE CONSCIENCE EN FRANCE, DEPUIS L'EDIT DE NANTES  
JUSQU'À LA SEPARATION (1598-1905). Par G. Bonet Maury, Cor-  
respondant de l'Institut. Deuxième édition, revue et augmentée.  
Paris : Felix Alcan. 1909. 5 francs.

M. BONET MAURY'S volume will be cordially welcomed by all students of the complex modern movement in behalf of liberty, which dates from the Renaissance and the Reformation. This movement embraces the struggle for political, religious, intellectual, and social rights, which may rightly be denominated the soul of modern history. It is specially pleasing to one

who has for a number of years been engaged in the task of tracing the general development of this movement to find in M. Bonet Maury so able and sympathetic an exponent of one of its phases, as illustrated by the history of modern France.

The work consists of seven long chapters, and traces the vicissitudes of the aspirations and the efforts for freedom of conscience in France from the edict of Nantes to the recent separation of Church and State. The first contains an account of the great Edict of 1598 and the religious peace which resulted from it during the reign of Henry IV. and the ministries of Richelieu and Mazarin, who loyally followed the policy of the greatest of the Bourbon kings. Chapter II. reviews the reaction under Louis XIV., which gradually reversed this policy and culminated in the Revocation of the Edict in 1685, and traces the gradual counter-reaction throughout the eighteenth century, which at length restored a certain measure of religious liberty to the Protestants in the Edict of 1787. Chapters III., IV., and V. deal respectively with the history of the subject as affected by the Revolution and the régime of Napoleon, the Restoration, and the reign of Louis Philippe, whilst the last two embrace the period of the Second Empire and the Third Republic.

Throughout the whole of this long interval M. Maury examines the chief legislative acts and the chief writings for or against religious liberty in France, and we do not read far into this examination before feeling that we are following a guide who has mastered most of the sources of the subject and is gifted with the power of lucid, if matter-of-fact exposition. At the same time we are very favourably impressed with the large-minded, judicious, and moderate tone of the work. Though a Protestant by connection (he is Professor of Church History in the Protestant Faculty of Theology at Paris) M. Maury does not hesitate to emphasise the failings of the Huguenots as a political as well as a religious party, and rightly extols the enlightened policy of Richelieu, who, while depriving them of their misused political organisation, recognised the rights of the Protestant conscience, and transformed them by his wise firmness into law-abiding and patriotic Frenchmen. On the other hand, he emphasises with equal impartiality the deplorable Catholic bigotry and short-sightedness which, under Louis XIV., undid the wise statesmanship of Henry and Richelieu, and inflicted such deep material as well as moral wounds on France.

This feature of impartiality, objectiveness appears, in fact, all through the work, and is nowhere more in evidence than in the treatment in the concluding chapter of the struggle between the clericals and the Republican Government, which culminated in 1905 in the separation of Church and State in France. It is not too much to say that M. Maury's review of the latest phase of a subject that has stirred so deeply the passions of contemporary France may be read with edification by Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Free Thinkers alike. He is, indeed, a confirmed believer in the policy of separation; but he is, above all, an advocate of the rights of conscience, apart altogether from any prepossessions of party, church, or sect. He accordingly subjects to well-merited criticism the doctrinaire vehemence of the advanced Radical and Socialist party which, in its zeal

for secular education, has been wanting in respect for individual liberty. He rightly considers that the treatment by this party of the congregations in the matter of education was a violation of the rights of conscience under the pretext of enforcing those of the State. On the other hand, he shows as convincingly that the exclusive dogmatism of the clerical party and its interference in politics, under the guise of religion, was a menace to the Republic as well as to toleration, and provoked a struggle which, while infringing the rights of the Catholic conscience in some particulars, vindicated Republican institutions from the intrigues of its clerical, monarchic opponents.

In a future edition, more space should be allotted to the question of toleration not only as between Catholics, Protestants, and other religious bodies in France, but within the various churches themselves. In my opinion, the author allows, for instance (p. 5), too large a right of intolerance to constituted religious societies towards their members. There is a history of liberty of conscience within as well as between the churches, which, under the influence of the intolerant spirit arising from the theological controversies inherited from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, have grievously sinned at times against the consciences of their members by their insistence on an unreasonable doctrinal conformity. The incidental notice of this part of the subject might well be enlarged.

Again, it is somewhat risky to assert that Henry IV. had risen to the true conception of religious liberty in virtue of the spirit of justice rather than of political necessity. It is true that his undoubted love of the people impelled him to curb the spirit of intolerance which had worked such material and moral mischief to France. In the domain of foreign policy, however, he was the champion, not of toleration, but of Roman Catholic intolerance, as M. Poirson in his *Histoire d'Henri IV.*, which M. Maury has evidently overlooked, has forcibly brought out in reference to his Italian policy, for instance.

Further, M. Maury's appreciation of the historical importance of the Edict of Nantes is rather meagre, and I should be inclined to elaborate its superlative greatness in comparison with the intolerant contemporary policies of other lands, Germany not excepted, in spite of the Religious Peace of Augsburg. Nor does he lay sufficient stress, in treating of the causes of the Revocation of this Edict, on the important fact that dissent was offensive to the autocratic instincts of Louis XIV. On the other hand, he tends to exaggerate the ruinous effects on France of the Revocation by ignoring the baneful tendency of Louis' aggressive and long-continued wars, which contributed far more to the paralysis of the material prosperity of France at the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

Among the *lacunae* of this otherwise very recommendable work, I should also note the resistance of the Protestants of the Cevennes, which only receives an incidental notice; and the sources of the numerous edicts to which the author refers should be added. Why not, for instance, refer the reader to the great *Récueil Général des anciennes lois françaises*, edited by M. Isambert and others?

JAMES MACKINNON.

PEEPS INTO THE PAST: BEING PASSAGES FROM THE DIARY OF THOMAS ASLINE WARD. Pp. viii, 368. 4to. London: Sir W. C. Leng & Co., Ltd. 1909. 7s. 6d. nett.

A SHEFFIELD cutler, town-trustee, Unitarian, and man of leading, a founder and sometime editor of the *Sheffield Independent*, who was born in 1781, kept elaborate diaries from 1800 until 1869, and died in the odour of public veneration in 1871,—Mr. T. A. Ward has had his notebooks edited by Mr. Alex. B. Bell of the *Sheffield Daily Telegraph*, with an introduction and annotations by Mr. R. E. Leader. The volume, double-columned and in small type, is at first sight a trifle portentous as the record of a man whose amiability was not the accompaniment of any particular public achievement or literary incisiveness. But Sheffield was clearly the better of him, and to the Sheffield district the collective notes must be an almost unparalleled mine of reminiscence. Besides, the first impression of disproportion wears off, and the outside reader finds much of interest in the circle of Ward's acquaintance and activities.

At the centre of Sheffield's intellectual, political, and literary movement he came into touch with many notable figures. He gossips pleasantly about the 'infant Roscius' in 1804. Ebenezer Elliott, the Corn-Law rhymer, nominated him for Parliament after the Reform Bill was passed. Chantrey, the sculptor, not only painted him, but was his intimate friend and correspondent. His circle was influential and cultured. He was Master Cutler in 1816, and a prominent spirit in establishing the local Literary and Philosophical Society. Most distinguished of his cronies was James Montgomery, 'the gentle and precise poet-editor' of the *Iris*, to which Ward was long a contributor. Of Montgomery we get many glimpses, which from first to last do him honour. It is not Ward but a correspondent of his that refers jocularly to the poet of *The World before the Flood* as 'Jingling James'! For many passages of minor biography and contemporary estimate the literary gleaner may turn with advantage to this book. A friend both of Ward and Montgomery was Joseph Hunter, a famed record scholar, historian of Hallamshire, with whom Ward had much correspondence. When Hunter wrote for the *Iris* the character of a lady deceased, and concluded by giving her unusually assured prospects in the next world, Montgomery, editorially, would have none of it. A blue-stocking poetess who came into the horizon was Miss Margaret Holford, whose work *Wallace* must now, alas, be known to few. Montgomery thought her, in heroic tone of feeling, 'without rival among contemporary bards.'

Less surprise, perhaps, than disappointment is caused by the paucity of references to the great contemporary things, whether of war, politics, or literature. Byron is discussed; Scott is the study of an admiring circle; the coterie in Sheffield has its tastes. Nelson's victory and death, however, are only mentioned by accident. Vittoria gets into record too, merely because the bells of rejoicing for it rang on Ward's birthday. Of Napoleon and the crisis of struggle with him there is little. There is, however, the fact that from 1804 onwards Ward was an energetic volunteer during the whole Napoleonic phase of volunteering. He declined a brother officer's



DEAN COLET

From *Historical Portraits* by C. R. L. Fletcher

See page 401



challenge to a duel by reporting the challenge as a breach of the Articles of War. He records in January, 1804, a talk with a Dutchman named Genslin of the Hague. 'Mr. G.,' he says, 'ridicules the idea of invasion by means of the petty gunboats of which the Corsican boasts so much.'

Unexpected relationships crop up here and there. He buys a set of Tassie's medallion gems. His wife's sister becomes the wife of Bowring, editor of the *Westminster Review*. Through this there comes contact with Jeremy Bentham, who, in 1823, appears once in the flesh, not the immortal, sedate philosopher one might have expected, but a sage sprightly and amorous, 'thumping his reprobates with a thick stick for fun, and displaying his agility by running up and down hill to win the favour of a fine lady.' 'A widow she was,' said young Tom Lewin, Ward's brother-in-law, 'a very handsome woman, has written on the Rights of Woman, and in favour of womankind. I think old Bentham wants her for better or worse.' Mr. Bell has had much toil over Ward's tangle of memories which, by their variety, will assure for the diarist a lasting place among the worthies of Yorkshire. Were it for the index alone the editor would have deserved well of Sheffield, but he and Mr. Leader have added excellent annotations. The work itself is a garner of local lore and biography—a modest but valuable chronicle of public and literary interests by one of the leaders of his town and time.

GEO. NEILSON.

A LIFE OF JOHN COLET, D.D., Dean of St. Paul's and founder of St. Paul's School. With an Appendix of some of his English Writings. By the late J. H. Lupton, D.D., formerly Surmaster of St. Paul's School. Pp. xiv, 323. Demy 8vo. New Edition. London: George Bell & Sons. 1909. 8s. 6d. nett.

THIS volume carries us back to the revival of humanism, to the time when a new, warm feeling for beauty in literature and art was being fanned by the ardent study of the classics, stimulated by the ever-recurring discovery of some Greek manuscript, and diffused by the aid of the recent invention of printing. England was beginning to share with the other countries of Europe that quickening which, in Italy, was already life in its full maturity. Very quickly a small group of English scholars emerged into a fame that ranked them on a level with those of Italy itself. Dean Colet was one of the number. Such is the select society to which we are introduced by one who,—as his edition of Colet's works and this re-issue bear witness—must himself have spent no small part of his life in the loving study of it. Dr. Lupton consoles himself for the time and labour he has bestowed on his subject by appreciatively contrasting them with the privilege he has enjoyed. Has he not, in spirit, listened to the familiar talk of a Colet and an Erasmus, of a Lily and a More? And the reader of this life cannot but be grateful to the late Surmaster of St. Paul's for some reflection of the same high privilege. Colet, as delineated in these pages, was a great and a good man, a most attractive personality. Of his education either at school or at the university, we are told very little of a positive

character, but, if the attested facts are few, and based mainly on conjecture, we have, what some will regard as of little, if at all, less value, a very clear account of the nature of the education obtainable in the closing decades of the fifteenth century. The same obscurity as to details and the same strong probability as to main outlines characterise the chapter on Colet's three years' sojourn on the continent.

