A History of Cynicism from Diogenes to the Sixth Century A.D. By DONALD R. DUDLEY. 1937. xii + 224 pp. Methuen. 12*s.* 6*d.*

THIS is a good and useful book. It is difficult to write a history of Cynicism, because it is so elusive; it was not an organised school of philosophy with a body of doctrine, but a way of life, a cult of the "irreducible minimum," whose importance at any moment depended on somebody's personality; Julian saw the truth when he called it "the most universal and natural philosophy," and there are Cynics to-day who have never heard of Diogenes. Mr. Dudley has been successful; primarily, and rightly, his book is a number of characters, though he has isolated all the traces of Cynicism he can find. To him Cynicism begins with Diogenes, for he shows that the traditional "succession" Antisthenes–Diogenes is an Alexandrian figment. But Diogenes himself, as he sees, is largely a made-up figure; he shows how hard it is to get any facts about him, and usually (not invariably) rates the stories at their true value; in fact, as Epictetus proves, they went on being manufactured for centuries, like Alexander-stories in modern India. But with the help of an unpublished study of Mr. Seltman's he has founded some real chronology, a great blessing. He follows von Fritz in attributing the *Republic* to Diogenes (though two opinions remain possible), but he properly rejects his supposed "cosmopolitanism"; what had the embittered exile, who despised all men but the "Wise," to do with a wide humanity? Crates loved his fellows, but Crates was a man, and would probably have been what he was in any case; in his hands one can even detect what ἀναίδεια really meant, though it soon enough became a convention for commonplace obscenity. But once we leave the two protagonists, every one of importance who is called a Cynic had a great deal more than Cynicism in his composition, Bion and Cercidas in the third century B.C. no less than Demetrius and Dio under the Empire, the sole exception being Demonax, who is Crates come to life again amid the conventionalism and charlatanry of later Cynicism; when Epictetus drew the ideal Cynic, what he drew had little relation to Diogenes, but was the saint he himself wished to be. The chapter on Demetrius and the philosophic opposition, already utilised in *CAH* XI, is one of the best. The important Bion is carefully studied, but I doubt if the real man under the motley is sufficiently brought out, and I cannot make the interesting explanation of Cercidas fr. 4 agree with the text; how, too, does Dudley square his interpretation with his just statement that Cynics never advocated social revolution? On the crucial question of the influence of Cynicism on the Stoa, he makes Zeno borrow much; then Panætius purges the Stoa; later, Cynicism again finds entrance.

In chapter V the influence, or otherwise, of Onesicritus (persistently spelt Onesicratus) upon the Alexander-tradition might usefully have been discussed. There are a few misprints, and an occasional imperfect reference.

W. W. TARN.

From Christ to Constantine: The Rise and Growth of the Early Church c. A.D. 30 to 337. By JAMES MACKINNON. 1936. xv + 584. Longmans. 18*s*.

THIS forms the third volume of Dr. Mackinnon's trilogy on early Christianity: it follows his studies of *The Historic Jesus* and of *The Gospel in the Early Church*. Somewhat strangely, it incorporates in condensed form the substance of the second volume. Those who find it difficult to accept the author's late dating of some of the documents must turn to the earlier work for his justification of this chronology. The present book is comprehensively planned: in the Introduction Dr. Mackinnon considers the characteristic features of the Greco-Roman world in which Christianity had its birth. Sections are devoted to Greek thought, Greco-Roman religion and the Mystery cults in their relation to Christianity. The second part deals with the early Church in its Jewish environment, the third part with the founding of the Gentile Church and the work and theology of St. Paul. Part IV treats of the Christian expansion, the religious life and the organisation of the Sub-apostolic Age. Part V describes the emergence of the Catholic Church and the conflict between the new faith and the Roman state. Part VI deals with Catholicism and Culture: the influence of Greek thought upon Christian theology and the work of Clement and Origen, while the closing section of the book is devoted to the last great persecution and the victory of the Catholic Church under Constantine the Great.

There can be no doubt that Dr. Mackinnon has an intimate and first-hand knowledge of the early Christian literature; certain sections, especially those on the life and organisation of the Church, will be of permanent value. But it must be regretfully stated that as a whole the work is disappointing; its theme is one of vital interest, and yet the book is not easy reading. The reason for this is, I think, to be found in Dr. Mackinnon's preface: he there explains that the basis of his book "is the course of lectures on early Church History delivered at stated intervals during the twenty-one years of my tenure of the Regius Chair of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Edinburgh. . . . For the purpose of publication I have revised, enlarged and extensively rewritten these lectures." That, however, is not enough: the book remains a transcription of a lecturer's notes; the whole has not been re-thought and re-fashioned so as to create a living unity. It is too much representative of the years when the lectures were first composed. Where, here and there, recent works are mentioned in a footnote, the text can rarely have been reconsidered in the light of those works. Dr. Mackinnon expresses the hope that "the experience of an old teacher might be of some service in guiding, through the printed book, a new generation of students in this field of study." Unfortunately the essential references to modern literature are not provided: problems are too often not presented in the way in which to-day they face the student. In this review there is no space to illustrate that statement in any fullness: a few examples must suffice. The problem of the list of early bishops of Rome is discussed without reference to the fundamental work of Erich Caspar on *Die älteste römische Bischofsliste*; the important work produced in recent years on the claim of the Roman bishops to a primacy in the Church is ignored, even Caspar's monumental *Geschichte des Papsttums* is, so far as I can see, not mentioned. For Montanism the reader is referred to Bonwetsch: no information is given concerning the two masterly

volumes of De Labriolle or the valuable study of Scheperlern; the remarkable inscriptions of the Tembris valley are not discussed. The treatment of the persecutions is unsatisfactory: thus for the persecution of Decius the study of Gregg dating from 1897 is cited, but there is no reference to the work of Schoenaich (1907 and 1910), Knipfing, Foucart, Franchi de' Cavalieri, Bludau or Liesering. The section on the thought of Porphyry is vitiated by the fact that no regard has been paid to the development in that thought established by the classical study of Bidez, while the indispensable collection of the fragments of Porphyry published by Harnack is not mentioned. Texts are cited from editions which have been superseded, *e.g.* Jahn's edition of Methodius instead of that of Bonwetsch, for the Demonstratio Evangelica of Eusebius the text in Migne instead of that of Heikel.

Further, if students are intended to make any use of the references given in the footnotes, it is a pity that the form of citation is so maddeningly inadequate: *e.g.* "See the Indian Antiquary for some papers on the subject" (p. 238), "See Geffcken" (p. 474)—in what work?—"See Panegyricus Vetus IX. 2" (p. 532); "Gelzer, *Anfänge der Armenischen Kirche*, 171 f. (1895)" at p. 239: how is a student to know that Gelzer's paper appeared in the *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der kön. sächs. Gesellschaft der Wiss. Phil.-hist.* Kl. XLVII? It would serve no useful purpose to multiply examples. The book should have had a bibliography, or at least a list of the editions from which citations are made.

The style of the work is undistinguished, and the negligence in the employment of pronouns not infrequently tends to obscure the author's meaning. It is regrettable that the proof-reading in the case of proper names is poor; students may thereby be caused embarrassment.[1]

The moral of this book would seem to be that a professor when he retires should destroy the notes for his lectures, and, if he decides to write a book, should make a fresh start. NORMAN H. BAYNES.

The Goths in the Crimea. By ALEXANDER ALEXANDROVICH VASILIEV. 1936. x + 292 pp. Cambridge, Massachusetts. Medieval Academy of America. $4.00.

