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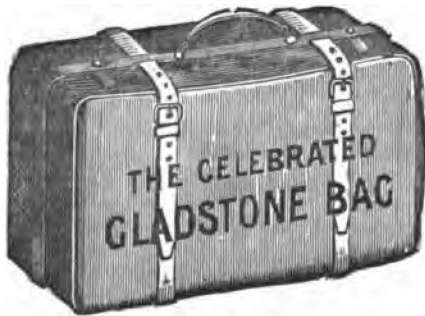
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SCOTTISH REVIEW.

JULY, 1884.

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Addendum.—Page 50, line 1, after last word insert 'hides himself, he is said to be *darning* ; in Fifeshire the same term.'

THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

JULY, 1884.

ART. I.—UNPUBLISHED NOTICES OF JAMES SHARP,
ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS.

IN the list of Scottish Divines who are the subjects of the charming monographs which compose the third series of the St. Giles Lectures, we notice a very natural, but a very striking, omission. That in a work which is designed to record the virtues and the heroism of the Scottish Church a place should be denied to James Sharp by the side of Knox and Melville, Leighton and Ewing and the Robertsons, cannot astonish us. In each and all of the men whose labours are there gratefully summarised, whether fighter, saint, or statesman, there was indeed some visible ray of the divine. We question whether the apostate Covenanter, the hireling prelate, the false friend, the persecutor who oppressed, and the schemer who planned for none but selfish ends, the baffled and despised dupe of men older in practice, abler in condition, than himself, would, in the extremities of his self-deception, have claimed this as one of his attributes.

But although, in the company of such men, James Sharp was 'God bless us, a thing of naught,' his career was nevertheless one without a due consideration of which the history of the Scottish Church is very incomplete. For, in an especial degree, he represented the effects upon men of base or uncertain tempers of the *Sturm und Drang* period which preceded the Restoration. The tremendous tyranny of the Covenant, its

struggles and its triumphs, its censorship, hard, ignorant, and unflinching as that of the Holy Office itself, its audacious seizure of every department of political and family life, its bigotry ever narrowing as the political storm which called forth its enthusiasm gradually passed away, formed, no doubt, heroes and martyrs. But, inasmuch as it rendered life well nigh intolerable to any who revolted from its despotism, and compelled ambitious and unscrupulous men to practise a feigned subjection for twenty years, it was sure, when opportunity offered, to feel their revenge. Of the desire for that revenge James Sharp was not the spokesman, but the instrument.

Hitherto the investigation into the character of Sharp has been confined to his dealings at the re-establishment of Episcopacy. An able article in No. 92 of the *North British Review*, 1848, states the critical question as to that point thus: 'Did he act a false part throughout, enacting, in the language of Wodrow, "the overthrow of the Church of Scotland with the highfliers in England," while maintaining a friendly correspondence with those who trusted him, and representing himself as active in the pursuance of the objects they had at heart?' The writer of that article had had the opportunity of investigating copies of a number of letters from Sharp to Patrick Drummond, a Presbyterian minister in London, who was in Lauderdale's confidence, which are contained among the Lauderdale papers in the British Museum; and his verdict is as follows:—'He laboured, as it appears to us honestly, for its establishment at the Restoration, so long as there was any hope of its being established. He only abandoned the cause when it was hopeless.' This article, however, bears upon its face such evidence of special pleading,* and is framed upon so circumscribed an examination

* With regard to this article, it is to be observed that the writer had failed to examine letters written at the same period by persons other than Sharp himself, and that he was therefore unable to take account of many things of a most suspicious nature. Moreover, from the fact that he had read only copies, he missed numerous points of importance in the letters themselves; while not only many passages of great weight, but, notably, one whole letter, are passed over in silence, which, if it had been intentional, would have been convenient. But

of the original sources, that even had we no other information to guide us, we should hesitate to accept the verdict without great reserve. Our own opinion, founded upon an independent examination of these letters, as well as of others equally important of the same date, and of after years, is clear. We do not believe that Sharp ever consciously said to himself, 'I will betray this Church;' nor, we think, did he ever say that he would not. He appears, in an age of stern and intolerant conviction, to have been free of a strong and binding preference for any special form of Church government, except so far as it brought himself to the front. He was coldly and consistently selfish. He was a bigot to nothing but his own interests, and these he endeavoured with perfect consistency and zeal, but with poor success, to serve all the days of his life. At the outset he sees that the idea of England accepting the obligations of the Covenant is obsolete and absurd, and he throws it over at once. As time goes on he becomes convinced that the pretensions of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland to interfere *in civilibus* must be given up; then, that even *in ecclesiasticis* it will with difficulty hold its own; then, as the intentions of the Court become plainer, he finds that he never had, and has not now, any objection to a well-qualified presidency; and so on. He does

in support of our charge of 'special pleading' we are compelled to observe that an attempt is made to influence the reader's mind by considerations wholly puerile and irrelevant to the discussion. The 'popular Presbyterian view' is contemptuously rejected as 'not correct,'—upon what? Upon historical investigation? No; upon no better evidence than 'a glance at his portrait.' The portrait of Graham of Claverhouse is not, we might point out, that of a man capable of his undoubted acts of cold-blooded cruelty; nor from the face of the first Earl of Shaftesbury could we prophesy the remorseless wickedness with which he hounded on Englishmen maddened with causeless terror to the murder of the Catholics. But we are told, too, that Sharp once in his hot youth boxed the ears of a man who gave him the lie; and the inference is directly drawn that he could not have been a deceitful and treacherous man. When, on one occasion, Pepys saw his wife insulted, he records that he gave the aggressor 'a cuff over the chops.' Surely, then, Pepys was a courageous man. Fortunately, and as if to warn us against such remarkable deductions as that concerning Sharp, Pepys adds, 'and, seeing he did not oppose me, I gave him another.' We may add that Pepys was a self-confessed liar and would-be thief.

not give the direction to the current, nor does he care much how it may turn; but he travels by its side, ready to snatch from it any good fortune it may carry to his hand. At length it is quite clear that Episcopacy is to come in all its simplicity; and his mind is made up at once, that by no honourable act or word of his will he embarrass the enemies of the Kirk, or jeopardise the chances which a complete and timely apostacy may probably secure.

In the pages which follow, however, we are content to take an open verdict, to regard the more serious charge as, for the time being, 'not proven,' and to see what light Sharp's later career will throw back upon his action at this time. This, we feel, will be more useful and more interesting than once more to go over the well-trodden ground, in support of the opinion we have just offered. The prisoner may go free for want of evidence. But, should it appear that in after years his career is one of consistent chicanery, that, to secure the price of his apostacy, he yields alternately to the threats and the cajolery of abler and stronger men, and consents to become the facile instrument of their designs and the object of their unmitigated contempt, it cannot be but that all former suspicions against him will be vastly strengthened. We propose, therefore, in the following paper, to quote as many of the notices which occur regarding Sharp in the private and unpublished correspondence between Lauderdale, Bellenden, Rothes, Moray, Tweeddale, and others, as our space will allow, preserving only the merest thread of historical sequence. Our object, for the present, is simply to show how Sharp behaved under varying circumstances, and what was thought of him by some of the men with whom he had to do.

We will quote but one incident to show the thoroughness with which he entered upon his new career. On December 13, 1660,* he vehemently asserted that he was 'a Scotsman, a presbyter,' that 'whatever lot I may meet with, I scorn to prostitute my conscience and honesty to base unbecoming allurements;' and to the end of April, 1661,

* Add. MSS., 23, 114, f. 94, British Museum.

he held the same language. On the forenoon of April 20, 1662,* he preached his first sermon, since his consecration, at St. Andrews, 'and a velvet cushion on the pulpit before him, his text 1, Cor. 2. 2. "For I am determined to know nothing amonge you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified." This is noticeable as the only instance that we know of where Sharp shows any sense of humour. We are not surprised to hear that the sermon of the sometime minister of Craill 'did not run much on the words, but on a discourse of vindicating himselfe, and of pressing episcopacie and the utilitie of it, shewing, since it was wanting, ther hath beine nothing bot trowbels and disturbancies both in Church and State.'

The first notice of Sharp that occurs in the Lauderdale papers, subsequent to his appointment to the Primacy, is on September 6, 1662.† The Billeting plot, the clumsy and futile method by which Middleton, the High Commissioner (who did not suspect Sharp's intimate connection with Lauderdale), hoped to oust the latter from his post of vantage as Secretary, was at its crisis. All Middleton's friends were expected to write on their billets the names of twelve persons of Lauderdale's party, previously decided upon, whom they wished to be incapacitated from public office. Sharp, of course, trimmed. 'Sheldon (Sharp's pseudonym) and some others,'‡ writes William Sharp, the archbishop's brother, and Lauderdale's private agent, 'gave in blank billets; he doubts not of Mr. Reid's (Lauderdale) favour in construeing aright his not wreating. He has difficultie enough to fend off at present.' Four days later he was one of the scrutineers deputed by the Commissioner to open the bag into which the billets were cast. The others, as was presumably the case with Sharp, were devoted adherents of Middleton, and all were sworn to secrecy. Nevertheless, on that day William Sharp was able to tell Lauderdale the names of the persons who were 'excepted,' with the exact figures. How had he learned these details? Did James Sharp betray his trust? It is more than probable, and yet this too is 'not proven.' It is

* Lamont's Diary.

† Add. MSS. 23, 117, f. 79.

‡ 23, 117, f. 80. 'Sheldon' was the pseudonym for Sharp.

true that in this same letter there is absolute proof that the Archbishop knew what his brother was writing, and that he was sending Lauderdale all the information he could collect. And it is also true that four years afterwards Dumfries openly charged him with the betrayal.* William Sharp's phrase, however, that he 'came by it stranglie,' seems unlike this; and it must be admitted that Bellenden, who hated him immensely, reminds Lauderdale, in the letter which mentions Dumfries' charge, that that charge is untrue. It is, of course, quite possible that Sharp sent the information without Bellenden's knowledge.

To keep the thread of the narrative fairly continuous during the next two years, which as regards Sharp are but sparsely illustrated in the Lauderdale MSS., we have to borrow from what Burnet asserts as coming under his own personal knowledge. Sharp, it appears, went up to London to explain the Billetting affair in Middleton's interest.† Finding Lauderdale, however, very strong, he at once changed sides. He had, it appears, written to the King in Middleton's favour, but, when challenged with this by Lauderdale, he denied it flatly until Lauderdale produced the letter. In the early summer of 1663, Lauderdale, now master of the situation, went to Scotland to unravel the Billetting plot, and to complete his triumph over Middleton's faction. From the silence respecting Sharp in the remarkable correspondence which passed between the Secretary and his Deputy, the celebrated Sir Robert Moray,‡ we gather that he was on his good behaviour. All we know is that in the National Synod Act, the first great step in the intended subjection of the Church to the King, he appears to have readily co-operated. In the spring of 1664, however, he was again in London, busy with fresh projects to strengthen Episcopacy, 'without which it is impossible

* 23, 125, f. 147.

† 23, 118, f. 9. His brother cannot ascertain the truth; but says that he has been told by Bellenden that this is the case.

‡ For a selection from this correspondence see Vol. I. of the Lauderdale MSS., Camden Society.

to keep the King's authority with these people.' He returned to Edinburgh in April, having secured the grant of a new Church Commission, which gave free scope to his grudge against the Remonstrators, and which Lauderdale had thought best not to oppose. And his restless *amour propre* was gratified by being allowed (as in former days had been customary), to take precedence of the Chancellor at the Council. On the 21st* he reports to Lauderdale how he has harassed the ministers who were with his old friend, James Wood, when he signed the death-bed confession in favour of Presbyterianism, which had caused so much alarm and anger to the Prelates; how he has cited some ministers, and fined others, as well as 'some people in the West for withdrawing from the churches.' He urges the thorough prosecution of the arbitrary and cruel powers of the Commission, and complains bitterly of the slackness of his fellow Commissioners. The complaint is repeated several times in the letters from the two Archbishops to Sheldon, in whose support they chiefly relied.† It was intended to pave the way for a more serious attack upon Glencairn, who, as Chancellor, stood in the way of the wished-for 'thorough' policy.

Glencairn, however, died on May 30th. In a moment the Churchmen were up and doing. On June 19th, Alexander Burnet, the Archbishop of Glasgow, wrote to Sheldon,‡ urging him to do all he could to secure a favourable appointment, and mentioning that Sharp himself had previously abstained from writing because 'he wishes to avoid suspicion of being a suitor for the Chancellor's place.' The fact that there is a letter *of the same date* from Sharp himself,§ dealing with the subject in a way that could not be misunderstood, is a curious illustration of his inveterate want of sincerity; and, in view of what he had said to his colleague, we are not surprised to find him requesting Sheldon to keep the fact of his writing absolutely private.

* 23, 122, f. 16.

† Sheldon MSS., Bodleian Library.

‡ Ibid.

§ Ibid.

He was not the man to let anything which promised well for his schemes rest for want of importunity. He determined to press the matter in person, and, in spite of a letter from Sheldon in the beginning of August, written, says Burnet, by the direction of the King himself to stop his journey,* he came up to Court, and while holding to Charles the language of sincere abnegation, urged his own claims vehemently upon the Archbishop. Rothes, too, the High Commissioner, who had fallen for a while under the ascendancy of Sharp's 'working head,' and who on Feb. 8, 1665, 'pretended great readiness to do what we (the Archbishops) advised him,† eagerly backed his suit. On July 1, 1665, he wrote to Lauderdale,‡ 'I positively assert nothing could so much establish and secure the peace and quiet of the Church as if the King would be pleased to pitch on my Lord St. Andrews for the discharge of that employment.' On July 19th he is again instant.§ 'I am from my heart sorry that the business in which I humbly conceive there is so much advantage to the peace and tranquility of this poor country should stick.' The contest, as we learn from a letter of Alexander Burnet of Sept. 4th, was between Sheldon, Rothes, and the Scotch Archbishops, who were for curing disaffection by severity alone, on the one side, and Lauderdale, Moray, and their correspondents in Scotland, Argyll, Tweeddale, and Kincardine, to whom conciliation appeared the fittest means of quieting the exasperated people. On the same day as that on which he had Rothes' last urgent letter, Lauderdale received the first of a series of vehement denunciations of Sharp from Bellenden, of the cause of whose intense hatred of the Archbishop we are ignorant. The first overt signs of the Primate's attempted revolt from Lauderdale are found in what Bellenden relates on July 19,|| of his conduct

* Sheldon MSS. † Ibid.

‡ Add. MSS., 23, 123, f. 100. We have anglicized Rothes spelling, which is truly marvellous.

§ 22, 123, f. 133.

|| 23, 123, f. 130.

Compliments

Archbishop of St. Andrews.

9

on the question whether Supply should be raised by taxation, as Lauderdale wished, a plan by which the Church would have to bear a large share of the burden, or by cess. 'My Lord Primate,' says Bellenden, 'being for the way of cess, hath joined with the West country lords and others there, and at the present Dumfries and he are seriously consulting about it. It is generally believed here that the good old way of taxation was proposed by yourself, and upon that account will be vigorouslie opposed, that a slur may be put upon you.' It must be remembered that Dumfries had been a prominent enemy of Lauderdale at the time of the Billetting. He was now high in favour with both Sharp and Burnet. On Oct. 24th Bellenden's hatred breaks out in well nigh inarticulate French*—

'Mais, pour l'archeveq, cet un person que je ne sorrois comprander. Dieu nous guard de son esprit malign ; c'il arrive james d'ete noster guard du soe (garde du squeau) je crein que son avancement cosira de grand disorder ici. De gras soulagé moi de cet apprehension car cela me don trop souvent de palpitation de ceur.'

It did not yet suit Lauderdale's object to assert himself violently and to declare open war upon Sharp ; but hostilities had nevertheless begun, and the Secretary's adherents lost no opportunity of harassing the common enemy. Sharp's attempts by all means to weaken the reputation of the Lauderdale faction often laid him open to a counter attack. The following letter, dated Nov. 6, from Kincardine,† a man of the highest probity and ability, speaks for itself, as to Sharp's methods, as does the latter's answer (the shortest letter that, so far as we know, he ever wrote), to his evasiveness. We have not thought it necessary to give Kincardine's complete and contemptuous reply,‡ which ended the 'commerce' between him and 'that notable person,' as Moray calls him.

'The great respect I beare your high function hath made me hitherto forbear showing yow the just resentments I might have had of the injuries you have been doing me long ere I was suspecting it of your hand ; but

* 23, 123, f. 212.

† 23, 123, f. 220. The italics are in all cases our own. ‡ 23, 123, f. 233.

now that they are come to that height as to endeavour the giving his Ma^{ty} bad impressions of me I thinke I may be allowed to increase silence. For since the main designe of my lyfe has been to serve his Ma^{ty} with zeal and faithfulness, his displeasur would be to me of all things in the world the most insupportable; and now being toucht in this point I hope I may be pardon'd to expostulate with a freedom beyond ordinar. And therefore I must tell your Grace that of all men I thinke I hade least reason to expect that by you I should be representt to the King as unusual or wanting that due respect I owe to any thing that is his Ma^{ty} pleasure. You have knowne me of a long tyme & with great familiarity, & you have knowne me in the worst of tymes how freely I hazarded both sword and gallow & the loss of my fortune for his Ma^{ty}, and how that thro' the goodness of God to me I continu'd to the end with the least stain; when others [e.g., Sharp himself,] did take engagements to the contrary, were courting and cajoling Oliver Cromwell, congratulating Richard, owning their authority, and even counselling their friends to consent their villainies.

'And as your Grace has knowne my practice, so I am sure you know my principles likewise, for I never dissembled them from you. In the point of episcopacy I hope the declarations I have made your Grace of my judgement in it has satisfied you, since you have diverse tymes told me they had, & your Grace may remember that I made advances & wishes to you for episcopacie when you would not allow it. Your Grace knows likewise that I have always been a better subject then to be for a jure divino in the particular forme of church government; and therefor, unlesse you thinke me a foole, why should you judge me averse from any forme his Ma^{ty} ordains? especially since I have profess'd to you that I thinke a wellorder'd episcopacy the best of governments, & that I judge my self bound in conscience to defend episcopacie with my lyfe & fortune so long as his Ma^{ty} & the laws are for it,* and if your Grace expect more from any Scotchman I am confident you take wrong measures.

'And now, my lord, after all the knowledge your G^d has had of me, and after all the proofs I have given of my loyalty and at a tyme when I was expecting your recommendations according to your promise, to accuse me, & that no less then to his Ma^{ty}, upon so alight an occasion as going to a communion in that which I may call my oune parish, I being almost sole heritor of it and patron of it, and it being nixt to that I live in, where I have had no occasion to receive these three years, and the communion having been according to law, and the minister neither under proccesse nor sensure, give me leave to say it does ill become the character you beare, for our Saviour prescribes a fair other methode in case of offences, & I am sure your G^d knows that if I had thought any offence wuld have been taken at it I had forborne it.

* This admirably expresses the position of the more intelligent nobility with regard to church government.

'I thinke what I have said of my former carriage, when there was no other encouragement to loyalty but that of a good conscience, & many temptations to the contrair, may be a sufficient evidence of my present inclinations, especially haveing then no other motive then the duty of a subject to his King. But haveing since these tymes hade opportunities to know his Ma^{ties} extraordinary personall worth, & since his Ma^{ties} blessed restauration haveing found so many proofs of his goodnes to me upon all occasions that ever I hade to put it to the test I thinke my self now engagded in a personall kyndnes for Charles the Second, as I am bound to him by my duty as my prince. And the Searcher of Hearts knows that I am still ready with the old faithfullnes to serve his Ma^{tie} with my life & fortune against all his enemies either domestique or forraine ; so that if your Grace give any character of me not according to this I dare say yow know yow'll do me wrong, & the great God judge of it ; for it is hard for kings to shunne being abused when those of your station dare attempt it, & it is impossible for any man to justefy himself of a thing he knows not he is accused of.'

Sharp's answer is as follows:—

'I have received your large accusation wreatin in such a strain & passion, that as yow do not desyre an answer, so my present busines will not allow me to give it ; and therfor I shall only say this, yow have given under your hand a most unjust and causeles accusation in general of a very high nature and consequence against me who yow know I have not done yow wrong ; yow best know upon what design yow have done it, when I shall have notice of the particulars of that heavy charge of a person invested with an office yow pretend to bear respect unto, your Lo/ may expect I will be concerned to vindicat my innocency and the dignity of the place the king & the law hath put me into, from these audacious imputations, which in justice I suppose yow will not refuse to make good, and thereby it will be made appear what cause yow have to fix upon these in my station dareing to attempt the abusing of his sacred Ma^{ty}.'

For the events which took place when Rothes and Sharp went up in the end of 1665 to London, and which ended in another complete humiliation for the Archbishop, we must again refer the reader to Burnet. It is noticeable, however, that the breach which shortly took place between the Commissioner and the Primate appears to have arisen from the desire of the latter, which again Lauderdale did not oppose, to apply the money resulting from fines, and intended for the relief of the broken royalist families, to the maintenance of troops, which, raised ostensibly to secure Scotland against attacks by the Dutch, were to be employed, under Dalryell and

Drummond, to crush all resistance to the authority of the Church.

In September, 1666, Bellenden is heard again,* ‘Le Primat est ancor a vostre opposit, car it a tanté de fabriquer un nouvell dessein, de quoi le C. de Tw. vous an dira d’avantage. Dieu nous conserve de la malignité de son esprit, car la seurte du Roy et de ces estats cerront fort en danger sil avait, l’execution de ces voluntes.’ He adds that Rothes is now entirely on Lauderdale’s side. Rothes next day† tells us what the ‘Nouvell dessein’ is:—

‘To come to the business, there has been very strange ways taken to persuade me of your indifferency towards me, or anything that might concern me In short, it is proposed to me that I should enter on a strict friendship with the Earl of Middleton; and a number of strange professions there was; but, not to trouble you longer, I said I had done the Earl of Middleton no prejudice, and I had received none from him, and for ought I knew I was in friendship with him, but for those little private ways I understood them not, nor had never practised them, nor never would.’

The person employed to negotiate between Middleton and Rothes, in this perfectly characteristic piece of diplomacy, was Dumfries; and it appears that, when the negotiation failed, as described in the letter just quoted, Sharp, untaught by former failures, denied that he had given Dumfries any commission to act; whereupon:—‡

‘Il ariva un recontre antre l’Archivec et le C. Dumfreece, fort agreable. L’Archivec proposa de tinnier l’afair secret quoi q’il fut desja public pas tout la vile. L’autre repondit q’il y avait pu d’apparence le fer, parc que la method observer pour tinnier secret les Billoté, quoi que commiss a pu de persons, fut communiqué, e envoyé a la Cour avant que la lettre du Parliament fut présenté au Roy; ce que pica l’autre si fort que james a este person an ci grand disordre, et il se broulia tant que de long tamps il ne se pouvait remetre, ce que a fait depui rire plusires de bon coure de remarquer sa confusion d’esprit, quoique vons savez fort bien q’il ne fut de tout culpable.’

Petty and underhand dealings, ‘little private ways,’ leading

* 23, 125, f. 84.

† 23, 125, f. 88.

‡ Bellenden to Lauderdale, 23, 125, f. 147.

invariably to exposure and ridicule, such is the story of Sharp's career from day to day.

The struggle for the Chancellorship, however, still went on. Lauderdale was anxious for the appointment of Tweeddale, and Bellenden's letters of Oct. 9, and Nov. 8, 1666,* press this strongly. Meantime Sharp, by his own later admission to Tweeddale, did his best, by writing to Sheldon,† to frustrate this scheme.

Government by violence and extortion led to its natural result. The Covenanters rose, prematurely, and indeed almost without design. On the 27th of November, 1666, Dalzell caught them at Pentland.‡ Two days after the rout which followed, Bellenden wrote:—§

'Pour l'amour de Dieu livré nous de cet maheureus et mal intentioné person : tache de boneur d'establier nostre estat, ce que vous ne feres james tant ce que le Primat continu de presider au counsel. Pardone moy de vous escrire ci souvent, touchant cet person car vous ne sores estre passe precautionne de lui. L'animosité contre le C. d'Argyl et fort racine dans l'esprit de plusieurs de counsel, mes taches de le metre dans le confians de Roy, car el a de l'esprit, de grand pouvoer, et fort intentionne pour la service de sa Majeste, mes opprime par le grand fourb le Primat.'

And in a second letter written on the same day, he warns Lauderdale to secure the friendship with Rothes, otherwise he fears that his ruin and that of his friends will follow. On December 1, he becomes still more vigorous:—||

'N'esti point d'apparance encor que nous puicions estre livré de celui que a usurpé la direction des affaires publique ; asseurement ce n'est pas l'interet du Roy de le continuer an cet dignité, et je creins fort que sa continuation an cet employ produira moves effet an pu de temps, car l'animosité universel et incroyablement grand contre lui : sulage mon esprit au plus tot par la bon nouvel de cet changement ; car le fardau d'un Prester et trop pisant pour mais epoles.'

How vividly, in this last clause, Bellenden expresses the attitude of all aristocracies in the face of a powerful and censorious Church: how it contains in itself the history of the

* 23, 125, ff. 120, 138.

† July 23, 1667.

‡ 23, 125, f. 171.

§ 23, 125, f. 167.

|| 23, 125, f. 175.

struggles which began with the advent of Knox, and lasted throughout a century.

On December 11, Bellenden relates the attempt which Sharp made to encroach upon the rights of the Exchequer, and so to secure the support of the military commanders for the Church : *

‘ It is my great misfortune to be distrusted and disesteemed by my Lord Primat After the defeats of the Rebels, I moved in counsel that their goods and estates might be secured for the King’s use ; this I did . . . to prevent any mistake that might occur by proposals from interested persons, to persuade the condiscendencie of counsell in favours of such persons as should be nominat. Next night, the counsell sitting, His Grace did propose that Generall Dalzell might secure these goods and estates for the King’s use. I told that things of that nature were to be regulat by direction from Exchequer, and that if we should find a necessitie to demand safeguards for the further securing of them, I made no doubt but the Generall would franklie goe along with the good of Her Ma^{tie}’s interest Late passages betwixt them being considered, it appeared evidentlie that His Grace resolved to wash the General’s mouth with Church holie-water. . . . I am informed from a very sure hand that he hath quyte to Lieutenant-Gen. Drummond his pretension or interest in the abbacie of Inch-chafre. The scope of these designs are soon understood, and sure I am that none of these pedanticall wyles hath gained him the least interest with any of these persons ; *he is too well known here to be trusted.* What esteeme he hath at Court I know not, but does conceive it fit that his Majestie may be tymelie informed how unacceptable a person he will be to fill the roume of Chancellor, besydes his incapacity for it.’

Bellenden then goes on to describe the Archbishop’s carriage at the time of the rebellion, when, it will be remembered, he was, through the absence of Rothes, responsible for the government.

‘ Le jour que les Rebels ce sont montre proch de cet ville, il estait dans la plu grand confusion du monde, tantot voulan ce retirer ches luy, tantot a Berwick, tantot ce casher dans un coign prive, q’il ne ce pu pa dire la confusion et timidité de son esprit.’

But here we must add the testimony of a more friendly witness :—

‘ My Lord St. Andrews,’ says Alexander Burnet,† ‘ hath given a very extraordinary prooffe both of his prudence and resolution in managing the

* 23, 125, f. 201.

† Burnet to Sheldon, 1666, December 8. Sheldon MSS.

affairs of the counsell, as your Gr. would heare from others if they were as forward to represent our good services as they are to discover and rip up our infirmities.'

We are bound to notice, however, that, of these conflicting accounts, Bellenden's is supported by Burnet the historian.

It was in the Convention of the Estates which met on January 8, 1667, that Sharp received his first public and official rebuff. It was pointed out at Court that the Government had been carried on hitherto in accordance with his proposals, and that these proposals had led to intense discontent, culminating in armed rebellion. In the former Convention he had been president; Hamilton was, however, now substituted for him, and he himself was ordered to stay in his diocese. This, the first crack of the whip, brought him to heel at once. Rothes writes as follows to Lauderdale on the day that the Convention met, and his letter throws additional light upon a matter previously mentioned.*

'The King's choice of Duke Hamilton, president, is as well knowſ through the town as if they had seen it; so when I am asked I put it off with answering the King may name who he shall judge most fit, but it makes such work here as never was, nothing being the common discourse but that, and every person's conjecture upon it. Now I have a great deal to say to you concerning my Lord St. Andrews, for he has been with me, and I, hating to dissemble, told him plainly that I had told the King what he said to me relating to you, and that he proposed it to me as coming from Dumfries, but that my Lord Dumfries had declared to me upon his salvation, that his Grace proposed it to him with all the circumstances of it, so said that certainly it was not fit for me to counsell such a thing from so gracious a master as I have: *he is, in short, strangely cast down, yaeay, lower than the dust.*'

That he had done what he could to create bad blood between the two is again asserted by Rothes, on January 19th.†

On the 16th, Sharp, completely cowed for the time, tried, through his brother William, to make his peace with Lauderdale.‡

* Jan. 8, 23, 126, f. 16. † 23, 126 ff. 51, 52. ‡ 23, 126 ff. 60, 72, 80.

'After speaking freeilie & at lenth with Sheldon here, I find him under verie great pressur that upon representations which upon the greatest perrill he assuredlie undertakes to make appear to be groundles, he should be under the change of his master's favour & want of yours, and positivlie disavowes any tampering with him or any for him (Middleton) who is father-in-law to him who got the ship with the gold and money (Morton), & were he admitted to demonstrat this, & that no message wes sent or received neither proposition made, if it did not appear how causleslie in this he hes been injured, of consent he will be content to lye under the loss of what is dearer to him then his life. It is grievous to him that the great man here should say he dare not come to you. I find all the inclinations I can desyre that you command the terms for what is past & to come, which upon the word of a Bp. he will inviolable keep, and the litle man's restoration will not be with more constant & true thankfulnes & assured confidence resented. Were he with you he could make it appear that what hes been sayed to you & others wes upon another design then hes been told you, & upon the perrill of all will justifie his innocence as to you. This I hint not from any design he hes of coming to you upon any other accompt then the demonstrating the truth of this & then leaving himself to righteous judgment, which he will not doubt of in the least from you. I cannot in this way mention all the particulars in this, bot am assured that if you heard all, the work for all the future should be easie & firm, & if so you please any hint to me shall be managed as you order.'

The Secretary, however, while apparently returning a favourable answer in general terms, was now strong enough to insist that any reconciliation should be only on the condition that Sharp was willing to make himself generally useful. He had determined to break up entirely the church-military ring, led by Rothes, Hamilton, Dalryell, Drummond, and Alexander Burnet, which had for its object the diminution of his own power, and the excesses of which were responsible for the disorder in the country; to compel Rothes to give up the Commissionership; and to inaugurate a policy of conciliation. In June, 1667, he sent down Robert Moray to prepare the way, and to send him a detailed account of parties and individuals, and of the general state of the country.* To secure the co-operation of Sharp by threats and cajolery skilfully intermingled, was at once the business and the amusement of Tweeddale and Moray.

* For Moray's report see the article "Lauderdale and the Restoration in Scotland," in the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1883.

'Much,' writes the former, on June 2nd,* 'will depend on the Primate when he comes, who still hath the absolute rule of the clergy, being esteemed by them the wiser man. . . . I am told by his greatest confidants that for this 12 months he has complained of the continuance of a commissioner, and that nothing will prevail with him to desire it longer.'

This is confirmed by Moray, on July 1 :—

'He acquiesces in the King's pleasure, and is much more disposed to expect good to the Church from sober and virtuous persons. He inveighs against keeping up of forces upon an ecclesiastical account, and thinks Bishops should rather quit their gowns than oblige the King to keep up forces to maintain them. . . . He cries out upon the quartering of localities ; and, if it were not for our warres with our neighbours, would be for no force.'

We regard these passages as worthy of quotation, if only to be compared with Sharp's letter to Sheldon in the November preceding :†

'Let me beseech your Grace that his Sacred M^{ty} may believe that this pernicious party are implacable adversaries to his authority, *and are not to be gained by lenity and forbearance* ; if this opportunity be not improven for destroying this interest, there is no quyet nor peace to be expected here. *His Majesty will be abused if the peace of Church or State be served here by any mean but force.*'

Whenever Sharp was obliged to eat dirt, and it was very often, he ate it by handfulls.

On July 6, Tweeddale reports to Lauderdale ‡ that the time has now come when Sharp may be useful, and asks for liberty to deal with him as he sees best. On the 23rd he sends the following amusing account of a perfect debauch of recantation : §

'I was this afternoon with my Lord Pr. and could not give a stop to the current of my own ingenuity till I shew him what you had wrote. After he read it he expressed so great satisfaction therewith, as in speaking his eyes stood a bak watter, and then he repeated all had been said to him of you, and reflected upon all the kindness and faivours he had received from you, and that the first time he apprehended you were displeased with him was upon my account for a caus I am sure you never was, nor should you never

* 23, 127, f. 82. † Sheldon MSS. ‡ 23, 126, f. 105. § 23, 127, f. 141.

have been displeas'd, and confessed he had wrote to my Lord of Canterbury to obstruct my advancement to the then vaccant place, and that he was persuadid you and your friends would doe mor for the'settlement of the Church than thos they had trusted more. He said ther would now be great undertakings to introduce the English liturgy, and perfit an uniformity, that an army might be continued for that end. Saw no need of more troops—nor did he think his order should be kept up by force. He told me a journey was intendid with great confidence to overturn all indeavours of settlement upon old foundations in sober men's hands as he was pleas'd to call them, but did assure me the clergy, notwithstanding all indeavours to the contrary, were well satisfi'd, and did heartily close and acquiesce to what was down and wold firmly so continew.'

Four days later we find Sharp appealing in person to the masterful Secretary.* He crouches at Lauderdale's feet in gratitude that he has been spared the disgrace of removal from his see, which he understood had been intended, asserting that 'no affliction ever befell me which hath been so grievous as to find I had fallen under your displeasure;' he rejects with loathing 'these imputations of ingratitude and unworthiness, which are odious in one of my station in the Church, and would be more bitter to me than death, did my heart accuse me of those injuries done to your Lo: which have been charg'd upon me;' he once more denies his 'tampering with Dumfries either as first mover, consentor, or abettor,' adding, 'I think I should not be judg'd so foolish and unwary as to have entered into a plot with the E. of Dumfries in a matter of that concern, for your Lo^p knows that his tongue is not at all times and in all cases judg'd to be slander;' professes that Lauderdale's good opinion and friendship shall be preserved on his part 'with inviolable fidelity and devotion for your service'; and finishes a wordy rigmarole of fawning apology by expressing his belief in Lauderdale's desire to do all in his power for the Church.

Lauderdale evidently, on receipt of the letter, wrote to Moray and Tweeddale for their opinion, and on August 8, Moray sends it thus:—†

'I agree with S. S. [pseudonym for Tweeddale] in desiring you to deal gently with the "Auteur des belles lettres." Certainly you are not to

* 23 127, f. 166.

† 23, 127, f. 187.

learn to know him. You told me formerly you had said upon an occasion *you knew how to make use of a knave as well as another*. And I think since you see his cap stands even enough and that he is otherwise detaché and may certainly be made good use of, it should now be done. Our way with him is frank enough but not intimate, and he cries up sober people; and he being sufficiently [word illegible] is much more calme and tractable than could well have been expected. To this add that his companion being vehement, and not drawing as hee does, he is the man apt to understand gentle and discreet things. *Therfor I would fain have you to pass over any foolish or false thing was in his letter in such a way as he may not by your suffering of him suspect our ingenuity when we use him with a fair and civil freedom that looks not back nor quarrells, knowing as he does you and wee are not several things.*'

Was ever Archbishop thus written of?

On the following day Tweeddale writes to the same effect, and adds:—*

'In fyne, I must tell you he has been most useful at this tyme, and without his presence the inferior clergy had flown out to impertinencies; and though the Archbishop (of Glasgow) be high and seem to crow over him, apprehending himself better stated at Court, yet the other rules the Church absolutely here. . . . Again, I pray you give him no discouragement, and be assured we shall keep to the rules which Mr. R. writes of with him; but if you keep at [word illegible] all is to no purpose we doe, nor will he think himself secure and safe say what we will.'

Once more Moray writes on this point to Lauderdale:—†

'The short is, I think it not amiss you keep so cold with him that he may not swell again. But it is certainly fit we have a frankness with him that may make him useful as indeed he is. . . . For he is already more for softness and lenity than we, and holds the balance even, else his next neighbour, who is yet more unwise than him, would preponderate.'

Following this advice, Lauderdale, on September 2, wrote a letter which hit the just mean between rebuke and conciliation, and which redoubled Sharp's newborn zeal in his service.‡ So much so, indeed, that he was one day unpleasantly startled by Dalyell's saluting him with, 'Whensoever the Bishops are stoned, you deserve to be the first.' We quote Lauderdale's reply as an admirable instance of his strong style:§

* 23, 127, f. 191. † 23, 127, f. 207. ‡ 23, 128, f. 1. § 23, 128, f. 27.

' May it please your Gr.

' I did receive yo^r of the 27th July, and although I may truly plead the multitude of publick busines as the reason of my slow answer, yet I must with the old freedome tell your Gr. yo^r owne letter did in a great measure occasion it, for should I exactly answer it, I behoved to make it appeare that yo^r jealousies of me were groundles, and that no action of mine gave yow any ground for the expression yow used of me to the King more then once, to myself and to others upon severall occasions. I behoved to have clered that yow could not be ignorant of the termes we perted on, and indevored to demonstrat, That I was ferre from being the cause of the distance we have been at, But upon second and better thoughts I choose rather to leave that to discowrse, when it pleases God we shall meet, where I hope to cleir myself, if any of that stik with yow, and to come to that which I hope was the intention of y^r letter, even a good understanding in the future, that bygones may be bygones and faire play in time to come. Yow may indeed be assured (as yow profess yow are) of the sincerity of my professed kindenes and concernment for the Ecclesiastick Government as now settled. I hav noe end but the King's service, his honor and greatnes and the peace of the Church and Kingdome with the maintenance of Episcopall goverment, and by the Grace of God my actions shall constantly be directed to those enda. In my prosecution of them I expect yo^r friendship—I expect yo^r concurrence, and that yow will no more suffer grundles jealousies nor clatters to draw yow off till first yow have freely told me and found I cannot cleir myself, then I am sure we shall continue good friends, and yow shall finde me very constantly,

My Lord,

Yo^r G^d most humble Servant,

LAUDERDALE.'

The following incident contains a typical instance of the constant evasion to which Sharp's new allegiance compelled him to have recourse. On September 23, 1667, Alexander Burnet wrote to Sheldon * to tell him that at a meeting of the Bishops, which he had after great pressure induced Sharp to summon, he had urged that a letter should be written to Sheldon in the name of all present, expressing in strong terms their sense of the danger to which they were exposed by the conciliation policy of Lauderdale and his friends, and their earnest hope that this policy might be stopped. This, as may well be imagined, did not in the least suit Sharp's present course; and Burnet goes on to say that, to frustrate his

* Sheldon MSS.

objects, Sharp moved that a letter should also be written to Lauderdale himself; that it was arranged that Sharp should draft the letter to the Secretary, and that that to Sheldon should be left to him, but that when Sharp told him that he might not use his accustomed freedom, and that what he had said in his former letter had very greatly displeased Lauderdale and his friends, he declined to have anything to do with the matter.

There is not the slightest reason to doubt Burnet's account; he at least never swerves from his high Anglican views. Sharp, however, on November 2, gives another and a very different account. After describing to Sheldon, as if it were the result of his own independent view of affairs, that he is beginning to think that the violence of others in former years has been a mistaken policy, he proceeds to praise the fidelity and loyalty to the Church of Lauderdale and Moray; mentions lightly that at the meeting of the Bishops it was judged fitting to write a letter to Lauderdale expressing this, and only at the very end of the letter, and incidentally as it were, refers to the fact that it had been moved to write also to Sheldon himself, as though *this* had been the second thought; nor does he hint at the causes of that motion. It is unnecessary to say that the Bishops' letter to Lauderdale, since it was drafted by Sharp, is in a similar tone: it says nothing whatever about the alarm which prompted Burnet's motion, and is concerned entirely with the expression of their belief in Lauderdale's virtues, and in his zeal for the welfare of their order. The trick was undoubtedly a clever one, and its smartness was fully appreciated by Robert Moray, who, on the 20th September, writes of it thus:—* 'Though S. S. and I laughed till we was weary at the letter of the Bishops that was sent you, yet you may pick out of it some passages that may sway you to comply with the advice I give. But in sum you will soon observe, as we have done, what a silly company of people they are, and how useful one of them is in managing the rest.' Tweeddale, too, on the 8th

*123, 128, f. 54.

October,* advises Lauderdale to let Sharp have a letter of thanks all to himself, for nothing will please him more. On the 9th,† Sharp at council ‘employed one of his handsome discourses upon the King’s constant and high regard to Church matters, and the hearty concurrence of those his M^{ty} employes in what conduces to the Church’s good;’ and on October 22, Argyll wrote to Lauderdale,‡ ‘And now, my Lord, *assist him handsomely from under the cloud, that every way he may be more useful. I believe he has gotten the second sight through experience, and not for nought.*’ On November 7, Moray writes again to Lauderdale:— §

‘Let me now tell you that there is one thing to be done to our Primate that would set him up and fix him for ever. . . . The thing I mean is that the King would write two lines to him with his own hand. The subject may be his M^a. being well pleased with his deportments on what relates to affairs here, and his going so cheerfully along with his known pleasure, and the persons whom he trusts. *This would raise his heart, which I see is bemisted and lodged in his hose, as thinking himself still under a cloud; and then it would most infallibly rivet him to you.* . . . If the King relish this, I think it will be of great use, and, if it be done, I will let it surprize him.’

On December 10th, while still giving the same advice, since the sending of the letter will ‘render him more useful than any other of his coat hereaway can be,’ Moray declares|| that it is scarcely needed, as he could not possibly be more ‘fixt’ than he is: he had, indeed, already given an earnest of his goodwill, by betraying to Moray all he knew of Rothes’ former conduct and designs.

Argyll, on the 12th, puts it still more strongly:— ¶

‘The Bishop of Glasgow parted from this yesterday; he was pleased to give me a visit that morning he parted. I found him full of jealousies and fears, and discontented to that height as made him expresse a willingnesse to part with his employment. My Lord St. [Andrews] to my apprehension, was never more contented than at present, and, as it seems to me, *Sir Robert*

* 23, 128, f. 105.

† 23, 128, f. 113.

‡ Bannatyne Club Papers.

§ 23, 128, f. 167.

|| 23, 128, f. 213.

¶ Argyll to Lauderdale, Bannatyne Club Publications.

hath taken him down and made him up again, and now he has so fixt his gripe on your Lo/, as that I think it will not easily be got loosed.'

Charles, at Lauderdale's request, wrote the 'two lines with his own hand,' which Moray had suggested; and Sharp simply grovels in fawning recognition, like a whipped cur to whom some broken victual has been carelessly flung. His letter to Lauderdale, on January 18, 1668,* deserves almost intire insertion, as it is couched in his finest and most characteristic vein.

'The Earl of Tweeddale having come to town, was pleased that night to give me the honour of a visit, and to present me with two letters from the King, and one from my Lord of Canterbury. After reading of them, I must confesse the intimation given by your Lo/ was made good to the full; my expectations had exceeded all measure, had I not been highly satisfied. I could desire no more for the Church at this tyme, and for myself his Maties hand with the diamond seal was to me as a resurrection from the dead. Where obligations swell so high as to overflow all returns of gratitude, the expression must fall short of the sense: I find, indeed, I have to do with persons of honor and conscience who have said little but done much. I may know now how to make estimates; your Lo/ has not dealt with me by halves; by you I am restored to the good opinion of my most gracious master, which is dearer to me than my lyfe; I believe I am redintegrated to your Lp's favour, the eclipsing of which has been as bitter to me as death: what more can be done to give me a title to call myself to all the world wholly, your Lo/'s, so that if there be any reserve, or any corner in my heart which by accidents of tyme can be dispossessed of sincere zeal for your service, I think the railings of 'Naphthali' shall justly fall upon me. . . . I have communicated the King's public letter to 3 Bishops and some ministers here: they think they have cause to bless and pray for the King and for your L'p; and now to be out of fear that in the late transactions I had done dis-service to the Church; God hath tended me in many times since I entered upon this office, but never so as in this, and though I had miscarryed, yet such has been your noble care of me, as under the King's hand to send me more than a remission, if my carriage should meet with a public challenge. . . . They, the Bishops, may see that you have shown yourself to be an able statesman and faithful minister to the crown; that you have no less generous ends than dexterous disposing of your actions towards those ends: when the true arts and grounds of government with the felicity of prudent and steady managery meet in the King's chief ministers, no greater encouragement for

* 23, 128, f. 273.

Churchmen to pray hopefully. . . . As to what I have heard is ordered to the Lords Commissioners of the Thesaurary in reference to me, I shall not pay my thanks, but say that as to advantage of that nature I intendit to seek nothing in your favour but your favour itself, so, whatever hath of your own accord been done, I owe it to your goodness, and pryde it most because it flows from that spring, and thus conclud with my blessing and prayers for your Lo/, my noble Lady, my Lord Yester, and my Lady with the litle man.'

Within six months of these outpourings, which must have excited Lauderdale's mirth to the full, we find him again in spleen and insubordination. The occasion was Tweeddale's proposal that, in pursuance of the conciliation policy, certain 'outed' ministers, of whom George Hutcheson was the principal, should be permitted by the Privy Council, without reference to the Archbishops, to preach in vacant parishes. Sharp was, as usual, not quite clear as to his course regarding this grave attack upon the authority of the Church. On May 7th we hear from Tweeddale* that 'the other, that has the oversight of all, is so unfixed, and takes such qualms as nothing can be done by him.' On the 26th again,† he is 'complaining, not helping.' A job, however, was found for him which suited his peculiar genius precisely, and which at once restored him to complacency. Hamilton, who was in cordial alliance with Burnet, and who was perhaps the worst robber of the band, was opposing conciliation, and, in addition to treatment of another kind, Sharp was employed to convert him. The confidence placed in him was fully justified. By June 9th Hamilton was 'better inclined';‡ during the following weeks the improvement steadily continued, and by July 21 he was 'a tame Duke,'§ and in cordial support of the new departure. On the 18th June|| Tweeddale writes—'The Archbishop is highly pleased with gaining my Lord Duke, and with all that is done, that he will deny nothing I desire him. Mr. Douglas was with me 2 hours yesternight, the Archbishop will deny me nothing concerning him, and I am now about getting a blank presentation to a kirk in Fife for him.'

* 23, 129, f. 92.

† 23, 129, f. 116.

‡ 23, 129, f. 146.

§ 23, 129, f. 243.

|| 23, 129, 166.

Only a week later, and Sharp was again irritating his masters by his unreliableness. On the 25th of June* Tweeddale says, 'Mr. Douglas was with me yesternight, and is fairly advanced towards acceptance; but this morning my Lord St. Andrews giving me a visit *is like to flee off and wander in his resolution according to his custom;*' and he adds, on the 30th, 'the plan sticks now at the Archbishop, who begins again to waver. The Provost tells me he will never be at quyet till he see you to put matters right between you face to face, and, by your help, with the king.'

On July 10th the first attempt was made upon Sharp's life; the following short note by Tweeddale is all that we hear of his carriage: 'All imaginable industry is used, and pains taken to discover it; yet the Archbishop whines still, and speaks still of overturning and revolution.' †

Sharp now urged his request to be allowed to go to court to ratify his peace with Lauderdale. Tweeddale writes of the proposed visit as he might of that of a troublesome child; he advises Lauderdale to let Sharp do as he wishes, since the Bishops will take it as a favour to their order, and since he has promised 'to behave extraordinar well.' ‡ From a letter of the 30th we find that Lauderdale made no objection, for 'My Lord St. A. is very well pleased that you are content he came;' § but at the same time Sharp complains that he has received no official call, so that he cannot charge his travelling expenses. 'It is lik,' adds Tweeddale, 'he will be as well natured as you desir, but it wer too soon for me to speak of.' A fortnight later, however, on August 15th, he deems it necessary to add a caution, || 'Take heed he be not troublesome; for his working head will be finding out devices to screw things up.' And on the 19th, when Tweeddale again ¶ sounded him on the 'outed ministers,' Sharp found that he had 'no stomach to their coming in.'

Sharp went to London at the end of the month, and the visit had the hoped for effect; he was carefully handled by

* 23, 129, f. 182.

† 23, 129, f. 243.

‡ 23, 129, f. 253.

§ 23, 129, f. 260.

|| 23, 129, f. 288.

¶ 23, 129, f. 290.

Lauderdale, and returned in December 'in pretty good humour';* and with his assistance Tweeddale's proposals for filling the vacant parishes were successfully carried out.

Matters went on in this fashion, Sharp now and again trying to assert his freedom, 'carping at the king's letter,' 'not knowing what he would be at,' 'complaining to everybody in privat of dangers and feares,' 'unable to lose his power without much noise and trouble,' and being immediately reduced to subjection by 'nipping answers' from Tweeddale, Kincardine, or Moray. Contempt not only for his political morality, but for his powers, is the prevailing note in their letters at this time.

When Lauderdale, who had now acquired the entire confidence of Charles, and the complete control of Scottish affairs, came down as High Commissioner in 1669, he came with two objects of the first importance. The one was to raise and place at Charles' sole and unfettered disposal an army of 20,000 men, who might be counted upon for any service within his dominions that he chose to demand. The other was to render the subjection of the Church complete and beyond question. By the Act of Supremacy, which accomplished this, it was declared that the Crown was supreme in the external government of the Church; that all things relating to ecclesiastical meetings, matters, and persons, were in the decision of the King, acting through the Privy Council, and that his directions had the force of laws. A more drastic measure it would be difficult to imagine. We are not surprised that, when it was first placed before him, Sharp was unable to accept it with complacency, and that he once more broke out into pettish remonstrances. But he was in the toils; and in the presence of the man who, as he was well aware, knew him thoroughly, his cowardice, his vanity, his knavery in all its turns and shallows, and who would not hesitate for a moment to crush him, if it were to his purpose to do so, he speedily assumed the part which was more familiar to him than that of honest resistance. The man who wrote the letters of 1660 and 1661 to Drummond; who became the henchman at once of Archbishop Sheldon and of

* 23, 131, f. 26.

Lauderdale; who harried the Covenanters among the moss-hags and on the hill sides, and drove them ruthlessly to slavery or to death, and who afterwards made himself the chief agent in inducing his brethren to accept the policy of conciliation, was scarcely the man to champion the cause of Church supremacy against a King possessed of the powers of an almost oriental despotism and served by well nigh irresponsible ministers. The letter to Moray* which Lauderdale wrote on November 2, 1669, is so brilliant a description of this affair, and of Sharp's part in it, that we cannot close this paper better than by inserting it in full.

Halyrudehous, 2 Nov. 1669.

'Receave heir inclosed the act for the King's supremacie wch yow are humbly to present to his Maj^{tie} with this account of the framing and passing it unanimously in the articles. It hath been on the anvill by a privat club ever since the expres was dispatcht. On Sunday was sinnet I met privatly with the honest club who drew it, and at starts as we could it was lickt till Thursday last. Then in the articles I made a very generall proposition in order to it, and named a comitte to prepare it. They were the Archb^p, the Bp^e of Orkney and Dumblane, the D. of Hamilton, the Earles of Tweeddale and Kincardin, the Register, the Advocat, Lee, and the Provost of Ed^r. On Fryday the act of militia past in Parl^t. That afternoone the comitte met. They revised all the former acts, and talked loosely on the matter, but appointed the Register and Advocat to draw the act: which was made ready, and presented to the Comitte yesterday, but it was shewen before unto the Archb^p, who as soone as he saw it, and that by it the clogs laid upon the king in the act of restitution were knockt off with ane absolute power in the King to order persons and meetings and matters as should please his Maj^{tie}, he took the alarum wondrous haisty and said wilde things to E. of Tweeddale, that all King Henry the 8ths ten yeers worke was now to be done in 3 dayes, that 4 lines in this act were more comprehensive then a hundred and odd sheets of H. 8. The E. Tweeddale answered him calmly that the narrative of their act was as full, and that we had all sworne the oath of supremacie, and could not scruple to enact it more cleirly, but all could not quiet him. He wild came to me. By good luck I was at the Thr^{er} till noone. Then he came to me, but I wold not spoyle his stomack to his dinner. Immediately after dinner we had a sound bout, and I dealt freely with him. I knew well his objections, thogh he wold not speake them out. At last he did desire that I wold give him the act to advise with his brethren, w^{ch} I consented to, provyding

* 23, 132, f. 141, 142.

it might be first tabled at the comittee. Now yow must know he had been so towzled by the Duke, the E. Tweeddal and Kincardine, and the Advocat upon the debate of the materialls of the act at the comittee that he had no great feast (?) to buckell any more ; onely he made a speech and desired to consider on it that afternoone wch was granted him, so the comittee adjornd, and he spent the afternoone with his brethren. In the evening he came to me and after he had receaved ane answer to all his objections, He told me his brethren were so satisfied with what I had said from the throne in his Maj^{ties} name, That they wold not scruple to submitt all to him If they knew it were his pleasure. I told him I meant not to give his Royall assent till first his Maj^{tie} had seen it. This satiefyed him exceedingly, And then he told me how he had answerd all his brethrens objections, But hoped I wold not put them to vote it till I had a returne from the King. I answerd That I behoved to have it pass the Articles, but should not bring it in to the parl^t Till his Maj^{tie} declared his pleasure. *At last he desired the addition of one word where the externall government is mentiond adde [as it is settled by Law]* This I saw well wold overthrow all, for then the King was Limited, And all the clogs in the act of restitution, Yea his negative vote in the act for the Nationall Sinod could, not be medled with by the King. I said nothing but tooke it to advise. And this morning early I sent his brother to tell him I could never admitt it. So to the Articles we came, The Act was twice read. None said a word against it. Then he rose and made a Long set speech not worth repeating. And I did desire that if none had more to object, it might be voted, and I declared if the articles approved it, I wold transmitt it to his Maj^{tie} and know his pleasure before I tooke it to the House. The Bishop of Rosse moved for the addition [as it is settled by Law], and he said it was to secure their government. *The Archbp. smapt him up and said how foolish such a jealousy would be of the King,* especially after what had been declared in his name, and now printed by his Maj^{ties} command. The motion was knockt doune by E. of Tweeddale and Kincardin, and many spoke for the act without any alteration, so it was voted and past *nemine contradicente*. And heir yow have it. Now I beseech yow weigh it well, beseech his Maj^{tie} to consider. It is most full and comprehensive, and so much the better that it is short and positive, declaring it a right inherent in the crowne, and repealing all acts and clauses of acts against it. Be assured, it will pass in the parl^t without a rub, but if it be altered we are thrown into the mere. Guard well against any assaults from the English Clergie, for I suspect applications wilbe made to the Archbp. of Canterburie (thogh I am sure the Law of England gives the King as much). If his Maj^{tie} approve it, prepare a Letter for his Royall hand unto me approving it and authorizing me to give his Royall assent to it, And hasten it hither and I answer for the succes. You shall receive shortly a draught of another act fitt to be past for the curing the B^{ps} jealousies and knocking away vaine and idle hopes of the other side. But it must be well

digested heir first. This is onely fitt for the King himself, what I have more to say shal be in another Letter to night

Adiew

LAUDERDALE.'

Here, for the present, we close these notices. We have, month by month, and almost week by week, during several years, traced the career of Archbishop Sharp, as it appeared to the cool headed and capable men whom he was compelled to serve. We fear that the hopes that have been at times entertained that he has been a calumniated man must be abandoned. Never did any man have fairer opportunities than those which presented themselves to James Sharp at the Restoration, and never were fair opportunities so blindly neglected. He might have championed the cause of a falling Kirk. He might have condoned his apostacy by becoming the mediator in the passions which desolated his country, the protector of those who in their own language had, while his career was stainless, trusted him as their own souls. There was opened a field to the most generous ambition; and there were opened, too, miserable tracks along which knavery could make its way to success. It is altogether a waste of moral indignation to regard Sharp as a wicked man, on the grand scale; but, during many years, he was placed in circumstances which developed base and selfish instincts. We have quoted the letters which have passed in perfect privacy between his masters, and we have not found in them a single expression of affection or respect. We have seen that, if the voice of probity or honour spoke within him at all, it was in faltering and almost inaudible accents. We have shown that he was reckoned a poltroon and a liar; but as a poltroon of serviceable ability, and as a liar whose lies could be counted upon; that, unstable as he was in all else, he might always be depended upon to betray his associates and the cause which he was supposed to represent; that cajolery, however coarse and careless, would instantly draw from him the most fawning recognition, and timely menace the most abject surrender; that, after being the most trusted minister of that Kirk which had waged a century's war

against crown and nobility, he had acquired through various stages this supreme merit in the eyes of King and nobility alike, that, when dirty work had to be done, he did it really well.

ART. II.—THE SCOTTISH LANGUAGE.

1. *An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language.* By JOHN JAMIESON, D.D. New Edition. Edited by J. LONGMUIR, M.A., LL.D., and DAVID DONALDSON, F.E.I.S. Four vols. Paisley, 1879—1882.
2. *The Kingis Quair.* By KING JAMES I. of Scotland. Edited by the Rev. W. W. SKEAT, M.A. Edinburgh and London, 1884.
3. *Scottish History and Literature to the period of the Reformation.* By J. M. ROSS, LL.D. Edited by J. BROWN, D.D. Glasgow, 1884.
4. *The Dialect of the Southern Counties of Scotland.* By J. A. H. MURRAY, F.E.I.S. London, 1873.

IF the interest and pride which a nation takes in the language it employs for the expression of its ordinary ideas, be any guarantee of the permanence or longevity of a language, there would appear to be little reason for supposing that the Scottish language will soon cease to be used, or that it is in any imminent danger of becoming extinct or dead. Not a few are apparently of opinion, however, that it is rapidly falling into decay and that before long, though, like Greek and Latin, it may continue to be known by means of the literature in which it is preserved, it will be spoken by but few, and by them not as a vernacular but as an accomplishment or amusement. The grounds on which this opinion would appear to be based, are, that in the Lowlands the Scottish language is less generally spoken than it used to be, and that as Gaelic is rapidly disappearing from the Highlands, so Scotch must disappear

from the Lowlands. Education and the development of the means of communication with the southern kingdom, it is supposed, are sounding the knell of both, and it is feared, or expected, that before long Scotch, as well as Gaelic, will be supplanted by English.

That the Scottish language is less generally spoken in the Lowlands than it used to be, may be admitted. Eighty or a hundred years ago anything else was rarely heard; but there are circles now where it is either entirely disused, or used only as a sort of unconventional vernacular, that is, in moments of playfulness, or merely for comical effect. But that this is a reason for supposing that the language itself is decaying we have yet to learn. A dialect or language may be disused or neglected by one class of a community and survive in other classes of the same community for an indefinite period. Instances of this are not rare, and will occur to most. It may be admitted, again, that Gaelic is at least gradually disappearing from the Highlands. But the relation in which it stands to the dominant or literary dialect is altogether different from that which is occupied by the Scottish. To the Highlander acquainted only with his native Gaelic, Scotch as well as English is a foreign tongue, as unintelligible as Chinese or Egyptian. An Englishman and a Lowland Scot, on the other hand, have little difficulty in making themselves intelligible to each other in their native dialects. The development of the means of communication, again, which is doing so much to bring about the disuse of Gaelic, has on Lowland Scotch nothing like the same effect. As soon as a line of railway or of steamers approaches, the Highlander begins to learn English, or at least a dialect of English; by and by he ceases to speak Gaelic to his children, and in the course of twenty or thirty years, except among the older part of the inhabitants of the district, Gaelic ceases to be spoken. In the Lowlands anything like this rarely occurs. Notwithstanding the increase of communication with the south, and a constant influx of English visitors, Scottish parents in the Lowlands continue to speak Scotch both among themselves and to their children. Not a few of them take a pride in

speaking it, and, though quite as well acquainted with the literary dialect, prefer their own, seeing in it beauties and excellencies which the English language does not, in their opinion, possess. As for the influence of education, it seems to us that it is often greatly over rated, at least in respect to the extent to which it is affecting the language of the great bulk of the population. The English children are taught in the Public Schools is generally English with a strong Scotch flavour, and the flavour, it need hardly be said, makes all the difference. As its name implies, too, the 'English lesson' is a lesson in a foreign dialect. The language which the children speak is Scotch. Scotch, also, is the language in which they think, even while undergoing an examination in their 'English lesson.' So much is this the case that Inspectors of Schools not acquainted with Scotch or with the local idioms, have often considerable difficulty in understanding the answers given by the children to their questions. Some Inspectors, we understand, invariably refuse to accept answers which are not couched in the purest English. The practice may, of course, be justified, but in our opinion it is to be deprecated. The language of the country is not English but Scotch. But after all, the question, whether the Scottish language is decaying is a question of fact, and can be settled only by statistics. A pretty intimate acquaintance with various classes of society has induced the opinion that the language is neither decaying, nor ceasing to be spoken, but is undergoing a natural process of development, a process which is being greatly accelerated by the rapid progress of civilization, and may or may not eventuate in a closer approximation of the Scottish to the English language.

That the Scottish language and literature are attracting a considerable amount of earnest and intelligent attention, the volumes which furnish the titles we have placed at the beginning of this paper afford abundant proof. Mr. Skeat's book has been prepared for the newly founded Scottish Text Society, and bears ample witness to the solidity of his reputation for learning and skill as an editor. Whether the Society of whose publications it forms the first instalment, will do for the language and literature of Lowland Scotland what the

Early English Text and Philological Societies have done for the literature and language of England is of course yet to be seen. This, however, may be said—it has made an excellent beginning. Its choice both of a text and an editor for its first publication has been exceedingly fortunate. It is to be hoped that succeeding editors will follow the example Mr. Skeat has set them.

Dr. Ross's posthumous volume is a work of learning and ability. Its aim is to trace the connection between Scottish history and Scottish literature. Beginning with almost prehistoric times the author follows the development of the national life and literature of the Lowlands down to the period of the Reformation. The work is written with great vigour and its pages are often eloquent. A more critical treatment of the literature, more especially with a view to exhibiting the development of the language, would have made the work of greater value; but anything of this kind does not seem to have entered into the author's plans. The least satisfactory part of the volume is the opening chapter. The subject it deals with is confessedly a difficult one, and demanded a much more careful treatment than it here receives. Had the author been spared to see its pages through the press, it is probable that more extensive reading would have induced him to omit or modify several passages which are either of doubtful accuracy or inconsistent with others. In a footnote on page 4, it is said that the Scots and Picts 'belonged to the same Gaelic race, and spoke kindred dialects.' The probability is that the race to which both the Scots and the Picts belonged was neither Gaelic nor Celtic, but non-Aryan. The Scots certainly spoke the Goidelic dialect of the Celtic language, probably as an acquired or adopted tongue; but many of the Picts did not understand it. Columba, who spoke Goidelic, could make himself understood, it is true, to King Brude and the men about him when he visited him in his stronghold in the neighbourhood of the river Ness; but when he penetrated further into the Pictish country and came in contact with plebeians and peasants, he had to preach to them, as Adamnan

says, by means of interpreters. Their language, there is reason to believe, was like their race, non-Aryan. On the same page, again, it is said, 'The Picts of Orkney vanished before the colonies of Norsemen, whom the tyranny of Harfagr compelled to seek new homes; Caithness and Sutherland were held for a time by foreign Jarls; all Southern Alban, as far as the Tay, was more than once overrun and plundered by them; the Hebrides were utterly subdued and became a bone of contention between Scandinavian rivals.' But on page 15 it is said—'There is no record of a Teutonic settlement except in the south-east.' There is no lack of evidence to shew that the Teutonic tribes which took possession of the whole eastern sea-board from the Humber to the Moray Frith, spread themselves west as far as the Grampians and, on the south of the Forth, to the borders of Galloway, and that in their progress they either expelled the tribes they found in possession or absorbed them. Yet on page 15 we read—'There is no probability that the Picts between Drumalban and the eastern sea, or even the Cymry of Strathclyde, though they lost their language and their independence, were ever expelled from their native seats, or transformed by any extraordinary infusion of a Teutonic element.' These and other inconsistencies and inaccuracies ought to have been corrected, but they are passed over by the editor without note or comment. A gracefully written memoir of the author has been added, and the work itself, is evidently the fruit of great labour.

Dr. Jamieson's Dictionary is a work of great learning and research, and is well entitled to the excellent reputation it has long enjoyed as a thesaurus of information respecting the Scottish language and people. In respect to convenience and fulness, the new edition, prepared, we understand, mainly by Mr. Donaldson, is a decided improvement on the original work. In the first place, the Supplement has been incorporated with the dictionary; and many words have been added from the writings of Barbour and Lyndsay, from the various works relating to Scotland issued by the Record Commissioners, from Mr. Edmonston's *Etymological Glossary of the Shetland and*

Orkney Dialect, and from Mr. W. Gregor's *Dialect of Banffshire*. Next the number of words registered as peculiar to Clydesdale has been considerably enlarged, and the words registered under I and J, I and Y, V U and W, in the original work, have been separated and arranged under their initial letters. The phrases occurring under such words as *gae, set, mak, neir, pit, shot, tak*, have also been carefully rearranged and largely increased. And lastly, the citations in Greek and Hebrew, except from the first part of the first volume, have been judiciously omitted; and some attempts have been made to correct the etymologies. All these are very considerable improvements, and represent a large amount of labour and research. On the other hand, however, no uniform system of spelling has been adopted; no attempt has been made to represent the pronunciation, or to treat the words historically; and many words are still missing. Yet as a new edition of Jamieson, the one before us is probably all that could be expected. What is now wanted is an entirely new work, one which will do for the Scottish language what is being done for the English by the dictionary in course of publication under the editorial care of Dr. Murray. It should also exhibit the pronunciation which each word receives in different localities, and deal with the folk-lore, the manners and customs and superstitions of the country after the manner of Dr. Jamieson. The preparation of such a work would necessarily occupy a long period, and could not be completed without the aid of a large number of willing and able assistants; but surely it is not impossible. Meanwhile we look forward with interest to the publication of Mr. Donaldson's promised essay on the Scottish language, and his new Supplement to Dr. Jamieson's Dictionary, the manuscript of which, we are glad to learn, is already in the hands of the printer.

The language to which the name Scots, Scotch, or Scottish was first applied, was a dialect of the Celtic tongue. The Scots themselves landed in Cantyre and Islay towards the close of the fifth century. This was probably not their first appearance in the country. If Professor Rhys's conjecture be correct, that they were a non-Aryan tribe who had adopted

the Goidelic dialect, it is not improbable that when they landed on the shores of Argyllshire, they were simply returning to the land from which they or their forefathers had been driven by the first Celtic invaders of Britain. But be that as it may, the language they brought with them was different from that spoken by the aborigines of the country, and the same as was then used by the Celts inhabiting Galloway and Carrick, and a tract of country which may be roughly described as lying between Ardnamurchan Point, the Mull of Cantyre, the head of Lochlomond, Strathearn, Fife Ness and the South Esk. Subsequently it was adopted by the Picts living to the north of a line drawn from the South Esk to Ardnamurchan Point, and though it has long ceased to be spoken in Galloway and Carrick, it has for its modern representative the Gaelic of the Highlands. This was the original *lingua Scotica*, the language of which Kennedy says in his reply to Dunbar's taunt,—

'It sowld be all trew Scottis mennis leid ;'

and down to the fifteenth century, whenever the Scottish or Scots language was spoken of, this and no other was meant. John of Fordun, who wrote about the year 1400, says of his countrymen: 'two languages are in use among them,—the Scottish and the Teutonic (*Scotica et Teutonica*),—the people using the latter tongue occupy the sea coast and lowland districts; the people of Scottish language inhabit the highlands and the isles beyond.* From the fifteenth century it began to be known as Yrische or Ersche. The language of the Lowlands, on the other hand, was known as Inglis, Inglisch or English. In the Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedy, the former calls his rival, because of his connection with the Celtic speaking Irish Scots of Galloway and Carrick, 'Ersch Katherane,' an 'Ersch brybour baird.' His poetry he calls,—

'Sic eloquence as thay in Erschery use,'

and boasts,—

'I tak on me, ane pair of Lowthiane hippis
Sall fairar *Inglis* mak, and mair parfyte
Than thow can blabbar with thy Carrik lippis.'

* *Scotichronicon*, Vol. I., p. 44.

At the end of 'The Goldyn Targe' he both calls the language he uses 'Inglisch' and identifies it with Chaucer's English.

'O reverend Chawcere, Rose of Rethoris all,
As in *oure Tong* ane Flourir imperiall,
That raise in Brittane evir, quho redis rycht,
Thou beiris of Makaris the Tryumphs riall ;
Thy fresch anamalit Termes celicall
This matir couth illumynit have full brycht :
Was thou noucht of *our Inglisch* al the Lycht
Surmounting eviry Tong terrestriall
Als fer as Mayes morow dois Mydnycht.'

Earl of Dunbar, again, in a letter addressed to Henry England, and dated February 18th, 1400, says, 'And see mervaille yhe nocht that I write my lettres *in* e that ys mare clere to myne understanding than Fraunche.' This practice of calling the language of Scots English was kept up down to the sixteenth century we have Knox writing:—

by Act of Parliament it was maid free to all, man and woman, Scriptures in thair awin tounge, or *in the Englist tounge* ; and Actes maid in the contrair abolished. This was no small victorie Jesus, feighting against the conjured ennemyes of his verite ; not orte to such as befor war holdin in such bondage, that thei have red the Lordis Prayer, the Ten Commandmentis, nor of thare fayth in the Englist tounge, but thei should have bene heresy.*

Act to which reference is here made was passed on the March, 1543, and Knox probably wrote his History forty or twenty-five years later, but previous to that age of the Lowlands had begun to be called Scots or

The first to apply this name to it was apparently Gawain Douglas, in the well-known passage in the preface to his 'XIII. Bukes of Eneados of the Famose Poete Virgill, translated out of Latyne Verses into Scottissh Metir,' &c., where he protests that he has

* Works, Ed. D. Laing, Vol. I., p. 100,

‘Writtin in the langage of Scottis natioun,
‘Kepand na Sodroun, bot oure awin langage.’

During the seventeenth century the term would appear to have been in general use, ‘Scots’ or ‘Scottish’ being employed to distinguish what is now called the English side of a school from the Latin or classical. Thus the records of the burgh of Musselburgh bear, under date September 22, 1679, ‘The Counsell condescends that John Smyth shall be master of *the Scottish schoole*, and that he shall be obliged to serve in the same office as James Hodge, late schoolmaster thereof, was in use to doe of before, and no utherwayss.’* According to the records of the burgh of Ayr, again, it was enacted by the magistrates in 1695 that ‘all persons shall be prohibited from keeping a common school—reading, writing, and arithmetic—except George Adamson, teacher of the *Scots school*.’† The whole subject, however, has been carefully gone into by Dr. Murray, who, besides several of the above citations, gives a number of others, and concludes his extremely interesting investigation as follows:—

‘To sum up these authorities, then, we may say that the *lingua Scotica*, or *Scottish toung*, from the earliest period down to the year 1400, meant the Gaelic or the original Scots; which, however, from the 15th century onwards, was known to the Lowlanders as the *Yrische* or *Ersche*. The Teutonic tongue of the Lowlanders was, in like manner, known only as the *lingua Anglica*, or *Inglis*, from the earliest period to the close of the 15th century, and by many writers was called *Inglis*, even down to the union of the crowns. But during the 16th century there were foreign writers who, for the sake of distinction, and native writers who, from patriotic or political motives, began to distinguish it from the *English* of England as *Scottis* or *Scots*. And thus the tongues of the Highlands and Lowlands were distinguished down to the 14th century as *Scottish* and *English*—during the 15th century as *Yrische*, or *Ersch*, and *English*—and during the 16th century by some as *Ersch* and *Inglisch*; by others, probably as *Ersch* and *Scots*.’‡

* *Hist. of the Regality of Musselburgh*, p. 72; qu. in *Origin of the Scottish Language*, by J. Paterson.

† *Hist. of Ayrshire*, Vol. I., p. 195.

‡ *The Dialects of the South of Scotland*, chap i., p. 50.

What then, is the language now in use in the Lowlands, and called Scottish? That it is of Teutonic origin is clear; but as soon as we touch the question, From which branch of the Teutonic language has it descended? we are confronted by controversy. Some maintain that it is derived from the Scandinavian or Old Norse. Others maintain that its origin is Anglian. The weight of evidence seems to us to be on the side of the latter. Though the date of the first arrival of the Angles has not been accurately fixed, there can be no doubt that they were settled on the south-east long before the arrival of the Norsemen. Their first coming may have been contemporaneous with the descent of the Angles in Kent; it is not improbable, even, that they assisted the Picts and Scots against the Romanised Brythons previous to the withdrawal of the Roman troops; but be that as it may, they were evidently here in strong force before the close of the sixth century. The battle of Caltraeth, which proved so disastrous to the Britons, and confirmed the power of the Angles over the country from the Humber to the Forth, was fought not later, if not some twenty years earlier, than 596. The Wickingtide, on the other hand, did not begin until a couple of centuries later. When the Norsemen came they found the Angles in possession, and dealt out to them the same ruthless treatment as they did to the Scots to the north of the Forth, and to the Britons or Welsh in Strathclyde. The name, too, which was given to the south of the Forth was Engla-lande or England. It was known by this name as late as the close of the eleventh century. Thus, when Malcolm advanced in 1091 to meet William Rufus, it is said that 'he proceeded with his army out of Scotland into Lothian in England, and there awaited him.' When, again, the oldest Scottish literature is compared with that of the North Angle district, both are found to be written in the same language. 'Barbour at Aberdeen,' as Dr. Murray remarks, 'and Richard Rolle de Hampole near Doncaster, wrote for their several countrymen in the same identical dialect.*' The identity continued far down into the fifteenth century,

* *Dialects of the South of Scotland*, p. 29,

when, from a variety of causes, but chiefly from the establishment of Scotland as a distinct nationality, the dialect of the Lowlands began to assume those characteristics which have since differentiated it from the literary dialect of the South.

As at present spoken, the Scottish language unquestionably contains a large number of Scandinavian words. This alone is sufficient to complicate the question of its origin. The question is rendered all the more difficult of solution by the close affinity there is between the Anglian and the more northern Teutonic dialects. Still, on grammatical as well as on historical grounds, we are strongly disposed to accept the theory of its Anglian derivation, so ably maintained by Dr. Murray. Certainly it is much the most likely we have seen, and is supported by arguments which have not yet been refuted.

But leaving the name and origin of the language, and passing to the language itself, one of its most remarkable features is the extraordinarily varied character of its vocabulary. Perhaps there is no language whose vocabulary has been made up from so great a variety of sources, or in which the words in daily use are so equally divided as to their origin. Scarcely a single race has been in possession of the soil, and certainly none has stood in intimate relations with the Scottish people without contributing to its stock of common words. Under the skilful hand of Professor Rhys, even the Ivernian or non-Aryan language of the aborigines has been proved a contributor, supplying as its quota several geographical and personal names. Let us take the now famous name *Macbeth*. Speaking of this, Professor Rhys observes:—

‘ It was current in Ireland, as well as in Scotland, and was sometimes treated as purely Goidelic, which would make it mean Son of Life ; but such an abstract interpretation is discountenanced by *Maelbeth*, which was likewise used in both islands, and must have meant the Slave of Beth. That this last word meant some dog divinity or dog-totem, is suggested by the probable identity of *Macbeth*—not, as we think, *Duncan*,—with the *Hundason*, or Hound’s-Son, of one of the Orkney Sagas that relate to their time. In that case, *Maelbeth* would be a partial translation into Gaelic of the name which, completely rendered into it, produced the *Maelchon* we have more than once mentioned in connexion with the Pictish Kings ; this,

at any rate, meant the Hound's Slave. Similarly Macbeth, put wholly into Goidelic, would be Mac-Con, or the Hound's Son, which occurs as the name of a mythical prince, whose sway was not confined to Ireland, but extended, according to Cormac, to the part of Britain in which Glastonbury stood. Mac-Con may, perhaps, be regarded as representing the whole non-Celtic race of these islands.*

We shall not be far wrong therefore if we see in 'Macbeth' a remnant of the language of the non-Celtic aborigines of the country, or if we suppose that among those who invented the name the dog was a highly respected totem or divinity. Perhaps, too, we shall not err if, as Professor Rhys suggests we may, we identify them with the people whom Herodotus calls the Kynesii or Kynetes, both of which terms have, as he remarks, the look of Greek words meaning dog-men. *Keith*, which enters into the formation of so many names, and is itself a name, together with its form *Caith*, as in Caithness, etc., probably comes from the same people, Cait being one of the names for the legendary son of the eponymous Cruithne or Pict representing Caithness, and apparently of non-Celtic origin. The name of the island of Tiree is probably also from the same source. Formerly it was called Tirieth and Terra Hith, which reminds one of Ith, the mythical son of the famous Miled or Miles. *Bolge*, again, which appears in the modern name of Strathbolgie in Aberdeenshire, occurs among the Pictish names in the legend of St. Andrew, and as the epithet of a Pictish King called Gartnait. It is not unlikely, therefore, that in 'Strathbolgie' we have a survival of the language spoken by the non-Aryan tribes who preceded the Celts in their progress towards the west. Other names, also, which have hitherto refused to give up their secret, may prove eventually to be contributions from the same source.

The words derived from the dialects of the Celtic tribes are much more numerous and certain. It is to the Celtic that we must look for the etymology of most of the names of the great natural features of the country, as well as of many names of places, and many a surname of high and low. Celtic names, indeed, are to be met with every where, and prove that,

* *Celtic Britain*, pp. 260-1.

previous to the arrival of the Romans, the Celts had made themselves masters of the greater part of the country, except to the north of the Caledonian Forest. When not *hills, laws, knows*, or *fells*, the eminences are *bens* or *pens*, like Ben Macdhui, Ben Lomond, Ben Venue, Ben More, or Lee Pen, Ettrick Pen. Celtic, too, are many of the names of rivers and towns, as Clyde, Tweed, Nith, Esk, Avon, Allan; Dundee, Dunbar, Glasgow, Dumfries, Sanquhar, Aberdeen, etc. And again, just as Gaelic gave a number of words in common use to the Icelandic,* so it has given many to the Scottish language. Thus we have *bannock*, 'a cake,' *brogus*, 'a rough kind of shoe,' *brae*, 'the side of a hill,' *clan*, 'a tribe,' *creel*, 'an oiser basket,' *cairn*, 'a heap of stones,' *collie*, 'a sheep dog,' *clachan*, 'a village,' *galore*, 'in plenty,' *gillie*, 'a servant,' *cuttie*, 'a short pipe,' *croon*, 'to hum a tune,' *plaid*, 'a blanket,' *whiskey*, 'spirit,' *loch*, 'lake,' *strath*, 'valley,' *quaich*, 'a cup,' etc.

The word 'gillie' appears again in the surname Gilchrist. 'Cuttie' is often used as an abbreviation for the name of anything short or small and in frequent or habitual use. A poacher's 'cuttie' is the short gun he carries in the side pocket of his coat. The 'bairns' cutties' may mean either the low stools on which they sit round the fire, or the short spoons made of horn with which they 'sup' their porridge.

—Honest Jane brings forward, in a clap,
The green-horn *cutties* rattling in her lap.'

A Highlander's 'cuttie' is not necessarily the tobacco pipe he carries in his waistcoat pocket; it may be the pocket flask in which he carries whisky, or the small *quaich*, cup or horn, he drinks it out of. The word is often used in the sense of 'worthless' or 'impudent,' 'Yeh cuttie!' being a phrase of not unfrequent occurrence. In Fife, Perthshire, and Berwickshire, again, 'cuttie' is the common name for the hare. In Dumfriesshire it signifies 'a short stump of a girl.' Not unfrequently it is used in the same sense as *quean* is in England. In Mearns, again, a 'cuttie' is 'a horse

* *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, Vol. I., p. lx.

or more of two years of age.' A man is said to be *cutty-free* when he is able to handle his spoon, or when, though pretending to be ill, he retains his appetite.

Pibroch, according to Dr. Murray, has had a somewhat curious history.

'It is Celtic,' he says, 'in form. When the Highlander borrowed "the pipes" from his Lowland neighbour—making them so thoroughly his own that it now seems little short of heresy to refer to a time when the bagpipe was an English, not a Scottish instrument—he borrowed along with them the English names *pipe* and *piper*, which appear in Gaelic orthography as *piob*, *piobair* (pronounced *peep*, *peeper*, as in French *pipe* and sixteenth century English). From the latter, by the addition of a Celtic termination, was formed the abstract noun *piobaireachd*, piperage, pipership, piping; as from *maighstir* we have *maighstireachd*, master-ship, mastery. When the Sasunnach, having forgotten his own pipership, reimported the art from the Gael, he brought with it the Gaelicised name *piobaireachd*, softened into *pibroch*, where the old English *piper* is so disguised in the Highland dress as to pass muster for a genuine Highlander.'*

The earliest notice of 'the pipes' in Scotland is in the Royal Treasurer's Accounts for the reign of James IV., where frequent entries occur of monies paid to 'Inglis pyparis.' Still, ingenious as Dr. Murray's theory is, there are good grounds for questioning its correctness. The pipers referred to in the Treasurer's Accounts are 'Inglis,' but it does not follow that at the time there were no Scotch or Highland pipers. The following lines from Dunbar's Testament of Kennedy show that they were then well known at least in the Celtic district of Carrick in Ayrshire.

'Bot a bag-pyp to play a spring,
Et unum alewis ante me
Insteid of torchis, for to bring
Quatuor lagenas cervisiae.

'Within the graif to set sic thing
In modum crucis juxta me,
To fle the feyndis than hardly sing
De terra plasmasti me.'

The probability is that the instrument, which Dunbar thought

* *Dialect of S. S.*, pp. 54, 55.

sufficient 'to fle the feyndis,' was also quite as well known to the north of the Clyde and along the Grampians, as it was in Celtic Ayrshire. It is quite as probable, too, that the word 'pipe' is derived from 'piob,' or some such Celtic word, as that 'piob' is derived from 'pipe.' If we might hazard a conjecture, it would be that both the instrument and the name are Celtic.

Tartan, usually supposed to be of Gaelic origin, is from the French *tiretaine*, 'linsey-woolsey, or a kind of it worn by the peasants in France.' Jamieson has a long and learned note upon the word, and observes that it was probably imported with the manufacture itself from France or Germany. *Kilt*, *philibeg*, *sporan*, *spleuchan*, names for other parts of the Highlander's dress or equipment, are from the Gaelic, with the exception of the first, which is Scandinavian. As might be expected, words borrowed from the Gaelic are most numerous in the dialects bordering on the Highlands. In the southern counties their number is not much greater than in ordinary English.

The influence of the Scandinavian language upon the Scottish vocabulary is not so easily traced. By Dr. Jamieson and others it has probably been exaggerated. On the dialects of Orkney and Shetland it was undoubtedly great; but two circumstances pointed out by Mr. Worsaae, would seem to indicate that on the dialects of Lowland Scotland it was not so great as is generally supposed. The first is that the whole east coast of Scotland, from the Cheviot Hills to Moray Frith, is entirely destitute of characteristic and undoubted Scandinavian monuments. The other is that in the Scottish Lowlands the places which have Scandinavian names are extremely few.* Here and there, but chiefly in the Southern countries, there are certainly places bearing names of an unquestionably Scandinavian origin. Their number, however, is much smaller than would almost necessarily have been the case had the influence of the Scandinavian tongue upon the Scottish been as great as Dr. Jamieson and others maintained. Among

* *The Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, pp. 217, 202.

the words in use among the Lowland Scotch which can be clearly traced back to a Scandinavian origin, are *byre*, 'a cowhouse,' *bauch*, 'disagreeable to the taste,' *bauchle*, 'to distort, wrench, vilify, shamble,' *bauchle*, 'an old shoe,' *boun*, 'ready,' *busk*, 'to dress,' *blae*, 'blue, livid,' *baith*, 'both,' *ken*, 'know,' *kirk*, 'church,' *fit*, 'foot,' *gait* or *gate*, 'a road,' *gang*, 'go,' *garth*, 'enclosure,' *glint*, 'to glance off,' *hansel*, 'earnest-money,' *muck*, 'dirt,' *midden*, 'a dunghill,' *nowt*, 'oxen,' *scout*, 'to pour out a liquid forcibly,' *skart*, 'scratch,' *skirl*, 'a shrill cry,' *sky*, 'a cloud,' *wraith*, 'an apparition in the likeness of a person supposed by the vulgar to be seen before, or soon after death,' *yird*, 'bury,' *yaup*, 'yelp,' etc. But whether these and similar words have found their way into the language through the existence of Scandinavian settlements in the country, or have been imported from England or the Orkney and Shetland Islands, is exceedingly difficult to determine.

Dr. Jamieson remarks that among the common people in the North of Scotland the names of herbs are either the same as those still used in Sweden, and other northern countries, or nearly allied to them. The same observation, it is said, applies pretty generally throughout Scotland to the names of quadrupeds, birds, and fishes. Many Scandinavian words in use among the Orcadians and Shetlanders are to the majority of Scotsmen unintelligible. Especially is this the case with words used in the seafaring life and in farming. The old Norn dialect, however, is rapidly disappearing. In the Hebrides, where the Norsemen were once 'a mighty imperial race,' their language, it need hardly be said, has long been completely supplanted by Gaelic. But, 'where the records are silent, the very stones speak.' Out of every four names of places in the largest of the islands, three, though variously disguised, are still recognisable as Norse.

The influence of the French language on the Scottish has, as might naturally be expected, been great. That famous

' Weill keipit ancient alliance,
Maid betuix Scotland and the realme of france.'

has left behind it innumerable traces. During the fourteenth

and two following centuries, it made Scotland, as Dr. Murray has well remarked, 'to a great extent the pupil of France in learning, art, and policy.' 'Scotchmen completed their education at the University of Paris, and founded their own Universities upon French models; the entire legal system of the country was transferred from France; and even the Presbyterian system of the Reformed Church was drawn up under the supervision of the great French Reformer. The connection between the two countries was of the closest nature, leaving its traces in almost every department of Scottish national life, and in none more so than the language.*' A glance at the literature of the period shows not only its influence on the orthography and grammatical construction of the language, but also the almost wholesale importation of French vocables. French words were used without the slightest hesitation, and the fashion with some writers was to cover their pages with them. In the modern dialects many of the words they used are obsolete, or occur only in their more English form. Still, of the words now regarded as peculiarly Scotch, very many are of French origin. The Scottish housewife still goes to the butcher and buys a *gigot*, 'leg,' of mutton, which she places on an *ashet* (*assiette*) or large flat dish. French also supplies her with the words *awmry*, *dresser*, *hotch-potch*, *haggis*, *bonnet*, and *basket*. From 'fouillé' comes *fulyie*, the 'sweepings or refuse of a town'; from 'tacher,' *tash*, 'to spot or defile'; from 'fâcher,' *fash*, 'to bother or trouble'; from 'fâcheuse,' *fashious*, 'troublesome.' 'Deuil' gives *dool*, 'sorrow'; 'glaire,' *glaur*, 'mud.' A *corbie*, from 'corbeau,' is a crow; a *port*, from 'porte,' is 'the gate of a town'; and a *causey*, from 'chaussée,' 'a pavement.' A boy has his *pouch* (O. Fr. *pouche*) full of *bools* (*boules*) made of sugar or marble; he *stravagues* (*extravaguer*) or wanders, he gets his *paumies* (*paume*), strokes on the palm of the hand with the *tawse* (this, however, is Anglo-Saxon), a leather strap, usually with a slit or fringe-like end; he *trocks*, barter, with his companions; *traps*, takes places with his classmates; goes a *message*; is fond of *geins* (*guigne*), wild cherries, and of

* *Dialect of the S. of S.*, p. 55.

grossets or *grosels* (*grosse*, *groseille*). He is *douce*, sedate; or *dour* (*dur*) stubborn; or *contraire*. Many legal phrases have also been borrowed from the French, such as *advocate*, 'counsel'; *aliment*, 'to give legal support for another'; *assoilzie*, 'to acquit'; *compear*, 'to appear in a court'; *declarator*, 'a legal declaration'; *deforce*, 'to treat with violence'; *heritor*, 'a proprietor'; *hypothec*, a 'pledge for payment of rent'; *procurator*, 'one who conducts a case in court'; *condescend*, 'to specify'; &c. On the other hand, many of the Scots law terms are good Anglo-Saxon, as, *e.g.*, *sac*, 'a plea, or suit at law, and the jurisdiction or right of judging in litigious suits'; *soc*, 'the district included within such jurisdiction'; *thol*, 'the right of extracting toll'; *them*, 'warranty'; *infangthef*, 'the right to judge and punish a thief caught 'with the fang' within the grantee's jurisdiction.'* Very many law terms, however, are borrowed direct from the Latin.

The dialects spoken in the North of England still bear witness to the close linguistic connection, which formerly existed between the district in which they are spoken and the Scottish Lowlands. Many words generally regarded as exclusively Scotch may still be heard as far south as the Humber, and a few as far south as the Trent. Thus to the north of the Humber, in Yorkshire and the north eastern counties, if not in Westmoreland and Cumberland, *abee* is still used in the phrases 'let's abee,' 'let m' abee,' 'let abee,' in the sense of 'do not hurt, or meddle with me.' The elder tree is known as the *bourtrie* or *bottrie*; *chimla* is used for 'chimney,' and *reek*, *smeek*, sometimes *smeeak*, for 'smoke;' a stupid fellow is a *gawkie*; cleverness is *gumption*; impertinence, *jaw* or *sauce*; a gate is a *yett* or *yatt*; the ears are *lugs*. *Fell* 'a skin,' is preserved in the word fellmonger, 'a dealer in skins;' *fidgie*, 'restless,' in *fidgets*. *Flitting* is used in the sense of changing

* See *A Critical Inquiry into the Scottish Language*. By Francisque-Michel; and Prof. Innes's *Scotch Legal Antiquities*. The etymologies given in the former are sometimes a little fanciful, and many words treated are as good English as they are Scotch; but the book shows considerable research, and though not sufficiently discriminating, is well written and of great interest.

one's residence; and *gusset* is still in common use for a triangular piece of cloth inserted at the bottom on each side of a robe. Among others are *axe*, 'ask,' *barm*, 'yeast,' *faring*, 'money given to spend at a fair,' *fettle*, 'condition,' *flipe*, 'a flap,' *fend*, 'care for,' *gab*, 'idle talk,' *gang*, 'go,' *gullie*, 'knife,' *eft*, 'the after part of a boat or ship,' *dint*, 'a small indentation,' *egg*, 'urge,' *gymp*, 'scant,' *graine*, 'groan,' *beck*, 'a small stream,' *gate*, 'a street,' *gramashers*, 'gaiters reaching to the knee,' *heft*, 'handle,' *snib*, *sneck*, 'to fasten,' *hesp* and *stapple*, both used in fastening doors or gates, *muck*, 'dirt,' *midden*, 'heap,' *lift*, 'steal,' *smiddy*, 'a blacksmith's workshop,' *smit* and *smittle*, 'infect,' *mask* and *mash*, 'infuse,' *speir*, 'inquire,' *tyke*, 'a churl,' *ligg*, 'lie,' *mauk*, a 'maggot,' etc. *Mense*, though not used in the sense of 'manliness or good manners,' as in Scotland, is used in Yorkshire with the meaning of freshness, or new look. A 'dyke' in the same county is a ditch. The word 'arrest' or 'areist' is preserved in the following doggerel sung by beggars in the North of England on the approach of Christmas:—

'God areist you all merry gentlemen,
Let nothing you dismay :
For remember that Christ our Saviour
Was born on a Christmas day.'

People in the same district still speak of a rainy day as a *soft* day, of *swealing* a candle, and in the word *yule-clog*, the name for the log of wood placed on the fire on Christmas eve, they retain, among other things, the use of the word *yule*. The thoroughly Scotch words, *shoon*, *brawlie*, and *wunna*, may still be heard in Derbyshire.

One peculiarity of the Scottish language, which a perusal of Dr. Jamieson's Dictionary very forcibly brings home, is that many words which are spelled and pronounced in the same way as their apparently corresponding words in English, are used in a totally different sense. In some instances the explanation of this is obvious, but in others it is not. An explanation which will account equally well for every case it is perhaps impossible to give. Some of them it should be observed, however, have also the same meaning as in English.

In the following lines from Barbour's *Brus abandon*, means, as Dr. Jamieson remarks, to bring under absolute subjection:—

' Oftsays quhen it wald him lik,
He went till huntynng with his menye,
And swa the land *abandownyt* he,
That durst nane warne to do his will.'

The following passage gives a singular yet easily intelligible meaning to *animosity*:—

' Thair tounes, besydis St. Johnstoun, ar vnwallit, which is to be ascryved to thair *animositie* and hardiness, fixing all their succoris and help in the valencie of their bodies.'

To *avoid* is 'to remove from.' *Baffle* is a noun denoting in Orkney and Sutherland a thing of no value; in Angus we have the phrase 'that's mere baffle,' *i.e.* nonsense; in Mearns, again, a baffle is a portfolio. *To baist* has in Scotland nothing to do with cooking. In the North of Scotland it signifies 'to defeat,' and one is *abaist* who is struck or overcome. In Dumfriesshire, however, we have the phrase, 'Wer't no for that I shouldna be sae baist,' *i.e.* afraid or apprehensive. *Bawd* is a name for the hare, a name which, though now entirely disused in England, was not unknown to Shakespeare.

' *Mercutio*. A Bawd, a bawd, soho!

Rom. What hast thou found?

Merc. No hare, Sir, unless a hare, Sir, in a lenten pie,' etc.

Romeo and Juliet, Act ii., Sc. 4.

When a man and woman are *bookit* or booked, seats are not taken for them in a coach, they are registered in the Session-records in order to proclamation of the banns of marriage. A *clash* is a piece of scandal; *clatter* has the same meaning.

' When skirlin weanies see the light,
Thou maks the gossips *clatter* bright.'

In the Shetlands a dry place is called a *bull*. To a Scotsman *curling* is suggestive neither of curl-papers, periwigs, nor hairdressers, but of frost and snow, being a game played by young and old on the ice, and known also as the 'roaring game.' A *crack* is a quiet confidential gossip. A *clod* is in Dumfriesshire a clew, as 'a *clod* hides himself, he is said to be *darning*; in Fifeshire the same term

of yarn.' A *constable* is a bumper, so is a *sheriff*. When a man is applied to him when he is eavesdropping. A *daub* is a sudden stroke. *Diet*, besides having its ordinary English meaning, signifies a fixed time or meeting for some specified purpose, as *e.g.*, a *diet* of examination, a *diet* of preaching, a *diet* of visitation, a *diet* of prayer, etc. *Dole*, which in English suggests charity, signifies in Scotch 'fraud or malice.' To *earn* is not only to win, but also to coagulate or to cause to coagulate. *Ebb* is used as an adjective with the meaning of 'shallow;' Barbour uses it as a verb in the sense of to strand, to sink by the ebbing of the tide. A *footman* is 'an iron or brass stand for holding a kettle before the fire.' A *girdle* is a circular plate of iron used for baking cakes on. A man who has a large *income* is not necessarily one who has a large salary; an *income* is also 'any bodily infirmity, not apparently proceeding from an external cause.' To *flicker* is defined in the English dictionaries as 'to flutter, or fluctuate;' Dr. Jamieson's definition is 'to coax, to flatter.' To *fling*, besides meaning to kick as a horse, and to throw, also means 'to baffle, to deceive, to jilt.' A *fling*, again, is 'a fit of ill humour.' *Lift*, which in some parts is pronounced *lüft*, stands for the firmament, as in the proverb, 'If the *lift* fa', we'll gather laverocks' (larks), or, 'Maybe the *lift* will fa' and smure (smother) the laverocks;' or again, 'He could souck (suck) the larricks (larks) out o' the *lift*,' a proverb used of one who has great power of wheedling. *Mail* is rent or duty paid to a superior; a *merchant* may be a small shopkeeper; a *mere* is not a 'lake,' as in Tennyson, but a 'march or boundary;' to *mind* is not simply to attend to, but also to remember. To *mizzle* is to speckle; a *mote* is a hill; a *panel* or *pannel* is a prisoner at the bar; a *pickle* (in some parts *pu:kle*), a little; a *pig*, an earthen vessel, used, when filled with hot water, in place of a warming-pan; *piptail* is a kind of tobacco; and a *pump* is a sink. *Scud* while descriptive of motion through or on the surface of water, signifies also to drink liberally; as a noun it means a stroke with the open hand, or with the *tawse*, given by way of punishment. *Socks* are ploughshares, *suffrages* are prayers for the dead, and to *justify* is to punish with death.

Distinctively Scottish words are extremely numerous. Most

of them are in daily use, and constitute what may be called the weft and woof of the language. As they stand for the various parts of the human body, for common actions, and for the ideas and things with which the popular mind is most familiar, they afford the best insight into the character of a language, though they do not necessarily furnish the best proofs as to its origin. To give anything like a complete list of them, or to indicate the origin of each word, is here of course impossible. It may not be amiss, however, to point out a few.

Let us take such as relate to one or two of the several stages of life. An infant is a *weean*, a *bairn*, or a *bairnie*, a *wee bairnie*, a *wee laddie*, or if a girl, a *lassie*, *wee lassie*, a *lassock*, or a *lassockie*, and may be either *bonnie* or *braw*. Here *lad* and *lass* are Celtic; *bairn* is Anglo-Saxon; *wee* is doubtful; Mr. Skeat is disposed to regard it as Scandinavian. A boy is a *callant*, a *chield*, or a *loon*. He is *blait*, 'bashful,' or *no* (not) *blait*, *auld farran*, 'discreet beyond his years,' *doited*, 'stupid,' *douce*, 'sedate,' *dour*, 'obstinate,' *daft*, 'foolish,' *daffing*, 'merry,' *silly*, 'delicate' or 'spiritless,' or *berly*, 'strong,' as the case may be. *Callant* is probably from the Flemish and Dutch 'kalant,' and not, as Dr. Jamieson suggests, from the French 'gallant;' *chield* is Anglo-Saxon; *loon*, Low German; *blait*, *farran*, *doited*, *daft*, and *daffing* are Scandinavian; *silly* and *berly*, Anglo-Saxon. A girl is a *dawtie* and becoming a *quean*, 'young woman,' is *bonnie* and *daintie*, 'good-looking,' *sonsie*, 'well-conditioned,' or *feckfu*, 'active.' *Sonsie* is Gaelic; *daintie* and *bonnie* are French; *feckfu* and *quean*, Anglo-Saxon. Respecting the last, Dr. Jamieson remarks, 'This is never meant as implying any reproach, unless an epithet, conveying this idea, be conjoined with it. Although familiar, it is often used as expressive of kindness.' In English, it is used always in a bad sense. *Bonnie* and *daft*, it may be remarked, are still used in the North of England in the same sense as in Scotland.

Turning to the words denoting the several parts of the body, these also betray a similar diversity of origin. For the head the same word is used as in English, but is pronounced *heed*; the sides of the head are *haffits*; the cheeks are *chafits* or *chuffs*. *Head* and *haffits* are Anglo-Saxon;

chafts and *chaffs*, which are also north English, are Scandinavian. For the forehead, or the part of the head between the brow and the crown, there is the word *pash*, from the Gaelic *bathais*, (pronounced *baesh*, or *bā esh*), the forehead. Its most common use is in the phrase 'a bald *pash*.' *Pow* is another form of *poll*, and comes from the Celtic through the Old Low German. *Lugs*, the ears; *broo*, the forehead; *ee* (plural *een*), the eye; and *winkers*, the eyelids, are Anglo-Saxon. The word for 'brains' is *harns*; the skull is called the *harnpan*. *Harns* recalls the German *hirn*, brains; *pan* is the Anglo-Saxon *panne*, a corrupted form of the Latin *patina*. *Brains* in Angus signifies the voice, in Lothian, spirit or mettle, and is Anglo-Saxon. *Skull* is the name for a goblet or large bowl. From meaning a goblet it came to mean 'a health;' hence to drink a man's *skull* or *skole* is to drink his health. Jamieson has a long and interesting note upon the word, in which he remarks that 'it is highly probable that a cup or bowl received this name from the barbarous custom, which prevailed among several ancient nations, of drinking out of the *skulls* of their enemies.' The note is an excellent illustration of the learning and research he brought to bear upon his work. Among others he cites the words of Silius Italicus—

'At Celtae vacui capitis circumfere gaudent,
Ossa, nefas! auro, et tuensis ea pocula servant;'

and the words from Ragnar Lodbrok's Death-Song, 'I shall soon drink beer from hollowed cups made of skulls.'

The Scotch word for the nose is *neis*, also spelled *nes* and *niz*. It is the same as the Latin *nasus*, the English *nose*, and the Icelandic *nes*, and the *ness* and *naze* of geographical meaning. For the mouth there are several words. The one in common use is *mou*, a contraction of 'mouth.' Others are *gob* and *munds*. *Munds* is the same as the German *mund*. *Gob* is the Gaelic *gob* the mouth. *Gab*, often used in the phrase 'gift of the gab' both in the North of England and in Scotland, is probably connected with the Icelandic *gabba*, mockery. To project the under jaw, or to distort the mouth in contempt is to *gash*, and one whose chin projects is said to be *gash-golbit* or *gash-gabbit*. *Gash*, again,

is synonymous with *gab*. The derivation of *gam* 'a tooth,' *gans* 'the jaws without teeth,' *geggen* the under lip, is uncertain. From the chin to the breast, the fore-breast, is called the *gibbie*—from the Gaelic *gibian*, 'the gizzard.' A double-chin is a *flytepock*, literally a scolding bag, so denominated, Dr. Jamieson remarks, because it is inflated when one is in a rage; from *flyte*, and *pock*, a bag, as if this were the receptacle of the ill-humour thrown out in the scolding. *Choler* and *churl* also signify a double-chin. *Choler* is from *χολέρα*; *churl* and *flyte* are Anglo-Saxon. The *crag*, *craig*, or *crage* is the neck, also the throat. The *forecraig* is the front part of the neck; *skrufff* and *cuff* denote the back part. *Skruff* and *cuff* occur also in the north English dialects. The name for the windpipe is the Scandinavian word *thrapple*; the Anglo-Saxon forms of which give in English 'throat' and 'throttle.' The *Oxter*, from the A.-S. *oxtan*, is the armpit. *Elbuck* or *elbock*, the elbow, is from the same source. *Gardy*, the origin of which is doubtful, is used for the arm; the *gardy-bane* is the arm-bone; a *gardy-chair* an arm chair; and *gardy-moggans* are long sleeves. The word for the hand is *han'*; for the hands *maigs*, from the Gaelic *mag*; for the palm of the hand *lufe*, a word found in Maeso-Gothic and in Celtic, but not in Anglo-Saxon; for the fist *neive* or *neif*, to which Mr. Skeat assigns a Scandinavian origin. For the stomach there are various words, as *kyte*, *wame*, *groof*, *bib*. *Groof* is Scandinavian. *Kyte* and *wame* are Anglo-Saxon, the latter is also used for the womb. *Bib* is used in Angus, and is supposed by Dr. Jamieson to be borrowed from the name given to the small pieces of linen used to cover the breast or stomach of a child. If this supposition be the correct one, the word is probably derived from *bibere*. The Teutonic word *shanks* is the ordinary name for the legs. *Shaum* and *shockles* are also used. The first is probably connected, as Dr. Jamieson suggests, with *jambe*; the second is a comical word derived from *shockle* or *shackle* 'to shamble.' For the buttocks or hips there is *hurdies*, for the loins, *hunkers*. *Hunkers* is Icelandic. To 'hunker down' is to squat down; to 'sit on one's hunkers,' to sit with the weight of the body depending from the knees. The word for foot is *spash*.

Many other words are used to denote the various parts of the body. Many others, also, might be given as the signs of familiar ideas and things. The above are sufficient for our purpose. They show that the basis of the language is Teutonic; but whether the language is derived from the Scandinavian or Anglian branch, they afford no sure proof. In number and importance they are about equally divided between the two branches. If there is any difference, those derived from the Anglo-Saxon predominate.