A most interesting account is given of Colet's gratuitous lectures in Oxford, of the use he made of the incomes from his benefices, of his pathetic attempt, by new statutes and otherwise, to reform the secular spirit and practice of the huge ecclesiastical community that fattened on the revenues of the old cathedral of St. Paul's, of his household management and customs, of his kind patronage of poor scholars, of his close friendship with Erasmus and other leaders of thought, and especially of the teaching by which he sought to stem the flood of worldliness that threatened to engulf alike the clergy among whom it originated and the laity to whom it spread. Grieved at the foulness and the corruption of the church, he assailed these in a reforming spirit that had in it no tincture of rancour, no suggestion of personal spleen. Of the three famous sermons he delivered on great occasions, one is fully translated in the appendix. Addressed to the Meeting of Convocation in the beginning of 1512, it taxed the clergy with their pride of life, their concupiscence, their covetousness and their secular occupations, in a style all the more convincing for its friendly source. That his candour, infused though it was with a pleading earnestness, should have raised up for him powerful enemies, and brought him within easy reach of the stake for heresy, is not surprising. Yet he lived to see the success of his greatest and wisest achievement, the foundation of St. Paul's School. It is here that the 'Life' has a special and inspiring interest for the teaching profession, whose pride, however, in such predecessors as Wolsey and Lily is apt to be dashed by Erasmus's description of teachers as 'a shabby broken-down sort of men, hardly in their senses.' Colet might well have been his own first headmaster. He possessed that prime requisite, reverence for the young. An eloquent light is shed on the tender nobility of the otherwise austere man by the concluding words of the preface to his Latin grammar: 'Trustynge of this begynnyng that ye shal procede and growe to parfyt lyterature, and come at the last to be grete clarkes. And lyfte up your lytel whyte handes for me, whiche prayeth for you to God: to whom . . .'

WILLIAM THOMSON.

**THE MANUSCRIPTS OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.** By J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Westminster, and Montague Rhodes James, Litt.D., Provost of King's College, Cambridge. Pp. 108. 8vo. Cambridge University Press. 1909. 5s. nett.

**THE HISTORY OF WESTMINSTER ABBEY.** By John Flete. Edited by J. Armitage Robinson, D.D., Dean of Westminster. Pp. 151. 8vo. Cambridge University Press. 1909. 5s. nett.

THESE two volumes are the earliest issues of a series dealing with 'Notes and Documents relating to Westminster Abbey.' They are admirably

printed, and in every respect a credit to the Cambridge Press, while the names of the Dean and of the Provost of King's are an ample guarantee of learned and more than competent editing.

The former volume gives a detailed list of the MSS. of Westminster Abbey, and does not lend itself readily to the reviewer's purpose. The introduction throws much interesting light on the 'Making and Keeping' of the Abbey books, the cost of them and the manner of their production. It is curious to read about the expenses 'that be leyde owte for the Seyny books,' regarding which we learn that these were for those monks who, having been 'bled,' were permitted to *sit* during certain offices, and had for their use the 'liber minutorum' (*vid.* De Cange, *sub voc.* 'Minutus'). And other like pieces of quaint information are to be met with throughout these pages, *e.g.* some excellent 'Rules for the behaviour of Schoolboys,' from which it appears that the difficulty which clergymen with surpliced choirs experience to-day in restraining their young musicians from singing to the congregation, as to an audience at a concert, was not unknown, since they are bidden not to have their eyes 'deflexos ad laycos, sed pocius versus Altare,' etc.

The latter volume will appeal to a wider circle of readers. John Flete, whose *History of Westminster Abbey* is here reproduced, was a Monk of the House from 1420 to 1465. The Dean tells us quite candidly that Flete 'displays no graces of style and not the most rudimentary sense of humour'; but at the same time he assures us that the writer 'has devoted vast pains to his task, and refrains from guessing where he can find no evidence.' The work consists of over a hundred pages of the usual Chroniclers' Latin, and falls into four main divisions, *viz.* the story of the Abbey's Foundation, Evidence of its Privileges, a List of Relics and of Indulgencies, and Lives of the Abbots. In point of time it extends from the traditional foundation by K. Lucius ('*primi Britonum regis Christiani*') A.D. 184, down to 1386; and in the course of that long survey we read of the legendary consecration of the new church (erected by K. Sebert on the desecrated site of Lucius' building) by St. Peter himself 'in the spirit,' and how the miracle is attested by the tithe of salmon which the successors of the fisherman who rowed the Apostle across the Thames on that occasion, paid ever after '*beato Petro eique servientibus.*' By reason of the number of Papal Bulls and of Charters granted by Kings and Bishops, conferring the highest dignities and privileges on the Abbey, '*et quia ex primitiva fundatione locus iste est regiae consecrationis, regum sepultura repositoriumque regalium insignium, Caput Angliae merito diademaeque regni ab antiquo nominatur*'; and some of the Bishops cursed very prettily those who should dare to violate the Abbey's privileges: '*ignibus aeternis, cruciatibus perpetuis illos damus, portas caeli eis claudimus, et deleantur nomina eorum de libro vitae, nisi resipiscant,*' and thereupon do penance apart from communion for three years.

As to the third section, the list of relics is perhaps not longer nor more varied than that of some other illustrious churches; but still it ranges from some of the straw of The Manger and inevitable pieces of The Cross, through relics of St. Mary and the Apostles, of Martyrs and Confessors,

down to more than five hundred others found 'in feretris et aliis jocalibus, sine titulis.' Space does not allow of dwelling on the last division, the Lives of the Abbots. Dean Armitage Robinson himself writes: 'The critical discussion of the last section of Flete's work cannot be attempted now; for it would involve an investigation of the history of the Abbey during a period of more than three hundred years. Indeed, it is as a preliminary contribution to such an enquiry that Flete's work is *for the first time* printed here.' The lives are of course related with more or less fulness according to the length of the Abbot's reign and the interest appertaining to each. Epitaphs are in many cases recorded, such as that of Richardus de Ware who, repairing to Rome for confirmation of his election, brought back workmen along with porphyries and marbles, at his own charges, and constructed the wonderful pavement in front of the High Altar. His work was not forgotten in death:

'Abbas Richardus de Wara qui requiescit  
hic portat lapides quos huc portavit ab urbe.'

Notice ought to be taken also of two 'Curtains or Dossals of the Choir,' which contained the Story of the Saviour and of St. Edward, with the Inscriptions on them (amounting to no fewer than 48) in Latin verse quatrains and couplets. The volume is well worthy of the attention of the historical student.

Both volumes are furnished with very serviceable indices.

M. B. HUTCHISON.

THE PLACE OF HISTORY IN EDUCATION. By J. W. ALLEN. Pp. vii, 258. Crown 8vo. Edinburgh: William Blackwood & Sons. 1909. 5s. nett.

PROFESSOR ALLEN has given us a closely reasoned, clearly and brightly written, and practically valuable treatise on a subject as important as it is full of perplexity. Broadly speaking, the spirit which is to transform the teaching of history must be the same as that which is transforming the teaching of geography—concentration upon the lines of causation and careful analysis of all contributory factors in the shaping of any result. This is the ultimate thesis of the present work, but, before he reaches that stage, Professor Allen devotes a series of chapters to the consideration, respectively, of what History ought to be and of what Education probably would be did we know exactly what we wanted. Thus very big questions indeed are brought into view, and no mere summary could do justice to a discussion in which the author has not wasted a word or failed to give fair consideration to contrary views. He takes his stand upon history as a science, to which either moral, aesthetic or political accessories are, of themselves, as irrelevant as they would be to any other science. This is severe, but it is supplemented by the confession that history is thus really a field for co-operative work, and that the other, the more humanistic and literary variety, is bound to persist, in even better condition as the common foundations are more firmly laid. Nothing that Prof. Allen says could, probably, present what he is arguing for in a more salient fashion than these sentences: 'The teaching of English history definitely

from a patriotic point of view is, of course, a thing not to be tolerated. No procedure could be less scientific, and perhaps no point of view is more distorting' (p. 143). Other 'isms' receive similar summary handling. But every page offers matter for reflection, and the fulness and fitness of illustration keep the main lines of thought in close touch with the realities of the case.

W. M. MACKENZIE.

IONIA AND THE EAST. Six Lectures delivered before the University of London. By David G. Hogarth, Fellow of Magdalen College. Pp. 117. With map. Medium 8vo. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1909. 3s. 6d. nett.

THIS unpretending little volume is packed full of valuable matter, set forth with a degree of lucidity that it is not given to all archaeologists to attain. Everybody is aware in a general way that within the last few years the work of the spade, particularly in Crete, has let in a flood of light upon the history of the early civilizations in the Eastern Mediterranean basin. The details of the evidence are, however, as yet largely inaccessible. Mr. Hogarth belongs to the small band of *color chi sanno*, and in the six lectures here reprinted he has made excellent and liberal use of his stores of knowledge. The problem to which he addresses himself is 'to consider the circumstances under which Hellenic civilization, properly so called, came into being, and in particular, the origin of that brilliant Ionian society which a French writer has named *le printemps de la Grèce*.' He is careful to qualify his solution as provisional only. But, even so, the train of reasoning by which he reaches it is singularly informing and suggestive. It would be idle to attempt to summarize it here. Suffice it to say that Crete and the Danube valley, as well as distant Mesopotamia, play an honourable part, and that we get a vivid picture of the great Syro-Cappadocian empire of the Hittites, whose influence seems at one time to have reached the very shores of the Aegean. The volume is admirably printed, although the name of a distinguished German historian is twice mis-spelt on p. 22. The binding is not so satisfactory, the covers being either too stiff or not stiff enough. Lastly, we hope that, when the criminal code is next revised, it will be made an indictable offence to produce a good book without an index.

GEORGE MACDONALD.

THE REGISTER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL OF SCOTLAND. Edited and Abridged by Prof. Hume Brown, M.A., LL.D. Second Series, vol. viii. A.D. 1544-1660. Royal 8vo. Pp. xiv, 605. Third Series, vol. i. A.D. 1661-1664. Royal 8vo. Pp. lxxv, 898. Edinburgh: Register House. 15s. nett each.

THE concluding volume of the second series has as its first half the Privy Council Register from 1643 until 1650, when the Council ceased to exist under the Commonwealth. The second half, consisting of papers not long ago found in a basement room of the General Register House, is a miscellany of petitions, reports of trials, and documents dating from 1544 until 1660.

Supplementary to earlier volumes, this latter miscellany of over 400 pages contains so much history that we rather regret Professor Hume Brown's introductory self-denial in deciding not to pass again over the ground covered in older prefaces by Hill Burton and Masson. For the domestic annals of Scotland under King James after the Union and under Charles I. are materially enriched by these new papers, with their mass of narrative, oftenest in the form of complaint and supplication.

The disturbed state of the country at and after the Union sufficiently appears from the continual resort to lawburrows, and the infinite variety of charges of violence committed by bands of retainers 'all boddin in feir of wear with lancis, halberts, bowis, darlochis, durkis, swordis, secretis and uthairis vaponis invasive.' Occasionally a complainer tells how his enemy 'appeallit' him 'to the combat': we hear of 'ane solempe vow to get . . . certane . . . burgesses of the said burgh hangit': the laird of Drumlanrig 'barbarouslie and inhumanelie raisit the corps' of the laird of Enoch's son buried in the aisle of Durisdeer: a Dumfries maltman 'drew his quhinger' on a surgeon in the parish church: in the baron-court of Towie, Aberdeenshire, a defender 'cruellie and ferselie invadit and persewet' the members of the court: an attempt to survey the Debatable Land met with determined resistance, 'oppression and bangstrie'—such were characteristic episodes before the Council in 1607.

The King, applying to Scotland methods long at work in England, instituted Justices of the Peace in 1610, and the course of this judicial expedient is marked by a number of most interesting instructions as to the test-oaths to be taken by the justices, the duties to be assigned to them, and the steps necessary to avoid conflict of jurisdiction with the rival courts of baronies and burghs. Friction was not avoided, however, and despite some superfluity of courts the elements of anarchy seemed to thrive as briskly as ever they had in Scotland at its worst. The constable of Forfar 'sittand in judgement' was defied: there were serious riots by 'deboshed bodyis' in Edinburgh: on the border 'pernitious lymmers' committed 'slachteris,' 'pykreis,' and 'open stouthis': commissions of fire and sword were a frequent resource in the north: deadly feud everywhere took forms of violence and wanton cruelty. Many disturbances arose over disputed peat or 'elding' rights in mosses, as for instance at Inverness in 1627, where Lord Lovat not only drove off the townsmen, but called the magistrates 'lownes, lowsie knaves, villanes, and deboshed doggis.' Highland trouble of course was always present: the 'lymmaris of the Clanchattane' were in the vortex of it; the captain of Clanranald evaded the service of the king's writs on him by retreat to an isle of the sea: Clan Gregor were proscribed and their resettlers penalised: Claneane (M'Leans) were wreckers: Mackintoshes fell foul of and 'unmercifullie invadit' the town piper of Inverness, leaving him for dead;—it was the old song.