THIS learned book, of which a Russian version was published in 1927, "is not," as the author admits, "a history of the Goths in the Crimea," but a collection of all the scattered materials of the subject from the Gothic migration to Southern Russia in the third century to the period after the Turkish conquest in 1475, when the Crimean Goths became Greeks or Tartars. Christianity is shown to have been introduced into the Crimea, perhaps from Palestine, in 304; a Gothic bishop attended the first Council of Nicæa, and the Gothic hierarchy survived the Turkish conquest. The legend of the Huns' invasion is traced to that of Io in Æschylus; the Tetraxite Goths are stated to be really Trapezite —a name derived from the Crimean city, Trapezus. Under Justinian I the Goths "became vassal allies of the Empire," Justinian II took refuge in the Crimea, where the flight of monks from Iconoclast emperors increased the Hellenic element and the memory of the famous bishop, John, survives. Russian attacks began in the ninth century, and a Russian protectorate existed from 962 to 971, as the author believes from *The Report of a Gothic Toparch*, which he analyses. Byzantine

[1] *E.g.*, O. Seld (p. 178)—read Sild; Xephilinus (p. 181); Firmillian (p. 287); Pamphylus (p. 452 and in Index); Augus (p. 261)—read Angus; Constantine Chlorus (p. 254).

rule was restored in 1016, and, after an interval of Cuman domination, again in 1166, when Manuel Comnenus styled himself "Gothicus," till in the first half of the thirteenth century Crimean Gothia became dependent upon the Empire of Trebizond, probably owing to the Gabras family. This connexion was both politically and commercially close. The Gothic *Climata*, as they were called—a word used in modern Greek of the ecclesiastical dioceses—paid an annual tribute to Trebizond, and also in 1242 to the Tartars, while a new factor appeared in the Crimea, the Venetian and Genoese colonies, especially the latter after the Treaty of Nymphæum. Papal missionaries followed Italian merchants, and in 1333 we find an Englishman Bishop of Cherson. Thus the Crimea became the arena of Venetian, Genoese and Tartar competition. The treaties of 1380–1 ceded to Genoa "Gothia from Balaklava to Soldaia." Memories of the Crimean War make Balaklava peculiarly interesting to Britons. We learn here how the Genoese took it before 1340, how the Tartars recaptured it, only to lose it again to Genoa, which spent much on this "head of all Gothia," a strategic fortress as well as a commercial port. Henceforth, though the Trapezuntine Emperor might still add the "Transmarine Provinces" to his title, and Tamerlane besieged the Gothic capital, Theodoro, for nine years, "three powers existed in the peninsula: the Tartars, Genoa, and Gothia," whose prince, Alexis, was probably connected with the Gabrades and whose daughter married the last emperor of Trebizond. It was he who, after failing to retain Balaklava, constructed a port at Inkerman. Then the Turks appeared, and, after the fall of Constantinople, Genoa ceded Balaklava and her other Crimean colonies to the Bank of St. George. But the capture of Caffa sealed their fate, and later, in 1475, Theodoro fell, though the Genoese probably assisted the Gothic garrison, which included 300 "Wallachs." The author thinks these Wallachs were the *Siculi*, sent by the King of Hungary to Stephen the Great of Moldavia and by him to his brother-in-law, the Prince of Gothia. Is not *Siculi*, a mistranslation of *Szekler*, the well-known foreign element in the population of Roumanian Transylvania, which would explain their designation as "Wallachs"? A final chapter summarising the Turkish period, tells how Busbecq, in 1554, heard that Gothic was still spoken in the Crimea; but there is no trace of it later. A genealogical table of the princes of Gothia and a map complete the volume. One or two mistakes have escaped notice. The ruler of Bosnia was king, not "duke" (p. 250), *panégyris* means a "fair," not a "harvest" (p. 190). The author might have illustrated the use of SS. Theodore in the plural by the name of the Church called after them at Athens. As was inevitable, the book gives us details, but no picture, of Crimean Gothic history. WILLIAM MILLER.

Papsturkunden in England. 2 Band. *Die Kirchlichen Archive und Bibliotheken.* Von WALTHER HOLTZMANN. *I. Berichte und Handschriftenbeschreibungen. II. Texte.* 1935–6. 126 and 356 pp. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung.

IN the second instalment of his important work, Professor Holtzmann deals with the papal documents earlier than the election of Innocent III preserved in English ecclesiastical archives outside London. It falls into two sections. In the first, Professor Holtzmann describes the various collections which he has visited in search of material, and in the second, he gives the text of the bulls and letters which he has discovered. The first section is in effect a guide to the

muniments of the cathedral churches of England. It gives much valuable information; particularly in regard to the dates of the principal cartularies remaining in these collections. As most of these volumes include a large number of secular documents going back to the Norman period, if not beyond, Professor Holtzmann's investigation will be of service to all scholars working on the manuscript materials for English history in the early Middle Ages. Few volumes have ever brought out so clearly the value of the additions to knowledge which can be made by the systematic exploration of cathedral archives.

The first portion of Professor Holtzmann's work was published in 1930. It suggested certain preliminary conclusions which are borne out by the texts contained in this new volume. It is now clear that for at least two generations after the Norman Conquest it was unusual for an English monastery or house of secular canons to obtain a papal confirmation of its lands and privileges. There are indications that English monks and churchmen were resorting to Rome for business of exceptional importance during the pontificate of Innocent II (1130–43). But in this, as in the previous volume, Eugenius III (1145–53) stands out as the first pope to whom ecclesiastical persons throughout England looked on more ordinary occasions for help or judgment. There can be no doubt that it was the weakness of King Stephen which led them to invoke the pope's authority, but it is also certain that the influence which the pope had acquired in England during the Anarchy survived the restoration of strong government by Henry II. That influence was both deepened and extended, as Dr. Brooke has shown, by the disadvantage which the English monarchy suffered through its association with the murder of Archbishop Thomas Becket. It is significant that Dr. Holtzmann has been able to bring together in this volume nearly a hundred documents sent to England by Pope Alexander III during the eleven years between the archbishop's murder and his own death in 1181.

F. M. STENTON.

A History of Thame. By J. HOWARD BROWN and WILLIAM GUEST. 1937. xv + 286 pp. Thame: F. H. Castle & Co. 10*s.* 6*d.*

Hexton, a Parish Survey. By the Senior Scholars of the Herts. C.C. School, Hexton. Ed. by RALPH J. WHITEMAN. 1937. v + 201 pp. (Privately printed.) 7*s.* 6*d.*

THERE is a certain particularism (to use an ugly word only too familiar to historians) which is at once a weakness and a merit of the English character. It is well exemplified in these two books, neither of which belongs to any usual type of local history. The latter, it is true, is the more unconventional, since it took its origin from the bold project of Mr. Whiteman to make the parish of Hexton mean something to the school-children under his charge. They may not have learned much general history, but the patient survey of their own parish, including geology, boundaries, flora and fauna, buildings, and local gossip, must have given a " bite " to whatever they read in later life about the history and conditions of other lands or other ages. The reader may smile as he discovers carefully embalmed in this book the names of the dealers supplying paraffin, coal, groceries, bread, meat, milk and newspapers; but such details have their charm when recovered from accounts of the fourteenth century, and why not in 1936? The wise benevolence of the principal landowner has caused the result of the researches of the schoolmaster and the surveys of the children to be printed, and we can now enjoy a very careful picture of a village rather

off the main track, mainly agricultural, and not much affected by sudden political or social changes.

The historians of Thame proceed in a more ordinary fashion, since they follow chronological sequence. But they depart from the recognised type in that their interest is mainly in the agricultural history of their district, and close their book with some anxious speculations on the probable effect of recent Government marketing schemes on the future of Thame market. So that with them, too, the close linking of the present with the past is a guiding principle.

Both volumes are well equipped with maps. For Hexton we have a reproduction of the 1-inch Ordnance survey for the whole district, and separate maps of 2·8-inch scale for the contours, geology, streams, lighting and water-supply systems, field names, and historical finds of the parish itself, while the agricultural occupation is shown in four maps for 1837, 1900, 1918, and 1930. These show very clearly the extent to which pasture and woodland have in more recent years replaced the arable of 1837. The enclosure award map of 1766 is unhappily lost, though it was in existence ten years ago. It is difficult to believe that it can have been destroyed, so it may yet reappear. For Thame, we have the map of 1593 of the Long Crendon fields (from the records of All Souls'), showing how the scattered strips were already being consolidated into larger holdings, some of them enclosed; Davis's map of 1797, showing the open fields (arable) and the enclosures (mainly cow-pasture) round Thame; and a map prepared from the enclosure award of 1826, showing further diminution of the arable. No contemporary map for this award appears. Nor is there any map showing the occupation at the present day.

