Notices of Archæological Publications.

SOME ACCOUNT OF THE ANCIENT FRATERNITY OF MERCHANT TAYLORS AT BRISTOL WITH TRANSCRIPTS OF ORDINANCES AND OTHER DOCUMENTS. By FRANCIS F. FOX, late Master of Merchant Venturers and one of the Trustees of the Merchant Taylors. Fifty Copies, printed for private circulation by J. WRIGHT & Co., Bristol.

Without a careful study of the subject it is impossible to estimate the extensive and beneficial influence exercised by the Mediæval Gilds upon all classes of the community, both urban and rural, and, unfortunately, at present, the available sources of information upon the subject are very scanty. Mr. Toulmin Smith's valuable work on "English Gilds" contains the Ordinances of the Gilds *written in English* which now remain in the Public Record Office. Those in the same depository in the Latin language, still, unfortunately, remain unpublished. Though Mr. Smith's work, which was printed by the Early English Text Society, some dozen years ago, for the purpose of illustrating the English language of the period in which these Ordinances are written, did not directly treat of the subject, it necessarily afforded a vast amount of information and created a great interest in the Ancient Gilds of England. Since that time the Ordinances of some particular Gilds have been published, but none of them possess greater interest and value than those of the Merchant Taylors of Bristol which Mr. Fox has recently printed.

Gilds are of great antiquity in England. Indeed, a learned German author[1] says:—"England was the birthplace of Gilds," and, he adds with reference especially to the Trades' Gilds, "London was their cradle," and Kemble gives us the Statutes of three Gilds, those of Abbotsbury near Dorchester, Exeter, and Cambridge; whilst the Gilds of Canterbury and Dover are mentioned in the Doomsday Book. Doubtless, Bristol, the second town in the kingdom, was, in respect to Gilds, not far behind.

The principles of the Old Gilds may be summed up in these words: "Loyalty and Fraternity based upon the foundation of Religion." They were Institutions for local self-help, which developed the power of self-government all over the country; they laid down and carried out rules of industry and honesty in all trades, rules of moral obligation in all classes, and rules for the support of poor members ages before the introduction of Poors Law and Benefit Societies. The former did not become necessary until after the Gilds and Monasteries had been mercilessly destroyed and their lands and possessions seized by the State. The latter have, in modern times, been ex-

[1] Lugo Brentano.

tensively organised without any knowledge of the principles and objects of the Ancient Gilds, from the intuitive perception of the advantages which might be derived from such institutions.

The Gilds all respected the authority of both Church and State, and, though essentially lay societies, every Gild elected a Chaplain-Priest to conduct their Religious Services, and no Ordinances were made which were not in harmony with Common Law. Toulmin Smith, though not a Churchman, was not slow to recognise the great practical value of the Ancient Fraternities. "Gilds," he said, "were not in any sense superstitious foundations," and, he remarks, that "they were very popular throughout the land," adding that "their suppression was a case of pure wholesale robbery and plunder, done by an unscrupulous faction to satisfy their personal greed under cover of law. No more gross case of wanton plunder is to be found in the history of all Europe. No page so black in English history."

The Mediæval Gilds have been divided into two sections: Social Gilds and Trades' Gilds; but this distinction is somewhat arbitrary. The great and leading principles of all Gilds were much the same, the enabling of the brethren and the sisteren to help each other in doing their duty towards God and towards their neighbours. As Mr. Fox justly points out, the ancient Trades' Gilds were in principle as far as possible removed from the modern Trades Unions. The Trade, or Craft Gilds, were not combinations of workmen against masters to extort from them as much as possible in return for bad and careless workmanship, bringing discredit and ruin generally upon the trade, but the union of masters and men together with the object of securing good materials, the best workmanship, and honest and fair dealing, in the sight of God, between man and man. In the words of Mr. Fox, "Masters and men were one body united in defence of their one self." This is illustrated in the motives which led to the formation of the Special Gild at Bristol, which Mr. Fox brings under notice. It is stated that before the institution of the Gild the craft of Taillours in Bristol had been, and was still, much slandered by incompetent and dishonest workmen, from the want of good Ordinances, as obtained in London, York, and other towns of the realm, in which it was provided that no man of the craft of Tailors should be received into the franchise or freedom of the craft unless he were first presented by the Master and Wardens of the craft to the Mayor of the town as an able and skilful person in his craft; and it was ordained by the Mayor and Common Council of Bristol that similar regulations should be adopted in that town, and that no man thenceforward should be enfranchised in the craft of Tailors unless he is a person of good condition, and of good name, and full perfect master of his craft.

Accordingly the Gild under the title of the "Fraternity of St. John Baptist," was established by Royal Charter dated 22 Rich. II., which was confirmed upon inspeximus in 1st Henry IV., and it appears that at this time the Gild had built and endowed a Chapel in the Parish Church of St. Owen, and had obtained the institution thereto, as Chaplain, one Robert Gloucester, who was to celebrate Divine Service therein daily at the altar of St. John Baptist.

The first institute in the Ordinance was that no man or woman should be "underfange" (received) into the Fraternity without the

assent of the Master and Wardens, and that everyone so admitted must be of "good conversation," and must "make surety by his faith" honestly to keep the Ordinances of the Fraternity. Every brother and sister of the Fraternity was every day to say, either for other, and for all the good doers of the Fraternity, and for all helpers of the same, and for the souls of all brethren or sisteren departed, and for all Christian souls three Paternosters and three Ave Marias upon peril of his oath, unless sickness may excuse him. Regulations are made for assisting any brother or sister who may fall into poverty and be unable to support themselves, unless such distress may have arisen from their own vicious conduct, in which case they were to be left to themselves. And if any brother lay "sick in God's hands," the Wardens in the name of the Fraternity were to visit him and help him, if needful, till he be cured of his sickness, or God should take him. But the Fraternity did not leave the deceased brother here. Under the obligation of their oaths every brother and sister of the Gild was to be present at his Placebo and dirige, and to offer at the Mass, and further to perform all those last offices for the departed brother which the faith they held and generally practised, and which the usages of the time required from the most affectionate survivors of a deceased's relatives. Truly does Mr. Fox say: "With hardly more affectionate regard did Hopeful help Christian across the river, and the shining men help him up the eternal hills beyond, than did the solemn troop and sweet societies of the middle ages attend to the spiritual interests of a sick and dying brother."

Following the rules for the foregoing and other religious observances, we find the regulations for the government of the Fraternity generally, and for the punishment of defaulters of the Craft. We have seen that no one was to be admitted unless he was of "good conversation," and he was also required to make proof of his skill as a workman, and if, from his want of skill, he spoiled a garment, he was to pay the value and take the garment to himself.

Mr. Fox has printed, *in extenso*, all the Ordinances made for the Gild from time to time, which are of no small interest. The shallowness of the pretence made by the Government, on the suppression of the Gilds, of using the possessions of the Fraternities "to more godly and virtuous purposes" is shewn, as pointed out by Mr. Fox, by the scrupulous care with which the religious objects of the Gild were extinguished when the Gild was suppressed and its secular character only retained. The provision for religious observances, and the penalties prescribed for the neglect of them in the original Ordinances, were intentionally obliterated, though it is still possible to decipher the regulations in consequence of the obliteration not being complete. In the 12th Elizabeth the Ordinances were boldly remodelled, the Gild being newly entitled a "Society and Mystery," the religious element, except what was involved in the oath of allegiance and abjuration upon admission to the Gild, being eliminated.