In the earlier stages of the Teutonic dialects spoken in Britain, the Northern often developed itself more rapidly than those of the South, throwing off inflections and adopting forms long before the same phenomena appeared in the Midland or Southern dialects. Dr. Murray remarks,—

‘When the curtain rises over the northern dialect, in England towards the close of the 13th century, and in Scotland nearly a hundred years later, the language had become as thoroughly uninflectional as the modern English, while the sister dialect of the south retained to a great extent the noun-, pronoun-, and adjective-declension of the Anglo-Saxon. The same phenomenon of earlier development has been repeated in almost every subsequent change which the language has undergone. The South has been tenaciously conservative of old forms and usages, the North has inaugurated, often by centuries, every one of those structural changes which have transformed the English of Alfred into English as it has been since the days of Shakspeare.’ *

Since the period of the Reformation, however, the tendency of the Scottish language appears to have been almost entirely conservative. One result is that many words now obsolete in England, are in Scotland still in use. Any one who will take the trouble to compare the vocabularies of Chaucer and Spenser, or even of Shakespeare with Jamieson, will be struck by the large number of ‘Scotch’ words which the former contain. The thoroughly Scotch phrase, *What gars ye greet?* will be understood by scarcely one Englishman in a hundred. Yet, turning to Spenser’s ‘Shepherd’s Calendar’ for April, it occurs in the first line almost word for word.

‘Tell me, good Hobbinol, what garres thee greete?’

Gar, ‘to cause,’ and *greete*, ‘weep,’ are used also by Chaucer.

* *Dialect of S. S.*, p. 24.

The number of Chaucerian words preserved in Scotch is remarkable. Chaucerian, for instance, are many of the words given above as derived from the French, and from the Scandinavian. Here are some of the Anglo-Norman words used by Chaucer, and still current as Scottish:—*advoutrie*, ‘adultery,’ *arest*, ‘constrain, stop,’ *baillie*, ‘an official,’ *doole*, ‘grief,’ *egre* (Sc. *aigre*), ‘sharp, biting,’ *gabbe*, ‘idle talk,’ *galoche*, ‘shoe,’ *hochepot*, ‘hotch-potch,’ *hurtle* (Sc. *hirsle*), ‘push,’ *jangle*, ‘babble,’ *leche*, ‘physician,’ *malisoun*, ‘curse,’ *maugre*, ‘ill-will,’ *mervaille*, ‘marvel,’ *paumes*, ‘palms of the hands,’ *penner*, ‘a pencase,’ *poke*, ‘bag,’ *pouche*, ‘pocket,’ *provostrie*, ‘office of a provost,’ *quayre*, ‘book,’ *remenaunt*, ‘remnant,’ *sorte*, ‘arrange, allot,’ *tache*, ‘a spot.’ Among other words now reckoned as Scotch, he has *ane*, ‘one,’ *ought* or *aught*, ‘owed,’ *bale*, ‘loss,’ *bathe*, ‘both,’ *bode*, ‘delay,’ *bode*, ‘an omen,’ *carl*, ‘a churl,’ *chapman*, ‘merchant,’ *daf*, ‘to fool,’ *dedly*, ‘devoted to death,’ *draf*, ‘refuse,’ *eme*, ‘an uncle,’ *fell*, ‘a skin,’ *fremde* (fremd), ‘foreign,’ *ferly*, ‘strange,’ *hals*, ‘the neck,’ *hern* (Sc. *hirne*), ‘a corner,’ *hynderest*, ‘hindmost,’ *lerne*, ‘to teach,’ *mavys*, ‘thrush,’ *micheel*, *muchel*, ‘great,’ *pan*, ‘the skull,’ *querne*, ‘a handmill,’ *sark*, ‘shirt,’ *syn*, ‘since,’ *straughte*, ‘stretched,’ *tane*, ‘taken,’ *thak*, ‘thatch,’ *thole*, ‘bear,’ etc.

Scotch has also preserved a number of words which occur in Spenser and Shakespeare, but are now obsolete in English. Besides *gar* and *greete*, to which reference has already been made, the former uses the following:—*assoyled*, ‘absolve,’ *breeme*, ‘keen,’ *doole*, ‘grief,’ *eme*, ‘uncle,’ *gerne* (Sc. *girn*), ‘to distort the countenance,’ *ken*, ‘know,’ *kirke*, ‘church,’ *lere*, ‘lore,’ *ligg*, ‘lie,’ *mirksome*, ‘dark,’ *skean*, ‘knife,’ *stouris*, ‘dust,’ etc. In Shakespeare we have *wee*,—‘He hath but a little *wee* face; *wood* (Sc. *wud*), ‘mad,’—‘O that she could speak like a *wood* woman;’ *neif*, ‘fist,’—‘Give me your *neaf*, Monsieur Mustardseed;’ *hent*, ‘seized,’—

‘The generous and gravest citizens
Have *hent* the gates.’

Other Scotch words to be found in Shakespeare are,—*foison*, ‘plenty,’ *dint*, ‘stroke,’ *daff*, ‘to fool,’ *scatheful*, ‘destructive,’ *silly*,

'weak,' etc. Instead of *horn-daft*, he uses *horn-mad*, and in the 'Winter's Tale' we have an instance of the use of *pash*,—

'Thou want'st a rough *pash* and the shoots that I have
To be full like me.'

The word is generally explained as signifying 'face,' but the meaning current in Scotland suits the sense better.

Besides the above and many other words once current in English, the Scottish language has in several instances preserved whole families of words, which are now wholly obsolete in English, or of which only one or two members have survived. Chaucer and Spenser have not only *siker*, 'sure,' they have its derivatives, *sikerly*, 'surely,' and *sikerness*, 'sureness.*' In English this family of words is now entirely obsolete. Scotch retains it. In English the only survivals of the word *couth*, the past participle of the verb to *ken*, are *uncouth*, *uncouthly*, and *uncouthness*; the Scottish language has also *couth*, *couthie*, *coudy*, *couthily*, *couthiness*, *coudiness*, *couthlike*, *couthless*, *uncouthie*. The only existing representative in English of the old Anglo-Saxon verb *ug*, 'to feel abhorrence at, to nauseate,' is the word 'ugly,' but in Scotch there are also *ugsum*, *ugfow*, *ugsomeness*. The negative particle *wan*, now completely obsolete in English, occurs in several Scottish words, e.g., *wancanny*, 'unlucky,' *wanchancie*, 'unlucky,' *wancouth*, 'uncouth,' *wanearthlie*, 'unearthly,' *wangrace*, 'wickedness,' *wanhap*, 'misfortune,' *wanhope*, 'delusive hope,' *wanrest*, 'unrest,' etc.

Considering the history of the language previous to the Reformation, this conservative tendency is somewhat remarkable. Another illustration of it, we may mention, is the power of making words. This power English seems to have almost entirely abandoned, at least so far as its own words are concerned. Scotch, on the other hand, has retained it. Such words as the following are numerous: *back-speirin*, 'cross-examining;' *back-friend*, 'one who supports another;' *back-cast*, 'retrospective;' *back-coming*, 'return;' *back-fear*, 'an object of fear behind;' *bairn's-play*, 'sport of children;' *banes-brakin*, 'breaking of limbs;' *by-common*, 'singular;' *by-coming*, 'the act of passing through a place;' *ee-*

* Chaucer has also *sikerde*, 'assured.'

list, 'a flaw;' *ee-stick*, 'something acceptable;' *forespeaker*, 'an advocate;' *forethouchtie*, 'caution;' *foreworne*, 'exhausted with fatigue;' *gae-down*, 'the act of swallowing;' *gathering-coal*, 'a coal used for the purpose of keeping the fire in all night.' Numerous also are others which seem to have been formed simply for the purpose of imitating sounds, such as *argle-bargle*, 'to bandy;' *bringle-brangle*, 'a confused noise;' *bulliheizilie*, 'a scramble;' *bumbeleery-bizz*, 'a cry used to frighten cows;' *bubblyjock*, 'a name given to the turkey;' *carrywarry*, 'name for a kind of burlesque serenade made with pots, pans, kettles, &c.;' *collieshangie*, 'uproar;' *chinkie-winkie*, 'contention;' *currie-wirrie*, 'a noisy habitual growl;' *flimageerie*, 'vagary;' *rebble rabble*, 'disorder,' &c.

The grammar of the Scottish language forms an interesting and curious study, and deserves more attention than it has yet received. Dr. Murray's volume, besides discussing the history of the Scottish Language, contains an excellent grammar of the dialect of the Southern counties. Much has also been done for the grammar of the Old Northern English by Dr. Richard Morris. Mr. Gregor, too, has contributed somewhat to our knowledge of the dialects of the north of Scotland. But any attempt to write a grammar for the whole of the Scottish Language, dealing with its principles and pointing out the distinguishing features of its various dialects, has not, so far as we know, been made. Some of its grammatical peculiarities may here be noted.

The plural suffix in *en* is retained not only in the word *ousen* or *oxen*, but also in *shoon*, 'shoes,' *een*, 'eyes,' *hosen*, 'stockings.' *Childer* is used as in the north of England for 'children.' The old plural *breidir* or *brethir* is giving place to *brithers*. Collective nouns are usually construed in the plural. Certain preparations of food, as, *e.g.*, *brose*, *kail*, *soup*, *parritch*, *sowens*, are always spoken of as *they* or *them*, *few* or *monie*: *e.g.*, 'Here's a drap parritch, sup them at ance else they'll be ower cauld.'

In adjectives of quality Scotch is extremely rich. Many of them are remarkably expressive. To give their meaning in English it is requisite to use in many cases several words. *Gruesome*, *eerie*, *weirdlike*, for example, have in English no exact equivalents; their meaning can be expressed only by a periphrase. The

more frequent terminations for derivative adjectives are *ie, fu, some, less, ish*; as *couthie*, 'kindly,' *carefu*, 'careful,' *waesome*, 'woful' *thochtless*, 'thoughtless,' *fairish*, 'pretty good.' Others are *rif* and *le*, as *waukrif*, 'wakeful,' *kittle*, 'difficult,' *smittle*, 'infectious.' After the comparative degree, *nor, as*, and *be* are often used instead of 'than.' *Be* with an adjective in the positive degree gives an emphatic comparative. 'Young be you' means decidedly younger. Besides *verra*, 'very,' several other words are used to express the superlative absolute, such as *real, richt, unco, byous*. *Real, recht*, or *unco gude* is 'particularly good.' *Unco* is often used in the sense of the old word *uncouth*, 'unknown.' Ross in his 'Helenore' has 'An unco din she hears of fouk and play.' *Byous*, though said to belong to Aberdeenshire, is used over a much wider area, and signifies extraordinary, exceedingly, out of the common run. The middle east coast dialect, has for its strongest form of comparison the peculiar phrase, *by-the-byes*, which is probably a corruption of *by-the-byous*. A thing is said to be *by-the-byes* when it possesses the quality referred to in a prepositerous degree, or in a degree beyond all measure or conception. *Fel* and *gey* are also used in comparisons, and signify moderately, fairly, but sometimes very, or exceedingly. In Perthshire, Fife, Forfarshire, etc., 'That's fel guid,' means exceedingly good. *Awfu* is used in the same sense as the Greek *δευός*. *Sair*, 'very,' is used with a touch of compassion.

The plurals of *this* and *that*, are *thare* and *thay*. Where an Englishman uses 'these,' the Scotch use 'those.' Instead of 'yon,' Scotch has 'thon.'

The pronouns 'it' and 'us,' are often aspirated; not, however, after the Cockney fashion, but in accordance with the old usage of the language. Thus, in a Paternoster of the thirteenth century, given by Mr. Ellis, we have—

' Vre bred that lastes ai
gyue it *hus* this hilke dai,
and vre misdedis thu forgyue *hus*
als we forgyue thaim that misdou *hus*.'

'It' and 'us' are aspirated chiefly when emphatic. *Mines* is used for 'mine,' and the old North English relative *at* is retained.

The verb presents several peculiarities. Where the English uses *ed* or *d* as the termination for the past tense, or for the past participle, Scotch uses very frequently *it* or *t*. Thus 'slipped' is *slippit*, 'talked,' *talkit*, 'licked,' *lickit*, 'wondered,' *wunn'rt*. 'Told,' again, is *telt*. On the other hand, 'slept' is often *sleeped*, 'went,' *gaed*, and 'saw,' *seed*, 'bent' is *bendit*, and 'gone' is often *went*. 'Let' and 'put,' again, make in the past *lat* and *pat*, and in the past participle, *latten* and *putten*. For 'the men came,' 'you were,' Scotch has 'the men cum'd,' and 'you was,' or 'wes.' Besides the gerund or verbal noun in *ing*, it has also the old present participle in *and*. Instead of the auxiliary 'do,' it has *div* and *dow*; for 'shall,' *sal*, for 'have,' *hae*, and for 'must,' *maun*.

Negative sentences are generally formed by using the suffix *na*, or the word *no*. *Dinna gang*; *A canna*; *Div ye no ken?* *Didna ye see't?* *Ye maunna dee't*, mean 'Do not go,' 'I cannot,' 'Do you not know?' 'Did you not see it?' 'You must not do it.' For 'shall I?' *wull a?* is used; and for 'will not,' *wunna*. *Wha's aucht that?* is a curious phrase meaning 'whose is that?' *Aucht* is from the Anglo-Saxon *agan*, *ahan*, 'to own,' or, 'to make to own,' and, as already pointed out, is used by Chaucer.

But, *bot*, and *ben*, are still used with their old meaning, and, as prepositions, signify 'without,' and 'within.' *But* occurs in the motto of the Macintoshes,—'Touch not the cat *but* (*i.e.*, without) a glove.' Barbour uses it in the sense of 'except,'—

'Quhile he had with him, *but* archeris,
And *but* burdowys and awblasteris,
V hundre men.'

Ben on the other hand signifies, when used as a preposition, within. '*Ben* the house' is 'in the house.' Both words are also used as adverbs. 'Gae *but* the house' may mean either 'go from the inner to the outer room,' or 'go outside the house.' 'Come *ben*,' on the other hand, is 'come in.' 'Gae *ben*,' again, is 'go into the inner room.' 'Stay *ben*' is 'remain within.' *Ben*, again, is often used to denote intimacy or favour. 'He's far *ben*' means 'He is admitted to great favour or intimacy.' 'O'wer far *ben*,' again, is used to

indicate too great an intimacy. Both *but* and *ben* are also used as substantives. A house with a *but* and a *ben* is one with an inner and an outer room, or one consisting of a room and kitchen. The two words are likewise used as adjectives. The *but* end of a house is the kitchen. Its *ben* end is always its best part. Hence the *ben end* of anything else, *e.g.*, the *ben end* of one's dinner, is always the best or principal part of it. *Ben* admits of the degrees of comparison. The author of *Poems in the Buchan Dialect* speaks of the Trojan's 'benner pauntries,' and Burns in 'The Jolly Beggars' has

'The kebars shenk
Aboon the chorus roar ;
While frighted rattons backward leuk
And seek the *benmost* bore.'

Persons who live on the opposite sides of the same passage, are said to live *but and ben* with each other.

In diminutives the Scottish language is exceptionally rich. Thus from *bit* are obtained *bittie*, *bittock* and *bittockie*. These may be diminished still more by the use of *wee*; as, a *wee bittie*, and even by the repetition of *wee*; as, a *wee wee bittockie*. Not unfrequently the diminutives are employed to express sympathy, affection, or endearment, as in the phrases, *a bit wean*, *a bit weanie*, *a wee bit wean*, *a bit wee wean*, and *the bits o' weans*, *i.e.*, the bairns or the children.

For the purpose of indicating indefinite number and quantity Scotch has a considerable variety of words. A *when* is a few or a lot out of many; a *pickle* is a little pick, *i.e.*, as much as can be taken up by the finger and thumb, or by the hand, out of a heap. A *byt* is a little; a *hantle* is a considerable number or quantity. *Feck* is used for 'the greater part,' 'the feck o' a hunner' is the greater part of a hundred. *Vast*, *lot*, *heep*, indicate an indefinitely large number. A *hew* is a very small quantity; a *haet* is 'the smallest conceivable piece.' *When*, *pickle*, *byte*, *hew*, and *hantle* may be diminished by prefixing *wee* or enlarged by employing *gey* or *guid*, &c. *Haet* is often used with the name of the devil to express the most absolute negative. Burns has

'But gentlemen an' ladies warst,
Wi' ev'n down want o' wark are curst,
They loiter, lounging, lank an' lazy ;
Tho' *deil haet* ails them, yet uneasy.'

This use of the name of the evil one, however, is scarcely peculiar. We may remark in passing that in Scotch the names for the devil are numerous. Besides Hornie, Satan, Nick, Clootie, Nickie Ben, there are several others. If a multiplicity of names be any sign of familiarity or fear, there are few countries where the Prince of Darkness has been so well known, or so greatly feared.

When turning over the pages of Dr. Jamieson's dictionary, we meet with much more than dictionaries usually contain. Dr. Jamieson was not only a philologist; he was also an ardent student of Scottish antiquities, and brought a great amount of learning and industry to their illustration. Since he wrote, antiquarian studies have made great progress, and much has been done to throw light upon the literature and antiquities of the northern nations of Europe: yet, though here and there his long and admirably written articles on the manners and customs and superstitions of the country, may be convicted of slight inaccuracies, in their main outlines they are singularly accurate. They are always entertaining, and besides illustrating the meaning of the words to which they refer, are full of suggestions as to the intellectual and social condition of the country in the past. On another occasion we may possibly return to them.

ART. III.—THE NEW LIGHT UPON ST. PATRICK.

Vita Sancti Patricii, Hibernorum Apostoli, auctore Muirchu Maccumachtheni, et Tirechani Collectanea de S. Patritio—nunc primum integra ex Libro Armachano, ope Codicis Bruzellensis. Edidit R. P. EDMUNDUS HOGAN, S.J., operam conferentibus PP. Bollandianis. (Excerptum ex *Analectis Bollandianis.*) Bruxellis. Typis Polleunis, Ceuterick et Lefébure, 1882.

IT has long been admitted among the learned that the documents concerning the Apostle of Ireland, contained in the Book of Armagh, are the purest and earliest records of his life which exist, and to a great extent the foundations upon which all subsequent matter of the sort has been based, and that among these documents the most important pieces, after the *Confession*, which is the work of Patrick himself, are the *Life* and the *Collectanea*. That these works had hitherto been placed before students only in a most imperfect manner was but little less matter of regret and complaint than the fact that the *Life* was imperfect in the Armagh Codex, and that the loss of the beginning, in particular, rendered it useless upon the earlier part of his career, and especially upon the details of his mission to Ireland, the very point upon which historical controversy had been most keenly exacerbated, one group of writers maintaining that he was an emissary despatched by Pope Celestine before the end of July, A.D. 432, and another that his emigration to the scene of his apostolate was of somewhat later date. The excitement among the increasing school to whom the history of Ireland and of Celtic Christianity is the subject of scientific investigation was therefore very great, when it was known that the Bollandist, Fr. de Smedt, had discovered a new Codex of the same biography as that contained in the Book of Armagh, embracing not only the three chapters hitherto missing in the body of the work, but the lost commencement as well. The Bollandists, with that earnest devotion to solid historical science which is among them so glorious

a tradition, determined to issue a critical text of the *Vita* and *Collectanea*, and entrusted the task to Fr. Edmund Hogan, now one of the Professors of Gaelic in the Catholic University of Dublin. The result most fully justifies the acuteness of their selection. The least merit of the work is that it is printed with a luxurious clearness which robs the masses of footnote and reference of nearly all their terrors. The texts have been produced with such correctness that a most searching examination by Dr. Whitley Stokes is said to have revealed only some half-dozen unimportant misprints. The collations of the MSS. are given in full, with the addition of a vast number of ingenious conjectural emendations, and a judicious number of pregnant notes. The lucid clearness of the editor's own style is a merit of which it would be affectation to deny the value, when the question is of reading a book in Latin, and he has been singularly happy in the way in which, in an introduction consisting entirely of matter of the keenest interest, he has succeeded in being concise without obscurity, and full without diffuseness. The extent of his reading is evidently admirable, and he is gracefully courteous in his references to other writers, while he seems himself to have succeeded in forming, although he abstains from enunciating it, some definite idea of his own upon the history of Patrick, a feat the difficulty of which can be realised only by those who have attempted it.

The Book of Armagh is a New Testament, enriched with Concordance Tables, and illustrative matter from Hilary, Jerome, and the arch-heretic Pelagius. It contains the Epistle to the Laodiceans, attributed to St. Paul, though with the remark that Jerome denies its authenticity. The books of Scripture are followed by pieces relating to Martin of Tours, and preceded by four connected with Patrick. These are (*a*) the *Life*, (*b*) the *Collectanea*, followed by an Index of the preceding, (*c*) the *Book of the Angel*, or alleged Revelation made to Patrick by the Angel Victor concerning the prerogatives of the Church of Armagh, and (*d*) the *Confession*. The precise date of the MS. has been discovered with extraordinary acuteness by the Rev. Charles Graves. By minute investigation he found, in a palimpsest form, some colophons indicating that it

had been written by one Ferdornach, at the order of a Bishop of Armagh, whose name ended in *ach*. The deaths of two scribes of Armagh named Ferdornach are recorded at 726 and 844 respectively, but the latter alone was contemporary with Bishops whose names ended in *ach*, and of these the name of Torbach alone fits the space of the erasure. As Torbach sat only one year, the date is fixed with certainty to 806 or 807, or, accepting O'Donovan's amended chronology, 811 or 812. The idea, however, came to prevail that the MS. contained an autograph of Patrick;* as early as 937 Donnchad, son of Flann, King of the Irish, enclosed it in a precious reliquary; and the M'Moyre family were ultimately endowed (*Maor*=Keeper) to keep it safely. Florence M'Moyre pawned it for £5 in 1680, when he was going to London to give evidence against Archbishop Oliver Plunket. Thus it came into the hands of Arthur Brownlow, and remained in the Brownlow family till 1853, when the Rev. William Reeves bought it for £300, and sold it for the same sum to the Anglican Archbishop Beresford, on condition that it should be deposited for ever in Trinity College Library, where it now is. As regards the dates of the two authors whose works are now published from this noble Codex in so worthy a form, both are of the seventh century. Tirechan describes himself as a disciple of Ultan O'Conchobair, whose death is recorded at A.D. 656, and Muirchu Maccumachtheni as writing at the command of Aed, Bishop of Sletty, who died about A.D. 698.

The newly discovered text of the *Life* is contained in a MS. collection of Saints' Lives in the Royal Library of Brussels; and the only complaint which can be made of Fr. Hogan is that he has not given a rather fuller account of the other contents of this volume. It is true that these so-called biographies only too generally consist of stories which can scarcely be called history, but it is from them, by a proper application of criti-

* Possibly on account of the following words (evidently referring to the contents or copied from a note on the original copy) after the *Confession*—
'Thus far the book which Patrick wrote with his own hand. On the seventeenth day of March was Patrick taken to the heavens.'

cal solvents, that a very great deal of the true history of the times to which they relate is derived, and they are, at worst, most interesting monuments of the epoch when they were written, and picturesque records of very antient and generally graceful popular legends. This actual volume shows three hands of the eleventh century. It formerly belonged to the Irish Monastery of Würzburg.

To write a thorough disquisition upon the publication now in question would be to write a book upon the Life and Times of Patrick. It is therefore proposed here merely to take the portion, nearly all of which is perfectly new, viz., that touching the career of Patrick till his arrival in Ireland as her Apostle, and to set it in comparison, assisted by a few observations, with his own account of the same period in his *Confession*. This is indeed the only part of his Life which can be submitted to that test. To the rest of the book it is purposed to refer here no more than may be necessary, and an endeavour will also be made to keep as clear as possible of the wearisome, envenomed, and not unfrequently even ridiculous controversies which have for so long raged around this interesting subject. The scribe of the Würzburg Codex gives the reader at the very outset a terrible indication of his ignorant incapacity. His so-called Prologue is actually a scrap from some Life of Basil the Great, with two sentences regarding Patrick embedded in it. They are as follows :—*

‘From the Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ unto the death of Patrick are reckoned 436 years.

‘I have found four names in the book *Scripta Patricii* belonging to Bishop Ultan Concubrensus :† holy *Imigonus*, which is clear ; *Sucsetus*, he

* The heading, after the real old Irish manner, contains a Greek word, ‘In the name of the King of the sky, the Saviour of this *kosmos*.’

† *Abuduldanum episcopum Concubrensum*. Fr. Hogan’s conjectural emendation for the first word is ‘apud Ultanum.’ *Concubrensum* is elsewhere written *Conchuburnensium*. From his being called, in the Festology of Oengus, *maic hui Conchobair*, it would appear that this strange title simply means that his surname (as we should now call it) was ‘O’Conchobar.’ *Concubrensum* or *Conchuburnensium* is perhaps meant for a Genitive Plural, and, if so, would mean, ‘Bishop of the Hyconchobar.’

is Patrick ; for he served four houses of magi, and one of them whose name was the magus *Miluch Mocuboin* bought him, and he served him seven years. Patrick the son of Alforus had four names. *Sochet* when he was born ; *Contice*, when he served ; *Mavonius*, when he read ; *Patrick*, when he was ordained.'

Since it may be regarded as certain that Maccumachtheni imagined the Passion to have taken place in A.D. 34, it will be observed that he fixes the death of Patrick at or about A.D. 470. After this singular preface, the *Life* proceeds as follows :—*

'(1.) Of the birth of holy Patrick and of his captivity in Ireland.

'Patrick, who was also called *Sochet*, a Briton by nation, [was] born in the Britains,† begotten of the Deacon Cualfarnus, a son, as he himself saith, of the Priest Potitus, who was of the village *Ban navem thabur indecha*, not (*ut ? haud*) far from our sea, which village we have constantly and undoubtedly ascertained to be *ventre*,‡ conceived also of a mother named *Concessa*. When he was a boy of sixteen years [of age] he was captured along with others, carried over into this island of savages, [and] held in slavery with a certain heathen and cruel king. He [there passed] six years after the Hebrew manner,§ with fear of God and trembling, according to the saying of the Psalmist, in many watchings and prayers. An hundred times in the day and an hundred times in the night used he to pray, willingly returning, and beginning to fear God and to love the Lord Almighty ; for until that time he knew not the true God, but then the spirit grew hot within him. After many tribulations there, after hunger and thirst, after cold and nakedness, after feeding flocks, after many visits of the angelic Victoricus sent unto him from God, after great virtues known unto almost all, after answers from God, of which I will show only

* The present writer begs to deprecate criticism upon the badness of the English of his translations. It is impossible to translate Latin word for word into good English, and here the Latin is, in addition, very bad. He has preferred verbal fidelity to any attempt at elegance.

† *Britannis*, but *Britanniis* seems almost certainly meant.

‡ The word seems to have been first written *venitre*. Fr. Hogan gives, in a footnote, a guarded adhesion to the opinion which identifies *Ben navem thabur indecha* with Kilpatrick on the Clyde. The meaning on the surface of *ventre* would be *white town* (*gwen, tre.*) Is it possible that it has something to do with nearness to Paisley, generally identified with *Vanduarua* or *White-water* (*gwen, dwfr*), from the White Cart ? Assuming *venitre*, as is not improbable, to be a genitive, the passage might be rendered 'which we have ascertained . . . to be a village of *Ventra*.'

§ The reference is to Ex. xxi. 2., etc.

one or two here for example's sake—*Thou fastest well, thou shalt soon go unto thine own fatherland*, and again ; *Behold, thy ship is ready*, which was not at hand, but he had perchance miles to traverse* where he had never travelled ; after all these things, as we have learnt, which hardly any one can count, with unknown savage and heathen men, worshippers of many and false gods, already in the ship prepared for him, having forsaken the tyrant and heathen with [all] his works, and taken the heavenly and eternal God in holy company. . . . † save that of God, in the twenty-third year of his age he sailed over unto the Britains.‡

'2. Of his voyage with the Gentiles.

'So [he was] carried about hither and thither in the sea for three days and as many nights, like unto Jonah, along with the wicked, afterwards for twice ten and eight daily lights together, in the manner of Moses, but in another sense, wearied in the desert, the Gentiles murmuring like the Jews, ready to faint with hunger and thirst, [he] constrained by the captain [of the ship,] tried, and besought that he would pray for them unto his God that they might not perish, moved with compassion upon the multitude, troubled in spirit, worthily crowned, glorified by God, he afforded abundance of meat [for himself along] with the multitude, from an herd of swine which God sent unto him, as from [a flock of] quails.§ Wild honey *nica* or *coturnicibus* seems (from the previous comparison to Moses and the Israelites in the wilderness) overwhelmingly probable.

also came unto him as unto John of old, the flesh of swine, however, being substituted, as the utterly degraded Gentiles deserved, for the eating (*usu ? esu*) of locusts. But that holy Patrick, tasting nothing of these meats, for it had been offered [to idols], remained unhurt, neither hungering nor thirsting. But the same night, while he slept, Satan vehemently tried him, fixing vast rocks upon him and already breaking his arms and legs, but when he had twice called aloud upon Elias, the sun arose upon him, and by its splendour drove away all the darkness of the night, and his strength was restored unto him.

'3. Of the other captivity of Patrick.

'And a second time after many years he endured captivity by strangers. Where, the first night, he earned to hear an answer from God, saying unto him : *Two months shalt thou be with them, that is, with thine enemies*. And it was so. And upon the sixtieth day the Lord delivered him out of their hands, providing unto him and his comrades food and fire and dryness until upon the tenth day they came unto men.

* *Ducenda*, but Fr. Hogan suggests *ducenta*, two hundred.

† *Excepto divino* ; there is evidently an hiatus here, and Fr. Hogan suggests, with great probability, some such words as 'with no help.'

‡ In the Plural, i.e., the Roman provinces in Great Britain. In the Singular, Britannia sometimes means Brittany, but never in the Plural.

§ *Bx coturni*, but Fr. Hogan's suggestion that this is a mistake for *cotur-*

‘4. Of his welcoming by his kinsfolk.

‘And a second time, after a few years, as before, he rested in his own fatherland among his kinsfolk, who received him as a son, beseeching him that then at any rate, after so great tribulations and trials, he would never leave them again for the rest of his life. But he consented not. And there were shown unto him many visions. And he was thirty years of age, according to the [word of the] apostle, unto a perfect man *et cetera*, to the fulness of Christ.* [He] went forth to visit and honour the Apostolic See, to the head also of all the Churches of the whole world, that now knowing the divine and holy mysteries whereunto God called him that he might learn, and understand, and fulfil them, and that he might preach and confer the grace of God among the nations outside, turning [them] unto the faith of Christ.

‘5. Of the finding of holy Geraianus † in the Gauls, and therefore he went forth no farther.

‘When, therefore, he had sailed over the right-hand British sea, and started on the journey through the Gallic Alps, to pass through, as he had proposed in his heart, even unto the uttermost, he found a certain most holy Bishop in the city of Alsiodorum, ‡ the Prince Germanus, a most precious gift. With him he tarried no small while, according to that which Paul was at the feet of Gamaliel, and, in all subjection, and patience, and obedience, with all the desire of his soul, learned, loved, and kept knowledge, wisdom, and chastity, and all useful things not only of the spirit but also of the soul, with great fear and love of God, in goodness and singleness of heart, in strength § in body and in spirit.

‘6. Of his age when the angel visited him that he should come unto Ireland.

‘And when many times were passed there, as, as [say] some, xl., others, xxx. years, that right faithful elder called Victoricus, who (*at this point begins the Book of Armagh, but the text here given is still that of the Würzburg Codex*) had said all things unto him when he was in captivity in Ireland, before that they were, visited him with many visions, saying unto him that the time is come that he should come and preach the Gospel

* *Sic!*

† So the MS., but surely *Germanus* must be meant.

‡ It is natural to suppose that this is meant for *Auxerre—Antissiodorum*—the See of Germanus, but Fr. Hogan brings forward, with great modesty, an ingenious suggestion that it may mean *Auch—Augusta Ausciorum*—and that Patrick’s consecrator, variously called Amathus, Amathorex, etc., etc., may have been one Armentarius, Bishop of Auch in the middle of the fifth century. The present writer cannot express his assent to this view, and inclines to Antissiodorum, but any suggestion coming from such a man as Fr. Hogan must be received with attention.

§ *Vigore*. Probus reads *virgo*, and Fr. Hogan wishes to follow him.

among the fierce and savage tribes, to teach whom God had sent him to fish ;* and there it was said unto him : *The sons and daughters of the wood of Foclada are calling thee, et cetera.*†

‘7. Of his return from the Gauls and the ordination of Palladius.

‘When therefore a meet time commanded, God’s help accompanying with him and counsel accompanying, he entereth upon the way [already] begun, unto the Gospel work for which of old time work had been prepared, and he sent the elder Germanus with him,‡ that is, Segitius the Priest, that he might have a witness and useful comrade, for neither yet was he ordained in the Episcopal grade by the holy lord Germanus. For the others were that Palladius archdeacon of Pope Celestine, of the city, who then held the Apostolic See, being forty-fifth from the holy Apostle Peter, that Palladius, to wit, had been ordained by the holy Pope, and sent to convert this island lying under Roman cold.§ But God hindered him, for no man can receive from earth unless it had been given him from heaven. For neither do the in-bringing(?) and uncouth easily receive his teaching, nor also did he wish to pass that long time in a land not his own :|| but while he returned unto him who sent him, after passing the first sea, he ended his life in the coasts of the Picts.

‘8. Of the ordination of Patrick by Amathus, King and Bishop.

‘When therefore they had heard of the death of holy Paladius¶ among the Britains, for the disciples of Paladius, Augustine and Benedict, and the others, brought news in Curbia concerning his death, Patrick and they that were with him turned out of the way unto a certain marvellous man, a chief Bi-hop, King Amatho by name (*Amatho regem nomine? Amathorex by name*) who was dwelling in a place hard by ; and therefore holy Patrick, knowing the things which were to come unto

* The Armagh Codex is much better—‘and fish with the Gospel net for the fierce,’ &c.

† *Sic.*

‡ The Armagh reading seems infinitely preferable—‘unto the work for which he had of old time been prepared, that is, [the work] of the Gospel, and Germanus sent an elder with him, that is, Segitius the Priest, that he might have a comrade with him for a witness,’ &c.

§ The above sentence, as compared with the Armagh Codex, bears all the signs of having been written to dictation by a person who did not understand Latin. The Armagh gives, ‘For it was certain (*certe enim erat* for *ceteri enim erant*), &c.—Bishop of the city of Rome—ordained and sent—wintry cold (*brumali* for *romani*).’

|| Here again common sense favours the Armagh—‘For neither did these fierce (*feri* for *inferientes*) and uncouth men easily receive his teaching, &c.’ That *transigere* (both MSS.) is a slip of the pen for *transigere* may perhaps be assumed. Armagh gives Britons instead of Picts.

¶ With one *l* in this chapter.

him, received the episcopal step from King Amathus (*Amatho rege? Amathorez*) the holy Bishop. But also Auxilius and Sanninus and the other lower steps were ordained on the same day [as] holy Patrick. Then when blessings had been given and all had been perfect according to custom, and there had been sung [by] Patrick as specially and suitably this verse of the Psalmist: *Thou art a Priest for ever according to the order of Melchi*,—the venerable traveller taketh in the name of the Holy Trinity the ship prepared for him, and cometh even unto Britain, and omitting all circuitous routes of walking except the office of the common way . . . * he reacheth our sea with a prosperous journey.'

The first emotion of the student on reading the above will probably be a feeling of amazement, followed perchance by an emotion of vindictive joy, at the disappearance of his old enemy *Eboria*. Not only, however, does the Brussels Codex read *Curbia* where the Armagh gives *Ebmoria*, but we now learn that the scribe of the Armagh Codex himself has marked *Ebmoria* with the sign Z, indicating a doubtful reading. Can it be possible, after all, that this geographical will-o'-the-wisp, which has eluded the researches of so many students, consumed so much time, and caused so much temper, never existed at all except in a *lapsus calami*? It is not necessary here to enter upon the subject, or to touch the feast for the historical controversialist which *Curbia* will no doubt henceforth afford.

The passage of Tirechan's *Collectanea* which refers to the same period is as follows:—

'I have found four names written in the book to Patrick, with Bishop Ultan, Conchuburnensius—holy *Magonus*, which is clear; *Succetus*, which is *Patrick*; *Cothirthiacus*, for he served four houses of magi. And one of them, the magus whose name was *Miliuc Mac Cuboin*, bought him, and he served him for seven years in all servitude and double labour, and he put him for a swineherd in the glens of the mountains. But at last the Angel of the Lord visited him in dreams upon the peaks of Mount *Scirte*, near Mount *Miss*. But when the speech of the Angel was finished: *Behold, thy ship is ready, arise and walk*,—and he went away from him into heaven,—he arose and walked, as the Angel of the Lord, Victor by name, said unto him. In the seventeenth year of his age was he captured, brought, sold into Ireland. In the twenty-second year [of his age] he was

* There is here a clause which seems unintelligible in both Codices. Brussels—*Nemo itaque desideria querit Dominum*. Armagh—*Nemo enim dissidia querit Dominum*,

able to leave the work of the magus. Seven other years did he walk and voyage amid the waves, amid country places, and mountain glens through the Gauls and all Italy and in the islands which are in the Tyrrhenian sea, as he himself said in the memorial of his labours. And he was in one of the islands which is called *Aralanensis*,* for thirty years, as Bishop Ultan testifies unto me. But all the things which came to pass ye will find written in his full (*plana*) history. These are his latest wonders, finished and happily wrought in the fifth year of the reign of Loiguire m Neill. Now, from the passion of Christ unto the death of Patrick are reckoned four hundred and thirty-six† years. And Loiguire reigned two or five years after the death of Patrick. And the time of all his reign was thirty-six years, as we think.'

Before proceeding to compare these narratives with what we are told by Patrick himself, it is as well to take a glance at the known chronology of Germanus of Auxerre. He was consecrated to the See of Auxerre on July 7, 418, and died at Ravenna on July 31, 448, having held his See thirty years and twenty-five days. The statement of Maccumachtheni, that Patrick studied under him for forty or thirty years, may therefore be at once dismissed, for the career of Germanus before becoming a Bishop was not that of a teacher. Fr. Hogan appears to consider that the *Aralanensis* of Tirechan is a mistake for *Alsiodorensis*, and thus identifying the sojourns spoken of by Maccumachtheni and Tirechan respectively, ingeniously suggests for the 'xxx.' of the latter the conjectural emendation 'xx.' If the chronology of Tirechan be accepted with this emendation, Patrick must have been about forty-nine years of age at the time of his coming to Ireland. Now, he himself says (as will appear presently) that before his consecration some of his elders found against him, after thirty years, a fault which he had committed when he was about fifteen years of age. Consequently, he was then at least forty-five. These statements are really harmonious, for 'after thirty years' may well be a round way of stating a number somewhat above thirty; and, on the other hand, it is clear that Tirechan does not reckon whole periods of twelve months each when he speaks of years, and probably his rows of x's are also round

* Possibly meant for *Arles*—*Arelatensis*.

† Perhaps not *six* but *three*.

numbers. To go farther than this, here, would be to plunge into the vortex of the chronological controversy. It will therefore suffice to point out the entire inconsistency of the statements here made by Tirechan with that made by him and Maccumachtheni elsewhere, to the effect that Patrick attained the age of 120 years. That these authors laboured under the error of believing that the Passion of Christ took place in the year A.D. 34, may be assumed as a moral certainty; consequently they must be understood to place the death of M'Calphurn about A.D. 470. If he was 120 years old at that time, he must have been born about 350, and arrived in Ireland about the close of the Fourth Century—some twenty years before the consecration of Germanus, under whom he is said to have previously studied for so many years. The fact is, that the age of 120, whether based on a copyist's slip of the pen or upon anything else, has become one of the imaginary features by which a later age endeavoured to fix upon the career of M'Calphurn a variety of circumstances identical with those of the life of Moses, and which is here found in juxtaposition, and glaring contradiction, with the remains of a tradition earlier and truer, albeit probably somewhat corrupted. The same remark applies to the alleged mission of Patrick by Pope Celestine. That Pope died August 1, 432. If, therefore, Patrick commenced his studies under Germanus in the very year of the latter's consecration (which is highly improbable), and remained with him, not forty, nor thirty, nor even twenty, but only fifteen years, he must have been there beyond the time of that Pope's death. The Celestine idea is therefore hopelessly inconsistent with the chronology of both Maccumachtheni and Tirechan, and they no more allude to it than Patrick does himself.*

* The penultimate paragraph of the *Collectanea*, before the *Additamenta*, (p. 89 of the edition before us) is as follows:—' In the thirteenth year of the Emperor Teothasius (*sic*) by Celestine the Bishop, the Pope of Rome, is a Bishop Patrick sent (*Patricius episcopus mittitur*) for the teaching of the Scots. This Celestine was the forty-seventh Bishop from the Apostle Peter in the city of Rome. Bishop Paladius is sent first, who was called Patrick by another name, who suffered martyrdom among the Scots, as the

Let the reader now turn from these, which seem the earliest records of Patrick M'Calphurn now known, of a later period than his own, and see what he himself says of the same part of his career.

The *Confession* of Patrick is a composition instinct with a beauty so noble and so touching, that for any man to read it without a certain amount of emotion would be a proof of his own low intellectual organism. But this work, in the truest sense sublime, presents the gravest difficulties to the cold eye of merely historical criticism. It is true that the grounds upon which its authenticity has been questioned are so flimsy as to be almost absurd, and no hesitation can be felt in accepting the all-but universal recognition of its genuineness on the part of the learned. It is evident therefore that this work (together with such historical statements as occur in the equally undoubted genuine *Epistle* to the subjects of Coroticus) must be taken as the absolute standard of truth in any biography of this Patrick. The same supernatural importance which he attaches to his dreams may not be ascribed to them; but of his perfect honesty in stating them, and consequently of the fact of their occurrence, there can be no doubt. Whatever statement is to be found in the *Confession* and *Epistle* is true; whatever statement is opposed to them is false, at least as relating to M'Calphurn; whatever statement is neither in nor opposed to them must be examined on other grounds. It is in the text of the *Confession* itself that the difficulties commence.

holy elders hand down. Then Patrick the second is sent by an Angel of God, named Victor, *and by Pope Celestine*, in whom all Ireland believed, who baptised nearly all of her.' It is clear that contradictories cannot both express the opinion of Tirechan, and either this or the body of the work must be discredited. On several grounds the present writer cannot consider that the above isolated and contradictory paragraph can be anything but a later interpolation; he thinks it possible, however, that it may be itself in a corrupt form, and that the italicised words '*and by Pope Celestine*' have been inserted either by a slip of the pen or by a wilful emendation on the part of the scribe, the general tone of the passage being to draw a distinction between the first Patrick, who was sent by man and failed, and the second Patrick, who was sent by an Angel of God and succeeded.

The number of variants, to begin with, is evident by glancing at a page of Villanueva's edition; and many of them are very serious. If, however, even this were cleared away, the language itself is very hard to understand. M^cCalphurn does not seem to have been a man of high literary culture; he describes himself (*Con.* i., 1.) as *rusticissimus*, and, in his *Epistle* to the subjects of Coroticus (1), the genuineness of which is as certain as that of the *Confession*, distinctly states that he was *indoctus*. He says (*Con.* i. 3.) that the habitual use of another language had impaired his facility in Latin, such as it was. The language of his writings simply bears out this description. It becomes sometimes a matter of little better than guess-work to make out what was the idea which he wished to express. Hereby also arises the doubt whether the rules of interpretation which are applicable to a classical composition can be safely used to language of this sort. Even, however, if the text of the *Confession* were absolutely certain and couched in the most lucid Latinity, its form would be very difficult. The intention of the author seems to have been to write a kind of autobiography, somewhat in the style of Augustine, in which the dealings of God with him should be made the subject of thankful acknowledgment, as a debt of gratitude on his own part as well as a source of edification to others. This intention is more or less perfectly preserved in the opening paragraph of the First Chapter, and throughout the whole of the Second. In the Third Chapter the autobiographical style is largely departed from, and the tone becomes declamatory when speaking of the falseness of the friend by whom he was betrayed. The Fourth and Fifth Chapters are purely declamatory, and only contain historical matter incidentally. The following is a literal translation of the whole of the autobiographical part, including the Third Chapter:—

' I.—1. I, Patrick, that most clownish sinner (*peccator rusticissimus*), and least of all the faithful, and most contemptible among multitudes, had for a father the Deacon Calpornius, the son of the late Priest Potitus: who was of the village of Benaven Taberniæ, for he had the farm [of Enon] near by, where I fell into captivity. I was then nearly sixteen years of age.

For I knew not the true God ; and I was brought into Ireland in captivity, with so many thousand men, according to our deserts ; for we fell away from God, and kept not His commandments, and were disobedient unto our Priests (*sacerdotibus*), who warned [us for] our salvation : and the Lord brought upon us the wrath of His indignation, and scattered us among many nations, even unto the end of the earth, where now my littleness is seen to be among aliens. And there the Lord opened the understanding of the unbelief of mine heart, that even late as it was I might call to mind mine offences, and turn me with all mine heart unto my Lord, Who looked upon my lowliness, and had compassion upon my youth and mine ignorance, [and] kept me, before I knew Him, and before I tasted or distinguished between the good and the evil, and admonished me, and comforted me, as a father [comforteth] his son.'

The style then becomes declamatory, containing the celebrated passage in the form of a Profession of Faith, commonly known as the Creed of St. Patrick. With the beginning of the Second Chapter, however, the autobiographical matter is gradually resumed—

'II.—6. And so it behoveth to distinguish those things which are of loyalty toward the Trinity (*quae fidei Trinitatis sunt*), and without blame of danger to make known the gift of God, and His eternal consolation, and without fear to spread God's name faithfully everywhere, and to leave [the same] even after my death unto my brethren and sons, whom I have baptized in the Lord, so many thousand men—albeit I was not worthy, nor such an one that the Lord should grant this unto His servant, and give him so great a grace, after griefs of such burden, after captivity, after many years in that nation, which [thing] I never once hoped for in my youth nor thought of. But after I came to Ireland I fed flocks every day, and I prayed often in the day, and more and more did the love of God come to me, and the fear of Him and faith increased, and the Spirit increased, so that in one day I would make as many as an hundred prayers, and in the night well nigh likewise : and I abode even in the woods and in the mountain, and I was roused up to prayer before the light, in snow, in frost, in rain, and I felt no evil, neither was there any sloth in me, [such] as I see now : for then the Spirit glowed in me. And there certainly one night in sleep I heard a voice saying unto me : Thou fastest well, [thou art] soon about to go to thy fatherland. And a second time after a very little while I heard an answer saying unto me : Behold, thy ship is ready. And it was not near, but perchance it was two hundred miles away, and I had never been there neither did I know any man there.

'7. And then afterwards I turned to fly : and I left the man with whom I had been for six years : and in the strength of God, Who directed my

faith, I came unto Benum : * and I feared nothing, until I came unto that ship. And as soon as I came unto her, she went forward from her place, and I spake that I might have whence to voyage.† But it displeased the Captain, and he answered sharply with anger : Thou needest not to seek to go with us. And when I heard these words, I parted from them, to come unto the hut where I was lodging : and on the way I began to pray : and before I finished the prayer, I heard one of them cry lustily after me : Come quick, for these men call thee : and forthwith I returned unto them : and they began to say unto me : Come, for we receive thee of faith, ‡ and make friendship with us as thou shalt will. And in that day I had to arise into their ship for God's sake. Nevertheless, I hoped [not] of them that they would say unto me : Come in Christ's faith : for they were Gentiles ; and this I obtained with them ; and straightway we set forth on the voyage.

'8. And after three days we landed ; and we travelled through a desert for seven-and-twenty days. But food and drink failed us, and famine waxed strong upon us. And another day the Captain began to say unto me : What is it, O thou Christian ? Thou sayest, thy God is great and almighty ; why therefore canst thou not pray for us ? Pray for us, for we are imperilled with hunger, for it is hardly that we should ever see a man. But I said unto them openly : Turn ye with all your heart unto the Lord my God, for nothing is impossible with Him, that He send us food into our way this day, until ye be filled, for He hath abundance everywhere. Therefore, by God's help, it was so.

' Behold, an herd of swine came before our eyes in the way, and they killed many of them : and there they abode two nights well refreshed, and were relieved with their flesh, for many of them failed and were left half-dead beside the way. And after this they rendered the highest thanks to God, and I was made honourable in their eyes.

'9. But from that day they had food in abundance : moreover they found wild honey, and brought a portion unto me, and one of them said : This hath been offered §—Thanks be to God, thenceforth I tasted nothing. But the same night I was sleeping, and Satan vehemently tried me, so that I shall remember it as long as I am in this body. For there fell upon me as it were an huge rock, and it took away the strength from all my limbs. But whence it came, I know not, that I should call in spirit upon Elias. ||

* Villanueva understands the Boyne to be meant.

† The meaning seems to be that he could not pay for his passage. He perhaps told them that he had relations in Britain who would pay for him on his arrival.

‡ *Ex fide*, viz. in trust on his promise of future payment.

§ i. e., to idols.

|| There are three opinions as to this exclamation ; (1) that he called on the Prophet Elias, as given here, in Maccumachtheni, and in all the later

And with that I saw the sun rise in the sky ; and while I cried, Elias, Elias, with all my strength, behold, the brightness of the sun fell upon me and straightway took away all the heaviness from me. And I believe that I was holpen by my Christ, and that His Spirit then cried out for me : but I hope that it will be so in the day of my distress, as the Lord witnesseth in the Gospel : In that day, saith He, it is not ye that speak but the Spirit of your Father Which speaketh in you. But He provided food and fire for us in our journey, and dryness every day, until upon the fourteenth day we came unto men : as I have mentioned above, we journeyed through the desert for eight-and-twenty days, and that night we all came [unto men] we had no food [left].

‘ III.—10. And a second time, after many years,* I fell again into captivity ; and the first night I abode with them. But I heard an answer from God, saying unto me : Two months shalt thou be with them. And it was so. Upon that sixtieth night, therefore, did the Lord deliver me out of their hands. A second time,† after a few years, I was in the Britains with my kinsfolk,‡ who received me as a son, and sincerely besought me, that now at any rate after so great tribulations which I bare, I would never leave them. And there certainly I saw in a night vision a man coming as it were from Ireland, Victricius by name, with countless epistles ; and he gave one of them unto me ; and thereupon (*continenter*) I read the beginning of the Epistle : The Voice of the Irish. And when I read aloud (*recita-*

lives but two ; (2) that he exclaimed, ‘ My God ! ’ in Hebrew (‘ Eli ’) as given in two of the later lives, a view supported on the ground that *El* is a title used in the *Hymn of Hilary to Christ*, which is perhaps older than Patrick’s time, and that this cry here is specially attributed to the Spirit of Christ, Who is recorded in the Gospels to have uttered this very ejaculation ; (3) founded on the context, that M’Calphurn invoked the sun (*Helios*) in Greek. This last idea, at any rate, seems hard to reconcile with the noble passage upon the worship of the sun with which the last paragraph of the *Confession* opens.

* Villanueva prints a ‘ not ’ in brackets () before ‘ many ’, but this appears to be merely a fancy emendation. It is not only opposed to the narrative, which requires us to divide a period of some twenty-three years between the period mentioned here and that of ‘ a few ’ years mentioned just after, but also to the corresponding passage in Maccumachtheni, which seems to be a quotation.

† This seems to imply that he had returned there from captivity before.

‡ *Parentes*. This is hardly ever used, at least in classical Latin, like the French *parent*, to indicate any relation except in the direct ascending line. Yet it seems doubtful whether his grandparents are meant, considering his own age. It seems clearly implied that they were not his actual parents. He uses the word again (iv. 19.) writing at the very close of life and speaking of living persons.

bam) the beginning of the Epistle, I thought that at that very moment I heard the voices of them that were near the wood Foclut, which is hard by the Western Sea. And thus they called out, as it were with one mouth : We beseech thee, holy lad,* come and walk still among us. And I was greatly pricked in the heart, and could read no more : and so I awoke. Thanks be to God that, after very many years, the Lord hath granted unto them according to their cry.

‘ 11. And another night, I know not, God knoweth, whether it were in me or beside me, I heard some singing by the spirit inside me, in very learned (*peritissimis*) words, and I knew not who they were whom I heard, and I could not understand except at the end of the prayer he said thus : He who gave his life for thee. And so I woke up. And a second time I heard him praying in me ; and he was as it were inside my body : and I heard above me, that is, above mine inner man, and there he was praying vehemently with groanings. And at these things I was astonished, and marvelled, and thought who it could be that was praying in me. But at the end of the prayer, he said that he was the Spirit. † And I remembered the Apostle saying : The Spirit helpeth the infirmity of our prayer ; for we know not what we should pray for ; but the Spirit Itself maketh intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered, which I cannot express in words. And again : The Lord is our advocate, and He maketh intercession for us. And when I was tempted by some of my elders, who came, on account of my sins, against my toilsful Episcopate, sometimes in that day I was vehemently inclined, to fall here and for ever. But the Lord spared the convert and pilgrim for His Name’s sake, and came to help me very mercifully in that treading under foot, [so] I came not badly into disgrace and shame. I pray God that the occasion be not imputed unto them for sin. For after thirty years they found a thing against me which I had confessed before I was a Deacon.

‘ 12. On account of anxiety I whispered with a sad heart to my dearest friend the things which I had done in my boyhood one day, yea, in one hour, for I was not yet strong. I know not, God knoweth, if I was then fifteen years of age, and I did not believe in one ‡ God from mine infancy ; but I remained in death and in unbelief, until I was greatly chastened ; and in truth I was brought low with hunger and nakedness ; and day by day I went forth against my will in Ireland until I all but fainted. But this rather was well for me ; for by this I was amended by the Lord, and

* *Puer*. This must mean that he had been a lad when they had seen him last, for the term is not applicable after ‘ many years,’ and then ‘ a few years ’ more after the age of twenty-two.

† It is perhaps hardly worth while to mention the ridiculous variant of *episcopum* for *spiritum*, probably arising from the mistake of some antient blunderer between *epm* and *spm*.

‡ Or, the living God.

he fitted me to be this day what once was far from me, that I should have cares or labour for the salvation of others, when I was not thinking even about myself. Wherefore in that day wherein I was rebuked by them whom I have mentioned above, that night in a night vision I saw written over against my face, *Without honour*. And with that I heard an answer from God saying unto me : We have looked ill upon the face of ——— (plainly designated by name).* Neither did He say thus : Thou hadst looked ill, but, We have looked ill, as if He joined Himself there, as He said : He that toucheth you, toucheth the apple of Mine eye. Wherefore I give thanks unto Him Who hath strengthened me in all things, so that He hindered me not from my going forth, which I had appointed, and for my work also, which I had learned from my Christ : but the more, from that, I felt in me no little strength, and my faith hath been approved before God and men.

'13. Whence I say boldly, my conscience reproveth me not. I have God for my witness that I have not lied in the things which I have told : but I grieve rather for my dearest friend, why we deserved to have such an answer, unto whom I entrusted even my soul. And I heard from some of my brethren before that defence,† because I myself was not present [on the occasion], neither was I [dwelling] in the Britains [at the time], neither shall it arise from me, that he also should be beaten in my absence on my account. He with his own mouth had said : Behold, thou art to be promoted unto the step of the Episcopate, whereof I was not worthy. But whence came it unto him afterwards to expose publicly against me before all, good and bad, what he had before forgiven willingly and gladly ? It is the Lord Who is greater than all. I say enough. But nevertheless I ought not to hide the gift of God which He granted unto me in the land

* Who this person was, whose name Patrick conceals, does not seem very clear. At one time the present writer believed that it must be meant to indicate Palladius, whose labours had met with such scant blessing from God or acceptance from men, but whom Patrick was almost certain to have regarded with great tenderness, delicacy, and respect, so as to be unwilling to allude openly to his failure. On repeated consideration, however, he is inclined to think that the person indicated must be the friend by whom Patrick had been betrayed ; that Patrick took the 'we' to mean God Almighty and himself, and regarded the dream as an indication of the Divine displeasure at the way in which he had been publicly held up to disgrace ; and that he conceals the name for fear of getting the offender into trouble, as he afterwards says, 'Neither shall it arise from me that he be beaten.'

† *Defensionem*. In classical Latin this means a *defence*, as translated, but Villanueva inclines to the opinion that it had already obtained in Gaul the sense of the modern French *defense*,—viz. : 'a prohibition,' and proposes here to take it so.

of my captivity. For then did I vehemently seek Him, and there did I find Him, and He kept me from all iniquities by His indwelling Spirit, Who hath wrought in me even unto this day. But the Lord knoweth, if I had heard these things from a man, perchance I had been silent for the love of Christ.

‘14. Whence I will give unwearied thanks unto my God, Who kept me faithful in the day of my temptation, so that this day I confidently offer sacrifice unto Him, and consecrate my soul as a living victim unto my Lord, Who hath saved me from all my straits, that I may say unto him : Who am I, Lord ? And what are my prayers, O Thou Who hast revealed unto me so much [of thy] Divine [glory] ? So that this day I should exalt and magnify Thy Name in what place soever I be ; and not only in things favourable, but also in tribulations ; that whatsoever befalleth me, be it good, be it evil, I am equally bound to accept it, and always to give thanks to God, Who hath shown unto me that I should never cease to believe that He is beyond all doubt, and Who will have heard me ; that I also in [these] last days should dare to take in hand this work so godly and so wondrous, so that I should imitate them whom the Lord foretold of old time, that they should preach His Gospel for a testimony unto all nations before the end of the world. Which is fulfilled, even as we have seen. Behold, we are witnesses that the Gospel hath been preached everywhere, [in a place] beyond which there is no man.’

In comparing the above unaffected narrative with the statements of its author’s earliest biographers, it is peculiarly interesting to observe in the latter the development of the historical matter in a middle stage, between his own simple account on the one hand, and the full-blown romances of the later writers on the other. The very name of Calphurn’s domicile is not a bad specimen of the process. ‘*Benaven Taberniæ*,’ says Patrick. These two simple words, which are generally admitted to mean *River-head Tavern*, seem to be the origin of the four—‘*Ban navem thabur indecha*’—in Maccumachtheni ; and the two central of these (*navem thabur*) in their turn, appear to be the origin of the curious name in the first line of the hymn ascribed to Fiacc,—

‘Patrick was born in *Nemthur*.’

The most interesting instance is perhaps that of the dream-visitant. Whether the ‘Angel Victor’ ever had any other origin than the ‘man coming, as it were, from Ireland, Victricius by name,’ is a question which it is unnecessary

here to discuss; that they became identified in later belief, is certain. In Maccumachtheni the identification appears in an imperfect stage. When Patrick says that he dreamt that he 'saw in a night vision a man coming, as it were, from Ireland, Victricius by name,' the natural meaning is that this Victricius of whom he dreamt was a particular man whom he had known in Ireland, probably a native Christian; that such were by no means very few, is evident from the fact—among others,—that Palladius was sent as a Bishop for them,—*ad Scotos in Christum credentes*. In Maccumachtheni the mere words, 'heard in sleep,' as to his fasting well, and so on, are transferred into visitations by Victoricus, with a statement that these visitations were frequent, both at that time and at that of the dream about the Epistles from the Irish. The personage himself is in a state of transformation, as if Maccumachtheni were uncertain whether to make him the same person as the 'Angel Victor' of the latter part of his own narrative, or not. He accordingly designates him by terms of either meaning,—'the angelic Victoricus sent to him from God,' and 'that right faithful elder called Victoricus, who had said all things unto him when he was in captivity in Ireland, before that they were.' *Elder* is certainly an hardly consistent designation for an angel, a being exempted by his very nature from experiencing the effects of time.

Perhaps the most singular discrepancy between Patrick and his biographer is one in connection with the dream about this man Victricius and the epistles. Patrick says it took place in the Britains,—'I was in the Britains with my kinsfolk . . . and there certainly I saw, etc.' Maccumachtheni gives him the lie direct,—'When many times were passed there [at Alsiodorum] . . . Victoricus . . . visited him, saying, etc,' and accordingly he starts and comes over, 'even unto Britain,' or, as the Armagh text has it, 'the Britains.' The reason of a course on the part of Maccumachtheni so extraordinary as flatly contradicting Patrick himself is hard to explain, unless upon the ground of some legend having already arisen, to which he attached more importance than to the plain evidence of his own senses.

Another remarkable feature is the appearance of the Mosaic comparison with regard to the journey in the desert. This not only appears in the grotesque comparison between pigs and quails, with its grim explanation by the degradation of the Gentiles beneath Israelites, but in the violent attempt to parallelize Patrick's abstention with the fast of Moses upon Mount Sinai: that it was only the honey he abstained from is plain enough from his own words, as well as from the obvious fact that if he had not eaten the pork (doubtless wretchedly cooked), he would not have had the night-mare which made such an impression upon him.

It is greatly to be regretted that the line of writing into which Patrick has fallen affords us so very little information as to his career, between his escape from Ireland and his return as her Apostle. It appears evident that he was out of the Britains for some years, but it does not clearly appear whether this absence was before or after his second captivity, or both. Maccumachtheni distinctly states that he went from Ireland to the Britains in the ship, and the same may be implied from M'Calphurn's own expression, that at a later period he had returned home to his relations 'a second time.' Maccumachtheni also clearly implies that he did not go abroad until after the second captivity. If this be so, the period of his foreign residence is described by Patrick himself as comprised within 'a few years,' which leaves no time for the protracted study under Germanus. 'Few' can hardly mean more than three or four. As to the place of his foreign residence, it will be observed that Maccumachtheni says that he started to go to Italy, but never got farther than Alsiodorum; Tirechan, on the contrary, gives us an early indication of those alleged travels about the Mediterranean of which the later lives contain so much. That Patrick was actually in Gaul, and was on friendly terms with ecclesiastics there, is sufficiently plain from the *Confession*, iv. 19. 'I am able, if I would, to leave [the handmaidens of the Lord in Ireland], and to go unto the Britains, yea, (?) I would be most cheerfully ready to go, as unto my fatherland and kinsfolk: and not that only, but even unto the Gauls, to visit my brethren, to see the face of the Saints of

my Lord: the Lord knoweth that I greatly desired it.' That he sat at the feet of Germanus is all the more probable because that Saint was much occupied in the ecclesiastical affairs of Britain, whither he was first sent by Pope Celestine in 429. At what period Patrick mentioned his youthful error to his dishonourable friend does not appear. What is clear is that there had already been some mention between them of Patrick's promotion to the Episcopate, before this friend, during Patrick's absence from Britain, there divulged his confidence. In consequence of this, some of his elders came and cast his fault in his teeth, to dissuade him from taking the Episcopate, and thereupon he had the dream about the man unnamed. But where did these elders come from, and to? The two dreams regarding Victricius and the Spirit praying within are stated by Patrick to have taken place in Britain, and they seem to have been what gave him the idea of going to Ireland. Are we to understand that he thereupon confidentially consulted his friend, who encouraged him in the idea of seeking the position of a missionary Bishop, and that he thereupon went abroad again (Query—to seek Germanus' sanction?) and returned for consecration,* to find his fault betrayed to those who came to it? Such questions form some of the most interesting points of what has become the Patrician controversy. It need only be observed here, in the first place, that if Patrick only went abroad after his second captivity, a 'few' years before his promotion to the Episcopate, he must have been more than thirty, the age assigned him by Maccumachtheni, since he was, on his own showing, at least forty-five at his consecration. He was twenty-two at the time of his escape from his first captivity, and this leaves ample time for the 'many years' which passed before the second. In the second place, there are only three courses which can be taken

* That M'Calphurn's consecration took place in Britain is the opinion of the Rev. J. F. Shearman (*Loca Patriciana*, p. 447), but though this is perhaps the most natural inference from the language of the *Confession*, it can hardly be regarded as the only possible one.

with the Amathus*-Curbia-or-Ebmoira story; it must either be adapted to M'Calphurn's *Confession*, or fixed, *mutatis mutandis*, upon somebody else, or abandoned as a pure fiction.

It will be seen that the tendency of this new matter is, on the one hand, to support the theory of the Bollandists, to the effect that Patrick's death took place a good deal earlier than the date commonly assigned to it. They of course reject the age of 120, and, by supposing the c. in cxxxii. (which occupies the place of cxx. in some texts) to be a blunder for l., suggest the age of 82. If so, and he died about 470, he must have gone to Ireland some time after 433. It may, however, be suggested that if it is to be allowed to turn c. conjecturally into l. in cxxxii., it is equally easy to do so in the much better supported cxx., and read lxx. This would make Patrick just as old as the century, and consequently send him to Ireland after 455. It is true that an argument to imply a *very* long residence in Ireland has been found in the expression of the Epistle,—‘an holy Priest whom I have taught from infancy,’ but those who adduce this argument fail to observe that Patrick does not say *where* he taught him, and it is indeed by no means improbable, since the Priest in question was selected to be sent upon a particularly ticklish mission into Britain, that he was a Briton trained by Patrick from any period after the first captivity, and who had accompanied him to Ireland,—Iserminus, perhaps. These texts are also generally favourable to the sort of chronology as to the date of Patrick's arrival in Ireland, indicated by the late Dr. Todd in his *St. Patrick, Apostle of Ireland*. They must prove in any case an heavy, if not a fatal blow, to the school who credit M'Calphurn with a mission from Pope Celestine.

This publication is perhaps, with the single exception of Villanueva's edition of the *Epistle* and the *Confession*, the most valuable which has ever appeared upon the subject upon

* The custom of calling this (possibly fabulous) person *Amathorez* is so well established that the writer feels some trepidation in departing from it, but the *rex* appears as a title separate from the name in both the *Armagh* and the *Brussels Codices*.

which it casts so much light. It is itself a model of the way in which such work ought to be done. And henceforth nothing with any pretensions to value can be written concerning the Apostle of Ireland without consulting it.

[Since the above was finished, we have privately learnt, with the utmost satisfaction, that the *Confessio* and *Liber Angeli* may be expected soon to appear, edited by the same hand as the *Vita*.]

ART. IV.—THE SCOTTISH AND ENGLISH CLERGY.

AMONG those wise sayings which bored youth is required to repeat *ad nauseam* in copy books, until one feels that human nature must revenge itself by a special delight in perpetrating that particular folly or wickedness at which they aim, we remember often to have seen the sententious declaration that ‘Comparisons are odious things.’ Nor does our memory fail to recall instances where we have heard that same maxim promptly applied as an extinguisher to a light which seemed likely to make manifest some extremely self-satisfied person on the wrong side of a comparison. Could any maxim more aptly illustrate the natural tendency of human beings to go on saying a thing because it has once been said? For must it not be apparent to every one a few degrees removed from idiocy that careful and critical comparing is a most important factor in progress and improvement of every sort?—that any odiousness therein is solely dependent upon its being instituted in a spirit of envy, malice, or blind partizanship? Against this trite saying it is our deliberate intention now to run a tilt, by comparing in some measure the different systems of the Churches of Scotland and England, ‘as by law established.’

Those who have read in the April number of the *Scottish Review* the very able second paper entitled ‘Scotland in the Eighteenth Century,’ will, if they did not know it before, have learned one thing regarding the Church of Scotland—namely, that those

who do not wish to supply a new reading of the maxim we have quoted, by showing that comparisons are odious in their tendency to throw a baleful gleam on the oftentimes profound ignorance of the comparer, had better avoid any such process until they have gone through a deep and careful course of study in the history of that Church.

A comprehensive comparison between two Churches is, however, a very different thing from comparing their ordinary system of procedure on certain incidental points, especially where matters more of custom than of distinctly laid down regulation are in question. And this is the extreme limit of our present purpose. The tone of the article above-mentioned appears to us to be distinctly apologetic. The writer tacitly admits the Church of Scotland not to be altogether what he would like to see her; and while speaking of her clergy as having, during the eighteenth century, fallen from the lofty position they had held for a hundred and fifty years, we do not find any expression of an opinion that they have risen again. With this question, in all its bearings, we have neither the ability nor the inclination to grapple; but there seems to us to be certainly one branch of Church work in which any intelligent observer, who has opportunities of judging, may see that the clergy of the Church of Scotland might with advantage consider a little the methods of their English brethren.

That is to say, we think the time has fully come when they should begin to do so. Speaking with the diffidence becoming a writer not deeply versed in the historical aspects of the case, we think we shall not be far wrong in holding the Church of Scotland to have been, from the time of the Reformation on to the date of the abolition of patronage, in very deed and truth a Church militant—a Church constantly contending against determined and powerful enemies. If so, the mild charge we would gladly bring against her ministers is groundless as to the past. In spiritual, as in temporal kingdoms, war and social progress are absolutely incompatible. But with stable peace comes the opportunity for energetic development of internal resources; and it is here we think the Church of Scotland is lagging a little behind, not, in some respects, following her English sister, in her wonderful

revival of the last fifty years, with the rapid strides befitting the Church of a nation whom no less an authority than Mr. Froude has classed with the Jews and Greeks in the extent of its influence on the history of the world. Would that the fate of our National Church, some fifty years since, had been such a revival as that which the mere name of Froude suggests to the memory, instead of a disruption. What would not the Church of Scotland have been now, in power, and influence for good?

In order to arrive at a correct judgment on the question we raise, it is necessary to bear in mind that every Church—we use the term exclusively in the sense of any regularly organised and maintained Christian community—has two distinct spheres of action, inseparably connected together, and yet sufficiently independent to have come into collision very early in the history of the Christian Church. The Apostles were not slow to obey the command of their ascended Lord—‘Go ye unto all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature.’ And what were the immediate results? Not apparently correct doctrinal views on the subject of justification by faith, or the exact nature and working of the Sacraments, but the sudden expansion into full bloom of the great social principle of Christianity—the principle of universal brotherhood—of true and genuine communism—the joyful sharing of everything with those who have not, in opposition to forcible spoliation of those who have. Hence followed that difficulty about the serving of tables recorded so early in the Acts of the Apostles. ‘Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart.’ But how is that love to bear any practical fruit, when a frail, perishing mortal is called upon to manifest it towards an omnipotent immortal Being? The answer comes from the same Divine lips which gave the command itself—‘Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me.’ In that one brief sentence lies the source of what we may venture to call the social system of the Churches; that system which, not merely as a Christian doctrine, but as a fact of everyday life, asserts the principle of universal brotherhood, making the moral welfare and material comfort of each the concern of all, and joy and sorrow common, not individual property. The words used in the

English service for the ordering of Priests, briefly state the direct commission delivered, in whatever form of words, to every ordained minister of any of the Churches. 'Take thou authority to preach the word of God, and administer the holy Sacraments, in the congregation where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.' That is the distinctly and exclusively ministerial work laid upon every ordained minister; but the more earnestly and zealously he devotes himself to it, the more certainly will the social system which will grow out of it claim his time and attention.

With the exclusively ministerial work of the Clergy, the preaching of the Word, administering of Sacraments, or other distinctively religious work, we are not now concerned; though in passing we will venture on one assertion, which we think no candid and competent judge will dispute. Putting, of course, out of the question any comparison between specially eloquent and gifted preachers, on both sides, we have little hesitation in pronouncing the *average level* of preaching in Scotland to be above that of England. Rather too doctrinal, and sometimes a little too long for English taste, Scottish sermons are apt to be; but we think even the, perhaps, slightly bored English listener, if unprejudiced, will admit, that in general, they would carry the palm, both for ability, and evidence of careful preparation.

In the discharge of this direct commission, every Church must be held to succeed or fail in exact proportion to the extent of her success or failure in keeping the ideal of religion, as so forcibly insisted upon by Principal Fairbairn, in a late number of the *Contemporary Review*, constantly in the view of her adherents; and her system of theology, form of church government and ritual, should be tested only by their fitness for this purpose, with special regard to the character, habits, and general tone of thought of the people for whose benefit they are designed. Were the fact not constantly thrust upon our notice, it would be hard to credit that such narrow bigotry could exist, as that which would insist that systems and forms must of necessity be the best for one nation, simply because they are the best for another—as well insist that the clothing suitable for the Equator, is that best suited for the North Pole. After all, too, the results of bigotry

are greatly a question of accidental circumstances. Whether a man shall thunder the bitterest invectives against organs and human hymns, and hold his soul in peril if he pray—in *public*—upon his knees; or whether he shall genuflect in marvellous millinery before a gorgeously decorated altar, is chiefly a question of latitudinal degrees. If the most advanced ritualist, now reducing his Bishop to an agony of harrassed bewilderment, had been born and reared north of the border, he might perchance have been to-day a dauntless leader of the Highland host.

To those accustomed from childhood to the ritual and general system of the Church of England, there must unquestionably always appear something chilling in the severer simplicity of Scottish Church worship. But while shallow ignorance gives vent to flippant criticisms, the more thoughtful, well-read observer, will, at least, reflect that a Church which has stood firm through all the storms and tempests which have raged around the Church of Scotland, must have deep roots in the national life, and, though he may fail to see how, have abundantly nourished the spiritual life of her members.

It is when we come to consider what we have termed the social system of the Churches, that we would venture to suggest to the Clergy of the Church of Scotland, that in many points they might improve upon their present procedure, and learn something from their English brethren. One assertion we can make with confidence; that is, that in rural districts, as a rule, the Scottish Clergy have an uncommonly easy time of it, as compared with the English Clergy—too easy it may be, for is it not notorious that the less people have to do, the greater difficulty they experience in finding time to do it? This is a difference, in some respects, in the very nature of things. The comparative scantiness of population, for instance, renders it absolutely impossible to hold the same number of services; and entire immunity is secured to a Scottish minister from the necessity, so often laid upon the English vicar in, it may be, some mere hamlet, of officiating constantly in a Church the size of which renders the services a severe strain on any man's physical powers. English marriage and funeral laws, again, throw much work upon an English vicar, which either does not fall at all, or falls

in an easier form upon the Scottish minister; while confirmations, more frequent celebrations of the Holy Communion, and, in general, a more lengthened period of preparation, in the case of lately confirmed intending communicants, add very heavily to the amount of work with which the English vicar has to reckon. If we come to consider that on any day in the year the amount of exclusively professional work forced upon him *may* include a service in the church, a marriage, which must take place between the hours of eight and twelve o'clock, a funeral, which it is customary, though not imperative, that he should take at the hour most convenient to the friends attending it, a summons to baptize some child dangerously ill, to administer the Holy Communion to some dying person, and sundry visits to other sick persons, we see, at once, that the chances of his being a severely over-taxed man are much greater than those of his Scottish brother.

In addition to all these numerous calls upon his time, it must be remembered that the English vicar has no convenient body of heritors to fall back upon, for alteration, repair, or enlargement of church, churchyard, or vicarage. The sole responsibility for the maintenance of the last, rests upon his own shoulders absolutely; and if a church has to be restored or enlarged, or a desolate, ill-kept churchyard placed in creditable order, in all, save a few exceptional cases, the chief part of the labour involved in getting the improvement effected, will fall upon the vicar.

It may be that the very number and variety of these claims upon him, bringing him into constant contact with all classes of his parishioners, indirectly aid in the keeping up of that Church social system, in which the personal relations of the clergy with the parishioners under their care, must always be the keystone. It is on this point especially that we think a comparison must be in favour of England. The minister in Scotland—we are, of course, considering on both sides only the average men, not those exceptional ones who are mentally and morally a head and shoulders taller than anyone around them—is, we think, far from being to his parishioners all that the English vicar is. He does not occupy the same place in the social system of each little community. A sensible, kindly, English vicar, albeit not a man of

any specially marked ability, is the trusted friend of all classes of his parishioners; equally at home in the house of the wealthiest, or by the fire-side of the poorest of them. If two irascible squires chance to quarrel over some important question of foxes or pheasants, the first idea which suggests itself to every one who regrets the circumstances is sure to be—Cannot the vicar manage to put it right? What number of matrimonial shipwrecks the English clergy avert, or aid in rendering less ruinous than without such intervention they might be, is known only to themselves. Then when some dangerous epidemic breaks out in his parish, all eyes are turned at once to the vicar. No one for a moment doubts that it is his right and his will to stand between the dead and the living. Not merely to bring spiritual consolation to the dying, and to cheer and encourage the terror-stricken by his presence and exhortations, but personally to see that proper disinfectants are supplied to those too poor or too ignorant to provide them for themselves—to hunt up obnoxious drains, habitations unfit for human beings, over-crowded houses, and generally to lash up lazy or incompetent sanitary and other officials to their work. We remember once to have received a note from the vicar of an English rural parish, in which scarlet fever was raging, and as an excuse for a very hasty scrawl, he wrote—‘I am very tired; I have walked fifteen miles to-day, with a heavy bag of disinfectants on my back, and have visited fifty-five houses.’ If some destitute wanderer, diseased and in filthy rags, breaks down utterly on the road-side, away goes some one for the vicar. Of course it is his place to find the sufferer shelter, food, medical attendance, everything, until something can be ascertained about him. If an accident happens, as certainly as one man runs for the doctor, another will run for the vicar.

In every sort of social need or perplexity, also, the vicar’s aid is freely invoked. If a wealthy parishioner wants a tutor for his sons; if a middle-class father has sons to be apprenticed, or got into some house of business; if a labouring man has children who must early start on the toilsome road of daily labour for daily bread, the vicar’s hand is pretty sure to be in the business somewhere. And if, by any evil chance, some parishioner gets into trouble, and is likely to come within the grasp of the law,

then he will have a busy time of it. That rigid morality which demands, as a duty to society, the kicking down of all who fall, is, curiously enough, not required at the hands of the clergy. We suppose that the direct utterance of the petition—'That it may please Thee . . . to raise up them that fall,'—is felt to create a different obligation in respect of those who do fall, from the less direct acknowledgment of complicity in the petition involved in the response—'We beseech Thee to hear us Good Lord.'

Any unprejudiced Scottish reader must, we think, allow that the brief sketch we have given indicates a far wider field for indirect usefulness for an English vicar, than falls to the share of his Scottish brother. He has more in common with all classes; is more a connecting link between them. And if the true aim and object of all Churches be to uphold the ideal of religion, that drawing together of all classes into one common family under one common Father, cannot fail to be a point of deep importance. The picture is not, however, absolutely without its reverse. The Apostles soon found the serving of tables a hindrance to their more specially ministerial labour, and we cannot but think that advantage in respect of sermons which we have alluded to on the side of the Church of Scotland is, to some extent, due to the greater amount of time for preparation which her ministers can easily secure. The incessant distractions, and varied claims on their time and attention, to which the English clergy are exposed, must have the result of not alone curtailing their time for the preparation of their sermons, but often of causing them to bring to the work wearied bodies and jaded minds.

Still, we think it must be allowed that the advantages of such a system override the disadvantages; that the relations of a Scottish minister to his parishioners, being more exclusively professional, and less socially intimate, must tend injuriously to weaken his indirect influence over them. To breathe the word confessional is, we know, speaking metaphorically, to thrust our devoted head into an atmosphere darkened by a perfect storm of cutty stools. But we have never been able to blind ourselves to the fact that the loss thereof, though it saves Protestant clergymen from many dangers and evils—principally, we suspect, from

the risk of having to waste much valuable time in listening to the egotistical outpourings of morbid sickly souls, not possessing sufficient bone and muscle, if they have the will, for the commission of any well defined hearty crime—yet deprives them of a valuable means of acquiring a deep knowledge of the spiritual diseases with which they have to contend; and this more intimate association with the social life of his parishioners, must surely give, in this respect, a great advantage to the English vicar over his Scottish brother. His experience is likely to be broader and deeper; his personal influence stronger.

To what causes then are we to lay this fact? To answer this question fully would be beyond both our power and our space; it would carry us through many long pages of stormy and chequered history. It is easy, however, to indicate a few causes which must, in the nature of things, tend to produce this result. The bent of the Scottish mind on religious questions is far more towards doctrine than practice. This assertion must not be misunderstood. We do not for one moment mean to assert that the Scot does not practise his religion; but he has an innate love for deep contemplation of theological doctrines, which is quite foreign to the English mind. Hence his religion is always in danger of becoming a little tinged with selfishness. His thoughts are thus involuntarily turned more in the direction of saving himself than in that of the social virtues which should have their full share therein. Then another disadvantage under which Scottish ministers labour is that the Church of Scotland is, far less than the Church of England, the Church of the higher class. That class, the most useless probably from a political economy point of view, is very useful socially; especially so to the clergy. Its members have not kinder hearts than those of the middle or lower classes; we have a strong impression the difference would very frequently be the other way, but they have more leisure, more tact, and fewer angles. They are great strengtheners of the hands of the clergy. The powers of the English clergy for social usefulness would be greatly curtailed if the majority of the wealthy landed proprietors in their parishes held more or less coldly aloof, treating them, it may be, with kindness and courtesy, and doing their duty as land owners, but not acknowledging

them as their own individual spiritual pastors, nor cordially working with them as lay helpers. The Scottish minister is here at a disadvantage, directly or indirectly, with all classes. He is not, and is felt not to be, so powerful a champion of the poor, and them that have no helper. A Scottish parochial board, we will venture to affirm, by no means regards the prospect of rousing the minister, even if he be an able and active one, with the same feeling of gravity with which an English board of guardians reflects upon what steps an energetic vicar may take. Then with the middle class. They perhaps do not know it themselves, if they do, they will assuredly not admit it; but the fact of a man being cordially received as a friend in the houses of wealth and rank in the neighbourhood, and in those houses accorded a leading place in virtue of his office, will influence their attitude towards him.

This last suggested disadvantage almost necessarily leads on to another, which needs to be touched with a very light hand; and which, were it irremediable, would be far better not touched at all. But we feel convinced that it is not irremediable, and that it is the very one upon which the ministers of the Church of Scotland are open to some censure, in that they are not reading the signs of the times, and promptly taking possession of advantages which social changes taking place around them are throwing within their reach.

The Scottish Clergy are not in general drawn from the social class which supplies the English Clergy. This, in time past, has doubtless been an insuperable difficulty in the way of any such social Church system in Scotland, as has prevailed in England. When religion was coldly tolerated, or held in actual contempt, in the circles of the wealthy or high-born, the English vicar, who really felt the obligations of his calling, had no small advantage in being in a position to meet as his social equal the man who would have sneered contemptuously at his ministerial character. We remember to have heard an English woman, who in those days was the newly married wife of a member of a Scottish county family, and came, a total stranger to Scotland, to be introduced to her husband's relations, describe with vivid remembrance her amazement and horror when her

father-in-law apologized to her for asking the minister to dinner. The fact speaks volumes. How could any such minister be the key-stone of such a social system as we have described? But all that is changed now. Almost daily the sharp class distinctions of the past are becoming more blurred and indistinct; while even among the laity nothing is a more unfailling passport to unbounded respect than consistent exhibition of deep personal religion. In truth, we might almost begin to assert that the pendulum has swung too far; for a mere noisy assertion of religious zeal is certainly occasionally allowed to constitute an excuse for acts very questionable if weighed by their own intrinsic merit.

Now, have the Scottish Clergy taken full advantage of this change—that is the ordinary parish ministers, scattered over the surface of the land? We think not. A remnant of the old idea seems to us still to linger in Scotland, that the minister is a man *merely* only on a level with the respectable middle classes, not one who is on a level with all classes; and the ministers themselves appear tacitly to acquiesce in this opinion, thereby losing a valuable social position. Any man, in these days, can hold his own in any circle, if his education be on a level with the members of that circle. On that point ministers of the Church of Scotland have nothing to fear. But let it not be for a moment thought we are urging upon them the fostering of a spirit of ambitious worldliness. The clergyman, of any denomination, who is imbued with that spirit, is a very pitiful creature. The social success we would gently reproach the average class of Scottish ministers for not laying violent hands upon, is of a very different order. If they would win that social position with the higher class, which would greatly increase their powers of usefulness, it must be through winning the respect of that class by lives of unwearied labour, and unflinching self-sacrifice. Let them stand forth more prominently than they do as the champions and defenders of the outcast and the destitute; as the terror and scourge of callous or lazy poor law officials of all descriptions; as men who will spare no trouble, fearlessly risk censure and loss, rather than let those suffer for whom there is scant aid, or even justice, if the Clergy do not secure it for them; who will plunge

fearlessly into dens of vice and wretchedness, in search of those poisonous drains, and houses unfit for human habitation, of which it would be hard to say whether they are hot-beds more of physical than of moral and social ruin ; as men who will not hesitate to turn upon the wealthiest and most powerful of their parishioners, when in these respects they are guilty towards their humbler brethren, and tell them sternly to their faces that their brother's blood is crying to heaven for vengeance on them. Let them do these things, and by thus placing themselves on a level with the lowest, they will soon rise, through the mere moral force of self-sacrifice, to the level of the highest, and be thus the friends and equals of all classes. And let them do this with the energy and determination which, in general, characterise Scottish action, and we will venture to prophesy that they will very soon find themselves the key-stone of just as efficient a Church social system as that of their English brethren—by virtue of those very national characteristics of energy and determination, of probably a more efficient one ; and then there will not be a band of men more honoured and revered, or wielding greater powers for good, than the clergy of the Church of Scotland.

ART. V.—THE SCOTTISH LOYALISTS.

1. *Spalding's Memorials of the Troubles.*
2. *Patrick Gordon's (of Ruthven) Short Abridgment of Britane's Distemper.*
3. *James Gordon's (the Parson of Rothiemay) Scots Affairs.*
4. *Wishart's Memoirs of Montrose.*

WHEN *Waverley* came forth to astonish our grandfathers, it probably owed much of its charm to the 'Sixty Years Ago' upon its title page. A great master in the music of the Imagination had arisen, but the lyre on which he played had a chord of departing, yet thrilling tone, that spoke to memory as well as sympathy. It was a chord that to some still living had

vibrated to an exciting measure in days ere yet 'the fair White Rose had faded,' and had strangely moved many others, and long unstrung and hasting to decay, had yet a magic of its own, when gently touched once more. Even now, men not in old age remember having conversed with those who saw the recruiting parties of Lord Lewis Gordon, or the fierce foragers of Cumberland, and might have watched the gallant horsemen of Lord Pitsligo ride forth, or return in danger and disguise, to sell wine, and carry pedlars' packs by their own mansions: or, lurking in the caves of an ironbound coast, find the blasts of the German Ocean better company than the cornets of King George. Even now, some yet young, may have marked with reverent interest, in some retired nook a lingering genuine spark of the old Jacobite sentiment. But at a time which to us is more than 'sixty years ago,' there were still many in old Scottish country-houses, and in quiet sea-ports on our north-eastern coast, for whom the cause of the last of the Stuarts had still that charm, which after centuries of slavery and degradation, Byron found in Greece;—

'Her's is that loveliness in death,
That parts not quite with parting breath,
Expression's last receding ray,
A gilded halo hovering round decay.'

Of all crushed parties the Jacobites are the luckiest. History has treated them more kindly than is generally the lot of those who have failed; and the dynasty they would have dethroned has smiled upon their descendants, not without a tinge of admiration, for the transgressions of the fathers. They have, of course, been the butt of those 'superior persons,' who not being endowed by nature with a superabundance of the sentiments of loyalty and self-sacrifice, arrogate a monopoly of judgment and common-sense. They have been both admired too much and run down too much. They have not received credit for the many solid qualities many of them possessed, and some turned to good account in the service of foreign governments. They are judged as the historian of Parliaments would judge a perpetual Opposition. If he sympathises with it, he dwells on the lofty principles

embodied in eloquence as brilliant, and put forth by leaders as beloved ; if he does not, he descants on the impracticability of genius, the virtues of officialism, and possibly the wickedness of obstruction ; complacent with quiet consciousness of the truth which the defeated express that 'a majority is the best repartee.' The last Jacobite rising was put down with great severity ; attainder and exile were the penalty of those, of whom every Government, assailed and victorious, was bound to make an example, slaughter and spoliation were the lot of many more ; and in some cases salutary terrorism seemed to merge into vengeance. But the night though dark was short. Defeat in politics or in civil war, has penalties that go beyond the grave. Not only are the plans traversed or the head taken off, but the escutcheon is torn and reversed, and the fame blackened. A time comes, however, when the shield is restored to its place, and the virtues of the deceased traced in golden letters by an admiring hand. Eulogy succeeds extermination.

To the Jacobites that time came soon. The courageous confidence of Chatham, and the wise magnanimity of George III., opened new outlets for the energy of the Highlanders, and won over the leaders of the Jacobites. Never was sound policy and royal mercy better required. In the American conflict many Highland settlers struggled and suffered for the White Horse, as their fathers had done for the White Rose ; and when the shock of the French Revolution reverberated throughout Europe, who shall measure the value of the additional support given to the cause of order and loyalty by the representatives of those whose error had been that they loved it 'not wisely, but too well?

In time, historical Jacobitism became the fashion. It chimed in with Scotch nationality, it was sufficiently near in time to real Jacobitism to preserve the link of human interest, and it is painted in pictures that will never fade, on pages that cannot die. The Jacobites have had justice from posterity, and more than justice. Indeed, it may be questioned whether the tribute which has been paid to their zeal and their afflictions has not operated some injustice to their contemporaries who took the other side. Chiefs brought clansmen to the field to fight for King George as well

as King James : there were ladies not so celebrated who showed energy and resource, resembling that of the lady of Moy ; and when the conflict was undecided, in districts where the insurgents were triumphant, the black cockade had its share of devotion. But the wand of the magician has not waved over the black cockade, and where traditions of fidelity to it linger, we sometimes think the depositaries are half ashamed of them.

It has always seemed to us strange that while the Jacobites of 1715, of 1745, and even of 1689, have had every honour paid to their remains, no Scottish author has given us a due representation of those Scotsmen who in the Great Civil War espoused the side of the Crown. The Marquis of Montrose *par excellence* 'the Great Cavalier,' has of course his *vates sacer*, but there were others on whom historians touch only incidentally, and yet whose names their country should not willingly let die. Of the fact many explanations might be offered. Jacobitism had the advantage of the hostility to the Union, and it was English force that crushed it. North of Tay the sympathy was overwhelmingly with Dundee, and subsequent events gave some colour to Dr. Pitcairn's epithet '*ultime Scotorum*.' The English prejudice against the Scots which Chatham stooped to rebuke, had its counterpart in a feeling which saw in Jacobitism the national cause. But the Loyalists of 'The Troubles' were a party defeated and weeded out with great severity, and on them and their opponents alike came foreign conquest and the iron hand of Cromwell. One great name dwarfs all the others, for among his contemporaries Montrose shone

' Like Hesperus amongst the lesser lights,'

and the picture many have formed of his party, is that of one commanding figure with a background of Highlanders. Yet among his companions, and some at one time opposed to him who ought afterwards to have been his comrades, were men of courage and men of culture, and men who combined both, many of whom on the battlefield, on the scaffold, and in bleak solitudes, paid to the cause they loved 'the last full measure of devotion.'

The period is a very fascinating one, and there is a wonderful

appropriateness in the North-country name, 'The Troubles,' which is at once so true, so expressive, and neutral. The combination of feudal power and popular emotion, of ecclesiastical excitement and clan feuds, of deep religious fervour and oligarchical intrigue, of tyranny and superstition, of liberty and loyalty, the hand of Richelieu and the energy of Cromwell, the brief ascendancy of one bright and daring genius, and the steady purpose with which one subtle mind, always exercising an influence of which the substance was greater than the show, and ever more active than it appeared, made the sacred name of 'civil and religious liberty' cover the aggrandisement of one powerful house, blend in a picture which sets off the strife of principles, with the most picturesque details of incident and the utmost variety of individual character. There rise before us the scenes in the church of St. Giles and the churchyard of the Grey Friars, the zeal of the 'devouter sex' and the enthusiastic crowds that flocked to eloquent pulpits, the conclaves of the longer heads that knew when to take the business 'off the hands' of the women and the mob; the horsemen galloping far and wide with the famous Covenant; the 'constellation on the back of Aries' for signature, the Glasgow Assembly marked by the eagerness of Montrose to 'justify all that was done,' and the silent scrutiny with which one young man observed the conflicting currents of affairs, calculated the direction and the force of the resulting flow, and pushed his bark into the stream; the return of the crowd of soldiers of fortune from the wars of Germany to more promising circumstances at home for the carving of estates, and the extracting of titles from a defied monarch; the camp on Duns Law and the blue bonnets over the Border; the bold barons of the north flaunting the red ribbon which the House of Huntly wore for the King, and the dogs of Aberdeen lying dead upon the causeway for bearing round their necks in despite the blue one of the Covenant; the serving-maids of the city which was at once 'the London of the North' and the Oxford of Scotland, conveying ammunition to the loyal burghers at the Bridge of Dee, as zealously as their sisters in the South had screamed down the 'mass;' the stabling of horses in kirks, and the enlightening of the good folks of the Garioch and Strathbogie as to

what 'free quarter' and 'plunder' meant; the many stricken fields from the 'Trot of Turriff' to Monk's sack of Dundee; the hot rush of the Highlanders, the discipline of the 'reidcotte regiment,' and the shock of Leslie's steel-clad horsemen; the unrelenting rule of 'the bigots of the iron time,' and the wild rebound of the Restoration.

Of the many elements that struggled together during that agitated time, the Royalists were but one, but they formed a party larger than is generally supposed, and stronger than we should be inclined to think from what it achieved. It gained adherents as events developed, for many who at first espoused the cause of the Covenant were driven to the other side, and even to the block. Affairs bore a very different aspect at the time of the Solemn League and Covenant, from what they had possessed when the National Covenant aroused the enthusiasm of all southern and central Scotland, and the position of Montrose and some others was one analogous to that of Hyde and Falkland in England. But if one class is typified by Montrose, the other finds its rally-point in the name of Huntly. The one class might be called the constitutional, the other the original Loyalists. The one possessed the activity of a guiding spirit, the other the force, which, without genius to guide it, is frittered away. It was because the backbone of the Royalist party was broken before it found a man to lead it, that the conquests of Montrose had little stability. It was a further misfortune of the cause, that the only chief who could give it success had been before employed to destroy its resources and break the spirit of the region from which it drew its strength. The memory of previous opposition, and the recollection in Huntly's mind of a breach of faith, which he attributed to Montrose, but for which, there is reason to believe, he was not responsible, was fatal to the co-operation so necessary at a later period to the Royal cause. The want of it lost all, and brought both of them to block; but if it had existed, or if Montrose had had command of the loyal province against which his earliest efforts were directed, what might he not have achieved?

In Montrose and Huntly were displayed very different types of character. The one illustrates the spirit of active loyalty, that in

the most adverse circumstances is ready to dare all, and never despairs; the other, the spirit of passive loyalty that foresees the event, and resolves to abide it at the call of honour and duty, and yet, while taking in the full bearings of its surroundings, leaves out the most important fact of all—

‘How much the weight of one brave man can do.’

The one at the darkest moment rides in disguise through the midst of a hostile country, appears in ‘Highland weed’ at a gathering of a few mountaineers, and in a few months has won six pitched battles, and made himself master of Scotland; the other born to the chief-ship of a wide spreading house that could muster the best cavalry of Scotland, and summon to the field a large Highland following of its own, who could count on the support of one of the first towns, and what was then the most learned university in the kingdom, never has the courage or capacity resolutely to use his strength, takes up arms at the most inappropriate moment, and lays them down as incomprehensibly, and at last only blunders on a victory at the close of his career, through the high spirit of his son stung by the proverb of their foes ‘that they had only to deal with King Charles and Huntly, and both were unfortunate in all they undertook.’ The one preserved his honour, the other created fame.

It is with a strange interest that we watch the appearance of the great figures in the drama, who were all to make their exit so publicly and painfully. Hamilton, who had served two masters, and betrayed the interests of both, atoned for his double-dealing by falling before the headsman of Cromwell. Montrose mounted the ladder with as firm a step as he had entered the Tweed, and Huntly died expressing his conviction that ‘this present Kirk and State are both marching too far in a wrong way.’ The zealots of both parties may find, in the history of these days, materials enough for sermons on the text—‘Vengeance shall haunt the bloody man,’ for when the wheel turned round, Argyll, to whom his contemporaries gave the distinction of being ‘the first to raise fire in Scotland,’ illustrated with fortitude the maxims it had been his custom to quote, *abscindantur qui nos perturbant,*

and *mortui non mordent*. More than twenty years after, the son, who had watched with him from a balcony the humiliation of Montrose, followed his father and their foe along the same dark road.

In the earlier stages of 'The Troubles,' Scottish Loyalism, with few exceptions, so far as it actively manifested itself, was local. Within the district lying 'benorth the Mount,' and east of Spey, it possessed all the elements which form a great party. It had at its head the Marquis of Huntly, then probably the greatest subject in Scotland, it commanded the power of expression in the adherence of the Professors of the University of Aberdeen, at that time a body of remarkable men, famous for their learning throughout Europe, and it rested on a popular foundation in the attachment of the citizens of Aberdeen, and small burghs, such as Inverurie, 'always a loyal place,' to their local habits and leaders. In the alliance between the Royal Lieutenant of the North, and the town of Bon-Accord, we see the same phenomenon which formerly drew the burghs and the mass of the population closer to the Crown, as a protection against the smaller feudal houses, and in bleak Strathbogie we find the Scottish parallel to the English 'cider-country.' But there was also the elements of an opposition. The lands of the Abbacy of Deer were a sheet-anchor to keep the Earl Marischal steadfast to the covenant, so long as revocations of teindgrants were in the air, the historic feud between the houses of Gordon and Forbes placed them on opposite sides, the Frasers, Crichton; and others, who saw themselves overshadowed by the mighty house of Huntly, ranged their vassals against the Crown; and the exertions of the notable Mr. Andrew Cant, and others of his complexion, secured adherents in the outlying district of Buchan, and a party in the town of Aberdeen itself. But whenever the North was left to itself, or the standard of Huntly uplifted, it was seen that the old couplet held true:—

' By Bogie, Deveron, Don, and Dee,
The Gordons hae the guiding o't.'

He could wield all his own feudal forces, and Highland following; he could rely on the hearty aid of the independent gentle-

men of his own name, and he had the support of the great body of the lesser barons in the central districts of Aberdeenshire.

In the Introduction to the *Antiquities of the Shires of Aberdeen and Banff*, Dr. Grub describes the Marquis of Huntly as 'a nobleman of stainless faith and purity, to whose character history has not yet done justice.' The eulogium is true, and perhaps exhaustive. There is no episode of a time so fertile in picturesque incident, more dramatic and impressive than the interview between Huntly and Colonel Munro, the envoy of the junto of leading men in Edinburgh. The attitude of the North, the certain quiescence of the other Loyalists in Scotland depended on the course that he would take. Captain as he had been of the famous corps of Scottish *gens d'armes* in France, his courage was acknowledged, and an experience of Court life had given him the training commensurate to his high position in the realm of Scotland. Not deficient in political penetration, he was able to measure the force of the movement that 'the Green Table' directed, and these able politicians thought they knew how to secure him. Their agent was chosen with care, as one acceptable to Huntly on account of old friendships and his own knowledge of the world. The morning after his arrival at Strathbogie, he disclosed his mission. Finding the Marquis in his garden, amid the plantations which that very Munro was to cut down to hut his soldiers, and beside the stately castle of Huntly, the carvings of which some of his fanatical followers were to deface, Munro offered him 'the first place and leadership of their forces,' as the price of his adherence, and for a bare neutrality the payment of all his debts, 'which they knew to be near £100,000 sterling.' He impressed on him that loyalty was hopeless, and 'bid him expect' that if he declared for the King 'they would ruin his family and estate.' 'To this propositoune,' says the old historian, 'Huntly gave a short and resolute *reparti*, that his familie had risen and stodee by the Kings of Scotland; and for his part, if the event proved the ruine of this King, he was resolved to bury his lyfe, honores, and estate under the rubbidge of the King his ruins; but withal thanked the gentleman who had brought the commission, and advysed him thereunto.' The incident appropriately introduces a career illustrative not of genius and endea-

vour, but of suffering and constancy. When at the King's command Huntly raised the royal standard, his instructions were congenial to his own temper, and charged him not to draw the first blood. Inveigled under safe-conduct to a conference, and carried a captive to Edinburgh, renewed inducements were put before him, but his reply was the same as before, and couched in striking terms. 'Whereas you offer me liberty upon conditions of my entering into your covenant, I am not so bad a merchant as to buy it with the loss of my conscience, fidelity, and honour; which in so doing I should account to be wholly perished. For my own part, I am in your power; and resolved not to leave that foul title of traitor as an inheritance upon my posterity. You may take my head from my shoulders but not my heart from my sovereign.'

On the settlement of the Scottish difficulties Huntly returned to the North, and was living quietly at Strathbogie, in 1643, when the Solemn League and Covenant, as aggressive as the National Covenant of 1638 had been defensive, plunged Scotland into the whirl of the English Civil War. Spalding describes him as 'glad to live in peace, and could not get it;' he went so far as to solicit leave to go to France and resume his service in the Scots Guards, but this was refused, and the demands of the estates, and the tyranny of the local Committees, made him again take the field. Many gallant gentlemen, and a large force both of Lowlanders and Highlanders flocked to his standard at Inverury, but the brief campaign was only marked by the seizure of the town of Montrose, and his disbandment before the growing forces of the Covenanters, to the bitter grief of his high-spirited clan. How he sought refuge in Lord Reay's country, how he returned to his own territories when the genius of Montrose had made the Royal cause supreme in the North, how the want of co-operation between them wrecked that cause, and how Huntly when all was lost was betrayed by some Highlanders in the wilds of Lochaber, and carried again prisoner to Edinburgh, is a story too long to trace in detail. 'The Marquise of Huntlie,' says his clansman, 'whose deep judgement foresaw the event, and therefore had forborne his enemies diverse times when he was able to have crushed them, was nevertheless with obstinancie and malice, persecuted, so as

they never left to follow him till they got him in their hands; and therefore before he died he repented that he had so often with held his sons, and so many brave and valiant men that followed him, from taking of these advantages that were so often offered them.' He was kept in close confinement till after the close alliance between Cromwell and the party of Argyll, when some of these political preachers, whom such times always produce, and who in the guise of the shepherd display the ferocity of the wolf, clamoured for his blood, and gave in their accusation against him. 'This accusation was so like to that of his master's in England, that he did rather rejoice in it than plead not guilty; for since the death of the King, he was so overcome with melancholie, grief, and discontentment, that there was no giving him comfort.' He declared 'that he should take it at the Parliament's hands as a great curtsie, to rid him of that lyfe which was now become loathsome to him. Nor had he a greater felicitie in this world than that was that he hoped, within few days to follow his master, whom he would attend in the other world, as joyfullie as he had here served him faithfullie.' His brother-in-law, Argyll, refused to exercise his influence to save his life, or procure a respite, that might let him die of a disease that seemed bound to run its course in a few days. The difference of character between the two Royalist chiefs appeared even in their demeanour on the scaffold. Equally courageous, and alike in their general deportment, Montrose went to death in scarlet, while Huntly was completely clothed in mourning, 'to signify that he mourned inwardly for his sins, and outwardly for his master's death.' Huntly was the head, but not the type of the Northern loyalists. That is rather to be found in the career of his sons, Lord Gordon, the Falkland of Scotland; Viscount Aboyne, the bold leader of the Aberdeenshire barons; and Lord Lewis Gordon, who, while quite a boy broke away from his tutor and appeared 'in Highland habit,' the darling of the wild Highlanders of Glenlivet and Deeside. As in old Baillie's words, 'the canniness of Rothes brought in Montrose to our party,' so the statecraft of Argyll had secured the eldest son of Huntly, Conscientious and painstaking in the discharge of the commission the Estates entrusted him with in the North,

Lord Gordon endeavoured to raise a regiment in his own country for Leslie's army about to invade England, in pursuance of the Solemn League and Covenant. But for once, as on a similar occasion in Athole, the bonds of feudal attachment failed to hold. 'His freindis and followers, not liking weill the cause, went ilk ane a sindrie get.' What first gave his opinions another turn, was the severity with which Argyll treated his father's people in Strathbogie, and after he joined Montrose he seemed like another man. His genius had scope, his kinsmen followed him as they had refused to do before, and at Auldearn and Alford, where he fell, with his hand on the shoulder-belt of General Baillie, these brave horsemen performed feats for which his father had never given them the opportunity. Spalding describes the Marquis as the father of 'ten children of singular erudition,' and his two eldest sons at any rate were accomplished cavaliers. Short as their association was, an extraordinary friendship sprung up between Montrose and Lord Gordon. 'Never,' says the old annalist, 'did two of so short an acquaintance ever love more dearly; there seemed to be a harmonious sympathie in their natural disposition.' More consistent in his career, if not so lovable in his disposition, Aboyne had been the youthful leader of the barons of the North, when they rose after Huntly had been carried to Edinburgh. When he appeared in the capital after the Peace of Berwick, he had been almost stoned in his coach by the rabble; and when war again broke out, after distinguishing himself among the Cavaliers in England, with sixteen other gentlemen he cut his way through the league of the Covenanters at Carlisle, and in spite of severe injuries received by a fall of his horse, penetrated through the hostile districts of Scotland as Montrose had previously done, and joined him in Athole. With his brother he fought gallantly at Auldearn and Alford, and led the decisive charge at Kilsyth. But then recalled by his father, or, as Sir R. Spottiswoode phrased it, having 'taken a caprice,' he led his horsemen home, and Leslie's cavalry had it all their own way at Philiphaugh. Having parted with his father shortly before, he escaped capture when Huntly was taken, and made his way to France, where 'he died of an ague about one year after,

to the no small prejudice of the King's cause, and the great regret of all his friends.'