Later, as the civil war threatens and is entered upon, there come other commotions, religious and secular. Lady Lamington's stout opposition to the induction of Andrew M'Gie to the church of Lamington and the scene she made in the kirk on the subject give matter for many pages of the record. The rebellion in Ireland and the position of the Scots there engross

much attention. Montrose's meteoric campaign of 1644-45 would be almost unmentioned however were it not for a cattle thief's trial, where it was with unavailing ingenuity pled that the 'steilling of sax kye furthe of the park of Mugdok' was justified as a good service to the public, they being the goods of Montrose, who had invaded and taken up arms against his country.

Quaint things are not wanting, especially in the numerous witchcraft passages in which charms play a great part. In an Orkney trial the devil is named 'Walliman'; in others we hear of witches in shape of cats, of 'the waff of an ill wind' as the subject of a charm, of surrender to Satan by laying the hand on the head and giving all between the hand and the earth, and of the use for magic purposes of phallic emblems in clay. The intermittent action of the Council and its suspension from 1650 explain the hiatus in the record, and the fact that Cromwell's name never occurs in this volume. The final entry, dated 17th October, 1660, is the proclamation at Edinburgh cross of a reward for the apprehension of Johnston of Wariston.

The next volume, and with it the third series, begins in 1661 after Argyll's execution, when the Restoration had started a fresh and very autocratic dispensation, and when reaction was at its height. Out of his abundant material the editor draws the contents of a varied and significant preface which sets in lucid order the leading public events and tendencies. Amongst them may be remarked the order to destroy the citadels at Inverness, Perth, Ayr, Leith, and Linlithgow, constructed by the 'Englishes' under Cromwell, the pressure put on the people to take test oaths, the efforts to enforce payment of fines levied for offences during the troubles, and the local risings in Galloway against the intrusion of ministers taking the places of others who had been ousted for refusal to take the oath.

Apart from ecclesiastical turmoil there was more than enough of domestic disturbance, for the Borders were full of bloodshed and violence (as indeed was well shown by the Jedburgh assize in 1622, published in Wilson's *Annals of Hawick* in 1850), and in the Highlands matters were still worse. MacDonald of Keppoch, subject of greivous charges of hamesucken and spoliation, was put to the horn. A commission of fire and sword was granted against Cameron of Lochiel. Clan Gregor of course were not behindhand in depredation. The sheriffship of Caithness was debated with pistol and sword.

English Navigation Acts in 1660 and 1663 had struck heavily against the foreign trade of Scotland, and the old alliance with France and the 'reciprocall naturalization' conceded in 1558 were brought before King Charles with a view to obtaining his interposition with the French King to secure the ancient privileges. Intervention on behalf of one interest was apt to be disastrous to another, as happened when the Council prohibited the exporting of oysters, for the oyster dredgers of the Forth protested that the prohibition deprived them of the means of subsistence. Similarly the weavers of Glasgow protested against the prohibition to export linen yarn. Trade was being developed by joint companies, among which fishery enterprises were prominent. A cloth factory

in the 'citadel' of Ayr was supported by the Council's warrant to impress all idle persons and vagabonds in the adjacent shires 'and keep them within the said manufactory, and to compell them to work for meat and cloathing.'

A Glasgow printer, Robert Saunders, was granted exemption from excise on books and paper imported from abroad. Glasgow coalmasters, harassed by water in the mines, sought help from the Council in their difficulties caused 'by the coall heughers not working bot four compleit dayes of sex.' So numerous are the cases of witchcraft from every quarter of the country that the index of them alone fills three columns. While the passages are somewhat stereotyped there are special features: an 'ordinar priker of witches' is summoned to answer for pricking a woman 'who immediatly thereafter dyed'; another is bound over to desist from pricking without warrant; the minister of Rhynd and certain of his parishioners are accused of the like illegality against three suspected witches 'by pricking watching keeping of them from sleip and other tortur,' thereby extorting a confession. The theoretical essence of the offence consisted in the renouncing of baptism and entering into 'paction with the devil.' The Council, as the editor remarks, 'was disposed to check rather than encourage the popular delusion.' An entry of date 19th April, 1664 (not 29th as stated by Wodrow), gives the proclamation against an English translation of Buchanan's *De Jure Regni*. Two brass guns are mentioned which had seen service in the citadel of Leith: they bore an inscription of date 1650, to Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty, translator of Rabelais, and captive at Worcester in the King's cause in 1651. The colour and note of the time appeared in a thousand ways, whether in assythment for murder, prosecution for illegal carrying of hagbutts and pistols, tales of ravishment and threats of kidnapping, the plague and precautions against it, privateering under letters of marque, conventicles and the exile of Covenanters like Andrew Cant and John Livingstone, birthbreeves for Scots abroad, sanctuary in the precincts of Holyrood, or in the blast or the echo of the 'trumpett of sedition and rebellion.'

While the preface of the first of the two volumes under notice briefly describes the subsidiary work done by the Council from 1643 until 1650, the preface to the second is a historical essay of conspicuous grasp and merit as a narrative of the active policy of Charles II. and the constitutional, ecclesiastical, industrial, and domestic movement of the country from 1661 until 1664—years in which the religious aspects of policy were pushed into dangerous prominence in the effort to impose episcopacy upon the loyalty of an unwilling nation. The Council was once more the chief engine of government, and these years see Middleton's ambition broken against the influence of Lauderdale. As the tribunal of enquiry into every kind of grievance and form of misgovernment the Privy Council had cognizance over such a variety of internal affairs that the Register became an unequalled repository of public and private information, often conveyed in piquant vernacular complaints and representations. Professor Hume Brown's talent for clear, well-ordered, and accurate exposition displays itself to high advantage amid such records, which abound in passages exceeding Pitscottie himself in quaint vivacity of narration.

GEO. NEILSON.

## George Canning and His Friends 425

GEORGE CANNING AND HIS FRIENDS. Edited by Captain Josceline Bagot. 2 vols. Vol. i. 423 pp. Vol. ii. 463 pp. Demy 8vo. John Murray. 1909. 30s. nett.

THESE two handsomely illustrated and withal readable volumes are begun by the reader with so much expectation that he can hardly help laying them down with a feeling akin to disappointment. It seems so very desirable to us to know as much as possible of the talents of Canning. He appeared in so many aspects; the young wit; the head of a versatile coterie who gave such support to the Tories in the Anti-Jacobin; then the brilliant politician, often suspected as an intriguer; the Foreign Minister, conservative at home and radical abroad. One looks forward however rather vainly to completing one's knowledge of this Proteus here. With the exception of Canning's own letters the correspondence in these volumes, though it is pleasant to read, is not of a very high order of merit or interest, although it includes many letters from the Rev. John Sneyd, J. H. Frere, Sir Charles Bagot, the Ellis family (Charles Ellis was Canning's second in his duel with Castlereagh) and the Wellesleys. The editor has done his work well, giving us as much about Canning in his home and political life as his material allows, but he is almost too conscientious or he would have laid more stress upon the Anti-Jacobin and less on that *vieux jeu* the 'Musae Cateatonenses.' The account of Canning's famous rhymed cypher dispatch to the Minister at the Hague (Bagot) beginning

'In matters of commerce the fault of the Dutch  
Is offering too little and asking too much,'

and the excitement it caused to its recipient is indeed worth reading, and shows the delightful intimacy in which this Georgian Minister stood with his diplomatic subordinates and friends. Some new light is thrown also on Canning's courtship, which, favoured by Pitt, and conducted under the kind auspices of 'Lady S. E,' led to his happy marriage to Miss Joan Scott of Balcomie, and gave him the assistance of her handsome fortune and the friendship of her many powerful relatives.

A. F. S.

THE ROYAL STUARTS IN THEIR CONNECTION WITH ART AND LETTERS.

By W. G. Blaikie Murdoch. Pp. 309. Cr. 8vo. Edinburgh: J. & J. Gray & Co. 1908. 6s. nett.

SYMPATHY and enthusiasm are necessary elements of an editor's equipment when he sets himself to draw up an inventory of the literary achievement of a line of princes. The list is bound to be not a little made up of flat items; and it may even be that a hard critic's best word for the songs of Stewart royalties will fall short of Sir James Melville's commendation of Queen Mary that she versified 'reasonably for a Queen.'

Yet the record is no slight one, for not only was there poetry in the race, there was the gift of invoking the poetry of others; and a story which begins with the patronage of John Barbour, maintains itself handsomely through sunshine and storm until the memories of a dethroned and exiled house have passed into romantic and occasionally perfervid inspirations. Nor is it a mere case of memory purified and glorified by misfortune: the

splendour of Scottish literature gathers itself round the Scottish Court. Mr. Blaikie Murdoch has cast a wide net for his matter. The names of his helpers are such an enumeration of historical, literary, and antiquarian celebrity, that absence from the list is a downright stigma of obscurity!

He has been helped to good purpose, and has produced a handy volume, attractively frontispiced with a drawing by Prince Charlie, concluding with an echo of the Jacobite yearning caught in the verse of Swinburne, and filled in the intervening 300 pages with a detailed and well-referenced narrative of the place the Stewarts occupy in our island story of letters and of art.

A well-ordered narrative starts with the royal encouragement given to Barbour, who, besides *The Bruce*, wrote a 'propyry genealogy' from Sir Dardan of Phrygia down to Robert II. No mention is made of the *Ring of the Roy Robert*; and more might have been said of David Duke of Rothesay. King James I. could not fail to receive a full measure of attention, albeit one marvels that M. Jusserand's *Jacques Ier d'Écosse Fut-il Poète?* has escaped the drag-net of research. There is less occasion for surprise that James's Latin couplet, made when he committed Alexander of the Isles to ward in the Castle of Inverness, has evaded capture than there is for regret at losing John Major's criticism of it, that allowance was to be made for false quantities when a king was the poet. By an extraordinary misconception a lament by the Dauphin (afterwards Louis XI.) for his wife Margaret, daughter of James I., on her death in 1446, is attributed to Margaret herself! Besides, it ought to have been readily discovered that the work at one place styled *Chronicon Jacobi Primi* is the same as that styled in the same chapter *Liber Pluscardensis*. King James II. had a verse made on him by his contemporary François Villon, here unnoted.

James IV., James V., Queen Mary, and James VI. all receive generous measure, although the fact that for more than two centuries the official circle of the Court had a decided literary bent, indeed almost a monopoly of poetic production, seems scarcely to be appreciated by the literary chronicler. His acquaintance with the famous John of Ireland appears somewhat distant, but he may be complimented on the neatness of his identification of Jean Cochlee's *Pro Scotiae Regno Apologia* (cf. *S.H.R.* iv. 85). A good word is found even for Darnley, as a rhymester and alleged translator of Valerius Maximus. As regards James VI., the author hardly makes clear enough the poetic coterie of the young king's surroundings, as indicated by his *Lusus Regius*; he does not deal with the literature of James's pet doctrine of Divine Right; and he passes by a whole series of paragraphs in Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*, which, with far subtler eulogy than the dedication of that work, are directly addressed to King James. Such episodes as Ben Jonson's durance vile in relation to *Eastward Ho* might have been chronicled; for the reverse side of the picture has its rights. King Charles I. appears as author of a hymn, in which the royal bard, fallen on evil days, reminded the Almighty of the unavailing doctrine of kingship which he had inherited—

'Nature and law by thy divine decree  
(The only root of righteous royaltie)  
With this dim diadem invested me,

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With it the sacred sceptre, purple globe,  
The holy unction and the royal globe,  
Yet am I levell'd with the life of Job.'

Charles IX. of France, replying to complimentary lines of Ronsard, modestly hinted that the art of verse deserved higher reward than the art of government, and that the crown he wore was of less degree than that which Ronsard as poet could bestow—in a realm of poesy where no tyranny holds sway. Certainly diadems grow dim; but it is as true of poets as of kings. Charles II. appears more as a connoisseur of art than as a patron of, or dabbler in, letters. James II. ('James Misfortunate') was no great timber for songcraft. The Jacobite exile, the abortive returns, the lingering end of the hopes of an old dynasty, and the loyalties of rebellious sentiment—these, however, have a literature too vast for the present little book, and supply abundant material for the sequel which they suggest.