HISTORICAL MEMOIRS OF THE HOUSE AND CLAN OF MACKINTOSH AND OF THE CLAN CHATTAN. By ALEXANDER MACKINTOSH SHAW. London: R. Clay, Sons, and Taylor. Printed for the Author.

The above-mentioned work by Mr. Mackintosh Shaw possesses considerable interest. The Clan Chattan, which consisted of several

powerful septs, was one of the strongest and most influential in the Highlands. It was not only engaged in most of the broils, feuds, and forays which continually disturbed the country beyond the Grampians, but shared in many of the transactions affecting the national history of Scotland. The author in treating of his subject has carefully endeavoured to avoid a too close allusion to the actions of individuals and to write as far as possible a history of the Clan as a whole, and of the national and local affairs in which, as a whole, it took part; but the social condition of the Highlands down to a comparatively recent period, rendered it inevitable that the characters and actions of the Chieftains for the time being, and their relations to each other and to their followers in general, and to the Captain of Clan Chattan in particular should come prominently into view, and it is not to be regretted that such was the case, for thereby a considerable light has been thrown upon the generous and, at the same time, wild and turbulent character of the Clans and the devotion of the clansmen to their Chieftain, which devotion would seem to have been one of the most favourable traits in their character. An illustration of this heroic fidelity was manifested by eighteen Mackintoshes, who, having been concerned in a raid into Elgin, not without treachery fell into the hands of the Earl of Moray (described p. 188 *et seq.*) and were ordered to be hanged over the balks of the house where his court was holden. They were offered pardon if they would disclose the place of concealment of their captain, but "all stoutly refused to accept their lives at the price of their fidelity and honour." "Ther faith," says Sir Robert Gordon, "was sua true to ther Captane that they culd not be persuaded, either by fair meanes or by any terrour of death, to break the same or to betray ther master."[1] These men did not consider they had performed any meritorious action. They were simply doing their duty. As Mr. Shaw remarks, "Fidelity to his Chief was regarded as one of the first duties of a clansman, and he who lacked the fortitude to be faithful unto death would have been scouted from the society of his kinsmen as a coward and disgraced man."

Mr. Shaw ignores the pre-historic fictions and fables which many writers, not only on Scottish history, but also on the histories of other nations, frequently adopt "Any one," he says, "who endeavours to give an insight into the history of his country in the ages antecedent to civilization, must feel, after a very short time, the almost utter futility of his researches." This principle at once commends his work to the attention of his readers, and establishes confidence in his statements. Not that tradition is to be rejected, for before the introduction of writing no other means existed for handing down the facts of history, and though many details accompanying the oral relation of events were probably inaccurate, the main facts were most likely true. "It was only in the twelfth century," Mr. Shaw says, "that the history of Scotland emerged from its state of dark chaos," and it was still later before the light of civilization penetrated to the region whither the Gael had been driven.

Whilst doing full justice to the learned and ingenious work of Mr. Skene "The Highlanders of Scotland," Mr. Shaw takes exception to that author's theories and deductions as not being at all satisfactorily proved. Among these questionable speculations Mr. Shaw includes

[1] History of the Earldom of Sutherland, 100.

Mr. Skene's hypothesis concerning the origin of the Clan Mackintosh, and his view of the rival claims of Mackintosh and Macpherson of Cluny to the dignity of Chieftain of Clan Chattan. We cannot enter upon the details of this discussion. Suffice it to say that with studious moderation and fairness, Mr. Shaw's argument is well and clearly sustained, the result being that he comes to the conclusion that, although Macpherson of Cluny may be the lineal male representative of the Chiefs of the old Clan Chattan, the right to the headship of the Clan is undisputably vested in Mackintosh.

The champion battle fought on the North Inch of Perth in 1396, in the presence of King Robert III. and his Court, is so graphically described by Sir Walter Scott in the "Fair Maid of Perth," as, in its general feature, to be familiar to every one; but as regards the identity of the Clans engaged, it has always been a vexed question. This point Mr. Shaw has discussed with such a complete knowledge of Celtic genealogy, and of the feuds and circumstances of the only Clans which could possibly have been engaged in the bloody fray, and, moreover, with so much calmness of reasoning, as to lead to the conviction of the accuracy of his conclusion that the combatants were members of the Clan Chattan and Clan Cameron, whereof the former were victors.

The passages of arms, both public and private, in which the Clan was almost incessantly engaged, are described in a lively and interesting manner, but with respect to them we must refer to the work itself, and we can do no more than allude generally to the blaze of glory in which, we may almost say, the Clan expired on the fatal field of Culloden, when of twenty-one officers of the Mackintosh Clan which joined in the desperate charge upon the English lines, three only came out alive. The story of this battle is well and vividly told and is of stirring interest. Beyond its historic value Mr. Shaw's work will command the attention of the general reader.

DOMESDAY STUDIES: An Analysis and Digest of the Staffordshire Survey, &c. By the Rev. ROBERT W. EYTON, late Rector of Ryton, Salop. London: Trübner and Co. Printed and Sold by Jos. Halden, Stafford, 1881.

We cordially welcome another volume of Mr. Eyton's "Domesday Studies." In this book he examines the Domesday Survey of Staffordshire, treating, upon the same principle as in his Analysises of the Surveys of Dorset and Somerset, of the mensuration, technicalities, phraseology and method of Domesday, in its relation to this county and other counties in the same circuit; and he adds Tables and Notes re-producing the main features of the Survey, and comparing the same with existing conditions.

In this volume there are some new features of considerable interest. That the Staffordshire of Domesday does not agree with the limitations of the County at the present time is no subject of wonder, but that the Survey should fail to record the exact report of the Commissioners appointed to make it, is, indeed, surprising. Such, however, is the case, and Mr. Eyton in his examination of the Survey has clearly established the fact, that, chiefly through the carelessness of the scribes who compiled the Record from the Commissioners' returns, the lands in Staffordshire have been greatly confused and misplaced, that

certain manors have been omitted and certain other manors pertaining to the adjoining counties have been introduced.