Such were the Northern Cavaliers of highest rank; but the backbone of the party was found in the enthusiasm of those they led. In the history of Scots affairs, Gordon ascribes the secret of Huntly's strength to 'all his followers being as much inclined to the King as himself,' and in recounting the incidents of the effort known as the 'barons' war,' in which the first blood was shed, he describes the associated Loyalists as having 'armes and horses and courage and affection enough to the King's cause, the very common soldiers running to service of their own accord.' Of Sir John Gordon of Haddo, one of the leaders on that occasion, whose head was the first to fall, Spalding, after vividly describing the circumstances of his execution, gives this character—'And albeit Haddo was ane ancient baron of good estait, and still ane loyal subject to the King; hardie, stout, bold in all haserdis; freind to his freind, and terribill to his enemy; of a good life and conversation, moderat, temperat, and religious; loth and unwilling still to give offence and als loth to take offence; and withal ane good nichtbour, loving and kind to his tennentis, kinsfolkis, and friendis, yit thus he endit.' Many more, including Hay of Delgaty, a leader of the opposite side at that skirmish, were to end like Haddo, and many were the brave gentlemen who, like Seton of Pitmeddon, 'dung in two' by a cannon ball at the Brig of Dee, or the Highland *preux chevalier*, Donald Farquharson, cut down unarmed by Hurry's dragoons in a raid on Aberdeen, or Lord Kinnoul perishing in the wilds of Assynt, were to seal their loyalty with their life. At the commencement of the struggle, the cause of the Crown was to the citizens of Aberdeen the cause of liberty, and as events progressed, the learned doctors and professors of the university found that for them the watchword of 'civil and religious liberty' meant expatriation and excommunication. But in the South all ranks and classes joined in enthusiasm for the Covenant. A few noblemen in the South and West might be unwilling to assail their Prince, and a few men of reflection and penetration might look askance on a movement so easy to be manipulated, and so liable to go beyond what it professed. Those who held places under the Crown might

feel the restraints of office; but without open dissent, the stream rolled on. The combination attained its public objects, but a new scene opened, and the rôles were changed. The gradual progress of Montrose from the most vehement of the popular party to the most resolute assertor of the Monarchy is intelligible enough, and we fail to find for the Solemn League and Covenant that general enthusiasm which was evinced for its predecessor. When Montrose threw the weight of his gifts into the Royal scale, the Loyalism of the South possessed both a hero and a prophet, and they were men of whom any cause may be proud—Montrose and Drummond of Hawthornden. ‘They were,’ says Professor Masson, in his life of the latter, ‘perhaps the only two men of their time in Scotland that we should now unhesitatingly call men of genius; and it so happens that Scottish Conservatism or Royalism can claim them both.’ He suggests that it was to Montrose that Drummond sent a copy of his ‘Irene,’ with the, in that case, appropriate compliment:—‘Force hath less power over a great heart than duty.’ Very different were their circumstances, for the one personified the loyalty of the battle-field, and the other the loyalty of the library. ‘Great attempts, heroic ventures,’ were to ‘assure the fame’ and ‘renown the fall’ of the one; the other’s contribution to the struggle lay in sharp epigrams, and political tracts. But it adds a touch of picturesque completeness to the drama, when we picture the refined poet and scholarly gentleman musing amid the groves of ‘classic Hawthornden’ over the distraction of the times, surviving till the fatal year, and in the words of his own epitaphs on more than one of his friends—‘Dying with our Monarchy and State.’ In the brief hour of triumph one of the first acts of the Royal Lieutenant-General had been to issue a special protection to Drummond, and to desire him ‘to repair to our Leaguer,’ bringing his papers with him. Had Drummond not stood at the head of the men of culture and retirement, this class would have been well represented by Robert Gordon of Straloch, the eminent geographer and antiquarian, but much more than a geographer or antiquarian. We feel that if the laws are silent amid the clash of arms, the arts do not wholly sleep, when at the time of the mortifying visit to Edinburgh we find King Charles himself

writing about the revision of 'certain cairttis of this our ancient kingdome sent heir from Amsterdam,' and the Estates, in the jar of Montrose's campaigns, exempting Straloch 'from all quartering or other publick burdens quhatsumever, to the end he may the mor friely attend and perfect that work of helping and correcting the severall cairtis of this kingdome.' He had refused the royal offer of a baronetcy, because, as he said, 'he would rather be the oldest baron of his name than the youngest baronet.' He was the trusted friend and councillor of his chief, the Marquis of Huntly; on more than one occasion he had acted as mediator between the contending factions, and his intimate knowledge of the actors in the drama, gives special value to the unfortunately uncompleted work of his son, the parson of Rothiemay. While he held aloof himself from the strife, one son, John Gordon of Fechil, distinguished himself in the spirited cavalry combat, when the Northern barons were retreating before Montrose and Marischal, and seven cavaliers encountered seven horsemen of the covenanting gentlemen of Angus, and brought two of them prisoners to Aboyne's camp; and another, an advocate by profession, accompanied Montrose throughout his cavalier campaigns.

If literature has its representatives in Drummond and Gordon, and learning in the doctors of Aberdeen, especially their principal, Dr. John Forbes of Corse, Professor of Divinity, the Rutherford of the Loyalists, whose 'Peaceable warning to the subjects in Scotland' struck the first note of Conservative dissent, law has one equally eminent in Sir Robert Spottiswoode, the President of the Court of Session. Himself 'a mild man, well-belovit of many,' he had the misfortune to be the son of an Archbishop, and, non-combatant though he was, his own appointment of Secretary of State by the King, and his bearing a commission to Montrose, had to be expiated by 'the Maiden.' He met his fate with great dignity, in spite of the insults of the Provost of St. Andrews, who had been a servant of his father, and the interruptions of his devotions, by an intrusive divine, to whom he observed 'that of all the plagues with which the offended majesty of God had scourged this nation, the greatest certainly was, that for the sins of the people, He had

sent a lying spirit into the mouths of the prophets.' Sir Robert Spottiswoode was eminent in his profession, but his attainments were of wider than merely professional range. 'He was,' says Wishart, 'remarkable for his deep knowledge of things both divine and human; for his skill in the Hebrew, Chaldaic, Syriac and Arabic, besides the western languages and an intimate acquaintance with history, law and politics. He was the honour and ornament of his country and the age, for the integrity of his life, for his fidelity, for his justice, and for his constancy. He was a man of an even temper, ever consistent with himself.' One of his colleagues on the Bench, Sir Archibald Stuart of Blackhall, was with Lord Napier and Stirling of Keir, a member of the little party of personal and political friends so closely associated with all the policy and fortunes of Montrose. And the law which has given to Scotland many of her best public men, may also claim an interest in Lord Napier, who represents the grave statesman of an older generation than that which 'The Troubles' bred. The biographer of the hero to whom he acted the part of Mentor, describes him as 'the chief of that very ancient family, and not less noble in his personal accomplishments than in his birth and descent; a man of the greatest uprightness and integrity, and of a most happy genius, being, as to his skill in the sciences, equal to his father and grandfather, who were famous all the world over for their knowledge in philosophy and mathematics, and in the doctrine of civil prudence far beyond them.' He had held the high office of Treasurer, and enjoyed the personal esteem of both the sovereigns whom he served. He died in the wilds of Athole during the desultory warfare which followed the disaster of Philiphaugh.

But the best type of Scottish aristocracy is also to be seen in the Earl of Crawford, and he, the destruction of whose 'bonnie house' lives yet in Scottish song, the gallant old Earl of Airly, who, with his sons Lord Ogilvy and Sir Thomas Ogilvy, killed in the hour of victory at Inverlochy, so steadfastly and gallantly supported the royal standard. They brought to the cause all the influence which age and high character command. On the other hand, had the author of *Coningsby* been familiar with the details of the Scottish Troubles, he might have adduced many instances

from them in support of the contention advanced by Sidonia as to the capacity of youth to achieve great deeds. Montrose and Marischal, Gordon and Aboyne, were all very young men when they first appeared as political leaders and captains of armies, and we are struck by the few years attained by some of the Cavaliers on whom the ruling faction wreaked their vengeance after Philiphaugh and the dispersion of Huntly's followers. Young, indeed, to ascend the scaffold were young Gordon of Newton, young Leith of Harthill—twenty, and young Ogilvie of Innerquharly, only eighteen.

Nor was the poetic vein so sweetly touched by some of the English Cavaliers, absent in their Scottish compatriots. The 'dear and only love' of Montrose recalls the lines to Althea of Lovelace, and there rings in the Scottish hero's verses the spirit so well expressed in the Englishman's—

'I could not love thee, dear, so much,
Loved I not honour more.'

In his love of letters, as in his aptitude for arms, Montrose represented his followers at their best. There is material enough in the records of his early tastes, and the remains of his opinions and counsels, to establish the substantial truth of the statement made by the biographer, who thus addresses his son—'Your glorious father, whose spirit was so eminent both for speculation and practice, that his camp was an academy admirably replenished with discourses of the best and deepest sciences, whose several parts were strongly held up under him, the head, by those knowing noble souls, the Earls of Kinnoul and Airly, the Lords Gordon, Ogilvy, Napier, and Maderty, and the two famous Spottiswoodes, Sir Robert and his nephew. This I am bold to mention, because such noble discourses banished from his quarters all obscene and scurrilous language, with all those offensive satirical reflections which now are the only current wit among us; and if any such passed forth in his presence, his severe looks told the speakers it was unwelcome; nor did this proceed from a narrowness in his heart, being to all who knew him one of the most munificent as well as magnificent personages in the world.'

But if Montrose commands our admiration for the all-round character of his genius and accomplishments, we ought not to overlook a unique figure, which shows in strong relief and almost in caricature, the union of qualities rarely found together, that was one of the features of the time. 'In the beginning God made Adam of red earth,' but among all those who have sprung from the Protoplast, there are few stranger or more interesting characters than his lineal representative Sir Thomas Urquhart of Cromarty. No wonder that Cromwell treated him with some forbearance, for it is difficult to imagine any one except 'the domineering creditor' seriously angry with the inventor of the Universal Language, the author of the *Trissotetras*, and the compiler of the most unique of genealogies. The son of a northern baron whose 'strict adherence to the austere principles of veracity proved oftentimes damageable to him in his negotiations with many cunning sharks,' Sir Thomas Urquhart, in his young days, while his relatives and companions were revelling in the wild open air life of the border line between the Highland and Lowland populations, devoted himself to the study of 'optical secrets,' 'mysteries of natural philosophy,' and trigonometry, which, as he loftily remarks, 'in the estimation of learned men would be accounted worth 600,000 partridges, and as many moor fowles.' But the mathematician co-existed with, and did not suppress the feudal baron, for he would break in a wild horse, and seems to have prepared himself for the vanquishing in after years in single combat three men of different nations who had not shown sufficient respect for his own. It was not only with the sword but the pen also, that the levelling doctrines at work in Scotland, and the action of his contemporaries gave him an uphill task in vindicating the honour of his country. He was present at the Trot of Turriff, but the 'iron-handed usurer,' who was the bane of his life, prevented any great efforts in the Royal cause. Spending some time in England and more abroad, he returned in 1645 to live at Cromarty, and felt as the severest of calamities the 'sequestration of his books.' In 1649 he joined the northern rising of the M'Kenzies and Munros, and subsequently found his way with the Royal army to the disastrous field of Worcester. How

his papers were saved from the gutter and the pipe of the musketeer is an incident often told, and captivity gave leisure to his pen. A man of varied accomplishment and vast erudition, his action was hampered by his circumstances, and his learning rendered vain by his eccentric fancy. Yet with overweening vanity he combined a real patriotism and a sound and constant loyalty, which many who smile at his extravagancies would do well to emulate.

Amusing as Sir Thomas Urquhart is, his chief interest for us here is that he illustrates, in common with his graver and greater contemporaries, that spirit of devotion which swayed the lives and ennobled the deaths of so many of his associates, and was most signally manifested by their illustrious chief,—to use the quaint words of the title page of *Montrose Redivivus*—‘In his actions for Charles I., and in his passions for Charles II., King of Scots.’ With them loyalty was not merely a code of opinions, but a living faith. To us there is something very impressive and convincing in the unfeigned horror and bitter agony which the news of the King’s death at the hands of the Regicides produced in his friends, and the effect it had on some. It struck down the exile Montrose, and completely crushed the captive Huntly, and gave a fatal termination to the illness of his son, Aboyne. Excessive joy at hearing of the Restoration caused the death of Sir Thomas Urquhart. Nor were these the only instances of such extreme effects. Their record on the page of history is testimony to the reality of the widespread feeling they illustrate. It is easy for the modern writer of a sceptical and cynical generation to sneer alike at the ‘fanaticism of the gentleman’ and the ‘fanaticism of the clown,’ but the wiser and more generous student of the past will respect true feeling and sincere conviction wherever it is found. And in ‘The Troubles’ it was found on both sides; the ranting trooper might have his opposite in the canting hypocrite; but both causes were championed by those who were no fanatics, but simply men in earnest for the defence of great principles and in the discharge of constraining duty. There are some occasions on which they are not the greatest minds that are least moved, and those who felt thus deeply had thought none the less clearly,

and acted none the less resolutely. Some of them indeed had previously faced as firmly the *vultus instantis tyranni*, as they afterwards withstood the *civium ardor prava jubentiam*. Statesman and noble, soldier and jurist confirmed their convictions by their sufferings, and though for them the crowning catastrophe had come, none the less did they contribute an important element to the national history, and exercise an influence on the development of the future. Reaction came, and it was followed by reaction, but to the present the principle and the sentiment imprinted by the old Loyalists, modified and applied in various ways, at different times, has restored the balance of the constitution, when it seemed lost for ever under the necessary expansion of new forces, and the impetus of the exuberant activity of young Reform. And even those who think that 'the unfortunate brave' were mistaken, may pause for a moment, as they pass, to 'cast a stone upon their cairn.'

ART. VI.—A LEGEND OF VANISHED WATERS.

UNDER this title we propose to summarise the story of the many remarkable changes which have befallen the beautiful loch of Spynie,—till recently the fairest sheet of blue water in all the once great and important Province of Moray. Now only a tiny lake covering an area of about a hundred acres, remains in that little corner, which alone, of all the ancient Province, still bears the name of Moray,—a small lakelet in a small county.

Not thirty years have elapsed since this great fresh water lake was one of the most important features in the scenery of the east coast. But the circumstance of chief interest connected with it, is that within comparatively recent years, when our ancestors and their contemporaries built their castles on the shores of the lake, it was an estuary of the sea, a secure harbour, where fishing smacks, and sometimes trading ships from far countries found secure refuge. And now, so complete

is the transformation, and so utterly have the waters vanished, that the whole district is one wide expanse of rich arable land,—a dead flat, interesting only to the eye of the agriculturalist, and only varied by a few scattered belts of plantation.

The two prominent objects in the midst of those level corn-fields, are the little hill on which stand the ruins of old Duffus Castle, once the fortified stronghold of Freskinus de Moravia, one of a race of barons of renown in the days of King David I. In later ages it passed to the possession of the Lords Duffus, who held it till the beginning of the eighteenth century. One of their servants, who only died in 1760, used to tell of the time when bonnie Dundee, the celebrated Claverhouse, was a guest in the Castle, about the year 1689, and how she brought the claret from the cask in a *timber stoup*, and served it to the guests in a silver cup. She described Claverhouse as ‘a swarthy little man, with keen lively eyes, and black hair, tinged with grey, which he wore in locks which covered each ear, and were *rolled upon slips of lead, twisted together at the ends.*’

The old Castle was a square tower, with walls about five feet thick, and defended by parapet, ditch, and draw-bridge; and round about it was an orchard and garden, noted for its excellent and abundant produce. The moss-grown fruit trees remain to this day, though the Castle has long been abandoned.

At a distance of about five miles, on another slightly raised site, stand the stately ruins of the Palace of Spynie, which, six hundred years ago, was the summer home of the Bishops of Moray, at a time ere their magnificent Cathedral of Elgin (still so beautiful in its decay) had been ruthlessly pillaged and destroyed. Notwithstanding its ecclesiastical character, this too was a stronghold, with loop-holed walls of enormous thickness, watch-towers and portcullis; and here, baronial warrior-bishops, backed by a goodly company of armed retainers, held their supremacy over turbulent neighbours, not only by Divine right, but by very emphatic temporal force, for, as has been well said, ‘while holding the crosier in one hand, they could ever wield the sword with the other, and act the part of commanders of their stronghold at Spynie, whenever danger threatened.’

Various kings and great nobles had bestowed on the diocese of Moray, grants of land, forests and fishing, and the revenues and temporal power of its Bishops as 'Lords of the Regality of Spynie,' were so great, that they could well afford to live as princes, and accordingly they did so—their households including as many officials, with high-sounding titles, as those of the greatest nobles.

The title of 'Lord of Regality' was no empty name. It was a grant from the Crown, conferring the right of regal jurisdiction in a specified district, both in matters civil and criminal. The Lord of Regality held the power of life and death, and was the arbitrary Sovereign within its territory. These extraordinary and most dangerous powers were bestowed on various subjects, and in 1452 were granted by King James II. to the Bishop of Moray and his successors. The jurisdiction extended over the lands of the Church in the shires of Elgin, Nairn, Inverness, Ross, Banff and Aberdeen, and included no fewer than nine baronies, besides other lands.

These magnificent Prelates were certainly 'lords over God's heritage' in a most literal sense. Their daily lives practically exemplified how 'when a strong man armed keepeth his palace, his goods are in peace,' for dire experience had taught them the need of supplementing their spiritual armour, with very efficient temporal defences. For though their tenants and vassals were so far privileged that they were not liable to be called upon to serve the King in time of war, they were not unfrequently compelled to act on the defensive.

Thus it was that when David Stewart of Lorn was made Bishop, in 1461, and was so sorely troubled by the Earl of Huntly, as to be compelled to pass sentence of excommunication against him, the wrathful Clan Gordon threatened to pull the Prelate from his pigeon-holes (in allusion to the small rooms of the old Palace). The Bishop replied that he would soon build a house out of which the Earl and all his clan should not be able to pull him. Thereupon he built the great tower which has ever since borne his name, 'Davie's Tower,' four stories high, with walls of solid masonry, nine feet in thickness. Even the large windows of the upper rooms were

defended by strong iron bars, while the casement was occupied by vaulted rooms, doubtless for the use of the men at arms. The roof is also vaulted and surrounded with battlements. But neither devotion nor recreation were forgotten in the building of this lordly palace, for within its great quadrangle stood the Bishop's Chapel, and also a spacious tennis court, while round about the precincts were gardens well supplied with fruit trees. Here the poor of the parish daily assembled at a given hour, when a bell was rung, and from the postern gate, an abundant supply of bread and soup and other food was freely dispensed to all comers.

Many a strange change have these grey walls witnessed—ecclesiastical pomp, and martial display—pious and benevolent lives contrasting with scenes of cruel warfare and outrage—but no such changes have been half so startling as these physical transformations which have altered the whole aspect of the land. In place of rich harvest-fields extending far as the eye can reach, much of the country round, and all the distant high ground were covered with dense natural forest, haunted by wolves, which were the terror of the peasants, and afforded worthier sport for the barons, than their descendants can create for themselves in the slaughter of home-reared pheasants.

Even the older members of the present generation found true sport in abundance round the reedy shores of the great fresh-water Loch of Spynie—the largest loch in the land of Moray—a beautiful sheet of water, which, after long resisting successive efforts at drainage, has, within the last twenty years, yielded to a determined attack, to the joy of the farmers and the bitter regret of naturalists and sportsmen. The latter might (but do not) find a corner of consolation in being saved from the temptation to lay up for themselves after-years of agonising rheumatism, brought on by long hours spent in creeping among marshy shallows on bitter winter mornings—such expeditions as were deemed joy by my brothers, whose well-filled bag often included some rare bird—a chance visitor of these shores. For until the middle of this century, the rushes and water-grasses and rank herbage of the swamps

offered such favourable breeding-grounds as to attract wild-fowl in incalculable numbers; widgeon and mallard, pochard and pintail ducks, teal, moor-hens and great flocks of coot. The Loch was also the resort of numerous wild swans, though these had already become rarer visitants than of yore.

Many were the grey-brindled wild cats which haunted the neighbouring fir woods, and many the badgers, which burrowed like rabbits, in the dry banks, thence emerging to dig up the soil after the fashion of pigs. So numerous must these creatures have been in bygone times, that they have bequeathed their name to the lands of Inch-brock, 'The Isle of Badgers,' a name worthy of note, in that it tells not only of the presence of an animal now well-nigh extinct, but also of the time when the sea covered these lowlands, and this, now inland farm, was a wave-washed isle.

The capercaillie too (which, being interpreted from the Gaelic, means 'the cock of the woods,' and which had entirely died out of Scotland till it was recently re-imported from Norway to Perthshire, where now twenty to twenty-five brace sometimes figure in a single day's battue), was a regular winter guest in the pine woods of Moray,* until the latter part of the eighteenth century, when it ceased to make its annual appearance, a loss not much regretted by the proprietors of the forests, in which this 'cock of the woods' leaves his mark in the destruction of many a promising shoot.

But when we speak of the blue, fresh water loch (familiar to many travellers from the fact, that some thirty years ago, the railroad from Elgin to Lossiemouth was constructed right across its shallow, half-drained bed, so that the passengers looked to right and left across its glassy waters),† we are speaking of a comparatively modern feature in the landscape. At the time when these two grey ruins, the Palace of Spynie,

* Rhind's *Sketches of Moray*, 1839.

† The inhabitants of Lossiemouth tell with pride that their railway across the lake to Elgin was the *first line completed in the north!* It was opened for traffic in 1852. The coast line of rail from London to Inverness, *via* Aberdeen, was opened in 1858. The Highland line *via* Perth was opened in 1863.

and the Castle of Duffus, were built, both stood on the brink of a broad estuary of the sea,—indeed, there is little doubt that prior to A.D. 1200, the Castle of Duffus, on its green hill, was actually an island. Up to the year 1380, Spynie was a secure harbour, whence ‘the fishers of sea-fish’ were in the habit of sailing with their wives and children to the sea, thence bringing back fish in boats. In fact, the sea-water lake at that time extended about five miles eastward of the Castle of Spynie, to a spot called Kintrae, a Gaelic name signifying ‘the top of the tide.’

Strange to say, there are actually four places bearing this name, each but a little distance from the other, and evidently marking the gradual recession of the tide, as the coast line changed. Finally we come to a spot which still bears the name of Salterhill, and here, about thirty years ago, the remains of a salt factory were discovered, in the course of digging deep drains. There were also salt works on the banks of Loch Spynie itself, for they are mentioned in a deed by Bishop Bricius, bearing date A.D. 1203.

Nearly two centuries later, in A.D. 1383, a protest was made by the Lord Bishop Alexander Bar, against Lord John Dunbar, Earl of Moray, and the burgesses of Elgin, respecting the right of the fishing and of the harbour of Spynie, which he maintained to be within the ecclesiastical marches, and to have ever been held by the Bishops of Moray, who, each in his time, had ‘fishers, with cobbles and boats, for catching salmon, grilse, and finnaces, and other kinds of fish, with nets and hooks, without impediment or opposition, the present dispute excepted.’ He further showed how his immediate predecessor, ‘John Pilmore, of worthy memory, intending to improve and deepen the course of the said harbour, laboured therein, not secretly, but in his own right, as master of the said harbour.’

Later documents, bearing date 1451, still speak of the fishermen and harbour of the town or burgh of Spynie.

All manner of shell-fish abounded in this ancient sea-loch, more especially cockles and oysters. The latter, alas! have long since disappeared from our shores, together with the alluvial mud in which they formerly flourished, the sea coast

being now essentially sandy; but their presence in older days is proven by the numerous shell-mounds, marking where clusters of fishers' huts once stood. These 'kitchen-middens' have in recent years been discovered all along the banks of this great basin. One of these (at Briggsies), which covers a space of nearly an acre, and is in many places about a foot in depth, consists of masses of periwinkles, mussels, limpets, razor-shell, cockles and oysters, but especially oysters of very large growth, such as may well increase our regret that they should have ceased to exist on these shores. A good deal of charred wood mingled with the shells, tells of the kitchen fires of the consumers, and one bronze pin has been found, as if just to prove that these villagers were possessed of such treasures. A very remarkable confirmation of the old records regarding the ancient bounds of the sea, was obtained when the loch was drained, and *large beds of oysters and mussels were found buried beneath the deposit of fresh-water shells and mud.* Several anchors of vessels were also found, and sundry skeletons. In the same connection, we may notice the name of Scart-hill, *i.e.*, the Cormorant's hill, which now lies at some distance inland, but which assuredly was originally on the sea shore.

When the recession of the ocean deprived the Bishops of their natural harbour, and the fish supply could no longer be landed at their very door, they still retained their right to the coast fishing; and so, in the year 1561, we find the Bishop and Chapter of Moray granting a charter for 'the fishing called the Coifsea' (which we now call Covesea), to Thomas Innes, in consideration of certain payment in kind, the Bishop reserving the right of purchasing the fish caught, at the rate of twenty haddocks or whittings for one penny, a skait or ling, twopence, a turbot, fourpence, and a *seleich*, or seal, for four shillings.

The harvest of the sea included cod, skate, hallibut, haddocks, whittings, saiths, crabs, and lobsters. The latter continued abundant until the close of the last century, when an English company established a lobster fishery in the bay of Stotfield, for the London market, and in the first season forwarded sixty thousand lobsters alive to town, in wells formed

'Bishop Davie's Great Tower,' overlooking the wide expanse of quiet lake, fringed with willows and rustling reeds and dark green alders (precious to the fishers as yielding a valuable dye for their nets), while beyond the recently created ridge of shingle, lay the grey stormy ocean, and the watchers on the tower might mark the incoming of the fleet of brown-sailed fishing smacks, or catch the first glimpse on the horizon of the approach of some gallant merchantman (or perchance a smuggler's craft) bringing stores of claret and brandy, and other foreign goods. The lake extended from Aikenhead in the east, far to the west of the ancient salt works at Salterhill, etc., close to Gordonstown, and ferry-boats took passengers across, from point to point.

About the centre of the loch rose the island of Fowl Inch, where multitudes of water-fowl found a quiet breeding-place, while the west end of the loch was dotted with green islets called holmes, which were covered with coarse rank pasture, called star grass. In days when no foreign grasses had yet been imported, this natural growth was precious, so in the summer time the cattle were carried by boat and turned loose on the isles to graze. Of these isles, the principal were those known as Wester Holme, Easter Holme, Tappie's Holme, Skene's Holme, Picture Holme, Long Holme, Little Holme, and Lint Holme. This precious star grass also grew luxuriantly on some parts of the shore at the west end of the loch, and gave its name to those favoured spots—such were the Star Bush of Balornie, the Star Bush of Salterhill, and the Star Bush of Spynie.

Now, he who has a steady head, and sufficient nerve to venture on climbing the ruined and broken spiral stairs (through the gaps of which he looks down into the empty space left by the total disappearance of the rafters and flooring which once divided the great tower into four stories, an ascent which we candidly confess has cost us many qualms, though the interest of the view from the summit well repays the exertion and risk), may still stand on Bishop Davie's battlement, but in place of the broad lake he will see only one

little corner of blue water sparkling like a sapphire in a setting of yellow gold—the withered reeds of autumn.

This small lakelet, covering about a hundred and ten acres, of which eighty are open water, lies on the edge of the dark fir woods of Pitgaveny, and is carefully preserved by means of strong embankments separating it from the broad main ditch, which has so effectually carried off most of the water. Small as it is, it suffices to attract a considerable number of wild-duck, and a multitude of black-headed gulls breed on its margin, notwithstanding that their nests are freely pillaged, as their beautiful green, russet, or brown eggs are in great request for the table. About eighty dozen are thus taken each week during the breeding season.

A neighbouring tract of rush-land still shows that art has not yet wholly triumphed over nature, but to all intents and purposes Loch Spynie has vanished ‘like as a dream when one awaketh.’ Gone are the quiet pools, well sheltered by tall reeds, where wild geese and ducks, herons and coots were wont to rear their young; no longer does the otter haunt the shore, or the booming note of the bittern echo from the swamp whence the white mists rose so eerily, and where the fowlers devised cunning snares for the capture of wild fowl. The thick mud once tenanted by multitudinous eels, and which afforded such excellent sport to the spearers, is now turned to good account by large tile works, and the waters are everywhere replaced by rich green pasture, dotted over with sheep and cattle or comfortable homesteads with well-filled stack-yards; while straight dull roads take the place of the old ferries; the boatmen have vanished, the wayfarer trudges on mile after mile across a monotonous expanse of ploughed land or harvest fields, and the wild cries of the water-fowl are replaced by the shrill steam whistles that tell of railway trains, steam ploughs, or reaping machines. In short, the days of romance and of *ague* are a dream of the past, and unpoetic wealth and health reign in their place.

The means by which, in the course of many generations, this transformation has been effected, form a curious chain of incidents in the history of unreclaimed lands. For many years

after the separation of the sea from the loch, the river Lossie continued to flow in its ancient channel, passing right through the loch, draining the surrounding land, and carrying superfluous water to the sea. There is reason to believe that the Bishops, who were then almost sole proprietors, assisted this natural drainage, by the cutting of deep lateral ditches, by which means some land was reclaimed, and the loch became so shallow that a road of stepping stones was constructed right across it, so that the Bishop's Vicar, after preaching to his congregation at Kinnedar (or 'The head of the water') might thereon cross to hold another preaching in Oguestown (the ancient name for the parish church at Gordonstoun).

This road across the water was carefully constructed, and was known as 'The Bishop's Stepping Stones.' These were three feet apart, and on them was laid a causeway of broad flat stones, along which the great Church dignitaries might walk in safety. There was also an artificial island near the Palace of Spynie—measuring about 60 paces by 16—for what purpose it had been constructed no one can guess, but it was built of stone, bound together by crooked branches of oak—a strange survival of those oak forests which flourished in this district at the time when the Danes occupied Burghead, and came to repair old galleys and build new ones at Rose-isle, compelling the inhabitants to cut timber for this purpose, in the oak forests.

Now, only bleak, bent-clothed sandhills, stretch along the shore, and from time to time an old root or log is upturned, as if to prove that the tradition was not wholly a delusion.

Not only have the oak forests disappeared, but the inlet of the sea where the galleys were constructed, has been so wholly blocked up with sand, that not a trace of it is to be found, nor is there any mark to suggest at what period this portion of the coast can have been an island, as its name indicates.

Strange to say, however, the fisher-folk in the neighbouring village of Hopeman tell us that some years ago a foreign vessel ('we call them all foreigners, unless they're British,' say the fishers), bound for Burghead, being caught in a storm, ran right ashore near Lossiemouth, as the captain understood by

his very old chart, that he could run into Spynie harbour, and thence sail round under shelter, by the back of Rose-isle.

A similar change, though in a smaller matter, is suggested by the name of Brae-mou, which was formerly Burn-mouth, at Hopeman, and also by the neighbouring farm of Burn-side, which lies on rising ground near the sea-board of crags, but where now, not the tiniest trickling brooklet is to be found, nor the faintest indication of any fresh-water stream having ever flowed.

There is, however, a tradition that two hundred years ago this, and several other burns flowed westward into the lochs of Rose-isle and Outlet, both of which were filled up, and their very sites obliterated, in the awful sand-storms which, in the autumn of 1694 and spring of 1695, overwhelmed so many miles of the most fertile land along the shores of Moray.

These storms, thus diverted from their natural channel, turned eastward, and thenceforward flowed into the Loch of Spynie, thus adding to its water supply, at the same time as the drifting sand had partly filled up its basin. Consequently the loch overflowed its bounds, and did vast damage to the surrounding lands. The Bishop's causeway and other artificial roads, the Spynie islet and various homesteads, were lost to sight, and well-nigh to tradition.

After the Reformation, when Church and lands were divorced, the Protestant Bishops, shorn of all temporal power, might indeed inhabit the Palace of Spynie, but were compelled to be passive witnesses of the decay of the ancient drain-works, and the enlargement of the lake. The newly-created Lord Spynie never lived in the county, and suffered everything to go to ruin, so the accumulating waters encroached on the arable land to such an extent, as to necessitate some very energetic measures,—nothing less than turning the course of the river Lossie, and providing it with a new seaward channel. So in the year 1599, two of the proprietors, Sutherland of Duffus, and Archibald Douglas of Pittendreich, whose lands chiefly suffered, agreed on this action. Their quaint old contract tells how:—
'For sa meikell as ye Loche of Spyne hes our flowd ane pairt of ye Tounes of Salcottes, Cruikmures and Kirktown of

Duffus, and yt ye said loche, sua far as men can persaiu, is like to droun mekell mair of ye Landis and Barony of Duffus nor is allreddie drounit, and yat ye said drounit lands cannot be maid dry, and ye Loche of Spynie stoppit fra doing of gretar harme to ye said lands, except ye laird of Pettindryt his landis of ye Barony of Kilmalemnok be cuttit and tirit, for makking of dykkis till outhald ye watter of Lossie from ye said Loche of Spynie, and drouning of sundrie of the said Archibald his landis.'

How these 'twa lairds' set about their work, does not appear, but they evidently failed, for early in the seventeenth century most of the neighbouring proprietors combined, and having taken counsel with Anderson of Finzeach of Aberdeen, a skilful engineer, they succeeded in turning the Lossie into a new channel, separating it from the loch by a great embankment. A map of the province of Moray, published in 1640, by Sir Robert Gordon of Straloch, shows that this great work had been successfully accomplished.

After this the waters were fairly kept within bounds for half a century, during which men were too much occupied with stormy politics to give much heed to the care of their lands. But in 1694, their attention was rudely re-awakened by the terrible calamity to which we have already referred. The drifting sands, which desolated so wide a belt of the most fertile lands of Moray, did similar damage, though, in a less degree, in this district, and so effectually filled the channels of all streams, and a great part of the bed of Loch Spynie, that its waters, now greatly enlarged, again overflowed their bounds, covering the cultivated lands, and presenting a wide but very shallow surface.

There was danger too, lest the river Lossie should break its artificial banks, and return to its original channel. So in 1706 the neighbouring lairds bound themselves 'to maintain and support the banks of the said river with earth, feal, (*i.e.*, turf) stone, creels, etc., . . . in order to keep her in the channel where she now runs, and *where she had been put by art and force.*'

Dunbar of Duffus next attempted to reclaim his own swamped lands which bore the appropriate name of Watery-

mains. He made great dykes and embankments, set up a windmill with pumping machinery, and all went well, till a great tempest overthrew the mill and destroyed the machinery, whereupon the waters once more over-swept the arable lands, of which they retained possession for many years, during which the neighbouring proprietors endeavoured to decide on some system of concerted action. This, however, was effectually prevented by the counter interests of the family of Gordonstoun. It appears that when in A.D. 1636, Sir Robert Gordon purchased these estates, he had obtained a charter from John Guthrie, Bishop of Moray, bestowing on him various lands, including those of Salterhill, otherwise called Little Drainie, 'with all singular parts, pendicles and pertinents, *together with the passage or ferry-boat in the Loch of Spynie, with the privileges, liberties, profits and duties of the same.*'

In consequence of this charter, the family of Gordonstoun claimed the sole right, not only to the possession of boats on the loch, but also to the fishing and fowling, and the use of the natural pastures on the shores, and the determination to preserve these rights was a fruitful source of litigation. It was therefore evident that whatever means were adopted to diminish the lake, would infringe on the 'profits and privileges' of the Gordons.

Thus matters were left until the year 1778, when we find local chroniclers bewailing the neglect which had suffered 'the ancient ditch' to be so filled up, that the loch was daily increasing westward, forming a level sheet of water upwards of four miles in length, and covering a space of 2500 acres, besides the broad margin of marshy land, which, owing to occasional overflows, was rendered worthless.

In the following year, Mr. Brander of Pitgaveny (whose low-lying lands near the loch, suffered more severely than those of his neighbours), resolutely set to work at his own expense, aided by his brother, to restore the old drain, and enlarge it, so as to form a canal of some importance. He succeeded in lowering the surface of the lake upwards of three feet, and recovered 1162 acres of land, of which eight hundred fell to his own share, and the remainder to Gordonstoun and other adja-

cent estates, which touched the shores of the loch. Then it was that the stone causeway (which was dimly remembered in local tradition) reappeared, as did also the artificial islet aforesaid, and an isle at the west end of the loch, on which were the ruins of a turf cottage. On excavating these, there were found a quantity of peat ashes and a number of coins, which had apparently been here buried, on some sudden alarm. Little did their possessor dream what changes would pass over his humble home, ere his hidden treasure was again brought to light!

For a while, Sir William Gordon (the last of the strong-minded energetic race of the Gordonstoun family), looked on with comparative indifference, supposing that this effort to drain the loch would prove as unsuccessful as those of the past. But when he found that the waters had actually fallen so low, as to stop his ferry-boat, he deemed it necessary to take active steps for the protection of his rights, and, by application to the Crown he obtained a new charter, bearing date 22nd July 1780, giving him a right to '*the whole lake or loch of Spynie, and fishings of the same with all the privileges and pertinents thereof, together with the ferry-boat upon the said loch, with the privileges, liberties, profits and duties of the same.*' The granting of this charter was vehemently opposed by the neighbours, and the Messrs. Brander raised a counter-action, and counter-claims, which kept all the lawyers busy for many years.

Meanwhile, nature and art continued in conflict. Three years after Mr. Brander's canal was finished, a great flood occurred, which did it considerable damage; the loch regained much of its lost ground, and the ferry-boat continued to ply even to Salterhill, until the beginning of the present century.

By this time Sir William Gordon was dead, and the neighbouring proprietors awoke to a conviction that it would prove remunerative to unite their efforts in making a great new canal so as to reclaim more land. Telford, the most eminent engineer of his day, was consulted. (He was then engaged in the construction of the great Caledonian Canal). His suggestion was, that a canal should be cut through the high ramparts of

shingle, so as to give the loch a direct outlet to the sea; with mighty sluices at the mouth, to keep back the tide.

It was determined to carry out this scheme, but a considerable time elapsed ere the neighbouring proprietors could come to an agreement, respecting their several shares in the expenditure, and in the division of land to be reclaimed. This matter involved so much discussion, so many surveys and reports, such examination of witnesses, and other legal forms, that it dragged on, at an enormous expense, from 1807 to 1822! when the dispute was finally submitted to arbitration by the Dean of Faculty.

The work was, however, not allowed to suffer by these long legal proceedings. The contract was taken in 1808 by Mr. Hughes, who had just completed the works of the Caledonian Canal. Though the Spynie Canal was a small matter as compared with that great national water-way, it was no mean undertaking. The distance to be cut, between the Loch and Lossiemouth was altogether seven miles, and its breadth was to be about thirty feet along the bottom, with an upper slope of one and a half feet, to each foot of perpendicular depth. Though the labour involved varied greatly at different points, the cutting in some places not exceeding twenty feet, it was necessary in crossing the raised beaches to dig to a depth of about sixty feet, with a surface width of a hundred and fifty. Besides the actual canal, heavy excavations were requisite at various points, and many miles of side-drains were also required, in order to dry the land.

By 1812 the works were all completed, at a cost of £12,740, a sum in which law expenses formed a heavy item. The lowering of the waters put a stop to ferry-boats, so it became necessary to construct a turnpike road right across the Loch. The workmen stood in some places breast deep in water: thus the Bishop's stepping-stones, ere many years passed, were succeeded by a substantial turnpike road; and the eels and pike, which still found a home in the shallow waters, were further disturbed by the construction of a pathway for 'the iron horse.'

For about seventeen years all went well, and although the

sluices at Lossiemouth were of wood, and were not self-acting, involving constant watchfulness on the part of the men in charge, the surface of the loch was maintained at an almost permanent level. Some expensive alterations were made in 1827, to avert a threatened danger of inundation in the fishing town of Lossiemouth; but all such minor fears were swallowed up in the reality of the great calamity which befel the whole land of Moray in the memorable floods of 1829, when very heavy rains on the high lands caused all the rivers to overflow their natural bounds, and ravage the land. Even the little Lossie, usually so peaceful, was transformed into a raging torrent, and, bursting the barriers which had grown up between her and the loch, overflowed the canal, leaving it choked with great stones and earth; and rushing seaward, carried away the sluices. Thus, in a few brief hours, did the mocking waters destroy the labour of years.

In that widespread desolation, men had neither money nor inclination to return at once to the battle; but ere long the canal was partially cleared, the Lossie was turned back into her accustomed channel, and high banks were raised to keep her therein. The sluices, however, had vanished, consequently the canal was simply a great tidal ditch, so that the loch itself rose and fell about three feet with every tide. The said ditch was, however, so far effectual, that although the loch did overflow a considerable amount of cultivated ground, its limits were well defined, and the raised turpuke road continued perfectly dry.

As years passed by, however, the bottom of the canal gradually filled up, and the loch thereupon commenced to spread farther and farther, so that the neighbouring farms suffered severely, as field after field was inundated. Finally, in 1860, all the tenant farmers united in a petition to the proprietors to set about a thorough drainage of the loch. This was agreed upon, and after many consultations, the land owners resolved to send a deputation to the fen country of England, there to study the various methods successfully adopted for marsh drainage. Three reliable men were accordingly selected to represent the proprietors, the factors, the

tenants, while a fourth was added to the number as professional adviser. These made a careful examination of the principal water-works in England, and of all the various kinds of sluices in use, together with the methods of working them.

On their return they drew up a report, recommending in the first instance, a partial drainage by means of self-acting sluices, which they calculated would, at a cost of £2430, so reduce the waters as to leave only a pool covering about a hundred acres near the old Palace of Spynie. Steam power, they considered, might, if requisite, be applied later to a final drainage. As there were at this time, two thousand acres of land either under water, or so moist as to be worthless, there appeared a fair prospect of a good return for the outlay. The works were accordingly commenced. Sluices were put on at the sea, but months of toil and grievous expenses were incurred ere they were in working order. In the first instance a foundation of solid masonry had to be raised on what proved to be a quicksand, and an artificial foundation of heavy piles had to be prepared. Then the water poured into the cutting made through the shingly beach on the one hand, and through the sand on the other—so that the works were inundated both by sea and loch. The unhappy contractor, who had never calculated on such a contingency, pumped and pumped with might and main for months, till at length in despair, ‘out of heart and out of pocket,’ he quietly disappeared from the country. It was necessary, however, that the work, once begun, should be finished. It was accordingly undertaken by two local tradesmen, who in due time accomplished it satisfactorily, but at a very heavy loss on their contract. Four sluices of cast iron, each weighing eighteen hundredweight, were so finely poised as to be opened or closed by the rise or fall of a quarter of an inch in the surface of the water; and when shut not one drop of water could ooze through from the sea into the canal. Then followed the great labour of again digging and deepening the canal, and ere the works were finally accomplished, the expenditure was found to have been about £8000—rather an increase on the estimate! Nevertheless, the work is considered to have been remunerative, as the

greater part of the two thousand acres thus reclaimed has proved first-class soil, and even the poorer portions are capable of considerable improvement.

Of course there is a necessity for some annual expenditure, as repairs are needed to keep the whole in working order, but so far, the drainage of what was once the beautiful Loch of Spynie may be deemed a complete success, from an agricultural point of view, though we need scarcely say that, to the naturalist and the sportsman, the farmer's gain is an irreparable loss.

Much of the low-lying land thus reclaimed, proved to be heavy clay, which produced rich wheat crops, and, till a few years ago, a large proportion of this, and indeed of all the Lowlands of Moray, was devoted to this grain. Now, however, since Russia and California furnish such abundant supplies, home-grown wheat is no longer a remunerative crop, so the wheat fields have vanished, and are replaced by barley and oats, and especially by turnips, for Moray is now emphatically a stock-rearing district, and the farmer's energies are concentrated on care of his beasts.

As concerns the fine old palace with its 'regality,' its glory rapidly waned after the date of the Reformation. The last Roman Catholic Bishop, Patrick Hepburn, was a man who fully understood the art of making friends with the unrighteous mammon, and, foreseeing the storm of 1560, he made provision in due season, and sought to secure a powerful ally against the day of need. He therefore presented a large part of the most valuable land of the diocese to the Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, with fishing and other privileges. He also handsomely endowed many of his own kinsfolk and friends, including *his own sons*, which was indeed adding injury to insult, so far as his relation to the Church was concerned! Having thus disposed of her property for his own benefit, forestalling other robbers of Church lands, he settled down to a less harassing life, in the old Palace, and there died at an advanced age.

At his death the remaining lands of the diocese were confiscated by the Crown, and in 1590 were granted to Sir Alexander Lindsay, son of the Earl of Crawford, who had found favour with King James VI. by advancing 10,000 gold crowns

to help to defray his majesty's travelling expenses, when journeying to Denmark to wed the Princess Anne. Sir Alexander accompanied his sovereign as far as Germany, when he was attacked by severe illness, and had to remain behind. King James wrote from the castle of Croneburg in Denmark, promising to bestow on him the lordship of Spynie, with all lands and honours pertaining thereto. 'Let this,' said he, 'serve for cure to your present disease.' Sir Alexander was accordingly created Lord Spynie, but not caring to live in the North, he appointed a neighbouring laird to act as Constable of the Fortalice and Castle of Spynie. He himself afterwards lost favour with the King, and, in 1607, had the misfortune to get mixed up in a family fight in the streets of Edinburgh, which resulted in his death.

This method of settling a family difficulty was curiously illustrative of the times. The Earl of Crawford had assassinated his kinsman, Sir Walter Lindsay, whereupon Sir David Lindsay of Edzell, nephew of the murdered man, assembled his armed retainers to avenge the death of his uncle. The two armed forces met in Edinburgh, whereupon Lord Spynie interposed and strove to bring about a reconciliation. Hot words soon resulted in a fray, and the mediator was accidentally slain, and fell pierced with eleven wounds. Altogether this is a very pretty picture of the mediæval method of settling such questions.

The title died out in the third generation, when the lands reverted to the Crown, and have since passed from one family to another, till both lands and ruined Palace reached the hands of the present owner,—the Earl of Fife.

Three centuries, however, have passed by since the death of Bishop Hepburn, for the first hundred of which the old Palace was the seat of the Protestant Bishops, to whom it was transferred after the Reformation. One of these, John Guthrie of that ilk (which means that he was the proprietor of Guthrie in Angus), held it in the year 1640, when the Covenanters took arms, whereupon he garrisoned the Palace and prepared for a siege. But when General Munro arrived with a force of three

hundred men, the Bishop was persuaded to surrender, so only his arms and riding-horses were carried off.

Again in 1645, when Montrose laid waste the lands of Moray with fire and sword, the inhabitants of the neighbouring town of Elgin (the Cathedral town of the diocese), fled at his approach, to seek shelter for themselves, their wives, and their treasure, in the Palace of Spynie, which continued to be the Episcopal residence till the time of Bishop Colin Falconer, who died there in 1686.

Two years later, in the Revolution of 1688, the Palace was annexed to the Crown, as the lands had already been, and since that date it has remained uninhabited. As a natural consequence, its timber and iron work have gradually been removed by the neighbouring farmers,—the doors, the flooring, the oaken rafters, the iron gate, the iron chain of the portcullis have all disappeared, and only a portion of the massive stone walls now remains to tell of the glory of this ancient palace. Even the best of the hewn stones, and the steps of the old stairs, have been thus appropriated. Never was transformation more complete than that which has changed this once mighty ecclesiastical fortress and palace of the seaboard into a peaceful inland ruin, whose grey walls, now tottering to their fall, re-echo only the scream of the night owl, or the bleating of the sheep which crop the sweet grass within its courts.

Nevertheless, the position of those who occupy the reclaimed lands is by no means one of absolute security. Not only might another year of unwonted rainfall on the hills repeat the story of the floods of 1829, and restore the Lossie to its self-chosen channel through Loch Spynie, to the total destruction of all sea-sluiques—but there exists the ever-present and far more serious danger on the west, where only a narrow belt of low sandhills protects the cultivated land from the sea, which in the last century made such serious encroachments on the neighbouring Bay of Burghead. Now, again, the ocean appears to be gaining ground, and when we note its ceaseless activity all along this coast (one year building up huge barriers of great boulders to a height of perhaps thirty feet or

more, and in the following year carrying them all away, to leave only a gravelly shore), we cannot ignore the possibility that a day may very possibly come, soon and suddenly, when, after a night of unwonted storm, the morning light may reveal a gap in the sand hills, and the fertile lands, which at even-tide appeared so safe and so peaceful, may lie deep beneath the salt sea, which, reclaiming its rights, has once more resumed its original channel, passing round the back of Rose-isle, to restore to the ancient harbour of Spynie its long lost character.

ART VII.—HIGHLAND LAND LAW REFORM.

Report of Her Majesty's Commissioners of Inquiry into the Condition of the Crofters and Cottars in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, with Appendices. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 1884.

WITHIN recent years events have occurred which have summoned the attention of the country to the consideration of Highland affairs. Sometimes the appeal to public notice has been deeply pathetic; occasionally it has been somewhat rude. In the autumn of 1881 a violent storm swept over the North and West of Scotland, the harvest had not been gathered in, and a great part of the corn crops was lost. To add to the disaster, the storm was accompanied by a tide of unusual height, and the fishermen's boats were carried away to sea, or dashed to pieces on the rocks. In the following year the potato crop failed, and many of the people were reduced to utter destitution. Happily the ear of this country is rarely deaf to the cry of real and wide-spread suffering. Large sums of money were readily subscribed for the relief of the unfortunate crofters; and by means of this generous aid, the distress of the time was, to a great extent, alleviated. There was no lack of gratitude on the part of the Highland peasantry; possibly hopes of further benefits of a different kind were raised.

Be that as it may, the crofters may well have felt that those who had so spontaneously come to their assistance might not be indisposed to give their voices and their votes in favour of such measures as promised to effect a permanent improvement in their condition. At any rate, half-formed thoughts and aspirations which had slumbered in the minds of the people were quickened. In the island of Skye, the idea rapidly developed itself that the poverty of the people was due neither to a dispensation of Providence, nor to the fault of the people themselves, but mainly to the unfavourable conditions under which they lived. And then the cry was raised, which passed from lip to lip over the length and breadth of the Highlands, until it has now become the unanimous voice of the country, for 'more land.' The crofters looked about them. They saw hundreds of families huddled together on a few acres. Side by side with these, they saw tens of thousands of acres in the possession of one man, or perhaps devoted to the pleasures of a short summer holiday. These broad acres were once theirs. Their ancestors had won them; their grandfathers possessed them; it remained for them to lose them. With these memories painted in exaggerated colours on their vivid Celtic imaginations, with their Highland pride and Highland independence humbled to the dust by the cruel destiny which compelled them to accept public charity, with the acute consciousness of present suffering—with all this passing upon their sensitive, quivering, Celtic natures, it is perhaps not surprising that the crofters betrayed some signs of impatience. The discontent became wide-spread. Acts of violence were perpetrated; and resistance to lawful authority was shewn. The law-breakers were punished; but the impression became general that the crofters, who had hitherto been, at any rate, not less patient and law-abiding than any class of Her Majesty's subjects, must have well-founded grievances. It was felt that a thorough inquiry ought to be made into the condition of the Highland people; and accordingly, in March 1883, the government was prevailed upon to appoint a Royal Commission. The Report of this Commission is now before us. It is a production of much interest and importance. Extending over five

bulky volumes, containing over 3000 pages, it records the evidence taken at sixty-eight sittings in various parts of the Highlands, in the islands of the West, and in Orkney and Shetland, as well as in Edinburgh and Glasgow; it gives tables and statistics, throwing much light on the actual condition of the people; it contains elaborate papers by factors and by crofters' delegates—by men fitted by their talents and experience to place the various phases of the crofter question in the most effective light; it provides an unexpected pleasure for the lover of old ways in a delightful essay on the customs of the country; it places before the reader a useful and curious compilation of evidence from old authors; above all, it offers for the consideration of Her Majesty's Government, and of the country in the Report proper, the views of the Commissioners regarding the condition of the people, their needs, and the means by which those needs may best be supplied.

The fact of outstanding importance completely and conclusively established by the Report is this, that the appointment of the Commission was an urgent public necessity. The picture of the crofter's life drawn by Her Majesty's Commissioners, and now exhibited before the British public, is such as few can contemplate without pain.

After we have fully recognised this central fact, the first necessity we feel is for a careful and detailed account of the circumstances which have brought about the present condition of affairs. We look for an analysis of the organism of Highland society, for a differentiation of the various forces acting on the life of the crofter, for an interpretation of the significance of the main factors in the crofter's environment. Some process of this kind must necessarily form the basis of any scheme of reform which is at all related to actual facts; and, further, precisely to the degree that such an analysis is exhaustive, and its results intelligently interpreted, can the scheme of reform based upon it be regarded as worthy of public confidence. The constitution of the Commission was such as to justify us in looking forward with interest and with hope to valuable work of this kind.

The hope has not been vain. The Report begins with an

exceptionally able criticism of the influences at present at work in the Highlands. We are not indeed favoured with an exhaustive enumeration of the conditions of crofter life, nor is there any attempt at a systematic application of an economical calculus to such conditions as are specified. The method pursued is very different. Nor have we to read far into the Report to discover the reason. The Commissioners' inquiries have led them to the discovery of one or two agencies of surpassing importance. The crofter's misery is not the result of a complex combination of causes. It would therefore be idle and trifling to differentiate and evaluate the multitude of circumstances which have only an indirect and remote bearing upon his lot.

What, then, are the predominating causes of the crofter's poverty? Is the explanation to be discovered in his own character, in his indigenous and ineradicable slothfulness and improvidence; or, is it to be traced to the nature of his physical surroundings, to the barrenness of the soil, and the fickleness of the climate; or, finally, is the cause to be found in the laws of the country and the 'rules of the estate'? If the first of these questions is to be answered in the affirmative, then, indeed, is the crofter's future altogether hopeless. His destiny has been played out. His race is effete. His only duty, if indeed one who has no motive power can be said to have any responsibility, must be one of self-effacement. Let him 'move on,' and recede nearer and nearer to the sea,—to that sea to which the benign providence of a far seeing political economy has guided his reluctant steps. Let him settle himself quietly on some low reef on the western shore, while the level beams of the setting sun transfigure the face of the Atlantic and throw a crown of glory around the summits of the old mountains. Let him listen to the echo of his own heart, and to the story of his own life in the low, sad wail of the waves. Let him listen while the tide rises quietly and stealthily up to his feet. Let him listen till his fitful Celtic spirit passes away and mingles with the wild music of the western sea.

But, in the opinion of the Commissioners, the Highland crofter is not effete. The past is not sufficiently remote, the Colonies are not sufficiently distant to justify a moment's acceptance of

any such theory. It is true that an hypothesis of this kind has more than once been advanced in the history of the present movement. But it has been advocated chiefly by peripatetic tourists who have studied Highland economics from the vantage ground of the Highland steamers at Highland piers, or by writers who on this, as on all other public questions, cater to the tastes of a certain constituency. That idleness and laziness seem at present to paralyze the Highlands, the Report not only admits but states with emphasis. That this idleness and this laziness are ineradicable, or even, in the main, the fault of the people themselves, the Report not only does not admit, but denies with emphasis. And, as the case is in the present, so it has been in the past. Writing of Sutherland in a passage quoted in the Report, Pennant, in his *Tour in Scotland* (published in 1773), records this deplorable testimony:—

‘This tract seems the residence of sloth; the people almost torpid with idleness and most wretched . . . Dispirited and driven to despair by bad management, crowds were now passing, emaciated with hunger, to the eastern coast, on the report of a ship being there loaden with meal. Numbers of the miserables of this country were now migrating; they wandered in a state of desperation; too poor to pay, they madly sell themselves for their passage, preferring a temporary bondage in a strange land to starving for life on their native soil.’

Yet these ‘miserables’ were the heroes of immortal renown, who, some years later, stood on the heights of Alma in that ‘thin red line topped with steel,’ which has traced, with the point of the bayonet, one of the brightest pages in British history. These ‘miserables’ were ‘Havelock’s glorious Highlanders,’ who, some years later, rescued British lives and British honour in the streets of Lucknow. These ‘miserables’ were the men who have helped to lay the foundations of British greatness beyond the seas, and whose sons have risen to positions of comfort and respectability, often of wealth and eminence, in every part of the empire, except ‘in their native soil.’ That is not the kind of stuff of which effete races are made. Be the evil where it may, it does not lie in any fundamental weakness of the Highland character. If the Report has established any

thing, it has established this, and for testimony such as this, and from such a quarter, the Highland crofter has reason to be proud, and may well feel grateful.

Are we then to look for the key to the condition of the crofter in his physical environment? According to some, we have been assured that the Highlands were never intended for human habitation. The Commissioners, however, are not prepared to endorse this opinion. On the contrary, they are disposed to regard it as certain that the cause of Highland distress is to be found not altogether, nor even mainly, in the barrenness of the country. We have seen what Pennant thought of the condition of the Sutherland crofters. This is his statement regarding the district of Strathnaver in the same county:—

‘The whole of the four parishes was of old called Strathnaver, from the river Naver, which was so called, as some think, from the name of one of King Kenneth the Second’s warriors. It is a noble body of water, well stored with salmon, having many fruitful and beautiful villages on the banks of it, and is so inhabited for eighteen miles.’

So General Stewart, in writing of the Sutherland Fencibles, declares that ‘one hundred and four William Mackays, all of them from Strathnaver, were in the corps.’ And yet, according to the ‘Old Statistical Account,’ ‘very little of the parish is cultivated compared with what is lying waste and common.’ This is a picture of Strathnaver a hundred years ago. The Commissioners visited Strathnaver, but instead of ‘many fruitful and beautiful villages,’ they found a pathless wilderness. Here, indeed, the Commissioners came upon the root evil in the condition of the Highland crofters. This is the result brought out by their analysis of the influences affecting the crofter’s life. The Highland crofter does not succeed in the Highlands, but he succeeds elsewhere; the Highland crofter does not succeed in the Highlands, but others succeed there. The fault does not lie in the people; it does not, in the main, lie in the soil; it lies primarily and principally in the conditions to which the people are subjected, in the laws of the country and in the ‘rules of the estate.’ This is

the finding of the Commissioners. It is stated in these words :—

‘ The principal matter of dissatisfaction in connection with the occupancy of land urged upon our notice in almost every district, with equal vehemence, and with the greatest consensus of authority, is the restriction in the area of holdings. The fact is familiar. It is notorious by common observation, and by the abundant discussion to which this question has been subjected ’ (p. 10).

But the Commissioners are not satisfied with a mere reference to a ‘ notorious fact.’ They prove the fact up to the hilt. In an analysis of no ordinary value they ‘ submit a statistical statement, exhibiting in a simple form the distribution of the occupancy of land in certain parishes selected as examples in Sutherland and the Western Islands, parishes in which the subdivision of land on the one side and its consolidation on the other have been carried to a great, but not to an unexampled extent.’ The parishes chosen for this purpose are Farr in Sutherland, Uig in Lewis, Duirinish in Skye, and South Uist in the Long Island. Here is the result, as far as the first mentioned parish is concerned :—

‘ Gross Rental, - - - - -	£10,337	8	7
Deduct—			
For five Manse and Glebes, - - -	£106	0	0
One School, - - - - -	5	0	0
Three Inns with Land, - - -	129	6	0
One House with Land, - - -	10	0	0
Four Shooting Tenants, - - -	2500	0	0
Six Fishing Tenants, - - -	1095	0	0
	<hr/>	3845	6 0
Rent of Land proper, - - - - -	£6492	2	7
Of which seven Tenants pay, - - -	5810	8	11
Leaving for 293 Crofters and Cottars (as per Valuation Roll), - - - - -		681	13 8
		<hr/>	
Of these 293, there pay over £10, and under £30, - - - - -			0
Between £6 and £10, - - - - -			5
Between £2 and £6, - - - - -			160
Under £2, - - - - -			128
		<hr/>	
Total, - - - - -			293

While the highest croft, according to the Report, 'pays £7 16s., the lowest farm stands for £200; and while two hundred and ninety-three small occupiers represent an aggregate rent of £661, a single pastoral farmer, who is not resident, holds lands of the aggregate annual value of £1688, in addition to which he has a shooting tenancy of £200 per annum, and an arding tenancy of £100. The repartition of occupancy thus represents the extremes of subdivision and consolidation: there is a striking absence of intermediate positions: the small farmer and substantial crofter disappear entirely: there is not one single holding which can afford a competent occupation and support to a small tenant labouring his land and living by it: there is a complete extinction of those graduated stations which offer an encouragement to the development of individual intelligence and industry' (p. 11).

From an abstract of results for the four parishes mentioned above, we learn that the number of crofters and cottars occupying land in these parishes is 2090. 'The statistics of occupancy do not, however,' points out the Report, 'offer a complete picture of the social aspect of the whole community in a Highland parish, as they take no account of that element in the population who have no recognised share in the soil, though they are, more or less, dependent on it for support' (p. 13). Accordingly the Report goes on to 'confront the statistics of occupancy more directly with those of population.' This is effected with great clearness in the following abstract. The census of 1881 returns the population of the selected parishes as consisting of 3226 families, and 15,816 souls.

'Of these 3226 families:—

120 represent families of proprietors, clergymen, schoolmasters, doctors, innkeepers, shopkeepers, &c., making	3.7	of the population.
15 separate shootings and fishing tenants	1.5	"
30 tenants paying over £100 rent, (including two tenants of Deer Forests)	1.9	"
140 shepherds, farm servants and other dependants of the above 30 tenants, allowing one family for every £100 of rent	4.4	"
6 tenants paying from £30 to £100 of annual rent	.2	"
56 substantial crofters paying from £10 to £30 of annual rent	1.7	"

256 medium crofters paying from £6 to £10 of annual rent	8·0	„
1778 poor crofters and superior cottars paying less than £6 annual rent	55·0	„
825 unaccounted for, but who must be placed among the landless cottars and squatters	25·6	„
<hr/>	<hr/>	
3226	100·0	(p. 14).

It would be difficult to convey a more vivid and truthful impression of the actual condition of the Highlands than is given by these eloquent figures. We talk of improvidence and laziness; we bring a 'railing accusation' against the soil and against the climate; at the same time we consolidate the best land in the country in the hands of a few tenants, some of them absentees, and we coop up eighty per cent. of the population on wretched patches of land where sloth and improvidence and misery and semi-starvation are physical necessities; and then we prate of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number.'

'It is deplorable,' says the Report, 'that out of 3091 families there are only six who are occupiers of that class of small farms which are the prizes to which an industrious or fortunate crofter might naturally aspire; while only 312, or little more than one-tenth of the whole number are provided with holdings which can, in some measure, afford substantial occupation and sustenance to a labouring family. Below these, 1778 are in possession of tenancies which imply a divided and desultory form of occupation, unfavourable to the development of settled and progressive exertion; and at the bottom of the social scale, 825 families, comprising more than one-fourth of the population, are without land and without regular access to local wages, most of them, it may be assumed, scattered among the poorest sort of occupiers, to whom they are a heavy burden. Side by side with this mingled multitude, so slenderly furnished with the means of life, we find 30 occupiers, forming less than one per cent. of the whole community, in the occupancy of nearly two-thirds of the land. These 30 include a factor, a few proprietors, and some non-resident tenants' (p. 14).

Truly the notorious fact has been fully established. There are other influences which press upon the life of the Highland crofter, but the leading causes of distress are in the main dependent on, or closely connected with, this central evil.

Their effect is to intensify the poverty which the consolidation of the land renders inevitable. These evils are specified as 'insecurity of tenure, want of compensation for improvement, high rents, defective communications, withdrawal of the soil in connection with the purposes of sport.'

These, then, are the causes of the crofter's poverty. The land on which he lives could not afford him the means of subsistence, not to say of comfort, even if held on the most favourable conditions; then, again, insufficient as the land he holds is, it may be lost to him on the shortest notice; he knows not what the morrow may bring forth; the only rational economic theory for him is *carpe diem*; to-day he may toil and spin, but to-morrow he may find in his own mouth words similar in meaning to those of the exiled Mantuan—

'Ite, meae felix quondam pecus, ite capellæ.'

Further, he has not hitherto had any legal right to the rewards of his industry. He may have created a croft out of waste moorland, but it does not necessarily follow that he has created a product of industry for himself; it only necessarily follows that he has created rent for the landlord.

Such is the condition of the people. It remains to be seen by what remedies the Commissioners propose to effect a permanent improvement. The reforms advocated follow necessarily from the results of the Commissioners' inquiry. If it had been found that the Highlands could not maintain men, or that the men of the Highlands could not maintain themselves on land; then, indeed, it would have been the duty of the Commissioners to homologate the policy of the past, to vindicate the clearances, to justify eviction, and to declare that the only hope for the crofters of to-day, as for those of sixty years ago, lies in emigration or in shell-fish. But neither of these conditions has been established. On the contrary, both have been negatived, not only by 'notorious facts' and by 'the greatest consensus of authority,' but also by the inexorable evidence of representative and irrefragible statistics.

The future, then, still holds out some hope to the crofter. If his poverty is mainly due to the laws of the country, and to the

'rules of the estate,' it is clear the laws and the rules require to be altered. The recommendation of the Commissioners is that this be done. Their proposal is to bring about a reconstruction of Highland society. The Report declares that the cry of the people for 'more land' should be granted, and that the policy of the clearances should be reversed. The Commissioners see in the latter 'the deplorable effects of economical theories.' The large farms, those enormous tracts of land extending over tens of thousands of acres, they suggest ought to be broken down, and the people restored to the land of their fathers. This is the central idea of the Commissioners' recommendations. The fact deserves careful notice. There are certain questions of reform regarding which there is a diversity of opinion within the Commission, but there is no diversity of opinion regarding the imperative duty of giving the people more land. On this point the voice of the Commission is unanimous.

The plan by which the Report proposes to work out the industrial and social regeneration of the Highland crofter is elaborated in great detail in the idea of 'The Township.' So far as we have observed this scheme has not been received with favour. It has been stigmatized as retrograde, socialistic and illusory. On the other hand, it has been denounced with equal vigour, as timid and half-hearted. It has altogether failed to satisfy the more advanced advocates of Highland Land Law Reform, and it has utterly disgusted the economists. But perhaps the agitators look down on the economical cosmos from a point too near the zenith of ideal perfection to admit of sound practical conclusions regarding immediate needs; and, on the other hand, it is just possible that there are views of human progress and human destiny, of national duty and popular rights, which are hardly discernible from the low level of traditional economics. Those who wish to secure substantial benefits to the crofter, and are prepared to advocate just and temperate legislation, who, while anxious that the rights of the people should be thoroughly vindicated, and equally anxious that the rights of proprietors should be conserved, in the fullest degree, will not regard the idea of the township

with less, but rather with greater favour, because it has failed to win the applause of partizan theorists of whatever sect. It must be remembered, however, that the township scheme has met with but a somewhat cold reception from many who are not partizans. Men of moderate views and undoubted sympathy with the popular cause have spoken of it with hesitation and doubt, and it behoves us, therefore, to examine the conception of the Highland township on its own merits.

The principle of the scheme may be stated in a few words. It recommends an individual occupancy of arable land, with a common occupancy of pasture.

The origin of this idea has greatly taxed the ingenuity of the critics. Some fancied they saw in it a result of special acquaintance with the customs of the Indian ryots; others found its prototype in the rural economy of Russia; to some the 'Continental Commune' formed a broad and safe reference; while, in the opinion of not a few, the idea had sprung full-armed from the head of the Jupiter of the Commission.

In view of the variety of opinions to the contrary, it may appear strange that the Highland township is no mere dream of the future, but has been for centuries, and is still 'a reality in the habits of the people,' a reality which 'could not now be set at nought without arousing public resentment and opposition' (p. 18). It possesses 'a distinct existence in the sentiments and traditions of its component members, and by the customs of estate management' (p. 17). Hence it is accepted as in fact, and made 'the basis of operation.' The belief is entertained that its organization, 'however rudimentary, contains latent capacities which are worthy of being studied and developed, and that by this instrumentality some evils may be prevented, and some benefits conferred, which, at the present stage of economic progress in the districts concerned, could not be prevented or conferred with the same efficacy by dealing with individual interests apart' (p. 18). The degree of development reached in the township of the present varies 'from the licence of a Shetland scathald to the systematic economy of a well managed club farm.' 'The township is, in many cases, represented by its own officer, nominated by the proprietor, or elected by the

tenants; sometimes by two such officers of either derivation, who are entitled constables, and are employed in the matters of common concern' (p. 17). The election of the constable affords an interesting glimpse of the life of the people, and is besides suggestive in another connection. 'When a constable is to be elected for the townland,' says Mr. Carmichael in his account of the township,

'The people meet, and this and all kindred meetings are called Nabac, "neighbourliness." If presided over by the Maor the meeting is called Mod, Moot.

'If the people meet during the day they probably meet at a place locally known as Cocr-na-Comhairle—the "Council Hill," or Clach-na-Comhairle—the "Council Stone." If they meet at night, they meet in some central house on the farm. Almost invariably these meetings are held at night, so as to avoid losing time during the day. The meetings are orderly and interesting. Not unfrequently the man proposed for the constableness by his fellow-crofters of the Townland declines the office. Then another is proposed, and perhaps, with like result. Ultimately the people may have to cast lots all round before they get a man among themselves to accept the office, the duties of which are distasteful to them. . . . The crofter having been appointed constable, takes off his shoes and stockings. Uncovering his head, he bows his head reverently low, and promises in presence of heaven and earth, in presence of God and of men,—*am fianuis uir agus adhair, am fianuis De agus daoine*,—that he will be faithful to his trust. In some places the elected constable takes up a handful of earth instead of uncovering his feet. The object is the same—to emphasise, by bodily contact with the earth, that he is conscious of being made of earth, to which he returns' (p. 453).

It will be felt that this account possesses more than a merely ethnological interest. It conveys a significant economical lesson. It affords a striking example of a spontaneous tendency to co-operation. This tendency is probably a relic of the clan system—a historical development persisting in spite of disintegrating influences, and adapting itself to new conditions. It reveals itself in a variety of forms. Here is another illustration given by Mr. Carmichael:—

'A curious custom prevails among the people of Barra of apportioning their boats to their fishing banks at sea, much as they apportion their cows to their grazing ground at home. The names, positions, extent, character-

istics and capabilities of these banks are as well known to them as those of their crofts.

'The people meet at church on the 1st day of February—Gaelic, *La Fheil Bride*—the Festival of Saint Bridget ; and having ascertained among themselves the number of boats engaged in the long line fishing, they assign those boats in proportionate numbers among the banks, according to the fishing capabilities of each bank. The men then draw lots, each head man drawing the lot for his crew, and then the boats are assigned to their respective banks for the season. . . .

'Having completed their ballot, the fishermen go into church accompanied by father and mothers, brothers and sisters, wives and children and sweethearts. The good priest says a short service, wherein he commends those "who go down to the sea in ships" to the protection of the Holy Saint Barr, after whom Barra is named, of the beautiful Saint Bridget, "virgin of a thousand charms." *Bride bhoidheach oigh nam mile beus*, in whose festival they are met, of their loved mother, the golden-haired virgin, and to the protection, collectively and individually, of the Holy Trinity. The people disperse chanting :—

' Athair, a mhic, a spioraid naoimh,
 Biodh au Tri-aon leinn, a la's a dhoidhche
 'S air chul nan tonn, no air thaobh nam beann
 Bith'dh ar Mathair leinn 's bith'dh A lamh mu'r ceann
 Bith'dh ar Mathair leinn 's bith'dh A lamh mu'r ceann.'

' Father, Son and Spirit's might !
 Be the Three-in-one with us day and night ;
 On the crested wave, when waves run high,
 Oh ! Mother ! Mary ! be to us nigh.
 Oh ! Mother ! Mary ! be to us nigh "' (p. 457).

It is clear that the people who use these picturesque customs live in an ethical and economical atmosphere far removed from that impregnated by the favourite commercial theories of *laissez faire* and competition. Voluntary co-operation for mutual benefits is not unnatural for a Highland crofter, any more than it is unnatural for a British merchant to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest.

It thus appears that the organization of the Highland Township, whatever the value of that organization may be, is entirely indigenous,—a product of the past life of the people, and an illustration of a deep-seated and far-reaching race characteristic,

The principle of the Township presents two phases—individual occupancy and common occupancy. The crofter is to be the sole occupier of a certain area of arable land, and the joint occupier of so much pasture. The second of these conditions is the *questio vexata* of the Report. This need excite no wonder. In the present condition of thought in this country any other result would simply imply contradiction. Have we not been taught from our youth that the dear *ego* is the centre of the social system, that its claims are paramount? With this system of ethics, are not *laissez faire*, and competition, the only sound principles of economics? Is not selfishness a profound fact in human nature; and will not the individual, whether on the Stock Exchange or on a Highland croft, fight the battle of life most bravely when, like Hal o' the Wynd, he is fighting 'for his own hand'? And so the idea of joint occupancy is condemned as an economical heresy, and as a baneful though well-intentioned delusion. The Commissioners have not felt called upon to justify their scheme by an appeal to general principles. They ground their position on the practical necessities of the case.

'To the project which has been submitted above, . . . it may be objected by some that it is of a retrogressive character, inasmuch as it proposes to sanction by law a system of common occupation, a form of land tenure which has almost everywhere given way before the gradual introduction of individualized industry and occupancy. To this it is replied that pasture is indispensable to the small tenant in most parts of the Highlands and Islands, the soil and climate being such that he can never depend on cereal cultivation alone, either for rent or sustenance, while the areas requisite for the grazing of cattle and especially of sheep, are so vast, and the surface so rugged that numerous enclosures are impracticable. The choice is thus not between separate pasture and common pasture, but between common pasture and none' (p. 31).

This reply is unanswerable. Even Sir Kenneth Mackenzie, the kindest of proprietors, who would solve the problem by increasing the number of farms with individual holdings, must know that on his own Gairloch estate the cost of fencing the pasture ground of each small farm would be such as to render the scheme impracticable. The farms would need to be so

large that the country, if the occupiers of these farms were the only inhabitants, would be desolate.

We now pass from the idea of the Township to the conditions of its existence.

The Township of the past 'has never possessed any corporate existence in the law of Scotland. It has been, so far as the law is concerned, simply a farm or part of a farm, occupied in common or in division by several tenants' (p. 17). Thus it has depended for its very existence on the favour of the proprietor. It has lacked the conditions of healthy life and free development. If it were contemplated that the Township of the future should be what the Township of the past has been, then indeed would there be an end to all hopes of any satisfactory solution of the Highland question. As things are, an improvement in the crofters' condition can only be brought about by an improvement in the organization of the Township. Such an improvement is what the Report proposes to effect. The hopes for the future are 'found in the recognition of the Highland Township as a distinct agricultural area or unit, endowing it at the same time with certain immunities and powers by which it may attain stability, improvement and expansion' (p. 17).

The Township conceived by the Commissioners is one possessed of an acknowledged corporate existence; it is an organism invested with a full legal recognition of the right to live. This implies much. It means that the Township is to have a right to demand the means of existence. If this can be secured by amicable arrangement with the landlord, so much the better: if it cannot be so secured, then the Township will be in a position to attain its objects by an appeal to law. This is a great concession, and embodies a principle of outstanding importance. It marks the highest level reached in the recommendations of the Report, and states a condition of such potency that, without it, the idea of the Township would be fruitless, while, with it, it is rich in possibilities of great results.

Still we must not overlook the true nature of the principle here conceded. It empowers the Township to enforce the

landlord's co-operation. This is indeed an economical heresy of the most alarming kind. There is no cause for wonder if we find Mr. Cameron of Lochiel dissenting from his colleagues, and declaring that 'the powers proposed to be given to Township in its corporate capacity are so extensive that they practically amount to almost absolute ownership' (p. 122). If the idea of compulsory co-operation is to be introduced into the relations of landlord and tenant, there is clearly an end of freedom of contract; and if the landlord will not be allowed to make his own terms with his tenants, we shall hear no more of competition. But are not freedom of contract and competition two of the strong pillars of British commerce? Have they not helped to raise us up on high among the nations? Truly, in comparison with the revolutionary potentiality of this conception, the idea of common pasture is contemptibly innocent.

The Commissioners here, as elsewhere, seek to vindicate their proposal by a simple appeal to the condition of the country. They justify it on grounds of social urgency and political expediency. This is the kind of argument for which we look in Parliamentary Blue-Books. We do not expect Royal Commissioners to investigate the *quid juris* of their proposals by means of a sustained philosophical process. And yet we may rest assured that the country will demand a deeper and more solid basis than temporary expediency for a great measure of reform. The popular intelligence and the popular conscience will look for a vindication of the rights of the proposed measure on grounds of reason. In the case in question this feeling will be precipitated by the objections of the economists, and thus controversy will become inevitable. Land reformers will, in this way, be challenged to disprove the validity of those theories which,—at least in their present interpretation and application,—they refuse to accept; and to decline this challenge is to acknowledge defeat. And so there arises the necessity for a systematic enquiry into the nature and merits of our economic principles. Yet this enquiry, if regarded simply as an economical enquiry, is one which, from its very nature, is destined to failure. For the discussion relates to the very grounds of economic science, and this is a

question which economic science is unable to examine. Every science necessarily accepts its principles on trust from some higher science to which it is subsidiary, and to enter upon a critical analysis of them is to transcend its own limits. Thus the moment economics begins to enquire into its own titles, it rises above its own sphere, and finds itself in the domain of ethics. But no sooner does economics discover around it the serener sky of morals than its hopes of victory begin to fade. For ethics, more especially at the hands of its more distinguished exponents of recent years,—at the hands of our Carlyles, our Ruskins, and our Emersons,—has shown a decided tendency to discredit economics. The nobler science has looked askance at its own degenerate offspring, as at a base-minded daughter who has entered into an unholy alliance with the Mammon of unrighteousness.

Nor has the protest against the consequences of economic theories come to us only from the exoteric utterances of ordinary ethics. It comes with ever-increasing distinctness and vehemence, from two other different, and, in a sense, opposite quarters. In the first place, the moral sense of the country has been profoundly shocked by the practical consequences of the doctrines in which we have placed so much faith. We see around us a profusion of wealth and luxury unequalled in the world. Side by side with this, see a depth of human want, and human suffering, and human degradation, that cannot be sounded. We have invoked the grim genius of competition, and it has done its work. The strong have succeeded, and the weak have gone to the wall. And so we hear the moralists reminding us, with burning irony, of the 'survival of the fittest.' We have laid up our faith, with glad confidence, in the magic formula of freedom of contract, and at the same time we have handicapped the contracting parties with social, and with political, and with industrial inequalities which make the name of freedom a cruel mockery. We look at the results of our much vaunted economic theories, and we instinctively turn away our eyes with pain and shame. The Commissioners write in full knowledge of, and in just sympathy with, this popular movement. They characterize the consequences resulting from

the policy of the clearances as 'deplorable.' They acknowledge that a similar policy would be regarded now with public reprobation, and they declare that 'eviction and depopulation have done their lamented work, and have passed away for ever.'

In the second place, our egoistic economics is gradually losing the support not only of popular feeling, but also of speculative thought. The revulsion has become general; it sets in from every quarter of the philosophical compass. We find its grounds in the benevolence theory of J. S. Mill, in the altruism of Herbert Spencer, in the *solidarité* of the French Positivists, and in the universalism of German thought. The vitality of the present movement is indicated by the earnestness with which those systems which accept the principle of universalism in the deepest and broadest sense are being examined. The amount of Kantian and Hegelian literature which has been issued from the British press during the last few years is altogether unparalleled.

Now the tendency of this mood of thought is to place my *ego* side by side with the *ego* of my neighbour; and, in doing so, to abstract from all purely private considerations, and to concentrate all the efforts of thought on the conception of the *ego* as such. In this act, all merely selfish relations and interests are transcended, and my own *ego* and that of my neighbour,—my own good, and that of my neighbour,—my own true life, and the true life of my neighbour, are found to be essentially identical. And thus a conflict of interests ceases. The golden dream of the poet becomes theoretically realised, for—

' All men find their own in all men's good,
And all are joined in noble brotherhood.'

Thus the direction of the movement is from the fretting clamour of the individual to the divine repose of the universal. Self-seeking and over-reaching are seen to be unworthy, in comparison with the noble dignity of a moral life.

From this point of view, freedom of contract and competition, in so far as they secure the prosperity of one man at the expense of that of another, are grossly immoral; and our

economic theories can be applied only under sanctions and limitations imposed by moral law and enforced by the law of the land. Thus the verdict of speculative thought reflects and justifies the generous impulse of popular feeling.

It may well be felt that against the irresistible advance of tendencies of this kind, the petulant protest of our traditional economists are as futile as Mrs. Partington's famous efforts to beat back the rising tide. Nor are there any, either among thinkers or among the people, who more frankly and intelligently accept the higher teachings of our time than some of the leading economists themselves. Professor Laveleye of Liege, addressing the students of Edinburgh University at the recent Tercentenary Festival, used these memorable words:

‘It is beyond doubt that the profound work of decomposition and of reconstruction agitates society even to its very foundation. . . . Formerly the solution of the social problem was very simple. On the one side there was the counsel of ascetic charity—Give alms. On the other side orthodox political economy said to you—The world goes of itself. When every one is free to pursue his own interest, the general good is realised. . . . But how to approach this problem now? Permit me to tell you in two words what I think of it. Open on the one side, on the left, the economists, Adam Smith and Stuart Mill; but on the other side, on the right, open the Gospel; and, if there is disagreement, follow above all the Gospel. Recall to yourselves that admirable and profound word of Jesus, which would put an end to our miseries and our discords, if it were listened to. “Seek ye first righteousness, and the rest shall be added to you.”’

The Highland question is simply a phase of this profound social problem which is facing every country within the civilized world, and the solution must, in its general principles, be the same in the one case as in the other. The tendency of present-day legislation,—of legislation animated by the spirit of the movements to which we have referred, by an earnest desire to solve, so far as may be, the great industrial question of the day,—is to define the rights of the weak, and to protect these rights against the possibility of encroachment by the strong. The concession to the Highland crofters of compulsory powers to assert these rights would be simply an illustration and natural consequence of that tendency.

Armed then, and justly armed, with compulsory powers, the Township is enabled to assert its life with vigour. It can enforce the landlord's co-operation in carrying out improvements, in making roads and bridges, and in erecting dykes and fences. In particular, it can call on the landlord for the extension of its boundaries. In the event of his refusal, the tenantry can appeal to the Sheriff; and if, in his opinion, the township is overcrowded, the landlord will be compelled to concede the people's request. Such are the means devised for the conservation and extension of existing townships.

But the Commissioners could not forget that in many cases the best land in the country is separated by a distance of many miles from all existing townships. If the Report contained no provisions for the restoration of this land to the people, it would have been inconsistent with its own spirit, and it would have altogether failed to develop one of the most hopeful anticipations of Highland Land Law Reform. If the reconstruction of Highland society is to be a reality, townships must be planted in the very heart of regions now surrendered to sheep farms, or devoted to the purposes of sport. Nothing short of this can effect the end in view. The Commissioners seem to have fully realised this fact; but they do not seem to have fully realised its consequences. They shrink from the idea of applying compulsion to the creation of new townships. Their hope is, that under the persuasive influence of present economic conditions and cheap loans, the landlords will spontaneously form new townships. Sheep farms, it is pointed out, have enormously decreased in value. Public opinion will not sanction the wholesale conversion of these into deer forests. Proprietors will thus, in self interest, feel disposed to come to terms with small tenants. The movement needs only the impulse of government assistance. A loan of public money at 3 per cent. would set the machinery of progress in motion. We regret we feel less sanguine than the Commissioners. In our opinion, the welfare and the rights of the people are too sacred a trust to be reposed on the shifting sand of present economic conditions, and the self-interest of proprietors. We do not doubt that, in some cases, the means contem-

plated would secure the end in view; but neither do we doubt that, in the same cases, that end is being, to a great extent, secured already. It may be doubted whether the country will be disposed to commit the Highland peasants in the future, as they have been committed in the past, to the kindly protection of proprietors. The State may well demand some guarantee that the means of material progress are placed within reach of the people. Nor will any guarantee be considered satisfactory which does not make distinct provision for the restoration to the people of those tracts of land which are best fitted to maintain them. If compulsion be justifiable at all, it is surely justifiable in those very cases in which its application would prove most beneficial. It is, indeed, difficult to see why the landlord should be compelled to let lands which happen to march with the Township, while he is at full liberty to refuse more suitable lands which do not happen to march with the Township. A geographical detail cannot justly play such an important part in determining the relations of landlord and tenant. The extension of compulsion to the formation of new Townships seems the logical issue of the principles of reform developed in the Report; it seems to indicate a powerful means of permanently improving the condition of the people; and it seems also to afford to the crofters and to the country the only possible security against the actions of a proprietor who may have little or no sympathy with the aspirations of the peasantry.

The parts of the Report dealing with fixity of tenure and compensation for improvement are likely to meet with general acceptance. The discussion of these questions has proceeded on lines with which we have now become familiar. In the opinion of the Commissioners, a reasonable tenure of holdings, and compensation for improvements, can best be secured by means of improving leases. This view has not always found favour with Highland Land Law reformers. For years prior to the passing of the Irish Land Act, it had been consistently and persistently maintained by some writers on Highland affairs, that the right of the people to live on their native soil was based on a deeper ground than that afforded by any

covenant. Reference was made to the old tribal tenure, to the peculiar customs of the country, and to the prerogatives of chieftainship asserted in the recent past by some proprietors. To accept leaseholds would be at once to concede a principle, and to increase the perils of eviction. On these grounds the people have been dissuaded from seeking to take advantage of this form of tenure. These views receive just and considerate treatment at the hands of the Commissioners. It is admitted that the opinion 'that the small tenantry of the Highlands have an inherited, inalienable title to security of tenure is an impression indigenous to the country' (p. 8). Evidence is quoted in support of this view from writers of the eighteenth century. Further, the Report considers it difficult to be denied 'that one who gave a son to his landlord eighty years ago to fill up the ranks of a Highland Regiment, did morally acquire a tenure in his holding, more sacred than the stipulations of a written covenant' (p. 9). 'Few will affirm,' it is said, 'that the descendant in possession of such a man should even now be regarded by the hereditary landlord in the same light as a labourer living in a lowland village' (p. 9). Still the Commissioners feel 'bound to express the opinion that a claim to security of tenure founded on the old usage of the country cannot now be seriously entertained' (p. 8). At the same time they do not consider it 'surprising that the tradition of a lapsed privilege should be preserved; for,' adds the Report, and the addition is significant, 'it may be made the basis of a claim of material value' (p. 9). To anticipate and satisfy this claim, the Commissioners propose the scheme of the improving lease.

'We have no hesitation in affirming,' declares the Report, 'that to grant, at this moment, to the whole mass of poor tenants in the Highlands and Islands fixity of tenure in their holdings, uncontrolled management of these holdings, and free sale of their tenant-right, good-will, and improvements, would be to perpetuate social evils of a dangerous character. It would in some districts accelerate the subdivision and exhaustion of the soil, promote the reckless increase of the people, aggravate the indigence, squalor, and lethargy which too much abound already, and multiply the contingencies of destitution and famine which even now recur from time to time, and are ever impending. The proper basis for agricultural improvement in the crofting districts, we deem to lie in the right of a respectable and competent occupier to claim from the owner an improving lease' (p. 33).

It is proposed that the privilege of claiming such a lease should be granted to 'every occupier in a township not in arrear of rent, and paying £6, or more, of annual rent' (p. 36). This privilege would not by any means be an empty one. The landlord would not be at liberty to refuse an improving lease to a tenant of good character; the tenure of the lease would extend over thirty years; and rent would be fixed by arbitration, instead of by competition. On the other hand, occupiers would be bound down to carry out permanent improvements at a certain prescribed rate. Again, at the end of the lease, the amount of compensation due to the tenant would be settled by the award of arbiters, and this amount would be paid over to the tenant, whether he continued in his holding or not. Further, the occupier, if he should desire to continue in his holding, would—although on this point the statements in the Report are somewhat conflicting—have a right to demand a new improving lease.

It will probably be held by those who have opposed leaseholds on principle, that the Highland crofters should not sell their birth-right for a mess of pottage, even of the 'material value' promised by the Commissioners' scheme. But the people in the Highlands, as elsewhere, will probably consider that a righteous claim, far from being surrendered, has only been placed on a firmer basis, when its merits have been examined and settled on grounds of common justice.

Much has been said of late in favour of the gradual introduction of a peasant proprietary into the Highlands. Elaborate accounts have been volunteered by men who have enquired on the spot into the practical effects of the system, and who seem generally to have found things much as they expected to find them. The Commissioners have wisely refrained from submitting all the conflicting evidence of travellers in foreign countries, to the test of an inductive process. But they had the good fortune to find within the district submitted to their enquiry, and under conditions similar to those under which a peasant proprietary would exist in any other part of the Highlands, a significant illustration of the system. The prosperity of the lairds of Harray offered a striking contrast to the want and misery met with elsewhere by the Commissioners. Among them, at least, the peasant proprietary system

has proved an unqualified success. With this fact before them, and in view, perhaps, of the tendencies of legislation in connection with other parts of the empire, the Commissioners have proposed a scheme for the purchase by the occupier of his holding. It will probably be felt that the conditions of purchase are such as to defeat the object aimed at by the Commissioners. That, however, is a question of detail. The important fact is that the Report recommends Parliament to make provision for the introduction of a peasant proprietary into the Highlands.

In their endeavour to embrace the whole crofting population within their scheme of reform, the Commissioners have to confess that they have to a certain extent failed. A general redistribution of land among the people by a simple application of the rule of three,—although something of this kind appears to have been advocated by some,—is not a solution of the Highland question, which will commend itself to any one possessing the most rudimentary acquaintance with the conditions of human progress. It need not be said that the prospect of any such scheme receiving legal sanction in this country is fortunately hopeless. In view probably of circumstances such as these, it has appeared to the Commissioners that a not inconsiderable proportion of the landless crofters must remain landless still. But the interests of this class have not been overlooked. Facilities for emigration are suggested; and the scheme proposed for the development of the fishing industry, is, in some respects, so radical and would involve such an outlay of public money, without, perhaps, a reasonable prospect of an adequate return, that it seems doubtful whether it will, in its present form, command the support of the tax-paying public. While this is so, and while any levelling process with regard to the area of holdings in the Highlands, is altogether to be deprecated, it will no doubt appear to many that the Commissioners, acting perhaps under a wise, but probably over-anxious fear of unduly restricting the rights of proprietors, have signally failed, in one or two directions, in indicating all that seems desirable towards the restoration of the land to the people. For although the tendency to the afforestation of land has become so serious that, in the opinion of the Commissioners, it ought to be arrested by Act of Parliament, still no adequate pro-

posal is advanced for breaking down existing deer forests. Again, although proprietors, whose ancestors have preserved the people perhaps under circumstances of great difficulty, and solely in recognition of the responsibility inseparable from ownership in land, and who would themselves, by family tradition, be most likely to deal in a kindly and liberal spirit with their tenants, although these proprietors are to be restricted, and justly restricted, by limitations indicating the people's rights; still other proprietors, from whose land the people have been swept away, are to be exempted from all such conditions.

It is no doubt true that, in many cases, Highland estates have passed from those who carried out the evictions, and are now in the possession of other proprietors. It will be urged that, in view of this fact, it would be altogether unjust to compel a proprietor to make room for crofters from a neighbouring estate. We recognise the difficulty. The great function of statesmen, however, is to remove difficulties of this kind. Nor can it be maintained for a moment that the difficulty is insurmountable so long as the State is in a position to grant just compensation to the proprietor for any loss he may sustain, or, indeed, to remove all complications, once for all, by offering the market price for the property.

When we look back on the scheme of society conceived by the Commissioners, and compare it with the society now found in the North, we discover a contrast which is nearly absolute. In the Highland society of to-day, we have the extremes of inequality. On the one hand, we have enormous sheep farms, enormous deer forests, enormous properties; on the other hand, there is the "mingled multitude" which the Commissioners declare to be "so slenderly furnished with the means of life." Between these extremes there is scarcely any connecting link. But in the scheme of Highland society submitted to us by the Commissioners there is a regular gradation of classes. We have the cottar fisherman, the leasehold crofter, the small farmer, and the peasant proprietor, we have the more substantial farmer and the large farmer, we have fishing tenants and tenants of deer forests, and we have proprietors of all grades.

Such is the conception of Highland Land Law Reform de-

veloped in the report. It is a conception which has originated in an intelligent study of existing organisations; a conception which is at once broad and statesmanlike, and, at the same time, just and moderate in its spirit; a conception which harmonizes both with the aspirations of the people and with the tendencies of the age; and, finally, a conception which, to the Highland crofter, is full of bright promise of a happier future, in which sloth has given way to industry, want to prosperity, and agitation to loyal contentment. The men whose deeds of fidelity to chiefs and to princes are so full of pathos, who have always been only too prone to place absolute faith in those whom they have regarded as their leaders,—these men are still as true at heart, and are still as ready to be devoted in action, to the idea of law, and to the emblems of authority, and to the persons of rulers, as they have ever been. The peasantry of the Highlands have endured long, and they have endured well. Under ‘want and stripes’ they have remained silent; and if, at last, they have spoken with courage and determination, they have spoken also—at least from their own lips and from the lips of those in whom they trust—with self-restraint and with moderation. Nor can we reasonably doubt, if just concessions are made to their demands and the means of self-help placed within their reach, that their industrial success in their own country will be as assured as it has been in foreign countries, and that their sterling worth will prove as substantial in the ways of peace as it has already proved in times of peril and on the field of battle.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Christian Beliefs Considered in the Light of Modern Thought.

By the Rev. GEO. HENSLow, M.A., F.L.S., F.G.S. London: Frederick Norgate. 1884.

It is refreshing to come across a work like this when we are being deluged with books that pretend to show us how Faith can be reconciled with Science, or the belief in the scientific and historical accuracy of the Bible with the conclusions to which modern science has come, or is coming. These books are, for the most part, written by the veriest amateurs in science, whose elaborate labours are too often a mere beating of the air. The Rev. Geo. Henslow is, however, both a scientist and a theologian, and in both departments a master. He is thoroughly acquainted with the methods of scientific investigation, and with the results to which they have led. In the work before us he brings Christian beliefs—not all, but several of the principal—into the full light of these results, and does not shrink from the modifications they demand or impose. He deals first with the story of the Creation; next with that of the Fall; and then with that of the Curse that followed it; after which he passes to consider some of the more specifically Christian doctrines; as, *e.g.*, Salvation and Damnation, Atonement, Faith, Regeneration, etc. In the first four chapters of his book he discusses the biblical narratives at the beginning of Genesis, traces their origin, and points out their spiritual and ethical or religious value. They are not histories, he maintains, but current myths or fancies, transformed to suit the inspired purpose of their several writers. What he says about the popular conceptions of Salvation, Damnation, the Atonement, Faith, etc., is rather an exposition of the teaching of Scripture on these points than a scientific treatment of them, though in each case he traces the doctrines to their genesis in human thought and human need, and shows how, when rightly stated, they answer to the requirements of reason and the true teaching of Christ. Were we required to select any specimens of Mr. Henslow's treatment of these subjects, we should not know which to take, for every chapter is so rich in interesting information, and every paragraph so logically connected with the preceding, that we could hardly decide which would best give a fair, not to speak of an adequate, idea of the author's views, of the light he sheds on all he touches, of the vigour and lucidity of his style, or of the truly Christian spirit that breathes in every line he writes. We recommend our readers to procure the volume, and are sure that none will take it up without reading it through with increasing pleasure and profit. It is not

a large book ; it contains only twelve all too short chapters, but our readers will find in it more light and comfort than in dozens of more pretentious volumes of a so-called apologetic character.

The Doctrine of Divine Love ; Outlines of the Moral Theology of the Evangelical Church. By ERNEST SARTORIUS, D.D. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1884.

In Germany this work has long enjoyed a very high reputation. Whether it will obtain as many readers here as it has had, and still has there, is a question we should scarcely like to answer. Our hope is that it will. The theology by which it is pervaded is thoroughly evangelical. Speculative in any degree it is not. Dr. Sartorius writes from an evangelical point of view, and for the simple purpose of exhibiting the moral teaching of the Evangelical Church. This, of course, necessitates a pretty full statement of the leading doctrines of evangelical theology, and considered from the point of view from which Dr. Sartorius writes, his statement is thoroughly satisfactory. By some it may be regarded as too conservative, and as based for the most part upon untenable interpretations. Dr. Sartorius is quite alive, however, to the forward movement in theology, and to the 'results' of the new schools of criticism and exegesis, but refuses both to go along with the former, and to accept the latter. As might almost be expected, his pages are here and there tinged with mysticism. But whatever may be thought of his theology and exegesis, the morality he deduces from the doctrine of divine love is of the very purest and noblest kind. A beneficence similar to, or rather identical with, the Saviour's, in origin, aim, and works, is the morality he inculcates. The second part of the volume in which this is more particularly insisted upon, is to our mind much the more valuable. It is full of beautiful thinking, and is well calculated to correct many errors. The section on 'uniting love' is rich in evangelical truth, and exhibits with great fulness and power the essential principle of the practical teaching of the New Testament.

The Public Ministry and Pastoral Methods of our Lord. By W. G. BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D. London : James Nisbet & Co., 1883.

Until very recently our Scottish Churches (and they were unfortunately by no means singular in this) never thought of giving to their students preparing for the office of the Ministry any instruction on 'Pastoral Methods'—on the practical work, that is, which was so largely to occupy them when in office, and on the wise and efficient discharge of which their usefulness mainly depends. This *desideratum* has now, however, been in some measure supplied. There is no provision for it in the Theological Faculties of our Universities, and it would seem that the professors in these

Faculties are already so overburdened with the laborious duties of their respective chairs, that they cannot, either gratuitously, or for such remuneration as the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland can afford, undertake this additional work. The Assembly has consequently been driven to appoint special lecturers, and from the ranks of her city and rural clergy, to discharge this duty. We do not know whether it is because these men have so little to do in comparison with our theological professors, or solely because of their large and ever increasing experience of pastoral work. It is unfortunate, however, that more than one of those already appointed have forgotten the special subject on which they were expected to lecture, and have aired instead their favourite 'hobbies,' or discoursed on the subjects most dear to them, however wide apart they were from 'pastoral theology.' In the Free Church the duty seems to be imposed on one of the theological professors at their several Colleges, and for the object in view this arrangement, judging from results, is decidedly the best. The volume before us is in substance the lectures delivered on 'Pastoral Theology and Methods,' to his students, by Professor Blaikie of the New College, Edinburgh. It forms a sequel to an earlier course delivered by him, and published under the title of 'The Work of the Ministry,'—a work which has been received with so much general favour, that it has become the text-book of this branch of instruction in several theological schools, both in this country and America. The work before us is almost certain to be received with equal favour—at least, by that large section of the religious public which gave so hearty a welcome to its predecessor. Dr. Blaikie certainly could not have taken his students to the feet of a better Master in pastoral theology, nor pointed to a better example of pastoral methods than he does in these lectures. His method of exposition too, is excellent. He takes his hearers to the beginning of our Lord's public ministry, or rather, to the period of his preparation for it, and starting from there conducts them through the course of that ministry, bringing out at every stage the lessons bearing on ministerial qualifications and ministerial work with which the various incidents and sayings of Jesus in the Gospels are charged. Not that Dr. Blaikie gives a running commentary on the four Gospels as they have been handed down to us. He groups the matter on which he bases his instruction with admirable tact and precision, and never forgets that the one end before him is to show the Master's qualifications as a teacher, and his methods of instructing and influencing those with whom he came into contact, so as to impress us with a sense of their value as secrets of success. However much one may differ from the writer in his hard and fast adhesion to the traditional views as to the origin, and authorship, and historic worth of every book of Scripture, it is hardly possible to read any part of his volume without feeling enriched with fuller, clearer, and more inspiring conceptions of Christ's greatness as a Teacher and Example to his Church, or acquiring more lofty ideas of the ministerial character and work. Its perusal will profit not Divinity

Students only, but all the Clergy, and, in fact, all who are engaged in any branch of Christian service.

St. Paul's Use of the Terms Flesh and Spirit. The BAIRD Lectures for 1883. By W. P. DICKSON, D.D. Glasgow : J. Maclehose & Sons. 1883.

We cannot say that this is a very popular work, or that it is one which is likely to attract a large circle of readers. Those who read or attempt to read it will, we fear, be few and far between. A few enthusiastic theologians, or some of the learned author's many students, may take it up and find pleasure in its perusal ; but for most others we suspect it will have no charm at all. We do not say that this is as it ought to be. It is rather a matter for regret. The work is a really solid and learned one. To considerable power as a controversialist, Dr. Dickson adds an extensive knowledge of his subject and great skill as an exegete. If the work has any fault, it is that of being too learned. The author's own opinions are so completely overlaid with those of others, that one has considerable difficulty in making out what they are. Still, there can be no doubt that his lectures form one of the most learned and valuable contributions to the study of St. Paul's writings which this country has produced. It is almost needless to add that the theology of the lectures, while liberal in spirit, is thoroughly sound in doctrine.

Beliefs about the Bible. By M. J. SAVAGE. London : Williams & Norgate. 1884.

Mr. Savage gives us here a series of twelve discourses, delivered by him on Sunday mornings recently in his Chapel in Boston. The beliefs about the Bible which he assails are the theories of its verbal or plenary inspiration. The theory which is coming to be quite popular, especially among the younger men in the ministry, who are glad to call themselves by the name of liberal-orthodox, is that, he says, which teaches that the Bible, though it may be in error in regard to scientific matters, and may make mistakes as to historical facts, and be wrong in its figures and chronology, is nevertheless true and the infallible word of God, so far as concerns its moral and religious teaching. The old Unitarian theory, that the Bible, though not in every part the Word of God, yet contains the Word of God ; and the theory which, denying that it is *the* Word of God, or contains that Word in any specific sense, yet holds it to be, by virtue of its pervading inspiration, a unique book, above all others, and not to be treated as any other, he regards as more or less popular, though he nowhere treats them as the authoritative teaching, which they are not, of any section of the Church. His object is to bring out what he considers to be the true worth and eternal value of the Bible. His discourses are in no sense of the term an attack on the Bible itself, but on what he regards as the mistaken beliefs

about it—beliefs which seem to him to hinder it from being rightly understood, and from exercising its inherent influences on the spiritual thought and life of our times. His pages may be read with perfect safety by any intelligent Christian. Their perusal can only lead him to a healthier conception of the merits of the Bible, and a more beneficial use of it. In conception, in style, and in spirit, the discourses are worthy of all praise, and deserve to be widely circulated and attentively read. They give an admirable summary of the results to which the modern historico-critical school has come in its investigations into the origin and history of the books of Scripture, and of the grounds on which these results rest, and present throughout the spirit, not of one-sided dogmatism, but of calm, judicial impartiality, which is ready to give, and from the wealth of its knowledge gives, a reason for the faith that is in it.