A task which by its very nature enlists goodwill and merits welcome and encouragement, has been carried out by Mr. Blaikie Murdoch in such a manner as to constitute no unfit monument of the share of the Stewarts prominently in the literature, and incidentally in the art, of four centuries. Every chapter is buttressed with the solid support of references. The expressed estimates of literary merit silently apply John Major's golden rule in making ample allowance for royal metrists. Yet the introductory declaration of 'frank and avowed affection for the Stuarts' is the prelude to very little extravagance indeed, and indicates a geniality of spirit perfectly compatible with sound chronicle and temperate criticism.

**THE STORMING OF LONDON AND THE THAMES VALLEY CAMPAIGN: A MILITARY STUDY OF THE CONQUEST OF BRITAIN BY THE ANGLES.**  
By Major P. T. Godsal. Pp. xxxiv, 288, and 6 Maps. Demy 8vo.  
London: Harrison & Sons. 1908. 10s. 6d. nett.

In this too lengthy work—evidently a labour of love—the writer attempts to show that the conquest of England by the Germanic tribes was not, as has been hitherto generally held, the result of mere independent, if fortuitous, raids by different tribes, but a carefully-planned invasion carried out by the Saxons and Jutes under the leadership of the Angles against the Romanised Britons. The period he chooses is that 'mysterious' one from the battle of Crayford, *circa* 457 A.D., to the time the Ealdorman Cedric assumed the rank of king about 520 A.D., regarding which there are few historical references remaining. He therefore attempts, and with some success, to build up a theory of the strategic advance of the invaders; first on London, and then, after the fall of London, the campaign under Ælla the heretoga, up the Thames valley towards the Chilterns until the fall of the walled city of Silchester. He defends his theory by an examination of the place names, the planting of the 'tuns,' 'hams,' and 'burhs,' the position of the 'stokes' and the situation of the 'hundreds.' He certainly shows that the settlement was both immediate and important, which presupposes not only the total extirpation of the British inhabitants, but the

immigration of a very great number of Germanic settlers, who could scarcely have been at hand had the invasion been the result of chance raids. He attempts, moreover, to reconstruct the life of Ælla, the first Bretwalda, for whose strategy, as he sees it, he has conceived immense admiration, and he holds that his title was proclaimed at Runnemed in 510 A.D. We think, however, that his connection of Ælla with the Arthurian legend and the round table will need to be more satisfactorily examined before it can be adopted even as a theory, and this remark applies to one or two of the author's theories.

**THE SOBIESKI STUARTS: THEIR CLAIM TO BE DESCENDED FROM PRINCE CHARLIE.** By Hugh Beveridge, F.S.A., Scot. Pp. v, 122. Cr. 4to. Inverness: Robert Carruthers & Sons. 1909. 5s.

A REAL consideration of the 'claims' of the Sobieski Stuarts would be an interesting book—if only as an example of poor human credulity—but such we do not find here. This work gives only a tiresome reiteration of their vague and contradictory claims, and weighs neither their probability nor possibility at all. The book is therefore of no value, and its only interest is that it contains portraits of the Sobieski Stuarts, and of their progenitor, Admiral Allen, and that it also gives some little known statements about the second marriage of his son, Thomas Allen, who by his first wife was father of the two brothers who asserted a royal descent on no real evidence whatever.

Ranke's *History of the Latin and Teutonic Nations* (1494 to 1514) in a revised translation by Mr. G. R. Dennis (cr. 8vo, pp. xxxvi, 448. London: George Bell & Sons, 1909; price 6s. nett) is a recent addition to Bohn's Standard Library. Equipped with a capital index, it presents Ranke's earliest work, published in 1824 in the shape he gave it in a second edition in 1874, but with the slips and misprints corrected by Mr. Dennis, and with an introductory essay by Mr. Edward Armstrong on the book and its place in Ranke's evolution as a historian. This is a restrained but cordial tribute to the achievement of the youthful author, which was great in itself though yet greater in its promise. With the imperfections of a work exposed to comparison with the writer's riper performances this parallel study of the history of the Latin and Teutonic nations is still unsurplanted as a vivid, circumstantial, and historically-philosophic narrative of the European movement, especially in Italy, during the reigns of King Charles VIII. and King Louis XII. of France.

Its estimates of popes like Alexander VI. or Julius II., of monarchs like Ferdinand and Isabella or the Emperor Maximilian, and of celebrities like Savonarola or Ludovico Sforza retain their charm of clear presentment with authority little impaired by eighty years of research and criticism. The volume will take a place of esteem corresponding to that of the same translator and publishers' edition of Ranke's *History of the Popes*.

*The Lone Shieling, or The Authorship of the Canadian Boat Song, with other Literary and Historical Sketches*, by G. M. Fraser (8vo, pp. xii, 242. Aberdeen: Wm. Smith & Sons. 1908. 4s. nett), makes a pleasant handful of reprinted essays, chiefly on Aberdeen subjects, such as the Town Council's connection with literature, Sir Walter Scott's attitude—a little aloof—towards the city, the Fintray Chapbooks, the place-name 'Aberdeen,' the market cross, and celebrities like Gordon of Rothiemay, Peter Buchanan, James Beattie, and John Longmuir. The title-giving paper presents insinuating persuasions for Mr. Fraser's conclusion that Professor John Wilson wrote the boat song, with its haunting melancholy of reminiscence, when 'Mountains divide us and a waste of seas.'

Parallels from Wilson's other poems are adduced, which are not without distinct force as evidence, in spite of the fact that this noble piece originally appeared in a Blackwood article which Wilson did not write. It is always hard to establish authorship on internal evidence. Mr. Fraser wins hearty sympathy at least for his zealous advocacy of a claim for Wilson which Wilson himself never made. Easy in style, and with a local patriotism well ballasted with literary and historical lore, Mr. Fraser's volume is a north country collection worth making and worth having.

*Voyages of Drake & Gilbert: Select Narratives from the 'Principal Navigations' of Hakluyt* (Clarendon Press, pp. lxii, 193-327, price 2s. 6d.) may be described as a partial offprint of the larger volume, *Voyages of the Elizabethan Seamen*, by the same editors, Mr. E. J. Payne and Prof. C. R. Beazley. Containing narratives of Drake's famous voyage 'about the whole Globe of the Earth,' of the exploits of his 'great armada' in the West Indies in 1585, and of Sir H. Gilbert's expedition to Florida, attempted in 1583, it is prefaced by Mr. Payne's informing introduction containing a capital narrative—as it were, a historical chart—of the whole course of adventurous navigation which reconstituted the world. It makes a compact companion sketch to Prof. Raleigh's brilliant and picturesque essay.

*Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster*, by Mr. A. F. Leach (pp. 24, price 1s. nett), is a notable print from the Proceedings of the British Academy. It shows the influence of St. Paul's School under its 'high master,' Alexander Gill, on the mind and art of the future poet, pupil there 1621-24. Gill was a fearless critic of royalty, and paid the price of his strictures of Charles I. The curriculum of Paul's in his day included Lactantius, Prudentius, and Baptista Mantuanus, inherited from Colet, who excluded many generally received works 'which more ratheyr may be callid blatterature than litterature.' Mr. Leach convincingly tracks snatches of *Paradise Lost* to Lactantius, of the hymn on the Nativity to Prudentius and—somewhat curiously—to Mantuanus, who, by the way, is not here recognised as he deserves to be as the 'Mantuan' (not Virgil) of Holofernes in *Love's Labour's Lost*. Milton kept a school, and Mr. Leach thinks the *Tractate on Education* showed that if he did not wish to call it an Academy, it supplied the ground-lines for his ideal of a combined school and university. Mr. Leach's observations on the poet as an educational

theorist might well have touched on *Nova Solyma*, that work (whether Milton's or not) so interestingly collateral to the *Tractate*.

A short essay on *Milton and Party*, by Professor O. Elton (pp. 8), is one of the 'Leaflets' published by the English Association. Its rather indistinct propositions are graced by some fine *obiter dicta*. 'We are creatures of the dead.' 'Milton had a very medieval side to his brain.' 'The Cromwell and Hampden of heaven secede, fight, fill the stage, occupy the sympathy, and then fail.' Like so many tercentenary celebrators, Prof. Elton speaks as one who has never heard of Vondel.

*The Functions of Criticism*, by Mr. Nichol Smith (pp. 24, Clarendon Press, price 1s. nett), distinguishes four chief modes of criticism, the historical, relating the work to its time and circumstances; the genealogical, tracing *quellen* and influences; the biographical, deducing the author's character from his writing; and the separate judgment of the individual work, not by comparison, but in itself. Johnson's failure to fulfil his promise of writing a 'History of Criticism' is regretted; Pope's poem is approved for its taste of judgment, although hopeless as a system; and Boileau is applauded for his early insight into Molière and Racine. Mr. Smith, averse to hard distinctions, clearly admires interpretativeness—a quality in which he himself excels—as the truest feature of criticism in all the modes.

*The School History of the County Palatine of Durham*, by Mr. F. S. Eden (8vo, pp. 256, Clarendon Press, 1909), inevitably centres upon the cathedral, the bishops, and the peculiar palatinate rights and duties. Containing a good many rough but effective drawings by the author and others, it catches the salient points of an eminently historic shire, and popularises the story of the Patrimony of St. Cuthbert, with an intelligent appreciation of unique features in the tenures of its Halywerkfolk. The law of sanctuary is briefly described. Noted personalities among the bishops receive cordial recognition. Among them Antony Beck gets considerably more than his share of approbation, and Richard de Bury has the book-lover's tribute he so well deserves.

*A Phonology of the North-Eastern Scotch Dialect* (Pp. x, 34. Bonn: Peter Hanstein, 1909), being Part I. of the inaugural dissertation of Dr. Heinrich Mutschmann, reports the Scottish dialects of the present day 'as everywhere in a state of utter dissolution' and 'Polite Scotch' as a standard language, apart from English, generally established. Directed to a skilful analysis, phonological and historical, of the Middle-Scotch vowels, it is the prelude of a complete study announced to appear in Professor Bullbring's 'Bonner Studien.'

In the *English Historical Review* (April) Prof. Haskins has the premier place with an article (following up that which is noted in the preceding paragraph) on the 'Administration of Normandy under Henry I.,' embracing

the text of seventeen charters of the period, most of them hitherto unprinted. Scrutiny is chiefly directed, as in the other article, to the judicial and fiscal indications of the documents, which reveal many new facts concerning the Norman justices under Henry I.,—king's judges sometimes found sitting in the feudal court of the *vicomte*, and not only creating a body of law, but centralising its administration. The office of treasurer is also illustrated by numerous references to successive holders, and fresh light is thrown upon the exchequer movements generally.

Another important textual communication is by Mr. H. E. Salter, who prints twenty-six charters of Henry II. to the See of Lincoln.

A third medieval documentary paper is by Mr. H. W. C. Davis editing a fragment from a MS. of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds. It tells how, in 1264, before the battle of Lewes, some 300 'bachelors' conspired against the constituted authorities of the borough and raised a gild which they called the 'gilda juvenum.' Determined to elect their own alderman and bailiffs, and despising the 'mothorn' of the community, they started a horn of their own, and marched with a mob behind them to attack the abbey. But the surprise came to nothing, and the insurgent and probably adulterine gild was quashed. Mr. Davis, in his interesting comment, perhaps lays too little stress on the corporate character assumed by the rebellious body—a point which obviously impressed the annalists, and which appears to give the episode a special significance, and to suggest a technical sense for 'bachelors' in a corporate connection.

Other subjects of this issue include the deprivations of Puritan ministers in 1605, now estimated at 60 in all; the British relations with Germany, 1660-1679, notable for Count Waldstein's anti-French memorial of 1677; and the Mission of William Grenville in 1787 to Holland and France.