The present County of Stafford is stated to contain 728,468 statute acres, but Mr. Eyton is of opinion that this area is understated to the extent of about 8,000 acres. Assuming, however, the area stated to be nearly correct, he proceeds to ascertain in what way it can be approximately found in Domesday. In the first place he withdraws some 14,620 acres, viz.:—In Tamworth, 5,580 acres; in Burton-upon-Trent, 5,370 acres; and in Rowley Regis, 3,670 acres; which, he says, were not in any manner prefigured in the Staffordshire Domesday. This will leave an area of 713,848 acres to be accounted for. In an exhaustive and carefully prepared table he has abstracted the whole of the contents of the Great Record as far as it relates to this county, the result being that Domesday shows in Staffordshire 490 hides or equivalent of hides, which reduced to acreage, amounts to 408,004 acres, shewing a deficiency of 245,841 acres. From this it appears that the average Staffordshire hide contained 955 acres of Domesday measurement; that the Domesday Commissioners surveying a district which is now ascertained to have contained 713,848 acres, registered only 408,004 acres, that is they pretermitted 245,844 acres, or considerably more than one-third of the County, such as it was had they dealt with all its manors. Mr. Eyton says it is easy to suggest what this omitted territory was, and considers that it represents what in other counties was registered as *pascua* or *pastura*, viz.: the treeless uplands and moorlands of the county, all in fact that was utterly profitless, and, at the same time was not afforested neither by King nor Baron. In the same manner an area of 177,970 acres was omitted to be registered in Somersetshire. Considerably more than one-half of the registered territory in Staffordshire, viz., 329,538 acres, was woodland, ordinarily of no profit whatever except for purposes of the chase or warren; and he comes to the conclusion of its valuelessness from the fact that in some few instances small portions of woodland are described with some distinctive characteristic.

After some historical notices of the Burgh and Castle of Stafford, Mr. Eyton draws attention to the poverty and disorganization of the county at the time of the Survey. Some of the symptoms he considers indicative of chronic poverty arising at an earlier era than the Conquest, as its condition shews an extraordinary inaptitude for taxation. This is disclosed by the fact that the Staffordshire hide contained 955 acres of Domesday measurement, and no less than 1456 acres of modern ascertainment; whilst the Domesday hide of Dorsetshire covered only about 238 statute acres, and the co-ordinate of a Somerset hide was about 300 acres; and Mr. Eyton states that he "has found no parallel in any county for the chronic state of poverty and unproductiveness," thus shewn. He further illustrates this condition of the county by another test; viz., that it appears from the Survey that the arable land in the county was sufficient to employ 1225 teams, yet there were only 992 teams in stock. Entering upon the value of the lands registered, he finds the average to be 17s. 9¼d. a hide, which, considering the acreage, was less than a farthing an acre, and taking the modern acreage, less than one-sixth of a penny, whilst there was but one labourer to 167 acres of registered land, and one in proportion to 255 acres of actual surface. Calling attention, however, to the fact that out of the 408,004 Domesday

acres, 319,538 consisted of woods, there remained only 148,466 acres of arable and meadow land, so that there was, in fact, a labourer for every 53 acres; or limiting the enquiry to arable land there was a labourer to every 42 acres. This does not appear to differ very widely from Somersetshire. Mr. Eyton draws another illustration from the relative number and value of mills. All students know how very valuable was this species of property in early mediæval times, and "there is no better test," Mr. Eyton remarks, "of the condition of a county at the time of the Domesday than the number and value of its mills, for mill-value means population quite as much as water power." In all Staffordshire there were only 64 mills registered in Domesday, whilst in Dorset, a less county than Staffordshire by some 120,000 acres, there were registered in Domesday 272 mills.

Having thus exhibited the condition of the County of Stafford in the year 1086, with a view, in some measure, to account for its poverty and desolation, Mr. Eyton proceeds to review the history of the district during the preceding 30 years. Soon after the battle of Senlac Edwin and Morcar, Earls of Mercia, made their submission to William, now King, and did homage for their lands. They lived much in the Norman Court, and it is said that Earl Edwin formed an attachment to one of William's daughters, that William at first assented to the young Earl's suit, but afterwards withdrew his consent, whereupon the two brothers, indignant at the affront thus placed upon them, withdrew to their own territories and raised the standard of revolt. Upon William's approach, however, they submitted and were again received into apparent favour. Up to this time Staffordshire would seem to have been in much the same condition as it was in the time of King Edward. William, however, commenced the confiscation of the Earl's lands and disturbances arose. He twice invaded Staffordshire, the last time in 1071, when he seems to have completely devastated the county, the effects of which were apparent when the Survey was taken sixteen years afterwards. "The general picture of the Borough and County," Mr. Eyton says, "is that of a partial recovery from the supposable or presumed desolations of 1070-71." "But," he adds, "let us not be mistaken about the nature of these desolations. Let Domesday be its own interpreter as to the meaning of such expressions as 'mansiones vastæ' in the town, and 'terræ vastæ' in the country. When Domesday would indicate the destruction of a fabric, whether a burgage, a homestead, or a castle, it writes *mansio destructa, domus penitus destructa, castellum destructum*, or *castellum ruptum*, when, as at York, the fortress had been successfully assaulted. But when Domesday, the Staffordshire Domesday, at least, speaks of 'mansiones vastæ' and 'terræ vastæ' it means empty houses, unoccupied and depopulated estates. The context sometimes, if not always, indicates this. The contrast to a 'mansio vasta' is 'mansio hospitatu,' an empty house and an inhabited house. So then the desolation of Stafford and Staffordshire, which largely endured to the year of Domesday, was simply depopulation, the slaughter of the inhabitants, or their emigration elsewhere." And he expresses his opinion "that what slaughter there was or destruction of property there might have been, was rather the result of intestine feuds and the hatred of antagonistic races, than of the sword and the alleged savagery of William."

At the time of the Domesday Survey the county of Stafford was divided

into five Hundreds, and, with the exception of the errors, omissions, and interpolations of the Domesday scribes, before alluded to, and a subsequent alteration of the boundary between the Hundreds of Offlow and Cuddlestone, the present Hundreds are identical in boundary with the Hundreds of the eleventh century; and Mr. Eyton remarks, "the great use of this ascertainment and canon is, that though I cannot always reproduce a Domesday Manor-name in any later form, I can always tell the Hundred in which an obsolete manor lay, and in which some more persevering enquirer should look for it."

Treating then specifically of these Hundreds, and of the respective Fiefs and their several Lords, chapters of great interest and value, as well historically as locally, Mr. Eyton inserts a table showing the technical measures and annual values of the several Fiefs in 1086, and shews that the collected Fiefs of the Domesday County of Stafford contained $567\frac{7}{120}$ hides or quasi-hides; and the gross annual revenue of the said Fiefs was £516 16s. 3d., which was thus apportioned:—The King's estates yielded per annum £152 9s.; Robert de Stafford's, £123 6s. 8d. The lands of the Bishop and six other ecclesiastical persons, £70 2s. 7d.; the estates of the Earl of Shrewsbury, his son, and two greater Barons, £145 13s.; six lesser Barons or Feudatories, altogether £21 11s.; and the king's thanes divided among them £3 14s.

To show the low condition of Staffordshire at the time of the Survey Mr. Eyton contrasts it with the lesser county of Dorset. Dorset contained an area of 632,909 statute acres and the county of Stafford now measures nearly 740,500 statute acres. The best test of the prosperity of any county in 1086 was its capacity for taxation. The geldable hidage of Dorset stood at $2321\frac{1}{2}$ hides; the ingeldable or quasi-hidage $283\frac{1}{2}$ hides; total, 2,650 hides. The geldable hidage of Staffordshire, the larger county, stood at $499\frac{1}{2}$ hides; the ingeldable or quasi-hidage at $67\frac{1}{2}$; total, 567 hides. The collected revenues, or annual value of Dorset estates was £3,359 12s. 9d., whilst those of Staffordshire amounted only to £516 16s. 3d. So that the larger county did not, and, probably, could not, bear so much as one-fourth of the taxation of the smaller, and the annual revenues of the larger county were not so much as a sixth of the revenues of the smaller.