The Hexton volume owes much of its interest to the manuscript *History and Antiquities of Hexton*, by Francis Taverner, lord of the manor from 1601 to 1657, which relates among other things how " Old Mr. Hale did pretend a Right for a Seate in this Chappell " (of St. Nicholas) on the ground that " the picture of the old man in the wyndow with the hogge by him was the pictuer of his great grandfather Henry Hale, with the hogge, bicause he dwelt in Hogge Lane, where Mr. Hale now lives "; whereas, Mr. Taverner remarks, " it is clerelye and livelye the picture of St. Anthonye and his pigge." To match this the history of Thame has extracts from two nineteenth-century diaries which give a vivid picture of everyday life in Thame.

Neither work pretends to add much to the earlier history of its subject already accessible in print, but Mr. Whiteman quotes liberally from printed sources, while the Thame historians leave a good many matters of detail to be gathered from F. G. Lee's and H. Lupton's histories, except in so far as these bear on the economic or social history of the place. Both books, however, contain a great deal of original work on documents, such as Court Rolls and Surveys, though only Mr. Whiteman's is provided with an index. C. JOHNSON.

Les villes de foires de Champagne des origines au début du XIV^e siècle. Par ELIZABETH CHAPIN. 1937. xxviii + 354 pp. Paris, Champion. 80 *francs.* (Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études, fasc. 268.)

THE writer of this study is an American scholar who has worked in Paris under the direction of Professor Halphen. She has written a work of great competence. The bibliography, maps, and plans will

be of service to many who may not be concerned with most of the minute detail in the book itself, while the appendices contain much of general interest on the development, and particularly the finance, of the medieval towns of Champagne. The careful tables of the receipts and expenditure of Provins, and several of the *pièces justificatives*, *e.g.* the tariff of Troyes (1298), deserve notice.

This is not a history of the famous fairs as such, although the reader will find in the bibliography and throughout the text an excellent introduction to this subject. A definitive book on the fairs is needed, but in the meantime P. Bourquelot's studies (1865) hold the field. Here the writer's aim is to study the development, government and life of the four towns, Troyes, Provins, Bar-sur-Aube and Lagny, where the fairs were held, and to show how they were affected by the existence of the fairs. Her work is primarily a contribution to municipal history. The county of Champagne and Brie, as an administrative unit, was based on no geographical unity and had behind it various political and ecclesiastical traditions. The writer first describes how the counts' authority came to be. The four towns were not in themselves important. They owed what importance they had to comital castles and abbeys, and their situation did the rest. Gradually, from the end of the eleventh century, the local fairs in these places became great centres of European trade. From all four quarters of the compass merchants, following main roads, would naturally meet in this part of France—from England and Flanders, the Rhineland, Italy and the south, Paris and the west. The counts and their tenants availed themselves of the opportunity. The fairs succeeded each other throughout the year, beginning in the north of the county at Lagny, continued in the spring in the south-east at Bar-sur-Aube, then alternating, two at each place, in Provins and Troyes during the rest of the year. Not more than six weeks in the year can have been free from one or other of these assemblages of traders (cf. p. 107 note). Naturally, while most of the merchants passed on, many found it convenient to stay, at any rate in the two chief towns, Provins and Troyes. These could not rent temporary lodgings and store their merchandise in the vaults of rented houses indefinitely. They combined with the inhabitants to form the new industrial quarters of the towns. At Troyes and Provins, though not to any extent in Lagny and Bar-sur-Aube, the inhabitants, on their part, developed industries, especially in cloth. Just as their towns were centres of trade and exchange and credit, so they formed distant connections, as far afield as London and Genoa. But the impetus given by the fairs did not benefit the local traders and manufacturers alone. They often acquired as individuals or as families much wealth and social and, sometimes, political importance; but as members of a community they did not obtain the full measure of self-government that one might well expect. In the process of the organisation of the fairs the counts and other lords had necessarily exercised their authority and influence, and they were not prepared to surrender, in the interests of municipal autonomy, the financial profit which they drew from the fairs, and which was as lucrative as the rents derived from their visitors by the possessors of houses. Hence we have centres of commercial and industrial activity whose communal independence was less developed than that of similar centres elsewhere. The last chapters of this book are devoted to the development of urban institutions and the extent to which autonomy prevailed in the

thirteenth century, the great century of activity in the fairs of Champagne.

Such, in general terms, is the theme of an interesting and exceptionally thorough and competent book. As a detailed study in urban history, it will, of course, engage the attention of expert scholars.

F. M. POWICKE.

The Conquest of Constantinople. By ROBERT OF CLARI. Translated with introduction and notes by E. H. MCNEAL. 1936. vii + 150 pp. Columbia Univ. Press (London : Milford). 14*s.*

De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi. Edited and translated by C. W. DAVID. 1936. xii + 201 pp. Columbia Univ. Press (London : Milford). 18*s.* 6*d.*

The Wars of Frederick II against the Ibelins. By PHILIP DE NOVARE. Translated with introduction and notes by J. L. LA MONTE. 1936. xi + 230 pp. Columbia Univ. Press (London : Milford). 18*s.* 6*d.*

THE " Records of Civilisation " series has already made one important contribution to crusading history, Professor Hitti's edition of Usamah; it now gives us three more in successive volumes, and promises even greater things to come, namely an edition of William of Tyre by Mrs. Babcock and Professor Krey. If the standard of the first four volumes is maintained, this will be an invaluable service to all interested in the Crusades.

The series has unfortunately one all-important limitation; its aim is to make representative texts " accessible in English " and it prints not the text itself, but a translation. From this practice Professor David in his edition of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* has succeeded in making a departure and has published a parallel text, Latin and English. Dr. McNeal and Professor La Monte have had to be content with giving us the English translation only, though they have supplied such liberal footnotes as to make their work an " edition " even in this indirect form. A parallel text of William of Tyre would run to several volumes in the present format of the series, and is perhaps too much to hope for : a new edition of it is, however, the great desideratum of crusading historiography and would indeed be welcome.

The printed text of Robert de Clari has been available since 1924 in *Les Classiques Français du Moyen Âge*, edited by M. Lauer, and reviewed with some additional emendations in *Romania*, LIII, by M. A. Jeanroy. The absence of the original in this latest version is therefore less to be regretted, though some form of cross-reference would have been of value. The fact that M. Lauer divided his text into numbered sections and that Dr. McNeal prints his currently without divisions does not facilitate correlation. Textually Dr. McNeal has added little to the work done by Lauer, though he has one or two sound suggestions as to the meaning of obscure passages : his historical commentary is on the other hand greatly expanded, and his notes, particularly with regard to topography, are a valuable summary of recent research. In another place (*Speculum*, 1934) Dr. McNeal has already commented on the relationship between parts of de Clari (The Andronicus–Conrad stories) and the puzzling manuscripts of the *Eracles* group (the French translations and continuations of William of Tyre), and he does not here enlarge on this difficult problem. It is clear, however, that, when at length this bugbear of crusading history is tackled, de Clari will be one of the significant pieces of evidence.