In the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* Professor Firth's 'Ballad History of the Reigns of Henry VII. and Henry VIII.' attractively surveys an odd and wayward series of quasi-records of England under the first two Tudor kings. 'The Song of Lady Bessee' tells of Elizabeth of York, daughter of Edward IV., and of her part before her marriage with Henry VII. in the overthrow of Richard III. 'Scottish Field,' 'Flodden Field,' and 'Sir Andrew Barton' all deal with the events, to a great degree Scottish, culminating in 1513. Wolsey's rise and fall are, like Cromwell's after him, chronicled in popular verse, mostly satirical. Henry VIII.'s bluff personality fails to bulk impressively, the meagreness of his appearances in the ballads being perhaps explained by his severe intolerance of criticism. On the Reformation question there were balladmongers on both sides, although as regards the monasteries 'the generation which witnessed their destruction had doubts about the advantage of that work.' Some ballads cried out upon the aliens who 'buy and sell amongst us free.' Many reflected other public grievances:

'The towns go down, the land decays,  
Great men maketh nowadays  
A sheepecote in a church.'

Liberal quotations from those fugitive songs of a day display their limita-

tions as well as their value. The literary charm of the finest examples of early poetry is constantly challenged, and sometimes overcome by the historical interest of archaic fact, thought, and expression. In the ballads the balance is quite different, for the narrative, not the verse, is the life of the composition. Professor Firth, who has enriched this field of study by his own research among broadsides and manuscripts under the Stuarts, here shows himself a happy expositor of the Tudor ballad lore, to which his foot-notes are a bibliography in outline.

*The Genealogist* (April) presents its usual rich variety of pedigree and armorial matter relative to England. The licenses to pass beyond seas which we have noticed at times heretofore as contributed by Mr. G. Fothergill still continue. On the list are the following :

8 May 1633 Adam Story clerke to Holland to be tutor to the children of Sir James Sandelands children (sic) at the Hagh.

28 June 1633 Sir Archibald Duglas and his Ladie to Spain.

23 August 1633 Sir Wm. Hamilton a Scotts man.

15 September 1633 Gowen Dalvell son of Sir Robert Dalvell to travell.

Marriage licenses, grants of arms, and inquisitions post-mortem make available the fruits of many records, none however more interesting than a note by Mr. Keith W. Murray transcribing an

Acco<sup>t</sup> of Money disburs'd by order of the R<sup>t</sup> Hono<sup>ble</sup> The Earle of Findlater & Seafield for fitting out to sea the Hono<sup>ble</sup> Alexander Ogilvie Brother to the Lord Bamff By Captain George Ogilvie.

The date was January, 1732-3. Alexander, second surviving son of George fourth Lord Bamff, born in 1718, was now entering the Royal Navy, and the account of his outfit is of great interest. It included 'a Lac'd Hatt,' six 'fyne checque shirts,' six night caps, a 'fair wigg,' a silver-hilted sword and a prospect glass ; and there was an item 'for Scouring an old red big coatt, 9<sup>d</sup>.'

Dr. George Macdonald contributes to the *Numismatic Chronicle* (fourth series, vol. ix.) a descriptive catalogue of the 'Roman Contorniates in the Hunterian Collection.' The nature and purpose of these medals, named from the furrow on the circumference, he declines to discuss until at least a provisional *corpus* of examples is compiled. Towards this he devotes his account of the eighty-five examples in the Hunterian cabinet, registering with his customary lucidity, learning, and caution, the many numismatic indications as well as the historical and mythological data. In these, it may be divined, he has found less to countenance the theory of a connection with gambling than with games, for the agonistic type persistently recurs. A concluding note supplements the catalogue of Hunter's Roman medallions, and describes four omitted specimens.

*The Berks, Bucks, and Oxon Archaeological Journal* (April) begins its fifteenth annual volume with indications of well-merited satisfaction with its progress. This number contains architectural accounts of several

churches, notes of feet of fines for Berkshire (26-28 George II.), and articles including one on the proposed memorial to Henry I. as founder of Reading Abbey in 1121, and another on 'The Yew and the Bow.'

In the *Rutland Magazine* (Jan.), besides numerous county notes—biographical, monumental, and topographical—there is a notice of the Court Leet and Court Baron of Oakham, with a transcript of the 'Antient Pains Orders and Bye-Laws' thereof—mainly agricultural regulations and rules of good neighbourhood. The wage of the 'Crow Scarer' is subject of communal cess. Balks are to be respected in ploughing. No man is to tether his horse on a neighbour's ground. Gleaners in the wheat and bean fields are restricted. Swine in the common field must be rung. A jury in 1748 confirmed a series of such regulations, to which penalties varying from 1s. up to 15s. attach.

*Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society Proceedings during the year 1908* begin with a record of the Society's Diamond Jubilee celebrations. Major part of the general contents consists of the Wick Barrow report already noted (*S.H.R.*, vi. 214). Other well-illustrated papers describe Barlinch Priory, anciently Berliz, excavations at Glastonbury Abbey and Norton Camp near Taunton, and screen work in the churches of that district. A section details the recent additions to the Museum, including a flail locally named a 'dreshel,' the original chartulary of Mynchin Buckland Nunnery connected with the Hospitallers, many coins, and a collection of lace. The researches at Glastonbury with the Arthurian legend, which so suggestively bears on the theses now being worked out by M. Bedier on the interconnection of saint-cults and romance.

In *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* there is a constant supply of local antiquary lore. In the December part the report of a Star Chamber trial in 1536 quotes racy proof of heresy against Philip Gamon, a chandler in Axminster, who had not only said that if the 'sacrement of the awter' really were the body of Christ 'the bones wold crusche in his tethe,' but had declared that 'all prystes were nofte' (=Sc. *nocht*), and that he would as soon confess to a post or a stone. Worse still was Philip's doctrine on bishops, for 'the same Philippe did say to the same Margery Hore that the blessing of a bishoppe was as good as the blessing of his old horse, and the sayd Margery sayd that it cowde nott be trewe for the bysshope was inoynted with holy oyle. And the seid Philippe seid that there was as much vertue in the oyle of a beaste fote as was in the oyle that the bysshoppe was inoynted with all.'

The March issue, unusually varied, has extracts from the works of a Dorsetshire oddity and visionary named William Freke, who had, by his own account of it, attained 'a most free full and familiar communication with the Father Son and Holy Ghost,' in virtue of which he warned George I. in 1718 'of a fate of assassination' menacing his Hanoverian majesty. A transcript is given of the Bishop of Bath's manor-roll of

Evercrech in 1382-3, containing numerous unfamiliar terms in its medieval Latin such as *cullardus*, a lamb; *ingressus*, an heir's relief on his succession; *terre de antiquo astro* (a phrase in which the editor explains the last word as Old French *astre*, a hearth); *capitagium*, poll money. A Christmas festivity bears the appetising name of '*Gustum Villanorum*.' The roll offers an abundance of matter for economic and feudal exposition of the usages of an old Somerset manor in its agriculture and administration.

Viking Club records multiply with a profuseness betokening high vitality. Four different series are running together, *Orkney and Shetland Records*, *Orkney and Shetland Miscellany*, *Old Lore Miscellany*, *Caithness and Sutherland Records*, all separate from the Saga Book. The result in the present instalments is a truly catholic assembling of northern memories and antiquities, whether in charters, stories of wrecks, descriptions of runestones, or notices of battle or witchcraft, often finely corroborated by pictures and portraits. One notable distinction is evident in the documents; those of the mainland in Caithness and Sutherland show far less infusion of Norse law and diction than those of the islands.

In *Ulster Journal of Archaeology* (Aug. '08—Feb. '09) various Scottish references occur in a series of depositions regarding the Ulster Civil War in 1641. One deponent, Nicholas Willoughby, examined relative to the commission or authority alleged to have been given to the Irish in revolt, declared 'that the Scotcs were and had been allwayes ther friends and that they had a Covenant to shew whereby might appeare the faire Correspondence between them the Irish and the Scotcs in Scotland, Which Covenant imported that the Irish should never take parte with the English against the Scotcs, And that the Scotcs should never take parte with the English against the Irish and that it was so Covenanted between many of the Lords of Scotland and many of the Lords and chief Gentry of Ireland and that Hugh m'Maughon had the Covenant to shew which they would not shew us.' To this it was said the King was privy: 'What they did the King did well enough know of.' Another deponent spoke to having heard a rebel, Miles O'Riley, 'say that they had the King's broade seale for what they did' and added that, asking him 'why they did not meddle with the Scotcs he said the Scotcs did joyne with them.' Another witness declared that O'Riley, who was High Sheriff of Cavan, made a seizure of arms at Farnham Castle 'saying That he had Comission from the Kinge at Edinburgh to disarme all English and to furnish the Irish and the Scotcs with arms.' Dr. Fitzpatrick's extracts throw much light on the troubles of 1641, and the persistent allegations of a clandestine commission by King Charles, and on the arrangement whereby the Scottish settlers were to be left unmolested. Prof. Hume Brown in the preface to vol. vii., second series, of the *Privy Council Register* (1638-1643), has commented on various allusions in the text to the plot, in relation to Scotland. Dr. Fitzpatrick emphasises the conflict of Irish testimonies as regards the royal complicity with the revolt. The February continuation of his extracts adds some striking testimonies.

George Creighton, vicar of Lurgan, County Cavan, declared how the rebels had told him 'There was a generall Insurreccion through the Kingdom wholly; The Castle of Dublin was taken and all the Castles and Citties of Ireland. They had directions from his Ma<sup>ty</sup> to doe all theis thinges to curb the Parliament of England.' He regarded his own escape as providential. 'Hee never had the like store of Provition to that which God had then given him: and because he was a Scotchman he was not pillaged.' In an account of Archbold MacDonnell there is quoted an interesting if confused traditional narrative of the career and death of Alastair MacDonald, Montrose's well-known general, 'Colkitto.' His birth is thus chronicled—'Coll cittagh [Coll MacDonald, father of Alastair] was brought up in military practices, and often distinguished himself against the clan Campbell. He paid his addresses to a daughter of the laird of Sandha. Taking advantage of his absence on a visit here the clan Campbell seized his castle of Dunaverty. Coll cittagh returning was warned not to land by a piper in the dun playing *Stachia aroon; dhimashin a lave*, by which understanding what had happened Coll put about his curragh and so escaped. The Campbells cut off the piper's fingers. Coll had only one son Alister born in Killoran in Collinsa and it was said there that on the night of his birth every hand there drew a sword out of the scabbard and every gun fired a shot.' The narrative proceeds to record that Alister left his father early in life and came to Ireland, where the earl of Antrim gave him the command of 1500 men whom he sent to the assistance of Montrose in Scotland.' This is the final episode. 'At the battle of Knocknanosse or Crooknadosse [November, 1647] having been deceived by some of their allies they [MacDonald and his men] were hemmed in and cut to pieces. Alister at the close of the engagement surrendered himself to one of Cromwell's troopers who was about to conduct him to the camp when they were met by . . . who insisted on having the prisoner. The trooper appealed to the general and said he should decide. MacDonell said he certainly was the prisoner of the person to whom he had surrendered which so enraged . . . that he drew his sword and thrust him through the back.'

In the *Irish Church Quarterly* (April) Prof. Burkitt examines early Latin hymns; Bishop Baynes commends the religious teaching of Browning; and the Rev. Dr. Macran—in the light of Father Tyrrell—contrasts medievalism and modernism; while an unsigned review of Mrs. Green's recent volume mingles censure freely with praise.

The *American Historical Review* (April) contains an article of equal interest and weight by Professor C. H. Haskins on the feudal organisation of Normandy in and prior to the time of William the Conqueror. Anglo-Norman institutions are being made the subject of converging studies by three able investigators—M. Ferdinand Lot, for the early dukes of Normandy; Mr. H. W. C. Davis, for the English charters, 1066-1154; and Prof. Haskins, for the Norman charters of the same period. Most suggestive foretaste of the work to be expected appears in Prof. Haskins'

present article. Tracing the tenures and jurisdictions of the Norman vassals, it illustrates the maintenance of the Duke's judicial supremacy, and discusses the fiscal system with special enquiry into the organisation and offices, especially as to the ducal *camera*, the functions of the *vicomtes*, and of the chamberlain, seneschal, butler, and constable, and above all of the *curia*, already a highly developed institution before 1066. A centre-point of coming research is the question of the existence of a chancery or of a chancellorship before Duke William became King of England. It is refreshing to note the firm-footed positions often taken by Prof. Haskins in the course of this paper where his lines of study cross the paths of Mr. Round and Mr. Vernon Harcourt. His appearance on the field is a historical advent, which promises much.