Mr. Eyton's investigation into the Great Inquest of England, and the analysis resulting therefrom, are invaluable, and indeed are indispensable to a knowledge of the condition of the country in the latter part of the eleventh century. We trust that he may be spared to deal with every county in the same masterly manner in which he has treated those he has already handled.

Archaeological Intelligence.

An Ancient Burial Place at Stapenhill, Derbyshire.—Under the auspices of the Burton Natural History and Archæological Society some important excavations have lately been carried out at Stanton Cross, Stapenhill. By a systematic method of going to work twenty-three skeletons have been revealed, and, thanks to the intelligent labours of Dr. Perks, Mr. Heron, and Mr. Strachan, the stiff red clay of the new sandstone formation has surrendered a quantity of most interesting

Notices of Archaeological Publications.

SCOTLAND IN EARLY CHRISTIAN TIMES. By JOSEPH ANDERSON, Keeper of the National Museum of the Antiquaries of Scotland. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1881.

The work at the head of this Notice contains the Series of Lectures delivered in 1879 from the Chair of Archæology founded, in connection with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, by the late Alexander Henry Rhind of Sibster. The great services rendered to the science of Archæology by Mr. Rhind are well known to most of the Members of the Institute. For several years he was an occasional contributor to our Journal, as he was also to the publications of several other learned Societies, and his communications shewed him to be an ardent explorer and a patient and careful observer, whilst his conclusions were marked by a cautious and enlightened judgment. But in no way did he more shew his appreciation of the value of the science to which he had so earnestly devoted his life than in the foundation, at his death, of an annual series of lectures to encourage and promote its study in all time.

The previous series of lectures was delivered by Dr. Arthur Mitchell, published in a volume entitled "The Past in the Present: What is Civilization?" a very remarkable work which should be studied by every archæologist. To this we need not further refer.

The subject selected by Mr. Anderson is of the highest interest, and he has treated it in a most comprehensive manner. After a preliminary lecture on the means of obtaining a scientific basis for the archæology of Scotland, he proceeds to the consideration of the ecclesiastical antiquities of that country under two divisions, viz.:—Structural Remains and Existing Relics, the last being sub-divided under three heads—Books, Bells, and Crosiers and Reliquaries.

With respect to the first division he inverts the ordinary course of proceeding. Instead of beginning at the beginning and endeavouring to trace down the history of the Ancient Christian Structures of Scotland from the earliest rude examples he adopts as his starting point the early part of the twelfth century when the characteristics of the ecclesiastical architecture of Scotland were well-known as in plan, consisting of chancel with round arches with radiating joints over doors and windows, the jambs or sides of which were perpendicular.

Having thus obtained a fixed starting point in time and a known type of structure for comparison, he proceeds to deal with the unascertained types on the principle of archæological classification. Removing from view all ecclesiastical structures of twelfth century

character there remains a considerable number which possess no distinguishing architectural features of moulding or ornament, and in this residue some are obviously earlier than others, though certain of them may be later in time than the twelfth century, because the earlier type may have survived longer in some places than in others, and in certain places the earlier types may never have been superseded by the later at all. In these circumstances there is a difficulty in adopting a chronological classification, a difficulty which arises in attributing any prehistoric object to a given period of time, whilst it is easy to determine that within a given area certain types must have preceded certain other types, and therefore a classification by sequency of types is all that is truly practicable, and this principle Mr. Anderson has adopted.

The residue which remains after withdrawing all the churches of twelfth century character he divides into two distinct classes. (1) Those which possess Chancel and Nave, and (2) Those which have only a single Chamber; and of these two classes he naturally considers "the most complex and refined as certainly the later;" and though some of these chancelled churches approach very nearly in character to those of the twelfth century there are others very rudely constructed of unhewn stone without mortar; whilst the single-chambered structures may be traced backwards by a series of gradations of style and construction into a type which is truly primitive, corresponding in all respects with the types of the earlier churches of Ireland from whence the Christian institutions of Scotland were originally derived, and whither, as the Celtic Church, in almost every respect, differed widely from the rest of Western Christendom, we should naturally look for identity of type.

The chancelled churches of the mainland of Scotland Mr. Anderson says are mostly of the Norman style of architecture, and he passes them by, referring only to the beautiful ruin of the church of St. Regulus at St. Andrews, and for his first example of a Celtic

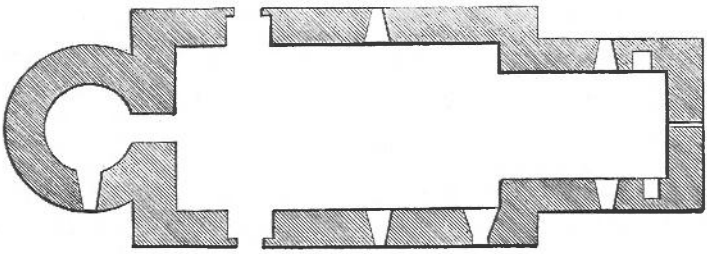

Fig. 1.—Plan of Egilsay Church.

chancelled church adopts the remarkable church of Egilsay in Orkney, which has a round tower at the west end, in which respect it differs from all other churches in Scotland. "The whole structure is of irregular coursed masonry. Some of the stones are as much as four feet long by eighteen inches deep, but generally speaking they are very irregular in size. The tower is built of smaller stones than the church; they are unhewn and fitted to the round by their length. The internal diameter of the tower is seven feet, and the thickness of the wall at the base three and-a-half feet. Its present height is forty-

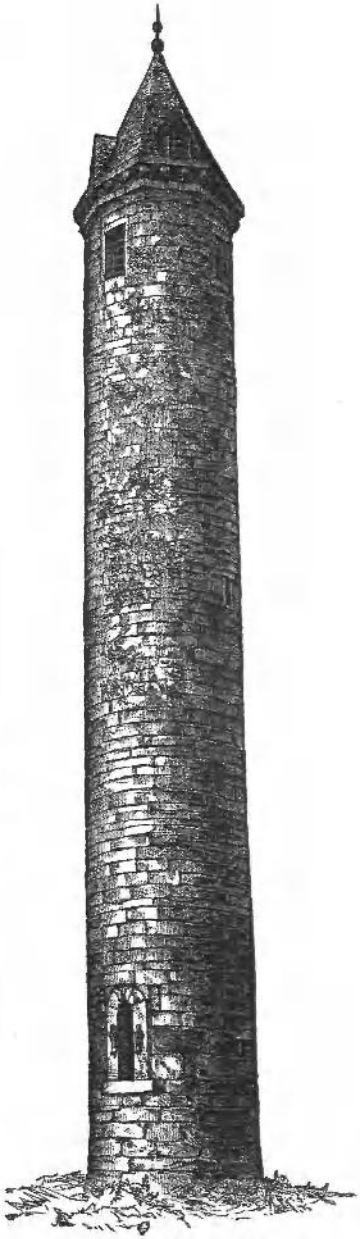

Fig. 3. Round Tower of Brechin.