Professor David's edition of the *De Expugnatione Lyxbonensi* deals with less familiar material. Stubbs printed it in small type at the end of his introduction to the *Itinerarium*, and this same small type has kept it more in the background than it deserved. Now Professor David has not only worked over the text anew but has written an historical introduction of the greatest value for English history : in a brief twenty-six pages he discusses the slow response of England to the crusading movement, making interesting use of Miss Lee's *Records of the Templars in England*, and the piratical enterprises of Channel seamen, and his opinion here will interest a wider field than that to which the text itself will appeal. It is to be hoped that many will consult his introduction even if they do not intend to follow the story of the attack on Lisbon. That story is however an exciting and important one : and these seafaring men such as the authors of the *De Expugnatione* or its sequel the *Narratio itineris Navalis* [1] (where Silva is captured and Portugal pushed yet further South) have a readiness of observation which is sadly missed in many a land chronicle of their times. Dr. David has rightly suggested that his author even carried with him a copy of Solinus *Collectanea rerum memorabilia* from which to expand and check the geographical notes in which his work abounds. The situation in Portugal was, too, one of peculiar interest : opposed to the Crusaders was a mixed population of Moors and Mozarabs : the latter had a bishop in the town who was murdered during the sack (against all decency, says our author) and in the pestilence and famine that followed " the pagans " were observed to be " grasping the symbol of the Cross and calling upon Mary." Apparently the Crusaders made little discrimination between Mohammedans and native Christians : they acted as buccaneers who plundered and sailed on, and their lack of discretion presented the same problems to the permanent Portuguese settlement as did the ways of Western reinforcements to the Syrian barons of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. The Western war against Islam presents and sometimes illuminates problems very similar to those of its more celebrated Eastern brother.

Philip of Novara's *Estoire* is a more considerable work. For the mid-thirteenth century it is a source of the first value for crusading history, and few writings give such a vivid picture of the feudal society of the time. Philip wrote of his friends and enemies, personally and vehemently, making songs of them and remembering their very words. " The old lord of Beirut," as portrayed in Philip's writings, is one of the most attractive pictures that remain to us of a warrior noble, with his strong family affections, his keen sense of the obligations of feudal law and his obstinate defence of his own rights. And the war he waged against the Longobards, against Frederick II's South Italians, turned on legal questions of great significance. Grandclaude's work [2] on the Assizes has dealt with many of their obscurities, but the relations between the legal treatises of Philip himself and of John Ibelin of Jaffa and the struggle in which they were actively and contemporaneously engaged still remain uncertain; and the frequent comparisons made in Dr. La Monte's footnotes of passages from the *Eracles* with similar passages from Philip are an important contribution to the subject,

[1] Which Dr. David surprisingly quotes from Gazzera's edition of 1840 rather than Chroust's thorough revision of it in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica, New Series, Vol. V*, 1928.

[2] Grandclaude, *Étude critique sur les livres des Assises de Jerusalem*, Paris, 1923; cf. La Monte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Kingdom of Jerusalem*, Cambridge, Mass., 1932.

revealing as they do difference of views and bias on the constitutional crisis. This barons' war against the Emperor has some curious affinities with the but slightly later struggle in England, and it is interesting to think that Earl Simon had been in contact with it.

Dr. La Monte gives a careful introduction to the text: on the question of the relation between it and the *Gestes des Chiprois* and through the *Gestes* with the *Eracles*, he follows the lines sketched by Kohler in his introduction in 1913 (*Classiques Français*); he completes this with a brief sketch of Philip's other writings, and a narrative of the history involved, but he does not, somewhat surprisingly, seem to have used the article by Grandclaude in the *Revue de droit Français* (1926, p. 426) in which he has argued that the *Livre de forme de plait* as we have it is a third redaction, a re-editing of the work after John of Ibelin's *Assizes* had appeared. The life of Philip of Novara and the development of his thought are subjects that still require fuller and more exhaustive treatment.

The three volumes provide interesting comparison as translations. Dr. McNeal has a real gift for it: his choice of words and the rhythms of his sentences catch the unpolished simplicity of his original:

> "When my lord Henry was emperor, then they talked together, he and the marquis who was king of Salonika, until the Marquis gave him his daughter and the emperor married her. And the empress did not live very long, but died soon afterwards."

This has all the directness and compression of de Clari, and the same intimacy of feeling. Dr. David has a different task: in his parallel edition the Latin text is there, with its own sound and flavour, and the translation need only expound the sense without trying to reproduce the atmosphere. That seems at least to have been Dr. David's view: his English follows the Latin very closely and at times clumsily, with a curiously marked preference for Latinate forms of words, which give in English a stilted, pedantic result very dissimilar from the rough-and-ready methods of the contemporary author.

In the *Estoire* of Philip, Dr. La Monte has found congenial work: his battles and marches and noble speeches have an authentic ring; and there is speed, economy and eloquence in his conduct of affairs: it is a great story well re-told, and Professor Hubert's translations of the poems maintain the standard. Here and there, perhaps, it is possible to quarrel with the actual construing of certain passages: "wearing tunics and doublets over their mantles" (p. 77) is a somewhat difficult sartorial picture, more so than "en cors et seins par dessus lor secors" necessitates, though "seins" is a curious and doubtful word; and (p. 136) relying on Amadi's comment (fazandoli mille dispetti), La Monte has read "derogatory gestures" into what seems to be merely the pointing out of a possible place of entry; but Philip's Cypriot French is a problem in itself and one as yet little studied and often doubtful, as Amadi, the fifteenth-century Italian translator, seems to have found, for he often omits passages as to the meaning of which we would gladly have had his opinion.

T. S. R. BOASE.

The Place of Edward II in English History. By T. F. TOUT. Second edition revised throughout by Hilda Johnstone. 1937. xx + 375. Manchester University Press. 21*s*.

PROFESSOR JOHNSTONE'S own studies and her long association as pupil, colleague and sister-in-law, with the late Professor Tout qualify

her quite exceptionally for the task of re-editing the book which nearly a quarter of a century ago added a new and extensive field to the domain of English institutional history. But her very qualifications must have increased the difficulty of her task, already sufficiently delicate; for the book is at once a milestone in historiography and an indispensable *instrument de travail*, and the new edition must serve the needs both of those who require the text as it left Tout's hands and of the many others who turn to it as a trustworthy and convenient guide or take-off for their own researches. Professor Johnstone's solution of this problem has been a compromise which has left Tout's text intact except where there was the authority of his own notes for changes he had intended to make, and relegated all other alterations to appendices, footnotes or, if they are required in the text, indicated their source by square brackets. The process appears to have been in some degree selective; the editor has been guided, she tells us in her preface, by a familiarity with Tout's methods and opinions in deciding "how far to incorporate conclusions reached by other workers in the same field since the book appeared." In most cases "he gladly adjusted his views in the light of new information," but there were points on which he was "impenitent," and these remain untouched. What remained to be done was the simpler but far more laborious task of verifying the references, correcting errors and misprints, and recasting the index by further analysis of the entries and rearranging the lists of officials with the help of the corrections and additions which Tout had accumulated.

The evident value of such work can be properly assessed only by those who test it in the course of their own studies, but a cursory examination enables one to illustrate it a little. Thus the recently published Register of Bishop Cobham yields two letters in which that prelate describes the business-like and patient bearing of the king in the parliament of 1320. These documents neatly emphasise Tout's implied criticism of the Monk of Malmesbury in the text, and no doubt would have delighted him (p. 10 n.). A mention of Pembroke's young widow (p. 19) is happily supplemented by the citation of Mr. Jenkinson's article in *Archæologia*, which might well have been repeated by cross-reference on p. 216. A later note (p. 81) draws attention to Tout's complete change of view on borough representation in deference to Miss McKisack's book, recorded in the third volume of *Chapters*. These bibliographical notes are not, and seemingly are not intended to be exhaustive, or even very full, else when Tout quotes "that famous sentence from the Code of Justinian with which Edward I made such play in 1295," Professor Johnstone would have referred to the discussions of this text which have abounded since Leicht's study of it, rather than confined herself to an indication of its occurrence in an episcopal register in 1323 with the comment "the tag was fashionable" (p. 82). This makes one wonder a little why Tout's note (p. 8) referring to the publication of the Year Books by the Selden Society should have been extended to 1928 only, seeing that two volumes of Edward II's Year Books have appeared since. The correction of slips and misprints in the final edition appears to have been carefully done, and a singular verb serving a plural subject (p. 52) and an irrelevant negative (p. 141) have vanished. It is a pity, however, that the negative had not been transferred to the first quotation from the Cowick Ordinance on p. 176, where it is still badly wanted.