Is God Knowable? By the Rev. J. IVERACH, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

In some respects this book is not a little disappointing. It belongs to the series of volumes known as 'The Theological Library,' which, according to the prospectus, were to be 'condensed in expression, biblical in doctrine, catholic in spirit, and by competent writers.' This little work may claim to be 'biblical in doctrine' if the doctrine of the ultra-Calvinistic evangelical school is 'biblical,' but it is anything but 'catholic in spirit,' and anything but 'condensed in expression.' It posits a great and interesting problem. Mr. Iverach writes with all the confidence of a person who has a satisfactory solution of it to offer, and who sees clearly, and can point out, the flaws in logic and the errors in judgment of all philosophers who have modestly confessed their inability to give an affirmative answer to this question, or have sought to establish the negative. He is a vigorous writer, has read widely and with careful attention, but not often, if ever, without his theological spectacles on. He states plainly and fearlessly what, with this problem before him, he *ought* to do, and raises our expectations consequently as to what is to be presented to us. But we are soon disillusioned, and we do not read many pages before we are taught to distrust his promises, and scrutinise with care his pretended fulfilment of them. Here is a specimen of what we mean. He wisely remarks at the outset that it is necessary to state the meaning of the terms he is about to use. 'In the question,' he says, p. 2, 'Is God knowable? there are two words which need to be defined. We shall begin with the word "knowledge." We shall not enter into the numerous problems of a metaphysical kind which, still awaiting solution, cluster round the word "knowledge"; we take for granted that knowledge is possible.' This is all that we get in the shape of a 'definition' of knowledge as he is to use the term and its cognates, and he passes away into a lengthy disquisition on the methods by which knowledge may be gained by us. Here is his promised definition of 'God.' 'As to the other word

which we shall have to use frequently in our discussion, we have to say that, when we speak of God, we use the word in the old sense of the term. We do not mean the universal reason, nor the unknowable, nor a stream of tendency, nor any abstract universal of any kind.' He wishes to state that God is a Person, and is knowable as such, and devotes a chapter to the subject of personality and its manifestations in history, in which we seek in vain any definite idea of what it is that constitutes personality as *attributed to God*. Mr. Iverach proposes 'to prove that arguments of the kind and cogency which constrain us to believe in the existence of Shakespeare (i.e., the *person* who wrote the works bearing his name) are forthcoming to constrain us to believe in God.' As Shakespeare's works could not have come together without the disposing mind, will, judgment, feeling, of a 'personality,' so the universe could not have taken being, and attained its present condition except under the disposing mind, will, judgment, etc., of an infinitely greater personality—God. It is the old argument from design that he proposes to present to us, but when we examine the book we nowhere find it. Mr. Iverach is great in criticism, and lays about him with tremendous force and masterly self-satisfaction. Many of his strictures are doubtless just, but they do not help us to see how God is knowable. Our author seems to think that all he has got to do, in order to establish his proposition that God is knowable, is to state the Christian doctrine as to God, or as to the Deity and Work of Christ. If that were all that is needed, it has been done hundreds of times already, and the agnostics have not been silenced, nor the humble seekers after truth satisfied. Mr. Iverach's chapter, 'The Hebrew Solution,' reveals what we cannot help regarding, in these days of critical inquiry into the genesis of our biblical documents, and the history of the Israelitic tribes, as an almost unpardonable ignorance of established facts, on his part, or an equally unpardonable incapacity to appreciate their bearing on the history of Israelitic thought. As a contribution to the settlement of the problem our author places before us, his work is of no great value. As a criticism of the work of others in pursuit of a solution of it, it is not without merit, but even here it must be used with caution. If Mr. Iverach were not so sure of the absolute accuracy of his own judgment, and so loftily contemptuous in his treatment of other thinkers whose opinions do not harmonize on all points with his own, his book would be more pleasant reading, if not more instructive than it is.

Sermons. By JOSEPH LECKIE, D.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1884.

Dr. Leckie is the minister of the United Presbyterian Church at Ibrox, one of the suburbs of Glasgow. These sermons, he tells us in a short preface to this volume, have for the most part been rescued from oblivion by the forethought of friends who took elaborate notes of them when preached, and the whole collection is published at their request. We are

sorry that we cannot altogether share in the author's joy at their preservation. Our fear is that they will somewhat damage his reputation, both as a preacher and as a scholar. His theology is that of the Puritan Fathers, and his discourses are modelled on theirs in the matter of arrangement, and even the very language he uses savours of the seventeenth century. To many, however, this will be a decided recommendation, and there can be no doubt that the sermons are pervaded by a kindly and evangelical spirit. To those who have listened to Dr. Leckie their publication will undoubtedly be acceptable. The sermons bear witness to a kindly spirit, and will, at least, commend themselves to those who urged their publication.

La Civilisation des Arabes. Ouvrage illustré de 10 Chromolithographies, 4 Cartes et 366 Gravures dont 70 grande planches, d'après les photographies de l'Auteur ou d'après documents les plus authentiques. Par Dr. GUSTAVE LE BON. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1884.

Dr. Le Bon has not only written a brilliant description of the wonders of Arabian civilization, he has written also a complete history of the Arabian people. His work is in every respect a charming illustration of the way in which the functions of the historian ought to be discharged. His conception of what history ought to be may be gathered from the following weighty and sagacious words:—'It is not in the genealogies of sovereigns, in the narratives of battles and of conquests, which form the foundation of classical history, that its materials ought to be looked for. We shall find them chiefly in the study of the languages, arts, literatures, faiths, and social and political institutions of each epoch. These divers elements of a civilization ought not to be considered as the result of the caprice of men, of chance, and of the will of the gods, but rather as the expression of the necessities, ideas, and sentiments of the races among which they appear. A religion, a philosophy, a literature, or an art, implies nothing else. Rightly interpreted, the actions and the works of men tell us their thoughts. They tell us their thoughts and permit us to reconstruct the image of an epoch, but this picture will not suffice. It is requisite to explain its formation. The people which is studied at a single determined moment, was not formed all at once. It is the resultant of a long past, and of influences, modified by the circumstances, to which it has been continually subjected. It is in the past of a race, therefore, that it is requisite to search for the explanation of its actual condition. We may give the name of social embryology to this study of the formation of the various elements of which a society is composed. It is destined to become the most solid base of history, just as the embryology of living beings has become the surest foundation of the biological sciences.' In accordance with the lines here laid down, the author first gives a remarkably fresh

and interesting account of the Arabs and their country previous to the appearance of Mahomet. The second book, which is devoted to the origins of the Arabian civilization, deals more particularly with Mahomet and his teaching, and the conquests of his successors. In the third book we have a minute account of the remains of Islam in its various centres. The fourth book deals with the manners and institutions of the Arabs. The fifth is devoted to their philosophy, science, literature, and art, and to the influence they exercised on the civilizations of the East and West. In the sixth and last chapter the causes which led to the decadence of the Mahommedan civilization are discussed. On a future occasion we hope to direct the attention of our readers to the subject which Dr. Le Bon has here treated with such remarkable skill, and confine ourselves for the present to pointing out the contents of his volume, and giving it our most cordial recommendation. The illustrations are excellent. When shall we be able to produce chromolithographs equalling in softness and brilliancy those which adorn M. Le Bon's volume?

Christian Charity in the Ancient Church. By G. UHLHORN, D.D.
Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR. Edinburgh: T. & T.
Clark. 1883.

A history of charity in the ancient Church, written with the requisite learning, and accessible to English readers, has long been wanting. It is surprising, indeed, that no English writer has yet taken up the subject. It is one of those subjects which are fraught with the greatest interest, and is intimately connected both with the condition of Pagan society about the advent of our Lord, and with the life and spirit of the early Christian Church; yet we have often looked, and looked in vain, for any work in English dealing with it. A few general references in Church histories was, so far as we are aware, until the publication of the present volume, all that could be gathered about it in our literature. Here, again, we may note the superiority of the theological literatures of France and Germany over our own. Where our own is poor, they are rich; and it can hardly be said that where ours is rich they are poor. They excel us in almost every—if not in every—branch of theological study. Dr. Uhlhorn's volume is an excellent example of German learning and German thoroughness. Moreover, it is well written, and carries the reader on with unwearied interest to the end. Its wealth of fact and illustration is remarkable. The references to sources are extremely numerous, and the only objection we have to take to them is that they are placed at the end of the volume instead of at the foot of the pages. The work itself is divided into three parts or books. The first, entitled 'The Old and the New,' is mainly preparatory. The first chapter is decidedly the best, though objection may be taken to some of its inferences. The distinction drawn between the ancient *liberalitas* and the Christian *caritas* is, to say the least, somewhat too hard and rigid. According to Dr. Uhlhorn,

the latter always keeps in view the welfare of the poor and needy, 'whereas the Roman who exercises the virtue of liberality considered in reality himself alone.' In many instances this was certainly the case. But to take the hard and ambitious Roman as a type of heathen virtue or even liberality, is scarcely fair. That there were men and women by the hundred who were better than him is certain. Even on Dr. Uhlhorn's own showing, there was exhibited by not a few something very like what the author of *Eccæ Homo* calls 'enthusiasm for humanity,' and what Dr. Uhlhorn calls 'Christian *caritas*.' The learning of the chapter, however, is exceptional, and suggests many modern parallels. In the second book Dr. Uhlhorn first sketches the economical condition of the Roman Empire, and brings out many striking facts in connection with the distribution of wealth, and the condition of the various classes of society. The attitude of the Christian Church towards the poor is then dealt with. In the third chapter of this book the fact that charity is a manifestation of the Christian spirit is reiterated, and the relation of the Christian Churches to the old Roman *collegia* indicated. After the fact that the charity of the ancient Church looked chiefly to the wellbeing of the poor and needy, that which is dwelt upon with the strongest emphasis is that whatever was done on behalf of the poor by the Church, was the outcome of a carefully regulated organisation. In every instance of relief the Church acted as a whole, and by means of its specially appointed officers. Of these, and of the ways in which the Church sought to find out the needy and to minister to their relief, and of how she acted as a refuge and home for the oppressed, Dr. Uhlhorn gives a really admirable account. We can only commend his volume as an interesting and very valuable contribution to our knowledge both of the early Church and of the state of society during the first centuries of the Christian era.

Across the Ferry: First Impressions of America and its People.

By JAMES MACAULAY, M.A., M.D., Editor of the *Leisure Hour*. Third Edition. Illustrated. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

Those who are about to visit the United States, and those who wish to understand the people and institutions of that great country, should procure Dr. Macaulay's book and read it. From beginning to end its pages are crowded with instructive facts and shrewd observations. During his stay on the other side of the 'Ferry,' he seems to have made good use of his eyes and to have noted all that came in his way that was worth noting. Railways, steamers, churches, the ways of the various classes of society, rulers, preachers, schools, occupations, pastimes, and innumerable other things of interest on the North American Continent are laid under contribution and treated of in his pages in the most interesting way. He writes, too, with great frankness and fairness, acknowledges superiority where he observes it, and candidly points out what appear to him to be

faults ; for though his sympathy with the American people is great, he is by no means so enamoured of their institutions as to believe them in every respect superior to our own. As a companion to the ordinary guide books his work will be found invaluable, and no one can read it without pleasure.

Virginia. A History of the People. By JOHN ESTEN COOKE.
Fourth Edition. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1884.

This, we understand, is the first of a series of histories of the American Commonwealth ; and we may say at once that if the succeeding volumes exhibit the same degree of literary workmanship and research, and possess anything like the same interest, they will form the most delightful series of provincial histories the English language can show. Mr. Cooke's work is charming from beginning to end. He tells the story of Smith and Pocahontas, and describes the fortunes of the colony from the day when Smith was put on shore in irons (at what afterwards became Jamestown) down to the present time, in such wise that there is not a single uninteresting page in his volume. We hope to return to it, and will only add that in handiness, paper, printing, and binding, the volume is all that can be desired.

Japan : Travels and Researches. By J. J. REIN, Professor of Geography in Marburg. Translated from the German. Illustrations and Maps. London : Hodder and Stoughton. 1884.

As the title page indicates, this work was undertaken by command, and was originally published at the cost of the Prussian Government. It is the result of studies and researches carried on during a residence of nearly two years in Japan, and extensive journeys through the islands of Hondo, Shikoku, Kiushiu, and Amakusa, in the years 1874 and 1875, and has the merit of being the freshest, fullest, and most reliable account we yet have of the kingdom of the Mikado. In a subsequent work, Professor Rein proposes to treat of the industry and trade of Japan. Here he confines himself to the physiography and people of the country. The work is divided into two parts, the first of which, dealing with the physiography, may be regarded, as indeed it is, the more important. After an introductory chapter giving an account of the situation, size, and divisions of the Empire, Professor Rein proceeds to describe the coast line, parts of the sea, and prevailing currents. Here he has evidently in his eye the wants of a commercial and maritime people, and is careful to give the facts which such a people is anxious to learn. For instance, the coast line is not merely described in general terms, Professor Rein divides it into sections, and of each section gives a particular account, indicating the depth of water, what shelter may be expected, and the kind of anchorage likely to be found. The Inland Sea of Japan, it seems, is so shallow, that an elevation of the

bottom by only twenty fathoms would in many places produce dry passages between the neighbouring larger islands. Many of these islands are covered with pines, and a sail among them reminds one, Professor Rein remarks, of a trip through the Skärs of Scandinavia or Finland. One curious circumstance he mentions is that the island called Nippon by most Europeans, has among the Japanese no special name, the term Nippon being applied by the natives to the whole country, and never to the chief island alone. Formerly the Japanese called their country Great Nippon. Education and travel have greatly modified their ideas of its vastness, and the epithet 'great' is gradually being dropped. Professor Rein's account of the mineral wealth of the country is by no means glowing. 'The store of most metals,' he says, 'such as gold, silver, tin, lead, zinc, quicksilver, is a very modest one, and will never be able to compare with that of many other countries. Copper and antimony are more plentiful, but it is only in iron and coal that the country is rich. The former is chiefly found as magnetic iron ore in great masses, or as iron-sand in the river beds or on the coasts; coal appears in many small seams in various parts of the country, especially in Yezo, and from the oldest anthracite coal to the most recent peat, yet nowhere in great thickness, nor of such good quality as many kinds of European coal.' The supply of petroleum is insufficient for home consumption. Rock salt is nowhere found. The chapter on the volcanoes of the country is excellent, and is only surpassed in value by the one entitled 'Orography.' This is probably unique. The chapters on the hydrography and climate, the flora and fauna of the country, are of great scientific value. Not the least interesting portions of these chapters are those dealing with the forests and fisheries. The second half of the volume treats of the people of Japan, their history, civilization, and social condition. The history is compiled from the accounts given by the native historians, and is both full and interesting. To many it will be new. As a sample of Professor Rein's treatment of his subject, we take the following description of the now extinct Samurai.

'The Samurai (Sinico-Jap, Shi or Bushi), in the ordinary, narrower sense of the word, formed the privileged military class of the Shōgun and the Daimios. They were their vassals with hereditary revenues of under 10,000 Koku. Only a small portion had landed property; most of them lived, to a certain extent, from their lord's table; received from his magazines, in return for very slight services, their regular allowance of rice for small families of from three to five persons, and were, in weal and woe, entirely dependent upon the fortunes of their lord. The term "lower nobility," so often applied by Europeans to this Samurai class, is not calculated to give a correct idea of their position and importance. Except in their pride, there is hardly any affinity between them and our smaller nobles, even though the starting point of the latter was pretty much the same. It would be more appropriate to compare them with the former Strelitzes of Russia. Not so much in virtue of their individual position and importance, as of the power and intelligence represented by their total of some 400,000 households, they formed, until quite lately, the most influential and leading class of Japanese society. They were the legitimate

bearers not only of the sword, but also of the national honour and of the peculiar forms in which the Japanese sense of honour found expression ; and all the political revolutions, including those last and memorable ones which brought about the fall of feudalism, originated with them. The great mass of them consisted . . . of careless idle fellows who knew no other obligation than obedience to their lords, for whom they were ready at any moment to lay down their lives either on the battlefield or in defending him against murderers, or even by suicide, voluntary or prescribed, whenever honour or the interests of the family required. . . . A small portion of them were distinguished for their military exercises and studies ; the majority seemed to be born for eating, drinking, smoking, and for excesses in tea-houses, and places of public resort. They were people who had no higher ambition than to keep their swords in order and gird them on and strut about ; who regarded the lower classes with scorn, and found delight in cutting down those by whom they imagined themselves to be insulted.' Pp. 324-5.

Ronins were Samurai who had lost their natural lord and their rights, and who wandered about without master or law, ready for any villany. Following the history of Japan, we have an elaborate discussion of its ethnography. Here, of course, we have an account of that curious people, the Ainos—an account which exhibits careful study, and contains much additional information. The chapters on the character and social condition of the Japanese, and as well the one on their religions, will repay the most careful perusal. Altogether, this volume of Professor Rein's is one of the utmost value and interest. As a book on Japan it is without an equal. A word of praise, too, ought to be said on behalf of its numerous photographs and illustrations.

Samuel Gobet, Evangelischer Bischof in Jerusalem, Sein Leben und Wirken. Basel: C. F. Spittler. 1884.

This life of the late learned and excellent Bishop Gobat is divided into two parts, the first, an autobiography, extending as far as his arrival in Jerusalem, as Bishop, at the end of 1846 ; the second, a brief account, compiled from various sources, of the most important events of his episcopate. Naturally, therefore, the first part is by far the more interesting, save to those who take a special interest in the much wrangled over Jerusalem Bishopric. Bishop Gobat was a many-sided man ; the qualities most prominent in his autobiography are, the intense fervour of his personal piety, the manly vigour of his christianity, and his powerful intellectual ability. Such a feat as that of mastering, fairly, in about two hours, the 209 characters of the Ethiopic alphabet, we should imagine, has not been often accomplished : probably it is better not attempted, as the Bishop admits that the result was a headache of two days' duration. One characteristic of Bishop Gobat, although there are traces of it, does not appear in the autobiography so prominently,—that quick sense of humour, and love of innocent mirth, which, under circumstances removing all dread from his mind of mis-interpretation, or the appearance of unbecoming levity, rendered him such a delightful companion. We think, however, that the

most significant testimony to Bishop Gobat's worth lies in a fact mentioned to us by a member of his family; that when, after an episcopate of over thirty-two years, he peacefully passed away in Jerusalem, at the age of eighty years,—the Mohammedans in the city said it was wrong to weep for such a man, for he was so certainly gone to Allah.

Leaves from the Diary of Henry Greville. Edited by the Vis-Countess ENFIELD. Second Series. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1884.

To this second series of selections from Mr. Henry Greville's diary, the editor has added a 'memoir' of the author and a number of notes. So far as these additions go they are admirable, but the former is much too short, and the second are far too few and brief. The 'Memoir' scarcely fills four pages, and is just sufficient, notwithstanding the 'Leaves from the Diary,' to make us wish to know more. Henry William Greville, the youngest son of Charles and Lady Charlotte Greville, was born October 28, 1801. He was educated at Westminster and Oxford, but spent much of his childhood on the Continent, chiefly at Brussels, where his family was residing at the time of the battle of Waterloo. His parents were intimately acquainted with the Duke of Wellington, by whom Henry Greville, though but a boy of fourteen, was taken to the Duchess of Richmond's famous ball. In 1835 Henry Greville entered the diplomatic service, and retired from it in 1844. For many years he was a gentleman usher at Court, and died in 1872. The period covered by this series of the Leaves is from September 18, 1852, to December 31, 1856. It is marked by the same characteristics as the earlier series, but with this difference—interesting as the first volume was, this is even more so. We have read it through, and can honestly say that we have not met with a single uninteresting page within its covers. Judging by our own experience we should say that no one can read it without a sense of increasing interest, or lay it down when he has finished its perusal without regret. We sincerely hope that the 'Leaves' will be continued. Of the many passages we have marked for reference we can but cite one or two. The French Alliance and the Crimean Campaign form, of course, the principal topics of the diary. It is curious to observe how generally Napoleon III was distrusted. Mr. Greville had no faith in him; nor do many of those whose society he frequented either in England or in France seem to have had any. Under date November 10, 1855, he writes: 'Yesterday Palmerston made a flaming war harangue at the Lord Mayor's dinner, which by the newspaper account was hailed with enthusiasm, whilst no one would listen to John Russell! At the end of the room was hung a fine transparency in honour of the liberty of the Press, with this motto—'*Magna est Veritas, et praevalerebit.*' What a joke and what a farce it all is to hear Palmerston bespattering the Emperor of the French with praises for his noble disinterestedness in fighting for *liberty*, against barbarism and despotism! he being

the greatest living despot, in whose nostrils all liberty, and especially that of the Press, absolutely stinks.' Mr. Gladstone is frequently referred to. Mr. Greville seems to have admired his ability but not to have been impressed by his appearance in society. The following was written some thirty years ago :—'The Gladstones came here on Wednesday. No one can dispute his extraordinary capacity, but I think there may be much difference of opinion as to the charm of his society. He has a melodious voice in speaking, but I was not prepared to hear the Chancellor of the Exchequer warble a sentimental ballad accompanied by his wife.' The following is the only other extract we can find room for :—'Dined with Lady Essex. She told me of a curious thing that happened to Lady Beecher (Miss O'Neill). Sometime after her marriage she was at a ball, when a lady accosted her and said she was very desirous of making her acquaintance, in order to express her gratitude to her for the whole happiness of her life. Lady Beecher, somewhat astonished, asked her what she meant, when the lady told her that her husband had been a confirmed gambler, but that Miss O'Neill's performance of *Mrs. Beverley* had made so extraordinary and lasting impression on him that, on retiring from the theatre, he registered an oath never to play or bet again, which he had religiously observed ; and she considered that her happiness was entirely owing to her admirable performance.' In conclusion, we can only commend the volume to our readers as the most interesting and entertaining of the season.

Le Cycle Mythologique Irlandais et la Mythologie Celtique. Par H. d'ARBOIS de JUBAINVILLE, Professeur au Collège de France. Paris : Ernest Thorin. 1884.

As Professor d'Arbois de Jubainville himself explains in his preface, the present volume, which so worthily continues the course of Celtic literature opened by a work already noticed in a former number, is an examination of the well-known passage in the sixth book of Cæsar, where the conqueror of Gaul gives an account of the principal deities worshipped by the warlike tribes which he had subdued. According to him, five deities were the object of special veneration amongst the Gauls, and, with but a change of name, answered to the Mercury, the Apollo, the Mars, the Jupiter, and the Minerva of Roman mythology. But the attributes upon which Cæsar founds this identity, are merely secondary, and his examination of them so superficial that it would be rash to accept his assertions without a closer investigation of them, and without confronting them with other texts. This critical examination is the main object of Professor de Jubainville's erudite treatise. For the basis of what may be considered as an essay on the fundamental principles of Celtic mythology he has taken the work which Irish scholars know under the name of *Lebar Gabala*, that is, 'The Book of Conquests.' If the opening remarks prepare us to find Cæsar's authority challenged, and the Latin deities deposed from the thrones on which he has perhaps somewhat

rashly placed them, the perusal of a very few pages shows us that Professor d'Arbois de Jubainville has other claimants to bring forward. If we may be allowed to adopt a familiar saying, he robs Rome to pay Greece. It would require a more thorough knowledge of the original documents than we can pretend to possess, to either substantiate or rebut the accusation which a German critic lately brought against the French professor's book, of making too free with Greek mythology, and of straining not one but many points in his endeavour to establish analogies. But this, at least, we can say, that some of these analogies are very striking, that most are plausible, and that all are ingenious. To mention but a few of them, it is impossible not to be reminded of the three primitive races with which Hesiod peoples the golden age, the silver age, and the brazen age respectively, when, in Irish mythology we read of the families of Partholon, of Nemed, and of the Tûatha Dê Danann. Irish mythology has the battle between the Tûatha Dê Danann and the Femôre just as that of Greece has its struggle between the gods and the Titans, and Bress, the head of the Tûatha Dê Danann, has sprung from a mythic conception identical with that which has produced Kronos. No stretch of the imagination is required to recognise the features of Prometheus in Ith, to whom the Irish race was almost as much indebted as the early inhabitants of the Greek world to the enemy of Zeus. Professor de Jubainville does not, however, hide either from himself or his readers that if there are remarkable points of contact between Irish and Greek mythology, if the doctrines and the sentiments which have served as a basis for the one are similar to those which have inspired the general features of the other, their development, more particularly from the point of view of literary and artistic form, has been thoroughly different. Celtic mythology has neither its Homer nor its Phidias. In conclusion, we have to say of this new volume of Professor de Jubainville's Course of Celtic Literature that, though it may be open to criticism, which is perhaps but another way of saying that it is thoroughly original, it is a conscientious, scholarly, and, in every respect, excellent work. To students of the literature of our Celtic ancestors we cannot recommend it too highly; even those who may take exception to some of the theories which it propounds, will have every reason to be thankful for the materials which it puts at their disposal.

Essai d'un Catalogue de la littérature épique de l'Irlande, précédé d'une étude sur les manuscrits en langue irlandaise conservés dans les Iles Britanniques et sur le Continent. Par H. d'ARBOIS de JUBAINVILLE, Professeur au Collège de France. Paris: Ernest Thorin. 1883.

Two years ago, in the summer of 1882, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, the eminent scholar who occupies the chair of Celtic at the Collège de France, was entrusted by M. Jules Ferry, at that time Minister for Public Instruction, with a literary mission to the British Isles. Its object was the examination of the various Celtic manuscripts to be found in the public and

private collections of England and Ireland. Its result is contained in the volume lying before us. In its main part, it is a work of erudite bibliography, and of necessity appeals to a somewhat limited circle of readers, or more correctly of students. To the learned few for whom it is intended, this Catalogue of the Epic Literature of Ireland will be of the greatest utility, as the following numerical analysis abundantly proves. The manuscripts which M. d'Arbois de Jubainville was able to examine were 953 in number. Of these, 3 are preserved in Cambridge, 15 in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and 166 in the British Museum. In Dublin, the Library of the Royal Irish Academy possesses 560, that of Trinity College and of the Franciscans 63 and 22 respectively. The Ashburnham collection contributes 63, and various private collections make up the total with other 61. In a separate chapter, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville also gives a brief notice of the 56 manuscripts known to exist in various continental libraries. A complete methodical classification of all these Celtic manuscripts is obviously impracticable, for the simple reason that many of them consist of collections of pieces of which the subjects would come under various heads, nevertheless, M. d'Arbois de Jubainville has rendered good service in this direction by grouping them, as far as was possible, under the six headings of theology and hagiography, law, medicine and astronomy, grammar, history, and epic poetry. As showing the literary activity of Ireland during the middle ages, this erudite work of the French professor is of the highest importance.

Outlines of Psychology: with Special Reference to the Theory of Education. By JAMES SULLY, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

It is rather a difficult feat, one should suppose, to write a book on Psychology without being to a certain, even a considerable, extent polemical. This feat, however, Mr. Sully has here achieved. There is nothing more observable in the work before us than the conciliatory spirit of the author, and the absence of controversial matter. The exposition moves on without break or jar; and, although this method of presentation has its drawbacks, there can be no question that the ordinary reader will find it a great advantage, while the special student will easily be able to read between the lines. Another distinguishing feature is the clear conception that the author has of the scope and nature of his subject, and the conscientiousness with which he adheres to it; to which we may add his keen appreciation of the bearings of physiology and pathology on psychological facts. A third feature is the striking and systematic attempt to trace the growth and development, not only of Mind as a whole, but of its various parts—faculties and capabilities—separately. And a fourth feature is the clear and masterly analysis everywhere apparent, coupled with good sense, sound judgment, and commendable caution. The book itself, indeed, is one of the best answers that can be given to those who deny the possibility of a science of psychology, or who look with exaggerated sus-

picion on the introspective method. The arrangement of the subject-matter is simple, yet effective. The first four chapters are of a general and introductory character, dealing with 'the scope and method of psychology,' 'mental operations and their conditions,' 'mental development,' and 'attention.' The chapter on Attention is particularly good, and is distinguished *inter alia* by certain very happy turns of expression,—as when, in stating the functions of Will in connexion with Attention, it is said, 'The Will introduces mind and object: it cannot force an attachment between them.' The remainder of the book follows the three well-known divisions of Mind—Intellect, Feeling, Will: under the first of which we get such familiar headings as 'Sensation,' 'Perception,' etc.; under the second, 'Simple Feelings,' 'Complex Feelings;' and under the third, 'Voluntary Movement,' 'Conduct.' One of the most striking portions of the work is the handling of what we may call the Psychological Idea. This includes Reproductive Imagination (Memory), Constructive Imagination, and Conception. It is here, we think, that the author's strength is seen at its best; and, as it is here that the Laws of Association (Contiguity, Similarity, etc.) find their place, this is a portion that will be keenly scanned. It will stand the scrutiny. We are not quite sure, however, that it would not have been well to place little more stress on distinctive terminology at this point. Nothing puzzles the youthful student (not to speak of Mr. Sully's 'general reader,' to whom he refers in the Preface) more than the exuberance of ill-discriminated terms that are usually met with in connexion with Imagination and Conception; and a clear marking off of the psychological connotations of such words as Idea, Concept, Representation, from their metaphysical and other meanings, would have been both acceptable and useful. The same remark applies to Chapter XII., on 'the Complex feelings: Sentiments;' where the nature of Sympathy would be much illuminated by a sharply-drawn distinction between it and such closely-allied altruistic sentiments as Friendship, Generosity, etc., and where something should be said as to the relation of this Emotion to Approbation and to Virtue. And, speaking generally, the absence of a detailed treatment of the different signification of the leading psychological terms ('Consciousness,' for example, is nowhere explained) is the first of the two faults we have to find with this otherwise satisfactory work. Our second fault may be put in the form of a regret. Psychology and the application of its doctrines to Education are both included here; but the latter does not occupy so prominent a position, nor is it so fully worked out, as we had expected to find. Perhaps we were wrong in expecting this; but if the wish which is father to the thought may be allowably adduced in justification, we can sincerely say that we desired it. Not the least valuable part of the book are its abundant references to the leading psychological works, not only of this country, but of foreign lands. There is here a treasure which the student will not fail to appreciate. A word of praise to the printer, who has manipulated the important matter of variety of type with admirable correctness, and has well kept up the credit of the Aberdeen University Press.

Liederbuch des Deutschen Volkes. Herausgegeben von CARL HUSE, FELIX DAHN, und CARL REINECKE. Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel. 1883.

This is a new edition of a work published by Dr. Carl Huse forty years since, and now appears with its poetical contents revised by Felix Dahn, its musical part by Carl Reinecke of Leipzig. These names alone are sufficient to vouch for the excellence of the book. English and Scottish readers will find therein a most interesting collection of German poetry, ranging from Goethe and Heine down to nursery rhymes; and those who wish to familiarize children early with the German language cannot do better than teach them to sing, to the melodies to which they are set, some of the simple Kinderlieder or Volkslieder, of which they will find abundant choice in this volume.

Poems and Fragments. By CHARLES JAMES. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner.

Fragmentary and unfinished as these verses are, they possess a simplicity and depth of pathos, a sweetness and beauty which lift them up into the region of genuine poetry. Written, as we gather from the prefatory note, under the very shadow of death, the strain of thought by which they are pervaded is naturally sombre, yet their tone is far from melancholy. Rays of hope and cheerfulness flash out here and there along their lines, and show that they are expressions of a pure soul chastened by suffering, and resting with confidence in a manly and enlightened faith. Scarcely one of the fragments fails to show an abundant promise of what the author might have done, or might do, were the requisite physical strength at his command. The poems are so full of feeling, and touch one on so many sides, that it is difficult to say which we are most drawn to. We give the following, not as the best passage we can find, but as the one we have accidentally lighted upon.

‘ What isn’t to live ?
 It is to know and do, and in the deed
 To make the thought partaker of the end,
 For thought is life ; to treasure up our days,
 Counting the hours like pearls on a string,
 Seeking to make of each a fragrant urn
 Wherein to lay embalm’d some gracious deed
 Or hint of noble enterprise ; it is
 To walk in silence, conscious of great ends ;
 To love truth, to be patient, bearing much,
 And calm and full of faith,—not to be great,
 But to live greatly, making of our lives
 Such record as may live in after days ;
 And seeing in our cold natural life,
 Tho’ blurr’d with tears and stain’d with earthly dust,
 The mortal counterpart of that far state
 Whose promise is the solace of our pain.’

Kildrostan: A Dramatic Poem. By WALTER C. SMITH.
Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1884.

The dramatic element has pervaded almost all the poems which Dr. Smith has written. This, however, if we remember rightly, is the first in which he has adopted the strictly dramatic form. His management of it, so far as the plot of the drama will allow, is good. The plot, however, is defective, and its termination is unsatisfactory. For one thing, but for two scenes the theatrical element would be altogether absent. If brought to the test of actual representation on the stage, we should not be surprised if it were a total failure. The two scenes we refer to as exceptions, the third in the third act, and the second in the following act, are admirable; and show the true art of the play-wright. As for the termination of the plot, the reader is at some loss to make it out. Doris, the wicked angel of the drama, either kills herself or is killed by a fall over a precipice, after a mad ride along its brink. Sir Diarmid, the hero, vanishes, nobody knows where. The rest of the *dramatis personae* simply disappear. The plot, in fact, has no natural ending. The threads of it, after having been skilfully woven together, suddenly drop away, and one puts down the volume with a sort of hazy idea that Ina has become an heiress, and is likely to spend her days in sorrow. In the delineation of his characters, Dr. Smith is much more successful. The only one that seems to want reality is Tremain. There is an absence of flesh and blood about him. He talks eloquently on all manner of subjects, love included, but is as limp as a jelly fish, and much more colourless. Sir Diarmid, the hero, is well drawn, and but for his inconsistent and unworthy conduct, might have been taken as a noble type of a Highland laird. Doris betrays her southern origin. Her fierce jealousy and mad passion for revenge are vividly portrayed. Ina, the heroine of the play, is beautiful and stately, full of aspirations, and always pining after an ideal. Probably the most successful character, the one to which we are most drawn, is Morag, Ina's old nurse. She is precisely one of those characters which live and deserve to live. The radical fault of the drama seems to us to be in the plot. A better plot would have given the author a better scope for his unquestionably large powers as a dramatist. The choruses are beautifully written, and are managed with great skill. They form, indeed, one of the main attractions of the volume. On the other hand regarded simply as a poem, *Kildrostan* deserves high praise, and will, in all probability, take its place along with 'Hilda' and 'Olrig Grange,' as one of the author's best and most finished works. That it is one of his most finished works we do not hesitate to say. In sharpness of delineation, and in condensed and vigorous writing, it is, in our opinion, much superior to 'North Country Folk,' and superior even to 'Hilda.' It exhibits, too, a deeper insight into the human heart, and a more manifold acquaintance with its workings. In fact, it seems to us the ripest and most mature poem Dr. Smith has yet produced. Here and there are passages of exquisite

beauty. As a sample of what the volume contains, we will find room for the following chorus :—

‘ Our fates are linked together, high and low,
 Like ravelled, knotted thrums of various thread,
 Homespun and silk, yellow and green and red,
 And no one is alone, nor do we know
 From what mean sources great events may flow :
 The tramp that lays him down among the straw,
 Despised, perchance shall fill your home with awe,
 Plague-stricken, or from him its peace may grow ;
 The ruined peasant’s cot may downward draw
 The stately hall that neighbours it. We are
 All members of one body, and a flaw
 Or lesion here, the perfect whole shall mar.
 Therefore let justice rule and love inspire ;
 Wise for thyself, the weal of all desire.’

Prairie Pictures, Lilith, and other Poems. By CAMERON GRANT,
 Author of ‘Songs from the Sunny South,’ etc. London :
 Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

From the sublime heights of absolute ignorance of prairies, we condescendingly survey Mr. Grant’s ‘Prairie Songs,’ and pronounce them admirable. One thing at least we can confidently affirm respecting them—that they make us regret extremely never to have seen the beauties which he so vividly describes. ‘Lilith’ is a poem hardly to be criticised. It holds the idea which many a painter, sculptor, poet, and musician has striven through life to embody, without accomplishing his object, at least to his own satisfaction. ‘Vicisti’ contains the germ of many thoughts, and its constant refrain—

‘ The waves go on, the waves go on ’—

is no mournful dirge over that which is submerged, but a triumphant strain, evoked by a strong confidence that

‘ Christ is in the rising sea.’

Some of the shorter pieces have much beauty, and the whole volume breathes a spirit which seems to justify the belief that in the vast solitudes of the great lone land the soul, which can rise at all above the mirk and mire of our overcrowded life, may stand very near to the presence of Him who is invisible, and receive impressions which will abide with it for ever.

Earth’s Voices and other Poems. By WILLIAM SHARP. London :
 Elliot Stock. 1884.

Some of these poems seem to us to possess great charms. ‘Sospitra’ and ‘Gaspara Stampa’ are very beautiful. The volume is well worth the attention of musical composers, if only for the sake of Violante’s and Collalto’s songs in ‘Gaspara Stampa ;’ and there are many besides admirably adapted for musical setting. Mr. Sharp is, however, either some-

times careless, or his ear fails him. He is occasionally guilty of a very unmusical line, such as—

‘Or booms the lion’s reverberate roar’—

or of the use of words so essentially prose that they seem oddly out of place in poetry. In ‘The Song of the Thrush,’ for instance,—and a very beautiful song it is,—‘Repetitive’ seems sadly prosaic, and surely ‘stellar bliss’ is not very poetical. However, these small blemishes notwithstanding, the volume is one of genuine poetry, and contains some very beautiful things.

Otterstone Hall. By URQUHART A. FORBES. London: Alex. Gardner.

How far, in *Otterstone Hall*, we are reading veracious history, how far the genuine product of a novel writer’s fancy it is difficult to determine; but the result is so good as to be well worth close criticism and the noting of some defects, which are so clearly flaws in technical skill, that they merit the careful attention of a writer of such very evident ability as Mr. Forbes. The date on the locket is of course a mere compositor’s blunder, but Mr. Forbes is not always clear on these points. Wilfred Oakburne is presented to us as twenty years of age in 1852, as twenty-three years of age in 1853. Again, on that spring day of 1853, on which he is introduced to us as sitting with his mother and sister, he saves Lois Simcox’s life. Her subsequent history, her death and burial, Wilfred’s return to his studies, and gaining of the prize he was trying for, are all included between that date and April 1854; while the whole story is carried through in time to allow Major Oakburne to return as a married man to the Crimea, early enough to be present at the fall of Sebastopol (September 9, 1855). These must be allowed to be grave defects in structure, but they are just those which can be easily overcome, and with very little trouble, by a writer of Mr. Forbes’s powers. If, as we imagine, this is a first novel, the skill with which he has managed the very large number of characters introduced in his pages, is very much more remarkable than such a failing as this. On another point we would venture a suggestion. As a personal sentiment, Thackeray and others notwithstanding, we detest, and hold a book inevitably vulgarised by, the use of the present tense. This opinion we admit we have no right to insist on, but certainly the past and present tenses should not be jumbled together as Mr. Forbes has jumbled them in some places. Beyond these faults in detail, we have nothing but commendation for the story. There is much freshness and vigour in Mr. Forbes’s descriptions of both people and places; he is a keen observer, and has the courage to represent people as they exist, and facts as they happen. He does not construct imaginary characters out of his inner consciousness, and justify the ways of Providence in an instructive manner from which, as yet, Providence has been slow to take a lesson. Therefore Walter Chesington, a very ordinary man, rises, as in real life very ordinary people do, under sufficient pressure, to the capability for very noble and heroic action; and—

crowning instance of Mr. Forbes's preference for truth over melo-dramatic fitness—the villain of the story goes to his grave prosperous and lamented, and is honoured with a tablet recording 'the grief of all who knew him, and all the virtues which it is possible for a man and a husband to possess.' Space will not allow us to dwell longer on this story; we can only record our conviction of its very great merit, and of the fact that it rests with Mr. Forbes himself to become, if he chooses, a novel writer of no mean order.

City Echoes: or Bitter Cries from Glasgow. By the Author of *Spero and Celestus*. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1884.

In this interesting little volume the aim of the author is, among other things, to give a description of the ways and degraded condition of the lowest stratum of society in the city of Glasgow. Nor has he failed. The description he gives is marked by power and truthfulness. Several of the incidents he relates are full of thrilling interest and are told with simplicity and vigour. The author is a little too fond of obtruding his reflections, and of talking about the 'eternities,' but apart from these faults, the work is really well done. When he chooses to tell his story directly, he does it with admirable effect. Few who read the interview between Jim and the baker, the narrative of Sandie's death, or of Jock's conversion, the picture of Jim's home, or the scene in Dummy's shebeen, will readily forget them. These are pieces of vigorous and truthful writing, and show the author at his best.

The Law of the Ten Words (Hodder & Stoughton). Dr. Oswald Dykes leaves the controversy respecting the origin of the 'Ten Words' aside, and confines himself to giving an exposition of their moral contents. His exposition is clear and forcible, and forms a very admirable addition to the series to which it belongs. *God: The Moral Force* (Glasgow, H. Hopkins) consists of twelve sermons by the Rev. James Forfar, exhibiting considerable freshness of thought and a theology which, if not particularly scientific, is at least catholic in spirit. *Some Notes on the Book of Psalms* (Longmans) is a reprint, with additions from the Rev. Jno. A. Cross' larger book on the Old Testament, to which we directed attention in our last number. Those who wish to understand the Hebrew Psalms will find these 'Notes' extremely useful. *What is Art?* (W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co.) by J. S. Little, treats of Art from a partly religious and partly philosophical point of view, and contains a number of reflections on the character and aim of art, which are well worth reading. *Shetland and the Shetlanders* (Kirkwall, W. Peace & Son) consists of two lectures delivered by Sheriff Rampini before the Edinburgh Philosophical Institution in February last. The lectures are well written, full of interesting information, and contain a number of amusing stories. We cordially commend them. *Gudrun, Beowulf, & Roland, &c.*, by John Gibb (F. Fisher Unwin), is an admirable book for the young, and cannot be too

highly commended. *Student Life at Edinburgh University*, by Norman Fraser (Paisley : J. & R. Parlane), is a very weak production, written in bad English. The author has certainly no mean opinion of himself. *The Kittlegairy Vacancy*, written by John Plenderleith, and published by Mr. Gemmell, Edinburgh, is both amusing and painful. We hope it is not true, and that this 'new way of getting rid of old ministers' is not likely to become established. In *Martha Spreul* (Glasgow : Wilson & McCormick), Zachray Fleming, writer, edits some amusing 'chapters in the life of a single wumman.' The chapters are mostly taken up with Martha's experience with student-lodgers, and a bursar whose moral education she undertakes, giving him at the same time board and lodging. The incidents are amusing, and the book has a certain quiet humour about it which makes it very entertaining. Our reviews of a number of other volumes are deferred.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

REVUE LYONNAISE (March 15th).—The opening article, which treats of the 'Salon Lyonnais,' is naturally of local interest only, except, perhaps in this, that it shows Lyons to be less exclusively devoted to its material interests and less careless of the inspirations of art than it is the fashion to suppose it.—In calling his paper 'Voltaire's Correspondence,' M. William Caze has chosen a somewhat ambitious title. In point of fact, whereas 'Voltaire's Correspondence' takes up eighteen volumes of the latest edition of his works, M. Caze has merely drawn from it the details of two episodes in Voltaire's life, that of the squabble with Frederick about a certain *œuvre de poésie*, as Baron Freytag called it, and the less known incident of the law-suit with the president de Brosseau about a few cart-loads of wood. That 'Voltaire's Correspondence' gives a more faithful idea of his character and disposition, and shows his petty weaknesses and his meanness under a clearer light than do his other works, is a statement in which we fully agree with M. Caze.—M. Natalis Rondot follows with a list, headed by a few words of introduction, of the 'Sculptors of Lyons from the Fourteenth to the Eighteenth Century.'—In 'Fantaisies Niçoises,' we have a light and chatty paper by the founder of the *Revue*, M. François Collet.—M. Léopold Niepce contributes an article on the 'Catalogue of the Printed Works of Claude-François Ménestrier,' lately published by Father Sommervogel, from the notes left by M. Renard. Still more important, however, than the details which he gives about this valuable volume is the account which he communicates of a manuscript of Ménestrier's which he has lately discovered.—The 'Très humble Essai de Phonétique Lyonnaise,' which M. Nizier de Puitspelu continues, is a valuable philological study, tracing the connection between Latin and the *patois* spoken about Lyons.—Amongst the contributors to the *Félibrige* we notice the name of W. C. Bonaparte-Wyse, who sings of 'Youth and Age,'—'La Jouinesso e la Vièisso,' in a lyrical production which he names 'un estrambord.' In an excellent 'Sonnet' M. Maurice Faure makes very apt allusion to 'the solemn council held at Lyons, which, for the glory of the Pope and of Montfort, the robber, proclaimed that it was the most horrible of crimes to confide one's thoughts to the language of the Troubadours.'

REVUE LYONNAISE (April 15th).—By far the best thing in this number is the reproduction of Amy's médaillon of the poet Mistral. It is accompanied by an interesting sketch of the 'felibre' sculptor's career, from the pen of M.

Elie Fourès.—With the exception of some verses by Arsène Houssaye, whose name comes upon us quite unexpectedly in this Provençal company, most of the contributions which make up the French part of this number are continuations of subjects already mentioned. Such are M. Collet's: 'Causeries Niçoises'; M. Rondot's: 'Les Sculpteurs de Lyon du xiv^e au xviii^e Siècle'; 'Très humble essai de Phonétique Lyonnaise,' by M. Puitapelu, and 'Pensées,' by M. Roux.—The *Félibrige* is particularly good this month, no less a name than that of Mistral himself figuring in its table of contents; his contribution is a Provençal chanson: 'Lou Bastimen.'

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (April).—What is Philosophy? asks M. Ernest Raville, whose complaint against the many definitions of it to be found in dictionaries, hand-books, and other scientific works is, that they determine what philosophy might be, or ought to be, according to the opinion of each individual writer, instead of simply stating what philosophy has been and actually is. His own definition looks upon philosophy as the endeavour to establish a principle which, in its unity, shall account for the origin, the destination and the state of the universe. Such is the thesis worked out in this and the following number.—M. T. Combe contributes the first half of an interesting and pleasantly written novelette to which he gives the title of 'Father Felix.'—The sketch of 'South America, from Panama to Cape Horn,' begun in the March number, is here concluded. This last instalment contains amongst other items a charming description of a sail up the Magdalena, as far as Honda.—In a former article M. Arvédé Barine set forth the various attempts made by employers of labour to bring about a reconciliation between capital and labour, by transforming the salaried worker into a partner of the firm, and giving him an interest in its prosperity. He now continues his subject by examining the other side of the question, the trades' unions of which the object is to do without employers altogether, and to secure for the workman not a share in the profits merely, but the whole of them.—After the conclusion by M. M. Perey and Mangras of their biographical sketch, 'Madame d'Épinay à Genève,' M. G. van Muyden takes us on an excursion through what he styles 'A Lost Country,' this lost country not being in the depths of Africa or America, but just a few miles from Berlin—the Spreewald.—The number concludes with half a dozen excellent chronicles.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (May).—The place of honour has very justly been assigned to a most interesting and instructive article which M. Marc-Monnier devotes to Tasso. One great point with him is to prove that when the poet wrote 'Aminta' and the 'Jerusalem,' he was not mad.—After M. Combe, who concludes: 'Le Père Felix,' and M. Naville, who contributes the last instalment of his paper: 'What is Philosophy?' M. M. Montet and Ritter produce a valuable and hitherto unpublished document relative to Madame de Warens and her husband. It is a letter written by M. de Warens during his long stay in England, and addressed to his brother-in-law, M. de Midde. It contains the details of Madame de Warens' flight, six years previously, and completes the history which hitherto was known only from Rousseau's 'Confessions.'—An eminently readable 'Excursion to Spain,' from the pen of M. Rios, is followed by the monthly chronicles. Of these, the English letter deals, amongst other subjects, with School Boards, which are treated with a good deal of ridicule, not to say contempt.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (June).—'Charles Gordon,' which M. Glardon has based on Hakes' 'Story of Chinese Gordon,' contains no new facts, nor does it present the familiar details of the daring soldier's career under any very new light, but it has the merit of being thoroughly appreciative.—As a sequel to the 'Père Felix' of former numbers, M. Combe publishes another simple but not uninteresting story, under the title of 'Joyeuse Vadien.'—'Les Origines des Grandes Familles Nobiliaires,' is confessedly drawn from well-known English works, notably those which Sir Bernard Burke has consecrated to the rise and vicissitudes of great families. Those who may not know the

originals, will find the facts and anecdotes which M. de Verdilhac has judiciously culled, and cleverly grouped together, well worth perusal.—Of M. Marc-Monnier's article on 'Tasso,' which is here continued, but not yet concluded, we can only repeat the praise which we bestowed on the first part. Had we to draw comparisons we should pronounce it to be by far the best thing in the numbers before us.—The *Revue* is fond of making its readers travel. After 'doing' South America with them, it now takes them all the way from Bordeaux to the Mauritius. It has taken care to provide an able guide in the person of M. Jean Rey, and the trip is a most pleasurable one.—The concluding article, which bears the title, 'The Italian Geneva,' is the translation of an extract from a work recently published by M. Edmondo de Amicis: 'Alle porte d'Italia.' The sketch of 'Torre Pellice' is excellently done, and is enlivened by the dramatic episode of the capture of the famous bandit Delpero.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (April).—For the amusing traits of childish character which it contains, even apart from the subtle analysis of them which gives it a really philosophical importance, M. Bernard Perez's paper, 'La Logique de l'Enfant,' is well worth reading. At the outset, the writer objects to the opinion which most people are content to hold on faith, that children, like animals, draw their conclusions from mere inference, while those of adults depend on reasoning; and he points out that in many cases these inferences are not to be distinguished from what is called reasoning in those endowed with general notions. In support of this he goes on to show how strong impulses of sensibility, the necessity for action, and for enjoyment, lead the child to reason and to draw conclusions. Passing on to the nature and extent of the child's reasoning, he comes to the result that it possesses at least the germs of that power of drawing conclusions from general notions, which is usually looked upon as one of the characteristics of the adult mind.—In the first part of a very important paper on 'Hallucination,' M. Alfred Binet examines the various theories which have been proposed in explanation of it. His own is contained in the definition, that 'Hallucination is the disease of external perception.'—In a former study M. Jules Andrade has laid stress on the practical independence of morality, and of the difficulties which have been drawn from the opposition of the words determinism and moral liberty. The object of the present paper on 'The Abuse of the Principle of the Conservation of Forces,' is to point out one of the causes of this pretended conflict, and to show that scientific prevision on the one hand, and the will on the other, if honestly considered, do not by any means constitute the 'perpetual enigma of human reason.'—The *Revue générale* for this month is based on works bearing on the Theory of Mathematical Knowledge; amongst the analyses one of the most important is that of Maudsley's 'Body and Will.'

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (May).—In the continuation of his paper on 'Hallucination,' M. Binet passes from theories to experimental researches. These are limited to hallucinations of sight, and have been made on hypnotic subjects. The conclusion at which the writer arrives is that there are three kinds of visual hallucinations, those arising from objective causes, those due to subjective causes, and those of a central origin. The sole distinctive feature of the latter is the impossibility of submitting them to experiments of any kind.—The subject of Doctor Manouvrier's study on the 'Psycho-motor Function—la Fonction Psycho-motrice'—really belongs to physiology, but, as the author remarks, its philosophical importance is sufficiently great, its relations with psychology are sufficiently intimate and sufficiently numerous to recommend it to the attention of philosophers and psychologists. The knowledge of the mutual relations between the brain and the rest of the organism is the crown of the physiology of the nervous system, and should have its place in the foundation of a truly scientific system of psychology. Dr. Monouvrier's paper is a succinct analysis of the organic sources of the intellect, and of the reflex influence exercised by this supreme function on itself, by means of the motor action of the organ of thought on the other organs. He considers the brain successively as a receiving apparatus, as a producing apparatus, and as a motor apparatus, that is, as an apparatus reacting on the whole organism.—The third and last of the 'Articles de Fonds' is from the pen of M. Paulham, and is entitled 'Ideal Ethics.'

According to his definition, ethics are a special, practical science, in intimate connexion with practical philosophy, borrowing from it its rules and its general laws, and their aim is to indicate the conditions of a complete systematisation of the conduct of man as man. M. Paulham assigns a very important part to this systematisation, indeed, he makes it the criterion and the ultimate object of ethics. It is greater, he says, than ethics, than æsthetics, than philosophy; all our theories seek it, and all our actions should tend towards it.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (April 1st and 15th).—The Duc de Broglie's 'Diplomatic Studies' have reached a most interesting point, the present instalment being devoted to a detailed narrative of Voltaire's embassy to the Court of Berlin. The facts here brought forward whilst, on the one hand, fully justifying Frederick's openly expressed contempt for the versatile Frenchman's attempts at diplomacy, and clearly showing that, in the king's own words, 'The whole negotiation was a joke,' must, on the other hand, be allowed to prove that, in almost every branch except politics, Voltaire's mock mission to Germany exercised an influence which has not yet died away, careful as the Germans of the present day may be to ignore it. For good as for evil, the debt which the mighty German empire owes to the genius of Goethe is admittedly immense, but who shall estimate Goethe's indebtedness to Voltaire?—The continuation of M. Maxime Du Camp's 'Private Charity in Paris,' deals with the Refuge for Women, which has been established in the Rue d'Auteuil, and where, irrespective of religion or nationality, homeless females are boarded, nominally for three months, but in reality until means of subsistence has been found for them.—'A Gentleman of Leisure,' by Edgar Fawcett, and W. H. Bishop's 'The House of a Merchant Prince,' supply M. Th. Bentzon with a further chapter on 'The New American Novelists.' In his subtle analysis of these two characteristic works, the writer's main object is to point out the singular infatuation which leads the society of republican New York to submit to, or better, willingly to assume distinctions of caste apparently incompatible with its theory of political equality, and to enforce them with a fanatical rigidity which is the more astonishing—not to say ludicrous—that it has not even the shadowy foundation of blue blood and long descent to rest upon.—M. Marc-Monnier devotes a sympathetic and appreciative article to a consideration of the life and works of Francesco de Sanctis, whose death, towards the close of last year, has left a gap, both in politics and literature, which Italy will not easily fill.—Of the two remaining articles—exclusive of the staple chronicles—that on 'Fiduciary Circulation and the Present Crisis,' contributed by M. Victor Bonnet, can scarcely be recommended as light reading, and we feel justified in advising the intending reader to pass on to the interesting review of Herr Moritz Busch's work on Prince Bismarck.—The mid-monthly number opens with the last instalment of 'Andrée,' a novel which has supplied the light literature for the last two months, and is deserving of notice as the first attempt of a young writer who seems destined to hold a high place amongst French novelists. M. George Duruy's work has, in the first place, the great merit of suggesting no comparisons; it is written with praise-worthy independence, and it would be as difficult to class it amongst the productions of any school as it would be unfair to look upon it as the manifestation of any system. The plot is highly dramatic without, however, lapsing into sensationalism, and the style is natural and pleasing, its chief fault being a tendency to diffuseness.—'The Laws of Chance' are ably set forth by M. J. Bertrand, in an article replete with information and apt illustration.—M. Edouard Schuré treats of the popular Sunday Concerts which, after remaining for many years an exclusively Parisian feature, have now spread to Lyons, Marseilles, Bordeaux, Clermont, Nantes and Angers, and finds in them the subject-matter of a very able examination of the relative merits of Beethoven, Berlioz, and Richard Wagner. Into this disquisition we have not to follow him, but, in view of recent controversies, it may not be out of place to quote a few words with regard to the result of these popular Sunday Concerts: 'They have already produced a complete transformation of musical taste, and are preparing for us, in the near future, a regeneration of the æsthetic sense in the lower strata of society. They have accomplished with surprising rapidity what the Conservatoire could not do; they have popularised the great classical music.'

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (May 1st and 15th).—The first of this month's numbers is headed by a further instalment of the 'Diplomatic Studies' in which the Duc de Broglie throws the light of new documents on the first struggle between Frederick II. and Maria Theresa, and which have now reached the point of the renewal of the negotiations between France and Prussia, and of Louis's departure for the army.—To this and the next two numbers M. Emile Pouvillon contributes instalments of a novel 'L'Innocent,' of which all we can say is that it is thoroughly bad and unworthy of the place which it occupies.—'The Night Refuge for Men' and 'The Philanthropical Society' are the titles of the two sections into which M. Maxime Du Camp divides this eighth and final part of the admirable series of articles which he has devoted to 'Private Charity in Paris,' and which amply justify the verdict contained in his concluding words: 'When weighed in the balance, the good deeds of Paris will not be found wanting, for they will have the weight of its charity, of that charity which the ancient world did not know, and with which the Christian religion has forever penetrated all hearts.'—As long as M. Eugène Melchior de Vogüé limits himself to his subject, which is a review, or better, a résumé of Bernal Dias's Chronicle of the Conquest of Mexico, his article, 'Un Compagnon de Cortez,' is highly interesting, we have no praise to bestow on it, however, where the author comes forward with digressions and moral reflections of his own.—M. J. Jamin's 'Les Rougeurs du Ciel' is an able, interesting, and thoroughly scientific enquiry into the causes of the red sun-sets noticed towards the close of last year. We can only indicate the writer's theory, leaving it to the reader to consult the original article for the details and arguments on which it is based. M. Jamin is distinctly of opinion that the glow of the twilight was produced by the presence in the atmosphere of minute particles of dust from the volcano of Krakatoa, between Sumatra and Java, the eruption of which, last August, buried the island of Sebessi beneath a thick layer of mud, and, on the neighbouring coasts, caused inundations in which over 50,000 persons perished.—In another scientific article M. Ludovic Carrau treats of the 'Zoology of Aristotle,' and shows the importance and the authority, even in modern times, of this vast and erudite work.—As regards mere facts, M. G. Valbert's sketch of 'Charles George Gordon' is necessarily but a reproduction of what everybody has read in Archibald Forbes' 'Chinese Gordon.' It contains judgments and opinions, however, which are both original and interesting, and of which we may be allowed to give a sample: 'Chinese Gordon is perhaps the unique example of a man whose tenacious will has accomplished great things whilst only half believing in what it was accomplishing. But throughout the vicissitudes of his most active life, he has founded no lasting work. For the accomplishment of work which endures, thorough belief in that work is a necessary condition, and repentance is the most useless form of wisdom.' Whatever may be thought of this judgment, the concluding lines will find an echo in every English breast: 'Under whatever reservation we may admire Gordon's genius, it is impossible not to feel the keenest interest in his fate. The whole of Europe would hear with a sense of relief that he had escaped from the violent and cunning hands of the followers of the Mahdi. Lions are not intended to perish under the claws of jackals, and Gordon is too noble a prey for the Bedouins of the Soudan.'—M. Emile Montégut opens the second of this month's numbers with a brilliant essay on Heinrich Heine. Though numbered as a first instalment, the present contribution is complete in itself. After giving a sketch of Heine's youth, and pointing out the influence of the poet's Jewish descent, of his conversion—more formal than real—to Christianity, and also of his physical temperament, on his career and his works, the writer proceeds to a subtle examination of his Lyrics. Amongst many telling points the analysis of the passion of love as represented in the lyric poems is particularly striking; the mixture of irony and scepticism which characterizes it is brought out and illustrated with force and originality. If, as we may expect, the continuation is on a level with this first section, we shall have to thank M. Montégut for one of the ablest studies yet written of the poet's works.—Colonel Tchong-Ki-Tong, military attaché to the Chinese embassy in Paris, has undertaken to dispel some part of the ignorance and of the prejudices which, he says, exist in European

minds, on the score of his native country, by publishing a series of papers under the heading, 'China and the Chinese.' Family, religion and philosophy, marriage, divorce, and women, are the special subjects treated of in this first article.—In 'A Last Page of Roman History,' M. Victor Duruy travels over similar ground to that already travelled over by Bossuet and Montesquieu, his very just apology for so doing being that revolutions have taught us to interrogate Rome on questions which, two centuries ago, could not present themselves to those great minds.—In the next article M. Amagat considers M. Gambetta and the part which he played in politics, with special reference to the doctrine of opportunism. It may suffice to say that the writer has no sympathy with the man whose work he examines.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (June 1st and 15th).—The Duc de Broglie is still to the fore with his 'Diplomatic Studies;' this eighth instalment treats of the campaign in Flanders and of the invasion of Alsace.—The 'Salon' is exhaustively noticed by M. Henry Houssaye, who, on this occasion, speaks more favourably of the works sent to the palace of the Champs-Élysées than he has been able to do of late years.—In both this month's numbers Colonel Tcheng-Ki-Tong continues his notes on 'China and the Chinese.'—Two recent works on Germany: *Les Allemands*, by Father Didon, and *Les Universités Allemandes*, by Doctor Blanchard, furnish M. Ernest Lavisse with materials for an excellent article on 'French and German Universities.' As regards French Universities, which are, as yet, but in *posse* he is of opinion that they would be an improvement on the existing Faculties. With respect to the German Universities, whilst admitting their excellence and their immense utility, he points out that there are shades to the bright picture which Father Didon gives of them. He lays special stress on the fact that much of what is most admirable about them is essentially national, and cannot be adopted by other countries with any chance of success, and that much, also, is the slow product of centuries, and cannot possibly be called into life by a vote of Parliament or a ministerial decree.—Only those who are blessed with good memories need turn to M. Blanchard's paper on 'New Zealand,' it being the fifth of a series of articles begun in 1878.—England is somewhat severely handled by M. Valbert in his article on her 'Colonial Power,' the moral of which seems to be that she ought to be more careful to practise what she preaches.—The mid-monthly opens with a charming article in which M. Henri Blaze de Bury traces the political career of Bianca Capello, the famous Venetian adventuress of the 16th century, who became grand duchess of Tuscany.—In an essay which economists may read with advantage, the theories of landed property advocated by Leroy, Beau lieu, de Laveleye, Stuart Mill, Herbert Spencer, Paul Janet, Henry George, Schœffle, Charles Grad, and Léon Say, are analysed and criticised by M. Alfred Fouillée, whose own system of liberal economics is resumed in this simple formula: 'Individuals as free proprietors in a state which is itself a free proprietor.'—After a dramatic little story which M. Th. Bentzon entitles 'A Conversion,' and Colonel Tcheng-Ki-Tong's 'China and the Chinese,' we have a scholarly study on 'Landscape in the Arts of Antiquity.' The writer, M. E. Michel, endeavours to show what position the somewhat exaggerated taste for natural beauty, which our epoch professes, held amongst the ancients, in what manner the representation of landscape scenery was understood by them, and the various phases through which it passed.—The 'Page from the Life of Hoche,' which M. Albert Duruy contributes, is admirable as a literary production, but we cannot speak with praise of his endeavours to denigrate the memory of one of the noblest of the generals of the Republic.—M. Plauchut, who closes the number with a paper on 'France and Madagascar,' writes in a spirit, which may be gathered from a single passage in which he likens British policy to the 'arrogant presumption of the Celestials, according to which all the kingdoms of the earth are the tributaries of China, as all oceans, all seas, all isthmuses, all archipelagos, must be, it seems, tributary to England.'

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. I., 1884).—This number marks the beginning of a new series of this *Revue*. For the last four years—that is, from its commencement—it has been edited by M. Maurice Vernes, but it has passed now into the hands of M. Jean Réville. We are glad to see from a note

to the reader, prefixed to this first number, that it is to be conducted along the same lines as before, and pursue the same policy,—be purely scientific, and in no sense apologetic or polemic. The only difference—if difference it may be called—which M. Réville contemplates introducing, is to open these pages more fully than before to contributions on what is known as 'Folk-Lore.' This will doubtless make the *Revue* more attractive to the ever widening circle of students who are finding this branch of enquiry so fascinating and fruitful. M. Woodville Rockhill opens with the first instalment of a translation from the Tibetan of the Prâtimoksha Sûtra, or, as it is better known from the Pali and Chinese versions, translated frequently already by scholars, the Pâtimokkha Sûtra. His translation is preceded by an interesting note on the history of this work, and on the differences between the various versions of it. Being the first translation of the Tibetan version into an European tongue, it cannot fail to interest all students of Buddhism and Buddhistic literature. M. J. Pischari makes the well-known 'Ballad of Lenore' the subject of an elaborate study, basing his remarks on Herr M. W. Wollner's article in the *Archiv für slavische Philologie*, 1882. He traces the existence of this ballad in the folk-lore of modern Greece, of the Servians, Slaves, Albanians, etc., points out the features of difference that characterize the different versions, and endeavours ingeniously to account for them.—M. L. Massebieau follows with a short paper on 'The Sacrifices ordered to be made at Carthage at the beginning of the Decian Persecution.' His object is to show the kind of sacrifices the Christians had to offer, and he selects Carthage because of the richer data on the subject furnished in the writings of Cyprian.—The other papers are an appreciative notice of two lately deceased leaders of thought in India, Dayananda Sarasvati and Keshub Chunder Sen, by M. Le Comte Goblet d'Alviella, taken, we think, *verbatim* from his recent excellent work *L'Evolution religieuse contemporaine chez les Anglais, les Américains, et les Hindous*, (only where we write this the work is not at hand that we may compare them), and a paper on the place which serpents and dragons occupy in ancient faiths and traditions by M. Carnoy. These are followed by a short notice of some articles that appeared last year in *La Revue Slave* on the mythology of that race, a review of M. Le Comte Goblet d'Alviella's book mentioned above, and the usual chronicle and summary of transactions of Learned Societies and of articles in periodicals bearing on the history of Religions.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. II., 1884).—The first place is given here to a 'Study on Greek Mythology,' from the pen of Dr. Albert Réville, the Professor of the 'History of Religions' in the Collège de France. It is what he calls an 'analytical résumé' of Herr Otfried Müller's well-known, and, as the Germans say, epoch-making work, the *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie*. It is not a translation of that work which he here gives us, and he tells us why he does not render it literally. Herr O. Müller's style, he says, is too prolix, is hardly ever lucid, though his thought always is (an exception to the general rule), and much which in 1825 was fresh and full of interest in his book, is now antiquated, and has been supplanted by fuller information and more accurate reflection. Dr. Réville's 'study,' however, is in substance Herr Müller's *Prolegomena* in a condensed and modernized form, and it is accompanied throughout with foot notes of a critical and supplementary character. It is, of course, only a portion of it that is given here, but the rest is to follow. M. W. Woodville Rockhill continues his translation of the 'Prâtimoksha Sûtra,' from the Tibetan version, which was begun in the last number. M. Leon de Rosny, the eminent Chinese and Japanese scholar, in a learned and interesting paper titled 'The Great Solar Goddess Ama-Terasou-Oho-Kami and the Origin of Sintaism,' or, as it is better known perhaps in this country, Shintôism, gives a short but very graphic account of the early Japanese traditions as to the genesis of things and the early beliefs there as to the gods. He is publishing a translation of the 'Yamata-Coumi' (the second part of which has just been, or is about to be, issued), a recension of the 'Fourou-Koto Coumi' the Bible, as it may perhaps be called, of the Japanese: and he gives here in this paper, a short account of the work and of the nature of its contents. It will be seen from these how the earliest records and traditions of Japan preserve memories of a primitive

monotheism, and M. De Rosny indicates here the causes of its later degeneration. M. A. Bouché-Leclercq continues his translation of the Sibylline Books from the last series, and reaches here the end of Book III. These, with the reviews of some modern works bearing on Religious criticism and history, such as Karl Budde's *Biblische Urgeschichte*; *La Bible Française au Moyen-Age*, of M. S. Berger; and M. le professeur D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Le Cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique*; and the usual 'chronique' and summaries of proceedings of learned societies and periodicals complete the contents. The original papers in both numbers are almost all of exceptional interest and value, and promise well for the future of the Magazine under its new editorship.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Zweites Heft, 1884).—By some accident or other this number, published in January, did not reach us in time to be noticed in our last issue. It is taken up almost entirely with Lutheran subjects, with addresses delivered at the Tercentenary Festivals of November 10th of last year, and papers on Luther and his writings, and on Lutheran literature. The first essay is not directly connected with the November celebrations in Germany, for it is the second paper contributed by Herr Professor Hering of Halle, on the influences of the Reformation on the Charity and the Charitable Organizations of the Church in Germany, the first of which was noticed in the *Scottish Review* of September last. Indirectly, however, it has bearings on, or relation to, those celebrations, for it was in view of them that Prof. Hering sought to direct attention to this aspect of the Reformation. We are perfectly justified therefore in describing this number of the *Studien und Kritiken* as Lutheran throughout. Professor Hering's first paper dealt with the history of charity and its modes of manifesting itself in the Pre-Reformation Church in Germany, from the time of the first Crusades to the dawn of the Reformation. His present paper takes up the story there, and exhibits the effects of the reform movement on the charitable feelings and charitable institutions of the Churches affected by it. Taken in connection with Dr. Uhlhorn's work on 'Christian Charity in the Ancient Church,' to which it forms an excellent sequel, we are presented with a telling picture illustrative of the power of Christian teaching, or rather of Christianity, on the selfish and cruel passions of men, which it would be well for those who decry the Christian faith to study.—Following Herr Prof. Hering's paper are two speeches delivered at the festival of 10th November, 1883, in the united Universities of Halle and Wittenberg, by Professors Köstlin and Boretius: then a paper by Dr. Ed. Riehm, on 'Luther as a translator of the Bible,' which was read before the Evangelical Society (Verein) of the Province of Saxony, on October 22nd, and which is marked by Dr. Riehm's usual moderation and thoroughness, and one by Herr Prof. Hofstede de Groot, of Groningen, titled 'Luther in his study.' The reviews are all of recent works on Luther, by Herr Prof. Köstlin.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Drittes Heft), 1884.—The two principal articles in this number are by Herr Usteri, in continuation of his papers on the opinions of the Leaders of the Reformation concerning the Sacraments of the Church, especially the Sacrament of Baptism. In the first of these articles here he treats of Calvin's views on these subjects, quoting largely from his *Institutio* and other works, so that his statements as to Calvin's opinions may be verified at first hand. Herr Usteri carefully points out in what respects the Genevan Reformer's views differed from, and wherein they agreed with, those of his predecessors, and what influence these and the writings of Augustine seem to have had on the formation of his opinions. In his second paper here he discusses 'the position of the Strasburg Reformers, Bucer and Capito, to the question of baptism.' He enters with considerable minuteness into the history of the differences that arose between Capito and Bucer on the question of infant baptism, and Zwingli's efforts to restore harmony between these teachers. Here, too, he supports his analysis of their respective views by copious quotations from, and reference to, Bucer's and Capito's works. Herr Prof. Hermann Schultz, Professor of Apologetics at Göttingen, contributes a short essay, entitled, 'A Modern Apologetic Question in Ancient Form.' Its object is to show in what respects Origen's answer to the

arguments of Celsus against Christianity, based on the alleged impossibility of distinguishing between men and the lower animals, except in the degree in which they severally possessed reason, morality, and religion, holds good still as against those who, in the present day, regard man as nothing more than a more highly developed, but not generically distinct, animal.—Herr H. Franke, Privat-docent at Halle, follows with a short critical exegesis of 1st Corinthians, vi. 14—vii. 1. There is a very general consensus of opinion that this passage is an interpolation; and the only questions regarding it therefore are, whether it is Pauline or not, and if it is, or is not, whence it came. Herr Franke marshals a considerable number of arguments for its Pauline origin, and gives several very plausible—if not altogether convincing—reasons for holding it to be a page of that Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians mentioned in 1st Cor., v. 9.—The other articles are historical, one by Herr F. Koldewey of Holzminde, on 'The First Attempt to Justify the Bizariness of the Landgrave, Philipp of Hesse,' and the other by Herr Dr. Buchwald on 'Luther's Controversy with the Canons of Wittenberg.' Several reviews of books follow.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (May).—Both as regards the work which it reviews, and the manner in which it does it, Herr Hermann Scholz's article on Weiss's 'Life of Jesus,' fully deserves the place of honour which has been assigned to it. Not only is it a masterly analysis of an admirable work, but it contains original views which make it highly interesting reading even to those who are acquainted with the 'Leben Jesu.'—Dr. Wülcker's historical essay, 'Reichstag und Reichsregiment zu Anfang der Reformationszeit,' takes us back to Nürnberg, the real capital of Germany at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and recalls the debates and 'scenes' which at times enlivened the solemn imperial assembly during those eventful years. The letters between the elector Frederick the Wise, and his representative, Hans von der Planitz, have supplied the materials of this excellent and instructive article, in which, naturally, Luther frequently appears. It is interesting to note that amongst the many evils laid to Luther's charge, was included the failure of the mines of Annaberg and Schneeberg, which Duke George attributed to the influence of the miner's son over the miners who worked them.—'Württemberg under the Mittnacht-Hölder Ministry,' is not of engrossing interest, and will appear rather one-sided to those who may care sufficiently for minor German politics to undertake the perusal of it.—A wider circle is appealed to in the anonymous article, 'Leibnizens volkswirtschaftliche Ansichten und Denkschriften.' For these opinions of Leibniz on Political Economy, the writer has gone to hitherto unpublished documents. There is much in them that appears strange to us at the present time, much that seems to be the work of a mere 'amateur,' and can hardly be reconciled with the greatness of the philosopher. Nevertheless, here and there, there are thoughts which not only throw light upon the times which immediately followed him, but also seem to harmonize with some of our latest theories.—The number further contains—besides the usual political and bibliographical matter—a slight notice of 'Jetta,' by the author of 'Antinous' and 'Klytia,' the pseudonymous 'George Taylor.'

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (June).—Under the apparently innocent title 'Historische Methode,' Herr Hans Delbrück has drawn up a scathing indictment of Janssen's *History of the German People from the Beginning of the Middle Ages*. The character of Ulrich von Hutten is taken pretty well at random, the writer says, as illustrating Janssen's 'method.' It is certainly an interesting specimen of misrepresentation, of the twisting of facts for a special end, and of the adaptation of the words of a quotation to prove assertions in direct opposition to the spirit of the writer.—'Wieder einmal der Faust,' cries Herr Julian Schmidt, Faust yet once again! And in truth, after having read the article, we are inclined to repeat his exclamation. It is not so much a study of Faust as an examination of what Scherer has written about Faust, and seems the less necessary that the writer does not, in the main, differ from Scherer, and that the points on which he does, are of no great importance or interest.—The Origin of the Bavarian War of Succession,' as Herr Reimann says, will prove of interest to those who are anxious to gather

new information with regard to the history of Prussia about the middle of last century. Perhaps, however, their name is not legion.—'Pigeon English' supplies Herr Gotthold Kreyenberg with a very amusing paper, in which, however, he seems to exaggerate the importance of what he calls a new 'Weltsprache.' Pigeon English a universal language! One of the good things of the article is a translation of Longfellow's 'Excelsior' into Pigeon English. As this Chinese gibberish may be new to some of our readers, we subjoin the opening stanza:—

That nightey time begin chop-chop,
One young man walkey, no can stop,
Maskey snow, maskey ice,
He cally flag with chop so nice:
Top-side galow!

—The few pages which Herr Delbrück has written in definition of the idea contained in the word 'vornehm' are chiefly interesting as showing the continental craving for 'official' rank.—The political and other letters which conclude the number are preceded by a lengthy and somewhat heavy article on the Prussian State Church.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (April).—As regards quantity, light literature is well represented in this month's number. In point of quality it perhaps scarcely comes up to the average. 'Unter Uns,' the first instalment of a novel by Herr Ossip Schubin, promises fairly.—Herr Gustav zu Putlitz's 'der Nachlass der Grosstante'—a reminiscence of his childhood—is not of absorbing interest to mere outsiders.—Herr Hans Hoffmann's contribution: 'Meines Sohnes erste Schul-und Liebestudien' is excellent, but it is a translation from the Italian of Salvatore Farina.—The more serious literature is headed by the reproduction of an address delivered at Rostock by Professor Dr. Victor Ehrenberg. It appears here with the title, 'Die Treue als Rechtspflicht.' In it we welcome a definition of that 'Deutsche Treue' of which German writers, and more particularly German orators, make such good use. This German loyalty, we are told, is that which looks upon it as the duty of a subject to be useful to his sovereign in counsel and deed, to the best of his knowledge and power, to follow him without invitation or command, without consideration for his own interests, yea, for his own life, without consideration for wife or child, for kindred or friends, and not to abandon him till death. We might accept this as a somewhat high-flown definition of loyalty, but we are scarcely prepared to admit that it is exclusively a German product; yet such is the writer's assertion.—Herr Otto Brahm contributes a passage from the work on 'Heinrich von Kleist,' lately crowned by the 'Allgemeinen Verein für Deutsche Literatur.' The extract contains a few biographical details concerning the poet's too short career,—he was born in 1777, and died by his own hand in 1811,—but it chiefly deals with a fragment which has been preserved of 'Robert Guiskard,' a drama which, in the opinion of Wieland, to whom parts of it were read, surpassed, in some respects, both Goethe and Schiller, and united in itself the spirit of Aeschylus, Sophocles and Shakespeare.—'A Journey to the East Indies,' of which we here have the first part, treating more particularly of Bombay, is of interest, not so much on account of the mere facts which it contains, as because it gives us, on many important points, the opinion of a foreigner well qualified to speak with authority, Professor Julius Jolly of Würzburg, who was appointed 'Tagore Professor of Law' for the year 1882-83.—Both for its matter and manner the paper on 'Emile Littré' is one of the best items in this month's table of contents. The story of the famous lexicographer and of his wonderful work is simply, but sympathetically told, and will be read with pleasure even by those already well acquainted with the details which it contains.—The signature of H. Brugsch, better known as Brugsch Bey, is sufficient guarantee that the paper on the 'Mahdi' is full of most important matter. The explanation of what is meant by a 'Religious War,' amongst Mahomedans, is of special interest, for, as the writer remarks, it has very generally been overlooked that in the whole Mahomedan world Religion, or rather Belief (ed-din) is merely the usual warranty to summon the people to arms for a war which has, in reality, nothing to do with religion or belief. In the East, patriotism is such an unknown idea, that there is no term to express it; in its place belief has been substituted,

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (May).—‘Unter uns,’ Herr Ossip Schubin’s novel, is advanced a step. Herr Gustav zu Putlitz passes on from his childhood to his boyhood in ‘Die Pforte des Alumnats,’ and Salvatore Farina, translated by Hans Hoffman, again brings his quota under the title ‘Grossvater!’—‘Athens and Eleusis’ is the discourse pronounced by Professor Curtius on the anniversary of the Emperor of Germany’s birthday. We shall not attempt to give the connection between the subject chosen and the occasion, having failed to see it, in spite of a few words of far-fetched explanation. That, in itself, the article is excellent, is praise which it would almost be impertinence to give.—The first part of ‘Alessandro Manzoni,’ a paper bearing the signature of Herr von Sarburg, is a most interesting and well-digested summary of all the more important biographies of the Italian writer which have appeared since his death. The critical part is also excellent, notably where it treats of the world-famed ‘Promessi sposi’—the Christian Iliad, as it has been called.—Dr. Heinrich Jaques’s paper on ‘Compensation to Persons Condemned Innocently, in Germany and Austria,’ is rather technical for the ordinary English reader, but it derives special importance for jurists from the writer’s high position and from his intimate connection with the law which the Austrian Parliament has approved of on this subject.—In his ‘Studies on Goethe’ Herr Wilhelm Scherer endeavours to show, and indeed, in many instances, succeeds in showing how the proper understanding of ‘Faust’ largely depends on the knowledge of what Goethe did *not* write, how the harmony of the whole depends on the restoration of scenes comprised in the original plan, but omitted in the execution.—Professor Jolly’s ‘Journey to the East Indies,’ takes us through Guzerat and the Radschputana to Delhi, and by way of Lucknow to Benares. His papers may be recommended as models of what such *impressions de voyage* should be. Unlike a certain writer who, in a book that once fell into our hands, begins his description of an Indian town by saying that there is nothing remarkable about it, that it is a thoroughly *English* town, Professor Jolly shows how much of the old civilisation and of the old art still remains in India, in spite of British rule.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (April 1st).—The opening paper is one on ‘Lorenzo Costa,’ by A. Neri, who says that collecting from correspondence some anecdotes related by personal friends of Costa, he is able to furnish a small part of the material which will some day go to form a memoir of the illustrious poet., whose works have been too much neglected.—Signor T. Roberti publishes a letter from Goldoni, written from Versailles in 1780, to the ‘Secretary of the Venetian Embassy.’—A paper on ‘Inquiry into Paternity,’ is contributed by Signor Mazzei.—Signor Giuseppe Mercalli writes on the ‘Earthquakes and Eruptions of the Island of Ischia.’ He first shows how that island was formed by the action of a subterranean volcano during the quaternary period of the globe. After a few eruptions, the mountain issued from the sea, in the shape of a little island, about 750 feet high, the low coasts of which were often destroyed by the waves. By degrees, and after the formation of subsidiary volcanoes, the island assumed its present form and size. The oldest eruptions within human memory are symbolized by the legend of Typhoeus. Pliny mentions a burnt city and newly-formed lake, probably the actual port of Ischia. The Syracusan colonists were driven away from the island by an eruption and earthquake, about 400 B.C. Doubtful notices mention three other eruptions before and during the time of Diocletian. Then came a pause of almost a thousand years, but a new period of violent activity commenced in 1228 A.D. and culminated in 1302. From the latter year up to 1762 there are no records of any violent earthquakes having taken place in Ischia, but from 1762 to the present day the houses of Casamiciola have been destroyed by about five earthquakes. The writer confirms the opinion that there were sufficient signs before the last earthquake to have warned the inhabitants. He then describes that earthquake and everything connected with it, blaming the bad construction of the houses, and advances proofs of his opinion that the Ischian earthquakes are of purely volcanic origin. The most practically important observation he makes is the following:—‘Before 1762, history never mentions an earthquake in Ischia without at the same time recording the ensuing eruption, with the sole exception of the earthquake of 1228, the first of a new period of activity, which

ended in the eruption of 1302. This leads one to suppose that the seismic period commenced in 1765, has been continued ever since with a frightful *crescendo*, and has not yet reached its climax.—Signor Bosio writes on the 'Condition of Medicine in Italy.'—Signor Grabunski continues his papers on 'Religious and Italian Interests in Palestine and Syria.'—Salvatore Farini, the sympathetic Italian author, whose works, without the least imitation, remind one of Dickens and Bret Harte, commences a 'simple story,' entitled, 'Corporal Silvestro.'—Signor C. F. Gabba furnishes a lawyer's article on 'Women with Advocates.'—Signor Foperti writes a political article on 'Quintino Sella and Guiseppe Massari.'—Signor Cantu briefly describes the first named politician as a literary man and historian.—(April 16th).—In this number we have first a paper on 'Literary Criticism,' by Signor Zanella.—Signor Carlo Vassilio writes an exhaustive paper on the 'Life and Writings of Charles Witte,' accompanied by numerous notes and quotations from original letters.—N. Martelli contributes an antiquarian article on the 'Good Men' of San Martino, who still exist, under the title of the 'Congregation of San Martino, in Florence.'—Signor Castagna writes the story of the 'Republic of Senarica,' and 'Corporal Silvestro' is continued.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (May 1st).—This number commences with an interesting article on the 'Youth of Cavour,' by Signor Gotti, founded on edited and unedited letters collected by Signor Chiala.—Signor Fea contributes an article on Alexander Farnese.—A paper by Signor Gariazzo describes a charitable institute in Turin, which owes its existence principally to Signor Cocchi, the founder of homes for poor children.—Signor Stelvio gives a 'succinct story' of the modern German Empire. The writer concludes by saying that modern German preponderance might easily acquire, under other forms and with different interests, the form of the ancient Roman-German domination in the Middle Ages. It ought not to be forgotten that the countries of old Europe are divided into three chief races, the Latin, the German and the Slave. If European civilization is to be maintained, as social peace and civilization demand, the preponderance of one of the three elements cannot be long tolerated.—A paper on 'Alexander Dumas and the Modern Romance' is furnished by A. G. Barrili.—The story of 'Corporal Silvestro' is closed, but needs a larger notice than space here affords.—F. Cucchi-Boasso writes a statistical article on the 'Working Classes of Milan and Neighbourhood.'—It is followed by a short country story, entitled, 'Teresa,' by Signora Giarre-Billi.—The number closes with a paper on the 'Turin Exhibition,' and the usual bulletins.—(May 16th).—We have, in the present number, a careful study by A. Biasiutti, of the 'Future of Africa,' as indicated in existing and sociological reports. The writer attempts to prove that the efforts hitherto made to civilize Africa have rather resulted in harm than good, the methods used having been mistaken. This is the reason why results are scanty, leading to the false conclusion that the African population is absolutely incapable of any civil progress. It is necessary first of all to make war to the knife against slavery, which renders civil, moral, and social regeneration impossible, and it is a shame to our much-vaunted times that this important argument has been so ignored and neglected. There is no doubt that better times are in store for the Africans, and perhaps their virgin element will renew our present exhausted civilization. Though we may not live to witness it, our descendants will no doubt see an entire change in African conditions; they will see the gigantic rivers covered with steamboats, the electric wire uniting distant regions, the land cultivated, the forests cleared, the swamps drained and the mountains yielding their mineral treasure, and where are now miserable villages, cities full of busy life.—A graceful little scene of jealousy, entitled 'The First Cloud,' which ends in sunshine, is contributed by Signor Alberti.—V. Brandi sends a paper, entitled 'A Queen-Authoress,' the subject being Queen Victoria's journals. The writer remarks on the dedication of 'More Leaves from the Journal of Life in the Highlands,' being an entirely novel thing and a great uprooting of old forms of etiquette. Many passages are quoted from the diaries, and the article ends by calling them essentially womanly, possessing a high value because they are a splendid proof that sovereigns are no longer the scourge of subjects, such as

they have often been represented, and that it is possible to be a model queen, and at the same time a model wife, mother and citizen. If other living sovereigns would follow the example of the Queen of England, they would render a great service to history and the principle of sovereignty.—Signor Manassei sends a long article on 'Agricultural Credit.'—A. de Johannis has some considerations 'On Italian Railways;' and an ex-diplomatist discusses the question of the *Propaganda Fide* and the Italian government.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (June 1st).—This number opens with the first part of a long article on 'Italy with Reference to the St. Gothard Tunnel.' The remaining articles are not of much interest.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (May 1st).—The opening paper of the present number by E. Nencione, is an interesting criticism of 'Aurora Leigh.' The writer first analysis the poem, relates its story, and translates the most characteristic verses. He then makes several observations, comparing the work with the almost contemporaneous poem of 'Maud,' in which, he says, the personages pass like shadows, serving only as pretexts for the splendid lyrics inserted in the poem, while, in 'Aurora Leigh' we have portraits painted from life.—Signor Lampeitico has a paper on 'Transformation and Sociology according to the most recent Studies,' contending that though the transformation of human society is unceasing, the essential form, which is the root of all exterior forms and gives being to creatures and informs and vivifies social life, remains unchangeable.—Signor Marasca contributes a learned paper on the worship of the pastoral goddess, Pales, among the aboriginal inhabitants of Latium, and the origin of the natal festival of Rome.—Signor Nobile-Vitelleschi give an account of agriculture in the United States, founded on Rossi's book on 'American Competition.'—Signora Pigorini-Beri furnishes another of her lively descriptions of 'Rustic Life and Customs.'—Signor Brunialti contributes a 'General Glance at the Turin Exhibition.'—A paper on the 'Pretended Autograph Papers of Giacomo Leopardi,' disputes the authenticity of certain MS. discovered in Naples and said to have been written by Leopardi.—In his 'Review of Foreign Literature,' Signor de Gubernatis devotes many pages to a criticism of Edward Schure's *Legende de l'Alsace*.—(May 15th).—This number opens with a careful study of the various memoirs of Heinrich Heine. The writer sums up his opinion of them in the words: 'The Memoirs show us, as I hope I have proved, a Heine of whom it is impossible to say, without great injustice, that he had no heart.'—'Turning over Byron's lyrics, a little time ago, I chanced upon the "Lines to a Lady Weeping;"' with these words Signor Saredo begins a paper on 'Princess Charlotte of England,' relating the story of that unhappy lady, who, he says, was well worthy of such a poet's song.—Orazio Manicchi writes on 'Rome at the Turin Exhibition,' expressing a wish that the comparison of Italian culture to be made at Turin will increase emulation in useful works and earnest study, the only rivalry that ought to exist between the sister cities. The fiction of this number is represented by a clever story founded on an advertisement for a governess, and wholly carried on in letters and telegrams, with a tragic close.—Some letters from Count di Brazza Savorgnan, dated 1883, give an account of that explorer's journey in Gabon.—There follows a short memoir of the late Italian poet, G. Prati.—*The Bibliographical Review* gives a summary of 'Land and its Rent,' by F. A. Walker.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (June 1st), opens with an article by O. Barattieri, giving a detailed account of 'Garibaldi's Victory at Calatafimi.' The paper ends by proposing to erect a monument, on the heights of Pianto del Romani, on the twenty-fourth anniversary of the battle.—Signor G. Boglietti writes a paper entitled 'A New Biographer of Bismarck,' in which, after remarking that all the anger directed against Moritz Busch is only the result of the offended vanity of those whom Bismarck has often roughly criticised, he goes on to give a brief account of the great Chancellor's political acts since 1851.—The 'Acquisition of the Ashburnham Italian Codices' is the theme of a paper by G. Chiarini, who greets the event as a sign of renewed interest in science and art.—A story is commenced entitled 'The Last of the Calderos,' by V. Bersezio.—Signor Bonghi writes on the 'Decadence of Parliamentary Regime.'—The review of foreign books, notices French books exclusively.—*The*

Political Review, speaking of the dynamite outrages in London, says that England will not hesitate to suppress some part of public liberty as soon as she finds that there is no other means of repressing such outrages. It is a marvel that Gladstone's cabinet can resist such terrible and repeated blows.—(June 15th).—In this number we have a paper entitled 'A New Author,' by Paul Livy, in which he compares, much to the advantage of the author, a book which has been well received in Italy with the works of Zola and Goncourt. The book is *La Paura*, by Angelo Mosso, and Signor Livy says that the writer is already a great physiologist and will be a great author.—Signor Nencione has a long and careful criticism of Vernon Lee's 'Euphorion.'—Signor Bindi contributes an article on 'Landscape Painters at Naples,' beginning with Salvator Rosa, and going on to Hackert and Pitloo, Carelli and many other worthy modern painters.—Signor Bonghi takes three modern books on religion, namely, *Natural Religion*; *Le Religioni e la Religione*, by G. Trezza; and *Il Dogma e le Scienze*, by Antonio Stoppani, as the theme of an interesting article on 'Believers and Unbelievers.'—An 'Ex-Diplomatist' writes an important article on the 'Morocco Question,' urging Italy, should France invade Morocco, to take up a strong position in Africa by occupying Tripoli.

DE GIDS (June).—Opens with an account of the Edinburgh University Tercentenary festival, by Prof. van Hamel. He was greatly impressed by the service in St. Giles, in its every feature: and greatly pleased with the kindness of the Edinburgh people. He has great sympathy with the spirit and aims of the Scottish Universities, but remarked with surprise the want of organisation among the students, and the absence at the most important meetings of any official representative of their body. In Holland, as well as in Scotland, the question of the teaching of theology in the national universities is a subject of discussion. The last university legislation, in 1877, kept the theological faculties in their places: but this was done in the face of strong objections; and the question appears likely to be re-opened at no distant day. In this *Gids* A. Bruining has a long paper defending the right of theology to a place in the higher national education. It is scarcely theology however, in one sense, whose claims he pleads. What is taught about religion in national institutions, must, he holds, be strictly scientific; the subject of university instruction must be the science of religion, in its historical and psychological aspects, and not any system of divinity. Most of his paper is devoted to a discussion of the claims of various schools of thought in religion to be considered scientific; and he excludes from this category not only all systems founded on supernaturalism, but also systems based on mysticism or the assumption of a specific innate religious faculty, such as that of Schleiermacher. The conclusion is that no Roman Catholic or Calvinist, nor any representative of a system based on authority, could be appointed to a university chair, but only those who take up the scientific point of view, and treat religion as a branch of natural knowledge. In Scotland we should hear this called the dis-establishment of faith and the State support of infidelity. Yet this is what we shall probably have to come to if the universities are to continue to have a faculty of theology. 'A Heroic Life' is the title of a series of articles in the *Gids*, in which Charles Boissevain gives an account of the life and adventures of our remarkable countryman, General Gordon.

DE GIDS (July).—Opens with some pages, full of feeling, on the death of the Prince of Orange. 'The last Prince of Orange dies in early manhood, a stranger among his people, leaving rather a legend of his existence—a curious admixture of truth and fiction—than a biography known to the people. And yet how much was there in his life that was worthy to be known! If a pure and blameless conversation, if chivalrous fidelity to his ideals of right and goodness, and to those in whom these ideals seemed to him to be represented, if deep contempt for the mere pleasures, and lofty aspiration to the duties, of kingship, and a fervent desire to dedicate all his powers to the fulfilment of these duties, if there be regal virtues, this prince possessed them in large measure.' The writer goes on to doubt whether the shrinking disposition of the prince would ever have suffered him to do justice to himself, and whether the cloister life he led had

not unfitted him for the duties of a throne. He concludes with saying that those who knew the prince best, also loved him and admired him most. There is in this number a review of Max Roué's French book on Christophe Plantin, the printer of Antwerp, whose house now belongs to the city, and contains a collection of early editions of the Plantin press. There is also a lengthy paper on the negotiations with a view to the partition of the Spanish monarchy in 1698-1700; which is to be continued.

VRAGEN DES TIJDS (May).—Has a paper, interesting to the foreigner, on the defence of Holland, which opens with the assertion that the country is unprepared to defend itself, as in time of peace it always has been. Occurrences in the Transvaal are held to prove that it is not impossible for a small nation to defend itself against a great power, and the writer, taking the case of a possible attack on Holland, both by sea and land, by a great power bent on absorbing it, goes on to discuss the proper citadel to be adopted, which he holds, surely with justice, to be the province of Holland itself, the necessary measures of peace establishments, militia, etc., to keep the country ready for emergencies. The means of flooding various districts of the country is the last point considered.

In the THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT for May there are two elaborate papers, in which the same historical method is applied to an Old Testament and a New Testament subject. The writers are both men of eminence. Dr. Oort, of the 'Bible for Young People,' writes on the sons of Aaron; and Dr. Hoekstra on the relation between John the Baptist and Christianity. Aaron, Dr. Oort maintains, was the reputed ancestor of the clergy, including priests and prophets, of North Israel, or more particularly of the house of Joseph; and of them alone, not of the clergy of Judah before the captivity. The narratives of the relations between Aaron and Moses are to be interpreted as setting forth the relations between the clergy of the North Kingdom and those of Judah, of which Dr. Oort gives a highly interesting sketch. They are written of course from the Jerusalem point of view: Aaron, or the North clergy, encouraged Israel to worship Jehovah, under the figure of a bull; but Josiah counted a number of them among his sympathisers in executing his reforms; and admitted them, as second Kings and Deuteronomy tell us, on certain conditions to the ranks of the clergy of the south. The descendants of Eli came to Jerusalem to beg a priest's office, that they might eat a piece of bread (1 Sam. ii. 36). In this part of the paper there are very acute remarks on the history of Bethel, the principal northern sanctuary. At a later stage of the legend Moses represents the law, the characteristic product of Judah, and Aaron prophecy—he is the mouth of Moses, and sees dreams and visions, while Moses is at all times faithful and clear. The second of the above-named papers begins with an attempt, in view of recent revolutionary Dutch theories, to prove from Josephus that the Christ of the Gospels is a historical person, and the real source of Christianity. Dr. Hoekstra rejects as interpolations all the direct references to Jesus now to be found in Josephus; and works in an indirect method, to show first that what Josephus tells us about John the Baptist must be supplemented from the Gospels in order to be at all intelligible, and then that if the Gospels are good for that purpose the facts they contain about Jesus cannot be summarily dismissed, as Dr. Loman proposes. His paper then widens out to a discussion of the relations between John the Baptist and Jesus. The movement of John was perhaps at first the more considerable of the two, and what is told of the relations between John and Jesus shews the relations subsisting at different times between the community of John and that of Jesus. The various stages by which the latter gradually overshadowed and at last nearly absorbed the former, are set forth in the varying degree in which John is subordinated to Jesus. At first the head of a separate movement, he is gradually brought into contact with the latter, and at last becomes merely his forerunner. But the movements were at first quite different in spirit and tendency. John's was Pharisaic, ceremonial, particularist, ascetic; that of Jesus was liberal, Galilean, universalist, and inwardly repugnant to Pharisaism; whence Josephus could not like it nor speak of it. As the notion of the person of Christ grows more exalted, John partakes in the exaltation, but always in a subordinate degree.

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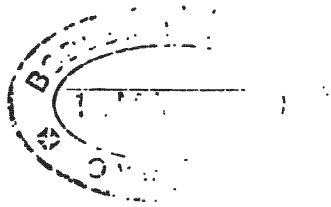
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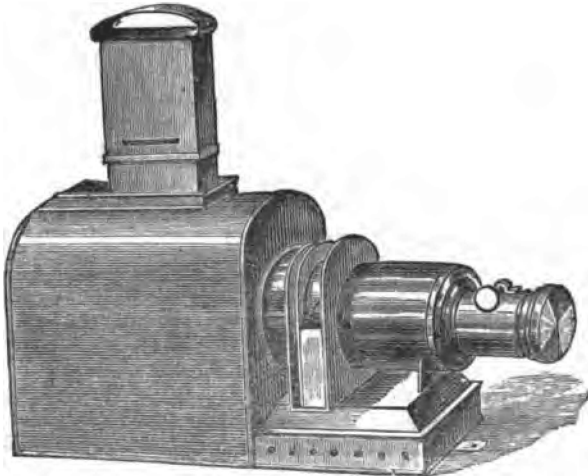
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THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1884.

ART. I.—NEW SOUTH WALES.

1. *New South Wales: Its Progress and Resources.* Sydney: Thomas Richards.
2. *Report of the Minister of Public Instruction upon the Condition of Public Schools in New South Wales, established and maintained under the Public Instruction Act of 1880.* Sydney, 1883.
3. *Speeches on Various Occasions Connected with the Public Affairs of New South Wales, 1848-74.* By HENRY PARKES. Melbourne and London.
4. *Report of Inspector of Public Charities in New South Wales, 1883.*
5. *Report of the Proceedings of the Inter-Colonial Convention, held in Sydney, November and December, 1883.*

THE rapid development of the great colonial dependencies of the British Empire is a marvel to European nations. That a mere handful of people, such as inhabits these islands, should be able to spread the fame of the Anglo-Saxon name throughout the world, and to plant the standard of freedom and civilisation in every quarter of the globe, is evidence of a spirit of indomitable energy and enterprise such as the world never before saw, even in the days of Imperial Rome. Centuries ago, the navigators and soldiers of Spain discovered

and brought into subjection the Eastern and Western Indies; but of that age of glory and triumph the mere shadow now alone remains; generation after generation witnessed her vast possessions gradually slipping away from the grasp of Spain; and at this day she occupies, both at home and abroad, a subordinate position in the scale of nations. France, Holland, and Germany have also in their turn made many and strenuous efforts at colonization. But while Holland has in the past achieved immortal work in this direction, and Germany is now the only powerful colonizer amongst continental nations, France has never been conspicuously successful with her foreign settlements. Students of race characteristics may find it curious and instructive to investigate the causes of this, but it is unquestionably a fact, nevertheless, that as a pioneer and colonizer France has proved a failure.

With Great Britain, on the contrary, all past experience has been precisely opposed to this. Wherever her sons have gone, with rare and insignificant exceptions, Anglo-Saxon energy has triumphed over all obstacles, and gained a sure footing for the race. Alike in the East and in the West, Englishmen have conquered. India and Australia are tributes to the power and adaptability of Britain, while in America she has planted the germ of a people, whose influence in future ages may overshadow the world as completely as her own does at this day.

The history of every important British colony presents many and varied points of interest. Not the least amongst these colonies, and one that is typical of the rest in many leading aspects, is New South Wales. At the present moment it is but in the first flush of its career, yet the facts we have at command are sufficient to show the magnificent promise held forth of a not far distant and glorious future; and from past success we can to a considerable extent predicate its ultimate progress and extension. It is a colony that is rapidly growing in favour amongst emigrants, and it is constantly receiving from all parts of the mother-country, but especially from England and Scotland, new recruits for that great army of civilization which is destined finally to open up the whole of the Australasian continent. Before that time arrives there

must necessarily be periods of difficulty and of crisis, perhaps temporary seasons of arrest of development; but these will pass away, and in the Southern seas through many centuries yet to come, the English name and language are destined to be perpetuated.

For the benefit of those who may be unacquainted with the past history of New South Wales, and its present position, we will proceed to adduce certain facts and statistics, which may not be unacceptable, and which will at least serve to show the resources and capacity of the colony. New South Wales was discovered by Captain Cook in 1770, and settled eighteen years later; but its prosperity began only with the commencement of the present century, when Captain Macarthur introduced Merino sheep, and a rapid settlement of the interior followed. From the first Australasian settlement at Sydney by the British Government in 1788, a noble list of British colonies have sprung, containing an aggregate area of 3,086,128 square miles. New South Wales contains 305,992; Victoria, 87,884; South Australia, 903,090; Queensland, 668,224; Western Australia; 979,392; New Zealand, 104,403; Tasmania, 26,215; and Fiji, 7,740 square miles. At the close of 1881 the population of the British Colonies in Australasia was estimated at 2,833,608, thus distributed—New South Wales, 781,205, including 1643 aborigines; Victoria, 882,222, including 780 aborigines; South Australia, 293,297, including 6346 aborigines; Western Australia, 30,013, not including 2346 aborigines; Queensland, 226,968, not including 20,585 aborigines; New Zealand, 500,910, not including 44,097 Maories; and Tasmania, 118,923. In 1882 there was an increase of 103,000 souls, arising from the excess of immigration over emigration, and of births over deaths. The colony with which we are immediately concerned has suffered two transformations: in 1851 its south-western districts were formed into the Colony of Victoria; and in 1859 its northern districts into the Colony of Queensland.

We hear much of the excellence of Southern Europe as a winter resort, and also as a suitable climate for those who are not robust. But in this matter of climate, New South Wales possesses all the advantages of Southern Europe, and is,

moreover, adapted to all kinds of constitutions. It is situated in the temperate zone, and the range of the thermometer is much less than in any country within the same parallels of latitude in the northern hemisphere. 'The climate is healthy, the air is clear, the light brilliant, the sky for a great part of the year almost cloudless, and the nights usually cool.' The mean annual temperature of Sydney is 62·4 degrees. The colony is favourable to health and long life. Births per 1000 of mean population in 1881 averaged 38·00 per cent.; deaths, 15·12; so that the excess of births over deaths amounted to 151·33 per cent., a condition of things which we imagine could be paralleled by very few countries in the world. As to the physical aspects of the country, there is at a distance varying from twenty-five to a hundred miles from the sea-board, a range of mountains, from 3000 to 7000 feet in height, stretching from north to south, and throwing out spurs in every direction. 'Numerous streams flow down the eastern slopes into the sea, while the large rivers, Murrumbidgee, Murray, Lachlan, Darling, and Macquarie, with their tributaries, drain the western slopes. The coast line is indented with fine harbours, one of which, Port-Jackson, on which Sydney the capital is situated, is unsurpassed by any in the world.' The total superficial area of the colony is estimated at 195,882,150 acres. The coast-line from Point Danger to Cape Howe is about 700 miles long; the extreme breadth of the colony being about 850 miles, the mean breadth 600, and the greatest length 900. The sea-board districts undulate with hill and valley, and possess rich alluvial flats adapted to every kind of cultivation. In mineral wealth, New South Wales is especially favoured. Besides possessing an immense basin of coal, the country abounds in gold, copper, lead, tin, and other minerals. The great slopes and plains of the West are specially adapted to pastoral and agricultural pursuits; and millions of sheep, cattle, and horses, already feed upon the natural grasses of the country. Such is a physical picture, and one not in the least exaggerated, of a country whose natural wealth is now being utilised for the benefit of man.

Judged from the political aspect, New South Wales is some-

what more advanced than ourselves. It practically enjoys universal suffrage, and has the ballot and triennial parliaments. The Governor is appointed by the Crown, but the Colony has its two Houses of Parliament, one of which, the Legislative Assembly, is elected by the people, the other, the Legislative Council, being appointed by the Governor, the members holding their seats for life. The Executive Government consists of nine members, viz., the Colonial Secretary, the Colonial Treasurer, the Minister for Lands, the Minister for Public Works, the Minister of Public Instruction, the Minister of Justice, the Minister for Mines, the Attorney-General, and the Postmaster-General. For the administration of justice, and the protection of life and property, similar means are employed to those operative in Great Britain. The population of the Colony is progressing satisfactorily. The census of April, 1881, gave a total of 751,468 persons in New South Wales. There is some disproportion between the sexes, the males predominating, being 54·71 of the population, as against 45·29 per cent. for the females. The Government is still anxious to promote such immigration as shall be for the advantage of the country, and excellent facilities are granted to those immigrants who are suitable, by the Agent-General or his officers in London. Small working capitalists are much sought after, but mechanics, farmers, miners, vine-dressers, labourers, and domestic servants are very acceptable. Indeed, as in New Zealand, female servants are in great demand, for the large majority of them have no difficulty in marrying comfortably soon after they arrive out.