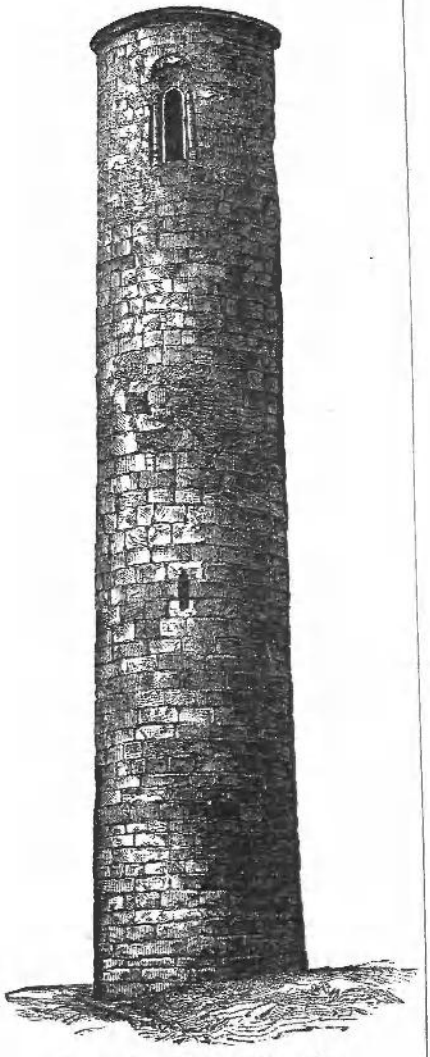

Fig. 4. Round Tower at Abernethy.

eight feet, but it was formerly sixty feet high. The engraving Fig. 2, represents both church and tower as covered by stone roofs,

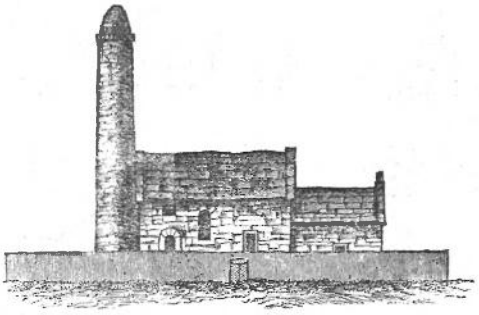

Fig. 2.—Egilsay Church.

that of the tower being a conical cap like those of the round towers in Ireland. The church has now lost its roof and the tower its cap." "The upper story of the tower had four windows facing the cardinal points. Below these is a narrow square topped window in the east side, and straight below it a semi-circular-headed window of wide dimensions. Access is obtained to the tower by a round-headed doorway opening through the west gable of the nave. The nave itself is twenty-nine feet nine inches long by fifteen feet six inches wide, and the walls are about three feet thick. It has two doors opposite to each other, on the north and south sides near the west end." "The chancel is fifteen feet by nine feet six inches, and the wall about two feet nine inches thick. It is roofed with a plain barrel vault, and has no proper chancel arch, the end of the vault opening directly from the nave. Over the vault of the chancel is a chamber, to which access is given from the nave by a round-headed doorway. This chamber is lighted by a flat-headed window in the east gable eighteen inches high. Such a group of peculiar features does not occur in any other ecclesiastical building in this country; but it is the round tower which gives Egilsay its special character." The singular character of this little church has led us to give a somewhat full abstract of Mr. Anderson's description.

Besides the round tower of this church only two other round towers exist in Scotland. One is at Brechin in Forfarshire, and the other is at Abernethy in Perthshire, but neither of them seems ever to have been connected with a church.

Mr. Anderson gives a very careful and detailed account of each of these towers but their general character is sufficiently shewn for our purpose in the annexed engravings (Figs. 3 & 4). Though they differ from each other in dimensions and in some special features, in general character they are strikingly alike, and Mr. Anderson considers them as outlyers of the specific type of round towers of which seventy six examples are known to exist in Ireland (and there were twenty-two others which are now gone) with which they are identical in type. The Irish towers he classifies as of four styles of which he considers the Scottish towers to be of the third or fourth. Mr. Anderson gives many other examples of round-towered chancelled churches in Orkney

and Shetland, but we must proceed to the next class of churches, or primitive type of single chambered buildings.

One of the best examples of the first variety is found, Mr. Anderson says, in the Island of Inchcolm, on the east coast of Scotland, beside the ruins of a monastery founded there by Alexander I, though of much earlier date. It has been minutely described by Sir James Simpson.[1] It is irregular in form (see ground plan, Fig. 5) approxi-

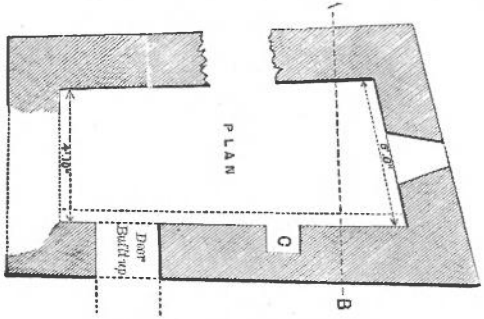

Fig. 5.—Plan of Cell at Inchcolm.

mately rectangular internally and measuring sixteeen feet in length along the centre of the floor and six feet three inches across the east end, and four feet nine inches at the west end. The roof of the building is vaulted with stones placed in the form of a radiating arch (Fig. 6) somewhat pointed at the apex and the centring stones are roughly wedge-shaped. The space between the vaulting and the stone roof is filled in with small stones and a quantity of lime. In this are embedded the oblong-squared stones which form the roof. The original door-way is in the south wall near the west end, a somewhat unusual position in the early stone roofed churches or oratories. It is five feet high and four feet wide with slightly inclined jambs. In this rude edifice, Mr Anderson observes, we have reached the primitive type but not the primitive form in which that earliest type appears. Rude as it is, the Hermit's Chapel or Oratory at Inchcolm possesses features in the radiating vault of the roof, its grouted and squared stone covering, the arching of its doorway, its position and even the approximately quadrangular form of its ground plan, features not

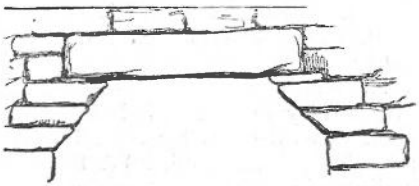

Fig. 6.—Interior head of Doorway at Inchcolm.

found in the earliest forms of structure consecrated to the service of religion when the church was first permanently planted in Scotland. (See Figs. 5—9.)

As Christianity with all its usages, styles of construction, forms of structure, and ornament, was orginally derived from Ireland to that Island, the ancient Scotia, Mr. Anderson directs us to look, if we

[1] "Proceedings of Soc. of Ant. of Scotland," Vol. ii, p. 489.

Fig. 6. Section of the Arch of the Roof.

Fig. 7. Interior of the Cell.