These are small points; a matter of more importance is Professor Johnstone's treatment of those passages in which Tout remained impenitent. She mentions in particular his references to "a full parliament of three estates." It is submitted with deference that he would in any revision of his own have indicated that most scholars now take *plenum parliamentum* to mean open rather than complete (*pace* Dr. Wilkinson), and have added a note (perhaps in connection with the important pronouncement on p. 137) citing current views on parliament as an assembly of estates in general and the position of the commons in particular. If such notes are not given because Professor Johnstone judges that Tout would have withheld them (one gets this impression, perhaps wrongly, from the preface), their usefulness may still be urged against a too-consistent application of her guiding principle.

There is, in general, no indication of the points where the text has been altered in deference to Tout's intention expressed in surviving notes. They can, of course, be identified by collation, but it is hard to see what useful end is served by not doing so in the text. Then as to Tout's modification of views as expressed in the *Chapters*; it would be desirable that the reader's attention should be drawn to every instance of this, and it may be that Professor Johnstone has done so, but she does not make it clear that it was part of her plan.

The plan must, in any case, have been difficult to frame, and it has clearly been carried out with skill and care. Professor Johnstone almost disarms criticism by a graceful quotation from William of Newburgh with which she brings her preface to a close, but her work needs no apology, and its excellence has made the otherwise welcome words, inapposite. G. LAPSLEY.

The Estates of Crowland Abbey. By FRANCES M. PAGE. 1934. xiv + 462 pp. Cambridge University Press. 21*s.*

Wellingborough Manorial Accounts A.D. *1258–1323.* Edited with an Introduction by FRANCES M. PAGE. 1936. xxxviii + 144 pp. Northamptonshire Record Society, vol. VIII.

Surrey Manorial Accounts. A Catalogue and Index of the earliest surviving Rolls, including an Introduction and a Text of Four Rolls. By HELEN M. BRIGGS. With a Preliminary Note by HILARY JENKINSON. 1935. lvii + 111 pp. Surrey Record Society. No. xxxvii, vol. xv.

THE value of medieval bailiffs' accounts to students of the history of prices has been recognised ever since the appearance of Thorold Rogers' great compilation; but in all other respects they have been perhaps the most neglected of manorial documents. The neglect has undoubtedly been due in part to the fact that the classical studies of the English manor were made by historians, who were primarily interested in the legal relations between lords and tenants rather than in the humdrum business of farming; and thus court rolls and custumals found greater favour than accounts. But for economic history properly so called, these numerous and homespun records are of the first importance, and there are many indications that they are now coming into their own. It may be regarded as a sign of the times that two record societies should recently have devoted volumes to them, and that they should form one of the sources for Dr. Page's interesting study of manorial organisation on the estates of Crowland Abbey.

Dr. Page's book is mainly based upon the court and account rolls of certain Crowland manors for the period 1258–1528, which are preserved at Queens' College, Cambridge. The bulk of the material comes from the three Cambridgeshire manors of Oakington, Dry Drayton and Cottenham, but there is a good, though short, series of accounts for the Northamptonshire manor of Wellingborough (which she has since published in full for the Northamptonshire Record Society). Dr. Page's study occupies about a third of her book, the remaining two-thirds being devoted to documents and statistical tables. She has produced a valuable and scholarly piece of work upon certain aspects of manorial organisation and village life. Her elucidation of the relation of manor to village (they coincided in two only of the estates besides Crowland), her study of tenurial relations and the law of transfer and her description of the manorial executive are excellent and there is a lively chapter on social life. Many readers will be interested in following the fortunes of a substantial villein family, the Pepiz of Cottenham, who were almost certainly the forbears of Samuel Pepys and showed something of their descendant's aptitude for office. Dr. Page, indeed, gives us so much that is good that we cannot help regretting that she has not given us a little more. All the subjects with which she deals have been treated before in relation to the medieval manor, and it is precisely where, with the account rolls at her disposal, she might have launched out upon less conventional lines, that her book is a little disappointing. Its interest is tenurial and administrative rather than economic, and the reader will seek in vain for any detailed picture of the organisation of the whole estate as a profit-making institution, or of the fortunes of medieval farming. Miss Wretts Smith's admirable article on "The Organisation of Farming at Croyland Abbey" in the *Journal of Economic and Business History* was unknown to Dr. Page when she wrote her book, and she has not incorporated the equally admirable article on Crowland sheep-farming, which she herself contributed to the Economic History Supplement of the *Economic Journal*.

These omissions on the economic side are, however, partially filled by the introduction which Dr. Page has provided to her edition of the Wellingborough rolls. These consist in a series of twenty-six accounts ranging between 1258 and 1322, and throw a great deal of light not only upon the history of farming on a single manor, but also upon the management of the Crowland estate as a whole. The relations of Wellingborough with the abbey itself and with the other manors on the estate once more demonstrate the absurdity of the conventional picture of every manor as a self-sufficing unit. Dr. Page shows that Wellingborough shouldered the main burden of malting and brewing for all the Northamptonshire manors, as Cottenham did for the Cambridgeshire group, the malt and ale being sent up to the abbey; and from time to time it supplied other manors with agricultural produce or livestock. A careful examination of the finance of the manor as shown in the rolls gives a good picture of the history of manorial profits, both administrative and agricultural, during half a century, but the reader must be warned against relying on the table entitled "Finance" provided by the editor opposite to page xxxv. Apart from the fact that (as she explains) the figures shown in the column headed "Reeve's + Collector's Net Balance" are fictitious, she has not added or deducted (where necessary) cross payments made by the collector to the reeve and vice

versa, nor those made by the lord to both officials, nor has she allowed for payments in cash made to the other manors. Still worse, in the last four years covered by the table (1310, 1312, 1314 and 1322) the apparently great rise in the "Abbot's Gross Profit" compared with previous years, is due to an unfortunate slip, by which she has reversed the figures in the two columns headed "Expenses" and "Liberationes domini," which results in complete nonsense and throws out the whole calculation. In fact, the abbot's gross profit in 1310 (employing Dr. Page's method of calculation) should be not £157 1*s.* 2*d.*, but £95 0*s.* 7½*d.*, which is actually a fall and not a rise on the figure for 1308. Furthermore, the table should make clear the fact (to which Dr. Page calls attention elsewhere) that, apart altogether from irregular disbursements made by the manor for corn or other goods bought and sent to Crowland, the large regular "liveries" of grain of its own growing or malting made each year to the abbey would, if evaluated in terms of money, send up the abbot's gross profits by very large sums. If sales increased and liveries decreased in any particular year, that alone would explain a rise in the financial profits of the manor; while if liveries fell greatly, while financial profits failed to rise, the abbot was clearly losing in comparison with previous years. Thus in 1280 liveries of corn were only about a third of the normal amount, so that, although the gross profit in money shows only a relatively small decline, the actual decline in profits was much greater. A closer examination of the roll shows that there was a vacancy in the Abbey this year and a vacancy (as the accounts of other ecclesiastical landowners, such as the bishopric of Winchester, show) always meant a loss, for the Crown was accustomed to sell for its own profit as much as possible of the livestock and produce which thus fell into its hands. A statistical table which fails to point out where a year is exceptional is not of much use, and some of these accounts require more annotation than Dr. Page has given them; there is (for instance) something very odd about the year 1271, when no corn appears to have been sown and there are no payments for harvest expenses.