Complaints are frequently heard from emigrants to British Colonies that they have been made the victims of misrepresentation in regard to the prevalent rate of wages, and other matters. Fortunately, no such misconceptions need arise with regard to New South Wales. We have already seen that the climate offers every advantage to a settler, and now we are able to give an official statement of the average rate of wages prevailing in the Colony. A carpenter will usually receive from 10s. to 12s. for a day's labour of eight hours, a smith, 8s. to 11s.; a wheelwright, 6s. to 10s.; a bricklayer, 12s. to 13s.; a

mason, 11s. to 12s.; and a plasterer from 10s. to 13s. These rates are higher than those which generally prevail in the mother country, and a workman in the colony can obtain board and lodging for from 16s. to 20s. per week, so that all classes of labourers may have a handsome margin of income left. Other occupations are also very profitable. For example, married couples can secure from £60 to £75 per annum, with board and lodging; ploughmen from £40 to £52; farm labourers the same; shepherds from £30 to £52; grooms and coachmen from £45 to £65; and gardeners from £45 to £65, all with board and lodging. Females are even better off in proportion. Cooks in private houses can secure from £45 to £52 per annum, with board and lodging; housemaids and parlourmaids from £30 to £37; laundresses from £40 to £52; nursemaids from £26 to £35; general house servants from £25 to £48; and farmhouse servants and dairywomen from £26 to £32. And with these high rates of wages there is not a correspondingly high rate in the cost of provisions. Bread is not more than twopence per lb.; rice, 3½d.; coffee, 1s. 6d.; tea from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d.; fresh and salt beef, 6d.; butter, 1s. 6d., etc. Clothing is also very cheap, and of good quality.

The land policy of New South Wales is a matter of very considerable interest. The best statesmen of the colony have always been of opinion that the class of persons who should be encouraged above all others by legislation are the small cultivators of the soil, the men who by their industry will turn the land to the best possible account. While they would not obstruct the operations of the capitalist in any way, it is no part of the duty of the Legislature to smooth the way for his making a large fortune out of the public lands. This has been the argument employed, it being felt that the settlement of the *bona fide* tillers of the soil in greater numbers is more for the benefit of the country, than the concentration of lands into few hands. This is undoubtedly a sound and sensible view for any country to take, but especially for a country which has its way yet to make, and has it to make by the energies and industry of the settlers in its midst. Thus we find

that the leading principles of the existing land policy in New South Wales are, free selection before survey over all unreserved lands, and deferred payments. This works for the benefit of the immigrant. Conditional purchase of not less than 40 nor more than 640 acres may be made by any person not under sixteen years of age; and so soon as the conditions of residence are fulfilled, a further area of 640 acres can be selected, and adjoining land to the extent of three times the area of the purchase or purchases may be taken up under pre-emptive leases, at an annual rental of £2 per section of 640 acres. Easy terms of payment are arranged. Applications for conditional purchases are accompanied by a deposit of 5s. per acre, but the balance of the purchase money, 15s. per acre, may rest for three years without interest; and if not paid then, or within three years thereafter, may be deferred from year to year, subject to interest at the rate of five per cent. per annum. Payments may be made by instalments of 1s. per acre, and two or more such payments may be made in any year, until the debt (principal and interest), is extinguished. Residence for five years is insisted upon, and improvements to the extent of 10s. per acre must be made. Pastoral tenants may purchase, under the right of improvement, limited portions of their runs. There still remains a vast quantity of unoccupied land, for the total area alienated by grant or sale amounts to only 20,040,846 acres, while there yet existed unalienated no less than 175,841,304 acres on the 31st December, 1881. There have, however, been conditionally purchased 13,746,600 acres. The law offers every facility for the acquirement of land, and land titles, once registered under Torrens's Act, can never be questioned. It is apparent from this statement that for many years to come the colony cannot be exhausted, as a land of promise, for any British subjects who may feel themselves stifled by competition in the old country.

The transition from the land itself to its products, and to trade and commerce generally, is an easy one. Let us see what advantage is being taken of the exceptional opportunities offered in this direction by New South Wales. The natural position of the colony as the centre of the Australian group, as

well as its being the chief market for the islands in the Southern Pacific, is favourable for great developments in commerce. It is also in easy and constant communication with Asia and America, so that it is not surprising to find that more than one half of the Australian shipping is owned in New South Wales. The inward and outward tonnage of 4357 vessels engaged in the trade in 1881 was 2,786,500 tons, as compared with 1,500,479 tons in 1871. Rapid strides have been made in the export and import trades. From 1852 to 1861 the aggregate exports and imports amounted to £100,775,706; from 1862 to 1871 they were £158,981,239; and from 1872 to 1881 they were £262,679,613. The increase of imports in the period 1872-81 over 1862-71 was £48,238,046; and the increase of exports for the same period was £55,460,328. The imports averaged £21 per head, and the exports £20. The places from which imports were received in New South Wales in 1872-81, with the amounts, were the following: Great Britain, £60,983,506; Australian and other Colonies, £60,244,755; foreign countries, £11,842,148. The returns of the total value of exports from the colony during the period 1872-81, give the following figures: Great Britain, £61,384,766; Australian and other Colonies, £62,734,754; foreign countries, £5,489,684. The total amount was, £129,609,204; whereas in the previous decade it was only £74,148,876. According to official statistics, the total value of the trade in 1881 amounted to—imports, £17,409,326; exports, £16,049,503; or in all, £33,458,829, with a balance in favour of imports of £1,359,823. These figures show an import trade of £22. 17s. 3½d, and an export trade of £21. 1s. 6¾d per head of the population, which are higher than the returns of any other colony in the Australasian group, both in the aggregate amount and in value per head of population. The imports from the United Kingdom in 1881 amounted to £8,968,838, and the exports to £7,561,114. Trade with the other British Colonies was as follows—imports, £6,633,107; and exports, £7,189,544. The value of British exports to New South Wales during 1883 was £10,624,081. In the same period New South Wales exported to the United Kingdom articles to the value of £9,884,207. The

imports from foreign states received in New South Wales in 1881 amounted to £1,789,381, and the exports to £1,298,845. The United States and China were by far the best import markets, though there is a constantly growing trade with Germany. Each decennial period since 1841 exhibits a satisfactory increase of trade, based on the census population. In the course of thirty years there has been an enormous increase in the public revenue of the colony. In 1851 it was only £532,718, but by 1881 it had risen to £6,714,327. Of the latter amount about £1,500,000 was obtained from customs, £592,000 from stamps, and £115,962 from licenses. The land sales amounted to £2,821,000, and the receipts from the national railways to £1,444,000. The revenue from taxation is stated at £2 6s. 6d. per head of the population in 1881. The tariff, which is established for purposes of revenue only, is one of the simplest in Australasia, free trade being the avowed policy of the colony. This has not always been the case, however. From the year 1865 until the close of the year 1873, *ad valorem* duties of 5 per cent were imposed upon all articles of merchandise imported into New South Wales not subject to a specific duty, and excepting articles included in a limited free list. But in October, 1873, Mr. G. A. Lloyd, Treasurer in the Parkes Administration, submitted to the Legislative Assembly, in Committee of Ways and Means, proposals to repeal the whole of the *ad valorem*, and a large number of the specific duties, reducing the tariff to 55 articles. The proposals, with slight modifications, were carried into law.

Some other facts will serve to prove the financial and industrial stability of the colony. The operations of the banks are very noteworthy, for during the last decade their progress far exceeded the increase in population. Their circulation nearly doubled, their deposits and advances more than doubled, and their coin and bullion reached nearly half as much again. The deposits in the New South Wales banks amounted on the 30th September, 1882, to £22,214,684 sterling. Deposits in the Savings Banks during the preceding ten years had increased per head of population from £1 17s. 6d. to £3 12s. 0d., and the large amount to the credit of the depositors demonstrated

the existence of both prosperity and thrift amongst the working classes. At the close of 1881 the Public Debt of New South Wales amounted to £16,924,019, or £21 13s. 2½d. per head of population, which is only equivalent to two and a half years of revenue.

The social condition of such a country is of course a matter of moment, and it is interesting to note that nearly all European institutions have firmly rooted themselves in Australia. As in England, each colony has its newspaper, and its various other means of information, knowledge, recreation, and amusement. The laws are well administered, life and property are secure, and a man can follow his avocations as successfully and efficiently as he can in England. It is gratifying to learn that the intellectual, æsthetic, and moral progress of the colony of New South Wales is keeping place with its industrial occupations. With regard to the various religious persuasions, at the taking of the census of 1881, they were returned as follows:—Church of England, 342,359; Lutherans, 4836; Presbyterians, 72,545; Wesleyan Methodists, 57,049; other Methodists, 7,303; Congregationalists, 14,328; Baptists, 7,307; Unitarians, 828; other Protestants, 9,957,—Total Protestants, 516,512; Roman Catholics, 207,020; Catholics undescribed, 586; total Catholics, 207,606; Hebrews, 3,266; other persuasions, 1,042; unspecified persuasions, 13,697; Pagans, 9,345. There were 739 Ministers of religion, and 1,389 Churches, with an average attendance at public worship of 221,031 persons. The Sunday Schools had 101,091 scholars on their registers. There are very few idlers and worthless inhabitants in the colony, or persons who cannot give a good account of themselves.

The latest Report of the Minister of Public Instruction on the condition of Public Schools in New South Wales is a very encouraging document, and it places clearly before us the present position of the colony in regard to education. During the past decade, considerable progress has been made with the primary schools. In 1872 these schools numbered 902; the aggregate enrolment of pupils was 88,487, the mean quarterly attendance, 62,986, the average daily attendance,

43,240, and the school fees, £45,994 2s. 7d. In 1881 the schools numbered 1546, the aggregate enrolment, 176,909, the mean quarterly attendance, 125,506, average daily attendance, 82,891, with fees, £46,347 5s. 4d. In 1882 the schools numbered 1658, the aggregate enrolment, 189,141, the mean quarterly attendance, 134,872, average daily attendance, 90,944, with fees, £51,312 5s. 11d. Between 1872 and 1882 the increase in the number of schools was 756, or about 83 per cent. Should a similar rate of progress be maintained during the next decade,—and it is believed that it will be even exceeded,—by the end of 1892 there will be in existence about 3000 schools, affording the advantages of primary education to the residents in that number of localities. Since the Public Instruction Act of 1880 came into force, there has been a notable stirring of the dry bones in this question of education. For three years the average yearly increase in the aggregate enrolment of pupils has been 18,095, and the average increase in the mean quarterly attendance, 13,334. More than half the increase in the number of scholars in daily attendance during the ten years previous to 1882 had been added since 1879. In April, 1881, the number of children in the colony, ranging from four to fifteen years of age, was 204,468; in December of the same year it was 212,572; and in December, 1882, it was 222,426. The Minister of Public Instruction thus knows what amount of material he has to work upon.

As regards existing means of education, the schools provided at the public expense are the following,—Sydney Grammar School; public schools, 1229; provisional schools, 188; half-time and third-time schools, 81; evening schools, 36; certified denominational schools, 124; orphan schools, 2; and industrial schools, 2. Of schools provided at private expense there are the following,—School for the deaf and dumb and blind; ragged schools, 3; and private schools, 491. Certified denominational schools appear for the last time as schools provided at the public expense, though some will doubtless be continued as private schools. Applications from all parts of the colony for the establishment of new schools pour in upon the Department. In 1882 the sum of £65,831 was paid for new school

sites. Contracts were in that year entered into for the erection of 126 new schools, capable of accommodating 14,220 pupils, and for additions which would accommodate 4530 others, making a total of 18,750 places which were to be ready for occupation before the end of 1883, irrespective of those provided in buildings which might be commenced after that date. Very energetic means are now being taken throughout the colony to compel regularity in school attendance, and a vast improvement has taken place since the new Act came into operation. At the date of the last return, the number of children under instruction in the Sydney Grammar School was 487; in the public schools, 134,494; provisional schools, 4,335; half-time schools, 1,646; evening schools, 1,385; certified denominational schools, 26,129; orphan schools, 593; industrial schools, 397; schools for the deaf and dumb and blind, 78; ragged schools, 273; private schools, 17,939; and home schools, 19,123; yielding a total of 206,879. This number, out of a population of 817,468, actually gives one in every four persons as under instruction in ordinary schools. Owing to double enrolment, however, and other causes, deductions must be made from the total number of scholars; but when all such facts have been discounted, primary education in New South Wales is almost phenomenal in character.

Nevertheless, our satisfaction with this condition of things is tempered when we find it stated that the greatest difficulty is not so much the means of bringing children into the schools, as the influences by which they may be kept under instruction for a period sufficiently adequate to allow of their receiving a really useful education. Nearly all the children of the colony are receiving some kind of instruction, but only a very limited portion attend school long enough to make that education effective. In 1882, the pupils attending the full period prescribed by law, 140 days (or beyond that) numbered 73,833, while no fewer than 113,851 attended for less than the legal number of days. This does not give the teachers a sufficient hold upon the raw material, and as the Minister observes, much remains to be accomplished before the object

of the Public Instruction Act in this particular has been secured. Turning to the number and the qualifications of teachers, the report furnishes satisfactory results. There was an increase for 1882 of 368 male and female teachers, and the chief examiner states that 'whatever may have been the inconvenience suffered in particular cases through the operation of the more recent rules enforcing examination before promotion, the results have been, thus far, to excite a very general application to study among the teachers, and to produce sensible improvement in the work of the examinees.' This is borne out by the Chief Inspector, who reports that a large number of teachers 'have presented themselves at examination, and a reasonable proportion have succeeded in gaining higher certificates.' With the present aspirations after higher education, it is only a legitimate expectation that teachers shall see to it that they are fully abreast of the age.

As to the cost of education in the colony, in ten years the Parliamentary Vote received for primary schools has increased five-fold. In 1873 the vote was £120,000; in 1882 it was £630,952 14s. 5d. The average amount per school has gone up from £127 7s. 9d. to £380 11s. 0d.; and the amount per pupil in mean quarterly attendance from £1 16s. 2½d. to £4 13s. 6d. The total expenditure for the year 1882 amounted to £618,800 8s. 9d., being £144,643 3s. 2d. in excess of the sum disbursed in 1881. The chief causes of this great increase were the payments for teachers' salaries and for school sites, and the erection or reuting and furnishing of school buildings. But these things are fully accounted for by the increased demands of the educational system. While the cost of administration stands at only 8·9 per cent., that of teachers' salaries, etc., stands at 53·7 per cent., and that of buildings, etc., at 37·4 per cent. Speaking of education generally in the colony, the Minister of Public Instruction reports that notwithstanding the increase in the school population, the means of education have been provided at a rate which will at no distant date leave little to be desired in this respect. The net enrolment of pupils in schools under the Department has increased by 21,883, and the average daily attendance by

8,053. The accommodation already provided, together with that which was to be supplied during 1883, would furnish room for 148,670 pupils, the highest known attendance on any one day being 108,958. Further progress has been made in extending the operation of the obligatory clauses of the Public Instruction Act to country districts, and in the appointment of Public School Boards. As we have already seen, a considerable increase has arisen in the expenditure for the year 1882, chiefly on account of school accommodation and payments to teachers. The average cost of a child's education, however, though considerably augmented, has not advanced in the same proportion. The expenditure has increased by 30·5 per cent., and the average cost per child in the least favourable aspect by only 18·8 per cent. These figures would contrast very favourably with those of many of the public schools in our own country.

A return issued in connection with the Public Charities shows that the colony is endeavouring to fulfil its obligations in this respect. While there is still a great deal to be desiderated in the management and expenditure of these institutions, on the whole very satisfactory and hopeful progress has been made. The total expenditure on the Charities, from the public revenue, during the year 1882, amounted to £153,003 12s. 10d. In the Department of the Colonial Secretary, there was a general Government expenditure on Charities of £45,420 8s. 8d., as well as the following items,—Subsidies at the rate of £2 to £1 on subscriptions, £4000; subsidies at the rate of £1 to £1 on subscriptions, £22,242 5s. 4d.; unconditional building grants, £51,450; conditional building grants, £3447 7s. 9d.; and extraneous expenses, £1798 4s. 6d. In the Department of the Minister of Public Instruction, the following sums were expended :—Maintenance cost of Orphan and Industrial Schools, wholly borne by Government, £15,237 19s. 5d.; technical education, £3105 3s. 5d.; general education, £4200 3s. 1d.; and buildings, £2102 0s. 8d. Concerning some of the institutions, there are certain objectionable features. For instance, in connection with the Sydney Mechanics' Institute and Technical College, it is stated that the Society, during

the year 1882, received from the public funds, on the plea of being public instructors, the sum of £1755 5s. 10d., which was applied solely to the maintenance and extension of a miscellaneous library, consisting largely of works of popular fiction. But such an abuse of the public funds is very exceptional.

The pastoral resources of New South Wales are very great, and probably unparalleled. Only a very small portion of the natural pastures have as yet been occupied. The total area leased for pastoral purposes in 1881 was returned at 226,083 square miles, the rent being £268,083. There were 4336 pastoral runs, some of which were upwards of 300,000 acres in extent. The fine woolled sheep of the colony are well known, and the Chief Inspector of Stock computes the total increases in the number of sheep for the Australian Colonies, for the twenty years, from 1861 to 1880, as follows:—New South Wales, 628 per cent.; Victoria, 40½ per cent.; South Australia, 112½ per cent.; Queensland, 70½ per cent.; Tasmania, 4¼ per cent.; and New Zealand, 474 per cent. The value of the export of wool from New South Wales amounted in 1881 to £7,149,787, as compared with £4,748,160 in 1871. The value of pastoral exports in 1881, including wool, tallow, skins, salt and preserved meats, and live stock, amounted to £8,816,809, or two and a half millions increase upon the returns for 1871. The value of the local consumption is in addition to this large amount. Out of the twenty-nine millions increase in the number of live stock in the Australasian Colonies during the last decade, two thirds, or nearly twenty millions, were additions to those of New South Wales, which now reach 39½ millions, against a total of 88¾ millions for the whole of the settlements. Farmers and stock-raisers will be glad to know that foot-and-mouth disease, rinderpest, and other malignant diseases of cattle are unknown in New South Wales. In horses, horned cattle, sheep, and pigs, there has been a great and continuous increase for thirty years past. Animals thrive well, and at less cost, there than elsewhere. From the agricultural returns for New South Wales for the year 1881, it appears that the number of occupiers of land, excluding pastoral tenants, was 39,354; the extent of holdings, 27,692,209 acres; land in

cultivation, 645,068 acres; lands enclosed, but not in cultivation, 21,998,845 acres; and land unenclosed, 3,048,656 acres. A tenth part of the entire population of the colony is engaged, directly or indirectly, in agricultural pursuits.

With regard to the crops grown, the fineness of almost all the Australian wheat is universally recognised. The yield of wheat in New South Wales during the season 1881-2 was 15.35 bushels per acre. The crops of wheat, maize, barley, oats, grasses, etc., were very great. Tobacco is grown in the northern coast districts and in the south west, and in 1882 the quantity produced was 2,050,832 lbs. Maize and the sugar cane are largely and satisfactorily cultivated, and the vine is also fast becoming a leading industry in the colony. It was introduced by Mr. John Macarthur about 1820. Since then the yield of wine has averaged from 100 to 700 gallons per acre, though certain kinds of grapes have yielded over 1000 gallons per acre. The area of land occupied by vines in 1881 was over 4027 acres; the quantity of wine produced from 2597 acres only, being 513,688 gallons, and of brandy, 3522 gallons. Grapes for table use covered an area of 940 acres, and the quantity picked was 1103 tons. Happily the ravages of phylloxera are unknown. The orange is in very extensive cultivation. The area planted in 1881 was 6301 acres, and the fruit obtained amounted to 5,164,134 dozens, as many as 10,000 oranges having been gathered from individual trees. Fruit is very cheap, and has a large consumption. All the fruits of Northern and Southern Europe can be grown in the colony with success; and the potato, turnip, pumpkin, arrowroot, mulberry tree, etc., flourish abundantly. There is in fact every species of the best food accessible alike for man and beast.

In mineral wealth New South Wales is especially rich, and it was here that gold was first discovered in the Australian Colonies. The aggregate value of the minerals mined in New South Wales up to the end of 1881 was £55,077,508, made up of the following amounts:—Gold, £34,343,857; silver, £178,405; coal, £12,255,308; kerosene shale, £581,047; tin, £4,339,577; copper, £3,213,558; iron, £117,357; anti-

mony, £29,176; lead, £5,025; asbestos, £323; bismuth, £2729; mixed minerals, £11,147. The number of miners employed was 18,873. The gold-fields extend, with short intervals, throughout the entire length of the colony; and the approximate auriferous area, as far as known, is about 70,000 square miles. Easy terms are made with gold-miners, and it is expected that further discoveries will be made, in hitherto unprospected fields. The quantity of gold received in 1881 for coinage at the Sydney mint amounted to 145,478 ounces, of the gross value of £549,918. The colony also possesses the richest, most accessible, and most extensive coal and cannel-coal seams in the Southern hemisphere, and these, it is confidently asserted, will ultimately make it the greatest and richest of all the Australian Colonies. The approximate area of the carboniferous strata is estimated at 23,950 square miles. By way of showing the growth of coal-mining, it may be stated that in 1833 only 328 tons were raised; but in 1881 there were raised 1,775,224 tons, valued at £603,348. There are large exports of coal, more than one thousand vessels being annually engaged in the traffic. Petroleum oil and other products are largely manufactured from kerosene shale, of which there exist valuable and extensive beds. Copper is worked to a considerable extent, the quantity raised in the colony in 1881 being 5494 tons, valued at £355,062. Tin was raised to the extent of 8200 tons in 1881, valued at £724,003. Precious stones are found in some parts of the colony, and the number of diamonds discovered up to the end of 1880 was estimated at 10,000, the largest being one of 5½ carats, or 16·2 grains.

Manufacturing is making good head-way in New South Wales, the makers being able, in many articles, to compete with European producers. In 1881, according to the report of the Registrar-General, there were 193 establishments connected with agriculture, employing 2720 hands; 341 establishments dealing with raw materials, and employing 2694 hands; 289 establishments engaged in the manufacture of food, and employing 2157 hands; 824 building and plastic manufactories, employing 5453 hands; 202 machine, brass, iron, and lead

factories, employing 2968 hands; and 971 miscellaneous manufactories, employing 13,857 hands. There were also in operation 159 mills for grinding and dressing grain, employing 2913 horse-power, 472 stones, and 685 hands. Wine-making and tobacco manufacture have become settled industries, tinned meats are extensively produced, and leather, cloth, and woollen industries are being developed. Shipbuilding and the timber trade are also making rapid strides. The reported area of woods and forests under the care of the Conservator in New South Wales, amounted in 1881 to 3,759,796 acres, and the timber cut from them during the year amounted to 3,923,727 feet, from which a revenue of £10,156 was obtained.

But, however vast the internal resources of a country may be, the wealth which lies hidden in its bosom may remain undeveloped, unless sufficient means of working those resources be found, and unless this labour be supplemented by facilities of transit and locomotion. In this respect, nevertheless, New South Wales is doing its duty. It expends annually three millions sterling on public works. Upwards of 23,500 miles of common roads are open, 'affording intercommunication with every part of the interior, and greatly facilitating the carrying of farm and other produce to the best markets.' A sum of £5,000,000 has been spent in ten years on these common roads alone, and construction is still going rapidly forward. Mail coaches run through every district; fifty miles of bridges have been constructed; 5000 miles of road are metalled; 1600 miles are graded mountain passes; and nearly all the remainder are drained and cleared. There are eighty-seven public ferries, and railways are being pushed forward. There were 274½ miles of railroad opened in the year 1881, and 504 additional miles in course of construction, while Parliament authorised a further construction of 436 miles. In 1881, on a total of 995 miles open in the colony, the entire earnings were £1,444,226, and the working expenses £738,334, yielding a net return of £705,892, or nearly 5½ per cent. For 1882 the revenue received from railways and tramways was £1,828,093. The total amount of money expended on Government railways in 1881 was £13,301,597, and the expenditure

on unfinished lines to the end of the year was £1,781,116. Twelve miles of tramway were open in 1881, and 7,090,125 passengers carried. In 1882 the tramway earnings amounted to £126,170, and by the end of that year thirty miles had been completed, forming a network of communication between the city and principal eastern and southern suburbs. Municipal property in the colony has doubled in six years. The ninety municipalities collected in 1881 a total revenue of £525,189. Sydney alone collected about half this amount. The estimated annual value of rateable property in the suburban and country municipalities was £2,330,946, and in Sydney, £1,449,857. Post-offices exist wherever there are townships, and every village in the farthest interior has its postal communication. The postage on letters within Australia is twopence per half ounce, but newspapers are conveyed free. In 1881 the number of letters posted in the colony averaged thirty-one for every member of the population. Telegraph lines intersect the country in every direction. In 1881 there were 318 telegraph stations, and 14,278 miles of wire, 1,607,206 messages being conveyed during the year. The total cost of constructing the telegraph lines was about half-a-million sterling. With so many of the appliances of civilization in the colony, and so much enterprise and activity, future prosperity in no measured degree must be assured.

The speeches of Sir Henry Parkes, extending over a period of a quarter of a century, afford an admirable picture of the steady growth of the colony, and indeed form a kind of historical survey of its progress. Sir Henry is the oldest Member of Parliament in all the Australian colonies. It is now thirty years ago since he was first elected for the city of Sydney, and during that time he has been a Minister ten years and Prime Minister seven years. If any person, therefore, can speak of New South Wales from fulness of information it is he, and his recent visit to England has awakened renewed interest in the colony. As the editor of his addresses says, from the first of Sir Henry Parkes's speeches to the last, 'alike in 1849 as in 1874, the speaker clearly discerns and lucidly expounds the right relations of the people to the free

institutions they now enjoy. What he claimed for them before those institutions came into existence, he vindicated and confirmed by his action when he himself became a popular representative and a responsible Minister of the Crown under the better system. The beginnings of freedom in New South Wales were not favourable to its vigorous growth. The people required educating up to it, and the course of their education is legibly traced out in these speeches. Both courage and ability were required to fulfil the self-imposed mission of the teacher.' As in older countries, so in this new one, Sir Henry Parkes and his friends were called upon to enter on a campaign against privilege and monopoly; and if these had not been broken down, they would have seriously retarded, if they had not altogether checked, the growth of the colony.

Since 1849 the pale of the Constitution has been widened, and free scope has been given to the political, social, and commercial aspirations of the community. The nature of the fight which had to be waged may be gathered from the speeches on Taxation and Free Trade, the Federation of the Colonies, and Public Education. On economic questions, Sir Henry has been in the main a follower of the doctrines of John Stuart Mill; and when he acceded to office in 1873, one of his first acts was, as we have already briefly stated, to repeal the oppressive *ad valorem* duties then existing, and to simplify the tariff as nearly to the limits of Free Trade as existing circumstances would permit. Nearly twenty years ago, when discussing the question of Federal Union at Melbourne, Sir Henry showed himself the pioneer of Federation, the advocate of a kind of Australian Zollverein, and of the abolition of all the practical absurdities involved in jarring tariffs. But he was more than this, for he enjoys the distinction of being the father of popular education as it is now understood in the colony. It was his measure of 1866 which established Public Education as it now exists, and prepared the way for all subsequent action in this important question. No man could desire a better work with which to link his own name inseparably in the eyes of his successors than that of the education of the people.

Upon this basis must the welfare of a nation, and the ultimate safety and stability of a country mainly depend. In a speech delivered in 1869, Sir Henry Parkes observed, 'Let us by every means in our power take care that the children of the country grow up under such a sound and enlightened system of instruction, that they will consider as the dearest of all possessions the free exercise of their own judgment in the secular affairs of life, while each man will shrink from being subservient to the will of any other man or of any earthly power.' Alike in social, political, agricultural, educational, and religious questions, Sir Henry Parkes has been the advocate of an enlightened and a progressive policy, and when the history of the colony for which he has so long laboured comes to be written, his name will stand high in the gratitude and esteem of posterity.

The question of federation between the various Australasian colonies has recently been the subject of much discussion ; and the public feeling in this matter led to the holding of an International Convention at Sydney in November and December last. The colonies represented were New South Wales, Victoria, South Australia, Queensland, New Zealand, Tasmania, and Western Australia ; and the Governor of Fiji and Acting High Commissioner of the Western Pacific subsequently joined the Convention. After many days' discussion, the Convention passed a series of important resolutions. The first of these was to the effect that further acquisition of dominion in the Pacific, south of the Equator, by any Foreign Power, would be highly detrimental to the safety and well-being of the British possessions in Australasia, and injurious to the interests of the Empire. Other resolutions called upon the Imperial Government to take the wisest and most effectual measures for securing the safety and contentment of the colonies ; recommended the annexation of New Guinea ; called for some more definite engagement with regard to the New Hebrides, to prevent them from falling under any foreign dominion ; pledged the colonial legislatures to bring forward such measures as might be deemed necessary ; protested strongly against the intention of the French Government to transport large

numbers of relapsed criminals to the French possessions in the Pacific; and expressed a confident hope that no penal settlement for the reception of European criminals would long continue to exist in the Pacific. The Convention further passed a resolution to the effect that while the time had not yet arrived at which a complete Federal Union of the Australasian Colonies could be attained, there were yet many matters of great interest, with respect to which united action would be advantageous, and the Convention therefore adopted a draft Bill, which had been drawn up for the Constitution of a Federal Council, as defining the matters upon which, in its opinion, such united action was both desirable and practicable at the present time. At the final sitting of the Convention on the 8th of December, a series of supplementary resolutions were passed. By these resolutions, the Governments represented at the Convention pledged themselves to invite the colonial legislatures concerned to pass Addresses to Her Majesty, praying that she might be pleased to cause a measure to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament, for the purpose of constituting a Federal Council upon the basis of the draft bill adopted by the Convention. The Convention also recommended that no purchases or pretended purchases of land, made before the establishment of British jurisdiction or dominion in New Guinea, or other island of the Pacific having no recognised Government, should be acknowledged, except in respect of land actually occupied for Missionary or trading purposes; and that, after the establishment of such jurisdiction or dominion, no acquisition of land should be permitted, except through the Crown, and then only for the like purposes. The Convention also expressed a hope that the several colonies of Australia, in order to meet an imminent danger, should without delay pass a uniform law to prevent the landing on their shores of persons from penal settlements in the Pacific, who have been convicted of crimes.

There is no doubt that the various topics raised at this Convention have become great and pressing questions to the Australian Colonies. That of the landing of convicts has caused them great trouble in the past, and threatens to do

so again; and we can well understand the revulsion of feeling caused in the breasts of those who are endeavouring to raise the social and moral tone of the society in which they are cast. New Guinea and the New Hebrides, again, offer problems of delicacy and difficulty, and something decisive must be done in regard to them at no distant date. The policy of Federation, even in the modified form of a Federal Council, will be to a great extent a safeguard for the various colonies, for it will enable them to exhibit a united front on all matters in which they are jointly and severally interested.

Meanwhile, New South Wales may be expected to do its duty with respect to the questions looming before it, as it has done in the past. We have endeavoured to place before our readers a view of this important colony, from the industrial, the educational, the material, and the social points of view. New South Wales has never attempted to repudiate its engagements in any way, even when conditions have radically altered. Its public faith has been scrupulously kept, while the aim of the best representatives of the colony has ever been to raise the people in the moral and social scale. The aspiration that in 'a few more generations destiny will place the Australians amongst the foremost of free and prosperous Christian States,' is not a baseless or Quixotic one, but is daily in process of being realized. The colonies will grow strong, as the mother country has done, under the ægis of Justice and Progress; and some great indigenous poet of the future will be able to describe New South Wales and its sister colonies as Tennyson has described this beloved England, as a land

' Where freedom broadens slowly down,
From precedent to precedent.'

The Anglo-Saxon will then, by his sagacity, his enterprise, and his endurance, have bound the northern and southern hemispheres together in the golden chain of fellowship, concord, and goodwill.

ART. II.—THE TEACHING OF ARCHDEACON
FARRAR.

1. *The Life of Christ.*
2. *The Life and Work of St. Paul.*
3. *The Early Days of Christianity.*
4. *My Object in Life.*
5. *Eternal Hope.*
6. *The Fall of Man and other Sermons.*
7. *The Witness of History to Christ, being the Hulsean Lectures for 1870.*
8. *Saintly Workers.*
9. *Ephphatha, or the Amelioration of the World.*
10. *In the Days of Thy Youth.*
11. *The Silence and Voices of God.* By the Rev. F. W. FARRAR, D.D., etc., London. V.D.

IN the autumn of 1877, the religious world was startled by a series of five sermons, preached in Westminster Abbey, by the Rev. F. W. Farrar, D.D., F.R.S., Archdeacon and Canon of Westminster. Shortly after these sermons were published with a long preface and appendix, in consequence, as Dr. Farrar tells us, of the distorted and unfounded reports to which they had given rise. The book was entitled *Eternal Hope*, and its chief aim was to shew that the punishment of the wicked in the next world may not be everlasting. The horror and indignation with which this benevolent theory was received by different shades of religious orthodoxy would be amusing if it were not melancholy. For once the High Churchman and the Low Churchman, the Ritualist and the Dissenter, united in denouncing the presumptuous heretic who dared to hope that an enormous majority of the human race might not perish everlastingly. The grounds on which this theory was defended were two—First, that the orthodox view is unscriptural; Second, that it is contrary to our sense of justice and to our noblest instincts.

The first ground is in the eyes of the orthodox the stronger of the two, and if proved, ought to settle the question even in the opinion of the 'most straitest sect;' for it is simply a question first, of what is the proper text of the New Testament? and secondly, what is the proper translation of that text? If it be a fact, as Dr. Farrar contends it is, that the words—'damn,' 'hell,' and 'everlasting' should all be struck out of the Bible as mistranslations, conveying a wrong meaning, he has proved his case, for the whole theory of unending punishment rests on the use of these words. It would, however, take too much time in a general review of Dr. Farrar's writings to enter upon this interesting question, but we may remark that the Revised Version of the New Testament, issued since the publication of *Eternal Hope*, greatly strengthens his position. The words 'damn' and 'damnation' disappear altogether; 'Gehenna,' 'Hades' or 'Tartarus' take the place of 'hell' either in the text or in the margin; and the word *aiónios* is invariably translated by 'eternal,' instead of 'everlasting.' The second ground of objection to the common doctrine, is one which will commend itself the more strongly of the two to the unorthodox mind—the ground, namely, of being repugnant to our sense of justice. No unprejudiced person can deny that it is a strong one. God has implanted in man a moral consciousness, and a perception of what is good and what is evil, which is not to be lightly set aside; and if we find a doctrine which outrages that moral consciousness, we are surely bound to regard it with grave suspicion, even though said to be drawn from Holy Scripture. Moreover, it cannot be too strongly insisted on, that any theory or theological doctrine, if it is to hold its own, must be founded on the teaching of the Bible as a whole, and not upon one or more isolated texts. It would indeed be an easy task to quote texts, which almost directly contradict each other. 'Let your light so shine before men that they may see your good works,' quotes one preacher. 'Let not your left hand know what your right hand doeth,' quotes another, drawing a directly opposite conclusion. 'For every idle word that men shall speak they shall give account in the day of judgment,' says an apostle of severity; 'Whoever shall give even a cup of cold water to one

of these little ones, in my name, shall in no wise lose his reward,' rejoins the advocate of leniency. Now most men have both spoken many an idle word, and have also done many a small act of charity. To draw any rigid conclusion therefore either of future punishment or future happiness from either verse is manifestly impossible. Innumerable instances might be adduced, such as 'Whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely.' 'No man can come unto me, except the Father which hath sent me, draw him.' 'So run that ye may obtain.' 'It is not of him that willeth nor of him that runneth.' But we cannot do better than quote the eloquent words of Dr. Farrar on this point :— *

'I protest at once and finally against this ignorant tyranny of isolated texts which has ever been the curse of Christian truth, the glory of narrow intellects, and the cause of the worst errors of the worst days of the corrupted Church. Tyranny has engraved texts upon her sword; oppression has carved texts upon her fetters; cruelty has tied texts around her faggots; ignorance has set knowledge at defiance with texts woven on her flag. Gin-drinking has been defended out of Timothy, and slavery has made a stronghold out of Philemon. The devil, as we all know, can quote texts for his purpose. They were quoted by the Pharisees, not once or twice only, against our Lord Himself, and when St. Paul fought the great battle of Christian freedom against the curse of Law, he was anathematised with a whole Pentateuch of opposing texts. But we, my brethren, are in the dispensation of the Holy Spirit. Our guide is the scriptures of God in their broad outlines :—the Revelation of God in its glorious unity :—the books of God in their eternal simplicity read by the illumination of that Spirit of Christ, which dwelleth in us, "except we be reprobates".'

No student of history will refuse to endorse the first part of this quotation. That the bitterest wars and the cruellest crimes have been committed in the name of religion is almost a truism. Catholics have burned Protestants, and Protestants have tortured Protestants with texts upon their lips. 'Puritans thanked God for the blood of the Royalists, and Royalists thanked God for the blood of the Puritans.'† Cromwell slew Charles in the name of God, and Charles died esteeming himself

* *Eternal Hope*, p. 75. Second edition.

† George Eliot.

a martyr in the Divine Cause; while the 'acme' of sacrilegious bigotry was probably attained, when the Romanists sung the 'Te Deum' to commemorate the massacre of St. Bartholomew.

Now the fault of these men lay not in being strong in their own convictions of what was right, but in adopting the *letter* of the Bible to the entire exclusion of its *spirit*, in being guided by one or more texts instead of by its entire teaching, and in refusing to allow the logical conclusions of their minds to be softened and restrained by the more merciful dictates of their hearts and consciences. But the violent defenders of the orthodox creed of everlasting punishment, even at the present day, would find it rather difficult to overthrow the position of the persecutors of old time. 'We find it written in Holy Scripture,' they would have said, 'that at the moment of death, the future fate of the soul is irreversibly fixed, and in a moment it goes either to everlasting happiness or everlasting misery. Here is a pestilent heresy inconsistent with that Catholic faith, which, St. Athanasius tells us, unless a man believe without doubt, he shall perish everlastingly. Surely it is true kindness to our fellow-creatures to stamp out this hideous evil, which, if allowed to spread, may send thousands to everlasting torture.' Now if the doctrine here laid down is correct, it is difficult to resist the conclusion drawn, unless on the ground that no selection of texts, and no theological doctrine, however accurately proved by them, will induce us to go against that moral consciousness which tells us that cruelty to our brethren is wrong. Even then it might be rejoined that we do punish for crime, and surely we should punish for the gravest and most disastrous crime of all, viz. heresy. Indeed the only strictly logical reply would seem to be that given by Mr. Froude.*

'Persecution has ceased among ourselves, because we do not any more believe that theoretic orthodoxy is necessarily fraught with the tremendous consequences which once were supposed to be attached to it. If, however, a school of Thugs were to rise among us, making murder a religious service; if they gained proselytes, and the proselytes put their teaching into

* *History of England*, Vol. I. p. 171. Mr. Froude, however, also holds that, in the case of the Catholics, 'the heart should have corrected the folly of the head.'

execution, we should speedily begin again to persecute opinion. What teachers of Thuggism would appear to ourselves, the teachers of heresy actually appeared to Sir Thomas More, only being as much more hateful as the eternal death of the soul is more terrible than the single and momentary separation of it from the body.'

This passage quietly inserted in a standard history as a mere matter of fact shews how widely spread are more liberal and more charitable views on the question of the future life at the present day. If many people hold the old-fashioned theory of an instant Heaven or an instant Hell at death which is to last for ever, they certainly carefully conceal their opinion. If a person dies of heretical or of no religious faith, who dares even to hint that he has gone to an irreversible doom? Anyone who did so, would justly meet with deserved execration. Yet we are asked to believe in theory that a fate has befallen him so terrible that we dare not even name it in practice. The fact is, even people who theoretically hold the doctrine, and who will tell you that they do so, as a matter of fact do nothing of the kind. If the deceased is a friend or relative, they will clutch at the flimsiest and most trifling pretexts for avoiding the awful doctrine. The most trivial act or passing remark of the departed, is twisted into a confession of guilt, and an acceptance of forgiveness. If nothing of this kind can be seized upon, we are told that 'the mercy of God is not limited,' or that one may be 'saved so as by fire,' etc., thus giving up the whole point at issue. For neither Dr. Farrar nor his followers deny that there will be punishment for evil-doing in the next world; indeed he admits that if the evil-doing is unending in a future state, so may and must be the retribution; all that he denies is this—that at the moment of death the fate of the soul is at once irreversibly fixed either for everlasting happiness or everlasting misery; that in the latter case, in spite of the excruciating character of the torture endured, yet after millions and millions and millions of years, the wretched spirit is not one whit nearer the termination of its misery than it was before; and that all this is endured, not with any prospect of being purified or made better, but apparently only for the satisfaction of an incomprehensible vengeance. Such is the doctrine against which Dr. Farrar protests with all his might, and we

confess he has, in our opinion, done a good work in leading the attack upon a theory so appalling, and upon a doctrine from which alike the bravest and the best of men instinctively start back in horror. If this be justice, then our consciences and our moral perceptions are entirely wrong, and we had better at once resign our judgments to the guidance of that Church which boldly proclaims itself infallible. What a parody is this doctrine of unending vengeance of the spirit of St. Paul and of Moses who were willing to be 'Anathema' if their brethren might be saved! Surely, then, a teacher who is able to overthrow this dreaded doctrine, not by merely denouncing its injustice, but by proving that it has no foundation even in that Holy Scripture from which it professes to be drawn, deserves the thanks of all who earnestly desire still to cling to the teaching of the New Testament, as the light of their lives, and the hope of their future.

The opinions of Dr. Farrar upon this point too deserve the greater attention, because in all other essentials he is what would be termed 'sound.' It is of course no new thing for those without the pale of orthodoxy to attack the weak points of the Christian creed; but what entitles his views to great weight on this question, even amongst 'the pillars' of the Church, is that no one can for instance read his *Life of St. Paul*, and his commentary therein contained on the epistles, without seeing that though of liberal views, he certainly holds all that may be called vital to the Christian faith. It is our firm belief that many ministers both of the Scottish and of the Anglican Churches hold the same opinions, though we do not hear much about them from the pulpit. When a minister of the Free Church is able to publish a poem in which the idea that any one can be happy in Heaven, while a relation or friend is in Hell, is openly ridiculed, without being prosecuted for heresy, we are surely pretty far advanced in the new line of thought. Indeed our conviction is that in this matter the ministers are the greatest heretics of all. Seldom, if ever, do we hear the doctrine of everlasting punishment even referred to in the pulpit. Both the old-fashioned and the new-fashioned theories on the subject are quietly and *judiciously* ignored; but whether it is true wisdom to shirk such a question may be doubted.

The result is, that the sceptical are apt to disbelieve in any form of future retribution at all.

We must now briefly consider the tendency of Dr. Farrar's teaching in other matters. What strikes one most in his various sermons, or while listening to him in the pulpit, is the intensely *practical* nature of his teaching. He might be fitly termed the apostle of *works*. We hear very little from him about what opinions should be held or not held, but we hear an immense deal about what should be done or not done. In *Saintly Workers* and in *My Object in Life*, we notice this especially, and they are admirable examples of his usual style of preaching. He has evidently no patience with that comfortable creed which teaches that the holding of a correct dogma is the chief end of man. He has done more than any religious teacher of the present day to sow the seeds of a far-reaching charity 'which thinketh no evil,' and to inculcate upon different sects the duty of at least not hating each other. He stands apart alike from the High Churchman who regards with pitying contempt the wanderer from the bosom of the only Church which has true authority to hand down its 'orders,' or to administer the sacraments, and the extreme Evangelical who teaches that works are worse than useless, unless 'the only true faith' be in the worker. Nor does he join the extreme section of the Broad Church party, whose teaching seems to come at last very much to this,—that one belief is quite as good as another, and that whether a man be a Buddhist or a Parsee, a follower of Mahomet or of Christ, is of very little consequence, and is chiefly a matter of climate. In the Church of England, therefore, he forms a party of what might be called the 'moderate Broad,' and not, we fear, a very large one; but in the Church in Scotland (and especially in that branch of it which is 'by law Established') his views are represented by a very large and increasing party. Indeed, in this country the different sects might almost be roughly divided into a 'Farrar party,' and an extreme Evangelical party. Neither the extreme Broad nor the High have ever found much favour in the northern portion of Great Britain. We therefore purpose briefly to compare the views of this 'moderate

Broad' section of the Church, with those of the more violent section of the Evangelical party.

As regards the latter, there cannot be a doubt that of late years this section of the Church has grown more extreme in its views both in England and in Scotland. The doctrine that we are saved by faith alone has been pushed to such an extent that at times 'works' are violently deprecated. It has been the misfortune of the writer on two different occasions to hear two preachers of the Church of England commence their sermons by quoting those beautiful lines of Pope—

'For modes of faith, let graceless zealots fight ;
His can't be wrong, whose life is in the right'—

and then proceed to dilate upon the awful heresy therein contained, and to assert that a man may do this, that, and the other good work, and, in short, lead a most saintly life in every respect, and yet that, if the correct doctrine (according to the preacher) be not in him, it will be of no avail to save him from destruction. In fact, it occurred to us that the words of Pope would have made a capital text for the speaker if parodied as follows—

In vain good works, let graceless men abound ;
No works are good, unless the doctrine's sound.

Now, it may be admitted that Pope's lines put an extreme case rather strongly, and that they only contain one side of a truth. Yet the opposite doctrine, as laid down in our parody, is surely a great deal further from the fact, and a great deal more absurd. Indeed, it is impossible for any human being to dogmatise upon the question how far a Christ-like life may, even unconsciously to the subject, imply a Christian faith. But we must protest most earnestly against this absurd and monstrous fashion of disparaging, if not abusing, the performance of duty or of 'works' from the pulpit. 'It is almost better to come to the Lord *red-handed,*' said a preacher of the Church of England in a church at Oxford some years ago. 'Cast your deadly doing down, doing ends in death,' are the words of a hymn sung by some members of this party. Now, it seems to us that more pernicious or baneful teaching than this, it is impossible to conceive. Carlyle

somewhere admirably ridicules the doctrine thus—‘As if the best way to get to heaven were to serve an apprenticeship to the devil,’—and the sneer is not a bit more cutting than the theory deserves. One can hardly discuss it with patience. Tell a wife trying to rescue her husband from the chains of drink, or a mother endeavouring to allure her son from the fascinating path of vice and folly, that she is better to leave him alone ‘to come to the Lord red-handed,’ or that all her efforts are useless, unless she and the prodigal she is trying to save, have gone through a mysterious process called ‘conversion;’ tell a man who, ‘all in later sadder age, begins to war against ill-uses of a life,’* and who is straining every nerve to gain the victory over some evil habit which holds him like a vice, that it is of no avail unless he has experienced a certain sensation which it is not in his own power to produce,—nay, that his very efforts are evil, and are only hardening his heart against that mysterious ‘conversion’ which has yet to happen to him; let preachers, we say, adopt such a style of address as this, and they are doing their best to sap the foundations of Christianity, and to overthrow the blessed results of centuries. Such a doctrine is not only a travesty of the teaching of the Gospels, but if it were to spread, it would inevitably tend to make men worse instead of better.

These extreme views are happily rare. Yet there are many evangelical preachers who come perilously near them; those, for instance, who dwell almost exclusively on the happiness and joy which, in their opinion, inevitably come to a ‘believer,’ and who think that when a certain change of opinion, or a more earnest belief in matters religious has come to a man, that thereafter all will be easy. From them we hear nothing of doubt or of difficulty, nothing of duty or of effort, nothing of straining after better things. Their sermons consist of little but exhortations ‘to be converted.’ If we are not in the latter position, we are perishing: if we are, all is joy, peace, and happiness, and apparently nothing more is required than to sing perpetual pæans of bliss. The listener, therefore, who goes to church in a humble spirit, will

* *Gareth and Lynette.*

spend his time in little else than a perpetual inquisition into the state of his own soul, from which he will emerge either highly self-satisfied, or plunged in the depths of despair at his inability to feel a sensation, without which, he is told, all his repentance will be unavailing.

How different from this is the teaching of the party which Dr. Farrar represents. From them we hear of the difficulties and the dangers, the trials and the temptations of life. We are taught that it is no easy thing to be a true Christian, that the soldier who wishes to be worthy of the great Captain under whom he serves must nerve every effort for the fray ; that however firmly we may and ought to hold the doctrine of salvation by the death of Christ, it is not to the mere acceptance of any theoretic dogma that our attention should Sunday after Sunday be directed ; that we are put into this world to run to the best of our ability the race that is set before us, and not to lull ourselves to sleep in the fancied security of a correct formula of 'the plan of salvation ;' that, in short, if the death of Christ was given to save, the life of Christ was given to imitate, and that the contemplation of that life and death is useless, if it does not stimulate us to action as well as to faith, to fruits as well as to theoretic love. 'It is easy to talk, it is hard to act. It is easy to dogmatise, it is difficult to work. It is easy to hurl anathemas at those who hold different opinions from ourselves, it is difficult to put our own opinions into practice. "Habit is second nature," and acquires a force which, after a time, it is almost impossible to resist. Man is naturally prone to evil, and is exposed to constant temptation. Our preaching and teaching, therefore, cannot dwell too much upon what his aims and objects should be, upon the ideals which he should hold, and the example which he should follow, upon the difficulty of doing right, and the easiness of doing wrong. The object of life is practical work, not speculative creed, the helping of our neighbour, not the denouncing of his opinions. To wrap ourselves up in a cloak of orthodox "thoughts" and "aspirations" and "contemplations," is mere selfishness, and one kindly act is worth a volume of dogmas.' Such seems to us briefly the teaching of Dr. Farrar and of a

large section of the Established Church of Scotland. To illustrate still further the difference between the two parties we are at present discussing, perhaps we cannot do better than place side by side a quotation from a sermon by the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon and one from *Saintly Workers* (page 44) by Dr. Farrar. The first says—

‘The notion that many people have is that true religion consists to a great extent in denying yourself what you would like to do. Well, self-denial is an important virtue, but in some respects there is no self-denial in the Christian life. When a man lives in sin, and has a sinful heart, he loves sin, and he sins naturally; but change, the heart and he does not love sin, does not even care for it; he has got a new nature, and in indulging in that new nature he lives unto holiness and glorifies God.’

Dr. Farrar writes as follows :

‘But Antony knew far better than to suppose that by one moment’s revival or conversion, or acceptance of a formula, he could make his life an easy triumph or an endless song. Utterly alien from those old fathers was the promise of perfect assurance held out by some modern teachers to one single paroxysm of overpowering excitement. He knew that the evil spirit would return again.’

Now these two passages contain two contrary assertions; one that the ‘changed heart’ does not care for sin and has no need of self-denial; the other that ‘the evil spirit will return again.’ Let any man ask his conscience which statement is correct.

These two short quotations seem to us to contain in a sentence the essential difference between the two schools of teaching, and there we shall leave them. To turn from his preaching to his writings, the books by which Dr. Farrar is chiefly known and which have obtained the widest circulation are his *Life of Christ*, *Life of St. Paul*, and *Early Days of Christianity*. These three are to a great extent an expanded narrative of the events recorded in the New Testament, combined with a very scholarly and valuable commentary on the writings of its sacred authors. Thus the *Life of Christ* gives us the story of the four gospels along with much information drawn from secular sources, and with much interesting criticism and comparison of the four different texts; *The Life of St. Paul* supplies us with most of the story of the Acts, and with a highly valuable commentary on the

writings of the Apostle; while *The Early Days of Christianity* relates all that can be gathered from the New Testament and elsewhere regarding the authors of the various Epistles (exclusive of St. Paul) accompanied by an admirable exegesis of their work, and of the book of Revelation. It is impossible to overrate the value of the work thus laboriously undertaken and successfully accomplished, or to appraise too highly the benefit thus conferred upon the general reading public, both from a religious and from a secular point of view. No one, however 'Broad' or however narrow his views, can object to works which are little more than an accurate historical narrative of certain events, accompanied by a scholarly exegesis the Greek Text, told with great simplicity and beauty of style, and evidently in the interests of nothing but what seems to the author true. That it is desirable that the public in general should have an accurate view of the events related, and of the teaching to be found in that book, which is the guiding-star of so many human beings, no one will deny; nor does it admit of doubt that a mere perusal of the book itself is not sufficient to attain that object. Only those who have studied Dr. Farrar's books or others of the same nature can realize how infinitely clearer both the narrative and the doctrinal parts of the New Testament become when viewed as a whole, and when treated of by one who has studied the whole subject deeply; who has not only carefully compared one with another different parts of the sacred writings, but also gleaned all possible information bearing on the subject from secular sources; and who having filled his mind with the manners and customs of the period with which he is dealing, is therefore able to judge accurately of the thoughts present to the writers of that time, and of the exact meaning to be ascribed to doubtful expressions and to phrases long since dead. Indeed, even the characters of those who lived long ago cannot be properly judged unless we know and realize the times in which they flourished. How a Jew would naturally regard a Gentile, and how both would regard a Christian; the rights which would fall to St. Paul as a Roman citizen; the light in which all men regarded Nero, and hence the probability of his being referred to in the sacred writings of the period; the manner in which Roman

authors of such standing as Tacitus and others regarded the first up-rising of Christianity; the geographical difficulties (though these are very few) met with in the sacred narrative; the light thrown upon the New Testament by the apocryphal and by the early Christian writers; and, finally, the careful study of the different sacred texts and of the innumerable commentators upon them, and the most accurate translation of the text adopted—such are a few of the problems to be explained by one who attempts such a work as Dr. Farrar has undertaken in the books we have named. Nor does any labour requisite for the full elucidation of his subject appear to have been shirked. In 1870, he visited the Holy Land with the accomplishment of this task expressly in view, while the enormous number of authorities quoted, and references given in them, from nearly every quarter and language of the globe, show what an amount of reading he has considered necessary to qualify himself for his work. Moreover, he has been at the trouble of supplying a sort of running translation of the whole of the Epistles and of the Apocalypse, which will be found an invaluable key by anyone who compares it either with the Authorised or Revised Version, explaining, as it does, innumerable difficulties, which, of course, cannot be touched upon in a mere marginal note. This remark applies especially to the book of Revelation, which really acquires new meaning under Dr. Farrar's skilful treatment and lucid explanation of the events during which the author lived and of the expectations which were therefore in his mind. As Dr. Farrar well puts it—'The sole key to the Apocalypse, as to every book which has any truth or greatness in it, lies in the heart of the writer; and the heart of every writer must be intensely influenced by the spirit or the circumstances of the times in which he writes. His words are addressed in the first instance to his living contemporaries, and it is only through them that he can hope to reach posterity.'*

It will not, however, we think, be denied that no accusation of want of industry or scholarship can be brought against Dr. Farrar, and it will be admitted that his style is clear and good,

* *Early Days of Christianity*, Vol. II., p. 187.

rising at times to great beauty and eloquence, though at others, passing into a fervid rhetoric which is a little strained and therefore apt to fall flat. But the criticism applied to Dr. Farrar, and which comes especially from the lips of his ecclesiastical brethren, is of a different kind. It is—that he is shallow, and it is one which we hear not unfrequently. Now it is undoubtedly the fashion of the present age, which prides itself upon being contemporary with Carlyle and Emerson, to decry every new writer on this ground. No matter whether the subject be science, poetry, history or a novel, the cry is still for greater profundity. It may be surmised that both author and reader occasionally get drowned in the depth of their own wisdom, but the great majority of readers are saved from this untimely fate, by the fact that they carefully abstain from reading what they so warmly extol. We wish, for instance, that a census could be taken of the people who have read through even once the admirable works of Carlyle. We are convinced it would astonish his publishers, and that in future they would be tempted to issue only blank leaves with a handsome binding and the magic title, to fill up the library bookshelves. If the accusation is at all merited, it is because Dr. Farrar intended and wished his books to be read by the general reading public—*The Life of Christ* especially being essentially a ‘popular’ work—and most readers of them ought to be, and we believe are, intensely thankful that the books are what they profess to be, simple narrations of certain events and not learned disquisitions upon religious philosophy. Really if this absurd demand for new thought is to go on, we shall soon not be able to have even a railway guide published without the addition of ‘Thoughts on the Philosophy of Rapid Movement,’ or ‘Aspirations suitable for Stokers.’ The simple and all-sufficient answer to the accusation against Dr. Farrar of being shallow is, that he does not ‘set up’ to be deep. He set himself to do a certain task not requiring any particular originality of thought, or profundity of speculation, and he has performed his task very well and efficiently. He did not aspire to be a Carlyle or an Emerson, and therefore he cannot be blamed for having failed. In the three works above-mentioned he has given an admirable bit of history, written with beauty, force and lucidity, and

accompanied by an excellent and most readable commentary on the whole of the New Testament. In his sermons Dr. Farrar aspires to be nothing more than a most practical teacher of the duty of man as revealed by Holy Scripture, and tries above all things to diffuse a spirit of universal charity amongst the various sects and religious partisans whose orthodoxy (as has been well said) is 'their own 'doxy,' and to whom the opinion of all others is 'heterodoxy,' while in *Eternal Hope* he treats in a most scholarly manner a subject which the most orthodox view asserts is one of the purest scholarship. For our own part, when we reflect upon the 'depths' of dulness to which theological writers and preachers frequently descend, when we consider the innumerable 'deep' discourses hurled at the muddled brains of sleepy listeners every week; when we think of the ponderous volumes upon volumes which have been and are still being yearly issued on matters theological and religious, each aspiring to be more profound, and to contain newer thoughts, or more complex contemplations than its predecessors, we feel, we admit, devoutly thankful that Dr. Farrar has been able to keep out of this theological pitfall which seems to have such irresistible attractions for every writer on the subject. In Scotland especially, probably ever since the days of the Covenanters and the time when Mr. 'Habakkuk Mucklewrath' was wont to discourse for three hours at a sitting, there has been almost a mania for deep disquisitions, and profound speculations on theological doctrines from the pulpit, and it is well known that many old people in the country admit nothing so much as a sermon they are unable to understand. That Dr. Farrar has given so much practical teaching in language at once lofty and simple, and has dealt with the whole story of the New Testament in a manner which will attract instead of repel even the humblest of readers, seems to us one of his greatest virtues, and to constitute the strongest claim upon our gratitude and respect. We have enough and to spare of writers and teachers for the few; what we want is popular writers and teachers for the many. *The Life of Christ* is by far the most popular and attractive book upon the subject ever written, and therefore cannot fail to do great work in the cause of Christianity for many years to come.

It deals with a most difficult and delicate subject in a manner highly attractive and in a forcible and spirited style ; yet in a spirit of the deepest reverence and respect. The *Life of St. Paul*, however, appears to us to be the best of the three works. It presents the story of the Apostle's life with a force and power which make it seem entirely new, and in reading it one can hardly believe that this deeply interesting biography is all taken from the New Testament, which one has so often read before ; such is the novelty produced by the consecutive relation of events told in different parts of the sacred narrative. Moreover, the commentary on the Epistles imparts new meaning to the well-known verses, and enables us to view them as a whole, and to realise what they really were—letters written with all the fervour and passion of a deeply sensitive nature, to fellow-sufferers in those dark and dreary days, when the new light of Christianity was only beginning to illumine the world, and to drive away the horrors and the crimes of heathendom.

Here is a passage from the second volume (page 554), which both illustrates the character of the book and is a good instance of the author's most powerful and effective style. It occurs in discussing the probability of Paul having been brought before Nero for trial :—

' Paul before Nero ! if indeed it was so, what a contrast does the juxtaposition of two such characters suggest—the one the vilest and most wicked, the other the best and noblest of mankind ! Here indeed we see two races, two civilizations, two religions, two histories, two æons brought face to face. Nero summed up in his own person the might of legions apparently invincible ; Paul personified that more irresistible weakness which shook the world. The one showed the very crown and flower of luxurious vice, and guilty splendour ; the other the earthly misery of the happiest Saints of God. In the one we see the incarnate Nemesis of past degradation ; in the other the glorious prophecy of Christian Sainthood. The one was the deified autocrat of Paganism ; the other the abject ambassador of Christ. The emperor's diadem was now confronted for the first time by the cross of the victim before which, ere three centuries were over, it was destined to succumb. . . . And now these two men were brought face to face—imperial power and abject weakness ; youth cankered with guilt, and old age crowned with holiness ; he whose whole life had consummated the degradation, and he whose life had achieved the enfranchisement of mankind. They stood face to face the representatives of two

racés—the Semitic, in its richest glory, the Aryan in its extremest degradation ; the representatives of two trainings—the life of utter self-sacrifice, and the life of unfathomable self-indulgence ; the representatives of two religions—Christianity in its dawning brightness, Paganism in its effete despair ; the representatives of two theories of life—the simplicity of self-denying endurance, ready to give up life itself for the good of others, the luxury of shameless Hedonism, which valued no consideration, divine or human, in comparison with a new sensation ; the representatives of two spiritual powers—the slave of Christ, and the incarnation of Antichrist. And their respective positions showed how much at this time the course of this world was under the control of the Prince of the Power of the Air—for incest and matricide were clothed in purple, and seated on the curule chair, amid the ensigns of splendour without limit and power beyond control ; and he whose life had exhibited all that was great and noble in the heart, of man stood in peril of execution, despised, hated, fettered and in rags.’

In a different style here is a beautiful little bit upon the Martyrs * from one of his sermons.

‘No intensity of torture could affect their mental conviction, and so adequate a support and consolation to them in death was the sovereign thought in which they lived ; so perfect the holy beauty of the maiden as she knelt to await the tiger’s leap ; so peaceful the sleep of the young boy, beside his wooden cross, as the morn dawned grey on the grim circle where he was to meet his end ; so radiant was the old man’s countenance as he lifted heavenward his trembling hands out of the flame—that often and often would the bystanders have taken their places, and far more gladly have shared their martyrdom than have sat in guilty glory beside the tyrants who sentenced them to death.’

The *Lives of Christ* and of St. Paul, and the *Early Days of Christianity* are, one may say, the only books of Dr. Farrar’s which admit of much literary criticism, for nearly all his other publications are simply reprints of sermons, and this fact partly explains the accusation of shallowness which has been brought against him. For it is undoubtedly true, that in taking up one of his publications we find the same thought, sometimes almost the same language, and occasionally the same poetical quotation repeated. But it must be remembered that this thought or quotation has occurred in a sermon delivered orally to a comparatively small audience, and not at the moment intended for publication at all. In the pulpit, the field of thought is so limited, that it is

* *Saintly Workers*, p. 14.

almost impossible for the preacher always to provide new thought and new language; and owing to the very transitory effect produced upon the hearers, repetition is generally a fault which no one observes, and of little consequence. Moreover, if a preacher has any teaching which he considers of special importance, it is only by constant repetition that he is likely to get it impressed on the minds of his hearers. In Dr. Farrar's books, properly so called, we have not observed any tendency to tautology or repetition. One serious fault, however, we have noticed. He is very fond of poetical quotations—usually very good ones—but he constantly omits to give his authority. This is both annoying to the reader who may wish to know whence the quotation comes, and unfair to the author, who may be misquoted with impunity. One has an uncomfortable suspicion that Dr. Farrar has not been sure of the accuracy of the quotation himself, and that, being unable or indisposed to verify it, he has purposely omitted his authority. Certainly we have discovered one glaring case of misquotation. It occurs in the *Early Days of Christianity* (1st ed., Vol. I., p. 166), where the following lines are quoted:—

‘ O if they knew how pressed those splendid chains,
How little would they mourn their humbler pains.’

Compare these lame and halting lines with the following from the first canto of Byron's ‘*Corsair*’:—

‘ 'Tis Nature's doom—but let the wretch who toils
Accuse not, hate not, him who wears the spoils.
Oh! if he knew the weight of splendid chains,
How light the balance of his humbler pains.’

No authority is given by Dr. Farrar, but it is impossible to resist the conclusion that his quotation represents the ‘mangled remains’ of the impression which Byron's beautiful lines had left upon his mind. The result is a warning to those who indulge in unverified quotations. Another misquotation, though a slight one, will be found in *Eternal Hope* (page 35, 2nd ed.), when two of Tennyson's lines from ‘*Maud*’ are given without reference, viz.:—

‘ A livelier emerald twinkles in the grass,
A deeper sapphire melts into the sea.’

'Deeper' here should be 'purer,' and though it makes no great difference, yet no one is justified in altering even a single word in a quotation, more especially when no authority is given.

Having dwelt chiefly upon the 'Broad' aspect of Dr. Farrar's teaching, let us turn for a moment to his more orthodox side, and we shall find that, in the essential points of the Christian faith, his belief is firmly rooted. This is most to be observed in his 'Hulsean Lectures' for 1870—the object of that foundation being not so much to confound all heretics as 'to demonstrate in the most convincing and persuasive manner the truth and excellence of Christianity.' The following eloquent quotation will show that however earnestly the apostle of 'works' has inculcated his favourite lesson, he has not the slightest sympathy with those who teach that Christ was *only* an excellent worker, *only* an admirable example of a good man.*

'However skilfully the modern ingenuity of semi-belief may have tampered with supernatural interpositions, it is clear to every honest and unsophisticated mind that if miracles be incredible, Christianity is false. If Christ wrought no miracles, then the gospels are untrustworthy. . . . If the Resurrection be merely a spiritual idea, or a mythicised hallucination, then our religion has been founded on an error and a sham. We accept the issue. Eliminate miracles, and then though there still remain a moral system singularly noble and singularly pure—yet it is a moral Deism alone. A Christianity without its Redeemer, without its sanctions, without its hopes—a Christianity dis severed from the promises of the future, and the history of the past—a Christianity based on the credulity of superstitions, and disseminated by the potency of lies, is not the Christianity of our convictions, not a Christianity for which we care to retain the name. If it be true that the growth of science and civilization are incompatible with a belief in the miraculous, then must science and civilisation listen for the voice of some new deliverer, for then Christianity is dead.'

These Hulsean lectures form perhaps the best series of Dr. Farrar's published sermons, and combine a most powerful defence of Christianity, with a spirit of the widest charity towards its opponents. The arguments and inductions in favour of Christianity are able and well-put, and acquire more force from the fact of being suggested by one who, though strongly opposed

* *Hulsean Lectures*, 5th Edition, p. 25.

to Atheism or even Unitarianism, yet on many points has opinions more liberal than his ecclesiastical brethren. If there is one preacher more likely than another to have a good effect on those inclined to scepticism or atheism, we should say it is Dr. Farrar, both from his large and liberal views and still more from the kind and charitable spirit in which he meets the doubts and difficulties of others—a spirit unfortunately in marked contrast with the dogmatic anathemas or lofty contempt usually bestowed on ‘unbelievers’ by the ‘true church’—a term which generally means only the little branch of Christianity to which the speaker happens to belong. To us it seems an inestimable blessing, that at a time when scepticism has spread so widely, and when more and more men refuse to accept as infallible, doctrines which conflict with their sense of justice, a teacher has been found who while firmly believing in the Divinity of Christ, and in His salvation of the world, yet rejects those doctrines which outrage our moral consciousness, and does so, not by overthrowing the authority of Holy Scripture, but by dispassionate and scholarly criticism, which even the firmest believer in literal inspiration may accept without fear. It is surely matter for gratitude to find that it is possible to hold the vital truths of the Christian faith, without embracing doctrines which are contrary to our ideas of all that is good and true and just. It is, moreover, surely only the truth, to teach that practice is better than theory, that duty is more important than belief; that to show kindness and practical Christianity to our fellow-men is of more consequence than the mere acceptance of a correct dogma; that one is never more like Christ, and therefore never nearer heaven, than when working for his neighbour; and so, that a man may be really much nearer Christ with no profession, and with even little faith, than the confident believer and the noisy dogmatiser, whose life and practice are utterly at variance with the glorious unselfishness and the tender kindness of the Saviour of mankind. On what grounds are we to assume that the race of ‘Scribes and Pharisees, hypocrites,’ is extinct, and was it not the very essence of their character to pride themselves upon being the only holders of the true faith,—all outside of their select circle being reprobates, however kind their deeds, or

however unselfish their lives? Is this class of theologians unrepresented now, or may we not frequently find their lineal descendants in those who boldly proclaim themselves 'the Lord's people,' 'followers of the Master,' or sometimes simply 'Christians,'—thereby limiting the term to their own little sect,—a miserable and infinitesimal fraction of the human race?

Is there a more repulsive type of character to be found than the loud professor who observes 'the Sabbath' with the utmost rigidity, who is a frequent speaker at prayer-meetings and Sunday schools, who, if in Scotland, is probably a 'ruling elder,' and whose faith is as 'sound' as a bell; and who at the same time is the hardest landlord, the sharpest and severest man of business, the readiest to say a bad word of his neighbour, and in short one who practically lives for nothing but the rapid acquisition of wealth? Does such a man fulfil the 'royal law' of loving his neighbours as himself, or are his whole energies not chiefly directed to putting his competitor in business out of the way, and to sending his neighbour to the wall? He may exhort him to 'be converted' on Sunday, but he will do his best to make him bankrupt on Monday. And is such a character, because forsooth his faith is supposed to be correct, to be preferred to the humbler individual who, from innate modesty and distrust of his own powers and from a profound knowledge of his own sinfulness, is unable to dogmatise with any confidence, but who quietly endeavours to do his duty? If the tendency of Dr. Farrar's teaching is to exalt the latter type of character at the expense of the former, it should be eagerly endorsed by all lovers of truth, and haters of 'sham.'

One other lesson which Dr. Farrar emphatically teaches is the necessity for that charity—especially amongst theologians—'which thinketh no evil,' and we cannot conclude without quoting a fine passage from *Saintly Workers* (p. 188) on this subject:—

'For the saints, who hate each other, who persecute each other, who denounce each other as heretics, who attribute to each other the worst motives, who call down on each other the indignation of God and man, Heaven opens its pitying harmonious doors; and those holders of mutually destructive opinions, shall, with a smile at the old leaven of their anathematising ignorance, and a sigh, if there be sighs in Heaven, for the aching

hearts they caused each other on earth—shall in the light of their Father's countenance "clasp inseparable hands in joy and bliss in over measure, for ever."

Is this conception of Heaven as a place where the so-called heretics are to forgive and forget, or the old-fashioned view that the happiness of the true believer is to be enhanced by the contemplation of the agonies of the heterodox, the more Christ-like?

Indeed a far-reaching practical charity seems to us the leading characteristic of Dr. Farrar's teaching. It is this spirit which has made him shrink in horror from a doctrine which seems to deny the attribute of mercy to the Deity; it is this which has prompted him to teach so strenuously the duty of self-denial, and of practical love to our neighbour; and it is the same spirit which makes him extend such wide arms of love to opposing sects, and to those who 'in the good old days,' would have been the first to burn him as a pestilent heretic. We earnestly hope that he may long be spared to carry on the good work he has begun, and if it be good that greater denial of selfish aims, that a wider charity, and a more practically Christ-like spirit should pervade the world, Dr. Farrar will not have lived in vain.

ART. III.—THE BATTLE OF OTTERBURN.

THE reign of Robert II., the first Stuart king, far from partaking of the troubles and commotions which usually attend the inauguration of a new dynasty, was for the kingdom a season of unusual quiet and repose. The long War of Independence was practically over. The nobles, after an abortive attempt to put forward William, Earl of Douglas—the nephew of the good 'Sir James,' the Bruce's friend and counsellor—as a competitor for the Crown, had acquiesced in the new settlement of the Crown. Even their family feuds, the one great blot in Scottish history, though never entirely silent, were for the moment almost entirely forgotten amidst the general rejoicings which greeted the accession of a new and popu-

lar line of kings. The fires of border warfare alone, the last monument of the hereditary antagonism between England and Scotland, continued to burn with unabated fury.

For centuries the narrow tract of land which bordered on either side of the Cheviots and the Solway, had been looked upon as a species of neutral ground—as natural lists, in fact, where the fiery spirits of either kingdom might distinguish themselves by ‘fair gestes of arms,’ and give free play to those martial instincts, which, in the more central districts of both kingdoms, might have been productive of serious danger to their respective governments. Never, except in cases of unusual gravity and provocation regarded as *casus belli*, the border raids, if not actually encouraged were, at least, not discountenanced by the executive; and though, in not a few instances, the peace-loving proclivities of individual sovereigns alike in Scotland and England had been seriously exercised to restrain such forays, as not only bad in themselves but as being attended with a useless waste of life and property, never—at least in Scotland—were such influences sufficiently powerful to do more than to induce an increased amount of secrecy in their conduct, and perhaps a little more reticence in the preparation of such expeditions.

The pacific disposition of Robert II. was notorious; but despite his undoubted hold upon the affections of his subjects, his efforts were powerless to repress the warlike inclination of his proud and turbulent aristocracy. And thus with every succeeding year of his reign the hostilities on the borders had been growing more serious. They were destined to culminate in the year 1388, in the battle of Otterburn.

The story of that famous fight—the one great battle of the reign of the first Stuart king—is popularly believed to be embalmed for all future ages in the glowing ballad of *Chery Chase*. Perhaps no poem in the English language has had a wider circle of admirers of every class and of every age. ‘I never heard,’ said Sir Philip Sidney—no bad judge either of poetry or war—‘the old song of Percie and Douglas, that I found not my heart moved more than with a trumpet, and yet it is sung but by some blinde crowder, with no rougher voice

than rude skill.' 'I had rather be the author of *Chevy Chase*,' said Ben Jonson, 'than of all my works.' 'Almost within our own day, at the firesides of Northumberland during the long winter evenings, the moving recital of the exploits of the two rival leaders formed a never-sating source of amusement and delight.* Yet the poem, despite its powerful appeal to English patriotism and English bravery, is not only unhistorical: it has absolutely no connection with the battle which it is supposed to describe. It is the account of a mere predatory raid for which it is hard to find even a foundation in fact. The scene is laid in the time of James I., when both Percy and Douglas were dead and buried. Times, places and persons are confounded in an inextricable mass of jumble and confusion. Somewhat more trustworthy, indeed, is the old ballad, preserved in the Cottonian Library, known by the name of the Battle of Otterburn. Yet here, too, its dramatic merits have destroyed its historical worth. Altered and embellished in its descent from one generation of minstrels to another, its value as evidence is small. But, fortunately for us, the subject had as many attractions for the annalists as for the minstrels. It was like the taste of a forbidden pleasure to the monkish historians of the period to turn from their jejune task of chronicling treaties and councils and the arid details of the records of their respective monasteries to describe the flash and glitter of knightly swords, and the ever-changing movements of an almost heroic conflict. And though we see the battle now only athwart the barred windows of the cloister cell, and through eyes dimmed by years of mortification and seclusion from the world, the yellow pages on which its story is written still teem with life, and are still aglow with the stroke and parry of human passion and the surge and flow of chivalrous instincts.

Early in spring, at a great meeting held at Aberdeen, under the pretext of a solemn festival of the Church, a fresh foray into England was determined upon by the border lords. Summonses were issued for the gathering of the feudal host, and the

* White's *Otterburn*, App., p. 132.

neighbourhood of Jedburgh was assigned for the place of meeting. The castle of Jedburgh, it is true, was then in the hands of the English. But in the deep forests which encircled it, and in the wild mountain glens which radiated from it in all directions, a large force might muster, it was thought, without attracting attention. So secluded were the dark recesses of its woods, that not many years before, when all the country round was in possession of the English, a body of Scottish nobles with their followers, had, like Robin Hood and his men in Sherwood Forest, resided there in safety for several years.

On the appointed day an army, such as had not been seen, it was said, for sixty years, assembled at the place of meeting. It consisted of twelve hundred lances, and forty thousand rank and file. The young Earl of Douglas was the first to arrive. After him came John, Earl of Moray, and his brother George, Earl of Dunbar and March; the Earls of Fife, Sutherland and Mar; Douglas, the grim Lord of Galloway, the two Lindsays,—Sir William and Sir James,—Sir John Swinton, Sir John Sandilands, Sir Patrick Dunbar, Sir Simon Glendinning, and many another border knight and squire. Each baron led his own vassals. Each knight was attended by two or three squires. Each man-at-arms had his sergeants to hold his horse, to buckle his armour, and to perform the same duties towards him which the squires fulfilled towards the knights. Captains and men-at-arms were alike in the highest spirits, and they encouraged each other with the assurance that they would effect such an inroad as should be remembered by the English for twenty years to come. The more completely to mature their plans, a further meeting was arranged when they had reached the little church of Zedon,* a few miles nearer the English border.

Though his sons, five sons-in-law and a nephew were among the leaders of the host, the project had been as usual, carefully concealed from the Scottish king. It had not, however, ce-

* The Zedon of Froissart is either the gipsy town of Kirk-Yetholm at the foot of the Cheviot Hills, or more probably Southdean on the Jed, about ten miles from Jedburgh and four from Redeswire, the place at which Douglas and his men were to enter England.—Froissart II., note to p. 362: White's *Otterburn*, note to p. 23.

caped the notice of the English. Henry Percy, surnamed Hotspur—then in his twenty-third year—the eldest son of the aged Earl of Northumberland, recently appointed by Richard a warden of the English marches, his father and his brother Ralph and all the north-country chivalry, were—by means of spies, who, as heralds and minstrels, travelled with ease and safety throughout the length and breadth of the land—fully as cognisant of their movements as were the Scottish lords themselves. They knew all about the assembly at Aberdeen. They had heard of the muster at Jedburgh. They had observed the unwonted agitation which prevailed through the whole country side; and very secretly they were in course of making their preparations to resist the threatened attack. Meantime, to gain still more complete information, they resolved to send a spy to the gathering at the foot of the Cheviots.

A certain squire, well acquainted with the country, was accordingly despatched from Newcastle for the purpose. He reached Zedon as the Scottish barons were in consultation in the church. The Englishman entered and heard their deliberations. But before the meeting broke up he thought it prudent to retire. Leaving the church unobserved he went to look for his horse. It was gone. ‘A Scotsman,’ says Froissart, ‘(for they are all thieves) had stolen him.’ To have made enquiry would have been to risk detection. He, therefore, set out on foot, booted and spurred as he was. But he had scarcely gone about two bow-shots when his appearance attracted the notice of two Scottish knights who were in conversation.

‘That fellow,’ said the one, ‘has seemingly lost his horse, and yet he is making no attempt to seek for it.’

‘On my troth!’ replied the other, ‘I doubt much if he belongs to us. Let us follow and question him.’

He was soon overtaken. They asked him whence he came, whither he was going, and what he had done with his horse. His answers were contradictory and confused, and he was accordingly taken before the council of war. There, under the threat of death, he was made to reveal the purpose for which he had come, and to supply his enemies with much the same sort of information which he had expected to obtain from

them. The barons of Northumberland, he said, had determined not to meet the Scotch. But as soon as they had crossed the Border, an English army would enter Scotland and mete out retaliatory devastation upon the lands of the Border lords. If the Scots marched upon Cumberland, the English would advance upon Edinburgh by Berwick. If they pressed on towards Newcastle, the English would proceed by way of Carlisle. This was valuable intelligence. The Scottish lords looked at each other but were silent. The prisoner having been removed a spirited debate ensued. It was evident their plans must be changed. A united attack upon England was impossible. The only way to defeat the arrangements of the English was to enter England by both the eastern and the western marches. By such tactics and by such alone could this counter invasion of Scotland be prevented.

It was agreed to divide the host into two army corps. While the largest division with the baggage, under the command of Archibald Douglas, lord of Galloway, marched upon Carlisle, the other consisting of three hundred picked lances and two thousand infantry, led by the young Earl of Douglas, would invade Northumberland. When both had been united, a fitting time and place would be selected to give battle to the English. After taking an affectionate farewell of each other the two divisions started,—the one marching to the right and the other to the left.

On Friday, the 7th August, the army of the Earl of Douglas crossed the border of Redeswire. Moving forward over Ottercop's Hill and down by Rothley Crag, it swept silently but swiftly through Northumberland and forded the Tyne above Newburn.* Journeying through bye roads, attacking neither town, castle, nor manor, it reached the rich bishopric of Durham, without encountering opposition. So suddenly and secretly had the march been conducted that the first intelligence of its arrival which the north-country barons received, was the smoke of burning houses and the crowds of fugitives hastening towards Newcastle. The Earl of Northumberland immediately

* White's *Otterburn*, pp. 24-25.

despatched his two sons—Hotspur and his brother Ralph—to defend the city, while he himself remained at Alnwick to rouse the district. Meantime, the Scots advanced through the fertile tract of country between Durham and Newcastle, levelling peel and fortalice, devastating village and grange, slaughtering and capturing the inhabitants, and driving or carrying away all the booty which they thought worth appropriating.

The flower of Northumberland had by this time collected within the walls of Newcastle. Barons and knights and squires—all the gentry of the district from York northwards—had rallied round Hotspur's standard; and the town was filled with more than it could lodge. On the 14th August, the Scottish army encamped before Newcastle, and took up its position on that side of the town which looks towards Scotland.* It was the Earl's intention to have attacked the place. But so strong were its defences, that without the assistance of Archibald Douglas's division he saw but little prospect of success.† For three days he lay waiting for reinforcements. During that time there were almost constant skirmishes between the besiegers and the besieged. Outside the moat which surrounded the town, the English had erected a species of wooden fortification after a fashion which was then common on the continent, and which their recent wars with France had probably taught them. It consisted of upright grated palisades with openings about half a foot wide, and so low that a horse might without much difficulty leap over them. At these barriers the young knights on both sides fought daily. Many valiant deeds were done with lances hand to hand. The two gallant sons of the Earl of Northumberland were always the first to arrive, and generally the last to leave.

In one of these many encounters, the Earl of Douglas, after a long conflict with Harry Percy, won his spear with its silken pennon attached, adding insult to the injury by the assurance that he would carry it with him into Scotland.

'Nay, Earl of Douglas!' retorted Hotspur, 'that shall you never do.'

* *Ibid.*, p. 24.

† Froissart, III. 125.

‘You must come this night and seek it then,’ replied the Earl.

But the night passed, and no effort was made to redeem the banner. When the morning broke, its pearl-embroidered folds, emblazoned with the white lion of the Percys, was still floating above the pavilion of the Earl of Douglas.* Long before the sun was up, the Scots were on their way home. About four they reached the castle of Pontelands, which they took and burned. Then turning off in a north-westerly direction, they made through Redesdale to Otterburn, and encamped on a little height, the site of an ancient Roman camp, above Greenchesters.† On the north, their position was somewhat exposed, but on the south and west it was protected by natural woods, some remains of which, in the shape of a few straggling birch and rowan trees, are still to be seen at no great distance from the spot.‡

It was now the height of summer, and all over the rich upland pastures the husbandmen were gathering in their hay. The heat, too, was very great, and the Scots, fatigued by their exertions, were not unwilling to rest for the remainder of the day. They had work, too, before them on the morrow. Not far from where they were camped, in the midst of a piece of marshy ground, stood the Tower of Otterburn; and this they were determined to raze. By all the unwritten laws of chivalry the challenge to the Percy would have been incomplete had a single ground of provocation been left untried.

On the following day, Wednesday the 19th August, 1388, the light had scarcely dawned when their trumpet sounded for the attack. But the peel withstood all their efforts. In the afternoon, weary and worn out, and to say the truth, not a little dispirited at their non-success, the troops returned to their quarters. A council of war was hurriedly called to consider their further movements. Many were of opinion that the at-

* The banner is said to be still preserved in the family of Douglas of Cavers. White's *Otterburn*, App., Note I.

† White's *Otterburn*, pp. 30-31.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

tack should be abandoned, and that the army, leaving its present position, should turn off to join the other division of the Scottish forces. But Douglas took a different view. It was cowardly, he thought, to decamp without accomplishing the enterprise they had undertaken. Besides, he was still in hopes that Hotspur would make an endeavour to recover his pennon before the Scots finally left the country. His views prevailed. The troops proceeded to fortify their position. They entrenched themselves behind a double earth work towards the north. They laid down felled trees wherever their rampart was weak. The baggage and servants, with their booty of sheep and cattle, they placed on the side of the camp at the entrance of the marsh on both sides of the road to Newcastle.

The twilight came. The sun went down over the Cheviots. Many of the men exhausted with the labours of the day retired to rest. The lords were supping in their tents. They had laid aside their armour on account of the closeness of the weather, and were clad in their 'side-gowns only.' All of a sudden, a watchman on an untrapped horse,† was seen spurring towards the camp.‡ The enemy was upon them, he cried.§ His abrupt call to arms threw the whole encampment into confusion. The knights flew to their armour. The Earl of Douglas hurried to marshal his men. In the disorder which everywhere prevailed cuissarts and greaves and brasiers were forgotten. The Earl of Moray had not time to don his helmet. The Earl of Douglas had no leisure to give his own arming a thought. Above the din and bustle, the clang of armourers closing rivets up, the bugle calls summoning the troops to their respective standards, the neighing of horses and the tramp of hurrying feet, cries of 'A Percy! a Percy!' were now distinctly heard; and soon on the crest of a hill, disposed in two divisions, with banners flying, and the dying sunset glinting on the bright armour of the knights, the forces of Hotspur might be seen pricking forward to meet their foes. The Percy had at last come to retrieve his pennon.

* Wyntoun, ix. 8.

† *Scotichronicon*, xiv. c. 53.

‡ *Battle of Otterburn, Percy's Reliques*, i. 25. § *Scotichron.*, xiv. c. 53.

Impatient to wipe out the insult to his chivalry, without waiting for the Bishop of Durham, who, eager to avenge the devastation of his bishopric, had collected his vassals and was hastening to his assistance, he had left Newcastle in the forenoon after dinner, and, with six hundred spears of knights and squires and upwards of eight thousand infantry, had travelled the eight short leagues which separated him from the Scots.* With this force, which stood in the proportion of three to one to that of his enemies, victory, he thought, was certain.

It had been arranged that the first 'battle,' consisting of the greater part of the troops, under the command of Hotspur himself and his brother Ralph, should meet the Earl of Douglas if he was disposed to fight. While they were thus engaged, the other, under Sir Matthew Redman and Sir Robert Ogle, would attack the tents and destroy and slay all they found. Percy accordingly pressed on towards the camp; but mistaking the huts of the servants, which were partially concealed by trees, for the pavilions of the lords, his first attack was directed against the cooking-galleys and camp kitchens. For a time those who were in charge were able to withstand the onset of the English, but overpowered at length they were forced to flee. Seeing this Sir Matthew Redman with his followers, immediately started in pursuit, whilst Hotspur, rejoicing in the sight, congratulated himself on having obtained an almost bloodless victory.

Meanwhile the Scottish leaders, observing his error, hastily ordered a body of infantry to join the servants and keep up the skirmish. They themselves having completed their arming and separated their men into three divisions, under the respective pennons of the Earl of Douglas and the two gallant brothers the Earls of March and Moray, his kinsmen, left the camp in silence, and crossing round its rear, marched along a mountain ridge covered with holt and scrub, till they had reached the higher ground. Then falling upon the English flank, with wild shouts and banners displayed,† they charged into the

* Wyntoun, ix. 8.

† *Ibid.*, ix. 8.

midst of their enemies. Their opponents, taken aback, speedily turned and faced their foes.

The battle now raged. Cries of 'A Percy!' 'A Douglas!' 'St. George!' 'St. Andrew!' and many another warlike slogan resounded over the field. Lances were shattered, saddles emptied, battle-axes broken. Under the bright light of the harvest moon, the shimmer of flashing swords gleamed on every side. So close was the impact of the contending forces, that the English archers had not room to draw their bows. As the Scots, discomfited in the first onset, were in the act of retiring, Douglas, burning to win renown, ordered his banner to advance. Hotspur and his brother Sir Ralph immediately hastened forward to oppose him. The banners met, and a deadly struggle ensued between the knights and squires on either side. 'There was no ho between them,' says Froissart, 'so long as spears, swords, axes, or daggers endured.'* 'Cowards there had no place, but hardiness reigned with goodly feats of arms.' The banner of Douglas with its crowned heart, surmounted by the three stars, was at one time in imminent danger, and would have been captured but for the valiant defence of Sir Patrick Hepburn and his son. At length the Scots, unable to resist the superior number of the English, began to give way. At this juncture the Earl of Douglas, seizing a double-handed battle-axe, closely followed by his warlike chaplain, Richard Lundie, afterwards Archdeacon of Aberdeen, and a devoted handful of his personal friends, dashed, like another Hector, into the midst of his enemies, dealing such blows around him that all rushed from him on every side. Few in the darkness recognised in the central figure of that little band, round which the tide of battle now eddied with renewed and ever-rising vehemence, the gallant leader of the Scottish forces. At last he fell, pierced by three spears which had been pointed at him at once. He was thrown to the ground fighting desperately. No sooner was he down than his head was cleft

* *Ho, hoo*, an interjection of stopping or desisting: hence stoppage. Glossary, Percy's *Reliques*, i. 357. 'So in Langham's letter concerning Queen Elizabeth's entertainment at Kellingworth Castle, 1575, "Heer was no ho in devout drynking."' Percy's *Reliques*, i. note to p. 20.

with a battle-axe. A fourth spear was thrust through his thigh. Then the main body of the English, pressing over his prostrate form, carried the surging wave of combat to another part of the field.

When all were gone he strove to raise himself, but fell back powerless. He was alone and unattended save by his lion-hearted chaplain, now wounded himself, who, battle-axe in hand, had never left him the whole night through. By his side, covered with fifteen wounds from lances and other weapons, lay the dead body of his squire, Robert Hart. He too had fought by his master so long as the power to fight remained. As he lay there in mortal agony, there came up to him his cousins, Sir John Lindsay and Sir John and Sir Walter Sinclair, and one or two others of his knights and squires.

‘Cousin!’ said Sir John Sinclair, kneeling by the side of the dying man, ‘how fares it with you?’

‘But indifferently,’ he replied. ‘I have little hope of living. My heart becomes every moment more faint. But, thanks to God! I die like most of my ancestors, on the field of battle! Raise up my banner,’ he continued, ‘it is lying on the ground, and shout “Douglas!” as if I were with you. They say a dead Douglas will win a field. To-night it shall be accomplished. Farewell!’

He was dead.

Throwing a cloak over the body, Sir John Sinclair lifted his standard; and once more the cry of ‘A Douglas! a Douglas!’ rallied the disheartened Scots. The knights came spurring together from every part of the field. The Earls of Moray and March, with their banners and men trooped round the uplifted pennon. There was one desperate and collective charge, one crash of splintered lances, and then slowly and sullenly the English commenced to retreat. The dead man had gained the day. Hotspur himself was captured, and like his brother Sir Ralph, had to yield himself prisoner to a Scottish knight.* The pursuit lasted for the remainder of the

* Sir John Montgomery, son of John, lord of Montgomery, the lineal ancestor of the present Earl of Eglinton. He was soon afterwards exchanged for Sir Hugh Montgomery, and for his ransom built the castle of Penoon in Ayrshire.

night,* and was continued for a distance of five English miles.† When at length the Scots returned to their camp, the numbers of the captured exceeded that of the captors. It was reckoned that the English loss amounted to fifteen hundred men;‡ while the Scots computed theirs at only a hundred slain, and two hundred taken prisoners. §

‘Never since the battle of Bannockburn,’ says Froissart, ‘did the Scots gain a more complete or gainful victory.’ ‘It was told me,’ he continues, ‘and I believe it, that they gained two hundred thousand francs for their ransoms.’ Nor can he, although no friend to their race, abstain from adding a word of commendation to the Scots on their treatment of their prisoners. ‘When the Scots,’ he says, ‘saw the English were discomfited and surrendering on all sides, they behaved courteously to them, saying ‘sit down and disarm yourselves for I am your master, but never insulted them more than if they had been brothers.’ Many of the prisoners were ransomed before they left the field. ‘Eche of them is so contente with other, that at their departynge curtoysly they will saye, God thanke ye!’

Yet, after all, when the debit and credit sides of the account are summed up, what had the nation gained by the victory? It is difficult, indeed, to say. That the engagement had been conducted in strict accordance with those artificial rules of honour which it was the fashion of the times to approve; or that in courage and courtesy both parties had satisfied the most exacting rules of chivalry, was scarcely adequate compensation for the lives of a hundred Scots lost in a battle fought in defence of no principles and undertaken in support of no claim. That it indeed diminished for a short season the severity of the

* *Scotichron.*, xiv. 54.

† Froissart, ii. 127.

‡ *Scotichron.*, xiv. 654; Wyntown, ix. 8; Froissart, *ut supra*, says, a thousand and forty.

§ The victory has been claimed by the English chroniclers, Walsingham, *Hist. Ang. Rich.*, ii. 361, who also feign a personal combat between Percy and Douglas, in which the latter receives his death-blow. See also poem entitled ‘Battle of Otterburn,’ Percy’s *Rel.*, i. 21-34.

border raids is perhaps the greatest commendation which can be bestowed upon it.

Before the dawn of day the field was clear of combatants. But with the morning came another danger which it called forth all the manhood and the ingenuity of the Scots to meet. The sun had hardly risen when the Scottish scouts posted along the road to Newcastle announced the approach of another English host. It was Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, eager to avenge the defeat of the Percy the night before. Wearied, wounded, and worn out, and cumbered with a multitude of prisoners, resistance seemed out of the question. But what exhausted nature refused to do, stratagem, it was thought, might accomplish. The bishop had advanced within a league of the camp, when a noise which seemed 'as if all the devils in hell had come thither to join it,' startled his horses and disconcerted his men. The bishop approached half a league nearer. Again the gruesome cacophony arose, more jarring and discordant than before. Once more the intrepid churchman urged forward his troops, and this time he was permitted to come within sight of the camp. A third time the sounds broke forth, louder, more dissonant, more terrific than ever. The bishop halted and took counsel with his knights. Concealed behind their intrenchments, the Scots could now distinctly see every movement of their enemy. It was plain the bishop was irresolute. Perhaps a fourth blast from their cow-horns would assist him to make up his mind. Wilder, deeper, shriller, lustier, more demoniac than they had heard them yet, the horrid strains echoed and bellowed, clanged and swelled, boomed and shrieked, thundered and reverberated in their ears. At last, after long deliberation, as it seemed, the English were seen to face about. One parting roar from the cow-horns, and the whole force was in retreat. With an infinite sense of relief, the Scots retired within their huts and tents to refresh themselves with meat and drink, and to enjoy that rest of which they stood so much in need.

Later in the day, with the dead bodies of the Earl Douglas, Robert Hart, and Sir Simon Glendinning, enclosed in coffins and placed on carts, they withdrew from that position to

whose strength, rather than to their infernal minstrelsy, they probably owed their late deliverance. The following day they arrived at Melrose, and there, in the abbey of black monks—in a tomb of stone, with his banner floating above it—they laid the body of their brave commander. Soon after, they dispersed to their various homes. With the almost immediately supervening return of the lord of Galloway and his division of the army, the great Scottish foray of 1388 came to an end.

THE *DE IMITATIONE CHRISTI*—WHO WROTE IT ?

1. *Opera Thomae a Kempis*. Nuremberg, 1494.
2. *De Imitatione Christi libri Quatuor, Auctore Thoma a Kempis, cum vitâ ejusdem Thomae per Heribertum Rosweydam Societatis Jesu*. Ruddiman's Reprint. Edinburgh, 1757.
3. *Chronicon Windesemense. Chronicon Sanctae Agnetis. Vindiciae Kempenses; Rosweyde*. Antwerp, 1621.
4. *Trithemii Opera*. JACOBUS MAJOR. Frankfort, 1706.
5. *Dupin. Bibliothéque Ecclesiastique. TOME XII.*, 1706.
6. *Dupin. Gersonii Opera Omnia*. Antwerp, 1709.
7. *Dibdin. Imitation of Christ*. Three Books. London, 1828.
8. *Kettlewell. Authorship of the De Imitatione Christi*. 1872.

EVERY mystery yields to time save one—the mystery of the *De Imitatione Christi*. The Site of Troy, the Man of the Iron Mask, the Secret of Junius, have all been discovered, but not the author of the *De Imitatione*. He has baffled research and defied curiosity for nearly three centuries. Many have been named, and three 'reasonably suspected,' viz.: Gersen of Vercelli, Gerson of Paris, and Thomas a Kempis. Of the three the first has a merely historical importance. His claim is practically abandoned. The supporters of Thomas a Kempis have, of late, monopolized the discussion without, it seems to us, materially

strengthening his case. The claim of Gerson of Paris remains practically where Dupin left it in the beginning of the eighteenth century. The dispute makes no progress towards a settlement. The question remains where it was—the despair of criticism, the North-west Passage of literature. Yet, hopeless as it seems to be, the search for the author of the *De Imitatione* is by no means given up. Like the quest of the philosopher's stone, it has a fascination which survives all disappointment—a fascination which we confess has captivated us, and will, we hope, excuse us with the reader.

Historically, the *De Imitatione Christi* was first printed at Augsburg, in or about the year 1472, under the name of Thomas of Mount St. Agnes (Thomas a Kempis). Several early editions bear Bernard's name, and many that of Dr. John Gerson, Chancellor of Paris. After the year 1525 the name of 'our Thomas' prevails, till at last it excludes every other. The first years of the seventeenth century re-opened the whole question. In 1604, Manriquez, a Spanish Jesuit, published his doubts respecting the common or Kempisian theory. In 1615, Rosignoli, another Jesuit, found the celebrated MS. of Arona, which in four places ascribes the work to the Abbot Gesen, Gessen, or Gersen. Immediately thereafter Cajetan published his first edition, and the controversy fairly began.

This Cajetan was an Italian Benedictine of some note, and very zealous for the credit of his order. What suggested the idea it is impossible to say; but for the rest of his life he devoted himself to prove that the Gersen of the Arona MS. was a Benedictine of the thirteenth century, Abbot of Vercelli, and author of the *De Imitatione Christi*. The Benedictines in a body adopted his theory. The Canons Regular rushed to the defence of their own claimant, Thomas a Kempis. The authorship of the *De Imitatione* ceased to be a matter of criticism. It became an important point of Church politics, and, in France, a question of State.

On the whole, the Canons Regular prevailed. Gersen's cause was lost long before the Benedictines gave it up, though it has supporters even yet. But the controversy had awakened doubts which the Canons Regular, with all their diligence, could not

find means to lay. The belief in Thomas a Kempis was seriously shaken by the discussion. Independent critics had mentioned Gerson of Paris, and Dupin had advocated his claim with great force and with perfect candour. Many have written since; but practically the controversy remains where he left it. Amort, Malou, and Kettlewell have supported Thomas's cause, Gregory has done his best for Gersen, and Gence has advocated Gerson's claim; but they have added little or nothing to the proof.

Leaving history and coming to the question itself, we find that the one fact which we can establish regarding the origin of the *De Imitatione* is that it was issued anonymously. The earliest MSS. (*i.e.*, those before 1460) are either anonymous or bear such names as Bernard's, which are manifestly random guesses born of the ignorance of individual copyists. The alleged exceptions to this will be discussed hereafter. The titles of the later MSS. and early editions, on the other hand, exhibit a perfect chaos of opinion. In short, the facts leave us no alternative. The author, we must believe, kept his secret from the first, and kept it well. Doubtless, also, he had good reason for keeping it.

We must admit, however, that Thomas's supporters allege the MSS. of Gaesdonck, Kirchem and Antwerp, as exceptions to the substantial anonymity of the earlier copies,—substantial we say, for at least one early copy and an early French translation bear Bernard's name, and the Codex Biscianus exhibits in its title the name of a certain Johannes de Canabaco. But the epigraph on the Gaesdonck MS. in which the name of 'our Thomas' appears is not in the first hand, and we have no evidence to show when or by whom it was written, though the MS. itself dates from 1425. The Kirchem MS. has the following note, but in a different hand and different ink from the body of the MS. :—

Notandum est quod iste tractatus editus est a probo et egregio viro Magistro Thoma de Monte Sanctae Agnetis et Canonico Regulari in Trajecto. Thomas de Kempis dictus, descriptus ex manu autoris in Trajecto anno 1425 in Sociatu provincialatus.*

* 'Mark that this treatise was set forth by the worthy and distinguished man, Master Thomas of Mount St. Agnes, and Canon Regular in Utrecht, called Thomas a Kempis. Written down from the hand of the author in

The foregoing amounts to a statement that the book is Thomas's, and that the MS. is a true copy taken from Thomas's autograph in the year 1425. But when or by whom this is attested is not stated. In point of fact, therefore, the MS. is anonymous and undated. The statement of the note, moreover, is in the highest degree improbable. It implies that Thomas had been careful to secure his rights, far more careful indeed than was at all common then; that he acknowledged the work as his own from the beginning; that he registered his copyright, so to speak, by depositing the original MS. in the archives of the province at Windesheim—in Sociatu provincialatus; and that already in 1425 men came to copy his autograph there. If we believe the note, we must believe all this. Yet Thomas, after all his care, suffered his rights to be ignored and disputed in his lifetime, and his own order, under whose protection he had placed his work, with his original MS. in their possession, looked on without interfering while anonymous and pseudonymous copies increased and multiplied! We cannot believe it. If Thomas took the precaution indicated in this note, it is simply inconceivable that his claim should ever have been disputed.

This note notwithstanding, then, the Kircheim MS. like that of Gaesdonck, is anonymous. Dupin mentions two anonymous copies and one bearing Bernard's name dated 1421, 1432, and 1434 respectively, besides a copy of the first book, anonymous also, dated 1437. Next in order of time comes the famous autograph of Antwerp of date 1441. It bears the following signature in Thomas's own hand:—

Finitus et completus anno Domini MCCCCXLI. per manus Fratris Thomae a Kempis in monte S. Agnetis prope Zwoell.

Now beyond cavil this is the copyist's and not the author's signature. *Per manus Fratris Thomae a Kempis, by the hands of Brother Thomas a Kempis.* But, it is argued, the *De Disciplina Clausuralium* and other works included in the MS. are Thomas's beyond dispute, and we may infer that the *Imitatio* also is his.

Utrecht, in the year 1425, in the Society's house of the provincialate.' The note 'may be rendered thus,' as Mr. Kettlewell says; but even thus the sense is by no means clear.

We may if we are so minded, indeed, but not on Thomas's authority. He makes no claim, unless copying the book out in the same volume with work of his own amount to one. Mr. Kettlewell speaks as if Thomas were in honour bound to explain on the back of his MS. that the *De Imitatione* was none of his. But Thomas might well deem it superfluous to repudiate a work which nobody ascribed to him, and there is not a scrap of evidence to show that in the year 1441 any one person had mentioned his name in connection with the *De Imitatione*. The fact remains, therefore, that, like all the early copies, the Antwerp MS. is silent about the author.

But, while this is so, we cannot escape the suspicion that this same signature of Thomas the copyist explains the claim of Thomas as author. It permits us to suspect that the copyist's signature has been taken for the author's, a mistake not unnatural in a fifteenth century scribe copying an anonymous MS. (The wonder is that any scholar should persist in the same error now.) Now Thomas was, as we know, a professional copyist, and very probably he copied the *De Imitatione* not once but often. In that case many copies written *pro pretio* would go forth to the world with no signature but his *Finitus et Completus*. And so it may be that the MSS. on which Thomas's name appears, represent one and the same misapprehension, and really prove no more than the dissemination of a single error. In this view, the number of MSS. which bear Thomas's name proves as little for his cause as the number of copies in a printed edition does for the truth of the statements on its title page. To stereotype a falsehood does not make it true. It can, however, give error currency and make it pass for truth. Indeed, in the circumstances, we cannot wonder if men came to associate Thomas's name with the work. The author unknown, the copyist, himself an author, was sure to be suspected.

Adopting, as we do, this view of the Kempisian MSS., it is no longer necessary to discuss particular copies in detail. If we are correct, they are all traced to one initial error, and add nothing to the proof. The same doubt attaches to all. And here we find a class of MSS., which seem to confirm our suspicion and to cast light upon the origin and growth of 'our Thomas's' claim. These all

declare the work to be *a quodam devoto regulari, cujusdam devoti regularis, a quodam canonico regulari* and the like, the work of some Regular or Canon Regular, as the case may be. This 'Regular' can be no other than Thomas we are told. But it so happens that in one of these MSS., the author is called a regular of Pödiken, which Thomas certainly was not. But let us conceive the circumstances. A copyist has before him a MS. of a contemporary or nearly contemporary work. It bears no name. From internal evidence he judges (wrongly, as we hope to shew, but naturally) that the author is some one living under monastic rule—*sub regula*; and with that inveterate disposition of most men to be 'wise above that which is written,' he writes on his copy *a quodam devoto regulari*, 'by some devout regular.' This indefinite use of *quodam* for *nescio quo* is not classical, we admit; but the fifteenth century is not the Augustan age. Suppose now that this MS. falls into the hands of a Canon Regular. Naturally he interprets the word *regularis* in its narrower sense of a member of his own order, and writes on his copy *a quodam Canonico Regulari*. The identification with Thomas follows easily enough, though we find that it was not invariable.