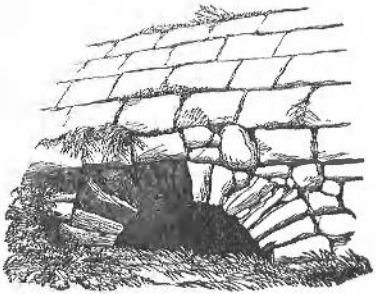

Fig. 8. Exterior head of Doorway.

would ascertain the features of the earliest style of construction of Christian buildings. "The study of early Christian structures in Scotland," he says, "should be prosecuted as the study of a derived group, and the typical characteristics of a group can be most readily ascertained from the more numerous examples which will be found in the original group than in the derived group." Consequently he takes us to Ireland for the purpose of investigating the character of the earlier Christian structures in that country.

This is perfectly natural and just. Ireland was the mother of the Celtic Christian Church in Scotland, as she was also of the Celtic Christian Church in Cornwall, the sister church therefore of Scotland and founded at about the same time. As might be expected we find in Cornwall examples perfectly analogous to those of which we have been treating in Scotland. In the little oratory of St. Piran, or St. Kyeran as he was called in Ireland, so singularly discovered in 1835, after having been buried perhaps 1000 years in the sands, we have a single-chambered building of precisely the same character as the Oratory at Inchcolm. The masonry of the east window is almost identical with the vaulting at the latter place. In St. Gwythian we have a chancelled church very similar in plan, save the tower, to that of Egilsay. See "Ancient Oratories of Cornwall" by Rev. W. Haslam with illustrations.[1]

The early Celtic Church in Ireland in its policy, customs, and usages differed very widely from those of other portions of western Christendom. The whole country was divided among numerous septs, each independent of, and often hostile to, its neighbours, and when the chieftain of a sept became a convert to the Christian faith he took the founder under his protection, and the churches were built within the fortified enclosure of the chieftain. Hence, contrary to ecclesiastical usage elsewhere, the bishops did not possess geographical Sees. In like manner the monasteries had bishops of their own who lived according to the Rule of the Order in the religious house, rendering due obedience to the abbot, and it is found that from the first introduction of Christianity into Ireland until the twelfth century it was the special character of ecclesiastical settlements that the rath or cashel surrounded the church and included also within its circuit the domestic buildings. And though the rath might not have differed in character from what it was in Pagan times, Mr. Anderson says "there is no Pagan structure in Ireland or in Scotland that at all resembles, either in form or character, a Christian Church however early or however rude."

The constitution of the early Celtic Church was monastic, and the rath which surrounded the church enclosed all the cells or dwellings of the fraternity. These dwellings, like the rath, were not necessarily affected either in style or form by the change of faith of their occupants, and they continued to be constructed after the ancient native manner; and Mr. Anderson assumes that if we find in Scotland a church, or churches, associated with a group of dwellings constructed in this manner, we may conclude that a group of Christian remains of an earlier type is not likely to be discovered.

Mr. Anderson states that there are in Ireland four different groups of early ecclesiastical structures of this typical character. An example

[1] "Archæological Journal," ii, 228, *et seq.*

of the first group is found in Skellig Mhichel, or St. Michael's Rock, a small but lofty island, lying about twelve miles off the coast of Kerry. The rock is divided into two peaks, and the monastic settlement occupies an oblong platform about 180 feet in length by about 80 or 100 feet in width, which is situated on the summit of the lower peak, close to the edge of the cliff, about 700 or 800 feet above the sea. The group of buildings is enclosed on the seaward side by a cashel wall of dry-built masonry of beautiful workmanship, which runs along the edge of the precipice. On the landward side they are enclosed by the rock which rises behind them; no wilder or more inaccessible situation can well be conceived. The landing place is a narrow cove, where the vertical cliffs rise to the full height of the island. The path of access leads first by a series of zigzags to a point in the cliff, about 120 feet above the level of the sea, from which a succession of 670 steps leads up to the settlement. As it now exists (Fig. 10) it consists of five circular bee-hive cells of dry-built masonry,

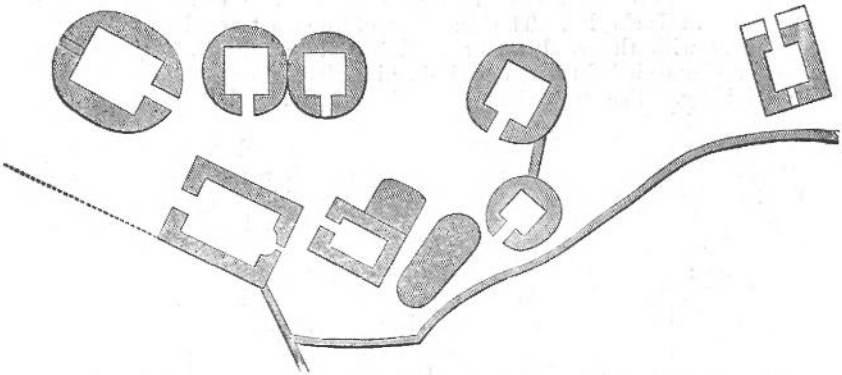

Fig. 10.—Ground Plan of the group of structures on Skellig Mhichel. Scale 40 ft. to 1 in., nearly.

associated with two rectangular structures built in the same manner, and one rectangular building of larger size, part of which is dry-built and part constructed with lime cement. This is almost circular in form externally, but contains a rectangular chamber fifteen feet by twelve feet on the ground plan; its walls are six feet six inches thick. They rise vertically for seven or eight feet, after which they converge in the usual bee-hive form, until at the height of sixteen feet six inches the rudely domical or bee-hived-shaped roof, is finished by a small circular aperture, which might be covered by a single stone. The doorway is three feet ten inches high with inclining sides, and the passage which leads straight through the thickness of the wall is about two and-a-half feet wide. Over the doorway is a small aperture like a window, and above it is a cross formed by the insertion in the wall of six quartz boulders, whose whiteness is in strong contrast to the dark slaty stone of the building (Fig. 11.) Mr. Anderson gives further detailed description of this building, and says the general features of the other circular cells are so similar as not to need description. The other cells however differ from these cells in the following particulars: These also are built wholly of unhewn stones without cement; they are quadrangular in form both externally and internally; their doorways are always placed at the west end, and they have a small

Fig. 11. Exterior View of the Cell at Skellig Mhichel.

window in the east end and the remains of an altar platform under the east window. Thus Mr. Anderson observes, there is no difficulty in concluding that, notwithstanding their small size and the rudeness of their construction, they were built for worship and not for ordinary habitation.

Mr. Anderson then proceeds to the description of examples of the other groups of Irish buildings in which we are unable to follow him, and sums up his remarks by saying that the characteristic features of the earliest type of Christian remains in Ireland are: 1. "That they exist in composite groups comprising one or more churches placed in association with monastic dwellings, which consist of dry-built cells of bee-hive shape, the the whole settlement being enclosed within a cashel or rampart of uncemented stones. 2. That the churches found in this association are invariably of small size and rude construction. 3. That whether they are lime-built with perpendicular walls, or dry-built and roofed like the dwellings, by bringing the walls gradually together, they are always rectangular on the ground plan and single chambered. 4. They have usually a west doorway, and always an east window over the altar."