Miss Briggs has drawn up for the Surrey Record Society a catalogue of all surviving manorial rolls for this county down to the year 1300, and has edited four of them. She has provided them with an introduction and with three appendices, containing respectively extracts relating to building, another short account and a table of receipts and expenditure based upon nine rolls. Her edition is an excellent one, and it is perhaps ungrateful to suggest that a somewhat pedantic standard of palæographical description has been adopted in the catalogue. "One membrane, 8″ × 30¾″. Preservation fair, except for stains. Hole near foot (2″ × 1¼″) appears to be flaw in skin. Hand good" may be a useful exercise for a student of palæography, but is out of place in a publication of this sort. Account rolls are among the most numerous and workaday of manorial documents, and it is unnecessary to treat them as though they were the Codex Sinaiticus or the Luttrell Psalter. All that is needed is a simple list. Miss Briggs' introduction is extremely thorough and careful; but the reviewer cannot help feeling that some of her remarks on the method of accounting do rather less than justice to medieval accountants and may give a false impression to modern students wishing to make use of account rolls. After pointing out the "almost complete absence of anything like an Annual Statement of Income

and Expenditure, or an Annual Budget, among the otherwise voluminous Records of the Central Financial Departments" or of private landowners, she adds "How under such a system it was possible for the head of an establishment, whether it were the kingdom or a landed estate, to work out any general policy in the matter of Income and Expenditure is a matter very difficult to understand: unless we are to make the difficult assumption that while large quantities of Bailiffs' Accounts and the like have survived some superior series, in which their results were summarised, digested and combined, have completely and in every case disappeared." Now, it is perfectly true that no balance sheet in the form in which we are accustomed to balance sheets to-day was drawn up by medieval accountants; but it is not true that a general policy of income and expenditure was impossible on the basis of their accounts, nor that the owner of an estate comprising a large number of manors was unable to gauge his financial position at the end of the year. They had other documents besides accounts on which to base their estimates, viz. the manorial extents, which told them exactly what they might expect in regular payments from their estates. How closely they worked in connection with these is shown by the fact that on many manors a reeve will enter on the credit side of his account the amount of rent which he ought to receive from each tenant, and on the debit side (under the heading *defectus redditus*) the sums by which these payments actually fell short and which have to be deducted from the credit column. When an extent became out of date, a new one was drawn up. Furthermore, it is unnecessary to make the assumption that a superior series of rolls summarising and combining the bailiffs' accounts has "completely and in every case disappeared," for a number of examples of such superior series of "estate" accounts are in existence. The Duchy of Lancaster's "auditors' valors" are one example and the surviving accounts of the receiver-general of Walter, Lord Hungerford, another. A similar document exists for some of the Clare lands in 1339–40; in this the auditors enrolled summaries of all the manorial accounts grouped into "baillies" and at the end of each "baillie" entered the total sum brought in and the amount by which it exceeded or fell below that of the preceding year. The care with which medieval landowners tried to estimate their profits in advance and to keep a check upon their estate management is plainly shown in the advice and calculations embodied in thirteenth-century treatises on husbandry and in such documents as the unpublished Memorandum Book of Henry of Eastry, the exceedingly hard-headed prior of Canterbury. Of course Miss Briggs is quite right to warn her readers that medieval methods of accounting were infinitely less elaborate and scientific than our own, and appear to us very inadequate; but that is not to say that they rendered the running of an estate on business-like lines and the working out of a general policy impossible. Our forefathers were no fools, and they had to live.

EILEEN POWER.

The Cambridge Medieval History. Edited by C. W. PREVITÉ-ORTON and Z. N. BROOKE. Vol. VIII. *The Close of the Middle Ages.* 1936. Cambridge University Press.

THE *Cambridge Medieval History*, which was begun so far back as 1911, is now complete. We can understand the "sigh of relief" with which, after fourteen years, the editors of the last volume, as of the

four which preceded it, sign their initials for the last time, and share their pride in reviewing the distinguished body of historians, drawn from the whole of Europe, who have contributed to the work. In the Preface to the last volume Dr. Previté-Orton and Dr. Brooke give us an inkling of some of the greater difficulties with which they have had to struggle—the death of J. B. Bury (who planned the work), the loss of five editors since 1911, the major calamity of the War (which more than doubled the price of the volumes), the death of contributors. No less than four of the contributors to vol. VIII, for example, all fine scholars—Henri Pirenne, Paul Fournier, Goddard Orpen and W. T. Waugh—have died before its publication. The success of the venture is beyond question, though it has been rather disguised by the slowness of publication. In school and college libraries, and more rarely at home, the *Medieval History* has definitely taken its place as an indispensable part of the apparatus of teaching.

The new volume is as comprehensive as its immediate predecessors and maintains the same high standard of general accuracy and readableness. It is, too, equally fortunate in the continental scholars who contribute to it. Huss and Bohemia are fully treated by Dr. Kamil Krofta, and French history by M. Calmette and M. Petit Dutaillis. Dr. Kohl and Dr. Altamira continue their sketches of Scandinavian and Spanish history: Dr. Hóman writes on Hungary, while the French and the Belgian scholars who have not lived to see their articles published have left us two masterly articles—one on Burgundy and one on the Low Countries. These, with a representative selection of British and American writers, have made a very good team, and the result is a better and far fuller treatment of European history in the later middle ages than we have ever had before. In accordance with the rigid plan of the work, no indulgence in the matter of space has been allowed to the writers on British history. A hundred years ago Hallam, in his *State of Europe in the Middle Ages*, devoted by far the longest chapter to our own history, on the ground of its "superior interest" as "the most beautiful phenomenon in the history of mankind." Although in this volume Mr. Macfarlane and Professor C. H. Williams have had to compress English history from 1399 to 1485 into less than a hundred pages, it is pleasant to note that there is nothing fresher and nothing more original in the volume than their successive handling of the Lancastrian and the Yorkist dynasties. Scotland and Ireland (Wales having been "polished off" in the previous volume) get a dozen (very good) pages each, an allowance which may represent their European importance, but which is surely bad business in a book meant largely for English-speaking readers.

The original aim of the *Medieval History*, we may recall, was threefold. It was to interest the "general reader"; it was to be useful to "students" and it was to be an indispensable book of reference. Its success in the first of these aims varies inevitably from writer to writer, while the indefensible plan of leaving out the footnotes and making the bibliographies unselective has greatly impaired its value for purposes of reference. But it can be safely said that the interests of the serious student have never been lost sight of. It is a great practical achievement, and will be pre-eminently useful to sixth forms of schools and to students at the universities. The *Medieval History* has had many imitators which in general tend to divide the work among a much smaller number of contributors. These newer syntheses are apt to be more readable, but

far less reliable. For whatever the defects of an army of experts writing each on very short periods, one feels that each writer really knows what he is talking about and, within the limits he has set himself, there is very little that will require to be unsaid. The Actonian scheme of co-operation, we may still admit, was most successful with modern history, since it depended on a unity imparted by a system of international relationships. In the Middle Ages, as Creighton pointed out, there was a tendency to regard international relationships as merely forming a part of a universal system of customary law. The result is that medieval "political" history has always a certain remoteness, for which compensation has been sought in the general chapters on civilisation, trade, religion, and so on, which are in some ways the most successful feature of the *Medieval History*. There are six of them in this last volume—on political theory, the art of war, magic and witchcraft, education, the Arts and the Renaissance; and arbitrary as their selection is, they do something to pull together the discrete narratives of the preceding nineteen chapters.