Conjecture and opinion apart, however, this much is certain, that the early copies, including the Gaesdonck, Kircheim and Antwerp MSS., are silent concerning the author. Whoever wrote it, the *De Imitatione* was issued anonymously. There is no MS. of date prior to 1467 in which Thomas's name is written in the first hand; the first copy, in which Gerson's name appears, that of St. Germain, is dated 1460; and these are the only serious claimants in the field. The *De Imitatione* was written in the first quarter of the century, so that for fully forty years it remained practically unclaimed.

But besides the MS. evidence there is the witness of contemporaries. In 1448 Gaspar Pforzheim translated, and in 1472 Matthias Farinator copied, the *De Imitatione* under Thomas's name. But this is simply the MS. evidence dished up again. It proves no more than that these two men found Thomas's name (whether as author or copyist matters little) on MSS. in their possession. The same criticism applies to the testimony of Jehan Lambert, who printed a French version at Paris in 1493. His

testimony is worthy of notice on other grounds, however. We give the title in Kettlewell's version, which agrees substantially with the French as given by Dupin.

'Here begins the very salutary book entitled *De Imitatione Xti et perfecto contemptu hujus miseri mundi*, which has already been attributed by some to St. Bernard or to Master John Gerson. Be it so: the thing is otherwise; for the author of it in the Lord was a certain venerable and devout religious, a Canon Regular of St. Augustine, called Brother Thomas a Kempis, prior in a priory of this order named Windesheim, in the diocese of Utrecht.'

From which it is evident that Jehan Lambert knew very little about the matter, and was very proud of the little he knew. Thomas was not prior of Windesheim but sub-prior of Agnetenberg. But Lambert's self-complacency is fully as apparent as his ignorance. Others may believe in Bernard or Gerson. He knows better. He has come to enlighten the benighted Parisians—not Bernard, nor Gerson, but Thomas a Kempis, whose name he introduces for the first time, wrote the book. Manifestly Lambert looks upon himself as a discoverer. It is equally manifest that Thomas's claim was unknown in Paris before 1493, or Lambert could not have given himself such airs upon the strength of his superior information.

We now come to consider a class of witnesses who have this in common—that all alike belong to the order of which Thomas a Kempis was in his day a notable member, the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. In their case, of course, we must expect opinion to lean to the side of faith. The evidence of Mauburne, in his list of the literature of the order, is of little weight. As a matter of course, he would include all that could be claimed for his order. The testimony of the author of the *Reminiscences*—for life they are not—in Pirckamer's edition (Nuremberg, 1494, fol. 84) professes to be derived *a fratribus illius conventus qui adhuc vivunt*, from the surviving brethren of Agnetenberg. But these *Reminiscences* only prove how completely Thomas had been forgotten in his own monastery. They are meagre, general, and indistinct altogether such as an old man of ninety leaves a generation after his death. They prove, indeed, that in 1494 the brethren of Agnetenberg believed Thomas to be the author of the *De Imita-*

tion. We are in no wise surprised to find it so. It would have been a miracle if they had believed otherwise. Europe was already flooded with MSS. and editions bearing Thomas's name, and few of the brotherhood would have courage to criticise a belief which reflected such honour alike on their order and their monastery.

There are two witnesses more from the order: Brother Herman, who met Thomas at a chapter of the order in Windesheim in the year 1454, and Buschius, Canon Regular of Windesheim, and author of its Annals. Herman styles Thomas the 'brother who compiled the *De Imitatione Xti.*' He cannot have seen the work himself; for the *De Imitatione* is in no sense a compilation. He cannot have received his information from Thomas, who knew the work and could never have described it so. His testimony amounts to this—that he was told afterwards that the Brother Thomas he had met, had compiled a work called the *De Imitatione*, and that he believed what he was told. On the other hand Buschius speaks of Thomas as *Frater notabilis, qui plures devotos libellos composuit videlicet Qui sequitur me, De Imitatione Xti cum aliis*, a brother of mark who composed several devout works, viz.:—*Qui Sequitur me, De Imitatione Xti*, with others.

Now this passage was certainly written after the year 1457. Twenty chapters earlier in Buschius's work (Bk. II., cap. v.) we read that the monastery of Windesheim had been in existence over seventy years (*nos autem hujusmodi leges patrum nostrorum per annos plusquam septuaginta inconvulse observantes*), and Windesheim was founded in 1387. In all probability the passage in debate was not written in Windesheim but in *Sultensi praelatura ordinis et capituli nostri in Saxoniam*, where Buschius was in 1464, and where he finished his chronicle. In this case Buschius's testimony is on a level with Herman's. After he left Windesheim, he heard that Thomas was the author of the *De Imitatione Xti.* Like Herman, he believed what he was told. This simply proves what cannot be denied, that between the years 1460 and 1470 the opinion rose and spread that Thomas was the author of the work he had so often copied. Beginning

at a distance, it was taken up by the order, till in 1494 we find it the unchallenged belief of Agnetenberg itself.

And here let us remark as regards the whole of these witnesses from the ranks of the Canons Regular, that we cannot assume that zeal for the credit of their order was peculiar to the Benedictines of the seventeenth century. The same forces which, later, out of a simple difference of spelling, developed the mythic abbot of Vercelli, with a whole literature to defend his claims, were in full operation in the fifteenth century, and the Canons Regular were not a whit behind the Benedictines in enthusiasm for their order. Now an anonymous work like the *De Imitatione* offers temptations which, with the smallest excuse to yield to them, must prove irresistible. *Cujusdam devoti regularis* becomes so naturally and so easily *cujusdam devoti Canonici Regularis*, and that soon takes the addition *cui nomen Thomas de Kempis*, though one unlucky brother does blunder sadly about a regular of Pödi-ken. It only needs to take the copyist's for the author's signature, and the case is complete.

Unfortunately for that case, however, there are testimonies which no monastic zeal can affect. The continuator of the Chronicle of St. Agnes, writing in 1477, six years after Thomas's death, his account of the venerable old recluse's life and work, is silent concerning the *De Imitatione*. He speaks of Thomas's feats as a copyist with evident pride,—*Scriptis Bibliam nostram totaliter et multos alios libros pro domo et pretio*. Of his writings the chronicler goes on to say—*Insuper composuit varios tractatulos ad edificationem juvenum in plano et simplici stylo sed prae-grandes in sententiâ et operis efficacîâ*—*He composed besides divers tracts for the edification of young men, in a plain and simple style, but excellent in matter and practical efficacy*. Evidently the chronicler thought more of Thomas as a copyist than as an author. The 'tractatuli,' 'trackies,' as the Scotch tongue renders it, are probably the Sermons to the Novices.

Now this is the evidence of one of Thomas's own order and monastery, continuing his own chronicle six years after his death. His silence condemns Thomas's claim even more effectually than an explicit denial could do; for it proves that the writer had

never heard of it. This passage alone, indeed, might rebut a stranger claim; but it is not alone.

Keteleer's edition of Thomas's works, we gather from Mr. Kettlewell, was published in 1468. It is said that it does not pretend to be a complete edition; but this is nothing to the purpose. If the *De Imitatione* had been omitted for any other reason than that it was not Thomas's and that he had no claim to it, we may be sure that that reason would have been given to explain its absence. We cannot conceive any one making a selection from a man's works and omitting the only valuable, the only famous one without a word of justification or apology. Yet it seems that the *De Imitatione* is omitted without explanation. For what other reason, we ask, than the editor's ignorance of Thomas's claim?

These testimonies of themselves seem sufficiently conclusive, and Thomas's case grows worse the further we examine it. One of the witnesses quoted is Trithemius, who completed his list of ecclesiastical writers in 1494. He sets Thomas in his list as having flourished in 1410, and places *De Contemptu Mundi* (of which he quotes the opening words *Qui Sequitur me*) first in his catalogue of the author's works. In another work on the Illustrious Men of Germany, he says:—*Et notandum quod duo feruntur huius fuisse nominis, ambo de Kempis, ambo regulares, in Monte Sanctae Agnetis, ambo ingenio praestantes et ambo varia cudentes opuscula, quorum primus temporibus Magistri Gerardi Magni ad Religionem conversus, divinis revelationibus dignus habitus, ea quae supra recensuimus opuscula, scripsisse dicitur. Secundus vero adhuc nostris temporibus pene vixit in humanis et varia composuit quae ad manus nostras non venerunt; et forsitan primo nonnulla sunt ascripta quae secundus fecisse putatur. Libellus autem De Imitatione Xti primi fertur auctoris quem ante multos annos seniores nostri suos ferunt legisse seniores quamvis sciam nonnullos in hae re sentire contrarium. Claruit autem Thomas iste senior sub Ruperto Bavaro Imperatore anno Domini MCCCCX.**

* And mark that two of this name are mentioned, both of Kempen, both Regulars in Mount St. Agnes, both of eminent parts, both authors of divers works, the first of whom, being called to the religious life in the times of

We can scarcely doubt that this is an account of the state of opinion as Trithemius found it. The words *feruntur, fertur, dicitur, putatur*, admit of no other interpretation, and this makes the passage all the more valuable. The judgment of Trithemius on a matter of criticism might be disputed or despised, his testimony as to the state of opinion in his own day and within the sphere of his own knowledge is above suspicion. Now the tradition preserved by our author is clear upon two points. It distinctly ascribes the *De Imitatione* to Thomas a Kempis. Quite as distinctly it declares the Thomas of the *De Imitatione* to be not Thomas the Second, who *adhuc nostris temporibus pene vixit in humanis*, but another and elder of the same name. It explicitly rejects the actual and historical Thomas for his mythical counterpart and predecessor, *Thomas iste senior*. And this elder a Kempis cannot be Thomas's brother John. *Duo feruntur huius fuisse nominis, ambo de Kempis*—'Two of this name (Thomas) are mentioned, both of Kempen.'

It is beyond question, then, that Trithemius and his contemporaries believed in *Thomas iste senior*, and rejected the true Thomas's claims. But Trithemius was to some small extent a contemporary of 'our Thomas,' and this is not his individual opinion, as we have pointed out, but the current belief of his fellow-countrymen (and Thomas's) of that generation. Surely this is contemporary evidence of some weight. Nor is this all. The main value of the passage lies not in its witness to the opinion current among the men of our author's own generation, but in the evidence of the *seniores nostri*, their fathers, which it preserves. We cannot doubt that Trithemius relied upon their testimony chiefly. He expressly quotes them, and endeavours to

Master Gerhardt de Groot, and held worthy of divine revelations, is said to have written the works which we have enumerated above. But the second still lived among men almost in our own times and composed divers works which have not come to our hands; and perchance we have ascribed some to the first which the second is considered to have produced. But the *De Imitatione Christi* which our elders tell that their elders read many years before, is generally ascribed to the first as its author, though I know that some think otherwise in this matter. But this elder Thomas flourished under the Emperor Rupert of Bavaria, in the year of our Lord 1410.

fix the date of the *De Imitatione* by their statements—*quem ante multos annos seniores nostri suos ferunt legisse seniores*. If they had agreed with the minority in his own day whom he mentions, he must have said so, unless we suspect him of deliberately suppressing the truth.

Now, if we are right, we have here the testimony of a generation of contemporaries to nothing less than the impossibility of Thomas's claim. In spite of identity of name, birthplace, order, monastery and reputation, the men of Thomas's own day could not identify the two Thomases. In other words, they could not believe that Thomas himself, who was still in their midst, wrote the *De Imitatione*. For whatever cause, they found insuperable difficulty in his claim and preferred to manufacture a phantom Thomas expressly that he might bear the honour which they refused to the real. It may be argued, indeed, that this reasoning, if valid as against Thomas's claim upon the *De Imitatione*, is equally so in the case of those other works to which his right has never been, and indeed cannot be, disputed; for Trithemius ascribes all the works which go under the name of Thomas a Kempis, to this elder Thomas (Thomas iste senior.) On the other hand he credits the real Thomas with divers works, which he had not seen, and with these only. But the cases are entirely different. With regard to the rest, Trithemius confesses his absolute ignorance. He does not even know to which of the Thomases they are commonly referred. *Et forsitan primo nonnulla sunt ascripta quae secundus fecisse putatur*—'Perhaps I have ascribed some to the first which the second is considered to have written.' In their case he does not know even the putative author or the current opinion. But he has made sure of the *De Imitatione*. He has sifted the tradition. He has taken the statements of his contemporaries and of his elders and finds the result, as he states it, in favour of the elder Thomas, though some do challenge its decision. *Libellus autem De Imitatione Xti primi fertur auctoris quem ante multos annos seniores nostri suos ferunt legisse seniores quamvis sciam nonnullos in hac re sentire contrarium*. As regards the others his statement rests confessedly upon pure conjecture. In the case of the *De Imitatione*, however, it is a clear and unequivocal tradition which he records.

But possibly (and Thomas's supporters are more confident of this than we can be) there is here nothing more than a chronological misunderstanding. The reason for rejecting the real, and inventing the mythical Thomas, may have been merely some general idea that the book was too old to be the work of any man still alive. Trithemius's words (*quem ante multos annos, etc.*) do give some colour of probability to this view. Yet admitting this and all that can be said, the fact remains that, for whatever reason, the men of Trithemius's generation and their fathers, Germans and contemporaries of Thomas, generally rejected his claim, or, which is quite the same, had faith in *Thomas iste senior*. We find that though a MS. or an edition exhibits the name of Thomas a Kempis or Thomas of Mount St. Agnes, Canon Regular of St. Augustine, it by no means follows that we are thereby authorized to set the copyist down as a witness to our Thomas's right of authorship. Quite as likely as not he believed in that shadowy *Thomas senior*, and is now quoted by our Thomas's advocates to establish a claim which he lived and died rejecting!

Such in brief is the documentary proof in Thomas's case so far as we need discuss it. It establishes the fact beyond doubt that, between 1460 and 1470, certain of the Canons Regular began to claim the work for Thomas a Kempis. Zeal for their order, Thomas's signature as copyist, and the anonymity of the work itself, would sufficiently explain such a claim, even if there were not the silence of the Chronicle of St. Agnes to condemn it. The passage of Trithemius above quoted shows abundantly of what inconsistent material the Kempisian tradition was woven, and the caution with which the documents must be received. On every point and on all hands the external evidence breaks down.

But even so, the case is not yet over. The *De Imitatione* itself remains, we are told, the principal evidence in its own cause. In every line, we are assured, it attests itself to be by Thomas. In thought and doctrine, in idiom, style and rhythm, it bears witness to its author. Destroy it, it is said, and it might be restored from Thomas's other works, and indeed, his supporters are particularly strong in parallel passages. It is always a thankless task to damp hot zeal with chilling criticism, but in matters of fact, truth claims precedence even over enthusiasm. The parallels so loudly

vaunted are for the most part moral and religious commonplace—the common stock in trade of devotional literature. The influence of the *De Imitatione* upon one who had copied it, may plausibly enough explain the more marked and decisive instances of similarity. In other cases the parallel seems to have no existence save in the indiscreet enthusiasm of controversy. The great and manifest inferiority of Thomas's undisputed work, when compared with the grave wisdom and deep spiritual emotion of the *De Imitatione*, not even the spirit of controversy can deny.

But these are matters of literary judgment and uncertain. In the matter of doctrine it is perhaps equally difficult, in the absence of any marked peculiarity, to decide. Thomas's supporters of course declare that he is at one with the *De Imitatione* on all points. Mr. Kettlewell has further discovered both to be semi-Protestant at least. We see no reason, we confess, to doubt the substantial orthodoxy of either, as orthodoxy was in the fifteenth century. If Thomas had any doctrinal peculiarity, perhaps, it was a propensity to Mariolatry. Trithemius, in his work on the Illustrious Men of Germany, describes him as 'vir in scripturis eruditus et vita et conversatione devotus et *beatæ Mariæ Dei Parentis cultor præcipuus*;' and again, in his list of ecclesiastical writers, he speaks of him as 'vita et conversatione devotus et *beatæ Mariæ semper virginis amator præcipuus*. And Thomas's own works bear out this description. In one passage in the *De Disciplina Claustralium* his devotion reaches an almost Italian fervour of Mariolatry. He addresses the Virgin in words almost identical with those in which the author of the *De Imitatione* approaches the Deity. The passages, indeed, are strictly parallel in expression. In spirit they are parallel only in the sense that they can never meet.

Now, in contrast to this fervour of Thomas's, the *De Imitatione*, so far as we remember, mentions the Virgin but twice or thrice at most, and only incidentally. We do not infer, therefore, as some do, that the author disapproved of the worship of Mary. Nay, we are confident of the reverse. But we think that we are justified in saying that he gave little prominence to that worship in his scheme of devotion. Certainly he was not *Beatæ Mariæ*

semper virginis amator praecipuus nor Beatæ Mariæ Dei Parentis cultor praecipuus.

In the matter of idiom, also, as in everything else, Thomas's supporters betray no lack of confidence. If they are to be believed, his Flemish vernacular may be traced in many phrases of the *De Imitatione*. The Benedictines, in their zeal for the cause of Gersen of Vercelli insisted no less confidently on the *Italianisms* they had discovered. Our own reading confirms Dupin's opinion fully. *At istorum et illorum observationes omnino leves; nam quas illi phrases aut Teutonicas aut Italas esse dixerunt, locutiones sunt apud eos qui Latine loqui nesciunt satis usitatae. Una tamen est omnino Belgica, haec nempe 'Scire totam Bibliam exterius' pro scire memoriter.** But that reading *exterius* is, to say the least of it, doubtful.

The crucial test of Thomas's claim, however, is that which is furnished by his own hand—the famous MS. of Antwerp. Its characters are of his own tracing, and in it we may find the verdict written out at length by himself and by no other. For it is plain that if a purer and more satisfactory text can be obtained from any other copy, or by the ordinary principles of criticism applied to any number of copies, then Thomas's pretensions are condemned beyond appeal. Now, comparing Thomas's text as contained in Ruddiman's Edinburgh reprint of Rosweyde's edition, founded on this same Antwerp MS., with a little Berlin edition founded on the Codex de Advocatis, corrected in some cases by the MSS. of Bobbio and Cave, we find the result as follows.

In the first book the two texts vary in two hundred and twelve places. These variations are for the most part unimportant, however, such as changes in the order of words, differences of tense, etc. In eighty-three cases one or other of the texts contains words or clauses which the other has not. In thirty-five cases all unim-

* But the remarks of both parties are altogether frivolous; for the expressions which they have declared to be either Dutch or Italian are forms of speech commonly enough used among those who cannot speak Latin idiomatically (*Latine*). But one is altogether Belgian, to wit, 'to know the whole Bible in an external manner,' for 'to know it by rote.'

portant our Italian text—let us call it so—is longer than Thomas's, and in forty-eight cases words, clauses, and in some instances whole sentences, are inserted in Thomas's text, which are not found in the Italian text. We quote the principal examples which occur in the first Book.

Cap. i., Sect. 2.—*Si scires totam Bibliam exterius et omnium philosophorum dicta, quid totum prodesset sine caritate Dei et gratia.*

Exterius may have been left out by the Italian scribe because he did not understand it. It is Flemish undeniably. But may it not also have been inserted by the pious Flemish copyist to mark the distinction between Holy writ and Heathen philosophy, which the author seemed to have forgotten or ignored? We leave the reader to judge. In any case, the word is unnecessary, for no man could know the Bible otherwise than by rote, who lacked the love and grace of God.

Cap. i., Sect. 5.—*Memento illius saepe proverbii quia non satiatur oculus visu nec auris impletur auditu.*

These words are not in the Italian text. Manifestly they have been interpolated by 'some devout regular.'

Cap. i., Sec. 4.—*Si videres alium aperte peccare vel aliqua gravia perpetrare, non deberes te tamen meliorem aestimare : quia nescis quamdiu possis in bono stare.*

Tamen, quia, etc. These are not found in the Italian text. The *tamen* is quite unnecessary; and the clause introduced by *quia* is a perfectly inept anticipation of the sentence which follows: *Omnes fragiles sumus sed tu neminem fragiliorem te ipso tenebis.*

Cap. iii., Sect. 4.—*Non est culpanda scientia aut quaelibet simplex rei notitia quae bona est in se considerata et a Deo ordinata sed, etc.*

The word *simplex* stands self-condemned as a gloss before what follows—*quae bona est*, etc.

Cap. xx., Sect. 2.—*Nemo secure apparet nisi qui libenter latet. Nemo secure loquitur nisi qui libenter tacet. Nemo secure praeest nisi qui libenter subest. Nemo secure praecipit nisi qui bene obedire didicit.*

The words italicised are a manifest expansion—not at all an improvement—of the text. *Nemo secure loquitur* is little better than a repetition of what precedes, while *nemo secure praeest* can

scarcely be distinguished from what follows. *Bene* merely takes away the sharpness of the antithesis.

Cap. xx., Sec. 7.—*Quid potes alibi videre quod hic non vides? Ecce caelum et terra et omnia elementa; nam ex istis omnia sunt facta.*

The conceit is ingenious but wholly out of place in the context, and out of character with the simplicity of the *De Imitatione*.

Cap. xxii., Sec. 3.—*Sed vae non cognoscentibus suam miseriam et amplius vae illis qui diligunt hanc miseram et corruptibilem vitam.*

The words italicised may have fallen out of the Italian text by reason of similar endings (*miseriam, miseram*); but they may also have been inserted to clear up an obscure construction. If they are omitted we must take *corruptibilem vitam* as equivalent to *corruptionem vitae*.

Cap. xxiii.—*Nunc tempus est valde pretiosum. Nunc sunt dies salutis, nunc tempus acceptabile, Sed. etc.*

Nunc sunt dies, etc. Manifestly another text interpolated a *quodam devoto regulari*.

Cap. xxi., Sec. 2.—*Vigila super te ipsum, excita te ipsum, admone te ipsum et quidquid, etc.*

The words italicised are not in the Italian text, from which they are not in any way missed. An example of a different kind occurs in Cap. Sec. 3. Thomas's text reads almost metrically—

Quanto plus et melius scis
Tanto gravius inde iudicaberis
Nisi sanctius vixeris.

The Italian text reads thus—*Quanto plus et melius scis tanto gravius iudicaberis inde nisi sancte vixeris*. It is easy here to see the original. *Sancte* has been foolishly changed to *sanctius* to correspond with *plus, melius, gravius*, and the correspondence is dearly paid for in the strained effect of the four comparatives. In like manner *iudicaberis inde* has been changed to *inde iudicaberis* from some childish idea of rhyme.

Now we claim no critical completeness for the examination of the text, which we have given above; but the soundness of the method on which it proceeds will scarcely be denied, and the general result is clear. No one can doubt the superiority of the

Italian text in most of the cases cited. According to every law of criticism, Thomas's text shows manifest signs of interpolation and expansion. Texts are inserted and passages retouched by some hand not the author's. The Italian text is not only shorter, but every way better than Thomas's. There can be no doubt that the Antwerp text is *not the original*.

And now we have done with Thomas and his claim. We may dismiss him to the obscurity he loved. In *angellis et libellis*, in nooks and books, the quiet corners where he read, and the MSS. he copied was his happiness in life. In the little Flemish monastery he dreamed his days away—a dream of peace, broken by three years' exile, to be resumed thereafter as before. Not from such an experience is wisdom gathered, such as we find in the pages of the *De Imitatione*. It is 'to him that overcometh' that it is given to eat of that fruit of the tree of life. For comfort comes of sorrow.

The next and only remaining claimant, after the mythic Abbot Gersen and Thomas are disposed of, is Jean Charlier de Gerson, Doctor of Theology and Chancellor of the University of Paris. His name is prominent in the discussions of the Councils of Pisa and Constance, and to him more than to any individual was due the final healing of the Papal schism. Altogether he ranks as one of the greatest—if not the greatest—of the Gallican churchmen. His claim to the *De Imitatione* is supported by many MSS. bearing his name in some form, by a large number of early editions and, as we hope to prove, by earliest tradition throughout Europe with the exception of a portion of Germany.

As regards the MSS., it is commonly argued that the earliest bearing Gerson's name is that of St. Germain, of date 1460, or thirty-one years after the Chancellor's death. But the earliest bearing Thomas a Kempis's name, in the first hand, is dated 1467,—seven years later,—and, if the book was issued anonymously, as we have endeavoured to prove, there is no reason to wonder that we find no copies bearing the author's name till some time after his death. Mr. Kettlewell brings this further objection against the Gerson MSS. as a whole, that 'the variety of expression in the inscriptions of the various copies proves that they have not been reproduced from a first common type'

and that they are no better than copyists' guesses. But, if their diversities prove their titles derived from no one common exemplar, their agreement proves them to be something more than guess-work. In whatever else they differ, they all give the name Gerson or some form of it. The natural inference is to regard them as records of a wide-spread opinion in favour of Gerson; and it is as preserving more or less accurately the earliest tradition on the subject of the authorship that they are valuable.

The MSS., then, tend to show that the earliest opinion was in Gerson's favour. The editions seem to bear similar testimony. The earliest printed in Italy bear his name, and even those on which Bernard's name appears (*e.g.* Brixiae 1485) testify that the work was attributed to him. (*Quod Joanni Gerson Cancellario Parisiensi attribuitur.*) And far on into the sixteenth century the *Imitatio* seems to have gone popularly by the title of 'Gerson,' just as with us it is commonly known as 'Thomas a Kempis.' Lucas Pinellus, who lived in that century, entitles his work, composed on the lines of the *De Imitatione, Gerson vel de Perfectione Religiosa*; and Rosweyde, rightly arguing as against Cajetan, to prove that this title implied no belief in Gerson's favour on Pinellus's part, explains its adoption thus—'*Ita quidem ille inscripsit libellum vere unicum suum de Perfectione Religiosa quod ita vulgo in Italia libellus de Imitatione Xti notior esset quem in eo imitari statuerat*'; that is to say, he called his work written in imitation of the *De Imitatione, Gerson*, because that was the current title of the great anonymous treatise in Italy in his day. And the same holds true of Spain. The earliest editions printed in that country bore Gerson's name. In the middle of the sixteenth century we find Lewis Gonzalez, a Spanish Jesuit, testifying that Ignatius had always his 'Gerson' with him; from which we may infer that as in Italy, so in Spain, the common and colloquial name for the *De Imitatione* until the middle of the sixteenth century, was *Gerson*, and that tradition in these two countries accepted the great chancellor as author of the work.

In France the early editions are about equally divided. The translations, with one exception, that of Jehan Lambert, 1493, mention merely that it is attributed to Bernard or Gerson; but Lambert's title page, as we have shown, would seem to prove

that Thomas's claim was new to Paris in 1493. If this be so, the earliest tradition in France was for Gerson, as it was in Italy and Spain. With regard to England, we can only say that the first English translation appeared under Gerson's name in 1502. We know no more.

In Germany the case is somewhat different. The *editio princeps* appeared under Thomas's name at Augsburg about the year 1472; and the passage of Trithemius already cited, proves that a Kempisian tradition existed in that country. But it also proves that there is another Richmond in the field. It is a tradition in favour of *Thomas iste senior*. Herman, Buschius, and the anonymous author of the memoir in Pirckamer's edition (Nuremberg, 1494), prove at least a local tradition in Thomas's favour. In the title attached to the *De Imitatione* in this same edition, however, we find notable evidence on the other side. It calls the work *opus Thomae a Kempis quod falso apud vulgares Joanni Gerson impingitur*; from which words *apud vulgares* we may surely conclude that the common opinion in the writer's neighbourhood, Nuremberg probably, in 1494 was favourable to Gerson. So even in part of Germany, it seems, Gerson's name was popularly connected with the work.

We have proof, then, of early popular tradition in Gerson's favour over the greater part of Europe. That tradition, it seems, prevailed even in some portion of Germany. On the other hand we have a local tradition for Thomas a Kempis, and many MSS. and editions bearing his name; but which Thomas tradition and the documents indicate, it is not always possible to say. The great preponderance of early opinion is in Gerson's favour in any case.

But, it may be said, this is merely tradition. There is no direct evidence, no testimony of friends or contemporaries; and tradition, while it affords good corroborative evidence where there is other and more direct proof, is of itself insufficient to build any substantial claim upon. Nay, further; the silence of certain witnesses amounts to a direct repudiation of any claim on Gerson's behalf on their part. His own brother, in a list of the chancellor's works drawn up in 1423, makes no mention of the *De Imitatione*. The catalogue shows abundant knowledge, and

professes to be complete, containing all *quae novissime vel antea composuit idem germanus*. And the silence of his brother is made still more significant by that of his friend Caresius, in a note of certain of Gerson's works appended to the catalogue for the guidance of a friend. Further; all Gerson's editors, before Dupin, either silently omit the *Imitatio* from their editions or directly reject it. Surely, if ever the argument from silence was complete, it is so here.

Now, in the case of a work acknowledged by its author, this reasoning would, we admit, be conclusive; but the *De Imitatione* was not so acknowledged. On the contrary, the facts seem to show that the author observed a strict secrecy about it. We cannot look, therefore, for direct contemporary testimony, to the writer. The circumstances exclude the possibility of any such. And with regard to an anonymous work, the argument from silence is plainly inadmissible. A work of that class has two sorts of readers, viz. :—those who don't know and therefore cannot tell, and those who know, but can be trusted not to tell the author's name. We need not be surprised if neither Gerson's brother nor his friend revealed the secret. We can reasonably infer nothing from their silence. That silence of theirs, however, being very naturally misinterpreted, sufficiently explains the hostile omission of the *De Imitatione* from the early editions of Gerson's works, and the still more hostile statement of Peter Schott (Ed. Strasbourg, 1488).

But, though from the nature of the case we are forbidden to look for direct contemporary testimony, we have all the evidence that is possible with regard to a really anonymous work. We have what represents the general suspicion of the times. We have proof of an early, consistent and all but universal tradition which there is no just cause to suspect. For the rest, we must rely upon proof of another kind.

And here we are met by a variety of objections. The author of the *De Imitatione*, brimful, as it is, of gentleness and charity, could never, it is said, be a persecutor like Gerson, who had his share in the burning of Hus. To say the least of it, this is a somewhat daring statement of Mr. Kettlewell's. It is difficult to see how the author of the *De Imitatione* could be anything else in

principle. The practice would depend upon opportunity and provocation, indeed; but toleration is a modern virtue, long consistently repudiated as a heresy by all parties, and scarcely consecrated among the Christian graces yet. Mr. Kettlewell is scarcely happier in what follows. He alleges that the *De Imitatione* approves the practice of double communion, that is, of granting the cup to the laity; and Gerson certainly did not. He proves this by passages from the fourth book, exhorting the reader to partake of the body *and blood* of Christ, and displaying the great spiritual profit of receiving them in faith. But, though the Roman Church denies the cup to the laity, it does not deny them the blood of Christ. Furthermore, the fourth book of the *De Imitatione* is addressed to the priesthood, not to the laity. Cap. 5, Sec. 2; Cap. 7, Sec. 1 and 3; Cap. 9, Sec. 5; Cap. 10, Sec. 7; Cap. 11, Sec. 6, 7, and 8.

In like manner we may deal with Mr. Kettlewell's statement that the *De Imitatione* encourages the circulation of the Scriptures among the laity. The passage on which Mr. Kettlewell relies chiefly, occurs in the fourth book, which, as we have pointed out, in no wise concerns itself with the laity, but with the priesthood, and with them only.

More serious, however, than any we have yet considered, is the difficulty of style. There is an undoubted contrast between the style of Gerson's acknowledged works and that of the *De Imitatione*. In this respect, indeed, the *De Imitatione* stands alone. It has the terse wisdom of the best Church Latin—the power of Tertullian and Augustine to send a great truth home to the heart of Christendom in some sharp paradox—some bold antithesis or pithy proverb of the spiritual life. But it has none of the verbal quibbles and forced conceits of the Church writers. It has no far-fetched etymologies, no mystical or allegorizing perversions of Scripture and nature such as they delight in. It is free from that curious jumble of physics and metaphysics, logic, grammar, law, legend, and what not, which did duty for universal science in the middle ages. It has the tenderness of Bernard and his school without their diffuseness. It has the sobriety and reserve wherein they fail. Its tenderness never grows effeminate; in its rapture it is never hysterical. The author of the *De Imitatione* stands

alone among the writers of the Latin Church, not in insight and power so much as in purity of taste, soundness of judgment and a certain sense of proportion. And these are exactly the qualities in which the majority of the Church writers of the period are deficient. They are alternately pedantic, extravagant or puerile. Everything is credible to them, and they believe everything. They have no idea of the relative importance of things. Local and temporary phases of thought are set up as eternal truths, and Church regulations are put on a level with the law of God. Three-fourths of their work time has rendered meaningless, in some cases offensive, often absurd. But when we turn to the *De Imitatione*, all is changed. The questions of the day have left little trace on it. There is scarce a page of the *De Imitatione* that has lost its edge with time. It still speaks to men of Christ 'the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever.' Its singular elevation above the passions and interests of the hour, its perfect detachment from temporary prejudices and estimates, from allephemeral fashions of thinking and feeling, in fact, is the distinguishing feature of the work. Everything is seen *sub specie eternitatis*, in its true and Divine proportion. What is false and dead is silently rejected. What is local and temporary is duly subordinated. What is vital and permanent is set in its proper pre-eminence. The doctrine of sacrifice and self-sacrifice, the figure of Christ, communion with God in prayer and ordinance, these occupy the foreground. Other matters are secondary. The author believes in the worship of the saints; yet he has a truer idea of its position in the Christian scheme than most Protestants. True or false, he knows it to be subordinate. He accepts Monasticism; but he makes it in deed, as in name, 'religion.' He purges it of its narrow and merely professional elements. He ignores the ordinary monastic austerities, save to counsel caution in regard to them, and devotes his whole attention to the moral and spiritual graces of the religious life. And so in other matters. Everything is set in true proportion, and is seen 'according to the order of the Divine wisdom.'

But, as we have said before, the *De Imitatione* stands alone. Nowhere else, not even in the great Gallican's works, do we find anything like it. On the other hand, let us remember that the

bulk of Gerson's work does not enter into the comparison. The majority of his works are controversial or academic. They are addressed to the learned, and are, of necessity, logical and scholastic. In point of fact, they display many good dialectic qualities, are shrewd and vigorous, evince sober judgment and true insight; while the style in which they are written is eminently suited to the subjects they handle, and to the audience they address. His devotional works, on the other hand, display another and a simpler style. As might naturally be expected, they are gentler in tone, and have that generic likeness, which one book of devotion has to another, to encourage us to institute comparisons with the *De Imitatione*. But it is a set of eight letters to his brother Nicholas de Gerson, which gives us confidence to identify Gerson with the great unknown. In these letters the chancellor urges his brother to give up all idea of university or church preferment, and to embrace the religious life. Simple and direct with the simplicity of earnest feeling, they are weighted with the wisdom of a wide experience, full of sympathy, almost fatherly compassion, and more than fatherly anxiety. We hear in them the true note of the *De Imitatione*.

We quote the following passages from Dupin:—

'Recogita ubi nam sunt tecum studentes, ubi illi familiares socii cum quibus vivere et sapere dulce erat. Quam multi jam obierunt? Quam multi jam vagi in seculo remanserunt? Audisti alios Romam pergere et pro beneficiis laborare, alios Parisiis residere et ad magisterium tendere.

'Omnis homo qualis interius est, talis ei adversitas erit. Non est magna patientia quam parva res perturbat. Tu ergo esto libenter reus ut fias ante Deum innocens. Tu primo a te ipso incipe et sic poteris alium sanare. Audias tamen qui zelum videris habere adversus aliorum defectus quia recte et prudenter ageres si zelum tuum etiam contra commotionem tuam exerceres. Quid enim mihi prodest si aliquem verbis meis sanaverim et in propriis meis passionibus mansero.

'Impedit nos valde quod non audeamus violentiam inferre naturae.

'Via crucis, via nostra; via electorum via paucorum. Frangere propriam voluntatem crux est. Memento quantum Sancti pro vitâ eternâ laboraverunt in quâ nunc cum Christo sine fine regnantes gaudent.

'Quam multi divites, nobiles, et potentes, quam multi sapientes litterati et famosi adolescentes in hoc seculo miserabiliter fluctuant et abjicere jugum diaboli a cervicibus suis non praevalent nec illo spiritu adhuc inveniuntur ut seculo renuntient. O vanitas vanitatum! mundum diligere

et quæ Dei sunt non curare. Veniet Tempus, veniet cito tempus quo omnes sæculares et carnales voluptates finem habebunt.*

These passages will doubtless sound familiar to every reader of the *De Imitatione*. It is more than likeness, it is identity which they reveal. Like Johnson, Gerson seems to have had two styles, one public, the other familiar. The former he used to harangue the council or the university; the latter, and the better, he kept for his friends. Perhaps to some extent they correspond to his two languages, the Latin of his public life, the mother-tongue of early training and common intercourse. Be this as it may; these letters completely remove the difficulty of style, and go far to identify him with the great unknown.

And the difficulty of style is not the only difficulty which they help to solve. It is made one of the chief objections to Gerson's claim that the author of the *De Imitatione* was, by his own confession, a monk, which Gerson never was. In Book I., cap. 24,

* Bethink thee where now are they that studied with thee, where the close companions with whom it was sweet to live and to philosophize. How many have already died? How many have remained still wanderers in the world? Thou hast heard that some are gone to Rome and are working for benefices, that others continue at Paris and are aiming at the Master's degree.

As every man is inwardly, so will misfortune be unto him. It is not a great endurance which a little thing troubles. Do thou therefore be willing to be arraigned (before men) that thou mayest stand guiltless before God. Begin thou first with thine own self and so shalt thou be able to heal another. Yet hear thou, who seemest to be zealous against the shortcomings of others, that thou wouldest do justly and wisely if thou shouldest use thy zeal against thine own indignation also.

It hindereth us much that we do not dare to put force upon nature.

The way of the cross is our way. The way of the elect is the way of few. To break one's own will is a cross. Remember how hard the Saints toiled for everlasting life, in which reigning with Christ without end they now rejoice.

How many rich, noble, and powerful, how many learned literates and distinguished young men drift wretchedly to and fro in this world and have not strength to cast off the yoke of Satan from their necks, neither are they yet stirred by such a spirit as to give up the world. O vanity of vanities! to love the world and to care nought for the things of God. The time will come, the time will come soon, when all carnal and worldly pleasures shall have an end.

he asks, *Quomodo faciunt tam multi alii religiosi?*—How do so many other *religiosi* do? And from the question it is inferred that the author is himself a *religiosus*. But this is putting a construction on the words which they do not necessarily or even naturally bear. They prove that the person questioned was a monk; but they tell us nothing of the questioner. The reader, a monk, is supposed to be complaining. The writer, priest, monk, or secular person, for all we know, asks him in remonstrance, 'How do other *religiosi* do?' The question tells us nothing of the author, unless we suppose it merely rhetorical, and make him the object of his own advice. But the words *frater* and *carissime*, used in this same book, scarcely favour this interpretation. They assume a second person, distinct from the author, whether a particular reader or the *religiosus lector* of all devout books. We have a shrewd suspicion that the reader addressed is Nicholas de Gerson, and that we must take the word *frater* in its strictest sense.

But there is a passage in the first person found in the Third Book, which seems to contradict this explanation. In it the Disciple of the dialogue says—*Suscepi, Suscepi, de manu tua crucem, Eia ergo fratres perquam simul*. Plainly the speaker in this case, the Disciple, was a monk. But the Disciple is the reader, not the author. In the first and second books, as we have seen, the author addresses the novice in his own person. The third and fourth books, on the other hand, are dramatic. The novice is brought face to face with Christ; the author disappears. Christ takes upon himself the office of counsellor. It is the novice, to whom the counsels of the author are addressed throughout the first and second books, who speaks with Christ in the third and fourth. It is he, and not the author, who declares himself a monk. He merely repeats in his own person what we already know of his condition from the author's statement in the first book. Hence, if our view be correct—and we believe that a careful study of the structure of the *De Imitatione* will confirm it—we are told incidentally in two passages that the reader is a *religiosus*, and in a third that he is a priest: but the author is silent about himself, and keeps the secret of his condition as carefully as history proves he kept the secret of his name.

There is nothing therefore in the *De Imitatione* which forbids us to entertain Gerson's claim. Two things alone, Dupin confesses, made him hesitate to accept it, viz. :—the difference of style and the idea that the author declared himself a monk. We believe that Dupin, cautious as he was, would not have found the former an insuperable difficulty if he could have found means to remove the latter. He seems to have felt the full evidential force of the letters from which we have quoted, and to have seen how far they go to relieve objections and even to establish a positive claim. And, as we have shown, the *De Imitatione* tells us nothing directly or indirectly of its author's condition. Thus the difficulties, which alone caused Dupin to hesitate, need no longer hamper us. Moreover, the *De Imitatione* itself seems to favour Gerson's case. It smacks distinctly of the university. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to say that in reading it we are never out of earshot of the schools. There is a constant protest against their rationalism, a weariness of their disputes, and a deep sense of the futility of their philosophy throughout. Sick of their babble, the author longs to be taught of God, and of Him alone. *Taceant omnes doctores, sileant universae creaturae in conspectu tuo. Tu mihi loquere solus.* And the divine teacher answers his desire—*Ego sum qui humilem in puncto elevo mentem ut plures aeternae veritatis capiat rationes quam si quis decem annos studuisset in scholis. Ego doceo sine strepitu verborum, sine confusione opinionum, sine fastu honoris, sine pugnatione argumentorum.** What a picture these last words give of the ferment of intellect and din of disputation in a great mediæval university. Assuredly these are not the echoes of the little priory of St. Agnes.

There is, besides, a use of scholastic terms not frequent but familiar, which indicates the university man. Christ coming

* I am he that do raise the lowly mind in a moment to receive more conceptions of eternal truth than if one had studied ten years in the schools. I teach without the din of words, without confusion of opinions, without seeking of honours, without strife of arguments. Cf. Book I., cap. 2 and 3 ; Bk. III., cap. 43 and 58 ; Bk. IV., cap. 18 passim, and occasional references.

to judgment, by a truly academic figure, becomes *Magister magistrorum, Dominus Angelorum, cunctorum lectiones auditurus et conscientias examinaturus*. Our author speaks as one who has known the great doctors of the age, to one who knows them also. *Dic mihi ubi sunt modo omnes illi domini et magistri quos bene novisti dum adhuc viverent et studiis flourerent. Jam eorum praebendas alii possident et nescio utrum de eis recogitent. In vitâ suâ aliquid esse videbantur et modo de illis tacetur.** Like Gerson, too, the author is sick of the scholastic logic. *Quid nobis de generibus et speciebus. Opto magis sentire compunctionem quam scire definitionem.* He does not think highly of astronomy, and seems to share Gerson's somewhat illiberal horror of star gazing in every form. *Melior est profecto humilis rusticus quam superbus philosophus qui se neglecto cursum coeli considerat.*

In conclusion, we have seen by what an imposing array of MSS., testimonies, and editions the claim of Thomas a Kempis is supported. We have seen also what grave suspicion attaches to the whole. We have noted the extremely suspicious conjunction of an anonymous work, a professional copyist, and zealous brethren to unite the two. We have seen, moreover, the Canons Regular claiming the work for their order before they could agree upon the individual to ascribe it to, till between 1460 and 1470 they decide upon Thomas a Kempis, and pin their faith on him. But the Chronicle of St. Agnes (1477) knows nothing of his claim. Trithemius (1493) and his elders before him believe in *Thomas iste senior*. And Thomas's own hand in the Antwerp MS. of 1441 condemns him. That text is not the original, and the writer of it never was the author.

On the other hand, Gerson's claim, as we have pointed out, is supported by early popular tradition witnessed by many MSS.

* Tell me where now are all those doctors and masters whom thou didst know well while they still lived and flourished in their researches. Already others hold their livings, and I know not whether they think any more about them. In their life they seemed to be something, and now there is silence about them.

and editions. His name appears in the MS. of St. Germain (1460) while Thomas is nowhere in the first hand written down as the author before 1460. Gerson's name was the popular title of the work in Italy and Spain till far on into the sixteenth century. People read their 'Gerson' then as they now read their 'Thomas a Kempis.' Gerson was the reputed author *apud vulgares* in Nuremberg in 1494, Thomas's own supporters being witnesses. Thomas's claim was a novelty in Paris in 1493, if we may judge from Lambert, and as a novelty it was not successful, as the later Parisian versions show. In brief, an almost universal tradition assigned the work to Gerson in the end of the fifteenth century. Gerson's letters to his brother, which we have quoted, emphatically confirm that tradition; and the tone of the *De Imitatione* itself favours it. In such cases dogmatic certainty is out of place; but, so far as the evidence goes, we do not hesitate to say that it is for Gerson. Of all the claimants he seems to have the best title to the *De Imitatione*.

ART. V.—THE TRUE REASONABLENESS OF
CHRISTIANITY.

1. *Chapters on the Art of Thinking, and other Essays.* By the late JAMES HINTON. London, 1879.
2. *The Mystery of Pain.* By the late JAMES HINTON. London, 1882.
3. *Short Studies on Great Subjects.* By JAMES ANTHONY FROUDE, M.A. Third Series. London, 1877.
4. *Literature and Dogma.* By MATTHEW ARNOLD. Popular Edition. London, 1883.
5. *The Reasonableness of Christianity.* By WILLIAM M. METCALFE. Paisley and London, 1882.

OUR principal object in the present paper is to follow out the idea which seems to be the main spring of the whole ethical system of the late James Hinton, to its legitimate con-

clusion, and to point out the enormous influence the results of that conclusion are calculated to exercise on the questions which, perhaps of all others, are most deeply perplexing the minds of men in the present day. As the volume which stands first on our list is, we believe, for the moment out of print, we may be pardoned for quoting from it more than might otherwise seem to be necessary.

In the essay on the 'Analogy of the Moral and Intellectual Life of Man,' Mr. Hinton says—

'What history records is the becoming of man's life, intellectual and moral. The process of the making of his knowledge is precisely analogous to that of the creation or development of his moral life. As man's progress is from ignorance to knowledge, he must, of course, in all his investigations, start from a negative condition, and the ignorance which is at the basis, and affects the premiss from which he sets out, will influence every step of the process, and express itself most forcibly in his conclusions. Starting thus, man proceeds to acquire knowledge by means of observation, the result of which he arranges on hypotheses, which are, for the most part, the guesses of ignorance. It is evident, therefore, that however logical the deductions he makes, and however correct his observations, he will inevitably be led further and further from the truth. This process continues until he has arrived at conclusions so repugnant to reason, that the common sense of humanity, expressed in the person of some man whom nature creates for this special function, rejects them, and in so doing overthrows the premiss which was linked to these conclusions, and rectifies the starting-point by filling up the negation contained in it.'

This theory Mr. Hinton illustrates from the history of astronomy. Ignorance of the earth's motion, due to the sense impression of stability, was the negation in the premiss which led the most careful and accurate calculations further and further from the truth, until the burden of the results became too great to be borne, and Copernicus 'threw off the yoke of the conclusion, and in so doing cast out the negation in the premiss—viz.: ignorance of the earth's motion.' 'The paramount value of this chapter in the history of human thought, lies in the key that it furnishes to the development of man's moral life. . . . Here, in the moral world, we have the "self" corresponding to the sense in the intellectual.' For the moment we need not quote Mr. Hinton further, though it is necessary to note that he treats self as a

negation, a non-regard to the interests of others. Bearing this in mind, the analogy will at once be clear to any thoughtful reader. As, in the history of astronomy, ignorance of the earth's motion—the negation in the premiss—only led to the more hopelessly wild conclusion the more close and logical the reasoning, so in the moral sphere; as long as this negation is in the premiss, man's very efforts to do right, the more rigidly he works them out, are only the more certain to lead him away from the true right.

We cannot but regret that the essay, from which we have quoted, together with those on 'Others' Needs' and 'The Moral Law' has not been published as an introduction to that wonderful little book, *The Mystery of Pain*. In its fullest scope this is, and must remain, 'A book for the sorrowful.' Only those who are drinking, or have drunk, deep of the bitter cup of sorrow, will grasp its deepest meaning, just as those alone who have suffered cruel physical pain can rightly estimate the blessing of a judicious use of opiates. But there is valuable teaching in its pages for the most brilliant and unclouded life; above all else that priceless lesson, that in sacrifice lies true happiness, in a life of unstinted pleasure and enjoyment only weariness, tedium, wretchedness; and we cannot but think the whole book so thoroughly the legitimate conclusion of the principles laid down in the essays we have named, that it would prove a valuable aid to the reader in placing himself at Mr. Hinton's point of view.

But though Mr. Hinton's treatment of this great question is in some respects exceedingly original, other very able writers of the present day have not failed to express very similar sentiments, whether in regard to tracing most of our blunders to flaws in the premiss, rather than to incorrect reasoning, or to the grave importance of our attitude towards the great idol Self. In the introduction to *Literature and Dogma*, Mr. Matthew Arnold says—

'Far more of our mistakes come from want of fresh knowledge than from want of correct reasoning; and, therefore, letters meet a greater want in us than does logic. The idea of a triangle is a definite and ascertained thing, and to deduce the properties of a triangle from it is an affair of

reasoning. There are heads unapt for this sort of work, and some of the blundering to be found in the world is from this cause. But how far more of the blundering to be found in the world comes from people fancying that some idea is a definite and ascertained thing, like the idea of a triangle, when it is not ; and proceeding to deduce properties from it, and to do battle about them, when their first start was a mistake ! And how liable are people with a talent for hard, abstruse reasoning, to be tempted to this mistake.'

Here we have again the flaw in the premiss, leading the most logical reasoning, and, for the very reason that it is logical, to a hopelessly false conclusion.

Very eloquently, also, has Mr. Froude, in the third series of his *Short Studies on Great Subjects*, discoursed of 'this self, this unreasonable tormentor of humanity.' In the essay entitled, 'Sea Studies,' he says—

'Throughout human life, from the first relation of [parent and child to the organisation of a nation or a church, in the daily intercourse of common life, in our loves and in our friendships, in our toils and in our amusements, in trades and in handicrafts, in sickness and in health, in pleasure and in pain, in war and in peace, at every point where one human soul comes in contact with another, there is to be found everywhere, as the condition of right conduct, the obligation to sacrifice self. Every act of man which can be called good is an act of sacrifice, an act which the doer of it would have left undone had he not preferred some other person's benefit to his own, or the excellence of the work on which he was engaged to his personal pleasure or convenience. In common things the law of sacrifice takes the form of positive duty. A soldier is bound to stand by his colours. Every one of us is bound to speak the truth, whatever the cost. But beyond the limits of positive inactment, the same road, and the same road only, leads up to the higher zones of character. The good servant prefers his employer to himself. The good employer considers the welfare of his servant more than his own profit. The artisan or the labourer, who has the sense in him of preferring right to wrong, will not be content with the perfunctory execution of the task allotted to him, but will do it as excellently as he can. From the sweeping of a floor to the governing of a country, from the baking of a loaf to the watching by the sick-bed of a friend, there is the same rule everywhere. It attends the man of business in the crowded world ; it follows the artist and the poet into his solitary studio. Let the thought of self intrude, let the painter pause to consider how much reward his work will bring to him, let him but warm himself with the prospects of the fame and the praise which is to come to him, and the cunning will forsake his hand, and the power of his genius

will be gone from him. The upward sweep of excellence is proportioned, with strictest accuracy, to oblivion of the self which is ascending.

‘From the time when men began first to reflect, this peculiar feature of their nature was observed. The law of animal life appears to be merely self-preservation : the law of man’s life is self-annihilation ; and only at times when men have allowed themselves to doubt whether they are really more than developed animals has self-interest ever been put forward as a guiding principle. Honesty may be the best policy, said Coleridge, but no honest man will act on that hypothesis. Sacrifice is the first element of religion, and resolves itself in theological language into the love of God.’

Does then the past history of the world, and the making of history as it goes on incessantly around us in the present, justify these expressed opinions, especially the, self in the premiss, theory of Mr. Hinton? Most abundantly it appears to us to do so, and that in a manner patent to a but superficial acquaintance with history, and a limited observation of the making of history. From the day when that negation in the moral premiss first became evident, in the ominous question, ‘Am I my brother’s keeper?’ history is but a record of how, either in the form of the collective selfishness of a nation, guided by some transcendent intellect, or in that of some stupendous embodiment of individual selfishness bending a nation to his will, this demon has made havoc of this fair world of ours. Far too little does history tells us of the life of the masses ; but it is significant that when they do emerge for a moment from the darkness it is ever when, maddened by cruel wrong and oppression, they have risen in revolt against their oppressors.

And at what conclusion must we arrive when we consider the course of events around us? What means that clashing of class interests, of which the din is ever sounding in our ears? Simply that each class is fighting for its own hand, with a negation in the premiss, a non-regard to the rights of others. What do rotten speculations, bubble companies mean? Their promoters would probably be genuinely glad if their own interests could be served without the risk of widespread ruin and suffering ; but at any rate their own interests must be promoted, regardless of those of others. Their brethren must keep themselves. And so, again, with these frightful railway accidents which now and again inflict not only fearful

temporary suffering, but cast upon the whole future lives of numbers, besides the actual sufferers, the cruel blight of poverty, anxiety, and distress. What do they mean, not invariably, but only too often? Just that in the interests of shareholders a line must be worked with an insufficient staff, until the head of some overtaxed official gives way for a moment, and perhaps by scores, human beings, but an instant before healthy, prosperous and happy, are extricated dead, dying, or fearfully mangled from amidst a mass of indiscriminate wreckage. Wherever we turn, at every point, the same miserable spectacle meets us. What does our whole ponderous machinery of legal practice mean, save a constant attempt to devise methods whereby the cunning devices of men to secure their own interests at the cost of those of others may be brought to naught?

Nor are we yet at the end of the evil. Here again we may quote Mr. Hinton—

‘As we turn heart sick from one failure to another of experiments, social, political, benevolent, religious, directed to getting crooked natures to live straight, and observe that all fail through *one* cause, however variously it may work, viz., the selfishness of man, we ask,—Is it possible to cast out this self, this unreasonable tormentor of humanity, that alone prevents us from living a truly human life—a life to which nature points as the only possible blessedness, in a world where everything is created for mutual service, and has its being only in giving; a world in which science in her latest revelation of the correlation of forces seems to echo in another tongue the words of Him who said, “He that loseth his life shall save it unto life eternal!”’

Thus then it meets us at every turn—this Juggernaut, this Lord of the World, to whose hateful rule alone it is due that millions of human beings have in the past perished in misery and wretchedness, that war, famine and pestilence have again and again swept over the earth, transforming a Garden of Eden into a scorched and blackened desert; that in the present a ceaseless wail of suffering is heard around us, and that for the future men’s hearts are failing them for fear, and for looking after those things that are coming upon the earth. Surely this is the true devil of Scripture, the roaring lion walking about seeking whom he may devour,—a negation, taking a positive form, because the partially civilized human race could not

grasp the conception of such suffering and misery coming upon them through anything short of the malignant action of some positively existing evil spirit !

Naturally here the question at once presents itself, how in the course of the world's history has religion dealt with this monstrous evil ? Christianity we shall come to speak of later ; but considering the other and, save Mohammedanism, older systems, what have they done towards healing this great open sore in the moral world ? Very little, if in truth they have not helped to keep it open. If we seek a cause, we soon find it in the fact that this negation in the premiss is perceptible in their very fundamental principles, and Satan cannot cast out Satan. They are all essentially selfish, in that a man's whole attention is directed towards results concerning his individual self alone ; whether his object be to attain to the Nirvana of Buddha, or, in some cruder, more materialistic faith, to propitiate those immortals whose wrath might otherwise entail personal disaster upon him. Therefore in all these systems self denial has taken the form of asceticism. 'If,' says Mr. Hinton—

'Our thought, in any case, be of ourselves, or in so far as it is of ourselves, a desire for goodness can express itself only in a willingness for, or acceptance of diminished pleasure. This follows from the very fact of the regard being to ourselves, for though it may be by no means wrong to do a pleasant thing for our own pleasure's sake, it cannot have any character of positive goodness ; and nothing is left for a desire for goodness to express itself in, except self restraint, and the putting away of pleasure.'

We know of no stronger illustration of the truth of what we have advanced than the rise and progress of Mohammedanism ; a faith which achieved its marvellous triumphs entirely by appealing to and pressing into its service that very evil thing in man which it should be the aim and object of all religion to crush out. Mohammed sent forth his Bedouin tribes to conquer the world for Allah, but how far would they have gone but for the inducement held out of unlimited plunder, opportunities for the indulgence of unrestrained sensuality, and the hope, if they fell in battle, of instant translation into the still more boundless sensuality of the Mohammedan Paradise ? How could such a religious system fail to prosper ? We have perchance to thank

only the enervating results of sensual indulgence for the fact that the whole civilized world, save only in the colder latitudes, is not now groaning under the Mohammedan yoke. True it is that in all ages there have been men who were better than their creed, and that from China, India, Persia, Greece, Rome and Arabia, we could cite isolated utterances breathing the purest spirit of self-sacrifice, the truest perception of the needs and rights of others; but they are no integral part of the religious systems of these countries. In them self was in the premiss, and so, step by step, they have wandered further and further into the darkness.

And what shall we say with respect to Christianity? Has it proved its Divine origin, and its reasonable claim to the allegiance of the human race by any widely beneficial action with regard to this great evil? It is a momentous question, for it must be evident that upon the answer to it depends the answer to another question, often heard now in no indistinct phraseology. Is Christianity a failure, doomed to slow, perhaps, but sure decay, as other forms of faith have risen, flourished, and decayed? We do not hesitate to reply with a paradox. We look around upon, not the professions, but the doings of the so-called Christian world, and while we readily admit that Christianity has in a measure failed, we yet assert unhesitatingly, that it is the only hope of the nations. Christianity fails in *practice*, all other religions fail in *principle*. What faith save the Christian faith has ever asserted the grand principle of universal brotherhood? has proclaimed that high and low, rich and poor, the lofty, noble and distinguished, the outcasts, the destitute, the lost, are all the children of one common Father, bound to each other by the great law of love? Universal brotherhood, be it remembered, is something very different from the charity and benevolence that we make so much of. It means no man saying that aught of the things he has is *his own*. This is the brotherhood of true Christianity. Will any man dare to say this faith is not, in principle, wide as the poles asunder from any other religious system? or that it does not at once annihilate the flaw in the premiss, and thus prove itself the one faith which can work

out the world's redemption? A thousand arguments may be brought against us, but they are derived from the practice, not the principles of Christianity; and to bring them forward as arguments against it, is merely analogous to condemning the masterpiece of any renowned musical composer, merely because some bungling executant interpolates it with false notes. Against the Christianity revealed in the life and teaching of its Divine Founder, and His immediate successors, as all powerful for the healing of the nations, no man will be likely to attempt to argue, save one who finds the moral law of Christianity too hard for him, who cannot resolve to cast out self from the premiss, and who is, therefore, at heart secretly hostile to the whole system.

To illustrate more forcibly the cause of this failure, in practice, of a religious system which is perfect in principle, we cannot do better than quote from Mr. Hinton's essay on 'The Moral Law' —

"Love one another." But to love is by no means easy, and the child humanity (represented in this case by the would-be followers of Christ), instead of concentrating its whole soul on doing the thing which it was commanded to do, stared helplessly at the great problem before it, and shook its head, saying, "No, no; that is impossible. I am too young yet; my faculties are not developed; my powers are not matured. When I am older,—when I am in a different state,—then I can think about loving; but, meantime, what shall I do instead?"

"What shall I do instead?" A fatal question, which presents itself sooner or later to almost all men, which passes away too often, leaving behind it the print of its footsteps in misery and crime. "Let us shut ourselves away from the world and save our own souls," said some. Hence the monastic self-torture. "Let us go out into the world, and force it to worship as we worship," said others. Hence religious wars and persecution. "Let us keep ourselves respectable at all costs to ourselves and others; let us believe that outward ceremony can purify that which is inwardly defiled; let us respond to the claims of society, rather than to the claims of humanity," said others still.

In what a different light does this present to us those manifold evils which are often brought as a reproachful charge against Christianity itself, as though they formed an integral part of the system. Men reasoned correctly enough, but 'the old dragon, Self,' was in the premiss; and if this Self be not

the very devil of Scripture, we may, at least, safely affirm that if we can only get rid of Self and its works, we shall easily find a short and easy method with the devil of Scripture and his works. Thus, following on the most logical reasoning, came asceticism; therefore, sooner or later, sensual excess; religious wars and persecution; the whole false system of that whited sepulchre called society; and, might we not add, the building up of rigid dogmas, with all their invariable result of envy, hatred, malice, and all uncharitableness? Then, aghast, men cry out that Christianity is a failure; sceptics rejoice, and thoughtful men, harassed and perplexed, bend their efforts to some reconstruction of the whole system. One labours at sacerdotalism, another at ritualism, a third at dogma, a fourth at miracles, and all the while the true Spirit of Christianity is softly whispering—‘Little children, love one another.’

It will be evident from the last paragraph we have quoted from Mr. Hinton, that the parallel between the intellectual and moral life of man may be carried even further than he has carried it. Christianity has corrected the premiss, but men are not therefore at once ready to accept the correction, any more than a fresh scientific discovery, which casts out the negation in the intellectual premiss, is by any means sure of immediate reception. This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men have loved darkness rather than light. It is only by again and again reaching the *reductio ad absurdum*, in both spheres, that men are driven at last to accept the corrected premiss.

Of all the sad results brought about by this building up of the Christian system on an unsound premiss, the saddest is most graphically depicted by Mr. Hinton, in a paragraph of his ‘Analogy of the Moral and Intellectual Life of Man.’ He speaks there of—

‘A phenomenon which has puzzled and distressed all thoughtful Christian observers of the features of this age, namely, that Christianity, as embodied in the professing church, does not attract to its side in large numbers its own natural allies, the ardent, the loving, the true, the unconventional souls, who, if Christ Himself could speak, would surely hear his voice, for they are His “sheep.” These, as a rule, are aliens to nominal Christianity, and the streams of heroic activity which in former

times gained the triumphs of the Church go now, mainly, to swell some irregular destructive revolt against organised society. On the other hand, it is not to be denied that our churches are largely filled by men who, judged by their own professed theory, are deeply bent on "making the best of both worlds," and who cannot in any sense be said to have adopted the Christian principle of self-sacrifice, any serious application of which to practical life they would stigmatise as Quixotic. How is it, we say, that the life and teaching of Jesus still being our professed model and guide, we seem to be fighting under a wrong banner, and our host is swelled by those against whose principles we would gladly wage war to the death, whilst in the hostile ranks are those to whom our hearts yearn as to long lost brothers? Will not this change that we long for (i.e. the casting out of self), and to which all things point, bring about an altered state of things? Fight we must; we would not have it otherwise; but at least we shall have some of the healthy joy of combat when we know we are striking the old dragon self, whose death is the life of humanity, and not aiming cruel blows at those who themselves are at war with the same enemy. There is heroism enough in the world to bring about the social revolution for which we groan, if it were only directed into the right channels."

Will any intelligent observer of the features of this age, Christian or not, dispute the truth of this assertion? Then how comes it to be so? One simple word which Mr. Hinton has used points to the cause—"the life and teaching of Jesus being still our *professed* model and guide." Professed, yes, but in reality, moulded, consciously or unconsciously, by a non-regard for others' claims. Therefore, selfish respectability takes the place of Christian virtues; condescending kindness that of love; and munificent much-belauded liberality that of no man saying that aught of the things he has is his own; and we exhibit generally a bastard Christianity, which repels rather than attracts those cast in nature's noblest mould.

This attitude of coldness or repulsion on the part of the masses towards Christianity, is not only attracting puzzled and distressed attention, it is also the object of much and increasing effort, both literary and practical; but in all these efforts we seem to seek in vain for full recognition of this flaw in the premiss, this true regard to the interest of others, to which we can so distinctly trace the great mass of evil which crushes groaning humanity under its cruel load. Dogmatic theology, sacerdotalism, ritualism, miracles, inspiration, the

attitude of religion to science, all come in for careful consideration; but of all that lies included in that one sentence—‘Am I my brother’s keeper?’ we surely hear far too little, and can only say, ‘This ought ye to have done, and not to have left the other undone.’

One of the most noteworthy literary attempts of this nature which has been made of late is the publication of a popular edition of Mr. Matthew Arnold’s *Literature and Dogma*. The name of the writer alone is sufficient guarantee for the perfect good faith and high ability of the work. At the same time we must admit, as a personal sentiment, that, in spite of much that is calculated to strike and interest, it is to us, as a whole, a most dreary production. Did we feel forced to accept it in its entirety, as the true solution of all the present perplexities, we should offer up day and night but one prayer, if we could get firm enough grasp on ‘the Eternal that makes for Righteousness’ to pray at all! and that would be for a strong delusion that we might believe a lie, and so hold fast our faith that ‘Christ is risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept.’ Otherwise we could feel ourselves in perfect sympathy with one chapter alone in the whole range of Scripture—the third chapter of the book of Job. There are doubtless many who will regard the book very differently; but can any admirer of it deny that it sets forth a religious system which is perfectly compatible with a large admixture of self in the premiss; and, if so, quite incompatible with the religion of Christ? How comfortably a man could live in luxury and ease, confident of an ‘Eternal that makes for Righteousness,’ and meditating much on the ‘method,’ and ‘secret,’ and ‘sweet reasonableness of Jesus,’ and steer the bark of his worldly concerns by aid alone of the compass of self-interest, quite satisfied that he had done all that could be demanded of him if he took the trouble, now and then, to throw a life-belt, as he floated on, to some hapless mortal whose frailer craft he had swamped in his prosperous course! Such a religion will never kindle ‘the Enthusiasm of Humanity,’ and ‘the Enthusiasm of Humanity’ alone will spread the true Spirit of Christianity among the masses.

That Spirit of Christianity does not mean, as we have already said, a well-spread benevolence, and lavish expenditure of money and time in works of charity. It means even something more than men are apt to include in a man not saying that aught he possesses is his own. It means a just—if anything a preponderating—sense of the rights and claims of others as against our own. Of charitable expenditure we have enough, perhaps a little too much, but of a keen sensitiveness to the rights of others, where those rights clash with self-interest, sadly little. And those who have the deepest knowledge of human nature, will not be the readiest to count upon the man whose benevolence is most renowned as the one most certain, in that sense, to be invariably true and just in all his dealings. They will not hold it as absolutely impossible that such a man should avail himself of dire necessity on the part of another to obtain some valuable possession at less than its fair price, or to secure to himself faithful and useful service at less than its just value. Such a man may be very benevolent, but there is a large admixture of self in the premiss of his moral life, though he will probably heartily agree with Mr. Arnold that conduct is three-fourths of human life.

Another effort in this direction, and one which we cannot but think far better calculated to advance the cause which both writers have at heart, is Mr. Metcalfe's *Reasonableness of Christianity*, a work which, like Mr. Arnold's *Literature and Dogma*, will command the respectful attention of everyone capable of discerning the difference between deep and thorough scholarship, and superabundant cramming. Yet, carrying on the train of thought suggested by Mr. Hinton's theories, we cannot but think the very title of the book suggests a line of argument which, handled by so lucid and powerful a writer as Mr. Metcalfe, would have enormous weight. 'The day of authority is gone,' he says, 'and whatever would take possession of men's minds, or enlist their sympathy and their faith, must now commend itself to their reason, and prove its title to their acceptance and homage by showing that its credentials are to be found not merely in a book or in a philosophy or theology, but

in the laws and principles of that great material and spiritual universe in which we live and move and have our being.' Surely then the credentials of Christianity are not very far to seek. From the earliest ages of the world's history, this flaw in the premiss, this hideous demon Self, has made havoc of the peace and happiness of the human race. And we can name no evil which has wrought moral, social, we might almost say physical ruin on the earth, that we do not trace back sooner or later to this hateful thing. Then that form of faith which aims at the rooting out of this evil, needs no further credentials to commend it to the reason and homage of men. And this is what Christianity alone does. It is a scientific, not an empirical system. It takes little heed of symptoms, does not trouble itself with cutting off the heads of weeds; it goes straight to the root of the evil, with its unvarying formula, 'Love one another.' In other words, cast out self, and the reign of sin and sorrow shall cease; pain and suffering shall vanish away, and the reign of peace shall begin upon the earth. This surely is the true 'Reasonableness of Christianity,' and the warrant of its sure stability. A thousand spurious imitations may arise, and flourish for a longer or shorter time, just according to the amount of pure metal mingled with their dross; but true Christianity, the mighty antagonist of the great dragon Self, is founded on a rock, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.

Ere we close this paper we would fain dwell for a moment upon one further result of the adoption of Mr. Hinton's theory. It not only seems to indicate the strongest possible basis on which to found the reasonableness of Christianity, but also to shed a ray of heavenly light upon some of the darkest problems of the religious history of the world. The darkest problem of all is surely the untold misery which mistaken religious action has brought in its train! Apart from the frequent use of religion for mere political purposes, what a dismal load of suffering have not men, in all ages, both taken on themselves, and inflicted on others, for conscience sake. Men who would have laid down their lives for their fellow creatures have yet, with sore anguish of spirit, inflicted endless cruelties upon

them, in the firm belief that they were serving God, and saving souls. And thousands have perished miserably for their mistake. How changed the dismal picture in the light of Mr. Hinton's analogy! Persecutors and persecuted alike were illustrating the intolerable conclusion of a system of right reasoning founded on a faulty premiss, and thus aiding in working out that redemption of the world which can only be accomplished by the correction of that premiss. They were martyrs, though they knew it not, and shall we doubt that as they bore the martyr's cross, so they will wear the martyr's crown? To the *Mystery of Pain* we must refer those who would follow out Mr. Hinton's train of thought to its legitimate conclusion. The full solution of that deep mystery it is not possible to suppose can be within the compass of any finite intellect; but to see it irradiated with heavenly light, rather than plunged in nether gloom, is perhaps the highest point to which the moral life of man, when the ruinous influence of Self is cast out of its premiss, can attain; and we cannot better conclude than with the concluding words of Mr. Hinton's little volume—words pregnant with deep and far-reaching thoughts—

'We cry in our agony, in weariness, failure, perplexity of heart, that there is no hope nor help. No hand seems to direct the storm, no pity listens; "God has forsaken us," we say. Do we say so, and not recall the words which fell in that great victory on Calvary—fell from the Conqueror's lips,—"My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?" Blackness of darkness and despair, and sorrow blotting out God's hand, and feebleness sinking without a stay, these are not failure. In these characters was written first the charter of our deliverance; these are the characters in which it is renewed.'

ART. VI.—MYSTIC NOVELS.

1. *John Inglesant: a Romance.* By J. H. SHORTHOUSE. London.
2. *Mr. Isaacs: a Tale of Modern India.* By F. MARION CRAWFORD. London.
3. *Called Back.* By HUGH CONWAY. Bristol.
4. *Esoteric Buddhism.* By A. P. SINNETT. London.

AT the present time there is a scarcity of new novels of the highest class; death has made great havoc among the writers of fiction who, twenty years ago, held the foremost places; those who survive are mostly satisfied to work on the lines of their earlier achievements, and to give us nothing really new or striking. Of clever story-tellers we have, however, plenty; and there are even signs that novel-writing tends to degenerate into that mere trick of story-telling from which it rose. Therefore the ingenuity of a plot or the newness of an idea is coming to be regarded as of more importance than the completeness and beauty of a whole story, considered as a work of art.

The greatest writers have seldom desired to deal with extraordinary or exceptional subjects, nor yet to rely, for the interest of their stories, on passing social problems of their time. They mostly prefer to treat well-known subjects, such as have often been dealt with before, and can only be rendered remarkable by the power and truth with which they are treated, and by the clearness of the light in which they are regarded. Philosophical discussions and the latest religious speculations have no proper place in the most perfect specimens of the art of novel-writing, any more than in the grandest examples of epic poetry. It is true that the author of works which still survive after delighting successive generations of readers may have written from a point of view which has long since been abandoned by the world: his religious convictions may have been proved absolutely mistakes, but he wears the opinions as he wore the

garments of his time; they are only the temporary costumes beneath which are revealed the permanent workings of the human heart. He is like a great actor who can make Hamlet impressive in a dress coat, while many of those authors who are most anxious to give prominence to the correctest opinions, scientific and religious, are little better than a perfectly-costumed Hamlet, with no conception of the character, and no capacity for the stage.

It is remarkable that George Eliot, who could be so strong and severe in philosophical disquisition, introduced none of her speculative opinions into her best books, but was as simple and unprejudiced in her finest pictures of men and things, as if she regarded them from much the same point of view as the characters which she depicted. She painted scenes and persons with the tender and appreciative touch of sympathy, as well as with the true and lasting colours of knowledge and observation. She described no man's religion in order to abuse it, she depicted no woman's enthusiasm in order to laugh at it. She recognized living truths beneath old methods of thought—methods which she had herself abandoned—and we may read her descriptions of the religious beliefs of the personages of her stories without guessing for a moment that these beliefs were not her own. Conduct and character did, with her, animate and at the same time make of little consequence theory and dogma. She shows us how her people lived, rather than how they understood the theories of life. We find this same admirable method characteristic of all great writers from Shakespeare downwards; only by the qualities of universality and sympathy can their works live on from generation to generation of men whose religious opinions modify year by year, and whose political views change day by day.

That very quality, however, of temporary and local interest, which most works against permanent fame, may help to achieve instantaneous popularity for a new and clever book. In the seething mass of opinions which agitate society to-day, the newest idea, scientific or religious, is just as ardently welcomed as the latest sensation.

At the present moment it is hardly an exaggeration to

describe a large portion of the idle section of society as looking for a religion. The members of it have abandoned their own, after unsuccessfully modifying it in various directions,—or are thinking of abandoning it,—and they eagerly greet any new book containing a tinge of mysticism. They hope to find in it a landing-place on that receding shore of supernaturalism from which they have been drifted by tides of unbelief and winds of criticism. They live in an ocean of uncertainty, where they may sail comfortably for a time; but they desire to know of some harbour which may offer them refuge when they become tired of spiritual homelessness. It is therefore in consequence of a popular demand that problems of religion or mysticism, which were once carefully excluded from the pages of novels as unsuitable for treatment there, are now offered on every side as one of the most successful baits to the minnows and larger fish feeding in the waters of circulating libraries. In *Altiora Peto*, that book which, as one reviewer said, held enough materials for twenty novels, and as some readers thought, handled them as slightly and superficially as might have been expected under the circumstances; that book which, served up as lightly as champagne, and offered as indifferently to the public as crackers at a children's party, every social topic of the present day, from the terror of Fenian outrages to the scandal of professional beauties, did not omit to offer also its religion to the world, vague and incomprehensible indeed, and not to the ordinary reader sufficiently differentiated from the religion it laughed at (except by the solemnity with which it was mentioned), to escape some ridicule itself.

Even the most orthodox of novel-writers advance boldly into this dangerous ground, and try to blend supernaturalism with the correctest religious notions. Mrs. Oliphant not only ventures into the regions of the dead, and depicts for us the experiences of our departed friends with much power and imagination; but also, with less success, mingles mystic appearances and supernatural gifts with the most ordinary details of modern life.

This, indeed, it is the fashionable thing to do. The blue lights and nerve-destroying appliances of old ghost stories are abandoned, and a most delightful cheerfulness and every day

atmosphere prevail. There is a kind of 'my good fellow, I don't wish to take you in' frankness about the aspect of mysticism in modern fiction. The reader is always supposed to be in the most sceptical and unimpressionable frame of mind; he is allowed to treat the supernatural appearances with as much flippancy as he desires; mysticism is depicted as having, presumedly in deference to modern opinion, put off its state as completely as kings and princes have abandoned their cumbrous robes; it comes down to meet the present sceptical generation with a sort of 'Hail, fellow, well met!' simplicity. Adepts who bring clouds from heaven at convenient moments, and disappear blankly into space to the discomfiture of Hindoo servants, are quite willing to be chaffed about the peculiarity of their habits, and even to be jeered at for arriving in their astral shell ungarmented by the body.

Nearly all the recent mystic books, orthodox or unorthodox, attempt some sort of spiritual instruction. A notable exception is found in the one which, if we judge by the number of copies sold, is the most popular of all—*Called Back*, by Hugh Conway. The enormous success of this sensational little story can hardly be accounted for by its mere sensationalism, nor even by its undoubted cleverness and briskness of style. Tales as clever appear and are forgotten before they are properly known. The taking feature in this instance is the ingenious working into the narrative of a new faculty of the human mind—or body—a sort of sixth sense, supposed to have been recently discovered, which, although it might have been used in mesmerism or so-called spiritualism, professes to have nothing to do with either. It is nothing more nor less than a form of that 'thought-reading' which has attracted so much attention of late, and which, whether it be a natural development, or a supernatural power, or a mere conjurer's trick, has been examined and discussed by the scientific as well as the unscientific world. Exhibitions of this strange and incomprehensible power have taken place within the Houses of Parliament themselves; its chief professor has been examined by men of all ranks and attainments, and yet no satisfactory explanation of the matter has been reached.

The author of *Called Back* perceived the dramatic capabilities

of the faculty, and, accepting it simply as what it professed to be—the power of reading the thoughts of an individual when these are powerfully concentrated on one circumstance—introduced it as a means of revealing the details of a murder. The principal scene in *Called Back*, the one which gives its name to the story, is a description of thought-reading through the medium of physical touch.

The heroine of *Called Back*, who has been present at her brother's murder, but has lost memory and been driven into a mild form of insanity by the shock, marries the hero, who was also present at the murder, but in a condition of temporary blindness, so that he cannot identify the murderers afterwards. Certain circumstances rouse the heroine to an excited semi-remembrance of the terrible tragedy enacted in her presence, or at all events to some new condition of mind in which she mechanically seeks and finds the house and the very room in which the murder took place. Her husband follows her. While they are seated together in the now deserted apartment, he, who had never seen it before, perceives the whole scene of the murder vividly. His wife is apparently absorbed in a trancelike vision of the past; as long as he holds her hand her thoughts are communicated to him, and he sees what she sees; when he lets her hand go the picture disappears, but he can renew it as often as he renews his touch.

The theory seems to be that, in the strong concentration of her mind on this past scene, a physical touch can, in some mysterious way, communicate her thoughts to a sympathetic person, without the aid of speech. This is very much the theory of the professional thought-reader, as explained to the world. Mr. Hugh Conway is not one of those authors whose mysticism is blended with a new form of religion; he merely uses this craze—or discovery—of thought-reading to enhance the interest of his story, as Dumas used the theories of mesmerism and of the elixir of life.

Nor can we suppose that Mrs. Oliphant, in her story of 'The Wizard's Son,' means actually to persuade us to believe that such strange personages live among us, moving amid picnics and dinner parties, using immense weapons, after the manner of all supernaturalists, to produce small results.

There is a moral attached certainly to the story of the *Wizard's Son*, which seems to be, that a pure and faithful heart can defy even supernatural tyranny and oppression, and bring help to the down-trodden. This moral is in itself admirable and independent of mystic manifestations, but part of its application is in accordance with an old-fashioned belief which,—it is to be hoped in the interest of the human race,—further knowledge of physical laws and social history will tend to modify. This is the theory that it is a noble thing for a pure and virtuous girl to devote herself, by marriage, to the reformation of a man who has led a dissolute and abandoned life. He may have indulged in vices which unfit him to become the husband of a good girl, and the father of happy and healthy children ; but all that an enlightened society—for whom works of medicine and surgery are written in vain—requires of him is repentance ; which is to say that, having exhausted the pleasures of wickedness, he should return to the pleasures of virtue ; that, abandoning those associates of his evil days who, being women, cannot rise to the surface of society again as he has done, and whom he may reasonably hope never to see again—he should offer to some innocent girl his heart, tainted by impure memories, and his body injured by disease. According to time-honoured prejudices and mistaken ideas, the girl is encouraged to accept as a noble one the office of reformer, and to link her unsullied life with his. In the future it is to be desired that a truer knowledge of social laws and physical consequences will lead to a wiser decision on the part of the woman ; and that a keener sense of justice, a sincerer repentance, will lead, on the part of the man, to renunciation rather than demand.

But these moral questions have nothing to do with the supernaturalism of Mrs. Oliphant's story, and, in connection with this supernaturalism, we are not introduced to any new religious theories, nor invited to consider any novel spiritual beliefs.

This is not the case with Mr. Crawford's story of Anglo-Indian life, *Mr. Isaacs*. There we find ourselves at once in new conditions, and it seems as if the author desires actually to convert us to a modified form of Buddhism. He appears to hold out the tempting prospect that, whether we are Protestants, Roman Catholics, or Mohammedans, Buddhism in its higher

forms may include and improve us all. This seems also to be the hope of other authorities who have introduced the same subject to the English world.

Mr. A. P. Sinnett, President of the Simla Eclectic Theosophical Society, in his work on *Esoteric Buddhism*, holds out even larger prospects. He is willing to include the old-fashioned ghost and the new-fashioned table-rapper in this all-embracing and all explaining religion. He attempts to account for all modern mysteries—all conjuring tricks and revelations through mediums—by the light of ‘occult’ Buddhism. He has a theory for ghosts and a theory for *séances*, for anything that has ever puzzled us, and for everything with which our religion has neglected to deal. He tells us of ‘Kama Loca,’ the sphere in which the ‘inferior remnant’ of human principles finds itself, after the real Ego has passed into the Devachanic state, or that unconscious intervening period of preparation which corresponds to physical gestation—for the European Buddhist is nothing if not scientific. ‘Kama Loca’ means the Region of Desire, because it is the sphere in which that sensation of desire, which is a part of the earth-life, is capable of surviving. In this region, the ‘astral shell’ lives, surviving the soul that directed it; and it may for a time appear unto friends, or lend itself to the influence of a sympathetic medium, while the actual body lies rotting in the ground, and the soul or higher principle has passed on to another sphere.

It must, presumably, be this ‘astral shell,’ or fluid body, which travels to distant friends to warn them of approaching misfortune or death,—as we have read in stories of the supernatural. Perhaps it was by means of this ‘astral shell’ that Jane Eyre and Rochester communicated with one another in the memorable and inexplicable manner of the story; it may have been the ‘astral shell’ of Strafford which appeared to King Charles in the impressive manner depicted in *John Inglesant*; apparently it is by means of this ‘astral shell’ that Ram Lal, the adept, visits Mr. Isaacs, while his body is doing duty far away; for this more fluid and, so to speak, *packable* part of a person’s earthly identity is eminently fitted to undertake impossible journeys and reach unattainable spots. Space and substance are no obstacles in its

way ; it can glide through closed doors, and travel to distant spots in inappreciable moments of time. It seems certain, from the recent revelations of Buddhist authorities, that if we do but join their chosen religion, we may keep safe in a corner all our dearest superstitions, while attaining, in one direction, absolute scientific knowledge, and, in another, heights of spiritual exaltation hitherto unknown to us.

Mr. Isaacs is a Mohammedan, with beautiful eyes and great powers of intellect. In spite of the 'incumbrance' of three wives and some children (who are regarded with too much indifference to be worth enumerating), he falls in love with a handsome English girl—Miss Westonhaugh. At first the prejudices of his race and religion cause him to deny that she has a soul ; and his American friend, Griggs (who writes the story), is inclined to deny that she has much intellect. However, Mr. Isaacs—by means of a vision, in which her soul (but might it not have been merely her 'astral shell,' after all?) detaches itself from her sleeping body and rises to meet him,—is convinced that she has that necessary appliance to an existence in another sphere which we may suppose his wives have not, and which fits her to become his real and permanent companion. Of her intellectual deficiencies we hear no more, the spiritual qualities being, apparently, of themselves sufficient to land her in the higher circles of Buddhist development.

Mr. Isaacs resolves to divorce his wives—who quarrel among themselves and make him uncomfortable—and to marry Miss Westonhaugh. His friend, Mr. Griggs, fascinated like everyone else by his superior qualities, encourages him in the idea. The lady's relatives show no alarm at his increasing intimacy with her ; the young lady herself yields to his influence, and returns his love. Before their engagement is announced to her guardian or the world, before we are even told that any actual steps have been taken to divorce the three incumbrances, she permits him to embrace her ; and, when he is compelled to depart on an errand of somewhat Quixotic generosity, she watches for his departure in the early morning, that she may give him a brief but tender farewell.

'It only lasted a moment, and the figure shot away again. I was sure I heard

something like a kiss, in the gloom, and there was a most undeniable smell of roses in the air. I held my peace, though I was astonished. I could not have believed her capable of it. Lying in wait in the dusk of the morning to give her lover a kiss and a rose and a parting word. She must have taken me for his servant in the dark.'

This is repulsive to English tastes. The Mohammedan method of regarding women, with its consequences in their treatment and position, is so well known, that our prejudices or our principles—call them what you will—demand an excessive caution in the manner in which an English girl permits a Mohammedan (even without three wives) to pay his addresses to her, if she permits it at all. The lofty tone of mysticism and the atmosphere of spiritual height which pervade the story do not atone to ordinary English minds for this want of delicate feeling. The wives are accounted of no value; they are lowly beings who were useful to the Mohammedan in his lower phase of development; they must necessarily be left behind in the spiritual elevation which enables him to perceive Miss Westonhaugh's soul and to worship her. All the same, we are given to understand that they are the mothers of the hero's children; and it is difficult to perceive how a higher revelation of spiritual life can teach him that it is right to cast aside old responsibilities voluntarily contracted, or to abandon those whom his own desires have called into life.

The errand on which he rides away at the moment when his wooing is successful is no other than the liberation of Shere Ali from captivity. The 'adept,' Ram Lal, assists him in his enterprise, and brings his occult powers to bear on the safety of himself and his friends. At a critical moment he envelopes the whole party in a mist from the moon which hides them from their enemies and covers their escape.

If we consult 'Esoteric Buddhism' on this remarkable feat, we come to the conclusion that it was probably performed by power over 'Elementals.' 'Elementals,' we are told by Mr. Sinnett, are semi-intelligent creatures of the astral light, who belong to a wholly different kingdom of nature from ourselves. Detailed knowledge on the subject is scrupulously withheld by the adepts of occultism. To possess such knowledge is to wield power. It is by command over the elementals that some of the greatest physical feats of adeptship are accomplished; and it is by

the spontaneous playful acts of the elementals that the greatest physical phenomena of the *séance* room are brought about.

We conclude from this explanation that when tables are rapped and other useless but astonishing feats are accomplished, it must be by the kitten-like frolics of an elemental, who is excited by the presence of a medium. It must also have been an elemental commanded by Ram Lal who brought the cloud down in the lonely valley among the Himalayas. However it might be, the escape is accomplished, and Mr. Isaacs returns to Simla to find Miss Westonhaugh dying of jungle fever. Ram Lal declines to interfere, or implies that it is beyond his power to preserve the lady's life. He professes—and this is a great point among the adepts apparently—that he has no *supernatural* powers or knowledge. My power, as you know, is itself merely the knowledge of the laws of nature, which western scientists, in their wisdom, ignore.' However, after the death he comes forward to console and advise his friend. He holds out to the mourner hopes of eternal happiness to be gained by his temporary loss.

“With her—you said it while she lived—was your life, your light, and your love; it is true tenfold now, for with her is life eternal, light ethereal, and love spiritual. Come, brother, come with me!”

“The way shall be short that leads thee upward, the stones that are therein shall be as wings to lift thy feet instead of stumbling-blocks for thy destruction. The hidden forces of nature shall lend thee strength, and her secrets wisdom; the deep sweet springs of the eternal water shall refresh thee, and the food of the angels shall be thine. Thy sorrows shall turn from bitter into sweet, and from the stings of thy past agonies shall grow up the golden flowers of thy future crown.

“You, my brother, have been wrenched suddenly from the life of the body to the life of the soul. In you the vile desire to live for living's sake will soon be dead, if it is not dead already. Your soul, drawn strongly upward to other spheres, is well nigh loosed from love of life and fear of death. If at this moment you could lie down and die, you would meet your end joyfully. Very subtle are the fast-vanishing links between you and the world; very thin and impalpable the faint shadows that mar to your vision those transcendent hues of heavenly glory you shall so soon behold.”

Some of these consolations and hopes are not unlike those offered to the bereaved Christian, but they are not—at least not all of them—in accordance with the revelations of life after death given in *Esoteric Buddhism*. The Dante-like love, the

hope of being led upwards by the memory of the beloved and rewarded by her presence afterwards, are strange flowers to grow in the soil of an Eastern religion. The man who preaches it is a Hindoo Buddhist, the lady who has gone to be the guiding star to a higher life is an English Protestant, the lover who consents to follow her is a Persian Mussulman, and the friend who says farewell regretfully in the following words, is an American Roman Catholic—'I know little of the journey you are undertaking, and I cannot go with you. This I know, that you are very near to a life I cannot hope for.' He evidently believed in the higher spheres to which his friend departs, though he has not himself the qualities necessary for admission there.

Altogether, this picture of Buddhism is a strange medley, and it is perhaps not wonderful that,—in a society tossed about by fluctuating opinions, religious, scientific, philosophical, where every one knows enough to be critical, but not enough to be satisfied,—this sort of religion, mystic, imaginative, yet professing to be based on actual knowledge and material laws, should attract many unsettled minds; nor that British people should greedily read the books that profess to treat of it authoritatively. It offers room to the highest flights of the imagination, and at the same time stoops to enclose and explain the smallest superstition. Roughly speaking, it puts before us the opportunity of qualifying for heaven and amusing ourselves with table-rapping at one and the same moment.

All mystic sects professing to possess special powers and to offer mystic advantages to their members have some specific means by which novices can qualify for admission. Usually a condition is offered which cannot be complied with by mere effort of will, and which is therefore used to explain the failure of many who have sought admittance, or demanded proof, in vain. The mesmerist and the medium alike require fitting 'subjects' to act upon. These must be sympathetic, and if any hard-headed person goes away from a spiritualistic performance in dissatisfaction, he is told that it was his own unsympathetic presence which annulled the spiritual forces. A test is afforded to the world, with apparent frankness; if the test fails, the world did not do its part.

In *Esoteric Buddhism* the condition offered appears to be that a man should take certain means of reducing the encumbrance which his body is to his soul, to a degree which will set his soul free for the attainment of absolute knowledge. He may use the Western scientific means of acquiring knowledge by the observations of his senses, but there appears to be an Eastern means of obtaining it by sympathy of the soul. Perhaps these expressions would be discarded by an 'adept,' but they may serve for the use of a mere outsider. Mr. Isaacs explains that the ascetics

'Believe that by attenuating the bond between the soul and body, the soul can be liberated and can temporarily identify itself with other objects, animate and inanimate, besides the especial body to which it belongs, acquiring thus a direct knowledge of those objects, and they believe that this direct knowledge remains. . . .

'I do not include the higher adepts in either class,* since they have the wisdom to make use of the learning and of the methods of both. . . .

'They believe absolute knowledge attainable, and they devote much time to the study of nature, in which pursuit they make use of highly analytical methods.

'But beside all this they consider that the senses of the normal man are susceptible of infinite refinement, and that upon a greater or less degree of acquired acuteness of perception the value of his results must depend. To attain this high degree of sensitiveness, necessary to the perception of very subtle phenomena, the adepts find it necessary to train their faculties, bodily and mental, by a life of rigid abstention from all pleasures or indulgences not indispensable in maintaining the relation between the physical and intellectual powers.'

Here the old theory of fasting comes in, only in the modern form of necessary qualification for intellectual effort rather than the old one of a claim for spiritual blessings. Nevertheless the condition is sufficient to exclude the unbeliever and at the same time explain his exclusion. Even if a man, after much fasting and intellectual effort, still failed to attain to any occult knowledge, the answer would be, we suppose, that he went to work in the wrong way, and was still outside the necessary boundary. So it is with all professors of mystic powers which cannot be proved or expounded to the world. A test is always required of a sort which no man can prove himself to have accomplished. Thus was explained the case of those monks and hermits in the

*The mere 'fakirs' of the East, and the Western devotees to natural science, are the two classes alluded to.

middle ages who failed to attain spiritual satisfaction by fasting and torture. Whenever they succeeded in working themselves into the ecstatic condition of which some minds are capable, it was a proof of the reality of the means ; when they failed, the means had not been properly used.

Nevertheless, however high may be the position taken by any sect of mystics, however bold the claims of any teachers of religion, there is one great test which the outside world is sure, sooner or later, to apply to them all. This is the quality of their moral teaching and the character of their influence on their disciples and followers. Too many of those sects which are extreme in their mystic claims, appear, on the side which they turn to the outer world, mere soul savers, and proprietors of direct routes to a better world. Their founders may have been high and holy men, who sought the welfare of others rather than their own safety, but the line of their teaching has been narrowed, until its originally broad spiritual elements have been left out, and there remains only the theory of personal salvation.

The ascetics of old, who forsook their duties in life to qualify themselves by fasting and prayer for heavenly enjoyments, have their successors in some theorists of to-day ; and Mr. Isaacs, in his highest moment of spiritual exaltation, acts with a selfish indifference to the happiness of those with whom he is most closely united by natural and social laws. His desires and his imagination connect him with Miss Westonhaugh, whom he thinks of as she is indirectly described by his friend—‘Some beautiful woman who has read what you have read, thought what you have thought, and dreamed the dreams of a nobler destiny than have visited you in waking and sleeping hours.’ But he is united by his own deliberate act to the women whom he is determined to divorce, and of whom he speaks thus to his friend :—The friend has suggested, ‘Suppose yourself unmarried, your three wives and their children removed. “Allah in his mercy grant it!” ejaculated Isaacs with great fervour.’ We are never told how, in case of his marriage with Miss Westonhaugh, he intended to arrange for the future fate of these women and children. When he departs on the final journey, which is to lead him to greater spiritual heights, it is with the statement, ‘I have bestowed all

my worldly possessions on the one man beside yourself to whom I owe a debt of gratitude—John Westonhaugh.' No word is said of his wives and children; we are not told how he bade them farewell, or that they parted with him willingly. We can but conclude that he abandoned them, to prepare for an ethereal union with a spiritual woman, and we have his own statement that he left all his money to her brother.

A certain philosopher, whom some of us are inclined to regard as little better than a heathen, Mr. Herbert Spencer, tells us that one of the first of our social duties is fulfilment of contract. Emerson, another philosopher regarded with distrust by the orthodox, advises us to pay every just demand on our time, our talents, and our heart: for, first or last, we must pay our entire debt. George Eliot, to whom Mr. Carlyle would not permit Mrs. Carlyle to pay a visit, makes her heroine, 'Maggie Tulliver,' act on the conviction that she could never be happy if she left to unhappiness those who had trusted in her. Unfortunately, we find loftier moral sayings in the mouths of secular philosophers than in the teaching of religious mystics. But then, secular philosophers consider the practical bearings of conduct, while mystics rely on supernatural interference, either in this world or the next.

If Miss Westonhaugh had lived to become Mr. Isaacs' wife, what would he have done with those women whose companionship he had formerly solicited, and those children whom his passions had called into existence—the young creatures of whom it had long before been prophesied to him in a vision which foretold wealth and success—'Thy children shall be to thee a *garland of roses* in the land of the unbeliever'? Surely they had a right to the affection and care of their father: yet how could they have enjoyed these without separation from their mother? Again, how would the Englishwoman bear to give them a place beside her children, and how could she either reject or receive the friendship of their mothers? The difficulty is solved by her death, but this is not a satisfactory solution. Our sojourn in this world may be regarded as a mere gateway to other spheres, but even while standing in a gateway and knocking hard at a door, we cannot reasonably con-

tract marriage engagements in the expectation that the door will open at the right moment, and Death defer their fulfilment to another world.

It is probable that the most ardent admirers of *John Inglesant* would protest against its inclusion in the category of mystic novels. They would prefer to call it, as its author has called a later story, a spiritual romance. Nevertheless, there are certain qualities about this book, with its subdued flavour of authority and revelation, its ecstasies and its visions, which place it fairly in the region of religious mysticism.

The exact position which its author intended it to take in the religious world is not very easily discovered. Its hero is represented as repeatedly obedient to persons or to agencies which do not altogether possess his confidence; he permits himself to be sent on missions when he is not satisfied that these are honourable; he becomes the servant of parties to which he cannot give his entire approval; he listens while it is explained to him how his own admirable character may be used for the purpose of beguiling a wretched old man into leaving his possessions to the Church of Rome.

'A passionate religious fervour, such as yours, combined in the most singular manner with the freest speculative opinions, and commended by a courteous grace, will at once soothe and strengthen this old man's shattered intellect, distracted and tormented, and rapidly sinking into imbecility and dotage.'

Though he never actually uses the influence thus ascribed to him in the mercenary manner intended, he tacitly receives the reward which is given to him for the work he is supposed to have accomplished. Perhaps he did accomplish it; and the very scrupulousness which forbade him directly to suggest what he was meant to advise, helped to strengthen the poor old man's confidence in the Jesuits with whom he was allied. He may be said, in this case, to have put out to hire his spiritual graces in the manner in which some gentlemanly young men of straitened means are said to put their personal graces out to hire at evening parties; he permitted himself to appear an ally of his moral inferiors, just as these young men are said to masquerade as friends of those whose social standing differs from their own.

Throughout the book spiritual elevation—a religious mood—is

represented as the highest nobility, while honesty and directness of purpose are little dwelt upon.

In all the great crises of the hero's life a suggestion of mystic influences—even of supernatural interference—is present; although these are in most cases left to the reader's choice to receive as actual visions, or to dismiss as the workings of an excited imagination. There is, for example, this discourse on the character of a particular temptation which assails John Inglesant in Italy—

'That the character of the inhabitants of any country has much to do in forming a distinct devil for the country no man can doubt; or that in consequence the temptations which beset mankind in certain countries are of a distinct and peculiar kind. This fact is sometimes of considerable advantage to the object of the tempter's art, for if, acting upon his knowledge of the character of any people, this merely local devil lays snares in the path of a stranger, it is not impossible that the bait may fail.'

After the trial is over we are told that

'As they passed through the streets, early as it was, they were watched by two figures half concealed by projecting walls. One of them was the Cavaliere, the other was tall and dark. Whether it was the devil in the person of Malvolti, or Malvolti himself, is not of much consequence, nor would the difference be great. In either case the issue was the same,—the devil's plot had failed.'

This local devil who tempted Inglesant may be accepted as symbolic; but Inglesant himself acts repeatedly in a manner which would be incomprehensible if he did not believe that he received for his guidance direct messages delivered by strange means. At the bidding of a friar, who appears to him in a strange and impressive manner, he ventures into the very jaws of the plague in search of his wife's dastardly brother.

'But this strange message from another world, which bore such an impress of a higher knowledge, how could he disobey it?

'Most of those to whom he spoke were of opinion that he had seen a vision. He himself sometimes thought it an illusion of the brain, conjured up by the story of the man who came from Naples, by the afternoon heat, and by the sight of the dead; but in all this the divine wisdom might be working; by these strange means the divine hand might guide. "Let there be no delay on your part." These words sounded like a far-off echo of Father St. Clare's voice; once again the old habit of obedience stirred within him. Wife and child and home stood in the path, but the training which first love had been powerless to oppose was not likely to fail now. Once again his station seemed to be given him. Before—upon the scaffold, at the traitor's dock, in prison—he had been found at the appointed spot; would it be worth while now, when life was so much further

run out, to falter and turn back? The higher walks of the holy life had indeed proved too difficult and steep, but to this running-footman's sort of business he had before proved himself equal;—should he now be found untrustworthy even in this?

He goes, and finds in the plague-stricken city his old enemy, the murderer of his brother, who has been converted to a holy life by a vision which he believes he saw of Christ, who approached him and spoke to him before a great multitude assembled in Rome on Christmas Eve.

'Inglesant gazed at him in silence. That the man was crazed he had no doubt; but that his madness should have taken this particular form appeared to his listener scarcely less miraculous than if every word of his wonderful story had been true.'

Under the guidance of this man, Inglesant continues his journey in search of his other old enemy—his wife's brother. The journey occupies many days, during which it is implied that Inglesant can hear no news of home nor send to his family any message from himself. Together the two wanderers, Inglesant and the blind friar who was once his sworn foe, find at last the man they have so long sought. He is lying in the extremity of loathsome disease, deserted by all but the men whom he has injured most; and the friar pours consolation into the dying ears of his former comrade in sin.

'Inglesant, his senses confused by the horrors of the room, knelt in prayer in the entrance of the hut.

'The fatal atmosphere of the room became more and more dense. The voice of the friar died slowly away; his form, bending lower over the bed, faded out of sight: and there passed across Inglesant's bewildered brain the vision of another Who stood beside the dying man. The halo round His head lighted all the hovel, so that the seamless coat He wore, and the marks upon His hands and feet, were plainly seen, and the pale alluring face was turned not so much upon the bed and upon the monk as upon Inglesant himself, and the unspeakable glance of the Divine eye met his.

'A thrill of ecstasy, terrible to the weakened system as the sharpest pain, together with the fatal miasma of the place, made a final rush and grasp upon his already reeling faculties, and he lost all consciousness, and fell senseless within the threshold of the room.'

Everywhere repeated we have the same pictures of mental confusion and spiritual ecstasy, of moral uncertainty and religious exaltation.

While Inglesant is, in obedience to supposed inspiration, at-

tending on the death-beds of his old enemies—for the friar dies also, and Inglesant waits for the end—his wife and child perish of the plague, forsaken by their servants, utterly neglected and alone. ‘In the deserted house, a little child lay upon its couch, and beside it, on the marble floor, lay Lauretta—dead—uncared for.’ Yet we are never told that Inglesant repented having left, at such a time of peril and distress, those who had a claim on his devotion, in order to be reconciled to one, and to witness the miserable death of another, who had injured him. There were human beings dying around him by hundreds; it was not, therefore, the exceptional misery of those two which demanded his care. It was his own spiritual need, it was the necessity of a complete feeling of forgiveness in his soul, which led him for days to forsake his family, and, at a time when Death lurked at every man’s gate, to wander far and linger long in search of one whom he had reason to hate.

The same comparative indifference to those whom he merely loved is to be remarked earlier in the book. After the great trial of his loyalty to a disloyal king,—the most striking and original idea in the story, just as the part treating of it is the most dramatic—he makes little effort to find his ‘first love,’ Mary Collet. If she had been his enemy he might—in hatred or forgiveness—have sought her through plague and famine: as she is only the woman who possesses his heart, it is entirely by accident that he is present at her death-bed in time to receive her touching farewell.

Inglesant, with all his admirable qualities, cannot be regarded as a man whom it was desirable to love and to lean upon. He was an excellent tool in the hands of cunning masters; he could be faithful in obedience, and exalted in forgiveness; but he had not that manliness which would have enabled him to choose his own walk in life, and to devote his services to those whose claim upon him was simple and disinterested. Nor does the school in which he was formed produce such a manly type. It aspires to the *qualities* of certain virtues rather than their beneficent results. It cultivates generosity, self-sacrifice, and devotion, but it does not seek to be generous to the meritorious, to make sacrifices for the sake of the good, or to devote itself to the excellent. Its

achievements are therefore mostly visionary; its conquests tend to the improvement of self, but not of mankind; it is a saint in the wilderness climbing daily nearer to heaven and indifferent to the interests of earth. Sinners are by it accounted of larger value than other saints, because they offer higher opportunities for the practice of virtue; enemies are more dearly cherished than friends, because they call for greater efforts of patience. But the world gains comparatively little by its labours and its sufferings; for there is small hope that a man will be a true helper of his fellows when his highest ideal is abnegation, his loftiest effort is forgiveness. Justice is more than charity, and love is a better thing than pardon.

In *John Inglesant*, besides the spiritual visions of which the reality is left uncertain, there is one undoubtedly supernatural, or ghostly, appearance; that of Strafford after his execution. And there is a supernatural manifestation or prophecy by means of an 'adept' and a crystal. Inglesant gazes into the stone and is able to read therein the future fate of his brother. Before the ceremony begins he and his companions kneel and prepare themselves for the mystic rite by prayer, 'commencing with the Prayer-book collect for the festival of St. Michael.' When Inglesant sees the cruel vision of his brother's death, he speaks in anger, denouncing it as 'the work of a fiend, to lure men to madness or despair.' The consequences of this rash utterance are not without danger to himself and his companions,—his brother, the adept, and a boy.