The special features of these primitive buildings, Mr. Anderson says, "are their extreme rudeness of construction, the simplicity of their forms, the insignificance of their dimensions, and the total absence of any attempt at ornament or refinement of detail." But it is very evident from other facts that this severe simplicity and uniformity of plan did not arise from any deficiency of inventive power of the people, as is shewn by their other works, and Dr. Petrie suggests that it rather originated "in the spirit of their faith, or a veneration for some model given them by their first teachers, for that the earliest churches on the Continent before the time of Constantine were like these, small and unadorned, there is no reason to doubt."

We have dwelt at some length upon this first division of Mr. Anderson's treatise, though not to the extent which, from its interest, we should have desired, because these ancient Celtic Christian structures are of very great historical value and are little known. So far as we are aware he is the first who has classified them and reduced them to a system.

We now proceed to the second division which treats of some of the ancient relics of the Celtic Church. These have from time to time been brought under notice in the various archæological publications and, consequently, we have become, to some extent, familiar with their special character and their great interest and artistic value. In treating of the subject of books Mr. Anderson describes various MSS. of the ancient Celtic Church which are very remarkable for their high antiquity, some of them being attributed to St. Columba himself, their historic value as illustrative of the manners and customs and spirit of the age in which they were written, the beauty of the caligraphy in the early Celtic characters, the extreme intricacy and richness of the ornamentation, and the variety and delicacy of the interlaced work so characteristic of the Celtic School of Art, form a remarkable contrast with the rude bee-hive huts, in which lived the cultured artists by whom these magnificent works were executed, shewing, as Mr. Anderson remarks, how greatly we should err if we relied on structural remains alone as indications of culture.

One of the special characteristics of the ancient Celtic church was the extreme veneration which the people manifested for the ministers and for all the ornaments and accessories associated with Divine Worship. Bells and Crosiers in a very high degree participated in this veneration, so much so that special hereditary officers were appointed for their safe custody, and endowed with lands and emoluments to support their offices. There are many bells in existence of extreme antiquity, and though rude in character, the high esteem in which they were held is shewn by the shrines or reliquaries prepared for their preservation. These are executed in gold and silver and adorned in the richest style of Celtic art. Illustrations are given by Mr. Anderson of many of the ancient bells and of their costly cases. As examples of the latter the reader is referred to the figures on pp. 200, 201, and 203. Of Crosiers the most remarkable in its character and its history is the Quigrich or Crosier of St. Fillan. For an account of this we must refer the reader to a communication from Lord Talbot de Malahide in the *Archæological Journal*, vol. xvi, p. 41, and to Mr. Anderson's pages for a further account.

We are glad to hear that Mr. Anderson is appointed to give another series of lectures relating more especially to the Pagan Antiquities of Scotland, to which we shall look forward with much interest.[1]

PRIMITIVE FOLK-MOOTS; OR, OPEN-AIR ASSEMBLIES IN BRITAIN. By GEORGE LAURENCE GOMME, F.S.A., Honorary Secretary to the Folk-Moot Society; Author of Index of Municipal Offices. London: Sampson, Low & Co., 1880.

Man in his primitive state lived under a patriarchal government in families or tribes, and we have abundant evidence that in this social condition all matters of a religious, legislative, political, or judicial character were dealt with by assemblies, held in the open air, of the whole of the free-men of the tribe or family. It is not meant that the entire male population was entitled to be present. All the unfree, and all in a dependent position, were represented by the heads of their families, who were responsible for their conduct. Those chiefs only were entitled to attend, and did attend such assemblies It is obvious that as time advanced the numbers would so increase that no building which could be constructed at that early period would contain the persons entitled to be present; and besides this physical reason there were others equally strong. The heathen associated the administration of justice with the principle of their religion, and for holding courts of justice they required sacred places in which sacrifices could be offered and the oracles consulted; and though upon the introduction of Christianity the heathen sacrifices ceased, the feeling of reverence for the sacred place remained, and it still continued to be used as the seat of justice, and the place of general meetings for the purposes of the tribe. The sites selected for these meetings were in some way remarkable or conspicuous, and in character they varied very widely, in a forest, under special trees, in meadows, on mountains and hills, by the sides of rivers, and many other situations have been enumerated by the German author Grimm

[1] The reader will find a very exhaustive treatise on Ancient Bells, under the head "Tintinnabula," in the Rev. H. T. Ellacombe's "Church Bells of Devon," p. 297.

as meeting places of the Courts of Justice. These early institutions formed the cradle of the liberties of England, and the investigation and study of them has been too much neglected. Historical authors, generally, have been content to take up history where recent evidence begins. But Mr. Gomme says, "No branch of English history has been re-modelled so entirely upon a new basis as this early period, before the existence of English records. Comparative Philology, Comparative Politics, and Comparative Jurisprudence have united in producing a philosophy of history, which enables us to understand the political life and institutions of this early period, almost as satisfactorily as if our knowledge had been derived from the evidence of written records." Kemble, and Stubbs, and Freeman have taken a wider and more comprehensive view of the subject than any of their predecessors, by appealing to the comparative method, and by "calling in the evidence of early foreign history as evidence of early English history, and by taking English history back to a foreign home for its origin." Mr. Gomme is, however, of opinion that these eminent writers have taken too narrow a view of the subject by limiting the comparison of English institutions to those of the Germans or other Teutonic races, whereas it appears to him "not only that traces of primitive institutions are by no means lost to the student of our island antiquities, but that it is worth while spending some time and labour in working out the proposition as to how much of the primitive history of Britain may be restored to knowledge."

Mr Gomme places the primitive assembly in a very foremost position among the institutions of our forefathers. "It represents," he says, "all that primitive man had to fall back upon in his struggles for right and justice in his connection with men of his own tribe or village, and perhaps with those of foreign tribes or villages. It figures out the solidity of the foundation upon which it was based, namely, the patriarchal community; and it adds one more to those common features in the sociology of the human race which modern science has succeeded in establishing."

Having arrived at this conclusion, Mr. Gomme proceeds to shew what is now the practice of uncivilised or half-civilised peoples in regard to the transaction of the public affairs of the tribe. He appeals to the usage of the North American Indians, to the Hottentot tribes of South Africa, to the Scandinavian nations, and especially to the Things of Iceland, which is the most perfect example known in history. All these afford evidence of the soundness of his theory. And though we have not English written records extending back to the period when popular open air assemblies were in full use, there is a large amount of evidence of the right of all freemen to attend and take part in public affairs. This is shewn by the expression that certain things were done in the presence of "all the men of the shire," or "all the men of the hundred." But the strongest evidence exists in the survival, more or less distinct, of special principles and special forms and ceremonies, which in certain courts prevail to our own time. As might have been expected, these ancient practices obtain more fully in the most remote districts. The most perfect example in Britain is, it is presumed, the Tynwald Court of the Isle of Man. Of this a very full and interesting description is given by Mr Gomme, and he quotes important examples in the Tings of Orkney and Shetland.