V. H. GALBRAITH.

The Scotland of Queen Mary and the Religious Wars 1513–1638. By AGNES MURE MACKENZIE. 1936. xvi + 404 pp. Alexander Maclehose. 12*s.* 6*d.*

"THE Scotswoman of character and brains is a creature of some vigour as a rule." So writes Miss Mackenzie on page 334, and her book is very strong evidence for it. This book is not a threshing over again of the old withered straw, but a vivid representation of Scots history by one who knows and quotes contemporary sources and does not mind stirring up old enmities. It begins, "After Flodden," but, unlike the Flodden Memorial, it is not dedicated "To the Brave of Both Nations." Miss Mackenzie, though she strives to be fair, cannot forget the wrongs done to her country by the English, including "such quaintly trivial discourtesies as the careful misnumbering, in official language," of Edward VII and Edward VIII (p. 256). Since Scotland, according to Miss Mackenzie, emerged "as victor" from the Three Hundred Years' War with England, it is no wonder that she discovers in Englishmen "a naïve ignorance of history" (pp. 255–6). But Miss Mackenzie does not enlighten Englishmen as clearly as she might. She persists in using words and constructions which the *Oxford English Dictionary*, which is scarcely an all-English compilation, describes as obsolete or Scots. We find words like "thirled" (p. 84), "ploys" (p. 54), "blads" (p. 89), "outwith" (p. 111), "cantrips" (p. 238), "coupit" (p. 319), "throughither" (p. 211), "swithered" (p. 356), and expressions like "sent to educate with her bridegroom" (p. 78), "bears to be written" (p. 169), and "d. s. p.," which is Scots for "o. s. p." These may be good currency in "Lochow" (p. 232), wherever that may be, but Miss Mackenzie ought to print a "Glossary for the Conquered." Instead she remarks that "the middle-class mind resents anyone who speaks a different language" (p. 292). Miss Mackenzie has a poor opinion of historians also. They discuss, she says, most affairs "as though all characters in history were born and remained through life at the age of forty" (p. 197, note 1). On page 225 she carefully states that "James was rising twenty-four," whatever that may mean.

Again, Miss Mackenzie is fond of using twentieth-century political terms, like "soviet" (p. 210), "totalitarian" (p. 87), and "Fascism"

(p. 206), to describe sixteenth- or seventeenth-century conditions, and she heads chapter xv "King and Duce." The Duce is A. Melville, and the comparison is neither happy nor useful. Surface likenesses may hide bigger differences, though, if you hate Knox, it may be pleasant to compare him with Danton, Robespierre and Lenin.

But, in spite of what has been said, Miss Mackenzie has written an interesting book with emphasis on religion and politics. Most of the story is mournful, and will make Englishmen wonder whether the Scots ever knew what law and order meant till Oliver Cromwell conquered Scotland. Miss Mackenzie is an apologist for Mary Queen of Scots and has an interesting theory about the Casket Letters (pp. 163–5), but in James VI's reign she shows no particular preference for anyone, though she does understand the King and give us a convincing picture of him (pp. 200–3). The Arch-villains of the piece are, of course, Henry VIII and Elizabeth. It was the "Tudor sowing" which caused most of James VI's and Charles I's difficulties in England, and apparently in Scotland as well. The book ends on a sad note—"There followed a common chaos, and a question, whose answer depends on the will of this generation as to whether there shall be a Scotland more" (p. 381).

There is a useful date table and a bibliography which, like that in Miss Mackenzie's previous volume, *The Rise of the Stewarts*, omits the works of P. Hume Brown, though one of them is quoted on page 76. On page 396 "Moyne" should be "Moysie." The index is mediocre. The National Covenant, though often mentioned and even reprinted with the Negative Confession in appendices, is entered once. Some unknown Dukes of Northumberland have crept in on page 402, and the Duke who is mentioned in the text is indexed as two men, Lisle and Warwick. There is only one Carey in the index, and that is not the one quoted on page 239. For a future edition it might be well to revise the dates of the executions of Anne Bullen, the Master of Forbes and Lady Glamis (pp. 55, 57), and the contradictory dates of Pius V (pp. xiv, 183). "Burghley" on page 253 should be "Sir Robert Cecil."

D. L. W. TOUGH.

Robert Loder's Farm Accounts, 1610–1620. Edited for the Royal Historical Society by G. E. FUSSELL. 1937. xxxi + 207 pp. Ann. Sub. £1 1*s*.

Robert Loder's Farm Accounts, 1610–1620, is an unusually good specimen of a class of records of which many examples exist, but few have been printed. Its backbone consists of the receipts and expenditure of a Berkshire farmer in the reign of James I. It belongs, therefore, to the same genus as the account of the farming of Henry Best published by the Surtees Society, and Professor Lodge's recent volume, *The Account-book of a Kentish Estate, 1616–1704*; but though the period which it covers is only about a decade, Robert Loder is more illuminating than John Toke. In the first place, his accounts are better done. He gives full particulars of his takings as well as his outgoings, shows the yields, costs and value of his principal crops, and either states his net profits on the year, or provides data sufficient for a plausible estimate of them. In the second place, his accounts are not merely accounts: they are accompanied by a running commentary, in which he weighs the merits of alternative policies, notes the failure or success of what actually followed, and draws from the experience of each year conclusions to guide his course in the next. The relative advantages of growing

wheat and barley, of buying ewes or keeping a breeding stock, of time-work and piece-work, are balanced against each other. We get an insight, therefore, not merely into the management of a farm, but—what is less easy to come by—into its manager's view of the problems to be solved and the difficulties to be overcome. The reader is saved much labour in summarising scattered data, and provided with an interpretation which puts the enterprise concerned in its proper setting, by the valuable introduction contributed by Mr. Fussell.

Robert Loder's farm at Harwell, without being in the same class as the great agricultural undertakings of the age, was on the large size. It contained roughly 300 acres, of which about 150 were arable in the open fields, 100 were enclosed down, and the remainder was orchards and small enclosures, together with rights of common. He was engaged in what would now be called mixed farming. In addition to growing cereals, he ran a flock of 400 to 500 sheep and kept a dairy herd. His main interest, however, was clearly in his corn, and, possibly for that reason, information as to the details of his animal husbandry is less full and precise. His range of crops was not large, even for his own period. No mention is made of rye, oats or buckwheat. Wheat and barley were the cash-crops; peas, beans and vetches the fodder crops. The hay, the value of which was considerable—one year with another between one-sixth and one-seventh of the total—was presumably consumed on the farm, as was the bulk of the milk and milk products. The ordinary rotation appears to have been wheat, fallow, wheat or barley, fallow, with the legumes thrown in from time to time as a catch-crop.

The commercial results of Loder's sheep-farming are not clear, but on the cereals he did well. Judging by the proportion of the crop to the seed sown, of which full particulars are given, the yield of barley was lower than would be expected to-day, but that of wheat was surprisingly high. It averaged over 9 years just under 30 bushels per acre, and in the last, 1620, reached the remarkable figure of 46·2, a return of between eleven and twelve-fold. This side of his business was clearly a success. Assuming, as Loder appears to have thought, that the sheep about paid for themselves, and that he did not lose, at any rate, on his cattle, the results were not unsatisfactory. His receipts averaged from 1612 to 1620 £376 4*s.* 10¼*d.*, of which rents accounted for 3·8 per cent., and the remainder came from farming operations, while his costs averaged £138 odd. His average net return, therefore, including the small item of rents, was in the region of £238. The figure was not large, when compared with the profits of specialist sheep-farmers, like the Treshams, or cattle-breeders like the Wynnes; but it was not to be sneezed at. It is a pity that the accounts end just when they do. In the last year there are hints of the depression which spoiled the tempers of the country gentry in the momentous Parliament of 1621. Loder decided in 1620 that it was " good husbandrie, when corne is so cheape, not to sell any, except I can lay out my money at that rate for corne againe." Though his wheat and barley crops in that year were well above the level of 1618, the cash return from them was down nearly one-fifth.

The value of a work such as that edited by Mr. Fussell is not impaired by the fact that generalisations cannot be based on single instances. By revealing the economy of a seventeenth-century farm in its concrete detail, it suggests trains of thought which, if followed up, may lead to the revision of some conventional ideas as to the agriculture of the past. The business side of farming has been curiously neglected by historians, with the result that certain superstitions linger on.

The common belief in the uncommercial character of pre-eighteenth-century agriculture is among them. In reality if "subsistence farming," in any strict sense of that ambiguous expression, ever had outside the books the importance which it has in them, the days of its primacy were by the reign of James I long over. Even small men had to market a substantial part of their output; they had cash outgoings to meet. The more substantial farmers, whatever their speciality, were not in agriculture for their health; they had their eyes on the market all the time. The figures of the consumption of wheat and malt by Loder's household show that it formed, except in the opening years, when he had little land under the former, only a small proportion of the total output. He appears to have sent his malt to London, *via* Henley and the Thames, and to have sold his wheat in local markets. Hence his careful attention to prices and costs. The whole tone of his notes proves that, as Mr. Fussell remarks, "before all things he was a business man." The pious ejaculations which enliven his accountancy are normally expressions of gratitude to Providence, not for bread in due season, but for satisfactory profits.