'As he spoke a blast of wind—sudden and strong—swept through the room; the lamp burnt dim; and the fire in the brazier went out. A deathly coldness filled the apartment, and the floor and walls seemed to heave and shake. A loud whisper, or muffled cry, seemed to fill the air, and a terrible awe struck at the hearts of the young men. Seizing the rod from the table, the adept assumed a commanding attitude, and waved it to and fro in the air; gradually the wind ceased, the dread coldness abated, and the fire burned again of its own accord. The adept gazed at Inglesant with a stern and set look.

"You are of a strange spirit, young sir," he said; "pure in heart enough to see things which many holy men have desired in vain to see; and yet so wild and rebellious as to anger the blessed spirits with your self-will and perverse thoughts. You will suffer fatal loss, both here and hereafter, if you learn not to give up your own will, and your own fancies, before the heavenly will and call."

It is difficult, in the maze of the hero's religious wanderings and mystic visions, to discover what are indeed his beliefs. Here and there we find half explanations, as in the latter part of his conversation with Cardinal Rinuccini ; but the main spring of all his convictions, the one certain point to which he holds in his wanderings from sect to sect, seems to be explained in his discussion with the old Duke of Umbria.

'I see nothing in this, Altezza,' said Inglesant eagerly, 'but what is in accordance with the doctrines of the Church. This is that idea of sacramental purification, that Christ's body being assimilated to ours purifies and sanctifies. His Body, being exalted at that supreme moment and effort (the moment of His suffering death) to the highest purity of temper and of sweetness by the perfect love and holiness which pervaded His spirit, has been able ever since, in all ages, through the mystery of the Blessed Sacrament, to convert all its worthy recipients to the same pure and holy state.'

He seeks a sect which dwells chiefly and specially on the efficacy of the Holy Communion for the conveyance of all spiritual gifts, and which at the same time leaves a certain amount of intellectual freedom to its members. This he finds at last to exist nowhere satisfactorily, except in the Church of England.

With this key all his apparent inconsistencies are unravelled and explained. Wherever he wanders, whatever may be his aim, whoever may be his instructors, he is satisfied so long as he can receive from hands which he believes authorized, the necessary condition of spiritual life. From his point of view it matters very little whether the Jesuits are honest or the priests disinterested, he is still at home and safe among them while they can bestow upon him this single essential religious gift. His spiritual achievements and moral failures are explained by this conviction. Believing himself to hold a talisman of safety while walking in a maze of temptations, he concerns himself too little in the direction of his path and the choice of his steps through life.

It is easy to believe the gossip which declares that this remarkable book did not readily find a publisher. The good qualities it possesses are of too high a stamp to be recognised by the ordinary novel-reader, and it is weighted with much that would be considered by such a person dull and uninteresting. Also, it has not that perfection of manner and universality

of sympathy which bring the highest work down to the comprehension of the commonplace reader, and compel the popular verdict to declare itself in favour of an excellence it cannot understand. Wherein, then, lay the secret of its extraordinary success?

There exists to-day, in the Church of England, a section which, in spite of much good and honest work, tends more and more to make of itself a mere mystic sect, whose laws have little practical bearing on human life, and whose labour promises to be of but trifling advantage to the world at large. This section leans more and more towards an exclusive reliance upon the efficacy of its Sacraments for the salvation of mankind; it withdraws more and more within the fold of its ceremonial laws, leaving to outside philosophers the work of teaching morality pure and simple; it makes of itself more and more a mere agent for the conduct of souls to another world by means of specified ordinances and symbolic services.

More or less intimately connected with this section of teachers, and more or less under its influence—attracted by its mysticism and mediævalism, liking its tone of authority within certain limits, and appreciating its non-interference outside these, admiring the definiteness of its instructions as to ceremonial details, and satisfied with its comparative silence concerning moral and spiritual laws,—there exists a large body of people to whom religious feeling is a luxury, and who are willing to pay a tolerably heavy price for it as such. To these people *John Inglesant*, with its mixture of vagueness and fervour, its blending of art, history, and religion, its leaning to mysticism and mediæval romance, came as a welcome book of mingled recreation and instruction.

Within the pale of Christianity, as well as outside it, there are many who seek in mysticism a refuge from scepticism; who desire to be impressed because they cannot feel convinced. But the satisfaction of such a retreat cannot be long lived. A religion which is to animate and save the world cannot work by symbols only, nor be satisfied with ceremonial conformity. It cannot safely put either feeling or ritual in place of active and earnest well-doing. No amount of devotional

fervour can be accepted as complete while it leaves our lives unchanged. If, on the other hand, we could be induced to worship God sufficiently in our homes and market-places, it would matter much less that our churches and chapels are poorly attended.

What ecstasy of religious feeling can atone for duty neglected? What generosity to the unworthy can atone for breach of contract with the faithful? In spite of all mystic teaching, it remains a better thing to be true to a friend than charitable to an enemy, to do a good deed than to forgive a bad one: and religious teachers who wish to keep their hold upon the world, with its multitudes of struggling and perplexed fellow-creatures, must beware of abandoning altogether to secular philosophers the noble subject of *The Conduct of Life*.

ART. VII.—THE CRISIS—BENEATH AND AFTER.

1. *The Franchise Bill.* 1884.
2. *Mr. Gladstone's Midlothian Speeches.* 1884.
3. *The Peers and the People.* London, 1884.
4. *The Science of Politics.* By SHELDON AMOS. London, 1883.
5. *Contemporary Socialism.* By JOHN RAE. London, 1884.
6. *The Expansion of England.* By J. R. SEELEY. London, 1884.
7. *The Man versus The State.* By HERBERT SPENCER. London, 1884.
8. *The Electorate and the State.* By SPENCER WALPOLE. London, 1883.
9. *Six Centuries of Work and Wages.* By JAMES E. THOROLD ROGERS, M.P. London, 1884.
10. *The English Constitution.* By WALTER BAGEHOT. London, 1878.
11. *The Value of Redistribution.* By the Marquis of SALISBURY. *National Review* for October, 1884.

THE agitation of the Parliamentary Recess, which leaves the country face to face either with a party crisis of a

trifling, or with a constitutional crisis of a grave character, seems to teach this lesson, above all others, that the familiar Ciceronian doctrine, *silent leges inter arma*, does not hold sway within the realm of political evolution. The present Prime Minister, indeed, taught it in the eloquent speech with which on the 27th of April, 1866, he brought to a close the debate on the second reading of the Reform Bill, then under his charge in the House of Commons. To its opponents, he said in words of prophetic warning—‘The great social forces which move on in their might and majesty, and which the tumult of our debates does not for a moment impede or disturb—those great social forces are against you; they are marshalled on our side, and the banner which we now carry, though perhaps at this moment it may droop over our sinking heads, yet it soon again will float in the eye of heaven, and it will be borne by the firm hands of the people of the three kingdoms, perhaps not to an easy, but to a certain and to a not distant victory.’ Mr. Gladstone has learned a great deal, both as a politician and as a party tactician, since 1866. He has discovered among other things that the best method of getting touch of the ‘social forces’ to which all Parties in the State must bow, is to address mass meetings. We have long had government by discussion in these islands; but Mr. Gladstone was the first statesman in the front rank, as distinguished from the tribune or the demagogue, to perceive that the citadels of such government are no longer to be found on the floors of the Houses of Parliament, but on the platforms of public meetings. The success of his two first series of addresses in Midlothian, following in the wake of the agitation over the Bulgarian atrocities, proved that his perception had not been amiss. The third series of such addresses, and still more the fact that Lord Salisbury, Sir Stafford Northcote, and the Conservative leaders generally, have this year adopted the methods of Mr. Gladstone, if not also the machinery of Mr. Schnadhorst, have given the force of custom to the informal ‘appeal to the people,’ by means of monster gatherings of enfranchised and unenfranchised citizens. The resolutions passed at these meetings, the temper of the audiences, as indicated by cheers,

protests, and ejaculations, all reveal in operation, and amid the clash of party arms, the laws that govern the development of British society. From the standpoint of political æstheticism, our 'social forces' may not seem to 'move on in might and majesty.' Yet they are no longer silent but vocal. If their utterance is not perfectly graceful, its meaning is quite intelligible.

For it is every day becoming more obvious that the agitation of the Recess which is about to come to a close is calculated, at all events in the long run, not to retard, but to promote, the cause of electoral reform, if not of constitutional revision. The issue between the two leading parties in the State has probably been on one side narrowed, and on another broadened, by the agitation. But it has unquestionably been clarified. There was some doubt, before it began, whether 'the country,' in the sense both of the enfranchised and of the unenfranchised, was in earnest as to the extension of household franchise to counties. There were still graver doubts as to whether the Conservative Party was united in favour of such extension. The Recess has dispelled both doubts. It would be sheer political pedantry to deny the size, the importance, or the representative character of the meetings which have been held during the last two months, and which have declared that the Franchise Bill of the present Administration to be the very smallest instalment of political reform that can be accepted at the present time. What was termed, and in some quarters was honestly believed, to be apathy, is now shown to have been but a general public conviction that, the franchise having been in 1867 placed on the basis of household suffrage, the measure introduced in 1884 was but the completion or artistic rounding off of an existing statute. Then there is not a single Conservative politician worth taking into consideration, except perhaps Mr. James Lowther—and even he is not prepared to act towards Lord Salisbury and Sir Stafford Northcote as Lord Sherbrooke, when Mr. Lowe, acted towards Earl Russell and Mr. Gladstone in 1866—but eagerly advocates, or is quite resigned to, the enfranchisement of two millions of rural householders who are at present outside the pale of legal citizenship. Lord Randolph Churchill, whose

claims to be considered a leader in his party are now universally admitted, and whose aptitude for discovering the Conservative proclivities of the British democracy is the justification of these claims, has declared with the characteristic candour of a convert that submits to the inevitable, that in the autumn session the Franchise Bill might be taken as read. The measure may be fought in the House of Commons, but that will not be because its principles are in dispute, but because the Irish members wish to exact a revenge of some sort on the Government as the presumed 'accomplices' of Lord Spencer, Mr. Trevelyan and the 'Castle' in Dublin, or because the Conservatives in the Lower House desire to give political support to their friends in the Upper. If the Conservatives were to come into office to-morrow, they would be compelled to introduce a County Franchise Bill as their first and leading measure. This was by no means certain before the agitation of the Recess commenced; but it is absolutely certain now.

The political issue has not only been clarified, but on one side it has in all probability been narrowed, and, on another, it has been broadened, by the Recess agitation. It is, of course, for the autumn session to prove or disprove this; but the situation created by the action of the House of Lords which led to the autumn session, and by the informal plebiscite which has been taken upon that action, may fairly be stated thus. What the House of Lords did was to decline to proceed with Mr. Gladstone's Bill for admitting the two millions of rural householders to the franchise, until he had placed before it his scheme for a redistribution of seats—in other words, his plan of arranging the increased electorate. Lord Salisbury, as the leader of the majority in that House, has further and authoritatively translated its action into a determination that there shall be a dissolution, an appeal to the present electorate on the question of redistribution. In consequence of this, Parties, as distinguished from the country at large, have during the past two months been considering two questions—the question of the relations of the House of Lords to the House of Commons, and to

the measures passed by that Chamber affecting its own constitution ; and the question of the desirability of a hereditary Chamber, or of any Second Chamber, being retained as a portion of the constitution. The propriety of the enfranchisement of the two million rural householders has not been considered at all ; to that extent the issue of the autumn session has been not only clarified but narrowed. It has been narrowed in another way. The general principles of redistribution laid down by Mr. Gladstone, which he introduced, have no more been considered by Parties than the propriety of household suffrage for counties. What has been considered is the right of the hereditary legislative Chamber, itself incapable of dissolution, to declare at what time and on what question the representative Chamber shall be dissolved. If the public opinion of the country is to be gathered from the overwhelming majority of the meetings which have been held during the Recess, and from the character of the resolutions passed at them, it has already declared that the House of Lords has no such right, except, of course, in the constitutionally technical, or literally legal, sense. Mr. Gladstone, in the course of his recent addresses in Midlothian, only once rose to the height both of passion and of the temper of his audience, and that was when he dealt with the opposite right of a responsible Ministry, with the assent of the Sovereign, to choose the time and the occasion for a dissolution.

‘ To tamper with that doctrine, to give it the smallest countenance, to admit one jot or tittle of it, would in my opinion be treason to British liberty ; and I tell you fairly, I would rather abandon my share in the Franchise Bill, and that which would go with it, my share in political life, than for a moment cease to raise the loudest protest in my power against the introduction of this greatest innovation, which, neither in a reformed Parliament nor in an unreformed Parliament, was ever heard of, by a majority of the House of Lords.’

If there is no compromise in the autumn session, but a combat à *outrance* between the two Houses, it will not be over the propriety of the franchise or over the principles of redistribution, but over the question whether the Upper House is in the future to have any say in the constitution of the Lower.

That it has no such right is the decided opinion alike of a leader like Mr. Gladstone, of a typically moderate Liberal like Mr. Heneage, and of a militant Radical like Mr. John Morley. Mr. Morley is especially worth listening to in this connection. He is rapidly advancing to the position of leader of the more democratic Liberals, whose official hope in the future is Mr. Chamberlain. He has brought into the region of practical, a rare knowledge of theoretical, politics. He is already the pioneer, the phrase-maker, and the prophet, of his party. He was the chairman of the conference of Liberals at Leeds, which aided so materially in inducing the Government to give the Franchise Bill the first place in its Parliamentary programme of 1884. Popular bodies like cues, which serve them as choruses serve festive gatherings, and Mr. Morley has supplied three such in 'Franchise first,' 'One man one vote,' and (in respect of the House of Lords) 'Mending or ending,' which have played important parts in the present controversy, and the two last of which are destined to play still more important parts, if that controversy is embittered and its area extended. Upon the issue of the hour Mr. Morley has given forth no uncertain sound. He recently told a meeting at Carlisle that 'they were there to say that the Franchise Bill and the Redistribution Bill were to be taken apart, as the majority of the House of Commons had so willed it.' Mr. Morley, who has invariably the courage of his logic, goes further. Arguing before his constituents in Newcastle the question what would happen in the event of the majority of the House of Lords surrendering to Mr. Gladstone in the matter of redistribution, he said—'What sort of position would Conservatives be in to offer effective criticism upon the provisions of the Redistribution Bill, when the time came? They would be nowhere. They might depend upon it that the House of Commons would then be in no humour to agree to amendments from the House of Lords.' Mr. Morley's reasoning is perfectly sound. If the House of Commons prevails over the House of Lords in the struggle as to how and when the Redistribution Bill shall be introduced, it will not brook any material interference with that Bill.

If the immediate issue between Parties has been narrowed, the general issue before the country has been broadened, by the agitation of the Recess. No one, who does not deliberately shut his eyes to the characteristic features of that agitation as conducted on platforms and in the press will deny that neither the question of the Redistribution of Seats considered *per se*, nor the position of the Upper House, stands, at least in the public mind, precisely where it did at the beginning of the Recess. Take, for example, the general principles of Redistribution as laid down by Mr. Gladstone when he introduced his Franchise Bill. Leaving, for obvious reasons, his doctrines in regard to Irish representation out of consideration, Mr. Gladstone's views, as then explained, were essentially conservative. He declined to discuss the division of the country into equal electoral districts, although he admitted that some approach must be made to the proportioning of representation to population. He further proposed to maintain the distinction between rural and urban constituencies, and to respect the prescriptive electoral rights enjoyed by communities which have a certain character and unity of their own. If ever his Redistribution Bill sees the light—that Bill which he says is to be 'fair, reasonable, and moderate'—there can be no doubt whatever that it will, as prophesied by Lord Cowper, the possible hero of a possible compromise in the House of Lords, 'extinguish small constituencies, and create larger ones upon an intelligible general principle applied without regard to the political complexion of the localities dealt with.' Yet it is plain that the advancing Liberalism of the time has outgrown Mr. Gladstone's principles of Redistribution. The *Pall Mall Gazette*, which in its political aggressiveness, its vigour, and even its business energy, represents very faithfully the younger Radicalism of the day, although in the matters of 'expansion' and Imperialism, it may be 'misled by fancy's meteor ray,' declares 'Mr. Gladstone's Redistribution Bill will be mere milk and water, a twopenny-halfpenny measure which no Radical dreams of regarding as final. It is a stop gap, useful for a time, but the real Redistribution Bill (which, it seems, is to include proportional representation, equal electoral districts, and decennial readjustment

of seats), will never make its appearance till all the citizens among whom representation is to be redistributed can be heard.'

But if advancing Liberalism is outgrowing the views of Mr. Gladstone on Redistribution, advancing Conservatism is outgrowing the views of its leaders also. In the current number of the *National Review*, the Marquis of Salisbury explains his views on Redistribution. They come to an elaborate scheme for so arranging the electorate when it has received the increase proposed by the Franchise Bill as to secure the representation of minorities; and the Marquis does not disguise his fear that a General Election may at the best only make the Conservative minority in the House of Commons sufficiently strong to prevent the 'plundering' of 'interests.' About the same time that Lord Salisbury's views appeared in the *National Review*, Sir Stafford Northcote quoted to a Newcastle audience some figures supplied him by Mr. W. H. Smith, to prove that at last election 320,000 Conservative electors returned 26 members, and 420,000 Liberals returned 62 members. But both Lord Salisbury's plan and Sir Stafford Northcote's supporting statistics have fallen flat. The country is in no humour to accept any fanciful scheme for arranging the new electors, whose political principles are as yet unknown, so as to secure that representation of minorities which Lord Randolph Churchill declares to be 'all humbug.' If the Conservative leaders, either in the autumn session, which is about to begin, or in the session of 1885, persist in pitting a scheme for the representation of minorities against Mr. Gladstone's 'milk and water,' but un-partisan proposal, and if the result be a General Election, there can be no doubt that the redistribution which will be the outcome of the struggle, will come much nearer equal electoral districts than anything that has yet been dreamed of. It is in the highest degree ominous that Lord Randolph Churchill and Mr. Forwood, two of the leaders of the younger Conservatives, and who have taken a very active part in the work of the reorganisation of their party, should have, the one virtually, the other absolutely, committed themselves to the doctrine of equal electoral districts, as a 'principle' in redistribution akin to the 'principle' of house-

hold suffrage in franchise extension, which was adopted by the late Lord Beaconsfield, and which, in the long run, secured to him and his party six years of power. Mr. Forwood contends, in the October number of the *Contemporary Review*, that were the system of equal electoral districts accepted as the basis of redistribution, it would benefit the Conservative party at the General Election which should be conducted under it; and practically the same conclusion has been arrived at by a Scotch Liberal statistician, Mr. W. A. Hunter, who recently sent a long letter to the *Times* on this subject. The longer a moderate solution of redistribution is delayed, the more certain is it to be established upon a broad basis, the nearer will it bring the country to that system of Representative Government of which equal electoral districts are after all only a portion. In this connection, members of both political parties, who wish, by proxy, to dip into the future, would do well to ponder certain words by a scientific and impartial observer of the political tendencies of the time. Mr. Sheldon Amos, in his *Science of Politics*, after dwelling on the evidences that 'every fresh economic influence tends to obliterate that sharp distinction between town and country which could alone be a continuing basis of fixed differences in political representation,' and that 'even where the political characteristics of town and country life are on the whole maintained, the gradations of sentiment brought about by incessant motion to and fro, by migrations, and by the indefinite extension of the area of town life into the country, are becoming so numerous and fine, that the distinction itself is becoming antiquated for purposes of Parliamentary representation, and will shortly be worthless in the more advanced countries,' proceeds to say—

'If once the distinction of town and country becomes no longer recognisable as one of the bases of the distribution of seats, it cannot be long before an end is put to all the less startling inequalities in the electoral franchise. The extent of electoral areas has been determined not only by population, but by merely accidental, local, or traditional claims to special representation. It may thus be expected that within a period not too remote for political prevision, in every country in which representative institutions are the foundation of the Government, no other

principle of distributing votes and seats will be tolerated than that which makes every person—not disqualified by age, disease, or crime—a voter, and every person's vote of exactly equal weight as affecting the composition of the Legislature.'

In another, and perhaps a better because a moral sense, the party issue as regards the redistribution of seats has been broadened by the agitation of the Recess. If ever there was any danger of what is popularly known as 'gerrymandering' the constituencies, of whichever party that may have the settlement of the redistribution question setting itself to secure an unfair advantage in the representation, it has now disappeared. Should, owing to an irreconcilable difference between the two Houses this month or in November, the solution of the Redistribution question be postponed indefinitely, that solution must, when it comes, approximate to the strictly non-partisan settlement of equal electoral districts. If a compromise is arrived at, neither Mr. Gladstone nor Lord Salisbury will venture to break the pledges each has, in the one case directly, in the other indirectly, made both before and during the Recess. There is no reasonable Conservative but believes that whatever may have been Mr. Gladstone's intention before, it is now his intention, the moment the Franchise Bill is passed, to push forward his Redistribution Bill with all possible speed, and that that Bill will be as moderate and conciliatory as possible. No reasonable Liberal, on the other hand, believes that Lord Salisbury, after all his protestations on the subject of 'gerrymandering' by the Liberal party, will venture, if he gets the chance either as Premier or as leader of the majority in the Upper House, to do some 'gerrymandering' on his own account. In other words, if there is to be a compromise between Mr. Gladstone and Lord Salisbury on the relationship between Franchise and Redistribution, there can hardly fail to be a second compromise on the principles, if not the details, of Redistribution.* For one thing, if the Lords bow to one informal plebiscite, they will not tempt another a

* Since this was written, what purports to be a draft of one of the Redistribution schemes under the consideration of the Cabinet, has been given to the public. It has not, however, been authenticated by ministers.

month or two afterwards. Having yielded to the Commons on the general question of Redistribution, they will hardly dare to fight upon the principles to be adopted in settling it. Lord Randolph Churchill is perhaps too sanguine—always supposing him to be sincere—in saying that if the Redistribution Bill were introduced along with the Franchise Bill, in the autumn session, it might be passed. The obstruction threatened in regard to Ireland and other matters, the debates which may be expected to take place upon the foreign and colonial policy of the Government, especially on the grave state of affairs existing both in Egypt and in South Africa, are morally certain to prevent such a delightful issue out of our political troubles. But if the Franchise Bill were passed in the autumn session, it is surely not too much to hope that the Redistribution Bill would be passed in the session of 1885, if entirely devoted to the question, the more especially if discussion during the autumn on certain resolutions embodying the principles of Redistribution were to clear the way. There remain, of course, the ‘accidents’ of the session of 1885, on which Conservative disputants naturally place so much emphasis, as an excuse for the postponement of the operation of the Franchise Bill till 1887; the Government may be compelled to make an appeal to the country on its foreign policy or on the redistribution of Irish seats. But the very possibility of such ‘accidents’ may induce the Conservative and Liberal rank and file to unite upon some such compromise as, say, a Redistribution Bill removing the more scandalous and glaring electoral anomalies of the time, and to pass it quickly, so as to enable an appeal to the enlarged electorate on the true questions and principles that at present separate Parties. That such a possibility exists at all is due to the agitation of the Recess.

The House of Lords does not stand precisely where it did at the beginning of the ordinary session of 1884; and if it surrenders or compromises in the autumn session, its position will

It is enough, therefore, to say of it that it may supply the basis of a compromise, or, if there is no compromise, of a system of equal electoral districts.

unquestionably not be what it was. Here again, the agitation of the Recess has been useful, in settling the real issues before the country. The resolutions passed at the bulk of the meetings which have declared for the Franchise Bill, and for the action of the Government and of the majority of the House of Commons in respect of it, tell a tale which is now a commonplace. It is in this connection that the temper of the great bulk of the Scotch people, as shown by the extraordinary meetings which have been held during the last few weeks, and the not less remarkable manifestations evoked by Mr. Gladstone's visit to Scotland, is valuable to a statesman as an index of democratic feeling, and has certainly been recognised as such by the Prime Minister. Circumstances, which it would be superfluous to enumerate, and upon which it would be nationally vain-glorious to dwell, have made Scotland the most compact and generally intelligent section of the British Democracy. What it thinks to-day, the whole of that Democracy will think to-morrow. Undoubtedly its sentiments have been at once a revelation and a course of education to Mr. Gladstone. He found the Scotch people profoundly impatient with the House of Lords, as an obstruction during the last fifty years to the progress of useful legislation, and above all, to the national will as expressed by the representative Chamber. Hence the change in his tone towards the Peers as revealed by the contrast between his first and his last important speech in Scotland, between his opening effort at Edinburgh and his farewell at Perth. At first he deprecated, and indeed he still deprecates, an agitation for constitutional change of an organic character. But now he perceives that he is behind the views of his own followers, and that he must give them more rein if he is to lead them at all. So he has come to the determination that if he is forced by the continuance of the crisis through the autumn session to appeal to the present constituencies, he will appeal not only on franchise and redistribution, but on the necessity for organic change in the Constitution. The controversy that will be occasioned by such an appeal will, he says, be long, serious, and possibly bitter; but it can end only in one way. Such is the view of a man who is not only the leader of the Liberal

Party, but whose experience of British politics is altogether unrivalled, and whose nature—this was never more clearly demonstrated than by his recent visit to Scotland—is saturated with that conservatism which means a detestation of any breach of the historical continuity of a nation or of a Constitution.

Should the dispute between Mr. Gladstone and the House of Lords prove unappeasable, the question of the reform or the abolition, the 'ending or the mending,' of that Chamber will become a practical and burning one. Should it, on the other hand, be settled by a compromise of some sort, and should Mr. Gladstone's wish be gratified by the passing of the Franchise and Redistribution Bills dissociated from any agitation on constitutional revision, the discussions on the House of Commons, and upon the propriety of a hereditary, of an elective, or of any Second Chamber, will yet not have been entirely wasted. They have shown an overwhelming feeling in favour of a change of some sort, a practically unanimous belief that the House of Lords cannot be allowed to remain for ever on its present footing. When the question of a change does enter the region of practical politics, the writing and speaking of the past two months will be so much material for aiding in its solution. It is indeed to be hoped that for some time yet the question will remain theoretical or academical. It is undesirable that the discussion should be hampered or spoiled by personalities such as those recently indulged in by Mr. Thorold Rogers, and even by Sir Wilfrid Lawson. It is, indeed, a good omen of the manner in which the British democracy will use its power when it has realised and organised it, that such personalities have not proved popular or infectious. An indictment on the score of character against a whole order, is evidently regarded as very nearly as great a sin against good taste and good sense as an indictment against a whole nation. It is frankly admitted that there are many able men in the House of Lords. The popularity of certain Scotch peers among the Scotch democracy is quite as remarkable as the determination of that democracy to 'end,' if need be, the House to which they

belong. Mr. Spencer Walpole says truly in his work on *The Electorate and the State*, that 'The conclusion of Adam Smith that primogeniture produces only one fool in each family is contradicted every day in the House of Lords. Hence arises the singular circumstance that while the House of Commons, to quote the judgment of an acute observer, has more sense than any one in it, the wisest members of the House of Lords are usually regarded as having more wisdom than the House in which they sit.' It is not more desirable that this discussion should be weeded of personalities, than that when 'ending or mending' becomes a practical problem, some workable scheme for its solution should be forthcoming. It would serve little purpose to discuss at present the various proposals with which the air and the periodicals are filled, for an elective chamber, for a chamber of notables or eminents, for reducing the number of hereditary peers to be summoned to Parliament, for limiting their vetoing power, for the removal of the Scotch and Irish elected peers, at which Mr. Gladstone has not obscurely hinted. But it may be pointed out that the longer the solution of this problem is delayed, the more certain is it that, as in the case of Franchise and of Redistribution, some general 'principle' will be sought for, and it may further be said that should the solution be the result of a political storm, the desiderated principle is much more likely to be found in ending than in mending.

Lord Salisbury says that 'every sane man' believes that there must be a Second Chamber. Mr. Morley retorts [that Mr. Mill, the greatest of Parliamentary theorists, and Mr. Bright, the greatest of Parliamentary practitioners, believe that only one chamber is necessary. Besides, the question whether there is to be one chamber or two, will probably fall to be answered, not by the doctrinaires or constitution-mongers, whom Lord Salisbury terms 'sane men,' but by the democracy itself, organised, and it may be hoped also, intelligent. As this country becomes more and more democratic, it tends more and more to assume the character of a Co-operative Society. Mr. Shaw Lefevre, in the interesting address which he delivered this year before the members of the Social Science Congress, brought forward

a number of facts illustrating this tendency. Mr. Herbert Spencer in his latest brochure, *The Man versus the State*, deplores it, and says it is the mission of true Liberalism at the present moment to destroy the new 'political superstition,' which he terms 'the divine right of Parliament.' But the fact of such a tendency is indisputable, and, as a result of it, Parliament must become a Board of Directors for the national Co-operative Society. May not the Democracy, when it perceives this, ask, What is the advantage of having two Boards of Directors? It is said that a Second Chamber is necessary to prevent bad or rash legislation; but who will be entitled to call upon an organised democracy conscious of its strength to appoint a new, or even to tolerate an existing body, whose object is to defeat or curb its will? Besides, the complaint of such statesmen as Mr. Gladstone is that the House of Commons does its work not too hurriedly but too slowly—is, indeed, rapidly becoming unable to do work at all. Under such circumstances, is it not at least possible that the democracy may listen not to Lord Salisbury and his 'sane men,' but to such an observer as Mr. Amos, who holds that 'the true and sufficient remedy for bad or rash legislation is the improvement of the constitution of the assembly which really represents the people, and in the amendment of its legislative machinery. . . . An assembly or body of persons which is truly representative of the whole people—or which, even if not professedly representative, commands the confidence of the whole people—is not likely to be more fanatical, more selfish, more incompetent than some of the assembly or body of persons existing side by side with it, and may well be assumed to be less so. The temporary subterfuges by which it is sought to counterfeit deafness to the popular voice under the name of arresting impetuous legislation, must certainly be swept away, as M. de Tocqueville foresaw, yet with gain in all ways rather than loss, which he did not foresee.'

To sum up the political work of the Recess. The extension of Household Suffrage to counties has been rendered an absolute certainty. The issue between the two Parties has been narrowed to the point whether a question affecting the

constitution of the House of Commons is to be settled by that chamber alone. A compromise between the two parties and their leaders on the subject of the Redistribution of Seats, and the speedy passing of a Bill giving effect to that compromise have been rendered possible. Should there be no compromise, the ultimate settlement of this question on advanced principles has been placed beyond dispute. Political revision has been accorded a first place among the political problems of the time. Whether it is to be a burning practical, or only a leading theoretical question, depends entirely on the events of the next few weeks. Political observers, therefore, who look not only to what is on the surface of the crisis, but to what is beneath it, who, moreover, are convinced that agitation is a necessary accompaniment, of the inevitable democratic evolution of British society, have no reason to be dissatisfied with the work of this kind which has been done during the past two months. The agitation has not been disorderly, and whatever may be the immediate result, it will not prove ineffectual.

Agitation is, indeed, as now conducted, the means by which the masses of the country find not only strength but instruction in union. The thousands who attend monster meetings teach each other. When the teaching has to be condensed within such a brief period as this Recess, it resembles cramming for an Indian Civil Service Examination, but, like it, it may serve its turn. But the masses also instruct their leaders. Mr. Gladstone came to Scotland to educate the Macedonian Phalanx of his party into refraining from attacking the House of Lords, into abstaining from mixing up the question of extending the franchise with that of organic constitutional change. But before he left Scotland, he was compelled to admit that the Macedonian Phalanx had educated him into a belief that circumstances may very well arise which will necessitate such an attack, and render organic change not only a prominent political question, but a pressing public necessity. It is possible that Mr. Gladstone may have carried another conviction with him from this side of the Tweed, and one also forced upon him by his intimate contact with what are with

unjustifiable contempt termed 'the primordial elements' of society. In Edinburgh, he said that such a reform of the House of Commons as shall enable it to overtake its work is much more urgently required than a reform of the House of Lords. But what reform of the House of Commons is more desirable than one which shall prevent it from doing over again the work of discussion that is already done, and every year is being more effectually done, outside its walls, in the press and on the platform ?

Such is the crisis ; such are the possibilities on its surface ; such are the certainties beneath it. What of the chances of the autumn session ? Considering that in a period of excitement, it is not unfrequently the unexpected that comes to pass, it would be a waste of time to dogmatise on the subject. Mr. Gladstone has expressed himself not only anxious for, but hopeful of a peaceful termination of the struggle between the two majorities in the two Houses. At present unattached, but nevertheless influential Liberals, like the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Forster have declared for compromise ; the former has said 'it will be a discredit and a disgrace to our system of Parliamentary Government if some way is not found for attaining a reasonable settlement.' Lord Cowper, a Liberal Peer, who, like the Duke of Argyll and Mr. Forster, is an ex-Minister, has suggested that Government, to ensure the passing of the Franchise Bill, should lay their Redistribution Bill on the table of Parliament at the beginning of the autumn session. But the reception which has been accorded Lord Cowper's compromise by Mr. John Morley and Liberals of his uncompromising school, their declaration that its acceptance by the Peers would be an evidence of their past insincerity, and a prelude to their future surrender, is not calculated to recommend it to them. Mr. Chamberlain has expressed his belief that the Peers will not yield. Not much hope can be gathered from the utterances of the leaders of the Conservative party. Sir Stafford Northcote has declared at Edinburgh that the action taken by the Peers has the support of the Conservatives in the House of Commons, and has even explained that it was taken in concert with himself. To judge from his recent

speeches in Glasgow, enigmatic as some passages in them are, Lord Salisbury is as defiant as ever. He says, indeed, that he sees no reason why both a Franchise Bill and a Redistribution Bill should not be dealt with in the autumn session. But he does not give the pledge, required as a preliminary by Mr. Gladstone, and more recently by Lord Hartington, to pass the Franchise Bill before proceeding with the Redistribution Bill; nor does he withdraw, as not coming within the range of practical politics, his views on the subject of Redistribution, which, as expressed in the *National Review*, seem hopelessly at variance with those of Mr. Gladstone. Never did Lord Salisbury speak more forcibly or ably in defence of his House and of his Order than in his Glasgow speech of the 1st inst. Never was he so contemptuous of the mass meetings held to protest against the action of the Peers; never did he express himself so confident as he did two days later, that a direct and not an informal appeal to the electorate would result in Government being condemned on its foreign and colonial policy.

It is still possible that outside pressure, or personal prudence or patriotism, may lead to an eleventh-hour *concordat* between the Prime Minister and the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, which will enable the Franchise Bill to be passed in the autumn session, and a moderate Redistribution Bill to be passed in the session of 1885. It is also possible that the majority of the Peers may desert Lord Salisbury, as they have deserted him before. But in the event of the vote of the late ordinary session being repeated in the approaching extraordinary one, Mr. Gladstone has his usual three courses open to him. He may, especially if Lord Salisbury's majority should show a reduction, elect to bring forward the Franchise Bill a third time, in the session of 1885. But such is the temper of his followers, that this course is improbable. Or Mr. Gladstone may follow the example of 1832, and, without dissolving Parliament, obtain power from the Sovereign to create a sufficient number of Peers to carry the Franchise Bill in the way he desires. It may be well to note, as statements to a contrary effect have been freely made, that, up to the present

time, Mr. Gladstone has strictly followed the example set by Lord Grey in regard to the first and great Reform Bill that was rejected by the Lords in October, 1831, by a majority of forty-one. Then, as this year, there was no dissolution, but only a prorogation, of Parliament. On its meeting in December the Reform Bill was again introduced. In March, 1832, the second reading was carried in the House of Lords by a majority of nine. But the Peers subsequently resolved, under the leadership of Lord Lyndhurst, to postpone the disfranchising clauses of the measure. Thereupon the chiefs of the Whig Government obtained King William's permission to create peers, and, as a consequence of the threat, the Bill passed into law in a month's time. The chief reason why Mr. Gladstone should not follow the precedent set by Earl Grey seems to be the objection held by a large number of his followers to the making of any addition to the strength of the hereditary Chamber of the Legislature, when the hereditary principle in legislation is itself at stake.

Finally, Mr. Gladstone may dissolve Parliament, in the event of the Lords repeating in the autumn, what they did in the summer. Lord Salisbury has given a distinct pledge that, in the event of the constituencies pronouncing unmistakably in favour of the cause pursued by Government in regard to Franchise and Redistribution, or in other words, giving Government a majority in the new Parliament, he and his colleagues will bow to the national will. But Mr. Gladstone will not put the issue before the country in this fashion. If he is compelled to dissolve Parliament, he will declare for a reform of the Upper House; and if, in the new House of Commons he has a majority, he must use it for the purpose of promoting a measure of the character of organic constitutional change. Without indulging in any prophecy as to what is likely to happen within the next few months, it may be interesting to quote one from the late Mr. Walter Bagehot's well-known work on the English Constitution. Mr. Bagehot, although he was a Liberal of the Palmerstonian rather than of the Gladstonian type, and although he was not so much a profound or original political thinker as an epigrammatic exponent of the political thought current in his time, was a shrewd observer of the sentiments

of his countrymen towards their political institutions. After laying down as the result of observations that the House of Lords 'ought on a first-class measure to be slow, very slow, in rejecting a bill passed even once by a large majority in the House of Commons,' he proceeds to say—'If the House of Lords ever goes, it will go in a storm, and the storm will not leave all else as it is. It will not destroy the House of Peers, and leave the rich young Peers with their wealth and their titles to sit in the Commons. It would probably sweep all titles before it—at least all legal titles—and somehow or other it would break up the system by which the estates of great families all go to the eldest son.' These are suggestive, startlingly suggestive, words to come from a writer who admitted the ordinary Englishman's 'sneaking kindness for a Lord,' and even seems to have had some of it himself.

The outcome of the present crisis in British politics is therefore uncertain. But it may not be too late to point out that there are considerations of a national, and of a high political as distinguished from a partisan character, that point in the direction of a compromise—a compromise which should ensure the passing not only of the Franchise Bill, but of a moderate Redistribution Bill—and indeed urge it upon the leaders of Parties as a patriotic duty. Far be it indeed from the present writer to depreciate partisanship or Party Government. Every earnest citizen, in a democratic state, who holds with Mr. Bright that politics and religion are the only things worth talking about, or with Professor Seeley in his *Natural Religion*, that politics, in the sense of the 'public life,' is religion, ought to be a partisan if he cannot be a philosopher. But there are occasions when the most earnest and most enlightened partisans cannot and assuredly ought not to close their eyes to the existence of facts outside of party, and especially of national tides that are not yet flowing in party channels. It is desirable to look not only beneath the crisis, but before and if possible after it.

A crisis of the present kind, or at all events a crisis of such dimensions, is not the natural result of national evolution. Such a storm as that now raging was not expected in 1883;

it was not even expected in the beginning of 1884. Electors generally were thinking not of the Franchise problem, but of other questions, especially of the Land and Local Government questions in their various phases and developments, which seemed ripe, if not clamant, for solution. The agitations on the subject of Local Government and Highland Land Reform, which even the political crisis has not extinguished in Scotland, indicate the true workings of the public mind. Too much stress should not be placed on the opinions of great newspapers, especially in a country that is developing in a democratic direction. Great newspapers are concerns of capital, and cannot help expressing the capitalistic, which is not the ordinary democratic, mind. But their conductors seldom fail to interpret the signs of the times. Yet it was a matter of common remark in Scotland before the Ministerial programme for the session of 1884 was finally settled—less by Ministers than by public opinion—that the two leading newspapers of Scotland, the one published in the commercial, the other in the administrative capital of the country, were by no means enamoured of the ‘Franchise first’ programme of the conference of Leeds Liberals which was ultimately adopted. They would obviously have preferred that the session of 1884 should have been devoted to Local and County Government, and such like questions, leaving the session of 1885 to be given up to Franchise and Redistribution. In a certain sense the newspapers were caught napping; but the people of Scotland were caught napping too. They have shown of late, and especially during the Recess, that they are still as much as ever the advance-guard of British Liberalism; the depth of the democratic, and anti-oligarchic, sentiment north of the Tweed, has been, as already noticed, a revelation, if not a shock, to Mr. Gladstone. But, in the end of 1883, and even in the beginning of 1884, the bulk of the people of Scotland were of opinion that Household Suffrage having been established as the basis of the Franchise (in 1867), the new Reform Bill must simply be a matter of detail if not of form. No wonder, therefore, that the newspapers wrote and made suggestions in the way they did.

The mood of the nation is now different. It has lost a year

of practical legislation. When it was thinking of Local Government and the Land Question, while it was under the impression that the Franchise was practically settled, it was suddenly called upon to give its thoughts to almost revolutionary agitation and organic constitutional change, as means for preventing its intentions being frustrated in the present or ever again in the future. In the fact that this mood has been forced upon the nation lies a grave risk. If the British democracy, virtually dominant in the country already, and certain to be absolutely dominant when its representative system is complete, is forced to devote its energies to the work of organic change, it will do it thoroughly no doubt, but it may also do it in a violent and therefore a revolutionary spirit. If the House of Lords comes, rightly or wrongly, to be regarded by the mass of the electorate as—to use the felicitous comparison of Lord Rosebery, one of its most popular members, because although in it he is believed not to be of it,—a mediæval bark lying across the teeming harbour of the nineteenth century, it will not be difficult to predict what methods will be employed to get rid of it. When politicians who like Mr. Morley bring both a historic conscience and a scientific spirit to bear on the problems of practical politics, are impatient for ‘the shortening of the arms and the clipping of the pinions’ of the House of Lords, it ought to be plain to all men who have faith in the enduring character of political change that is accomplished by evolution only, that the danger-signal is on. If the House of Lords is assailed in an angry spirit by an organised and all-powerful democracy, it will not be forgotten that that Chamber is composed of great landholders as well as of the members of a great and privileged Order. If there is a danger now of the mixing up of organic change with franchise reform, there is a still greater danger of land law reform being mixed up with organic change in the future. The warning words of Mr. Bagehot may be verified a quarter of a century after they were uttered.

But although a year of legislation has been lost, everything has not been lost. The ending or the mending of the House of Lords has indeed become a leading question of, to say the

least, the theoretical order. The establishment of equal electoral districts has passed from the region of Utopian into the region of practical politics. Universal suffrage, triennial parliaments, the abolition of 'the hereditary principle' in politics, the payment of members—the proceedings of the recent Trade Union Congress in regard to this matter are very significant—all the democratic domestic ideals, in short, have received an impulse. Such is the very slightest penalty that will be exacted of the Order and the Chamber, that, possibly with not absolutely selfish intentions, have thrown themselves athwart the national will as expressed by the national representatives. The tide of political progress, if forbidden to flow in one channel, must flow in another. But if a compromise—by any other name it will smell as sweet—can be arranged through the self-effacement of the party leaders, or by any other means, if the Franchise Bill be passed, and with it or after it a Redistribution Bill, which shall remove the more glaring of existing electoral anomalies, and enable the genuine voices of the constituencies to be heard, although not after the most scientific fashion, there is reason to believe that a Household Suffrage electorate and a Household Suffrage Parliament will settle down to the mission that lies naturally before them. That mission will be exacting enough to tax even the new forces that are about to be enlisted—although only as full privates—in the political and national service. The Land question calls for settlement. 'The bitter cry' of our outcast populations must be answered. Both England and Scotland need Local Government. The next Parliament, even if elected under the most favourable auspices, is morally certain to have in it and yet confronting it, an Irish leader preferring the final and fundamental Irish demand for Home Rule at the head of a clear majority of the Irish members. The cry for 'The protection of native industries' is one that is growing in urgency and intensity, and the wisdom of our economists will be needed as much to meet it—or beat it—as was the wisdom of their predecessors of the Free Trade epoch. This is only a tithe of the work which it seems to be in accordance with the fitness of things political that a Household Suffrage electorate should accomplish.

Even from the Party point of view, it would seem desirable that there should be a compromise, followed as it would necessarily be by an appeal to the new constituencies after the passing of a Redistribution Bill in 1885. There is the policy of the Gladstone Government to be attacked and defended, and surely both attack and defence could be much better conducted, if through a settlement of the Franchise and Redistribution questions both Parties were brought face to face. Conservatives are never weary of declaring that the country is sick of the foreign policy of the present Administration; they would certainly have a much better chance of proving their case, if their appeal were not clouded by a suspicion that they are opposed to, or afraid of political power being vested in the masses of the people. Liberals, on the other hand, are never weary of declaring that they only wish for the completion of the franchise settlement on the basis of household suffrage, that they may apply Liberal ideas to a whole host of questions. Then the rural electorate is practically a *terra incognita*, the exploration of which must surely be regarded as something like a duty by both Parties, but especially by Conservatives, who, as Mr. Gladstone reminded them lately at Edinburgh, have had, of twelve Houses of Commons that have been elected during the last fifty years, only two of their way of thinking. It is natural that politicians of the type of Lord Randolph Churchill should wish for an enduring franchise settlement. There may be no such thing as a Tory democracy. But it is only reasonable to suppose that there is a vein of Conservative sentiment in the householder, as in every other, class. It is clearly Lord Randolph's wish to get at and work this vein; his undoubted popularity would further seem to prove that he is groping in the right direction. His Conservatism, which is one that at all events appeals to and depends for success upon popular feeling, is likely to be triumphant over the higher and drier Toryism of the Marquis of Salisbury. Lord Salisbury's Conservatism is the Conservatism of caste and of the cloister; Lord Randolph's Conservatism is the Conservatism of the mass and of the forum, if not also, to judge from some of its peculiarities, of the betting ring and the public

house. The chief of the House of Lords seeks to break the power of the Democracy by resisting it; the possible chief of the House of Commons seeks to lead the Democracy, and so to mould it to his will. Lord Salisbury looks forward only to the Conservative party as a strong minority in opposition, and preventing too Radical legislation. Lord Randolph hopes to carry the flag of his followers to victory at the polling booths as decisive as that of 1874. It is surely expedient, in view of the possibility of the Party which was left in a united state by Lord Beaconsfield being shortly in power, that it should be ascertained which of the two kinds of Conservatism is the more popular in the country.

Finally, and above all things, there are truly national reasons which call for a compromise, and truly national questions which call for an answer that can only be given at the polling booths, and by the new electorate. It is only necessary to mention such words as Egypt and South Africa, Expansion and Federation, to indicate what these questions are. It does not come within the scope of this article to discuss the policy—or the series of policies—of Mr. Gladstone's Administration, at the two ends of the Dark Continent. But it may reasonably be conjectured that the vacillation—or variety—of purpose which has been shown is due quite as much to the uncertainty on the part of the Premier as to the mind of the country in regard to Egypt and South Africa, as to a conflict of ideas in his own mind. If British authority is to be upheld in South Africa over the Dutch and all other nationalities there, if we are to annex, protect, administer, or in any other way, or under any other disguise, to hold Egypt against all comers, there must be a serious addition to our military establishment. We must, in short, enter Europe, and enter the world, as a first-class military power, at the very time that we are being informed by confident and courageous alarmists—who have not yet, however, been refuted—that it is very doubtful if we are a first-class naval power. This question, which is only one of a hundred of equal importance that are being raised by British complications in Africa, is one that certainly ought not to be answered without an appeal to the nation at large.

The words Expansion and Federation, and the contradictory of both to which the not very lucid name of Nihilism has been given, connote rival ideas which are having no slight influence at the present time. It is universally allowed that never was 'the strain of Empire' felt as it is felt now. Yet additions are being made to the Empire as if no such strain were felt. Not to speak of possibilities in North and South, we have thrown ourselves into 'the scramble' for West Africa. The addition of New Guinea and the adjacent islands to the Australasian portion of the Empire, is clearly a question only of time, and of a very short time. We are informed that the representation of two millions of British householders is a trifle compared with the representation of our colonies and dependencies in some great Federal Parliament yet to be created, and representing a Bund of self-governing States, encircling the world. The Expansionists and Federationists have their opponents. There are the so-called Nihilists, who contend on the one hand that the Empire is far too large and should be contracted rather than extended, and, on the other hand, that it would be wiser for the mother country to let her colonies hive off as they attain full political growth rather than seek to keep them attached to her by a federal or any other tie. There are other reasoners who oppose not so much Expansion as Federation, and contend that a ring of Anglo-Saxon States would be construed by the other Powers of the world as a standing menace, and would invite rather than repel attack. Professor Seeley, whose work on 'The Expansion of England' is the Koran of the new Imperialist school, offers as an argument in favour of his theory that it gives food and shelter to a redundant British population that can find neither at home. In opposition to him, however, it is contended that there is room for them at home; that in a country where, as a keen French observer of our weaknesses has recently put it, 'the poor are absurdly poor, and the rich are absurdly rich,' it is not so much a redistribution of seats as a redistribution of wealth that is needed. This school of political reasoners is certain to become stronger as the country becomes more democratic, for as, not Mr. George, but Mr. Lecky says, 'When the masses of the poor emerge

from the torpor of ignorance and begin keenly to examine their condition in the gradations of society, property is almost certain to strike them as an anomaly and injustice. From the notion that all men are born free and equal, they will very speedily pass to the conviction that all men are born with the same title to the goods that are in the world. Paley may have been wrong in regarding general utility as the ultimate basis of the rights of property, but most assuredly no other will obtain the respect of those who, themselves struggling with poverty, have obtained a supreme authority in the State.' The issue between Emigration or Expansion and the Redistribution of British property is a fitting one for the new electorate to decide, and it is as pressing as it is fitting.

Whether the present crisis end in a compromise or not, the upshot of it will undoubtedly be the greater approximation of this country to the democratic ideal. But there are two sides to that ideal. The one is the predominance of the democratic element in the government of individual states, and that is necessarily promoted by a measure enfranchising two millions of householders. The other is that democratic union of states, 'in which,' according to that eminent historian who, while thoughtful theologians informed with the modern spirit, teach the rationality of Christianity, teaches in turn the Christianity of Rationalism, 'we find the last and highest expression of the Christian ideal of the brotherhood of mankind.' How does this country stand in regard to this other side of the democratic ideal? Does it not seem further off than nearer than it has been or as enlightened patriotism would like to see it—with France irritated, Germany cold, Russia vigilantly jealous, with the denunciations all but universal on the Continent of 'the selfish islanders,' who regard every country that is not occupied as their own? If there has lately been felt 'the strain of Empire,' what of the strain of principle involved in the suppression of the National Party in Egypt? How are 'the rights of the aborigines,' the existence of which Mr. Gladstone admitted at Edinburgh, respected in 'the scramble for Africa?' It seems imperative in short, that the nation should be consulted with the least possible delay upon the different ideas as to her relations

towards her colonies and other states, which are now struggling for supremacy. The direct road to this consultation lies through party compromise during the next few weeks or days. The highest political considerations demand that it should be taken ; and only the lowest party considerations insist that it should not.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Practical Essays. By ALEXANDER BAIN, LL.D., &c. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1884.

In this little work of 338 pages, Dr. Bain has brought together in permanent form nine essays of much interest and value; only two of them, however, are absolutely new, the others having already appeared in one or other of the leading magazines within the last few years. They range over a considerable field, from the philosophy of Free Will to the more comprehensible matters of Religious Tests and the Procedure of Deliberative Bodies; and, while several of them are distinctly speculative, the majority are (as the title indicates) practical. Not the least valuable of them are those that deal with Education or educational subjects; that on 'The Art of Study,' being particularly good. Although Dr. Bain's views on education are pretty generally known, it is not every one that has access to them in the printed volumes, and many will be thankful to have them here brought within easy reach, and in small compass. Much good also should be done in high quarters by the vigorous handling of current objections in 'The Classical Controversy,' and by the trenchant criticism of the Civil Service Examination Scheme in the paper on that topic—a scheme which was sufficiently bad at the first, but whose latter end is far worse than its beginning. Present interest, too, attaches to the matter of Procedure of Deliberative Bodies, and Dr. Bain's contribution to the subject ought to be welcome. His proposals are drastic enough, but, in view of our Parliamentary deadlock, not too drastic; and if these, or something similar, were adopted in Parliament, nothing but good, we are convinced, would ensue. The panacea lies (1) in printing and circulating, instead of speaking, speeches, (2) in prohibiting any one from making a motion unless he can secure beforehand a decent number (say twenty) of supporters. This would apply both to motions and amendments, and to the putting of questions to Ministers. The objections to any such proposals are of course obvious; but Dr. Bain fully meets them. When it is said, 'In this way you infringe upon the liberty of the individual,' he answers that 'every deliberative body must be free to determine what amount of speaking it requires;' and if you argue that the plan ignores the persuasive power of the living voice, he is ready with the reply, that, as a matter of fact, oral debate in Parliament is not the main engine of persuasion, but that, 'indeed, the case is notoriously the opposite.' *Apropos* of this, he says:— 'A friend of mine once went to Roebuck to ask his attention to some point coming up in the House of Commons, and offered him a paper to read.

Roebuck said, "I will not read, but I will hear." This well illustrates one of the favourable aspects of speech. People with time on their hands prefer being instructed by the living voice; the exertion is less, and the enlivening tones of a speaker impart an extraneous interest, to which we have to add the sympathy of the surrounding multitude. The early stages of instruction must be conducted *virá voce*; it is a late acquirement to be able to extract information from a printed page. Yet circumstances arise when the advantage of the printed page predominates. The more frequent experience in approaching public men is to be told that they will not listen, but will read. An hour's address can be read in ten minutes: it is not impossible, therefore, to master a parliamentary debate in one-tenth of the time occupied in the delivery.' The essay on Religious Tests advocates the entire abolition of Subscription—even in the case of clergymen. The practice, it is argued, is in itself fallacious, and it fails in effecting the end it has in view. There is truth, indeed, in this; but we are yet a far way off from the consummation that is here desired.

Metaphysica nova et vetusta. A Return to Dualism. By SCOTUS NOVANTICUS. London: Williams & Norgate. 1884.

There are too often large books on small subjects, and sometimes happily we are favoured with small books on great subjects. This is one of the latter. These, it is true, have not always the merit of completeness, and are therefore not always satisfactory. There is sacrificed frequently in their case to brevity the still greater excellence of thoroughness, and after reading them we have to go over the ground again under the guidance of another, if more prolix, yet also more minute and comprehensive, instructor. Valuable time is thus occasionally wasted. In the instance before us, however, while the subject handled is a large one, the treatment it receives is wonderfully full. 'Scotus Novanticus' wastes none of his space in rhetorical verbiage nor in wordy excursions into the picturesque fields adjoining his subject proper, but confines himself strictly to the province in which it lies. His style is terse yet lucid, and his book though hard reading, as it is bound almost to be from its nature as from its succinctness, never fails to be interesting. It has a merit which is not too common in books of its kind, and which deserves therefore all the more to be mentioned. Philosophers too often 'evolve' their interminable theories out of their own inexhaustible 'inner consciousness.' Our author has no tendencies in this direction. 'My standpoint,' he writes, 'is psychological, and my metaphysic is psychological, or phenomenological metaphysic. I know no way of ascertaining truth regarding Mind save by looking steadily and long at Mind, and recording what I see. The reduction of all truth of nature and spirit alike to a unity is perhaps a logical possibility; but before it can be attempted we must first humbly seek, and loyally accept, from nature and spirit the facts of nature and spirit. These alone are divine teachings.' In this little work our anonymous author attempts nothing less than to trace

the genesis and history of our knowledge—our knowledge of the outer world as well as of the workings of mind itself. It is the old problem, which has engaged every generation of philosophers since the dawn of thought, and given birth to the various schools of philosophy that have distracted civilized humanity. Is the 'outer world,' so-called, a reality, or a reality only to us? Can we know anything of it? How do we come to that knowledge? What relation have our ideas of it to the thing itself? And so on. The problem may be stated in a variety of ways. It would be impossible for us here to give anything like a full and explicit account of the contribution to it which is here offered. 'Scotus Novanticus' wastes no words, and his treatise reads like a mathematical demonstration. Mindful of his principle that there is 'no way of ascertaining the truth regarding mind save by looking steadily and long at mind and recording what we see,' he starts with noting what seems the anticipations of mental phenomena in the lower forms of life, or living organisms,—the reflex actions of certain plants and protozoa, and the further stages of initial consciousness seen in cephalous molluscs. He then traces the development of intelligence from consciousness as manifested in sentient beings through its various stages of mere passive recipience to percipience, and concipience. The two latter are effected by the part played by the mind itself, by its inherent vitality and activity. The action of the mind, or sentient human Ego, here, he designates Will, or Reason, and accepts it is an ultimate datum of human experience, just as he does consciousness itself. 'It is,' he says, 'a movement initiated in, and effected by, the subject itself.' The result of its action on the sensation received,—co-ordinating its elements,—is a percept, which, under the action of the same kinetic movement in the course of a growing experience, gives place to a purely mental product—a concept. The growth of this concept from its simplest form to that of the highest ranges of universal or abstract ideas is then traced, and the relation of these to the realities of things is discussed, and their correctness vindicated. The great difficulty of determining how we arrive at the knowledge of things external to our thinking self is thus dealt with; 'The fact of being as a new content of consciousness is the self-sprung issue of the percipient act.' 'It is a delusion,' he says,—'a delusion arising out of the non-distinguishing of the various gradations of consciousness (as we have endeavoured in our earlier chapters to trace these) to suppose that we get our consciousness of being, noumenon, or substance, along with the object in sensation or attuition. This new fact of intelligence, on the contrary, is the product of intelligence itself—it is the product of the first free Egoistic movement, the legitimate offspring of bare affirmation; nay, it is the positive function of the act of affirmation in the economy of intelligence, to reveal to consciousness the fact of Being in, by, and through the mere act of affirming it. The predicate 'Being' accordingly is, *a priori*, universal, necessary.' Whether this will satisfy the demands of philosophic thought or not, it is the only solution of the difficulty which our

author has to give. He traces to the same source our notions of cause, of space or infiniteness, and the 'categories' generally. 'The *must*,' he says, 'is a subject-evolved product.' 'Infiniteness, as a percept, is Reason-born.' The work will well repay a careful study, and is a valuable contribution to the subject with which it deals. We heartily commend it to the students of philosophy be they materialists or not. Whether they belong to the left wing or the right, they cannot fail to find the perusal of these few brief but thoughtful chapters on this great subject both interesting and profitable.

A System of Logic Ratiocinative and Inductive, being a Connected View of the Principles of Evidence, and the Methods of Scientific Investigation. By JOHN STUART MILL. People's Edition. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

The number of editions through which Mr. Mill's *Logic* has run, in its more expensive form, is sufficient proof of its value and popularity. Rare, indeed, is it that a book on so abstract, and, to most minds, uninviting a subject, has had so large a sale, and there can be no doubt we think, that the publishers are amply justified in expecting that in its present cheap and popular form the demand for it will be still more extensive. To all appearance the present edition is simply a reprint of the last library edition. In his preface to the first edition Mr. Mill described the work as an endeavour 'to embody and systematise the best ideas which have been either promulgated on its subject by speculative writers, or conformed to by accurate thinkers in their scientific enquiries,' but no attempt has been made to carry out this idea, or to bring the work up to date. There is no reference, at least so far as we have been able to discover, to the recent writings of Wundt, Sigwart, Lotze, or Bergmann on the subject; nor do we find any reference to the clever, and on the whole, as it seems to us, successful criticisms of some of Mr. Mill's theories by Dr. Bradley. Anything of this sort, however, was probably too much to expect in a 'People's Edition.' But without this, such is the character of the work that to the student it will long remain indispensable, and in its present form it cannot fail to obtain that vastly increased circulation which it unquestionably deserves.

The New Atlantis, or Ideals old and new: A Dialogue. By A DISCIPLE OF BUCKLE. London: Williams & Norgate. 1884.

If the first eleven chapters of this work had not been 'a dialogue,' but had been cast in the essay-form of the last two chapters, it would have been a much more agreeable book to read, and would, we think, have served its purpose much better than it is ever likely to do as it is. The anonymous author describes himself as 'a disciple of Buckle.' He is

evidently an *American* disciple of Buckle, and his acquaintance with the writings of the 'masters of man belonging to the great races, who conducted the past course of the civilisation, culture, and education of humanity,' has not had the happy effect of so refining his literary tastes as to make him detest and avoid the slang, flippancy, and jerkiness that characterise the conversation of so large a section of the American public, and the writings of so many second-rate American authors. These vices of vocabulary and style abound in the dialogue portion of this book, but are less numerous and offensive in the last two chapters. The 'Ideals' here presented to us are the social and moral ideals of human character and life, as sketched by the leading thinkers and teachers of the various races that have been forward in culture, and have influenced to a greater or less extent the advancing civilisation of the world. The dialogue is carried on by a 'Draper' and a 'Lessing' of the year of grace 1884, the latter being the questioner, and the former the encyclopedic teacher! 'Lessing's' contributions are very 'Yankee' and somewhat profane. They sadly spoil our interest in 'Draper's' little lectures and quotations. The latter are culled from 'The Sacred Books of the East,' from the Greek and Roman classics, and from the Old and New Testaments, and the Koran, and are well chosen for the purpose in view, that, viz., of illustrating the social, moral, and religious ideals of the Chinese, of the Vedic Indians, of the Buddhists, Parsees, Jews, etc. 'Draper's' remarks, leading up to these quotations, are too brief and jerky to be of much interest or service to those yet unacquainted with the master minds here allowed to speak. The last chapter is in praise of America, and is a panegyric on its size, its productions, its history—on everything all round, and predicts for it the glory of the world's illuminator, regenerator and saviour generally. The scene of the conversations is for the most part Berlin, but when America is visited, and Concord is reached, 'Draper' suddenly disappears, and 'Leonore' takes his place. Then all is rhapsody and literary hysterics until we reach chap. xii., where the dialogue ceases, and we are conducted to the more prosaic regions of 'the Roman Renaissance and Reformation.' The book is evidently the product of a full mind, and a mind in hearty sympathy with the spirit of unfettered investigation which is now 'in the air.' Its author is surely young, and has not yet learned to subdue his youthful impulsiveness. If so, we trust he may live to give the world the benefit of his multifarious reading in a more measured tone and more agreeable form.

Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation. By ROBERT CHAMBERS, LL.D. Twelfth Edition. With an Introduction by ALEXANDER IRELAND. London and Edinburgh. 1884.

A book which has been before the public nearly forty years, of which upwards of 23,000 copies have been sold, and which still sells, is one about which the critic can have little to say. For good or evil,—but in the case

of the volume before us for good,—the public has made up its mind about it, and anything the critic may say will have little weight. The chief interest attaching to the present edition of the *Vestiges* is in the introduction. Mr. Ireland here dissolves the mystery which has so long shrouded the authorship of the volume, and gives an account of the means taken to preserve the secret of its anonymity. Many guessed that the author was Dr. Robert Chambers, but only six knew that he was. These were, besides the author and his wife, Dr. William Chambers, Mr. Robert Cox, Dr. Neill Arnott, and Mr. Ireland. Dr. Arnott, it should be observed, however, was not admitted to the secret until a couple of years after the work had been published. What measures were taken to keep the secret cannot be better described than in the words of Mr. Ireland.

‘The question of anonymity being thus settled,’ he says, ‘the next problem to be faced was the channel of publication. In considering the various methods by which he could launch the work without admitting the publisher to a knowledge of the authorship, it occurred to him that a sure and safe way of effecting his object would be to take advantage of my residence in Manchester (whither I had removed from Edinburgh in 1843), and constitute me the intermediary between himself and the printer and publisher. It was therefore arranged that the original manuscript of the work, which had, as an additional precaution, been transcribed by another hand, should be forwarded by me to the late Mr. John Churchill, the eminent medical publisher of London (to whose most honourable conduct throughout I have the pleasure of bearing sincere testimony); that the proofs should be posted to me in Manchester by Mr. Savill the printer, and then sent on by me to the author under fresh covers; and that these proofs, after correction, should be transmitted to me, and then transmitted from Manchester to London. By this circuitous process, all suspicion on the part of the printer and the publisher that the book emanated from Scotland was averted, and curiosity and inquiry regarding the author were effectually baffled. The same course of procedure was followed with regard to the successive nine editions which appeared between 1844 and 1853.’

The calmness with which the work is now contemplated contrasts strangely with the storm of prejudice and denunciation its first appearance aroused, and is a good sign of the times. Some curious stories which Mr. Ireland tells about the book and its author, make his introduction interesting and valuable, apart even for the main purpose for which it was written. Like previous Edition, this, we need hardly add, has been carefully corrected.

St. Paul the Author of the Acts of the Apostles, and of the Third Gospel. By HOWARD HEBER EVANS, B.A. London: Wyman & Sons. 1884.

This work is the result of much learned labour, and will not be either uninteresting or unprofitable to the student of the origins of Christianity. It brings together a long list of the words, particles, phrases, and points of similarity in expression, thought, and doctrine, common to the Epistles of St. Paul, and the works commonly attributed to St. Luke, which cannot fail to be helpful to those who engage themselves with the problem of the

genesis of the New Testament. We do not think, however, that many, if any, competent scholars will be satisfied with what is here offered as a 'demonstration' of the position the Rev. H. H. Evans takes up. He is perfectly certain himself that he has *proved* that St. Paul wrote or dictated—was the author of—both the third Gospel and the Acts, and so rests in the happy conviction that we shall henceforth hear no more of the late origin and anonymous authorship of the Evangelical Tradition. He does not hesitate to describe the title of his work as now 'a scientifically demonstrated fact;' and waits in the quiet vicarage of Mapperley only for the tidings that all controversy on this point, and on all dependent on it, is hushed and over for ever. We fear the good, scholarly, and laborious vicar is doomed to hear quite other reports from the field of strife. The coincidences (if he will allow us, for the time being at least, to call them so,) between the vocabulary, style, and thought of the third Gospel and the Acts, and of the Pauline Epistles, are not few, are often striking, and prove, as has been long admitted, that some relation of a close and friendly character existed between their writers; but, with all due respect to Mr. Evans, his arguments for their *identity* are in themselves not sufficient to justify his conclusion; and they do nothing to meet the objections that can be raised to it. We need not enter here into an elaborate refutation of his arguments until he explains how the same author could give two such entirely different accounts of what followed his own conversion as we have in Acts ix., and in the Epistle to the Galatians; or how he could describe the nature and effects of the gift of tongues in 1 Corinthians, xiv., as he does, and give such a totally irreconcilable description of them in Acts ii. Mr. Evans sees no objection to the Pauline authorship of the Acts in the comparison drawn there between Paul and Peter; and goes the length even of attributing to Paul a designed comparison between himself and Christ, to the praise very much of himself. We humbly think that both are consistent enough with the hero-worship of an admiring friend and advocate, but very inconsistent with the modesty of the Paul of the Epistles. Mr. Evans' work, however, is not without its value as a help towards getting at the relationship existing between the respective authors of the Pauline Epistles, and of Luke and the Acts, but his proof of their identity is infinitely far short of 'a scientifically demonstrated fact.'

The Christ of History: an Argument grounded in the facts of His Life on Earth. By JOHN YOUNG, L.L.D. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1884.

It is now almost thirty years since Dr. Young first gave this work to the public, and, as it has passed already through six editions, it may be taken for granted that its 'argument for the proper Deity of Jesus Christ' meets, as its author thought and hoped it would, the requirements of 'the peculiar intellectual culture and structure of the present age'—or at least of many in the present age. It is the argument drawn from the contrast presented

to us between the lowliness of Christ's parentage, the intellectual poverty and moral depravity of his early surroundings, etc., and his pure character, blameless life, surpassing wisdom, and commanding influence for good. We are familiar now with this line of reasoning, for it is *the* proof which every defender of the doctrine in press and pulpit puts most stress on, but according to our author this was not so thirty years ago. It says much for Dr. Young's volume that all writers and preachers since have adopted his argument, and sought to give it currency and additional force. It is presented here in a manner that is at once clear, concise and impressive.

The Jews, or Prediction and Fulfilment. An Argument for the Times. By S. N. KELLOGG, D.D. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1884.

In this extremely interesting little volume, Dr. Kellogg first calls attention to the very remarkable and unique character of the various phænomena which have distinguished the history of the Jewish nation down to the present time. Next he points out that all that is most exceptional, and was *a priori* most unlikely to have taken place in that history, is found recorded in the writings of the Hebrew prophets, centuries in advance of its occurrence. Thereafter he indicates what of the words of the old prophets yet remain unfulfilled, and argues that in the future history of the Jewish people these also will be fulfilled. In working out these points, Dr. Kellogg gathers together a large amount of valuable and interesting information respecting both the past and the present condition of the Chosen Race. He does more, however, than illustrate Goethe's well-known saying about the Jews. He uses their history for the purpose of supporting what may be regarded as his main, or at least, as his underlying thesis, the supernatural origin of Scripture, and the divine guidance of the race. Though small, Dr. Kellogg's book is valuable. It is rare that so much learning and sound judgment are found in so small a compass.

Ireland in the Seventeenth Century; or the Irish Massacres of 1641-2, their Causes and Results. Illustrated by Extracts from the unpublished State Papers, the unpublished MSS. in the Bodleian Library, Lambeth Library, and the Library of the Royal Dublin Society, relating to the Plantations of 1610-39; a Selection from the unpublished Depositions relating to the Massacres, with fac-similes; and the Reports of the Trials in the High Court of Justice in 1652-4, from the unpublished MSS. in Trinity College, Dublin. By MARY HICKSON, with a Preface by J. A. FROUDE, M.A. 2 Vols. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1884.

These volumes deserve, and from the majority of their readers will in all

probability receive, a very cordial welcome. To those engaged in studying the Irish problem, not less than to those who wish to form an independent judgment respecting the treatment of the Irish by the English, their publication, though it will doubtless give rise to controversy, is a decided gain. The contents of the volumes, as indicated by the somewhat lengthy title of the book, are careful transcripts from the depositions taken before the Commissioners appointed to make inquiries respecting the great Irish rebellion of 1641, with transcripts of other documents relating to the same subject, a long and learned introduction by Miss Hickson, and a preface by Mr. Froude. The last is short, strongly worded, and somewhat pugnacious, but adds nothing to the value of the volumes, though it is certainly of value as affording additional evidence, if such were wanted, of the direction in which its author's sympathies lie. Miss Hickson's introduction is a piece of excellent literary workmanship, and deals elaborately but interestingly with the 'Plantations,' 'Graces,' and other matters connected with the history of Ireland during the first half of the seventeenth century, but more particularly with the vexed question of the reality or unreality of the massacres during the winter of 1641-2. The pages devoted to this are probably the most interesting as they are certainly the most important part of the introduction. The evidence for the reality of these massacres is contained in thirty-three volumes of MS. depositions preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. These depositions were taken before royalist or republican commissioners and magistrates between the years 1641 and 1654, and though passion ran high at the time, might have been supposed to be trustworthy. But for at least two centuries they have been denounced, as Miss Hickson remarks, 'by all Irish Roman Catholic historians, and by some English Protestant writers, as untrustworthy exaggerations, bearing internal evidence of their worthlessness, or else as deliberate wholesale perjuries, devised to bring about the confiscation of the lands of innocent men.' Among recent writers they have been ignored or condemned by Mr. Prendergast, in his *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, and by Mr. J. T. Gilbert, in the report he prepared for the Commissioners on Historical Manuscripts on the documents preserved in Trinity College, Dublin. The arguments brought forward by the latter Miss Hickson has carefully examined, and, as no candid reader will deny, triumphantly refuted. The strongest argument against the depositions has always been the one brought forward by Warner in his *History of Ireland*.

'There is one circumstance in these books,' he remarks, referring to the depositions, 'not taken notice of, as I perceived, by any body before me,—that though all the examinations signed by the Commissioners are said to be taken on oath, yet in infinitely the greatest number of them the words "being duly sworn" have the pen drawn through them, with the same ink with which the examinations are written; and in several of those where such words remain, many of the examinations are crossed out. This is a circumstance which shows that the bulk of this immense collection is parole evidence, and upon report of common fame.'

Dr. Seaton Reid, who wrote a history of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland, examined a good many of the depositions, and denied the accuracy of Warner's statements. Mr. Gilbert both corroborates them and brings forward other objections. 'Had Dr. Reid,' he observes, 'examined the entire collection, as has been done for the purposes of the present Report, he would have found that Warner's statement was, in the main, correct. Innumerable instances occur in which not only the words "duly sworn and examined" have been struck out, but also many passages, and, in some instances, entire pages, have been so dealt with.' Miss Hickson's is a case of unexpected conversion. But we cannot do better than let her tell her own story.

'When, with the kind permission of the College authorities, I first opened the books of depositions in the summer of 1881, I had no intention of copying them for publication, and therefore turned over the leaves hastily, reading only a few here and there. As I did so, the number of crossed-out words and passages in the Munster volumes especially, made such an impression upon me, that I felt it would be a waste of time to read them, and judged that, as Warner has said, the bulk of the collection must be parole evidence of little or no value. . . . But the fact that the crossing-out strokes drawn over the words *duly sworn*, at the beginning of many depositions, and over whole passages and pages in some, were so light as to leave every word beneath them perfectly legible, arrested my attention and puzzled me. If misstatements or mistakes had been made in such documents, it seemed unlikely they would have been left open to inspection in this way. For it was quite evident the strokes had been drawn in all cases, so lightly, with the design of not obliterating a word or a cypher. I also plainly perceived, but not until after a close inspection with the help of magnifying glasses (indispensable in such researches), that those crossing-out strokes were of later date by some weeks, or even months, than the lines beneath them. Then, remembering the book of duplicate extracts in the British Museum library, referred to by Warner and Reid, which I had examined (and in part copied nine years before), I began to suspect that all those crossing-out strokes in the Dublin books had been made, not for the purpose of cancelling or altering the depositions, which would, of course, amount to an invalidating of them, but for the simple purpose of abridging them for the official copyist, who was employed to make the duplicate extracts.

'To ascertain if this suspicion of mine were correct, I read steadily on for many days the crossed-out passages as well as the uncrossed ones, collating them carefully with my copies of the duplicates in the Museum book, and by degrees I satisfied myself that it was entirely so. Those crossing-out strokes, about which so much fuss has been made, are not as Warner and Mr. Gilbert and even Reid have supposed cancellings—they are nothing more than lines drawn to show the official copyist what he might omit, when he was making the duplicate books for the King and Parliament. In some instances they are, . . . marks of abridgment made by the official in charge of the depositions, who had to deliver the volume of Archdeacon Byssé's collections from Waterford and Cork, to the Attorney-General for production in the High Court of Justice in 1652-4, when some of the rebels in those counties were being tried on charges of murder. The depositions were useful as evidence of murder, because in no case has the pen stroke been drawn across the relation of a murder or massacre. The said official, Mr. Waring, when examined in court, swore

that he had crossed out no such relations, but only passages relating to losses of money, lands, and goods. And in every single case where the words "duly sworn and examined" have been crossed out, by a light pen stroke at the beginning of a deposition, the more emphatic Latin equivalent, "*Jurat coram nobis*" (sworn before us) stands clear and intact at the end above the signatures of two or more Commissioners, and opposite the signature or mark of the witness, proving beyond all question that the document is sworn and valid.'

The rest of Mr. Gilbert's objections are disposed of quite as completely ; and in order to corroborate her discoveries Miss Hickson has caused several of the depositions to be photographed, and reproduced in her volumes. Henceforth, we should say, there ought to be no question as to the value of the depositions, or as to the reality of the massacres. Whether Miss Hickson's argument will carry conviction to those who entertain the objections of Warner and Mr. Gilbert is doubtful ; Miss Hickson herself seems to have some doubt on the subject ; but there can be no doubt that her introduction and the publication of the documents, now printed for the first time, will do good and help to spread more sensible views, at least among dispassionate readers, respecting one of the darkest pages in Irish history. The depositions contain many pitiful stories, and here and there traces of Irish superstition. The notes which Miss Hickson has appended to the depositions are excellent. We cannot say so much, however, for her attempts to rationalize the stories of ghosts and apparitions.

Besides copies from the depositions Miss Hickson has given extracts from the records of the High Court of Justice respecting the trials of Phelim O'Neil, Lord Muskerry, and Edmund O'Reilly, together with copies of various lists, orders and letters ; while in the Appendix we have a number of documents relating to the Plantations and other matters. In conclusion, we can only add that Miss Hickson has done her work with admirable skill, and with the utmost candour and impartiality of spirit.

The History of Old Dundee Narrated out of the Town Council Register, with Additions from Contemporary Annals. By ALEX. MAXWELL, F.S.A., Scot. Dundee: W. Kidd, 1884.

To the antiquary, historian and sociologist, this book is of surpassing interest. The period which it chiefly covers as a history is not more than a hundred years ; yet such is the abundance and excellence of the materials to which Mr. Maxwell has had access, and such the admirable use he has made of them, that the work he has now presented to the public, will among competent judges, be generally regarded as containing in very many important respects the best and most readable account yet written of the social and municipal life of the Scottish burghs during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The unused sources to which he has had access are the Records of the Town Council of Dundee from 1553 to 1647. Where

these have failed him, as in several places they are unfortunately defective, and for the purpose of illustrating more fully their contents, he has had recourse to the various collections and calendars relating to Scotland which have been issued by the Government, to the publications of various learned societies, and to the excellent volume of writs and charters published some years ago by the present Town Clerk of Dundee. For the most part his work is a compilation, but too much praise can scarcely be given to Mr. Maxwell for the admirable setting he has giving his extracts and the manner in which he has brought out their meaning. After an exceedingly graphic description of the neighbourhood and situation of Dundee, he gives in his second chapter a succinct narrative of the history of the burgh, so far as it is known, down to the year 1553, the date of his earliest extract from the Town Council's Register, and then onwards to the capture of the town by General Monk. Of the origin of Dundee nothing is now certainly known. In the controversy which arose during the sixteenth century as to which should take precedence in Parliament, Dundee or Perth, it was contended that the latter ought to yield the place, 'because it shall be proven by evidents that Dundee is more ancient, and by ancient records of chronicles whilk verify it to be hundreds of years before the days of King William, who is alleged to be the fundator of Perth.' But these 'evidents' and 'ancient records of chronicles,' if they ever existed, cannot now be found. Assuming that they did exist, the probability is that they were destroyed in the fire and pillage to which the town was subjected when Edward I. attempted to subjugate the country, and that in the sixteenth century their existence had become merely traditional. So far as existing records are concerned, the history of Dundee dates from the English occupation just referred to. The Castle, then an important fortress, was taken along with the town and remained in the hands of the English for a number of years. Wallace sought to recover it, but failed. Subsequently it was surrendered to Alexander Scrymgeour, the royal standard-bearer, who was rewarded by a grant of the hereditary office of Constable of the Town and Castle together with certain adjoining lauds. The charter conferring these rights bears the date of 1298, and is remarkable as being the only writ of William Wallace now extant. In 1327 a new charter was granted to the burgh confirming the burgesses in all the rights they had enjoyed in the time of King William and in the time of Alexander III. as they were certified to the Commissioners of King Robert 'by trusty and faithful men,' and conferring upon them unrestricted liberty of trading together with other privileges or immunities. In matters of trade the town had a watchful and jealous rival in Perth, the authorities of the Fair City alleging and contending most strenuously for many years 'that na ship of adventure in the water of Tay aucht to break bulk until it comes to the Brig of Perth;' and there are numerous 'evidents' to show that they were ever on the alert to step in and contest or curtail the privileges enjoyed by their more favourably situated and more prosperous neigh-

bours. In 1511 the ancient charters of Dundee were again ratified. At the same time the Town Council and burghesses were granted a discharge of all transgressions committed by them, or of crimes imputed to them, in the use of any improper weights or measures, as also of 'all actions that may be imput to any officers of the burgh, present or bygone, anent the execution of their officers, or negligence or sleuth therein'—an indemnity probably given, as Mr. Maxwell conjectures, to condone the use of illegal weights, in some commercial transactions which had been called in question. The first of Mr. Maxwell's extracts are, very properly, respecting the Town Council. This body, like most Town Councils in the royal burghs of Scotland of the period, was self-elected. Anything like popular municipal elections was then unknown. When anyone was elected, or rather appointed, he was not allowed to decline office, it being ordained by the Council that

"Quhen ever any person be common suffrage and vote is electit to be Provost, Bailie, Dean of Guild, Treasurer, Almshousemaster, Piermaster, or Commissioner to Parliament, he shall accept the office upon him and use the samyn faithfully according to his conscience [giving] his aith to that effect; and quhatsumever person he be that refuses or defers to accept and use his office efter he be chargit thereto, sal incontinent their-efter be either wardit or poyndit until he pay ten pounds to the common warks," and notwithstanding, "sall nocht be dischargit of office, but compeellit to accept and use the samyn be our Sovereane Lord's letters, or wardit until he accept."

Many accepted office but failed to 'use the samyn.' Their want of zeal and fidelity was to the more zealous members of the Council a source of great trouble, and many were the expedients they tried in order to compel them to attend the ordinary meetings of their body, and to attend punctually. Among others they ordered the Town bell to be rung ten minutes before the hour of meeting, and imposed fines upon those who were absent or late. For the reception of the fines, and as a warning to the unpunctual, a box was procured and kept fastened to the Council table. As a rule, the Town Council seems to have enjoyed a considerable amount of popular esteem, and to have been held in great respect and even in awe, though occasionally some irate burghess or foreigner would 'give ane cuff' or 'draw a whinger' in presence of the court, and now and then its officers would be mocked by the children or jeered at by the less grave among the citizens. The matters with which the Town Council busied itself were the most varied possible—religious, moral, sanitary, commercial, political, etc., and the extracts which Mr. Maxwell gives from its records, especially when read with his own notes and explanations, are extremely curious and interesting. The following shows how the Town Council attempted to control the sale of intoxicating liquors:—

'In consideration that some drunkards within the town, and some quhilk dwell without and repair to the town, use wine and ale taverns out of due time—namely, under nicht, and therethrow provoke drunkenness, huirdom and tuilzie; and siclike, in the morning pass to taverns and ale-

houses, and draw others with them, in time of preaching and prayers on the Sundays and uther oulk days, to the grite sklander of religion, to the peril and prejudice of the virtuous, and to the common disorder; we therefore ordain in respect of the persons that keep house and table to them, that na men or women quhilk sell wine or ale, ressait or receive ony idle and vain person, either of this burgh or coming fra land, within their houses, and keep table to them efter nine hours at nicht, nor in the morning until prayers and preaching be done; and likeways on Sunday in time of preaching in efternoon that the same order be observit; and gif ony sellers of wine or ale sall contravene this act, or ony hosteler be found guilty therein, it being tryit and found proven, the same man or woman or hosteler quhatsumever, shall nocht the space of ane year be sufferit to sell wine or ale or use hostelary.'

The absence of any mention of whisky, or as it is sometimes called, the 'national beverage,' in this act is accounted for by the fact that as a beverage whisky was then unknown, the intoxicating liquors in use being ale and wine, and especially the former, the manufacture of which seems to have been, as, unless we are mistaken it still is, an important occupation in the burgh. To the price and quality of it the Town Council paid considerable attention. Cunniers or judges were from time to time appointed 'for trying the guidness of the same,' and several ordinances were passed regulating, both the price of ale and the price of wine. In the same way the Council paid great attention to the 'baxters' and the price and quality of the bread they sold. So again with respect to the butchers and the meat they sold; and inasmuch as cattle reivers were in the habit of attending the burgh flesh-market, and there disposing of the carcasses of the cattle they had lifted, the Council, in order to suppress the practice, ordained 'that na person bringing flesh to sell, presume fra this day furth to bring ony buiks of sheep, kye, or oxen, without the samin have with them ilk ain of them the skin, hide and head presentit also, under the pain of confiscation of all flesh brocht be them wanting the skins and heads,' the custom on the part of the reivers being to leave these behind in order to prevent the recognition of the cattle or sheep they had stolen. Mr. Maxwell's volume, however, is full of curious and interesting information, not only respecting the doings of the Town Council, but also respecting the habits of the people. Here and there too we meet with references to the better known men whom Dundee can claim as its natives or inhabitants, as for example the Wedderburns, Constable Scrymgeour, John Scott the Printer, and James Melvill, 'that notable Provost of Dundee.' Much space also is taken up with the ecclesiastical affairs of the burgh, and one at least of the provisions made for one of its ministers is probably peculiar. We hope that Mr. Maxwell has sufficient material in hand, or that sufficient is in existence to allow of his continuing his work down to more recent times. History, as it is here written, is much more reliable and informing than many volumes of theory and speculation. The old times live again, and as we read Mr. Maxwell's pages we seem to be present at the actual scenes.

The Orkneys and Shetland: Their Past and Present State. By JOHN R. TUDOR. With Chapters on Geology by B. N. PEACH, F.R.S.E., F.G.S., and J. HORNE, F.R.S.E., of the Geological Survey of Scotland; and Notes on the Flora of the Orkneys, by W. J. FORTESCUE; and Notes on the Flora of Shetland, by P. WHITE, L.R.C.S.E. London: Ed. Stanford. 1884.

A handy, comprehensive, and accurate book on the Orkneys and Shetland has for some time been wanting. The older authorities, and even many of the antiquarian and descriptive volumes written during the first half of the present century about these two most northern groups of the British Isles, besides being out of print, are in several important respects out of date. During recent years, many valuable and interesting facts have been brought to light, both about the islands and about their inhabitants; the latter also have shared in the general prosperity and progress of the country; and the numerous monographs and official reports which have of late been published in connection, either with the islands or the people, have made the task of acquiring anything like an exhaustive knowledge about either somewhat formidable. The older authorities have an antiquarian flavour about them which any modern book can scarcely possess; yet, though Mr. Tudor's volume may not succeed in supplanting them in the esteem of the book-collector or antiquary, those who wish for information about the past, and more especially about the present condition of these northern islands, will read it with interest, and regard it as containing the fullest and most accurate account which has yet been given of them. In the selection and arrangement of his materials, Mr. Tudor has been particularly fortunate, and though many of his chapters have been written for the columns of several of the newspapers, not much fault can be found with them on the score of manner or style. The chapters on the geology of the islands are admirable, and give additional weight and value to the volume. The joint work of two such accomplished geologists as Messrs. Peach and Horne they could not be expected to do less. Equal praise may be given to Mr. Tudor's own chapters on the fauna and fisheries, and to the notes on the flora contributed by Messrs. Fortescue and White. Apart from his own extensive observations, the sources whence Mr. Tudor has gathered his information are extremely numerous. From the list of authorities he has printed at the end of his volume we miss but few, and none of any importance, available at the time he wrote. The historical chapters are remarkably full and elaborate. If now and then their interest seems to lag, the fault is by no means the author's. The Sagas which for the Norse period he was bound to follow, though generally simple and entertaining, and not unfrequently picturesque and even thrilling, are at times little better than genealogical tables or the records of minute details

and, however valuable in the eyes of the historian or antiquary, are apt to become to the general reader uninteresting and absolutely tedious. Mr. Tudor, however, has done what he could to invest these unattractive portions of his story with interest, and but rarely without success. His chapter on the Pictish or Pre-historic period, though here and there somewhat indistinct, is cautious and on the whole satisfactory. Speculations are carefully avoided, and the reader will find in its pages all or nearly all that is really known on the subject. The four chapters which tell of the coming and rule, if such it may be called, of the Norsemen, leave little to be desired. They are condensed and clear, and written in a lively and often racy style. As a rule, Mr. Tudor's statements may be implicitly relied on. It is scarcely correct, however, to represent the settlement of the Norsemen in Iceland as contemporaneous with their settlement in the Orkneys and Shetland (p. 22). The exodus to the Orkneys and Shetland, and the whole of the Western Isles, preceded the exodus to Iceland by several years. And besides, the movement to Iceland was not from Norway, but from the Western Isles. As Mr. Vigfusson has recently pointed out, it was Fairhair's expedition to the West that drove the Norsemen from Caithness, the Hebrides and Orkneys, to Arctic Iceland; and but for that expedition it is probable that Iceland would never have been peopled. Again it is scarcely correct to say that Scotland is indebted to the wise forethought of Reid, bishop of Orkney, for the University of Edinburgh. As Sir Alex. Grant has shown, Reid, though he left 8000 merks in trust to three friends for educational purposes in Edinburgh, had never any idea of founding a University. Incidentally he became the earliest benefactor of the University, but to reckon him among its founders, or to attribute its origin to his 'wise forethought,' is a mistake. From the beginning to the end of the volume one is frequently reminded of Scott's *Pirate*. More especially is this the case in the chapters which Mr. Tudor devotes to the Orkneys and Shetland under Scottish and British rule. The bitter feelings on the part of the Orcadians towards the Scotch, which Scott so frequently emphasizes, find abundant justification in Mr. Tudor's pages, where the complaint that 'naething ever came from Scotland but dear meal and greedy ministers,' is also shown to be thoroughly well-grounded. But interesting as Mr. Tudor's historical chapters are, those in which he deals with the antiquities, superstitions, topography, climate, fisheries, and the tides and currents of the ocean, will probably prove to the general reader more entertaining still. They are certainly the freshest. Here and there, too, they are not a little amusing. We would fain linger longer over the volume, but our notice has already exceeded our limits. Mr. Tudor has evidently intended to make his book exhaustive, and it must be candidly admitted that he has succeeded. We cannot conclude without directing attention to the carefully executed maps, to the numerous and valuable documents and statistics collected together in the Appendices and lastly, to the excellent glossary and very full index which, besides

enhancing the value of the volume, are so many proofs of the author's desire to spare no pains to provide his readers with the fullest as well as latest available information in the handiest form.

Les Origines du Sénat Romain. Recherches sur la Formation et la Dissolution du Sénat Patricien. Par G. BLOCH. Paris : Ernest Thorin. 1883.

If we consider the institutions of republican Rome throughout the whole course of their evolution, we cannot fail to notice that they have gone through two entirely distinct phases before attaining to their full and complete development. The first of these is essentially patrician. During the second, the primitive city, after undergoing a gradual process of decomposition, renews its youth beneath the influence of an element hitherto unknown, the plebs. This period of transition and of internal struggles is brought to a close by the amalgamation of the two conflicting parties, under a new form of political association, and by the constitution of a mixed aristocracy, in which the last representatives of the patriciate are brought down to the level of the plebeian leaders, over whom the advantages which they possess are merely illusory. These distinct periods in the evolution of the city find their parallel in the history of the senate. In its early days, we see the senatorial body composed solely of patricians, and organised after the model of the patrician city. Gradually, however, it loses sight of its origin, and towards the close of the royal period it enters upon a series of transformations, lasting over a century, and resulting in a radical change, both in the manner of its constitution, and in its internal administration. Then it is, after this slow elaboration, that it appears in the plenitude of its power, and in the full energy of its action. Of this, the most brilliant and attractive epoch in its career, but little remains to be said that is not already familiar to the student. Comparatively few, however, have ventured to penetrate into the dim and obscure regions which lie beyond the circle over which history has shed its light, to work slowly back, by the aid of such scraps of information as legend, archæology, and even topography supply, to the origin of the Roman Senate, and to lay bare the germs whence sprang one of the mightiest political assemblies the world has ever known. Such is the arduous, but not wholly ungrateful task which M. Bloch has set himself. In the volume before us, the writer's main idea is, as we have indicated, to trace the analogy between the formation of the city and the formation of the senate. Now, the most striking feature in the organization of the city is the influence of the number *three*, which seems to be the base of all its institutions. Not only are there three tribes, divided into thirty *curiæ*, but there are also three hundred knights, three thousand foot-soldiers, three hundred senators, three pontiffs, three augurs, and three vestals. In short, each military, political, and religious body is, in this respect a miniature of the city itself. After having very clearly established, by an erudite examination of the political institutions

of the Germans, the Celts, the Semites, and the Greeks, that this ternary division is neither peculiar to Rome nor the result of accident, the author finds himself entangled in an apparently inextricable difficulty. All accounts of the formation of the senate, though varying in minor details, agree on one important point. They are unanimous in representing it as originally consisting of only one hundred members, belonging, presumably, to the first of the three tribes, and of rising to its final and complete numerical strength of three hundred by successive additions. The solution of this difficulty is, speaking generally, the pith of M. Bloch's work. Without attempting to follow him through his elaborate argumentation, we may mention that he is obliged to relax his ternary theory to the extent of admitting that there must have been a time when the three tribes, though participating equally in military dignities, did not figure equally in the senate. As regards the main point of his subject, M. Bloch has succeeded not only, as he modestly claims, in presenting in a new light some of the interesting problems of the lowly origin of Roman greatness, but also in collecting facts which former researches failed to discover. If, as he himself allows, he has at times digressed into the elucidation of questions which, at first sight, may appear to bear but slightly on the main issue, we are inclined to look upon this as, in some respects, rather an advantage than a blemish. If we occasionally lose sight of the Roman Senate, we are fully repaid by the valuable information which we get on such subjects as the constitution of the *gens*, the *prænomen* and the *cognomen*, the *gentes minores*, and the *gentes majores*. In conclusion, we may say of M. Bloch's work, that it is not unworthy to take its place by the side of the learned dissertations on the same subject, which we owe to such scholars as Schwogler, Becker, Madvig, Mommsen, Belot and Fustel de Coulanges, and that no better introduction can be found to Willems's admirable history of the Senate under the Republic.

De l'influence du Concile de Trente sur la littérature et les beaux-arts chez les peuples Catholiques. Essai d'introduction à l'histoire littéraire du siècle de Louis XIV. Par CHARLES DEJOB, Docteur ès Lettres, &c. Paris: E. Thorin. 1884.

M. Dejob, who is well known among his countrymen as an authority on the literature of the Renaissance, is to be congratulated on the publication of the extremely learned and exceedingly interesting volume whose title we have given above. Though but an *essai d'introduction*, it is full of recondite learning, and exhibits a remarkably intimate acquaintance with the literature and tendencies of the period of which it treats. The author's aim is, on the one hand, to show that the remarkable work achieved by the religious and ecclesiastical writers of France during the seventeenth century had been attempted elsewhere, more especially in Italy, where, in response to the expressed desire of the Council of Trent, the Roman Pontiff

and the Sacred College of Cardinals, had gathered around them such talent as they were able, and had imposed upon themselves the arduous task of restoring religious studies, and inspiring the literature and art of the period with religious faith; and, on the other hand, while exhibiting the causes which led to the failure of the Italian movement, to account for the success achieved in France. For the history of the Roman movement, to which, as is here pointed out, too little attention has hitherto been paid, M. Lejob is mainly indebted to the correspondence of Cardinal Sirleto, which is still preserved in the library of the Vatican. The use he has made of this correspondence is admirable; the picture he has given of the literary activity in Rome during the period under review, being exceedingly vivid, and in a measure new. The central figure is of course Sirleto. His zeal in the cause of letters was boundless, but unfortunately for the success of the movement he directed, all who laboured under him were watched with a jealous eye, and denied all freedom of thought and speech. In France, on the contrary, those who set themselves to counteract the influence of the Reformation, and to inaugurate a new era in theological literature, asserted their independence, and, removed both from the presence and the assistance of the Chair of St. Peter, were able to succeed where their co-religionists in Italy had failed. We cannot here, of course, follow M. Lejob through his long and elaborate argument; nor can we convey in the space allotted to us anything like an adequate conception of the amount of research he has brought to bear upon it, or of the skill with which he marshals his facts. The work is one of genuine ability, and no student of the period can afford to overlook it. We strongly commend it to our readers, as throwing light upon an important, but comparatively neglected period in the history of letters, and as exhibiting the various forces which subsequently found issue in the Augustan age of the literature of France.

A History of the Jews in Rome. B.C. 160—A.D. 604. By E. H. HUDSON. Second Edition. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1884.

Though unacquainted with Greek or Latin, and consequently unable to avail herself of the large amount of material suitable for her purpose, scattered about in the works of ancient writers, both Pagan and Christian, Miss Hudson has nevertheless managed to write some extremely interesting, and, on the whole, reliable chapters of the history of the Jews. The title given to them, however, is somewhat misleading. Whoever expects to find in these pages a monograph dealing with the life and history of the Jews in the City of Rome will be disappointed. The subject Miss Hudson has chosen, and with which she deals, is rather the history of the Jews under the Roman Empire; or, perhaps we should say, under the Romans. Beginning with the first contact of the Jews under the Maccabees with the Romans, she follows the history of their connection down to the fall of the

Roman Empire, and the emergence of the Christian nations out of its ruins. A sad and painful history it is. Miss Hudson has written it with considerable power, and has evidently brought to her work great zeal and sympathy, and freshness of thought. To those who have no time to read the larger histories, and to those who desire a handy book of reference on the subject it deals with, her volume will prove serviceable. It is one of those popular and interesting books which deserve a place in the family library.

The Anabasis of Alexander; or, The History of the Wars and Conquests of Alexander the Great. Literally translated with a Commentary, from the Greek of Arrian the Nicomedian. By E. J. CHINNOCK, M.A., LL.B. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

Arrian, better known through his philosophical writings and his connection with Epictetus, than as a historian, was a native of Nicomedia, in Bithynia, and lived during the reigns of Hadrian, Antoninus, and Marcus Aurelius. Gaining the friendship of the first of these emperors during his stay at Athens A.D. 126, he removed to Rome, where he was received into the number of the Roman citizens, and during the reign of Antoninus attained the consulship. While governor of Cappadocia, an appointment he received under Hadrian, he distinguished himself in the war with the Massagetae, whom he defeated and expelled from the confines of the Roman Empire. Of his numerous writings but few have come down to us, and what little is known of his own history is to be gathered from Photius and a few references scattered through his writings. His philosophical works long enjoyed a great reputation, and for the opinions of Epictetus they are still the principal source. Translations of them are numerous, though with the exception of the late Mr. G. Long's scarcely reliable. His historical writings, of which, with the exception of some fragments in Photius, only two remain, have rarely been translated into English; in fact, unless we are mistaken, the *Anabasis of Alexander* alone has, first by Rooke in 1729, and now by Mr. Chinnock. Rooke's version we have never met with, and doubt whether it is still in existence. It has probably gone the way of many other translations. Arrian cannot take rank among the great historians of Greece, nor even among its great writers; his *Anabasis*, however, is a work of considerable ability, and on the whole reliable, being based on the accounts of Ptolemy and Aristobulus, both of whom took part in the expedition. Mr. Chinnock, therefore, has done good work in rendering it into English. So far as we have examined it, his translation is clear and exact. Here and there we are disposed to differ from him in his choice of words on the score of taste or expressiveness, but on the whole his English compares very favourably with Arrian's Greek. The notes and references are numerous, and to the English reader will prove exceedingly helpful. They bear witness to an extensive acquaintance with classical literature.

On the whole the work reflects credit on Mr. Chinnock's scholarship and deserves commendation.

Wiclif and Hus. From the German of Dr. JOHANN LOSERTH.
Translated by the Rev M. J. Evans, B.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

'Through many successive decades,' says Professor Loserth, 'men were wont in Bohemia to designate John Wiclif, the fifth evangelist. Even in the present day he is reckoned by the learned among the four greatest schoolmen whom the fourteenth century possessed and as sharing the palm with Duns Scotus, Occam, and Bradwardine. In truth Wiclif is one of the most original minds England ever produced, and the only properly so-called Reformer before the Reformation. Remarkably enough, he is pronounced a great philosopher, and to our philosophers his works are all but unknown. He is counted one of the most learned theologians of his age, and his tractates moulder in the dust. Almost all the works over which the educated world in our district became intoxicated, are now forgotten or at best are still shown in libraries as rarities. For Bohemia, everything that recalls the name of Wiclif has a peculiar charm, for his name was for many years and decenniums the banner beneath which a powerful party fought its battles. That which Hus has deposited in the way of theological knowledge, in his various Latin tractates, he owes to the Englishman from whose writings he has, by diligent study, derived it.' We have cited this passage from the work before us because it expresses with admirable clearness Professor Loserth's estimate of Wiclif, and his opinion respecting the influence which the great English Reformer had upon Hus. His purpose in the present volume is to show what that influence was, and, under the guidance furnished by their writings, to exhibit the extent to which Hus was indebted to Wiclif for his theological tenets. His opinions it need hardly be said, are neither new nor uncontroverted. Continental writers on the subject may be said to be divided into two schools, some writing on the same side as Professor Loserth, and others maintaining that the Bohemian reformer thought out his opinions for himself, or if indebted to others, was not to Wiclif. Even so careful and accurate a writer as Neander, though he does not deny that the writings of Wiclif may have had some influence on Hus, traces the opinions of the latter mainly to Augustine and a Robert of Lincoln. During recent years the controversy has been carried on with considerable acrimony. Dr. Loserth writes with great moderation, and by the numerous extracts which he prints in parallel columns from the writings of the two authors, proves that the doctrines taught by Hus were unquestionably derived from the writings of Wiclif. These extracts he has thrown together in the second book of his volume, while in the first he has given a striking account of the religious movements in Bohemia from the time of Charles IV. down to the condemnation of Hus at Constance. In an appendix we have a number of valuable articles illustrative of the religious

history of Bohemia during the period under review. The work is exceedingly timely, and will be read with great interest by all who desire to be acquainted with one of the greatest men England has produced, or with the life and opinions of his great but unfortunate disciple in Bohemia.

John Wiclif, Patriot and Reformer; Life and Writings. By RUDOLF BUDDENSIEG. Quincentenary Edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1884.

In this volume the author has given a graphic sketch of the great English Reformer's life, together with a number of interesting extracts from his writings. The work is well done. The printing and binding of the book are excellent, the latter being exceedingly appropriate. Of the many volumes called forth by the Quincentenary of the Reformer's death, none deserves a wider circulation than this. Its handy size and the remarkably vivid account which it gives of Wiclif and his work, both as a reformer and a patriot, are sure, we should say, to make it a favourite with the public.

Oliver Cromwell: His Life, Times, Battlefields, and Contemporaries. By PAXTON HOOD. Second Edition. Illustrated. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

Since Carlyle wrote the opinions of most readers have undergone a considerable change respecting Cromwell, and his life and character are attracting a continually increasing attention. Unanimity, however, by no means as yet exists as to what he really was, whether transparently just and noble, self-deceived, hypocondriacal, or dissembler and selfishly ambitious. There can be no doubt, however, that whatever his motives, he was one of the greatest minds England has produced. Carlyle, we also think, has amply justified his integrity; and so also has Mr. Paxton Hood in the pages of the eloquent volume before us. He has written forcibly, and with vivid power of description. One of the best chapters he has written is the one in which he gives a summary of opinion respecting Cromwell. It is extremely useful; and his whole volume may be commended as an eloquent, praiseworthy and successful attempt to bring distinctly and vividly before its readers the life and times and contemporaries of the great Puritan Protector.

Memoirs of Life and Work. By CHARLES J. B. WILLIAMS, M.D., F.R.S. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1884.

Dr. Williams states in the preface to this goodly sized volume that, 'In offering to the profession and to the public these memoranda of the life and labours of a hard working physician, extending over a period of upwards of sixty years, I think I am performing a duty incumbent on all, to make known experiences which have been neither few nor unsuccessful, in relation to the science and art of medicine, and may not prove uninterest-

ing in regard to its history.' It is not given to many successful physicians to be so sure of the value of their life's work as it is to Dr. Williams ; and, we might add, to be so jealous of the recognition of his claims by others, as shown in his letter at page 488 to Dr. Quain, complaining of no mention having been made of his name in connection with the articles on the heart, lungs, etc., in the Dictionary of Medicine edited by that physician. *Apropo's* of Dr. Quain's reply, he gives us what would appear to be the *raison d' etre* of the book. 'If I have hitherto got little credit for the work of my life, it matters little now, but seeing that it was falling into oblivion, I thought my duty was to make this effort to preserve it for whatever it may be worth for the benefit of humanity.' Now, as the excellent work done by Dr. Williams in developing and teaching those modes of determining the nature and extent of the various diseases of the chest known as auscultation and percussion, have long ago had the best of all recognition by having become the common working methods of the profession, we cannot appreciate the point of Dr. Williams' lament. The profession is tolerably well aware of the extent and value of Dr. Williams' work, and we fear the public care very little about the matter. In spite of, or perhaps because of, the prominence of the Ego, the book is a very readable and interesting one, and as a contribution to the history of the profession during the past sixty years, is of considerable value. The public generally will be most interested in the recital of the long and thorough preparation for the work of a successful physician, and of the nature of the material rewards given in return for the unceasing toils and anxieties of such a position when attained. To those parents thinking about a future for their sons, it may be worth while to quote the following passage (p. 150) :—'I leave it to my readers to make their reflections on my history, so far as it goes, as bearing on the prospects offered in the Medical profession, in return for investment of money and intellectual labour. From 1820 to 1830, ten years may be put down generally as those of education, at an average outlay of £150 a year (this sum is lowered by the consideration of some gains towards the end of this period). Next we may count ten years of establishment in London, from 1830 to 1840, during which expenses exceeded receipts at an average of £600 a year. Now, in 1840, through God's goodness, we have reached the third decade, the end of which is yet to be told ; but this commencement marks the turn of the balance when the returns exceed the expenses, and the prospect seems fair for progressive and ample success. But this is all contingent on the life and health of one frail mortal. If he fails, all is lost ; and even if spared, much will depend on what measure of health and strength may be granted, to reap the fruits of his labour. My example has been often spoken of as one of early extraordinary success ; but the preceding statement will show that it was one at least as much of labour as of luck ; and that there could be no undue precocity, after a preparation of twenty years.' Dr. Williams was more immediately concerned during his professional life with the diagnosis and treatment of consumption,

and did much by his investigations to render more hopeful the treatment of this disease. With the well-known Hospital for Consumption at Brompton he was closely and honourably connected from its foundation. Altogether, this record of life and work, largely devoted to the 'benefit of humanity,' is a worthy record, and of a kind to be welcomed by the public who know too little of the nature of the life and work of a doctor.