Other notable papers in this number are M. Pirenne's account of the formation and constitution of the Burgundian State by the union of seventeen provinces, half Romanic and half Germanic, under a single dynasty, and the relaxation and severance of its ties to France on the one side and Germany on the other—a process completed by the Convention of Augsburg in 1548, establishing an independent state under the great-grandson of Charles the Bold. Dr. W. C. Abbott begins an elaborate narrative-study of 'English Conspiracy and Dissent' during 1660-1674, and reaches the period in 1664 when civil struggle, primarily sectarian, and persecution tempered by plots for revolt, were for the time set aside by war with the Dutch.

Modern political movements are dealt with in two Johns Hopkins University Studies. One by Dr. W. S. Myers on *The Self-Reconstruction of Maryland, 1864-67* (pp. 131, Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press) traces the constitutional history of the state at and after the War of Secession, and illustrates the difficulty of finding a common basis after the great rupture. Drastic disfranchisement in 1865 was followed by a compromise policy, which in 1867 became a legislative Democratic constitution. Another by Dr. J. B. Kennedy on *Beneficiary Features of American Trade Unions* (pp. 120) discusses the insurance schemes, the death benefit, sick benefit, out-of-work benefit, and superannuation benefit features of the Unions, and the rules for their administration as regulated by State legislation.

The March-May issue of these publications is a solid contribution to the history of law in Mr. James Wallace Bryan's essay: *The Development of the English Law of Conspiracy* (8vo, pp. 161) which traces the partial genesis of the conception to the reign of Edward I., although it was named earlier by Bracton. Its first significance was a combination to defeat justice. Against this the Ordinance of Conspirators 21 Edward I. was directed. While subsequently it took shapes leading to civil actions *sur le case*, the interest and historical importance of this branch of law depended on its place among crimes. A statute of 4 Edward III. enjoined the king's judges to take cognisance of it, and the subsequent expansion of the doctrine was most marked under Elizabeth and James I. A very great variety of suits found their way into the reports, and there was a long array of precedents for the guidance of Lord Denman in *Rex v. Jones*,

1832, when he indicated the minimum requirement of the charge to be 'a conspiracy either to do an unlawful act, or a lawful act by unlawful means.' This dictum was the starting point for no small part of the nineteenth and twentieth century extensions of the concept in statutes and judgments on trading and labour combinations and their limits of legality. There is less of historical and political illustration than the records would have countenanced, as the viewpoint is that of legal evolution in the presence of current problems, such as those suggested by the dubious principle of the Trades Disputes Act, 1906, conferring immunity on trades unions for tortious acts.

Mr. Bryan's treatise is based on a thorough collation of law reports from the old year books down to the House of Lords Appeals of 1906; its body of references is, whether for lawyer or historian, its best credential; and its interpretations alike of special decisions and of the trend of a doctrine which has dangers and is emphatically in motion, stamp the author as a fully-equipped and capable expositor, whose judgment is as good as his method.

*The Iowa Journal* for April is wholly dedicated to the minor political and constitutional history of the State of Iowa towards the middle of the nineteenth century.

The *Revue Historique* (Mars-Avril) begins with a survey of the state of the French army in 1787 on the eve of the Revolution, especially as regards the officers. Another article deals with Napoleon's intervention and the course of his diplomacy in Germany in 1803. A 'bulletin' or survey of recent publications relative to France also takes for its period the Revolution and the Empire. A curious collation of two MSS., now first edited, is made by M. Hauser giving the text of two letters to the Emperor Ferdinand by Leo X. after Francis I.'s victory of Marignan. The second letter is found to be an altered version of another addressed to the King of Portugal, of the same date, 14th December, 1515. Both are from the pen of Pietro Bembo, the pope's 'semi-pagan' secretary, with piquant differences. While both press the cause of a crusade against the Turk, the one for the Portuguese monarch edges in a delicate compliment to the incredible perseverance and energy shown in the unheard of voyages of the Portuguese navigators. A paper by M. François Ricci on the tariffs of the Salic laws urges that the money awards allocated to various delicts are not, as was supposed, compositions or indemnities, but are fines. An editorial note commends the proposition as well worthy of debate. We notice that Messrs. Hessels and Kern's *Lex Salica* (1880, John Murray) is not referred to. The difficulty may be to establish the explanation throughout the code, although it seems certain in many instances. Parallel passages in early British codes seem to favour it, and the discussion may simplify in the laws of the Bretons and Scots some of the same puzzling failures in relativity of values as occur in the Salic law.

## Queries and Replies

FRANCIS HAMILTON OF SILVERTONHILL. 'KING JAMES HIS ENCOMIUM. Or a Poeme, in memorie and commendation of the High and mightie Monarch Iames . . . our late Sovereigne. By FRANCIS HAMILTOUN of Silvertown-hill. *Edinburgh. Printed by John Wreittoun, 1626.*' A copy of the above was recently offered for sale, and was stated to be one of the only two known.

The author, Francis Hamilton, born probably about 1585, was eldest son of Sir Robert Hamilton of Goslington and Silvertonhill by Elizabeth Bailie, eventually heiress of Provand, near Glasgow. Elizabeth Bailie, with consent of her husband, granted a charter in 1599 in favour of their eldest son, Francis Hamilton, of the lands of Provand, reserving the life rent and certain provisions in favour of her five daughters (*R.M.S.* 1593-1608, No. 973). 'Franciscus Hammiltoune Sylvertonii haeres' matriculated at Glasgow College in 1601 (*Mun. Univ. Glas.* iii. p. 64). He had a licence, 10th July, 1621, 'to go abroad and remain for three years beyond seas for his lawful affairs' (*R.P.C. Scot.* xii. p. 529), but we find him raising an action against his father, which was unsuccessful, 18th January, 1622 (Morison's *Decisions*, xii. p. 9451). Another licence was granted to him, 31st March, 1624, to go abroad for seven years (*R.P.C. Scot.* xiii. p. 485). He raised another action, this time against his sisters, in the endeavour to escape the fulfilment of the provisions secured to them on the lands of Provand, but was again unsuccessful, 29th June, 1624 (Morison's *Decisions*, v. p. 4098). He now seems to have run deeply into debt, and his lands of Provand were 'apprized' from him by John Crawford in Milntoun of Provand for 1550 [2550?] merks owing to him, 3rd July, 1624 (*R.M.S.* 1620-1633, No. 670). The next mention is 6th March, 1634, when Robert Stevenson finds caution for 300 merks 'that Francis Hamiltoun, younger of Silvertounhill, and his family and possessions, would not be molested by him nor by any of his causing' (*R.P.C. Scot.* 2nd Series, v. p. 227). The lands of Provand were recovered by Edward Hamilton of Balgray, immediate younger brother of Francis, and were included in a confirmation to Edward under the Great Seal, 18th July, 1635 (*R.M.S.* 1633-1651, No. 350). A charter was granted by Edward Hamilton in favour of Christiane and Agnes, lawful daughters of Francis Hamilton of Silvertonhill, eldest son of Sir Robert Hamilton of Goslington, of annual rents of 560 merks and 400 merks respectively, out of Provand, to come into force on the decease of Sir Robert, dated 8th July, 1637, and confirmed under the Great Seal, 24th July, 1657 (*R.M.S.* 1652-1659, No. 606).

According to Douglas (*Baronage*, p. 425), who, however, makes him the last of an imaginary elder line of the Silvertownhill family, Francis Hamilton was 'a very enthusiastick wrong-headed man. He fancied himself bewitched by dam Isabel Boyd, lady Blair, which appears by several extravagant petitions to parliament from "Francis Hamilton of Silvertownhill against the said dam Isabel Boyd, anno 1641."' The authority given is the Minutes of Parliament, but these, so far as printed in the Appendix to the *Acts*, make no mention of the petitions.

Sir Robert Hamilton of Goslingtoun and Silvertownhill died in January, 1642. Francis is not named in the Will, dated 20th December, 1641 (*Glas. Com. Rec. Tests.*). In the confirmation (9th March, 1642) Edward is described as 'then styled feare and now of Siluertownhill.' 'Francis Hamiltoun of Silvertounhill, indueller in Edinburgh,' died in 1645, and his testament dative was recorded 7th February, 1646 (*Commissariat of Edinburgh*).

A. W. GRAY-BUCHANAN.

WOOLLEN AND LINEN TRADE IN SCOTLAND AND IRELAND. I asked a question in your Review some months ago (*S.H.R.* vi. 103) as to the Scotch woollen industry, and the foreign trade in cloth and wool in the Middle Ages. Some very interesting information was sent me by Miss Theodora Keith regarding the later Scotch industry for which I desire to thank her; but there seems still work needed on the earlier periods. The only other response sent to me was from a correspondent in a daily paper, who was of the opinion that no such trade existed on any scale. In the course of my reading I have come across a great number of references to Scotch wool and Scotch cloth in the Netherlands market. For example, I have found some of these scattered through the *Hanseatisches Urkundenbuch* and in *Recueil de Documents relatifs à l'histoire de l'industrie drapière en Flandres* by Espines and Pirenne. I have not kept these references, as they lay outside my subject, but I feel sure that any student of medieval Scotch history would be rewarded by collecting such information as to the industrial and commercial activity of medieval Scotland.

I should be grateful if any scholar who in his researches meets with references to Irish commerce would be good enough to send them to me.

ALICE STOPFORD GREEN.

36 Grosvenor Road, S.W.

'A NEW YEAR'S GIFT FOR THE WHIGS' (*S.H.R.* vi. 245).

In the first note which Professor Frith has appended to his interesting contribution under the above heading, there is an obvious *lapsus plumae*. He says that Papillon and Dubois (the 'Papillion' and 'Duboice' of the ballad) were Whig candidates for the post of Sheriffs of London in 1684. This should be 1682. There was no popular election of Sheriffs in the years 1684 to 1687 inclusive, these functionaries being appointed directly by the King during the suspension of the charter. A full account of the election in 1682, at which Papillon and Dubois were candidates, is found in Dr.

Sharpe's admirable work *London and the Kingdom* (vol. ii. pp. 479-488), and the official record of the poll is in *Journal* 49, fo. 317, at Guildhall.

ALFRED B. BEAVEN.

**CAPTAIN FARQUHARSON OF BROUGHDEARG.**—In Mr. Blaikie's notes to his interesting collection of letters relating to 'The Highlanders at Macclesfield in 1745,' it is stated (*S.H.R.* vi. 233) that Captain Farquharson who commanded a company in Lord Ogilvy's Regiment was 'of Broughdurg, Forfarshire.' The small estate belonging to this branch of the Farquharsons, and acquired by them about 1590, is situated in Glenshee, Perthshire. The name is variously spelled: Brouchdearg, Broughdearg, Broughdarg (presumably 'The Red Fort'). Mr. A. M. Mackintosh states that the Broughdearg family 'was well represented in the Jacobite army in 1715' (*The Mackintoshes and Clan Chattan*, Edinburgh, 1903, p. 444). Its most eminent representative in 1715 belonged to the family of Rochally, at the foot of Glenshee, cadets of Broughdearg. This was Peter Farquharson, younger of Rochally, a captain in Mar's Regiment, who fell at the defence of the barricades at Preston. He is described by Patten as 'a gentleman of an invincible spirit and almost inimitable bravery.'

DAVID MACRITCHIE.

**LIND, UDNY, CUMMINGS-LIND.** Where can I obtain information as to members of the above families, who lost their estates in Scotland, and fled to France, after 1745?

GEORGE J. LIND.

Rua do Golgotha 121,  
Oporto, Portugal.

**MATTHEW HAMILTON OF TORRANCE** is mentioned in the Register of the Great Seal as witness to charters, dated 18th December, 1543 (*R.M.S.* 1546-1580, Nos. 52, 53, 54). He was also on an inquest, 27th March, 1550 (*Maxwells of Pollok*, i. p. 293), but James Hamilton, who was 'of Torrance' in 1540 (*R.M.S.*) had a confirmation under the Great Seal, 13th February, 1545-6 (*R.M.S.* 1513-1546, No. 3210). A James Hamilton of Torrance was Provost of Glasgow at 11th March, 1549-50 (*Burgh Records*, 1573-1642, p. 32), and was probably the same James Hamilton of Torrance, who was included in a Remission under the Privy Seal, 2nd January, 1565-6. Robert Hamilton of Torrance is mentioned as a witness in a charter, dated 21st and 30th September, 1566 (*R.M.S.* 1580-1593, No. 1136).