Loder was not only a man of business; he was also in a small way an "improver." Nor does his enterprise appear to have been much impeded by the social frame-work in which he worked. The technical deficiencies of his economy are obvious enough. The neglect of grass was in his case, as in others, the weakest link in the chain: insufficient and inferior winter fodder, low quality stock, and a shortage of manure, were among its consequences. On the other hand, his jottings suggest that the difficulty of making new departures on scattered parcels in open fields, and the restrictions imposed by the common course of cultivation, were less important than is usually implied. Harwell was a two-field parish, and Loder's arable lay in both fields. He appears, nevertheless, to have had considerable choice as to the crops which he grew. He did not keep all his strips in one field under one crop. In one year, for example, he grew in West Field wheat, peas, vetches and pulse, while he let some of his strips "lay laye," *i.e.* in grass; in another he had in the same field, land under barley, vetches and pulse as well as under wheat; while from time to time he "hitched" the fallow—*i.e.* reserved, and probably temporarily fenced, part of it—for leguminous crops. His procedure could be paralleled from other sources: grass "lays," for example, were common in the arable fields of Northamptonshire, where the shortage of pasture was always a problem. The methods of the Norfolk farmer described in Professor Gray's *English Field Systems* show the same flexibility as do those of Loder.

The truth is that the conventional picture which still lingers in the textbooks—the picture of open-field agriculture as a perverse miracle of organised torpor performed by village idiots—has no relation to realities. It probably descends from a careless reading of Arthur Young, whose dogmatic ghost continues to ride through agrarian history, unperturbed by the evidence discovered since the precocious rationaliser himself rode in flesh and blood. If so, it is a part of the Arthurian legend which ought to be discarded. The note of the agriculture of the past was not so indisputably petrifaction as some of its earlier students suggested. Even the Mouldys and Bull Calfs—not to mention the Loders—behaved on occasion quite like human beings.

R. H. TAWNEY.

Eighteenth-Century London Life. By ROSAMOND BAYNE-POWELL. 1937. vii + 379 pp. Murray. 15*s.*

THIS is social history as it should not be written. It is an extreme case of its treatment as a collection of picturesque detail, regardless of chronology, with the period as something which can be discussed without concern for the changes of a century. No references are given (apart from allusions in the text to, *e.g.*, the *Tatler* or *Spectator*, Swift or Walpole) and many quotations are made at second hand. This technique has special dangers. One is that humorous and satirical passages are treated as descriptions of the normal. Another is illustrated from a quotation (incorrect) on the deportation of children to Virginia (p. 89). The phraseology alone should have warned the writer that the passage did not relate to the eighteenth century. It is evidently taken from the reviewer's *London Life in the Eighteenth Century*, where it describes, for purposes of comparison, an incident of 1620 with a reference to the Calendar of State Papers Colonial for that year. It appears in this book as the normal procedure of the eighteenth century.

The impression is inescapable that the writer has little familiarity with the history and literature of the period, but has collected, without assimilating, quotations and information over a wide range of topics. It should have been impossible to say that complaints of the roaring of beasts in Exeter 'Change were made to a City ward mote (an instance of the danger of invented detail). Johnsonians will shudder at allusions to Johnson, *e.g.*: "It is well to remember when we read the immortal Life that his sententiousness and gruff humour were not intended to annihilate the obsequious Boswell but for a large circle of admirers and opponents at the Literary Club or the Cheshire Cheese" (p. 141). And, "in 1750 Dr. Johnson began to edit the first number of the *Rambler*, a paper which came out twice a week." The *Rambler* is stigmatised as "dull and boring." A statement that Johnson "usually paid 7*d.* for dinner" does not show much acquaintance with "the immortal Life," where the sum is given as the price at which Johnson could dine when he first came to London in 1737.

We are told that "the parks on weekdays were the exclusive preserve of the gentry." Now, it was the common and repeated complaint that the parks were "infested" by the populace. (Hence Walpole's famous answer to Queen Caroline that the cost of closing St. James's Park would be "only three crowns.") Naturally the mob were more in evidence on Sundays than on other days. But the parks were always open to all, to the astonishment of foreign visitors, who saw in this a manifestation of English liberty.[1] This was in contradistinction to Kensington Gardens, where, for a time at least, only the decently dressed were admitted. The mistake is equivalent to concluding from accounts of the Edwardian Church Parade that the masses were excluded on Sundays from Hyde Park. But in the eighteenth century the masses were less decorous and their excesses were the subject of much comment.

A quotation from *The Times* of 1795 on "a lady only ten feet high, . . . the high mast of her feather" being blown away, receives the comment that this was "doubtless one of the immense erections of wool and horse hair . . . overlaid with a paste of powder . . . ornamented with flower gardens. . . ." This is to confuse the erect ostrich feathers of 1795 with the hairdressing of twenty years earlier. The

[1] *Johnson's England*, ed. A. S. Turberville, 1933, i. 183–5.

changes of dress during this period are so well known and so socially significant that the mistake should have been impossible. It is stressed here only because it is characteristic of the writer's approach to her subject.

The book is not concerned only with the lighter side of life. There is a chapter on the Government of London, calculated to mislead, in which there is the surprising statement that in the City "all but the poorest were freemen. It was a matter of payment, and cost in the early days of the century only £2 8*s*. 6*d*." (p. 95). There are digressions into political history, and the old fables about the bribes lavished by Walpole and Bute are repeated in their crudest form.

Among misprints may be noted: Basbridge for Brasbridge (p. 76), Kenway for Hanway (p. 88), Galton for Gatton (p. 124), Wyvell for Wyvill (p. 129), Heidigger for Heidegger (p. 167), Silas Todd for Silas Told (p. 221), Mainandue for Mainauduc (p. 262). On p. 72 George Canning should surely be George Colman?

The book is agreeably written and should give pleasure to those who take their history from the historical film. It should, however, be rigidly excluded from the school library. M. D. GEORGE.

SHORT NOTICES

IN *The Middle Classes Then and Now* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 15*s*.), Mr. F. C. Palm has written an interesting book, full of miscellaneous information. Very little of the information, however, is new, and the book as a whole suffers from the vastness and the vagueness of its theme. Mr. Palm, quite properly, begins by asking the question "Who are the middle classes?" But he fails conspicuously to provide a satisfactory answer. After a most inadequate discussion he concludes that "anomalous, mutable, with tenuous fringes, the middle classes never have been and are not now a fixed entity to be encompassed by a simple, rigid definition." Thus it is clear at the outset, and it becomes increasingly evident as the book proceeds, that Mr. Palm does not know precisely what he is writing about. No wonder, then, that his work is rambling, discursive and superficial.

In the main he tends to identify the middle classes with the moneyed men of the towns, ignoring such groups as lawyers, doctors, clergy and educationists—groups which should undoubtedly be included in any comprehensive survey. Thus the history of the middle classes, in Mr. Palm's hands, tends to be little more than a sketch of the history of commerce and finance. Even as such, moreover, it is very imperfect. For Mr. Palm endeavours to bring within the scope of his purview the whole of time from the third millennium B.C. to the present day, and the whole of the world from China to Peru. Thus as one rushes from Hammurabi of Babylon on one page to Hiram of Tyre on the next, and from Europe in one chapter to America in its successor, one is reminded of the traveller from the New World who "did" London in a day, visiting in one breathless morning the Abbey, the Tower, the National Gallery, the British Museum, and Madame Tussaud's.

All the same, in his hectic career through time and space Mr. Palm, after the manner of well-to-do American voyagers, has accumulated a large collection of curious and valuable odds and ends. These, as displayed in the present show-case, tell us something about the rise of