The History of Burke and Hare and of the Resurrectionist Times : A Fragment from the Criminal Annals of Scotland. By GEORGE MACGREGOR, F.S.A. Scot. Illustrated. Glasgow : T. D. Morison. 1884.

Mr. MacGregor deserves no small credit for the excellent manner in which he has here performed a most difficult task. The history of Burke and Hare offers every temptation to a writer to indulge in sensationalism of the worst kind. Mr. MacGregor would appear not to have felt the danger ; if he has, he has avoided it with remarkable skill. He has written with a caution, a reserve, and a plain matter-of-fact realism which, while by no means obscuring the horrible character of the atrocities he has to narrate, set them before the reader in their naked simplicity, unaccompanied by any attempts to heighten their horrors. Sensational in some measure his book could not fail to be, yet he has told his story with soberness and dignity, and has given us not a series of fictitious pictures, but a solid and trustworthy chapter from the social and criminal history of the first half of the present century. As such, the work is of great value. Mr. MacGregor has sought out his information in many quarters, and has gathered together much which deserved to be preserved, and was in danger of perishing. The first four chapters are mainly taken up with tales of the Resurrectionists, many of which, grim and ghastly as they are, are not a little amusing. The principal portion of the book is of course taken up with an account of the life and doings of Burke and Hare and their wives. A chapter on poor 'Daft Jamie' comes in as a pleasant relief, and though turning the attention aside for a moment from the main topic, serves to deepen its horror. In the concluding chapters Mr. MacGregor deals with the subsequent life of Hare, 'burking' in England, and the effect produced by the resurrectionist movement. The Appendix brings together a number of stray ballads and illustrative cases and notes, which serve to throw a fuller light on the historical aspect of the subject. The work, we need hardly say, is not altogether pleasant reading. There is a strange fascination about it, however, and it deserves to be read not merely as a fragment from the criminal annals of the country, but as illustrative of popular feeling and superstition, and of a peculiar, though singularly degraded phase of human life.

The Life of Robert Nicoll, Poet, with some hitherto Uncollected Pieces. By P. R. DRUMMOND. London and Paisley : Alex. Gardner. 1884.

This little volume deserves the warm welcome which its editor, the author's son, predicts for it. Nicoll died as far back as December 1837; and it was not until he had been in his grave nearly forty years that Mr. Drummond sat down to write the story of his life. He has written it, however, with simple vigour, and with a truthfulness and pathos which will make it acceptable and a source of pleasure to those who were acquainted with Nicoll, or have learned to appreciate his poems. Nicoll was born at Tullybeltane, under the shadow of the Grampians, January 7th, 1814. Two of his teachers in the Parish School were poets, and while yet in his teens he began to dabble in verse. When sixteen he was bound apprentice to a grocer,—a trade which he afterwards exchanged for the more congenial one of bookselling. In Dundee, where he started bookselling on his own account, after having tried the business in Perth, he contributed to the leading local newspaper, and published his *Poems and Lyrics*. The highest post he attained to was that of Editor of the *Leeds Times*. Failing health, however, soon compelled him to relinquish the post for which, both by his literary ability and his strong predilection for politics, he was eminently qualified. At the time of his death he was still capable of good work, both in society and in literature, and may almost be said to have died before his time. The volume before us, it should be noted, contains several of his poems not contained in the editions of his works.

Russian Travellers in Mongolia and China. By P. PIASSETSKY.
Translated by J. GORDON-CUMMING. 2 vols. London :
Chapman & Hall. 1884.

A few words explanatory of the real purpose of the expedition in which M. Piassetsky travelled, apparently in the various capacities of doctor, draughtsman, and savañ, would have been of great service to the reader; but any such words neither the author nor his translator has deigned to give. M. Sosnowsky, who commanded the expedition, described it as scientific and commercial. M. Piassetsky, as in duty bound, accepts this description, but hardly seems to believe it. The real object of the mission seems to us to have been political and military. To scientific matters, with the single exception of M. Piassetsky, none of its members seem to have paid the slightest attention. Of commerce, too, we hear extremely little. M. Sosnowsky does indeed enter into a contract with the Governor-general of western China by which he undertakes to supply him with an unlimited quantity of 'bread,' but the terms of the contract are so ridiculously absurd that we are inclined to look upon it as an elaborate and clumsy joke. The most important and probably the real work of the mission seems to have been done by the photographer and M. Matoussowsky, whose maps and plans are now doubtless carefully treasured in the archives of the Russian War Office. The expedition reached the frontier town of Kiachta in July 1874, crossed Mongolia and the Gobi, and reached Kalgan, on the Chinese fron-

tier, on the 10th of August. Thence it set out for Peking, where several weeks were spent by the mission, and by M. Piassetsky in seeing the sights of the town. From Peking the mission went on to Shanghai and thence to Han-Keow. The Han was then navigated up to the town of Han-Tchong-Fou. Here the expedition left the river and crossed to the town of Lan-Tcheon, where a considerable stay was made. Crossing thence the provinces devastated by the recent rebellion, the Great Wall was recrossed near to the little town of Tzia-Youi-Gouan, and after losing its way in Mongolia, the mission reached Zaissan on the Russian frontier on the 12th of October, 1875. Whatever may be his abilities in other directions, M. Sosnowsky does not seem to have been qualified either by nature or education, to act as the leader of an expedition. His caprice and arrogance seem to have been insufferable. On one occasion his over-weening confidence in his own opinion nearly proved fatal, and resulted in the loss of property and the ruin of the Chinaman in whose boat he was travelling. On the return journey across the wilds of Mongolia, again, his obstinacy was the cause of much suffering to the expedition, and almost caused its entire destruction. Judging from the volumes before us, M. Piassetsky is much better fitted to be the leader of an expedition. On several occasions he seems to have conducted himself with tact and humanity. Along with many familiar things, his volumes contain much that will be new to most readers, and not a little which is both amusing and instructive. For his skill as an artist the Chinese seem to have had unbounded esteem. It everywhere formed the passport to their intimacy and affections, a portrait or drawing from his hand being much more highly prized than a photograph. The narrative of his experience, which does not seem in any sense 'official,' is written in a lively style. The descriptions are brief and vivid. Those which he gives of the social and domestic life of the Chinese are of more than passing interest, and the book itself may be heartily commended as a desirable addition to existing works on China and the Chinese.

Rambles in the Far North. By R. MENZIES FERGUSON, M.A.
Second Edition. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner.
1884.

The speedy call for a new edition of Mr. Fergusson's work is a sufficient proof of its popularity. There is every reason why it should be popular. It is well written, full of amusement and instruction, and a really valuable contribution to our knowledge of the scenery, character and antiquities of the Orkney and Shetland Islands, and of the ways and superstitions and industries of their inhabitants. Mr. Fergusson is evidently well read in the history and antiquities of the Islands, but he wears his learning lightly, and turns it to admirable use. In the folk-lore of the Far North his volume is exceedingly rich, and by those who take an interest in such matters his stories will be read with pleasure. Compared with the first edition of his work, the present one is in every respect superior. The

'Orcadian Musings' are omitted. We notice, however, that the 'Orcadian Cradle Song' has been inserted. It is one of the prettiest we have met with; is much more simple and artless than Tennyson's, and ought to find a place in every collection of nursery rhymes.

Parliamentary Practice and Procedure, with an Introductory Account of the Origin and Growth of Parliamentary Institutions in the Dominion of Canada. By JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, Clerk of the House of Commons of Canada. Montreal: Dawson Brothers. 1884.

To the general reader, probably the most interesting part of this work will be the admirably clear and succinct account it contains of the origin and growth of parliamentary institutions in the Dominion. It is rare that so much valuable information is compressed into so few pages. In little more than a hundred the author has not only described the chief changes which have occurred in the political institutions of the Dominion of Canada: he has also managed to give a fairly detailed account of the constitutional history of British North America from the days of Samuel Champlain, the founder of Quebec and head of the first Government instituted by the French, down to the present day. The narrative is exceedingly interesting, and shows 'how the autocratic, illiberal, political system of New France, so repulsive of all individual energy and ambition, gave place, after the conquest, to representative institutions well calculated to stimulate human endeavour and develop national character,' and how these more popular institutions have been gradually developed, until all the provinces are now 'politically united under a federal system, on the whole, carefully conceived and matured; enjoying responsible government in the completest sense, and carrying out, at the same time, as far as possible, those British constitutional principles which give the best guarantee for the liberties of a people.' The rules and practice of the Canadian Parliament, it is almost needless to say, are derived for the most part from the standing orders and usages of the Imperial Parliament. In the course of time, however, divergencies of practice have arisen. These are all carefully noticed, as are also the points of difference between the practice of the Canadian Senate and that of the Canadian House of Commons. The rules are all stated with the greatest clearness, and supported by an ample array of precedents, and copious references to the best authorities. An elaborate digest of the decisions of the Privy Council and of the Supreme Court of Canada, bearing upon the relative jurisdictions of the Parliament and the local legislatures, has been added, and an Appendix contains the various Acts of the British Parliament relating to the Dominion, and a variety of information respecting the office of Governor-General, proclamations, petitions, etc. In short, legislators and those who are interested in legislative institutions, will here find an ample supply of the best information on all

matters connected with the political institutions of Canada, conveyed in clear and precise language, and admirably arranged.

The Law relating to Trustee and Post Office Savings Banks, with notes of Decisions and Awards made by the Barrister and the Registrar of Friendly Societies. BY URQUHART A. FORBES, of Lincoln's Inn, &c. London: Hardwicke & Bogue. 1878.

The Law of Savings Banks since 1878, with a Digest of Decisions. Same Author. London: Stevens & Haynes. 1884.

The second of these volumes is a supplement to the first, and has been rendered necessary by the passing of the recent Acts relating to Savings Banks, Government Annuities, Bankers' Books, the Property of Married Women, &c. The two are excellent little manuals, and cannot fail to be of the greatest use to a great variety of individuals. They are clear and concise, and contain a vast amount of information respecting the subjects with which they deal. The official position which the author has held, and the fact of his having had access to numerous official records, enable him to speak with authority. Not the least useful part of his volumes are the notes and digests of decisions. His observations on the law relating to the property of married women, in Scotland as well as in England, are of considerable importance, and deserve the attention of those whom they concern.

German Grammar, with Copious Exercises, Dialogues, and a Vocabulary. By CLEMENS SCHLOMKA, M.A., Ph.D. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1885.

The Grammar which Dr. Schlomka has just published, and which cannot fail to meet with a hearty welcome from both students and teachers of the German language, is a practical book in the best sense of the word. It is the result, not merely of the months or years which have been devoted to its composition, but of the experience acquired during a long period of earnest and successful work in the class-room and—a point on which too much stress cannot be laid—amongst English pupils. Had we not previously been aware of this circumstance, it would have been made clear to us by one very simple and yet very important fact, the length of the lessons into which the Grammar is divided. Each chapter contains no more than the amount which may fairly be set as a home lesson to a pupil of average ability, and of average industry, and we think Dr. Crichton-Browne himself might be challenged to point out a single section likely to conduce to the over-pressure of which—rightly or wrongly—he so bitterly complains. Another point in which Dr. Schlomka's Grammar compares favourably with other manuals which we might mention, is that the English sentences given for translation are correct and idiomatic, and that

it is not necessary to put such jargon as 'My brother mistook himself yesterday,' into decent vernacular before attempting to render it into German. In devoting two or three lessons to the practical illustration of Grimm's Law by means of carefully selected lists of familiar words, showing at a glance the relation which subsists between German and English, Dr. Schlomka has taken a step, and so far as we know a first step, in the right direction. If, now-a-days, we consider a student's knowledge of French incomplete unless he is able to trace the connection between the modern idiom and the parent Latin, can anything justify the utter ignorance which—so far at least as ordinary class-books and, we may add, ordinary examination papers are concerned,—is still allowed to exist as to the mutual relations between the Saxon spoken in England and the Saxon spoken in Germany? In the matter of the declensions of Nouns, of which there is no authoritative division, Dr. Schlomka has worked out a system of his own which is at least as simple as any with which we are acquainted; and we can readily believe that, as stated in the preface, it will be 'found in practice to facilitate the acquisition of this difficult part of the Grammar.' One difficulty, at least, is removed by it, that of the modification of nouns in *el*, *en*, and *er*. Of the innumerable German Grammars that have been compiled, not one, we believe, contains the simple but useful rule that all neuter nouns with these endings, remain unchanged in the plural, the single exception being: *das Kloster, die Klöster*. We can honestly recommend Dr. Schlomka's *German Grammar*. It is precisely such a work as was wanted to systematize the study of the German language, and to lessen the labour of both pupil and teacher.

The Logical English Grammar. F. G. FLEAY, M.A. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein, & Co. 1884.

We have not much that is good to say of Mr. Fleay's little work. From the title, which contains an assumption we are unwilling to admit, to the last page, it is an exasperating book. Short as it is, it contains much doubtful, and a good deal of unnecessary, matter. It omits much that is necessary in the way of explanation. It is a book to 'coach' and to 'cram,' not a book to teach with or to learn. It is a model examination paper rather than an honestly intended text book. As a sample of trifling criticism, Mr. Fleay's doctrine of the plural on page 34 is worthy of quotation:—*'We* is not strictly a plural of I; it means *I and thou*, or *I and he*, not *I and I* as a true plural would.' What of the royal and editorial *we*? By parity of reasoning, *You* is no true plural in a multitude of cases. It means *thou and he*, or *thou and she*, fully as often as *thou and thou*.

Genesis in Advance of Present Science. A Critical Investigation of Chapters I. to IX. By a SEPTUAGENARIAN BENEFICED PRESBYTER. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1883.

It is hardly possible to find anything to praise in this book. It is

difficult even to treat it seriously. The publishers, certainly, have done their best to give it an elegant appearance, and nothing is lacking in the way of printing and binding to commend it to the public eye. But the work itself is indescribably silly. Its author shows no evidence whatever of acquaintance with the present state of science, and does not seem even to be aware that such a branch of it exists as 'Historical Criticism,' or that it has ever been applied to the books of Scripture, or has spoken a single word regarding them. Were it not, in fact, for the immense amount of labour expended on this work by our 'Septuagenarian Beneficed Presbyter,' and the vein of sincere and ardent piety that runs through every page of it, we might be led to regard it, so ludicrously absurd are some of the opinions ventilated, as a profane attempt to bring into ridicule the well-intentioned, if not always very wise efforts of orthodox apologists to reconcile the first pages of Genesis with the conclusions of modern science. It is clearly not our author's purpose to do that, but how any sane man could *bona fide* offer such a tissue of puerilities and absurdities to an intelligent public as a defence of the scientific and historic accuracy of Genesis is passing strange. Our presbyter tells us that he has been engaged on this work for the last thirty years, and that, disgusted with the commentaries of his early professional career, he determined to turn to the Bible itself, and study it with no other extraneous help save the Hebrew and Greek Lexicons. This latter fact may perhaps account for the wonderful results at which he has arrived, and for the ignorance he exhibits of science, natural and historical. It is difficult to give anything like a fair idea of the contents of his work, without laying one's self open to the suspicion of caricaturing our author's opinions. He gives first a translation and paraphrase of the first nine chapters of Genesis, then a long series of what he calls 'Investigations,' which are intended to justify his paraphrase; and then several 'Essays' on points which he thinks may not have been made sufficiently clear in his 'Investigations.' Here are a few specimens of his views—The 'Elohim' of Genesis is 'The same Divine Person as Jesus,' 'The Second Person of the Blessed Trinity.' Before He created the Universe He took unto Him a human body. He peopled the earth with plants and animals, and a race of intelligent, moral creatures, who, however, did not belong to the *genus homo*. They misbehaved so dreadfully, and allowed the drainage of the soil to get into such a deplorable state, that it became a swamp, and the mists, perpetually rising everywhere, darkened the face of the sun, and quenched the light of the moon and the stars. Elohim saw this, and at last came down, and, working for six days from six in the morning to six in the evening, put the face of the earth to rights again, and created plants and animals, as recorded in Genesis I. On the sixth day he created Adam, and prepared a garden for him. On the seventh they rested together in loving and religious fellowship. Elohim came every day after that, and visited Adam in the cool of the evening, teaching him the principles of philology, instructing him in Hebrew, and

generally in the natural sciences. But we need not go further. These are the most sober and least ludicrous of our author's ideas. We do not know any purpose this work can possibly serve save that of furnishing sport for our religious Philistines, while it cannot but grieve the souls of the devout.

The Different Aspects of Family Phthisis in Relation especially to Hereditary and Life Assurance. By REGINALD E. THOMSON, M.D. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1884.

Dr. Thomson has presented to us in this book the results of a laborious and careful application of the statistical method, the only satisfactory method in such an enquiry, and at this stage of our knowledge, to the investigation of the hereditary conditions which appear to govern the transmission of Phthisis pulmonalis. Every care seems to have been taken to avoid those fallacies which are so easily fallen into in so complicated an enquiry as that undertaken by Dr. Thomson. He informs us that—'the tabulated cases which form the basis of examination are derived from the case books of the Brompton Hospital, over a period of a quarter of a century,' and there is ample evidence of the painstaking and able treatment of this difficult investigation, in every page of the book. His deductions are often startling, and are generally of great public importance, and tempt us to quote more largely than would be fair to the author. The heredity of Phthisis is a matter of popular belief, founded on the supposed known facts of the case; but Dr. Thomson investigates the nature of the evidence, and discusses the features of the hereditary form of the disease as opposed to the acquired, and takes into account the various influences of single, double, and crossed heredity and atavism. He also treats briefly and suggestively of the modes and laws of inheritance, and of the relations of family Phthisis to Life Assurance. Dr. Thomson's deductions are, as we have already indicated, of great social and professional value, and carry to our mind the conviction of their essential truth, though it is scarcely necessary to say, particularly in the light of Koch's brilliant discovery of the Tubercle Bacillus, that there is great obscurity as to the nature of the inheritance transmitted to so many of our fellow creatures.

Douglas. By DOUGLAS MOFFAT. Aberdeen: John Avery & Co. 1884.

The writer of *Douglas* has a musical ear, and his verse is smooth and melodious. We fear that is the extent of the commendation we can bestow upon his poem. Here and there are some very good descriptive bits, but as a whole it is tame and monotonous. Moreover, if our memory does not mislead us, the battle of Otterburn was fought towards the close of the fourteenth century. The characters in *Douglas* speak and think in a very modern fashion for men and women who lived five hundred years ago. And chivalrous as the Percy may have been, we strongly suspect Graham's

ten page rhapsody would have been very unceremoniously cut short by that redoubtable warrior. On what authority, moreover, was Percy then alive to listen to the same? As surely as Douglas was slain by a chance arrow, Percy was run through the body by Sir Hugh Montgomerie.

‘There was the doughty Douglas slain,
And Persè never went away.’

We could imagine that Mr. Moffat might write very charming short pieces, but if he has the capacity to make such a poem as *Douglas* really powerful and effective, he has yet to prove his possession thereof.

The Lady of Ranza, and Other Poems. By GEORGE EYRE.
Paisley: Alex. Gardner. 1884.

This is a bright and cheery little book full of melodious verse and the sweet passages of love. Whether Mr. Eyre is young or not, we do not know. We should infer that he is, not indeed from any defects in his verses, but from the enthusiasm by which they are pervaded and inspired. ‘The Lady of Ranza,’ the longest and most ambitious poem in the volume, and the one from which it takes its title, is as pretty a piece of romance as we have read for many a day. Mr. Eyre narrates it with remarkable simplicity and power. Take the following description of the death of the Spanish captain who refuses to lower his flag and yield, though his ship is sinking beneath him:—

‘Unmoved he stands,
His helm bright, blazing in the setting sun,
Whose light streams in a golden lane across
The sea, and falls upon the wrecks of ships.
Now lower sinks his vessel in the waves,
And lower still, and deeper; then she heaves
In three short breaths, like some great beast in pain,
Upward again she heaves, and plunges down
In wild, majestic grandeur: first the bows,
And last the poop, where stands the warrior,
Surge down beneath the sea.

‘Upon the waves
That pitch and eddy where the ship went down,
Each earnest face long gazes for a sign
Of that high, noble figure, helmed and plumed:
But far down in the blue depths of the sea
His hand still clasps the mast that bears the flag,
And ‘neath the Spanish banner still he sails.’

Mr. Eyre, as will be seen from the above, is in possession of considerable artistic power. ‘Antony’ shows that he has the faculty of vividly realizing his subject; and every page of his little book bears promise of good work. The choice of a metre for ‘Under the Upas’ has not been fortunate, and in one or two places the rhythm is somewhat defective.

Measured Steps. By ERNEST RADFORD. London: T. Fisher
Unwin. 1884.

There is little to be said about this volume ; one or two pretty trifles, several very vulgar ones, and a fresh crop of hopeless failures in attempts to translate Heine, make up the sum of its contents.

‘ When these sick hearts shall break there is one cure ;
Love, we shall both be wretched until death,’

is an odd translation of

‘ Bis uns der Tod das kranke Herze bricht
Mein Lieb, wir sollen Beide elend sein.’

While

‘ The scorning lips are twitched with stifled pain ;’

for

‘ Unsichtbar zuckt auch Schmerz um deinen Mund,’

is simply grotesque.

A Minor Poet, and Other Verse. By AMY LEVY. London :
T. Fisher Unwin. 1884.

There is a great deal of power in this little volume. *A Minor Poet* is a sadly vivid and, we fear, terribly true picture of sufferings to which a callous world is cruelly indifferent. The writer is the first we have ever known to break a lance on behalf of Xantippe, and she has done it with much vigour and pathos. Her genius inclines throughout to the tragic, and her ninety-five small pages contain a great deal more good material than many pretentious volumes of treble the length.

Johnson : His Characteristics and Aphorisms. By JAMES HAY,
Minister of the Parish of Kirn. London and Paisley :
Alex. Gardner. 1884.

Whether the leisure hours of the minister of Kirn be few or many, we have no means of telling, but judging from the work before us, he seems to be in the habit of using them to very excellent purpose, and to be one of the comparatively few ministers of the Church of Scotland who take to literature as a serious study. His study of Johnson and the Johnsonian literature seems to have been a labour of love ; and perhaps it is not too much to say, that few men have a more thorough acquaintance with either the one or the other, or have formed a more just appreciation of the virtues and character of the great literary dictator, the centenary of whose death we are now rapidly approaching. The book he has published consists of two parts, a very excellent memoir and a collection of aphorisms or sayings. For the latter he has searched over the whole range of Johnson’s writings and the various memoirs and publications relating to him. These he has culled out and arranged under appropriate headings in alphabetical order. In choosing them he has exercised considerable discretion, and has selected almost all that were worth re-producing as detached utterances. Some of them, as might be expected, lose some of their force through being separated from the context, but, as a rule, they gain by their isolation. When engaged in following the general argument of a book, the

reader is apt to overlook the full force of its separate propositions ; and a selection like this, especially when made from the works of an author so rich in pithy and memorable sayings, as Johnson's unquestionably are, is of considerable use and a decided gain. Mr. Hay's memoir of Johnson is, to say the least, full of interest and entertainment. There is little in it that is new, and here and there it is slightly disfigured by mannerisms, but he has written it with such skill and evident personal interest that it will not be without its attractions even for those who are well acquainted with Boswell. Besides an account of Johnson himself, the memoir contains a series of pictures of his friends, and we cannot help admiring the way in which Mr. Hay has produced them. His own words throughout the memoir are comparatively few. His plan—a plan too which he has carried out with great art—is to let Johnson and his friends pourtray themselves. The result is a pleasant mixture of gossip and anecdote, by which the attention of the reader is thoroughly engrossed, and the figures of Johnson and his friends brought vividly before him. The work is exceedingly opportune, and we heartily commend it.

Hard Battles for Life and Usefulness: An Autobiographical Record. Also a Review of the Roots and Remedies of London Misery. By the Rev. J. INCHES HILLOCKS. With an Introduction by the Rev. W. C. SMITH, D.D. London: W. Swan Sonnenschein & Co. 1884.

This volume consists of three distinct yet connected books. In the first two we have an account of the author's struggles for life, learning and usefulness ; and in the third his ideas on the causes and remedies of the poverty and misery which abound in the metropolis of the empire. The autobiographical portion will well repay perusal. It is written in a fresh, lively and vigorous style ; while the incidents, struggles, and acts of genuine heroism it records, make it at once interesting and inspiring. All that we know of Mr. Hillocks has been gathered from the reading of his book, and judging from that, he seems to be a really genuine soul, full of earnestness and self-sacrificing zeal, with admirable talents for the work to which he has devoted himself, and not without a very considerable amount of shrewdness. Whatever his theology may be, his religion is broad, manly and Christlike. His opinions respecting the 'Roots and Remedies of London Misery' deserve the careful attention of all who are interested in the elevation of the lowest classes of society. They are the opinions of one who has gone in and out among the London poor with his eyes open, and having studied for years the condition of the various sections of the wretched and outcast and them that have no helper, has become thoroughly well acquainted both with their faults and failings, and with the best or most likely methods of doing them good. Philanthropists and all who wish to see what a really earnest soul can do in the way of

triumphing over difficulties and spending itself for others should read Mr. Hillocks' volume.

Arminius Vambery: His Life and Adventures. Written by Himself. Portrait and Illustrations. Popular Edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1884.

More years than we care to count have passed since we first read M. Vambery's account of his successful journey into Central Asia, but the pleasure with which we followed him through his many hair-breadth escapes, and the numerous exciting incidents of that extremely hazardous journey, still lingers in our memory. On this account, as well as on account of its intrinsic merits, we welcome this popular edition of his life and adventures. Few autobiographies are so full of interest and romantic adventure. As a book of travel, it will always rank as a standard work. It has few equals, and the number of those which surpass it, either in value or interest, is exceedingly small.

The Philosophy of Mr. Herbert Spencer Examined. By the Rev. JAS. IVERACH, M.A. London: The Religious Tract Society.

In this pamphlet Mr. Iverach returns to his attack upon Agnosticism. Taking Mr. Herbert Spencer as the typical Agnostic, he endeavours by an examination of the article Mr. Spencer recently contributed to the *Nineteenth Century* to refute his doctrine of the unknowableness of God. The argument is conducted in a fair and candid spirit, and not without a certain measure of success. Mr. Iverach touches the weakest point of Mr. Spencer's theory, when he says—'Truly we must come to the conclusion that the word "unknowable" is used only in a Spencerian sense.' In our opinion the 'Spencerian sense' of that word is manifold, and that Mr. Spencer is as uncertain in the use he makes of the term as either Hamilton or Mansel.

The Bohemians: A Yarn Spun on the Quarter-Deck. By FRANK LEE. Paisley and London: A. Gardner. 1884.

Mr. Frank Lee's book is intensely amusing and about as clever a yarn as has ever been spun. It is full of incident, and about as full of fun as it can well be. In some two hundred pages of large print he manages to dispose of as many incidents as would serve in the hands of most to fill the ordinary three volumes. As a rule, he writes well and with graphic power. The scene in the saloon during the storm is supremely ridiculous, and as laughable as anything we have met with. The only fault we have to find with the yarn is its improbability. Such a motley company as Mr. Lee has brought together never met, we should say, on the quarter-deck of any Atlantic steamer; nor did ship ever witness such a variety of incidents as

Mr. Lee has here imagined during the voyage of the *Bohemia*. Still, as a piece of clever and amusing writing, his yarn is well worth reading.

The Giant's Robe. By F. ANSTEY, Author of *Vice Versa*.
London: Smith Elder & Co. 1884.

In *The Giant's Robe*, Mr. Anstey has adventured himself on an entirely different class of story from *Vice Versa*, and while writing with much force and power, has certainly not shown indications of any marked ability in the construction of a plot. His leading incident is an impossibility, and he is constantly tripped up thereby. The fraud of publishing another person's manuscript as his own, is not one into which a man could be, as it were, gradually drawn, without, in the first instance, intending any dishonesty. If he could find in real life such a publisher as Mr. Fladgate, the thing might chance to come about; but a manuscript would be a venerable document before it reached any living publisher who would insist upon fathering it upon an author who disowned it. Failing a Mr. Fladgate, such a fraud, even with all the aid of the accidental circumstances which rendered it possible to Mark Ashburn, could only have been carried through by most careful and elaborate preparation; the first and most important of which would have been to thoroughly master the manuscript he thus fraudulently claimed. Then, unless we are to understand that this eccentric publisher sent proofs of the whole story at once, the idea of a man venturing to cut out, alter, and re-write passages, as Mark Ashburn is represented doing in the case of a story of which he was totally ignorant, is about the most preposterous we ever came across. Many incidents also, such as the story of the gander, are awkwardly dragged in, and some are in themselves absurd. Nor can we credit that a girl of Mabel Langton's character would ever have learned really to love such a pitiful creature as Mark Ashburn. She might have been misled for a time, but she would have found him out. Apart from these fundamental defects, which must prevent the story taking high rank as a novel, it is powerfully worked out. The manner in which, from the very first, retribution begins to dog the footsteps of the wretched impostor is admirably portrayed, and the climax is reached with much skill, and admirable effect. Given the marriage, the loyalty of Mabel to her contemptible husband is a very noble trait; and the character of Vincent Holroyd shows that Mr. Anstey has a keen appreciation of what is lofty and generous. If he can only arrive at constructing a plot with as much skill as he works one, he will write a very powerful story.

Down the Way. By HOPE STANFORD. London: T. & R. Maxwell.

This is a pleasant, simply written story with which there is little fault to find. We think the writer has aimed somewhat too high, and that her characters are hardly sufficiently worked up—it needs a master hand to

draw a vivid likeness with only a few strokes, and the book is certainly a little prosy sometimes. Still the interest is well kept up, with very little dependence on incident, and that is saying a good deal. We are particularly struck with the conclusion. Good sound common sense is not too often a characteristic of heroes and heroines of novels, and it is very agreeable to come across a writer bold enough to make her characters act with the usual good sense displayed by most of them in respect of Laura's marriage. She was certainly absolved from all obligation to consult her father's wishes, but a melodramatic sacrifice of Geoffrey Poland and herself on the altar of filial obedience would have been much more after the attitudinising tendency of most novel heroines. Finally the writer possesses one merit dear to the heart of all critics. She knows what she wishes to say, and says it in clear simple language, pleasantly free from mannerisms and strainings after effect.

Goddess Fortune. By THOMAS SINCLAIR, Author of *The Messenger*, etc. London: Trübner & Co. 1884.

'Without form and void, and darkness upon the face of the deep.' We know of no better description which we could give of this novel, in which a slender thread of a plot after the manner of G. P. R. James struggles through some nine hundred pages of uncouth jargon after the manner of Carlyle, but quite without his ability. One hero turns out to be the other, and gets happily married to one heroine; while the other hero turns out to be some one else, and ends his life of deliberate purpose in a lake, apparently for no very special reason save that the other heroine may go mad, and sit for ever in a white gown, waiting for him to come and take her away in a winged ship. This is all we can venture to say of the story, as we confess to having read but little. Is there not a cause! Here is a sentence taken at random. 'Volatile to a greater extent, the latter' (i.e. Frenchmen) 'know not the true benefit to a nation that there secretly oozes, so to speak, from the expression of thousands of cultivated men, evening by evening the whole year round in a country.' Could any critic be expected to read three volumes of such a dialect? Will the author explain how a man 'gathered himself to shape in slow luxury'? or how a reckoning can be dashed and torn in pieces? 'No words can tell the horror and despair of a woman's heart when its first great reckoning has been dashed and torn into pieces as if from her hands.'

Cluny Macpherson. A Tale of Brotherly Love. By AMELIA E. BARR. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1884.

This story, evidently the work of an American writer, is a tissue of absurdities from beginning to end. It opens with a description of a Highland chieftain, whom an unfortunate ellipsis represents as either six, or six thousand feet high; and concludes with a Free Church Minister vanishing in a blaze of glory as Moderator of the General Assembly of the Established

Church of Scotland ; giving us, between these two extremes, Highland chieftains habitually spoken of, and to, as 'Lairds,' Ministers as 'Dominies,' and Highland chieftains, Highland servants, and men of position and education in the South of Scotland, each and all speaking the same dialect ; and that dialect, so far as it is Scotch at all, the Scotch of the Lowland peasantry. The book abounds also in blunders, which are not due excluively to ignorance of Scotch characteristics. The crowning mistake is one worthy of attention, as it is one into which novelists have fallen who have far less excuse for doing so than the writer in question. One of the heroes gets tried for the murder of a man who had simply disappeared under suspicious circumstances. Let all aspiring story or novel writers lay well to heart the simple fact that no human being can be tried for murder, in either England or Scotland, unless the victim's body is produced. Only a case of mistaken identity renders it possible for a man to be tried for the murder of a person still alive. Under the circumstances, Cluny Macpherson might very possibly have been detained on suspicion while search was made for the missing man, but failure to find the body would have been an insuperable barrier to a trial for murder. He must have been released as soon as it became evident that the search was useless. Even setting aside these fatal blots, there is nothing to commend in the book. It is weak throughout, in nothing more weak than its attempt to defend revealed religion. The traditional villain is an impossible monster, the heroes are sickly sentimental school girls in kilts, the heroine is a nonentity, and all the rest of the characters are mere lay figures. The writer would have quite enough to do in writing a story about her own country and people, without laying her scene in a country of which she evidently knows little, and choosing her characters from a nation proverbially difficult for an outsider to understand.

Glenairlie ; or, The Last of the Graemes. By ROBINA F. HARDY, Author of *Jock Halliday*, etc. Edinburgh : Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier. 1884.

Glenairlie is a simple unpretentious story, the first part of which is considerably better than the second. Miss Hardy is thoroughly at home in her descriptions of Scottish scenes and character, and they are vivid, life-like and amusing. Dr. Cargill and Martha Leslie are types which will be familiar to all who are well acquainted with Scotland, and are sketched with a good deal of quiet humour. In the second part of her story, however, Miss Hardy is scarcely so much at home. Her plot becomes more that of the ordinary novel, and she has not space for its development ; thus an impression is left of a somewhat hasty winding up of everything. Nevertheless, the story is, throughout, lively and interesting. But is Miss Hardy an authority on the subject of cats ? Is it not asking a little too much of our credulity, to require us to accept the cat which was a staid

and sober animal when Rosanne M'Ara was a ragged mischievous child, as still flourishing when she is past thirty years of age ?

The Cornhill Magazine. Vol. II. London : Smith, Elder & Co. 1884.

This second volume of the new series of *The Cornhill* is an improvement even upon the first. Its papers are short, cleverly written and to the point, and always interesting. It is difficult to make a selection among them. One or two of them, however, stand out from the rest, and deserve special mention, as 'My Arab,' and 'June Fishing.' Pre-eminent among them, however, are the editor's 'Literary Recollections.' These are full of interest, and as might be expected, of more than temporary value. The principal story is 'The Giant's Robe,' about which we have recorded our opinion on another page. Some of the shorter stories deserve mention. 'Margery of Quether,' 'The Piper of Cairndhu,' and 'Jephson's Statement' are excellent in their way. In short, a better sixpence-worth than Mr. Payne provides for his readers month by month cannot be desired.

The Clyde. By J. DEAS, C. E. Glasgow : Wilson & M'Cor-mick. 1884.

Mr. Deas, the engineer to the Clyde Trustees, has here reprinted from the columns of 'The Shipping World,' his article on the river about which, on account of his official position, he is entitled to speak as the best living authority. His work is not large, but it is packed with valuable information respecting the deepening and widening of the Clyde, and the marvellous, probably unparalleled, growth of its commerce. Here and there we notice one or two slips or misprints, but those who read the article when it first appeared, will be glad to see it in its present form with its accompanying map and illustrations.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (July).—In this number fiction is but poorly represented, both as regards quality and quantity, for the first instalment of 'Geld,' a novel by Herr Karl Frenzel, is but a commonplace reiteration of a hackneyed theme, the fatal influence of the 'auri sacra fames.'—On the occasion of the death of Geibel the Berliner Presse Verein requested Professor Wilhelm Scherer to pronounce the funeral oration of the popular poet. The eloquent discourse delivered on the 25th of last May is here reproduced, and is undoubtedly one of the most important contributions to the present number. Amongst the many points of interest we may point out the sketch of German literature at the present day, and the lament over the decay of poetical enthusiasm. Mature men, the orator complains, no longer look upon poetry as one of the earnest things of life, even young men turn their backs upon it as soon as they leave school, and only women remain true to the old favourites. The poet's *universality* is dwelt upon in a passage of great force and truth, and the characteristics of his style, the harmony and rhythm of his language, are well brought out in the few typical quotations which are introduced with an aptness which shows how thoroughly the orator had made himself master of his subject.—The next article contains the conclusion of a stirring account of the wild expedition undertaken in 1806, by Major Schill, with the object of stirring up the people to shake off the French yoke. The patriotic but fool-hardy husar's death in the streets of Stralsund is dramatically described—the narrator, we should observe, being an eye-witness,—and the sketch closes with the barbarous execution of the eleven officers of Schill's corps—the youngest was barely seventeen—whom Napoleon caused to be shot at Wesel. They died like heroes. One of them, Albert von Wedel, a youth of nineteen, though horribly mangled, was not killed by the first discharge. 'Can't you shoot better than that?' he called out to his executioners.—'Here, here's a Prussian heart!' And when the muskets had been reloaded, he himself commanded 'Fire!'—'Die deutsche Memoirenliteratur,' an article which Dr. Franz von Wegele devotes to the 'memoirs' to be found in German literature from those of the Emperor Charles IV. in the 14th century, to those of Steffen, Frederick von Raumer, Hackländer and Louis Schneider in the nineteenth, bears testimony to the astounding extent of the author's reading in this direction, and will be found undoubtedly useful for reference. The subject, however, is one which does not seem to lend itself to any very interesting treatment.—The anonymous contributor of 'A Reminiscence of Garibaldi,' gives an account of his negotiations with the famous Italian general, and shows that but for the fall of Napoleon at Sedan, the very man who later drew his sword for the defence of France, would, in his hatred of imperialism, have invaded Savoy with an army of 30,000 men.—In a fourth instalment Professor Julius Jolly continues his interesting 'Journey to the East Indies,' Calcutta being the subject of the present paper.—A paper containing some interesting particulars of Tourgénéff's life, and another devoted to a sketch of General Gordon's career close the number.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (August).—The conclusion of Herr Frenzel's 'Geld,' and Herr Gustav zu Putlitz's 'Was sich der Wald erzählt,' a chapter of literary autobiography, are followed by a very excellent paper on the Italian novelist, Salvatore Farina, who has himself communicated a sketch of his early life in a charming letter which Herr Samosch reproduces, and which is not the least interesting part of the article.—Those who do not make it a rule to skip 'impressions de voyage' of every kind will find Baron Maltzan's narrative of an excursion to Crete to contain readable information concerning an island about which the average reader may be assumed to know but little beyond the

labyrinth of ancient days, and the periodical insurrections of modern times.—This month Herr Julius Rodenberg, with whom we have lately taken several delightful strolls in and about Berlin, bids us climb the 405 steps which lead to the top of the Town Hall tower, the highest point in the city. Then after bidding us note the extent and importance, and bustle of the capital, he proceeds to give a sketch of its history from the time when Berlin was, as its Wendish name indicates, a mere landing-place on one bank of the Spree, and when Colln, 'the island,' stood independently on the other, that is, from about the middle of the thirteenth century. The union of the two towns did not take place till the beginning of the fourteenth century. Among the many quaint and curious items which the writer has embodied in his paper, there is perhaps nothing more remarkable than the figures by which he shows the wonderful growth of the German capital within the last few years. When King William ascended the throne, Berlin possessed rather less than 500,000 inhabitants. Within fifteen years the population was double these figures. One year later, in 1877 it had risen above the million. At the census of 1880, it stood at 1,123,608, and it is estimated that it has now reached 1,260,000.—Professor Jolly concludes his 'Eine Reise nach Ostindien' with the account of an excursion to the Himalayas, including a visit to the Buddhist sanctuary of Darjeeling, which, with its 'prayer-drums,' rosaries, 'devil's banners,' and other devotional apparatus, is the subject of a most interesting and instructive description.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU, (September).—'Verschlungene Wege,' with which Herr Henning Schönberg opens this, the last part of the fortieth volume of the *Rundschau*, is a very pretty and very touching little story inculcating the moral that 'a woman's heart is, after all, the most precious thing on earth,' and that 'no science and no glory can procure happiness where woman's love is wanting.'—In a short, but eloquent paper, the reproduction of a discourse pronounced before the Academy of Berlin, Professor E. du Bois-Reymond brings an ungrudging tribute of admiration to Diderot, beside whose universal genius, as he strikingly expresses it, Voltaire, Goethe, and even Leibniz, seem but narrow specialists.—Herr Gerhard Rohlf's contributes a sketch of the Egyptian Soudan, and though his article is intended to be descriptive and not political, he manages to find an opportunity of saying hard things of Mr. Gladstone, of laying the 'annihilation' both of Egypt and the Soudan to his charge.—Herr Julian Schmidt, to whom we are indebted for so many excellent articles on contemporary literature, both in the *Rundschau* and in the *Jahrbücher*, devotes a lengthy and masterly essay, to a critical examination of Berthold Auerbach and his works. The study is full of admirable points, none of which, however, excel the striking parallel which the writer draws between Jean Paul and Auerbach. The novelist's exaggerated sensitiveness on the subject of his Hebrew descent, is severely, but not unkindly commented upon, and, on the whole, there is nothing in the article, even where it is not absolutely laudatory, but is within the limits of fair and honourable criticism.—The object of Frederick the Great's satirical 'Trois Lettres au Public' is considered in a paper which displays a thorough acquaintance with the history of the times, and which acquires additional interest from being the last production from the pen of the well known historian Joh. Gust. Droysen.—Besides a very able and hopeful article on the treatment of cholera, from the pen of Dr. Wilhelm Fliess, this number also contains the translation of 'Zweifel,' a Swedish story by a writer well known in her own country, but not yet introduced to the German public, Frau Anna Charlotte Edgren.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (July).—In the article which he entitles 'Ueber die literarischen Bewegungen im Panславismus,' Herr von Stein-Nordheim takes a very alarmist view of Panславism, which, he says, owing to the 'fearful hatred of race' which has been enkindled and is constantly fanned, must before long break out into devouring flames. The Panславism which Herr von Nordheim fears most is not that which is fostered in Russia, but that which has Prague for its head-quarters. Distinguishing further between political and literary Panславism, he defines the object of the former to be 'the annihilation of the German race,' whilst the latter is working towards this object by advocating the union of all national interests.

and—most important of all—the recognition of one common literary language.—‘Das Universitäts Studium in Deutschland während der letzten 50 Jahre,’ a paper by Dr. Leopold Reinhardt, shows, chiefly by means of figures, the progress of University education in Germany. It also endeavours to trace to their source the variations noticeable in each faculty, and suggests, as one means of diminishing the number of those who rush to the universities, and of averting the possibility of a ‘scientific proletariat,’ a stricter adherence to the distinction between the *real schule* and the *gymnasium*. According to the statistics here quoted, it appears that, during the session 1882-83 the number of students at all the German universities reached 24,189, which gives the very high proportion of 52.5 for every 100,000 of the population.—The ‘Few Words on the Subject of Colonisation’ come from Baron von der Brüggén, and are not out of place at the present time, their object being to warn the over-sanguine enthusiasts who have thrown themselves into the colonizing movement, of the dangers which surround the undertaking.—Some months ago Prince Bismarck caused some sensation in political circles, by a speech in which he called upon the Parliament to ‘give the artizan a right to work so long as he is in health, to give him work so long as he is in health, to insure nursing for him when he is ill, and maintenance when he is old.’ This ‘Recht auf Arbeit,’ this right to work is the text which Herr Landrath Wessel expounds and the thesis which he supports in the paper to which he has given the chancellor’s expression as a title.—The only purely literary essay in this number is that which Dr. P. Ratorp devotes to Pascal’s ‘Pensées,’ and in which he looks upon the famous jansenist in a rather new light, as a sceptic.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (August).—Professor Erich Schmidt’s ‘History of the Life and Times of Lessing’ is the subject of an able critical essay bearing the well-known signature of Herr Julian Schmidt. As the work is one which treats of a writer who enjoys a wide popularity in England and one which is likely to attract the attention of English students of German literature, we cannot do better than reproduce the opinion of so competent a critic as Herr Julian Schmidt. ‘Erich Schmidt is fully qualified for the task which he has undertaken; not only is he acquainted with the researches of others, but he has investigated for himself and with success. Not only is he a perfect master of the special subject of which he is treating, but he is also thoroughly acquainted with literary history in all its bearings, and he knows exactly what he has to do. He has, with regard to Lessing, not only a right understanding but he has a right feeling as well. He writes with a warmth which his subject justifies, without, however, allowing himself to be influenced by the enthusiasm of the public. He is not blind to the blemishes of Lessing’s character, and he does not hesitate to draw attention to them whenever it is necessary to do so, in order to produce a faithful picture.’ The critic himself is not blind to the blemishes of his author, and does not fail to point them out. The repetitions with which he has to find fault, the obscure allusions which he signals out, the peculiarities of style to which he finds objection are scarcely important enough, however, to diminish the favourable impression which his impartial and judicious article conveys. —The next article, which is anonymous, brings together long rows of figures illustrative of the agricultural condition and of the natural products of the Kingdom of Servia.—The general reader will doubtless find greater interest in the perusal of Herr Max Duncker’s very able and appreciative sketch of the well-known historian, the late Professor Johann Gustav Droysen, to whose latest production in the *Rundschau* we have had occasion to call attention.—The concluding paper, contributed by Herr Karl Kochendörffer ventilates a scheme for the compilation of a general catalogue of all the works in the German libraries.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (September).—Those likely to turn to an article on the strategy of Frederick the Great would probably consider Dr. Delbrück’s ‘Die methodische Kriegführung Friedrich’s des Grossen’ more interesting if it were less polemical. In point of fact, it is a note to certain strictures on an article of his, published by Major von Malachowski in the *Grenzboten*. Dr. Delbrück thinks it necessary to mention in a note that although his opponent

everywhere styles him 'Herr Dr. Delbrück' he himself prefers to follow the practice common among writers—die schriftstellerische Sitte—and to call him Malachowski *tout court*. In this matter we may venture to say that most people, in this country, will feel, with Major von Malachowski, that this 'schriftstellerische Sitte' is more honoured in the breach than the observance.—Statistics again! These are put together by Dr. E. Phillipi, and are intended to set forth and explain the variations in the prosperity of the German empire.—Herr Julian Schmidt's sketch of Heinrich Laube, whose death occurred on the first of August of the present year, has but one defect, it is too short. We should like to know more about so 'many-sided' a man, and we should like to gather the information from one of those masterly essays to which Herr Schmidt has accustomed us.—The most important paper for our purpose is undoubtedly that with which Herr Hermann Isaac closes the number and which has for its subject 'Shakespeare's Confessions'—'Shakespeare's Selbstbekenntnisse.' This being but a first instalment, however, we shall reserve our summary till we are able to give it in a complete form.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (July).—Most of the articles in this month's number are continuations; such are 'Tasso and his Recent Critics,' by Professor Marc-Monnier—a most scholarly study on a most interesting subject;—'Charles Gordon,' for which M. Auguste Glardon has drawn his materials from Hake and Birkbeck Hill, and M. Edmond de Amicis's sketch of 'The Italian Geneva.' The running story 'Joyeuse Vadien' is also advanced a stage. Of the two remaining articles, one is the record of an 'Excursion to Algeria and Tunisia,' by M. H. Maystre; the other is the first part of a study on 'Herbert Spencer and his Philosophy.' The writer, M. Léo Quesnel, has at least the merit of setting forth the English philosopher's doctrine in a very new and original light. Premising that 'an idea of a superior order, and eternally the same, an idea at once moral and divine, always guides the human mind in its labours,' he undertakes to show that Herbert Spencer's philosophy is no exception to the law, and that, being a moral man, he is, after his own fashion, a religious man also. He further endeavours to prove from an examination of the philosopher's works, and more particularly from the 'Data of Ethics,' that his efforts to 'secularise morality tend to nothing else but the creation of that strange contradiction in terms 'a lay religion.' In another passage he states that St. Paul's definition of charity, and that which Herbert Spencer gives of sympathy, are 'absolutely the same.' It may be judged from this that M. Quesnel is not wanting in ingenuity. We rather fear, however, that his 'parti pris' has led him into a mistake not uncommon amongst commentators of all kinds, and that he gives to Spencer more than Spencer meant.—Of the 'Chroniques, which, as usual, make up a considerable and very readable part of the *Revue*, the French one is, perhaps, the most noticeable. Amongst other subjects, the Parisian correspondent treats of M. Richepin's famous—or infamous—'Blasphèmes,' and, naturally enough, has a good many hard things to say of them. For Daudet's 'Sapho,' on the other hand, he is less severe than a book professedly written *not* 'virginibus puerisque' seems to us to deserve. M. Georges Duruy's maiden-novel 'André,' gets an ill-natured cut because 'it contains the scarcely disguised portraits of persons of both sexes well known in the Parisian world.'

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (August).—The opening article is devoted to a description of the exhibition now being held at Turin. It is from the pen of M. Numa Droz, which is saying that it is as ably written as it is appreciative yet impartial. As the writer himself states, it has not been his object merely to string together a number of flattering formulae. He has gone through the exhibition with the eye of a critic, a friendly critic, it is true, and he records his impressions frankly and faithfully. He is evidently full of admiration for the activity and the genius of this young Italian nation, which is hastening on with giant strides to make up for the centuries of inaction forced upon it by the yoke of the stranger, but he does not hesitate to warn it against wasting this genius and this energy in vain attempts at a universality, both of produce and labour, for which nature has not fitted it.—The conclusion of M. T.

Combe's pleasant little story 'Joyeuse Vadien' is followed by the second and last part of M. Quesnel's 'Herbert Spencer et sa Philosophie.' It deals with sociology, and though the writer professes to abstain from entering into a criticism of the details of the system, he indicates some of the objections which, he says, start up at every step, and accuses Spencer, though so hostile to hypothesis, of swimming on the full tide of hypothesis when he assumes, as the basis of social evolution, a purely arbitrary conception of primitive man and his ideas.—M. H. Maystre continues his 'Excursion en Algérie et en Tunisie,' which, amongst other graphic descriptions, contains one of the dreaded simoon, and, generally, of the dangers which attend travelling through the Sahara.—'Le Troisième Centenaire de l'Université d'Edimbourg,' contributed by M. Alphonse Rivier, contains, besides a short sketch of the history of the university, drawn from Sir Alexander Grant's recent work, a very full report of the celebrations, with the details of which we are familiar.—The ten pages devoted to the English chronicle are singularly and unusually void of interest, the sanitary laws of London and the correspondence of Princess Alice being the only two items.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (Septembre).—The very able paper with which the number opens is from the pen of M. Ed. Sayous, who entitles it 'Les Idées Dramatiques en France avant la Grande Ecllosion Romantique.' The writer's object is to show how, immediately after the great disasters which marked the beginning of the century, France, having again turned with ardour to literary quarrels, sought out for herself a new channel for the expression of her dramatic genius, how the ideas which, for something like half a century, ever since they possessed a translation of Shakespeare, had been floating about, more or less vaguely in the minds of French writers, were condensed and took shape during the long struggle between classical tradition and romanticism, and how, during a space of ten years, from 1816 to 1826, beneath the influence of an admirable revival of historical studies, a series of theories, discussions, and attempts prepared the advent of the romantic drama, of which the first fruits were the early productions of Victor Hugo.—'Le Grand Frère,' which bears the signature of a lady, Mme. Jeanne Mairet, is a touching story of the heroic self-devotion of an elder brother.—The 'Excursion to Algeria and Tunisia,' though well-written, threatens to become rather long-winded. It is scarcely of sufficient interest to justify a third, and that not a final instalment. M. Maystre evidently seems to be one of those who travel not for the sake of travelling, but for the sake of *having* travelled.—M. A. de Verdilhac does not claim any great originality for his paper on 'The Origin of Family Names,' which is based on Wareing Bardsley's researches in this direction. It is, however, none the less interesting, and contains a number of quaint and curious details concerning the etymology of family names, as well as their adoption in various countries, which will no doubt be new to the great bulk of readers.—In addition to the 'Chronicles,' the remaining articles of this number are a short paper on the literature of Bulgaria—not a very wide subject in the case of a nation whose first printed book only dates back to 1806—and the report of an agricultural commission.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (July).—In a former article M. Delbœuf endeavoured to prove that what is called 'brute' matter is incapable of generating living matter, and *a fortiori* sentient, thinking and free matter. Indeed, he even went further than this, and appealed to the latest results of modern science in support of the theory that brute matter is to be referred back to living matter. His theses were: 1st. That the properties of atoms are not immutable; 2nd. That these properties are not all inherent to them, but are communicated to them, at least in part, from without. Then, leaving the field of physics and chemistry, and going back to the first state of universal matter, he pointed out that it seemed to possess the important factors of life, sensibility, and will. This first part of his work required a complement. Death being the co-relative of life, it was impossible to explain the one without the other. In this second section, therefore, death becomes the subject of investigation. Death, as the writer points out, has two distinct meanings. It may be understood as the final term of all things, considered in their development, and in this sense that which

is dead is that which can undergo no further change. It may also be applied to individuals, and then it is used to designate the term of an existence consisting of a series of phenomena, in which case that which is dead is that which was but is no more. After explaining these preliminary notions, M. Delbœuf proceeds to examine, in the first part of his treatise, to which he gives the sub-title: *The Origin of Universal Life*, how that which is stable can be transformed into that which is unstable—comment le stable peut se transformer en instable,—leaving the question of the death of individuals, as well as that of the transmission of life, which is intimately connected with it, to be treated of in further articles. —In another important paper, though in a very different line of thought, M. Ch. Secrétan considers the 'Revival of Thomism.' A very able analysis of the principles on which the 'Summa' and the 'Sentences' are based concludes with the following appreciation of Thomas Aquinas himself:—'The Angelic Doctor' was undoubtedly a Christian; he was pious with that piety of the Middle Ages, which was a compound of asceticism and contemplation, and which must, after all, be recognised as one of the forms of Christianity, since it is one of the forms of love. Nothing is less like the life of Jesus Christ, such as the most ancient documents picture it to us, than that of his disciple in the 'Imitation.' Nevertheless, this book will still continue to nourish the practical activity of the most generous amongst Christians, because it is imbued throughout with a sincere love. Some points of Thomas's theology are akin to the 'Imitation' but, in its general tone, it is altogether different from it. In his eyes, love is not the ultimate object, love is not the expression of the divine nature. For him, intellect is everything, and his soul is engrossed with the idea of thought—la pensée a fasciné son âme. The last expression of his theology is deduced from paganism.' Of the encyclical in which a return to Thomism is enjoined M. Secrétan writes: 'If the advice to return to Thomism came from a less exalted authority, we should be inclined to doubt its seriousness. Christian or not, philosophy must be a consistent theory, resting on theses which may be proved and not on articles of faith. A thinker may draw his inspiration from belief, but he deserves no consideration if he uses his faith as an argument.'—In the third of the 'Articles de Fonds' M. V. Brochard examines the nature and foundation of belief, and shows in what respect it differs from certainty.—The 'Analyses et Comptes Rendus' deal with Herbert Spencer's 'Principles of Sociology,' and with Sedgwick's 'The Fallacies: a view of Logic from the Practical Side.'

LA REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (August).—In the opening paper, M. E. Beaussire argues in support of the independence of the moral law, that is, of its independence from any metaphysical conception, as well as from any psychological or historical fact, and deduces from this, the necessity of its being a strictly formal law, after the nature of mathematical truths. This, as he allows, is very much a repetition of Kant's theory.—M. Th. Ribot contributes a very important article, which he entitles: 'Les Bases Affectives de la Personnalité.' It is but a first instalment, however, and does not go beyond a preliminary discussion as to the nature of consciousness, and a classification, based on the investigation of certain typical cases, of the various kinds of 'diseases of personality.'—In the present number, the 'Revue générale' is particularly interesting. It deals with contemporary socialism, and gives excellent summaries of three very important works on the subject—M. Paul Janet's 'Les Origines du Socialisme contemporain,' M. Emile de Laveleye's 'Le Socialisme contemporain,' and M. Masseron's 'Danger et Nécessité du Socialisme.'

REVUE LYONNAISE (May, June, July, August).—The first of these numbers opens with a biographical sketch entitled 'A Reformer in the seventeenth century,' and containing an account of John Bernard Schenk of Schweinsberg, Prince-Abbot of Fulda, who was killed at the battle of Lützen. The writer of the article draws from the facts contained in the biography the following conclusions:—(1) That Protestantism and liberty of conscience are foreign to each other; (2) that the chief result, if not, indeed, the principal cause of Protestantism, was the plunder of the possessions of the church by temporal

princes; and (3) that Catholicism possesses a special power (une force spéciale) which enables it to undertake and to accomplish a perpetual reformation of manners.—M. A. Tardieu concludes the account of a three months' stay in Venice, with a description of the principal public buildings.—The exhaustive list of the sculptors of Lyons, communicated by M. Natalis Rondot, cannot contain particulars of very general importance. We may, however, note *en passant*, that about the year 1608 Lyons was favoured with an 'apostolic sculptor' of the name of Pierre Bosset.—M. François Collet contributes a pleasantly written little sketch 'Un déjeuner à Antibes,' which M. Leopold Niepce follows up with a continuation and conclusion of 'The Treasures of the Churches of Lyons,' supplemented with an account of the damage wrought in these same churches by the Huguenots after the taking of the town in 1562.—Of the three Provençal poems which make up the Félibrige, M. Auband's exquisite song 'Li Set Pouloun,' 'The Seven Kisses' undoubtedly deserves the palm. The *Bibliographie* contains, amongst other items, the best summary we have yet seen of Mistral's 'Nerto.'—The June number begins with a well timed account of the ascent of the balloon, or as it was called, in those days, the Montgolfière, Gustave, at Lyons, on the fourth of June 1784, in presence of the King of Sweden, after whom it was named. The same author, M. Raoul de Cazenove, also contributes a description of the Montgolfier centenary at Annonay, the birth-place of the aeronauts.—The next article is from the pen of an 'académicien,' M. Xavier Marmier. It sketches the career of the American general Frémont, the son of a Lyonnese émigré.—The Count de Soultrait gives an interesting description of one of the manuscripts of the famous 'Golden Legend,' that preserved in the library of Macon, and adds to it, as a specimen, the life of Saint Ivo, the 'office' for whose feast-day is said to have contained the following remarkable effusion:—

Sanctus Ivo erat Brito,
Advocatus sed non latro,
Res miranda populo.

In addition to this, the French part of the *Revue* contains a sketch of the life and works of the late Vital de Valous, a local antiquary, a report, by M. Stein of the 'Congress of Learned Societies,' lately held in Paris, and finally, another instalment of M. Roux's 'Pensées.' The provençal supplement contains poems by Felix Gras, Auguste Fourès, Alexandrine Brémond and Auguste Marin.—The letters of Bernard de la Monnoye, which M. H. Beaune communicates to the July number, and which he introduces by a brief biographical sketch of the writer, do not contain any very important particulars concerning the author of the 'Noëls bourguignons,' but they give us a fair picture of the home-life of the 'bourgeoisie' of the time, and can scarcely fail to strike by the strong contrast which they present between the de la Monnoye of real life, the quiet, austere, somewhat 'canny' citizen, and the rollicking de la Monnoye, who, as *Guy Barðsai* narrowly escaped the censure of the Sorbonne.—M. François Collet contributes the first part of an account of the Turin Exhibition.—The continuation of M. Leopold Niepce's 'Les Trésors des Eglises de Lyon' is the most interesting section that he has contributed. It recalls the history of these 'treasures' during the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and particularly at the time of the Revolution.—The French portion of the *Revue* closes with M. Puitspelu's 'Très humble Essai de Phonétique Lyonnaise.'—The Félibrige is unusually short, the only poetical production being a sonnet on 'La Rouëlo,' the Poppy. To compensate for this, there is, from the pen of M. Paul Mariéton, an interesting account of the 'Fêtes Provençales' recently held in Paris, including a report of the speeches delivered by M. M. Arène, Mistral, and Mariéton.—The last of the four numbers before us opens with a sketch of the career of the late Henri-Louis Baudrier, president of the tribunal of Lyons, one of those magistrates who were superseded in virtue of M. Ferry's decree, last September.—'Balzac et Pons de Balzac,' an excellent article bearing the signature of M. Léon Védel, describes a delicious bit of country, recalls the fortunes of an old feudal pile, and gives as much as is known of the biography of Pons, a native of the old moorish colony of Balzac, and part-author of as much

of the 'Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Jerusalem,—a diary of the Crusade—as was written before his death, which took place at Archos, near Tripoli.—The account of the Turin Exhibition is continued, and contains, in one section, 'a few words of history and of statistics,' in another, a description of the main building and its exhibits.—A very interesting paper by M. Joseph Roux, gives a summary of the 'Atlantis,' an epic written in the Catalanian dialect by Jacinto Verdaguer, a poet of whom great things are said, and greater prophesied.—In point of quantity, M. A. de Gagnaud is the chief contributor to the *Félibrige*; in point of excellence, M. Auguste Fourès's 'Cansou de Bresso,' a delightful 'lullaby' undoubtedly stands first. M. Pol de Mont's translation into Flemish of two of M. Marieton's poems is an interesting specimen of what may be termed the '*félibrige*' of Belgium.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (July 1st and 15th).—The 'Diplomatic Studies' of the Duc de Broglie are brought to a close with this, the eighth instalment, of which the notable feature is a spirited narrative of Louis XV.'s eventful illness, in 1744, and of Mme. de Châteauroux's disgrace.—'La Pamplina,' a novelette contributed by M. André Theuriet, though powerfully written, introduces characters and scenes scarcely likely to enlist the sympathy or captivate the interest of English readers.—M. Cucheval-Clarigny treats of 'Italian Railways,' and in this, the first portion of his paper, deals more particularly with the formation of the lines and the first conventions. The interest of the article will be found to be greater than the somewhat scant promise of the title. This is, doubtless, attributable to the fact that in Italy, more than any other European country, political events have exercised a direct and decisive influence on the establishment and direction of the railway system, each step of the country towards unity having been marked, as the writer observes, by a change in the conditions of existence and the management of its lines.—'The Relics of the French Renaissance in the Chapel of the Castle of Chantilly,' from the pen of M. A. Gruyer, is as attractive as it is instructive. After a brief record of the varied fortunes of the feudal pile, the writer gives a description of the treasures of art which have been brought from another historical mansion, the Castle of Ecouen, to adorn the chapel which the Duc d'Aumale has recently added to Chantilly. First amongst these are two magnificent painted windows representing, the one Anne de Montmorency and his four sons, in company with St. John the Evangelist, the other Madeleine de Montmorency and her four daughters under the patronage of St. Agatha. Their date is 1544, and although their author is unknown, there can be no doubt that they are the work of one of the masters of the century. To the art-student, they are particularly interesting, resuming, as it were, all the foreign influences beneath which the genius of French painting was almost completely eclipsed for more than a century. Not less important is the altar, which M. Gruyer does not hesitate to ascribe to Jean Bullant, and which is adorned by basso-relievos in which he recognizes the work of Jean Goujon. Finally, the writer examines in detail the humbler productions of the wood-carver, from which his trained eye is able to draw æsthetic information scarcely less valuable than that given by the windows and the altar. In the conclusion of his essay on 'Bianca Capello,' 'la pessima Bianca,' as Cardinal Ferdinand de Medici, her brother-in-law, styled her, M. Henri Blaze de Bury introduces interesting details concerning Tasso's madness and expresses his scepticism as to the poet's imprisonment in the famous 'cave' which Byron has given him as a 'lair,' and which tourists are still shown in Ferrara. He also gives a graphic sketch of the fateful election of Sixtus-Quintus to the see of Rome.—Not only in Switzerland, his own country, but far beyond its limits, as far indeed as explorers have been able to penetrate, from Portugal to the depths of Siberia, from Sumatra to Spitzbergen, from Nebraska to Devonshire, in Saxony, in Australia, in Russia, wherever, in short, fossil plants have been discovered, within the last thirty years, the name of Oswald Heer is invariably to be found associated with the publication of these plants, with the determination of their age, with the definition of all the circumstances which can lead to a knowledge of them and to the reconstruction of the several eras to which they belonged. Palæontology, geography, the laws which govern the actual distribution of

plants as well as their migrations in ages anterior to our own, all the delicate considerations which are connected with the filiation of species and with the order of succession of floræ through past eras, the variations of climate, the changes which have taken place in the crust of our globe, all these questions are comprised in Oswald Heer's work. In giving a summary of the great Swiss naturalist's labours, M. G. de Saporta has begun with that part of it which more particularly refers to Switzerland. His paper takes us back to the times when it was a low-lying country, and recalls the various phases through which it, and indeed Europe generally, must have gone through previous to the appearance of the Alps. Abstruse as the subject may appear, it is put in such fascinating form that, from first to last, its interest never flags.—Though we can merely mention 'Abyssinia and its Negus,' and 'The Legend and Worship of Krichna,' the names of M. G. Valbert and of M. F. Brunetière are sufficient guarantee that they are well worth perusal.—The mid-monthly number opens with a very able paper on 'The French Epics of the Middle Ages,' based partly on Signor Pio Rajna's erudite work, 'Le Origini dell' epopea francese,' partly on M. Paul Meyer's modernised version of 'Girart de Rousillon.' Whilst doing full justice to the Italian scholar's rare knowledge of the subject, to his power of patient and minute investigation, to the clearness of his exposition, he is not prepared to allow his conclusion, that the French epic, of which the 'Roland' is the best known specimen, was of Germanic origin.—M. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé contributes the second article, which he entitles 'Contemporary Russian Writers' and in which he treats of the writings of Count Leo Tolstói. If but a tithe of the praise bestowed on the author of 'War and Peace' and of 'Anna Karenine' is deserved, it is certainly wonderful, we might almost say shameful, that his genius should be so thoroughly unknown to us. And yet we are familiar enough with Tourguénieff.—M. Albert Sorel's paper on 'Dumouriez,' sketches the first part of his career, that which preceded Valmy and Jemmapes, and in which he appears rather as a diplomatist—and a very second-rate one—than as a general. Nothing that is here brought forward is likely to raise Dumouriez in our opinion, and indeed, it is due to M. Sorel to say that he does not attempt to make of him anything but what he really was, an adventurer about whom a fortunate combination of events threw a passing halo of heroism.—M. Th. Bentzon and the pseudonymous 'Pierre Loti,' late of the French navy, supply the lighter element, the former in the first part of 'Tony,' a tale about which it is as well to venture no opinion as yet, the latter in 'Subterranean Pagodas,' of which we can only say that it seems to us to be the result of too faithful a compliance with his 'green and orange' friend Lee-Loo's recommendation: 'Il faut boire, encore boire, *tchountchoum*.'—The second part of M. Cuheval-Clarigny's paper on 'Italian Railways' deals with the parliamentary enquiry on the subject and the new conventions. The picture here drawn of travelling on Italian lines, though by no means overdrawn, as we can testify from sad experience, is such as to appear incredible even to those who know how uncomfortable some of our own lines can at times be.—M. L. Brethous-Lafargue contributes a paper on 'The Masters of the French Opera,' as a protest against the prevailing indifference for French music, of which he bitterly complains, and which he attributes to the undue influence of German music. Without detracting from the merits of such men as Bach, Handel, Haydn and Beethoven, he shows by a careful examination of the compositions of Lully and Rameau, that French musicians need not go out of their own country in search of excellent models.—Amongst the usual reviews with which the number closes, we notice an excellent paper on Diderot, by the dramatic critic, M. Louis Ganderax.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (August 1st and 15th).—Both numbers for this month open with further instalments of M. Th. Bentzon's 'Tony,' a novel which is marred by the introduction of at least one very objectionable character.—'La Nation Armée,' a paper by General Cosséron de Villenoisy, though perhaps slightly professional, is full of interesting details and original suggestions. The arguments by which he endeavours to prove his position that even where military service is obligatory there is a manifest injustice and a practical disadvantage in submitting all classes of the community to the same training and for the same

length of time, are certainly plausible. It may be doubted, however, whether they are quite consistent with the spirit of democratic equality on which the present military system of France is based.—M. Alfred Fouillée's recent work, 'Critique des Systèmes de Morale Contemporaine,' has suggested to M. Emile Beausaire a most interesting and instructive article in which he examines 'the state of consciences in contemporary society' and 'the present crisis in Ethics.'—In the continuation of his able study, 'Un Général Diplomate au Temps de la Révolution,' M. Albert Sorel takes Dumouriez at the moment of his appointment to the chief command of the army of the north. To understand the great event which covered the French general with glory, the battle of Valmy, to appreciate its nature, its consequences and the singular negotiations to which it gave rise, the writer penetrates into the camp of the allies, examines why, after having neglected the many advantages which they possessed, they were about to rush into irretrievable blunders, and, in short, analyzes the complicated motives which decided the issue of a campaign in which diplomacy played a far greater part than strategy. M. Sorel's 'monography' is an important contribution to the history of a most critical epoch.—'Les Grandes Percées des Alpes,' from the pen of M. Louis Simonin, contains some highly interesting and comparatively little known details concerning the cutting and working of the three great tunnels by which the Alps are pierced, that of Mont Cenis in the west, of the St. Gothard in the north or centre, and of the Arlberg in the east. In addition to this the writer also sets forth and criticises the projected tunneling of the Simplon, Mont Blanc, the lesser and the greater St. Bernard.—The 'Scientific Discovery' of which M. A. Dastre records the 'three epochs,' in a paper bearing that title, is the discovery of the circulation of the blood. Such a discovery as Flourens wrote, some thirty years ago, does not, and, indeed, could scarcely belong to one man, nor to one epoch. Harvey's share in the complete solution of this physiological problem was undoubtedly great, for it was he that established what is known as the greater circulation. Previously to him, however, the lesser pulmonary circulation had been described by Realdo Colombo, an Italian, and by the famous and unfortunate Servetus. But, if the history of the circulation of the blood does not begin with Harvey, neither does it end with him. Neither his own discovery, nor that of Realdo Colombo is more essential to a thorough understanding of the whole mechanism of circulation than is that of local circulation, due to Claude Bernard. In other words, Harvey's discovery marks a celebrated crisis in the slow evolution of our knowledge in connection with circulation, and this crisis finds its place between two others, of which the one prepared and the other completed it. It is more particularly the last of these three crises or epochs that M. Dastre records, though new documents and recent discussions give him an opportunity of recalling, in some detail, the history both of the pulmonary and of the greater circulation.—'The Situation of Viticulture in 1884,' from the pen of M. E. Vidal, is a despairing protest against the indifference of the government with respect to one of the chief industries of France. The writer almost goes the length of predicting ruin, in a not very distant future, to the 15,000 families of vine-dressers and the 2 millions of middle-men who have hitherto made their living from the produce of the vine.—The *Revue littéraire* which, with the usual notices and chronicles, closes the number, deals with the 'lesser naturalists'; the feeble imitators of Zola and Flaubert, such, for example as Bauquenne, Allard, or 'the astonishing Monsieur Francis Poitevin,' meet with scant mercy at the hands of M. Brunetière.—In the mid-monthly number, M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu begins what promises to be a series of political and religious, or, perhaps we should say, politico-religious articles, with a paper on 'Liberal Catholics and the Church of France from 1830 to the present day.' The present instalment brings him down to the scission of the catholic party, about 1850.—With a third instalment M. Albert Sorel concludes his very able sketch of the career of the arch-traitor and conspirator Dumouriez. He shows us the 'parasite of every coalition' living in England on the double pension granted him by the British and the Austrian governments, reduced to the infamy of having to find excuses for his best actions, and of boasting of his worst, and as utterly devoid of resignation in his decrepitude as he had been of conscience at the decisive crisis of his fortunes.—'En Tunisie' has the merit of being not only

light, sketchy, and eminently readable, but—being from the pen of a lady, Mme. Blanche Lee Childe—of containing details of female life to which a traveller of the sterner sex would have been unable to get access.—In the sketch which he entitles 'Corvée Matinale,' we recognise M. Pierre Loti's power of description.—The Marquis de Saporta's continuation of the admirable essay in which he sums up the results of Oswald Heer's labours, is one of the best contributions to the present number. The past of the Arctic regions is the subject of this second instalment. After recording all that Heer has done towards clearing up the mystery of the early ages of the world, the writer deduces his own conclusions, which are, that a time will come when our own zone, depopulated in its turn, will share the fate of Iceland and of Spitzbergen, and, after having gone through an intermediate period, during which its only trees will be the pine, the elder, and the rowan, will ultimately retain nothing but stretches of alpine plants in the depths of its valleys and along the estuaries of its shores.—In the last article, entitled, 'Happiness in Pessimism,' M. J. Bourdeau shows us how Schopenhauer, in spite of his doctrines, or perhaps because of them, lived to a green old age, respected, happy, and—except in theory—thoroughly contented with himself and all about him.

LE LIVRE (June).—Jean-Joseph Girouard, a Parisian publisher, was executed on the 8th of January, 1794, his crime being that he had printed anti-revolutionary works, and that he had been found in possession of works tainted (empoisonnés) with aristocracy and tending to vilify national representation. The documents relating to his trial have been thought by M. Alfred Bégis of sufficient importance to be reproduced under the title, 'Persécutions des Journalistes et des Libraires pendant la Terreur.' M. Bégis does not miss the opportunity of saying hard things of the Government which inscribed 'Liberté, fraternité, égalité' on all the public buildings, and condemned to death the editors, the publishers, and the printers of newspapers which dared to find fault with the decrees of the National Convention, and even the clerks who took down the names of subscribers to these papers.—The paper which M. L. Dérome entitles 'Le Discrédit des Livres écrits en Latin' is a sad and, in some parts, an eloquent lament over the decay of Latin literature generally, and more particularly over one manifestation of it, the discredit into which Latin works have fallen. As to what he says of books, we fear that not only France, but England too, must plead guilty to the impeachment. Now-a-days it is almost exclusively for the use of schools that the Latin authors are printed, and no publisher thinks of sending out such *éditions de luxe* of them as were the pride of former generations, and even these are being gradually expelled from the libraries of book-fanciers, of men of the world, even of literary men. M. Dérome looks upon this as the direct result of an evolution in modern manners. He connects it with the growing contempt for Latin literature generally. It is on this point that we believe, as we sincerely hope, that the very dark sketch which he draws, and the darker prophecies which he utters, however true they may be on his side of the Channel, are overdrawn in so far as we are concerned. We cannot believe that Latin literature is doomed. However low the ebb to which it has fallen and may yet fall, we must remember that the 'dark ages' immediately preceded and perhaps helped to bring about the great revival of learning.—The part devoted to the 'Bibliographie Ancienne' closes with a short paper by M. Olivier de Gourcuff, bearing the title, 'Notes de Bibliographie Philhellénique.'—In the 'Bibliographie Moderne' we welcome M. Uzanne with his 'Vieux airs—Jeunes Paroles,' in which he allows his pen to ramble so charmingly from grave to gay, from criticism to bibliography, from the nineteenth century to the Middle Ages, from 'Les Blasphèmes' to the 'Quatre Fils Aymon,' from the 'Sentimental Journey' to 'Faublas,' without ever ceasing to be interesting.—M. Edouard Drumont, who follows him, enlarges on the 'literary movement' of the month, which naturally includes what we may call the two productions of the season, 'Les Blasphèmes' and 'Sapho.'—In the 'Correspondances Etrangères' Scotland is alone represented. At the head of the works which M. Barbé introduces to the notice of French readers we find Professor Jebb's 'Œdipus Tyrannus,' 'Inchbracken,' 'The Seven Sagas of

Prehistoric Man,' are also favourably mentioned. One of the articles in a late number of *The Scottish Review*, that dealing with M. Rénan's 'Souvenirs,' is pointed out as possessing special interest for French readers. A later number of the same review is also mentioned, and special reference made to 'M. Swinburne's Debt to the Bible' and to the essay on the 'Corpus Poeticum Boreale.'

LE LIVRE (August).—The July number of this review not having come to hand, we are obliged to pass on to that for August. It contains but two papers in its first part, both of them, however, very interesting and very readable. In the first of them, M. B. H. G. de Saint-Heraye draws a charming picture of the well-known 'Bibliophile Jacob,' M. Paul Lacroix, and a description of his library. We are not told what the fate of this library was during the late war; this we should have been curious to learn. If we are not mistaken, some German soldiers were quartered in the house, and one of them, with a literary taste and an easy conscience, appropriated a manuscript which he afterwards showed with some pride as a relic of his soldiering days. He was disappointed to learn from us that his treasure consisted merely of notes which could be of no great use to any but the owner.—M. Spire Blondel continues the series of articles published from time to time on 'The Writer's Tools.' Ink and inkstands are treated of in the present instalment, which is full of quaint information. It closes with a description of four inkstands well known to all those who have visited Victor Hugo's house in Guernsey. They are fixed together on a table, and accompanied with autograph letters from each of the givers: Lamartine, Victor Hugo, George Sand, and the elder Dumas. The production of the last of these is highly characteristic—as is also the dashing style of the handwriting—and short enough to be reproduced: 'I certify that this is the inkstand with which I have written my last fifteen or twenty volumes.' This literary trophy was put up for sale by Mme. Hugo at a bazaar. A hundred pounds was rather too high a price for Guernsey purses. Victor Hugo was obliged to be his own buyer. The poor got the money, and he kept the table, which may still be seen in the room usually known as Garibaldi's.—By a strange coincidence, the 'Chronique du Livre' contains an account of the sale of M. Bouet's collection of autographs, where we again find the writers whom we have just mentioned. There is also a very curious letter from Béranger to Prosper Mérimée. Happening to mention the Romans, he launches forth into the following very amusing and not wholly untrue invectives: 'What scoundrels those Romans of yours were! I always say that they have just been the porters which Providence made use of to carry the lights of Greece throughout the ancient world. The Athenians were neither sufficiently strong-shouldered nor sufficiently sure-footed for the task. Your Roman rabble (*canaille*), brutal and ferocious, was fit for nothing else, but it did not draw much light from the torch which it carried. What a horrible people! When will it cease to be put up for the admiration of little children and old fools?'—In the modern portion, MM. Uzanne and Drumont have given up their places to Dr. Westland Marston and M. Henri Père Du Bois. In his London letter, the former devotes several columns to the memoirs of Princess Alice. Here, also, a paragraph, and a highly favourable one, is given to Professor Jebb's 'Sophocles.'

LE LIVRE (September).—In the first of the only two articles of the 'Ancient' section of this number, M. Maurice Jametel takes us to Peking, and acts as our cicerone through a Chinese book-shop. Amongst the various volumes which he describes there is one, a copy of the Chou-King, to which he ascribes 1282 as a date. If it can be proved that it was actually printed some two centuries before Europe received the art of printing from Guttenberg, it can scarcely be thought that 600 francs was so exorbitant a price as M. Jametel calls it.—The second paper, by M. Paul d'Estrées, contains an account of a third manuscript of the 'Guirlande de Julie,' of which M. Uzanne, who has published it, thought that only two copies were extant. The 'Chronique' continues its enumeration of the autographs in the Bouet collection. We notice a letter of Burns's which fetched 800*l.* Walter Scott only rose to 75*l.*; Carlyle to 100. One of Guizot's letters, sold for 50*l.*, contains an interesting appreciation of Shakespeare's

'Romeo and Juliet.' 'What can be truer than the love of Romeo and Juliet, a love so youthful, so ardent, so unreflecting, full at once of physical passion and of moral tenderness, unbridled, and yet not coarse, because the delicacy of the heart is throughout united to the ardour of the senses. There is nothing subtle or artificial in it, no ingenious arrangement of the poet's; it is neither the pure love of an imagination filled with pious enthusiasm, nor the licentious love of a perverted life; it is love itself, love undivided, involuntary yet sovereign, without constraint and without corruption, such as it bursts forth in the heart of man in early youth, at once simple and varied, as God has made it. "Romeo and Juliet" is really the tragedy of love, as "Othello" is that of jealousy, and "Macbeth" that of ambition.'—In this number the foreign letters, on the wane in former numbers, have totally disappeared; and M. M. Uzanne and Drumont have the modern department all to themselves, exclusively, we should add, of the bibliographical part and the 'Gazette Bibliographique,' in which we call special attention to a report of Arsène Houssaye's speech at the inauguration of George Sand's statue, and to a charming letter in which the younger Dumas describes his study.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (Sept. 1st) contains the close of the article by A. Bottoni, on 'Pomposa at the time of Guido,' and also of the story 'Garden and Field-flowers,' by R. Corniani.—Signor Cenni closes his 'Reflections on Italy in connection with the Gotthard Tunnel.'—Signor Silerigardi tells the story of the 10th edition of Cantù's *Storia Universale*.—Then follows a review of Lampertico's work on political economy, *Economia de' popoli e degli Stati*. The critic is Signor Conti.—Signor Valdarnini contributes 'The Theory of Human Conscience and Morals in connection with the Doctrines of Kant.'—The number for September 16th opens with a lecture delivered at the School of Science in Florence last May, by Signor Gabba, the subject being 'Modern Doctrines of Property.' Signor Bonghi reviews at length Father Stoppani's book, *Dogma and Positive Science*,—a book, says Bonghi, which will comfort those whose indignation has been roused by the scorn which atheistic science has showered upon believers.—Signor G. Loth writes an archaeological paper on the question—'Which Britons gave their name to Armorica?'—Signor Puicherle contributes a short memoir of the late Abbé Moigno, the author of *Splendori della fede*, who died not long ago at Paris.—Another memoir is written on the illustrious Neapolitan, Baron Savarese, by Signor Persico.—Under the title 'Our Country Regions,' Signor Mazzei argues on the agricultural question,—Art at the Turin exhibition is the subject of Signor di Marmotti's pen. Professor Conti has a brief paper on Leopold Galeotti and Giulio Carcano.—The political review, speaking of the cholera epidemic in Italy, says that the pen refuses to describe all the horrors of the misfortune that has befallen Naples, which seems destined to suffer most from the cholera whenever that disease appears in Italy. The extraordinary intensity of the malady in Naples, and its long continuance at Spezia, have silenced all journalistic polemics on the extreme fear shown by the citizens. When people die as they died in Naples, the panic which cities feel that still remember the epidemic of 1866 and 1867, is understood. But the terror has passed, and it is seen that when the Italians have paid the tribute of their impressionable character during the menace of the epidemic, they find courage to face its actual presence. The reviewer praises the noble conduct of King Humbert, and urges the government to do their duty in rendering Naples less poor and more healthy.

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA (July 12th).—The first article, 'Give to God that which is God's,' is a contradiction of Signor Cadorna's idea that the doctrine of the spiritual power of the Church as a real public power was a mediæval innovation.—There follow more chapters of 'The Present State of Linguistic Study,' quoting the opinions of Whitney, Adam, and others.—An article on 'The Transitoriness of the World' notices the opinions of the philosophers, the scholastic conception of time, with a strong dissent from the opinions of Hegel, Kant, etc.—The lively novel, 'The International Countess,' is continued.—The review of Italian literature notices David Castelli's *Biblical Poetry, The Prophecies of the Bible*, and *The Messiah according to the Hebrews*, and also the Duke of

Castellaneta's *Barbarian Letters*.—The contemporary chronicle speaks of Papal affairs, of the Italian Republicans' celebration of Mazzini's birthday, calling their praise of the patriot 'blasphemy,' and other things.—July 22nd.—The first article on the abolition of capital punishment begins as follows: 'The cholera-morbus that is menacing Italy on all sides alarms people so that one hears of nothing but deaths, quarantine, the lazaretto, fumigation, microbes, and contagious bacilli; all things which sadden the soul and show that God, in his divine justice, keeps in full vigour the capital punishment which the protectors of assassins pretend that human justice ought to abolish for ever.' The article then goes on to quote various Masonic publications to prove that the agitation has been set on foot by the sect 'that pants to banish God from every concern in human affairs because it recognises in the true God, the author and supreme master of human society, its own greatest enemy.'—Then follows another of the series of articles on the Church, this time the subject being 'The Legislative Power of the Church.'—The continuation of the papers on the decay of Italian thought tries to prove the great harm done to Italy by the poets, from Gracolini down to Leopardi, of whom it says: 'He would have been one of the greatest poets, if impiety had not cut his wings, and if, instead of desiring the grandeur of a pagan Italy, he had desired to see his country great and powerful under the protection of the Kingdom of the Cross.'—There follow more chapters of 'The International Countess.'—The contemporary chronicle severely criticises G. Tregga's book, *Religions and Religion*, calling it a comedy, and blaming the author's presumption in daring to speak in the name of science. The criticism is not finished in this number.

CIVILTA CATTOLICA (August 5th) begins with a political article on 'Parliamentarianism,' trying to prove that it hides within its bosom the germs of a brutal tyranny.—We have then another article entitled 'The Temporal Beginning of the World,' and another on the Church, dealing with its judicial power, and concluding with a passage on the errors of modern liberalism; the papers on 'The State of Linguistic Study,' 'The Decay of Italian Thought,' etc.—The contemporary chronicle speaks of the bad state of Italian prisons in view of the cholera.—August 27th opens with an article entitled 'Armed Peace,' attributing that plague to—the Freemasons. 'This armed peace,' concludes the article, 'has its living root in the Judaic-Masonic revolution, the destroyer of States, the mover of the most disorderly popular passions, and the corrupter of all that is sacred, honest, and Christian in individuals and in society.'—'The Last Fate of Babylonia' is concluded.—A further instalment of 'The Decay of Italian Thought' carries down the list of poets to Cavallotti, the pride of revolutionary literature, who lately led a squadron of assistants to help the sufferers from the cholera in Naples.

CIVILTA CATTOLICA (Sept. 9th) opens with an article on 'Irreligion, Nihilism, and Anarchy'; another violent attack against the 'Masonic Sects' follows.—The article on the Church has for its subject 'The Coercive Power of the Church.'—The article on 'The Present State of Linguistic Study' and the novel are continued.—The review of natural science discourses at length on Dr. Koch and his bacilli, on the classic discovery of Pacini, on disinfection, remedies, etc., and concludes with a useful warning. Pacini having demonstrated that, as a rule, *apparent death precedes real death* in cholera, the reviewer urges that persons supposed to be dead of cholera ought not to be interred until putrefaction has actually begun, that being the only sure sign of death. This sign is often delayed for twenty-nine or thirty hours, so the dead should be deposited in a mortuary chamber until putrefaction has set in, there being little or no danger of infection, as the germs of disease are confined to the intestines, and do not issue after death as they do during the course of the malady. The name and rights of science should be invoked in favour of such precautions, not only out of charity to others, but also in self-defence.—The contemporary chronicle praises the noble conduct and example of the King, and the zeal of the priests. The epidemic has slown, says the reviewer, how false is the judgment of those Liberals who represent the people as hostile to the Church and clergy.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (July 1st).—The number opens with an interesting paper on 'The Poet Martial and the Customs of his Time' in which a good picture of the poet and the period is placed before the non-classic reader.—Mr. Morelli's book, 'Italian Masters in German Galleries,' published in London last year, affords Signor Visconte Venusta a theme for an extensive criticism and summary, to be continued in the next number.—Professor Stoppani writes on the Sargossa Sea, ending with the hypothesis that perhaps the still mysterious origin of the bituminous schists may be found in masses of vegetable matter, corresponding to the Sargossa Sea, which were accumulated at the bottom of ancient seas by marine currents, and reduced first to a gelatinous substance and then to schists rich in combustible material.—Fiction is provided by J. Rovetti in a story entitled 'Montegù.'—'P' contributes an article on 'Political parties in Belgium,' pointing out the inconveniences of a constitution that has two elective chambers.—'Woman in India' shows that the Indian women are now passing through a period of progressive evolution, by which they will ultimately be raised to the position enjoyed by women of the Anglo-saxon races, a position not yet even achieved by the women of Latin races.—The review of foreign literature, among other French works, notices Renan's *Nouvelles études d'Histoire Religieuse*.—The political review touches on the damage done by quarantine on land, and describes the importation of the present epidemic as the only possible result of the colonial policy of France.—July 15th.—Signor Antona Traversa publishes and comments on an inedited letter from Ugo Foscolo to Andrea Calbo on receipt of an ode by the latter, which is also given.—The article on Morelli's book is closed, the writer expressing the hope that knowledge of Italian art may shortly be as largely spread in Italy as it is abroad, and that the Italian picture galleries may be better organised, better catalogued, and rendered more accessible. All Italy, it is said, is a museum, but it cannot be added that it is a well kept museum. The preservation of works of art in Italy is closely connected with the question of instruction and study. When the history and criticism of art shall have received a greater impulse, the government will be better able to judge to whom it should confide its treasures, and the best guarantees for the safety of Italian monuments and for the future of Italy's art institutions will be found.—Signor E. Mancini contributes an interesting account of the latest scientific application of photography.—'Montegù' is continued.—Signor De Zerbi has an article on the Italian parliament, of which the following few sentences will give an idea: 'The will of the Italians is exactly like the will of children, and the Deputies are wrong in that they are its mirror. The ministers are wrong in that they are the medium or the result of the will of those deputies who reflect the anarchical will of the country. But the argument that the government has in consequence done nothing, is exaggerated. If the government and the chamber had an exact knowledge of the real need and future of the country, they would have submitted everything to two objects; first, the completion of the defences of the State, which is the only basis of a strong and respected commercial policy; and secondly, the preparation for a resurrection of agricultural productiveness, and the stemming of the gradual exhaustion under which proprietors and agriculturists suffer.'—There follows an account of the cutting of the Isthmus of Suez.—The political review speaks of Gladstone's electoral reform as an able plan for diverting public attention from foreign affairs to home questions.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (August 1st).—Signor G. Boglietti opens the number with a study of 'The conception of social evolution in Shelley's poems.' 'In Shelley's mind,' he says, 'we find thought and nature, separated during so many centuries, intimately united. Shelley's fantastic representation of thought is in perfect agreement with the results of modern science. He did not hesitate to assign to Nature the mission of breaking the world's fetters. He had the intuition of the evolutionary movement of our time, and represented it in a manner that adorned the positive results of science with the flowers of poesy.' The article quotes largely from Shelley's works.—Signora Luisa Saredo relates the story of Melanie, third wife of Prince Metteruich, prefacing the account with the remark that it is difficult to understand the indifference with which the

publication of the Memoirs of Prince Metternich has been received in Italy; and that she has therefore imposed upon herself the task of exposing the domestic side, and the most characteristic and sympathetic side, of these memoirs.—Signor Paul Livy writes on the all-absorbing subject of the cholera-bacillus. He remarks that the word *microbus* is said to have been born in 1878, and is due to Sedillot of the French Academy, but that it really owes its paternity to the Italian savant—Pacini. The writer then describes the proceedings of the German Commission in India under Dr. Koch, and the hypothesis set up by that gentleman, as well as the studies of the French Commission in Alexandria. After a summary of the results till now arrived at, Signor Livy advises the strictest quarantine and most rigorous surveillance.—Signor Maldini, Deputy, writes a long article on the Austrian marine manœuvres, deploring the manner in which Italian public opinion interpreted them. The aim of the article is to prove that there was nothing in the fact of the manœuvres that could offend Italy. The writer denies that the Government of Italy should adopt a foreign policy that would give some satisfaction and security at a time when there are signs of change in the diplomatic relations of the great European powers. The ministers should raise the material and moral condition of the navy, and so render public opinion favourable to an institution to which belongs so important a part of the defence of the kingdom.—The foreign review notices at length Professor Flint's book on Vico, confessing that a similar work does not exist in Italy. 'The author,' says the reviewer, 'renders full justice to the genius of our great thinker, and speaks of him with sympathy and admiration, attributing to him every discovery that belongs to him, with that simplicity of language that carries persuasion with it. Some slight errors might be corrected in a new edition, such, for example, as calling Vico a Neapolitan, and some incorrect spelling of proper names. The book will be read with gratitude in Italy, especially by the studious.'—The political review, speaking of electoral reform in Britain, says that, on the day the order of the legislative power is changed, the constitution will become, like all others, subject to inconveniences which till now have been avoided. The reviewer hesitates to believe that Gladstone is favourable to such a transformation of the Upper House, which, if it took place, would disturb the admirable equilibrium now existing between the democratic and conservative principles.—August 15th.—An interesting article, entitled, 'Petrarch the Traveller,' by A. Bartoli, opens this number. We read that Petrarch, when an infant of seven months, and accompanying his exiled parents on their travels, fell with his bearer into the Arno, and was nearly drowned. When seven years of age the poet was wrecked near Marseilles, and once more nearly perished. He continued to travel with his parents from place to place during his youth, and seemed to derive from these early wanderings a necessity for constant change of place and scene. The writer of the article calls Petrarch the first *tourist*. He then gives an account of the poet's journeys, with many interesting incidents and particulars.—Signor E. Monaci contributes a paper on the beginning of the Italian School of Poetry, founded on various publications.—Signor Barzellotti has a long and thoughtful paper on the decline of classical studies in Italian schools.—Signor Bertagnolli writes on the results of the inquiry into the agrarian question by the Italian Government commission, concluding with the words: 'Grimaldi is preparing a good, serious, practical plan, and in Commendatore Miraglia, possesses the most intelligent and persevering co-operator for its application. But he must not forget that a canal of irrigation would be infinitely preferable to all hydrographic and meteorological studies; a large preserve of grapes and olives to any theoretical or practical school of agriculture; and a grand establishment for the manufacture of wine and oil, to a dozen experimental agricultural stations.'—Signor Nencione has something to say on the monuments to Diderot and George Sand.—An account of the orchestral concerts at the Turin exhibition concludes the number.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Sept. 1st) commences with an account of 'The First Monuments of German Literature,' by G. Chiarini; followed by a learned article, 'Plato's Idea of Justice as represented in the Republic,' by Signor Ferri.—A story, entitled 'A Brother of Beatrice Cenci,' is founded on documents relating

to the Cenci family contained in the archives of the Roman State.—Signor E. Mancini has a short paper on muscular force in the vertebrates, crustaceans, and insects. 'Montegù' is continued.—Signor Palma contributes an article on the revision of the constitution in France, of which he says that the problem is still unsolved.—In an article on the 'Movement of the Civil State' Signor Gabelli gives several interesting statistics, among which are the following:—From the 31st December, 1882, to the 31st December, 1883, there were in all Italy 794,196 deaths and 1,071,433 births, being 1·5 deaths and 2 births per minute. Commencing from the healthiest and ending in the least healthy province, the death-rate was as follows; the least in Treviso, 2·21 per cent., the most in Ferrara, 3·45 per cent. In this list Rome figures with 2·77 per cent., and Naples with 3·12 per cent. Life is shorter in South than in North Italy, depending chiefly on the greater mortality among infants in the South. Comparing the ten provinces afflicted with malaria, with ten not infected, we find in the first a mortality of 2·69 per cent., and in the last of 2·61 per cent. The average of marriages is highest in the Abruzzo, Basilicata, and Puglia, and least in the Venetian provinces; so that the number of marriages increases towards the South at the rate of 3 to 4. The medium number of births in all the kingdom is 37·28 to every 1000 inhabitants, increasing towards the South. In Liguria the average is 32·44 per cent., in Apulia 43·83 per cent. Of the 1,071,432 births in 1883, 988,375 were legitimate, 57,034 illegitimate; 26,043 of the infants were exposed. Beginning with Bari, there were 0·92 per cent. of illegitimate births in that province, and in Forlì 28·82 per cent., an enormous difference. Rome figures in this list with 19·20 per cent. and Naples with 1·82 per cent. In grouping the provinces, the least number is to be found in the Neapolitan provinces, which share the post of honour with a few Lombardian provinces and Piedmont, while the Romagna, Umbria, Rome, and some provinces of the March, stand at the bottom of the list. In general, it may be said that those provinces which once formed the Pontifical State afford the greatest number of illegitimate children.—The political review, speaking of Egyptian affairs, says that it may be presumed that Gladstone will be compelled by the force of circumstances to establish an English protectorate, equivalent to an annexation, in Egypt, thus carrying out, not his own programme, but that of the Conservatives, who have always exhorted the Government to make itself master of the vice-kingdom.—Sept. 15th opens with a paper on 'The Natural Sciences in Literature,' by E. Nencione, followed by an article entitled 'The Policy of Massimo d'Azeglio, according to new documents,' by G. Boglietti.—Signor Botto gives a full and lively account of the mediæval castle and exhibition at Turin.—Very interesting and amusing, bringing vividly before the reader ancient Roman life in Baia, is the paper by Signor V. Giachi, 'Journey of Scauro, Roman cavalier, to the Gulf of Baia,' and containing the translation of a letter by the traveller, from which one sees that South Italian life has not essentially altered since the classic times.—The story 'Montegù' is finished.—Signor Angelo Mosso, at the beginning of his long and interesting article on 'Precautions against the Cholera,' praises the Hygienic Office in Berlin, and deploras the want of a similar organisation in Italy. He then describes what is done by other countries and the opinions of the most eminent professors. He relates his visit to Munich to hear Professor Pettenkofer, whose first words to him in private were: 'Your Government is making useless efforts. The cholera had already invaded Italy when you shut your gates. The quarantine can do nothing.' After quoting Pettenkofer's scientific opinions, Signor Mosso takes us with him to Berlin, where he visited Dr. Koch. 'On the morning of the 10th,' he says, 'we went to Dr. Koch. Passing through the laboratories of the Hygienic Office, we knocked at the door of the Professor's private laboratory, which was immediately opened by him in person. When I saw him and took his hand, I felt a kind of timidity and embarrassment. I thought of his triumphs, and the festivities held in his honour when he returned from India. I thought of the beginning of his career, when his name suddenly became luminous in science. I was much moved as I looked at the man, so simple and so humble, who had won an immortal place among the great discoverers of the century. . . .

I looked around the room. In the centre was a bench for chemical researches with reagents, a stove, and some physiological instruments. Under the northern window was a table full of microscopes, tubes, apparatus and bases for the cultivation and colouring of bacilli. Dr. Koch jokingly described to us the unhappy life he had lately led. I wanted to tell him that in Italy, and especially in Turin, he had many ardent admirers; that when a prize of 12,000 francs was proposed to be given to the greatest discovery made during the last three years, some members of the Academy of Science had proposed to give it to him for his researches into the cause of tuberculous disease; but I had not the courage in time to open my mouth, so interesting were the preparations which he now invited me to look at under the microscope. The first thing he showed me was a drop taken from the evacuations of a cholera patient in India, and kept for two days on a damp cloth to show the rapid multiplication of the bacilli under the lens—magnifying 600 times—there appeared a multitude of bacilli, or extremely minute little sticks, of which some were rather curved, in the form of a comma. This is the reason why Dr. Koch gives to such microorganisms the name of comma-bacillus, to distinguish them from other bacilli characteristic of other diseases. Some were like the letter S, because two bacilli were united in inverse directions at their extremities. On the margin of the preparation were seen two tortuous strings, twisted like a screw. Dr. Koch invited me to observe attentively this last and very rare form, which shows that the comma-bacillus is not a genuine bacillus, but an intermediate form between the bacillus and the spirillus. Probably the cholera is produced by a true spirillus, and what now seems a simple bacillus, is only a fragment of a spirillus, like a link in a chain.' 'Dr. Koch laughed bitterly at the fact of enormous sums being spent in useless fumigations, "as if we still lived in the middle ages!"—Signor Mosso then translates for the benefit of Italians the prescriptions against the cholera issued by the German Government to its agents. He concludes his interesting article with the following words: 'After having shown that the Italian government acts contrary to the authority of the most competent judges in hygienic affairs, and after having shown that it was scientifically an error to spend millions of francs in inland quarantine, solemnly condemned by the scientific publications and laws of other European governments, it is my belief that we ought to consider the question of precautions against the cholera from a more elevated and wider point of view. In no circumstances do nations prove themselves to be so intimately connected one with the other as when questions of hygiene arise. Because Toulon was dirtier than any other French town, we have seen the choleraic infection beginning there. And now Naples—the one among the Italian cities most neglected, wanting in good drinking water, defective in drainage, with an improvident population—has become another terrible centre of infection. Pettenkofer's law, that the cholera is more fatal where impurities and human detritus are most largely accumulated in the soil, is verified. In Italy we were not prepared for such an immense misfortune. The laws, the governmental dispositions, and the municipal precautions were less in harmony with the dictates of science than in other countries. The danger of recurring choleraic invasions becomes greater the more commerce and rapidity of communication with India increases. Italy might be the supporter of an international law to defend Europe against the cholera. It is necessary that there should be a central office, with stations in various parts of Europe, and especially on the Suez Canal, which should watch and provide against the contagion in the common interest, and propose the most efficacious measures. The Government ought to furnish the means indispensable for the study of the malady and for researches into the best remedies. It is a sad thing to find the sanitary regulations of the different countries at variance. Cleanliness, the healthy state of cities, the efforts that a Government makes to suffocate an epidemic—or its negligence in allowing one to break out—are questions of an international character. It now behoves us energetically and self-denyingly to prevent the evil from increasing. Everyone should remain at his post. May the love of country, the sentiment of humanity, and the noble example of the King inspire the timorous with courage. Let us remember that the intrepid

man may sometimes make a mistake, but the man who is afraid always makes mistakes.'—The political review says that the cholera invasion in Naples is the most terrible that has been known since 1837, and hopes that all political parties will unite in good faith to complete the necessary work for the sanitation of Naples.—The financial review notices the enormous damage done to Neapolitan commerce by the cholera epidemic. The reviewer, judging by the past, has no great hope that Naples will be rendered radically healthy, to accomplish which desired end all political agitations, he urges, should cease and all parties agree, so as to enable Parliament to take upon itself the great task of the redemption of the people.

The THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT, which ought to appear every two months, has this year appeared in double numbers, and the thickish volume of technical papers, each with its new theory, and crowded with references, demands a reader of patience and determination. The October number opens with a chapter of Dr. Kueen's contributions to the Criticism of the Pentateuch, the subject of which is Balaam. His conclusions are that with the exception of the story of the ass, which is earlier than the rest, and of the concluding verses of the last prophecy, the whole narrative is from one and the same hand. The episode of the ass is a piece of old folks-wit, and as we have it belongs to the end of the ninth century. The rest of the story belongs to the eldest (whose date Prof. K. promises to discuss in a forthcoming new edition of his *Historisch-Critisch-Onderzoek*) and is probably of the age of Jeroboam and Uzziah.

Prof. Hagenboltz, who reviewed the late Mr. Green's Prolegomena to Ethics in the May number of the *Tijdschrift*, has a discussion of the position taken up by Prof. Sidgwick in his review in 'Mind' of the same work. Hagenboltz sympathises with Green in placing the ethical standard in the perfecting of man, and his short paper is a condensed argument against utilitarian position.

In the VRAGEN for September there is a paper on Holland's International position, by S. van Houten, who thinks that small states never were more useful nor more secure than now, and that the respect enjoyed by Holland on account of her past history, as well as the rivalry between her great neighbours on each side, may free her from all anxiety. Small states, however, he holds, are useful only in so far as they are progressive, and afford a field for discussion to which large states taken up with their armaments, cannot so well attend. In a paper in the October *Vragen* the same writer discusses the present constitutional crisis in Holland, and shews apprehensions that the Crown and the Ministry incline to a reactionary policy, and that should this be the case graver questions than that of the suffrage may soon come before the country.

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42,544	24	3 years	200	13 15 0	9 13 0
42,810	34	3 years	500	42 11 3	25 5 5
42,545	39	3 years	1,000	97 0 0	52 3 8
41,342	21	5 years	100	10 17 1	7 17 0
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