According to Anderson, Matthew Hamilton of Torrance was son of Robert Hamilton of Torrance, and grandson of James Hamilton of Torrance, 1540, but he evidently confuses him with a later Matthew, a younger son of the above Robert.

Was Matthew Hamilton only 'younger' of Torrance, dying v.p.? If so, was Robert his son, or, what seems more probable from the number of generations, a younger brother?

A. W. GRAY-BUCHANAN.

## Communications

### HEBREW INSCRIPTION IN GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

In the crypt or lower church of Glasgow Cathedral there is an inscription in Hebrew characters, of which no account seems ever to have been published, although its existence has been known for well on to fifty years at least. Two distinguished students of Semitic Languages in the University, Mr. Louis C. Phillips, M.A., and Mr. Alexander S. Fulton, made an examination of the inscription lately, and the following are the facts regarding it. It will be found on the south side of the crypt, on the third pillar counting from the west, and on the east face of the pillar, about four feet from the ground. The surface of the single stone upon which it is cut is  $14\frac{1}{4}$  inches high by  $9\frac{1}{4}$  inches broad. The words form a somewhat quaint and primitive hymn containing eight lines, each line consisting of no more than two words or three words, and each couplet rhyming. Owing partly to a defect in the stone and partly to the author's composition having overrun his space, the last two lines are not altogether decipherable. At the end of the last line, but beyond the angle and on the adjacent surface of the stone, is a solitary letter standing by itself, or it may be two letters, being apparently the end of the last line. The letters, which are about one inch in height and well, some even elegantly, formed, run as follows :

יהוה	לי
עלני	מי
נפשי	שמים
עם	עלם הים
יביא	מתבל
כי יהיה	הבל
חש (?)	הודו
מה ירי	כחו (?)

‘Jehovah is for me. | Against me who is? | My life is in heaven | with those who live for ever. | He will bring me from the world, | for it is vanity. | Hasten (?) His majesty. | How ——— is His strength.’ |

If the solitary letter or pair of letters belong to the inscription, the last line should probably read **מה ירי (?) כבודו**—‘How ——— is His glory.’

Lines 1 and 2 contain an obvious reference to the epistle to the Romans viii. 31, and line 3 is a reminiscence of Philippians iii. 20. Although the

writer's meaning is obvious enough, the language is quite ungrammatical, and it has been suggested that we have here the work of a junior student of Hebrew in the Old College. As far as the character of the writing goes it is impossible to say how old it is, as the present Hebrew script has not altered for centuries, but that it is not very ancient would appear from the fact that the letters, which have been made by filing the stone with some blunt instrument, such as an iron nail, are still fairly fresh. That it was written in haste may be inferred from the writer not having allowed for the  $\hookrightarrow$  in the top line, the head of which consequently passes across the seam into the stone above. On the adjacent surface of the stone to the left of the inscription there is cut in small letters the name 'A. Kinloch' (?), and below the inscription are scratched two letters—D.M.,—which appear to be quite recent.

T. H. WEIR.

SAINT MAOLRUBHA (*S.H.R.* vi. 260). Having read the interesting article by Mr. Archibald Scott on Saint Maolrubha, I would like to point out that there is another important church in the Diocese of Argyll, dedicated to him and of which he was no doubt the primitive founder, viz. the Parish Church of Melfort. When *Origines Parochiales* was published this had not been discovered, but in vol. vii. of the *Papal Registers* recently published by our government, p. 268, is the following entry: '13th Kalends April 1423 being the 6th year of the Pontificate of Martin V. To Celestine son of Celestine called Macgillemichael rector of St Molrwas de Molferth, in the diocese of Argyll. Reserving for collation to him who is a priest and who lately received papal dispensation, as the son of a priest and an unmarried woman to be promoted and to hold St Molrwas, provision of which was ordered to be made to him, and any other compatible benefices with or without cure, and to resign all (for exchange or otherwise as often as he pleased, of the perpetual vicarage of S Finans in Kerwe in the diocese of Argyll, value not exceeding 25 mks of old sterlings, which is shortly to become void under the terms of the Popes recent mandate to make provision for Nigel (sic for Niall) son of Colin Cambell of the rectory of St Columbas in Glasrod in the same diocese; notwithstanding that he holds the said rectory of St Molrwas value not exceeding £11 sterling with which he is hereby dispensed to hold the said vicarage for three years.'

These Registers are full of entries throwing light on the early history of the Celtic Dioceses, and should be more referred to by future historians. It is interesting to notice that this entry likewise restores the long-lost dedication of the *ancient* Parish Church of Glasrie or Killenure, near Ford, at the southern end of Lochaw. There is constant mention of this church as S. Columba's of Killenewre, and S. Columba's of Glasrich, Glasrod, etc., in the Argyll and Glassary Inventories and Charters, as well as in the Papal Registers. Eventually Kilmichael in Glassary, owing to some change in the population, became the chief Parish Church of that vast lordship, as it is to this day. The chancel of S. Columba's, Killenure, bears every mark of a hoary antiquity, whilst the nave is not as old; both have long been

roofless, and the site probably marks a hitherto unidentified visit of S. Columba himself. The dedications of those churches which do not in their name enshrine the memory of their original patron have had a tendency to drop out of sight. In this case, for instance, Killenewr means simply the Church of the Yews, of which tree tradition dimly remembers a number in the old burial-yard.

The church of 'S. Finans' in Kerry-Cowall, mentioned in the above Papal Letter, is of course the well-known Killfinan, Kerry being the old name of that part of Cowall. The writer of this note having recently recovered from old documents the dedications of many other of the old Celtic Parish Churches in the Diocese of Argyll hitherto deemed as unknown, hopes to be shortly able to contribute a further and longer article on the subject, as it is important that the ancient patrons of what are amongst the oldest of Scotland's holy sites should be restored to the buildings they were anciently attached to, and were in many cases the actual founders of.

He may mention that he has lately found incontestable proof of the dedications of Inverchaolain in Cowall to S. Bridget; Dunoon to the B.V.M.; Kilmore, near Oban, to S. Bean; Kilberry to S. Berchan (not, as has been supposed, to S. Finbar of Cork, or to S. Mary or to S. Berach); Lochgoilhead 'to the Three Brethren'; Kilmorich to S. Mordach or Morich; Inishaall to S. Fyndoca; and many others nearly all to purely Celtic saints.

In the paragraph about St. Maolrubha in modern times Mr. Scott might well have recorded the restoration of his Name, Festival, and Special Office to its appointed place in the 'Proper' of the Diocese, issued by Alexander, late Bishop of Argyll, for use in his Diocese, in which work a great number of the ancient Celtic festivals have most patriotically been restored. But no church built in modern times has as yet been dedicated to this illustrious Gael by either of the communities who still honour him. It may be further noted that the late Pope Leo XIII., after centuries of omission, in 1898 restored S. Maolrubha's office for such as follow the Latin Rite, as well as those of seventeen other Celtic saints, as being of those who had been the objects of an immemorial veneration in Scotland (vide *Dublin Review*, 1899). These two actions are signs of what the Celtic race movement has accomplished in restoring the apostles of Gaeldom to their rightful place.

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DOMHNULL CAM MACCUMHAIL.<sup>1</sup> HOW HE WAS OUTWITTED BY 'BIG GRAHAME' AND 'THE BREVE.' Kintail had been for years intriguing to get possession of the Lews. Hitherto he had met with little success. His kinswoman had been the first wife of the Lord of Lewis; but her husband had doubted, and with justice, her fidelity,

<sup>1</sup>The Editor is indebted to Mr. Kenneth Macleod for the following tale, which he has translated from Gaelic as told by Donald Maclean, carpenter, Duncarloway, Lewis.

and so had bundled her off to her kinsfolk with her infant son. This son was the famous Torquil Conaldach or Conanach, and it was by fathering this lad's claim that Mackenzie hoped eventually to succeed to the patrimony of the Macleods.

Dissension was rife in the Macleod family. The many sons of Old Ruairidh, legitimate and illegitimate, seemed to have conspired to make the last years of the rule of their race the bloodiest in the history of their family. But the more virile of them were as resolute in resisting the encroachments of an alien race as they were troublesome to their legitimate rulers. To Torquil Oighre, the second son of the old chief, they were unanimously loyal; but this pattern of chieftainship was unfortunately lost in a storm in the Minch. A third son remained, Torquil Og (the Torquil Dubh of history), and Torquil Og, though not the last of his race, was the last legitimate claimant that Mackenzie had to fear.

The Judge of the Lewis, Morrison of Ness, had been a notable character at that time. He it was that was held by the commons to have been the father of Torquil Conanach. Certain it is that he was in very bad odour with the Macleod family; and just as he had become the partisan of Mackenzie in secret, so had his great rival, Domhnall Cam MacCumhail of Uig, espoused openly the cause of his rightful lord. Mackenzie and Morrison felt that guile would have to effect what force could not accomplish, and their first move was to win over to their counsels 'Greumach Mor Bharbhais.'<sup>1</sup>

A great storm suddenly arose, and when it abated it was found that a great ship had been forced by the gale into Shawbost Loch. Big Grahame, the chieftain of the district, being informed of this, at once conceived a plan by which he hoped not only to reap immediate profit, but also to score a success against Macleod and his adherents. In the dead of night he boarded the great ship of Lochlann, and slew all who resisted his will. The remainder he removed to the dungeons of 'Borve Dun,' the ruins of which are seen to this day. Next morning he hastened to the Breve's place in Ness, and, after consultation, it was decided to send an express to Torquil Og, to inform him that a great ship full of gold had been driven ashore, and to invite him to come and share in the spoil as high chief of the land.

'And what do you think,' quoth the Breve; 'will it profit you to capture Torquil Og if Domhnall Cam is at large? Send to Mangersta at once for him.'

Eventually the messenger reached Domhnall Cam, who summoned his clansmen to meet him at 'Traigh Mhor.' There were many voices against going. 'Trust not the word of a Morrison or of a Nessman,' quoth Donald's wife. He had been silent, but now his dreadful fury burst forth. 'I am going,' he said, 'and with Alasdair an gobha (the smith) alone. Tend the herds till we return, and be ready then to give me a reckoning.'

The two men marched. They passed Ceann Thulivig; they reached the Dune at Carloway; henceforth they were in territories from which

<sup>1</sup> Big Grahame of Barvas.

a Macaulay had seldom returned 'unless it were on his own two hands.'<sup>1</sup> They arrived at Loch Shawbost, and were taken on board the ship by Big Grahame. Here they found a large company, and conspicuous among them was Torquil Og. Hearty was his greeting of his stark retainer of Uig, and hearty was the response of Domhnull Càin. He almost forgot his suspicions.

Suddenly Grahame invited them 'down below' to partake of a repast, preparatory to discussing the question of the gold. They went down, and all soon became uproariously happy. Strong drink was there in plenty, and 'the heroes' partook of it not sparingly. The behaviour of certain of the Ness men attracted Donald's attention, and, ever suspicious, he resolved to keep his wits about him. He made pretence of drinking the liquor with which he was assiduously plied, but he poured most of it down his 'sark of mail.' Suddenly the revellers felt themselves lurching heavily against one another; there was a cry that the ship was under sail, and all made for the deck who were not already in a drunken stupor. With a wild oath Donald leaped up the steps, but when his head appeared above the deck a noose was thrown round him, and he was perforce lashed to the mast. The rest made little resistance.

Bitter was the mind of Donald Càin, but for many a long hour he bore without complaint his hard fortune. At length realizing that his only hope lay in speaking his foes fair, he addressed 'Greumach Mòr.' 'My fetters are biting into my flesh, O Graham,' he said.

'The gibbet of Kintail will soon relieve you,' was the grim answer, and Donald Càin was silent.