The practice also of some of our Hundredal, Forest, and Manor Courts in England, as regards the sites and the periods at which they are ascertained to be held, as well as the customs and franchises which pertain to them, are of the highest interest from their singularity, and from remarkable examples of the survival among us, even at this time, of important features of the ancient folk-moots. The examples cited by Mr. Gomme from all parts of the country are very numerous and varied, but the space required for the selection of even a few of them is more than we have at our disposal. We must, therefore, refer to the work itself for further information and details. It affords evidence of very extensive reading, great industry and perseverance in the collection of materials, and very close reasoning in their use. Few persons will read it without interest and instruction upon a very abstruse subject.

HISTORIC MEMORIALS OF THE STEWARTS OF FORTHERGILL, PERTHSHIRE, AND THEIR MALE DESCENDANTS, WITH AN APPENDIX CONTAINING TITLE DEEDS AND VARIOUS DOCUMENTS OF INTEREST IN THE HISTORY OF THE FAMILY. Edited by CHARLES POYNTZ STEWART, M.A., Trinity College, Cambridge, F.S.A., Scotland, etc., etc. Printed for private circulation by W. & A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London.

Mr. Stewart's is one of those Family Memorials which are now frequently privately printed, chiefly for those who are personally interested in the family which they commemorate. Many of them relate to families of no interest except to their own members. and too often the genealogies set out are as untrustworthy as they are uninteresting. In neither respect is this the case in the work at the head of this notice. The Stewarts of Forthergill here chronicled are the descendants of the Royal House of Stewart, a family than which, notwithstanding the weaknesses and frailties of many of its members, no family in the history of Scotland or England has kindled a warmer enthusiasm and more faithful devotion. The author has been neither credulous nor negligent in his work. There is evidence on every page of conscientious and diligent investigation and an honest endeavour, justified in the result, to prove every step in the descent.

The Stewarts of Forthergill are descended from Alexander, fourth son of Robert II, King of Scotland and brother of Robert III. He was officially known among his contemporaries as Alexander "Senescalli" on account of the hereditary office held by his family as High Stewards of Scotland, but colloquially, on account of his hot and fierce temperament and his many sanguinary actions, for his sword was in his hand on every provocation, he was called "The Wolf of Badenoch," the barony of which had been granted to him by his father, by whom he was also created Earl of Buchan (1374), and having married Euphemia, Countess of Ross, in her right he became also Earl of Ross. He was the builder of Gurth Castle near Dunkeld, of which a good description, with view and plan, is given. The Earl of Buchan's fourth son James married (A.D. 1379) Janet daughter and heir of Alexander Menzies of Forthergill, and his issue inherited her possessions. Forthergill became the seat of the chief of his descendants for many generations. This James had a son John Stewart the First of Forthergill who had two sons Niel of Forthergill,

and Alexander who had sesine of the lands of Bonskeid and died in 1501. Alexander the Fifth of Bonskeid had two sons, John sixth of Bonskeid whose issue male became extinct on the death of Alexander Stewart the tenth of Bonskeid, and James who had a grant (1625) from his father of lands in Wester-Cluny where he seated himself. His grandson Captain Charles Stewart of the Fifth Dragoons married Rose daughter of Roger Hall of Narrow-water Castle, co. Down, by Christian daughter and co-heir of Sir Toby Poyntz of Acton and Brenock, co. Armagh, believed to have been the grandson of Sir John Poyntz of Iron Acton, co. Glouc., under which name of Acton his father, Sir Charles Poyntz, constituted the lands granted to him in Armagh, a manor. This Captain Charles Stewart was the great-great-grandfather of our author. Mr. Stewart has very carefully brought down the pedigree with the result that the only existing descendants in the male line of "the fierce Wolf of Badenock" are—his uncle Charles Stewart and his son Charles Edward Stewart; his kinsman James Stewart-Robertson and his son of the same name; and himself. All other male descendants he has shewn to have become extinct.

About one half of the volume consists of an Appendix containing charters, deeds, and other legal instruments, affording evidence of the facts set forth in the genealogies, which are, of themselves, of considerable interest. Several of the charters are printed in *fac simile*, which, as well as the many other illustrations, are very well executed. The whole work is a monument of careful, patient, and industrious research, and its production reflects very great credit both upon the author and printer.

Notices of Archæological Publications.

CHAPTERS IN THE HISTORY OF OLD ST. PAUL'S. By W. Sparrow Simpson, D.D., F.S.A. Elliot Stock, 1881.

The great church at the top of Ludgate Hill is but of recent work, and it is all of one time. It is important as presenting to us the ideal of an English cathedral at the end of the seventeenth century, and it is valuable for its intrinsic merits as a work of art. But it cannot compare in antiquarian interest with churches which bear in their own fabrics their history for seven or eight centuries or even more. As an ecclesiastical foundation, however, the cathedral of London has a history such as belongs to none other. *Paul's*, as it was called by the mediæval cockney, who, like his modern descendant, delighted in monosyllables, was so mixed up with the social as well as the ecclesiastical life of Old London, and through London of all England, that its story must be known before they can be properly understood. Dr. Sparrow Simpson's new book is intended to give general readers some idea of what Old St. Paul's was and what went on there. Unlike the excellent volume by the same hand, lately put forth by the Camden Society, it does not profess to bring forward any new matter, and, therefore, it does not call for detailed examination in an archæological review; but as a popular book, well calculated to excite an interest in the subject, it has our hearty commendation. As antiquaries, we must, however, enter a protest against the pseudo-antique dress in which the publishers have chosen to deck it out. If forgery were a virtue, high praise would be due to this imitation of a pannelled calf cover, craftily done in waxed cloth. But our liking for "old Cambridge binding" does not dispose us to be pleased by even the cleverest deception. Nor do we particularly love discoloured paper for its own sake.

OLD YORKSHIRE. By William Smith, F.S.A.S. London, Longmans, 1881.

This is the first instalment of a series of papers reprinted from a local journal, the *Leeds Mercury*. Mr. Smith apparently edits a "Notes and Queries" column, and has here selected and arranged the most valuable of the papers contributed by his correspondents. He has secured the service of an enthusiastic American tourist to write a preface, in which he tells us that his countrymen excel ours in the matter of local histories, and that every little town in New England has its historian. Mr. Smith's volume relates to (1) Yorkshire Antiquities, of which we can only say, if, after reading Mr. Collyer's preface, we may use an American phrase, that it is "rather mixed"; (2) Yorkshire Artists, such as Proctor, Lodge and Etty; (3) Yorkshire Authors, Thoresby, Smeaton, Lister and others; (4) Battlefields; (5) Bells; and so on to Quakers, Religious Houses, Rhymes and Proverbs, among which last, by the way, we miss that one about Bawtry's father, "who was hanged for leaving of his liquor." Surely Bawtry is a York name. There are three excellent indexes, without which such a mass of notes would be useless. We might find minor faults in plenty, but a book like this is a step in the right direction and deserves encouragement, even if it were not so well edited, so well printed, and, on the whole, so pleasantly written as Mr. Smith's *Old Yorkshire*.