Once again he tried to talk his foe over, only to meet with a crueller response; and at that his ill-repressed rage broke forth. 'Thou son of a dog,' quoth he, 'a short time and the crows will be picking out thine eyes, or there won't be a Macaulay in Uig.'<sup>2</sup>

No more words passed the lips of the Macaulay till he reached Kintail. Here he was thrown into a dungeon together with his armourer Alastair. His chief, Torquil Og, never saw again his home at Eye, and a similar fate was evidently intended for the men of Uig. Donald Càin's fetters<sup>3</sup> have passed into a byeword. A ring of iron was round his ankle, a chain round his waist, and suspended to the chain was a heavy bar of iron which he was compelled to support in making the least movement; and, to crown all, his henchman Alastair was linked to him by a chain which terminated in an iron ring—this ring was round Alastair's ankle.

But despite it all Donald's indomitable spirit refused to acknowledge defeat. 'He had made a plan.'<sup>4</sup>

Some one came and asked what he would eat.

<sup>1</sup> 'Mur a robh e air a dha laimh fein,' meaning 'If he were not strong enough to force a passage.'

<sup>2</sup> 'A Mhic a choin! Uin ghearr 's bheir na staragan na suilean asd', mu bhitheas MacCumhail an Uig.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Geámhal Dhomhnuill Chàim' = The fetters of Donald Càin.

<sup>4</sup> 'Bha e air "planna" dheanamh.'

'The head of a black sheep,'<sup>1</sup> answered Donald; and this was brought.

Every morning came the same question, 'What will you eat to-day, Donald?';<sup>2</sup> and every morning the same response was given, 'The head of a black sheep.'

But one day, when the Kintail man came down, he found the dungeon empty. Domhnall Càin and his servant had escaped. Immediately the news was brought to Mackenzie. The old fox was furious. 'What!' he said, 'Domhnall Càin escaped? He must never reach Lewis; he is a worse man than Neil, the Bastard.' A party was at once organized to pursue the fugitives, and at the same time swift messengers were sent forth to order on pain of death that the coast should be watched, and especially 'that all boats should be dry-docked.'<sup>3</sup>

Domhnall Càin had certainly escaped. Patiently he had worked and filed away with the jawbone of the black sheep, until at length he was free; and men to this day speak with wonder of what he had done 'le carabad na caorach duibhe.' He had been greatly aided by his henchman, who was the smith and armourer of his family. Here it was that Alastair received the name by which he is now remembered. Rather than delay the attempt to escape, Alastair bravely pulled his foot through the iron ring, leaving his heel behind him, so that men call him 'Alastair of the small heel' to this day.<sup>4</sup>

The fugitives hastened north, but they were in the land of their foes, and they dared not show face near the habitation of man. At night they made for the shore, where they tried to find a craft of some sort in which to essay a passage across the Minch. But no boats were to be found. Grimmer and grimmer grew Domhnall Càin. At length he came to a half-broken coble which had been left on the beach as absolutely unseaworthy. The two men looked at one another, and then without a word launched 'the wreck' into the sea. Two oars they procured and a baler,<sup>5</sup> which they caulked with peat; and thus fitted they set out on their venturesome voyage. Turn about they rowed and baled, and bit by bit the grey land in the distance became more and more distinct. Suddenly, when nearing land, Domhnall Càin took the baler and cast it into the sea, and then looked at the oarsman. Alastair gave a look to his chief, but said never a word. At length they leaped ashore from the now sinking craft. 'If you had spoken to me, Alastair, when I threw out the baler, you would have been thrown out along with it,' said the grim Macaulay as he leaped up the rocks. They were the first words which had passed his lips since he had left the 'Morthir.'<sup>6</sup>

Never halting, the two men worked their way westwards until they

<sup>1</sup> 'Cia a dh'itheas tu an diugh, a Dhomhnuill.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Ceann na caorach duibhe.'

<sup>3</sup> 'Gu'm biodh na h-eathrichean gu leir air an tarruing.'

<sup>4</sup> 'Alastair na saile bige.'

<sup>5</sup> 'Da ablach raimh agus taoman tolltach' = 'Two wretched oars and a leaking baler.'

<sup>6</sup> 'Morthir' = mainland.

arrived at Uig. They reached Mangersta, to find that it had been harried by the Ness men. Then they made for the Glen. Here Donald found his kinsmen, whose joy was unbounded at the return of their renowned chief. Messengers were sent east and west and north and south for all men to gather at the Glen the following night; and to the 'twelve heroes'<sup>1</sup> of Uig were special ones sent, lest by any means they should fail to turn up.

I shall not recount here how Macaulay led the forces of the west against the fort of Stornoway, which, built by the Fife men, had in his absence passed into the hands of Kintail; neither dwell upon the grim slaughter which took place at its capture. It was not against Kintail that Donald's anger burned fiercest, but against 'Big Grahame' of Barvas, who had made the first move against him, and with success. Accordingly Domhnall Càrn commissioned the 'twelve heroes' of Uig to go secretly to Barvas and bring Big Grahame to Uig, dead or alive. Their lives were forfeit if they failed.

They set out, and the second night arrived at the house of the 'Greumach Mòr.' They entered; he was at supper alone; an old crone, his mother, sat spinning in a corner; the men of Uig sat them down in silence on the peat heap;<sup>2</sup> no word passed between them.

Such behaviour surprised Big Grahame. He naturally concluded that they were come to intercede for peace and protection. He called them up to the table, at the same time commanding his mother to place before them food. The men of Uig in silence placed themselves at the table, six on either side of him. He went on with his supper, but they tasted no food. Suddenly they gripped him. He leaped up. Awful must have been the struggle. At last they forced him to his knees, but such was his strength that, in spite of all their efforts, they could not manacle him. The old crone had looked on in silence. She did not love her son. A story is told of her ferocity in youth. She had been a Macaulay, and bitter grew her mood at seeing the threatened discomfiture of her tribesmen. 'Hawks were the men of my youth,' she said; 'now the Macaulays are hoodie crows.'<sup>3</sup> She gave them a hint, and the twelve Uig heroes soon reduced the Barvas champion to helplessness.

Without delay they set out for home. Great would be their danger on the journey. But by taking secret paths and spending one whole day in the 'Black Corry,' they managed to evade any pursuing bands. Greumach Mòr was growing hopeless. He asked them to ease his bands a little. They consented. A strong 'sioman,' a rope, was round his waist. Six men went on in front, having one end of it; the other six came on behind, holding the other. Grahame silently worked his arms free. He would make one dash for liberty. They were crossing Grimersta

<sup>1</sup> 'Da reug Uige.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Anus a chuil mhonich' = on the peat heap.

<sup>3</sup> 'Bu sheabhagan fir m' oige-sa, ach an diugh cha Chlanna Cumhail ach Staragan. Cha chuala iad a riamh mu. Spoth nan collach.' (The last half I have not translated.)

'River. The six men of the van had climbed up the steep bank on one side; the other six were entering the river on the other. Grahame was in the middle of the stream. Suddenly, without any warning, he stretched forth his arms, and, exerting all his strength, pulled the twelve into the river. But they clung on; and their prisoner was soon again at their mercy.

The twelve men of Uig decided not to pursue their course westward any further. They crossed the narrow channel at Linshader into Bernera, and sent for Domhnall Càin. At Kirkibost men gathered from all parts, for it was known that on the morrow Domhnall Càin would arrive.

In the morning a forerunner came in to say that the Macaulay was coming. The prisoner addressed him.

'How does Domhnall Càin look to-day?' quoth he.

'As the eagle when it pounces on a lamb newly born,' was the reply.

'Alas!' was the sad rejoinder, 'my spoiling is done.'<sup>1</sup>

Soon Macaulay appeared. The prisoner was the first to speak.

'Mercy, mercy, O Dhomhnall Chàim!' said he.<sup>2</sup>

'Mercy to a dog! Do you remember, Big Grahame, your reply to me on board your ship, and my promise to you?' was Macaulay's answer.

Immediately he was ordered to prepare for death. The executioner, wielding a great sword, advanced upon his victim, who, without a word, laid his neck on a rude kind of block.<sup>3</sup> He raised his sword, and brought it down with such force as would have cut through an inch of iron. But from the neck of the Greumach Mòr it didn't draw blood. All were amazed; many were frightened. Suddenly a thin piping voice was heard, and all turned their eyes on an old mendicant from Assynt. 'Cut the grass between his feet,'<sup>4</sup> he said, and smiled in a superior way. This was done, and the power of the magic which had hitherto protected him being thus nullified, the next blow severed Big Grahame's head from his body.

<sup>1</sup> 'Tha mo chreachsa deannt.'

<sup>2</sup> 'Pais, pais, a Dhomhnall Chàim!' ar' esan.

<sup>3</sup> 'Ealag' = block.

<sup>4</sup> 'Gearr a feur cadar a dha chois.

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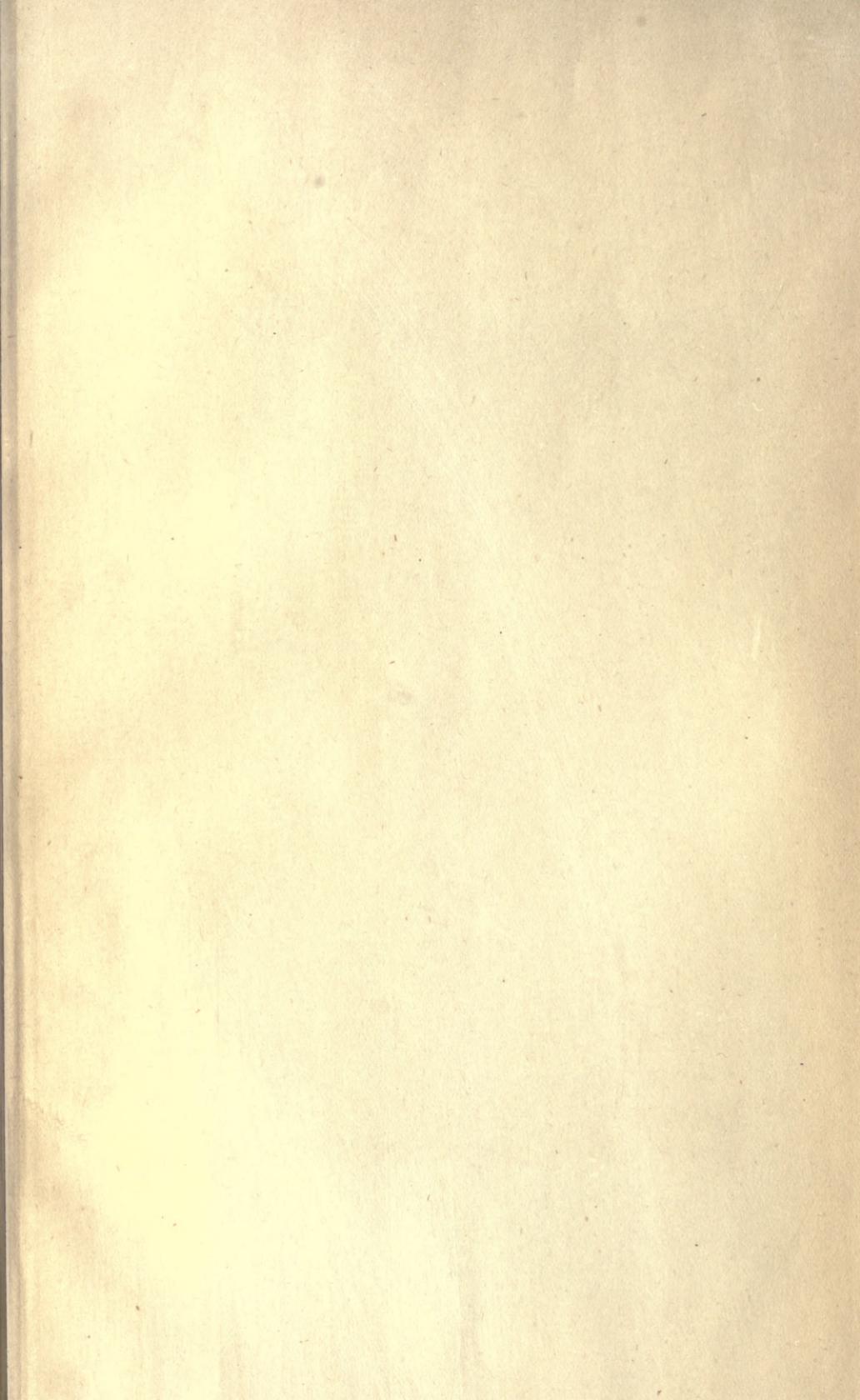
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