

THE  
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

34365-

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JANUARY AND APRIL.

1889.

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VOL. XIII.

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ALEX. GARDNER,  
*Publisher to Her Majesty the Queen,*  
PAISLEY, AND PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

MDCCLXXXIX.

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ART. I.—LOCAL GOVERNMENT IN SCOTLAND.

1. *The County Councillor's Guide.* By H. HOBHOUSE and E. L. FANSHAWE. 1888.
2. *Treatise on the Local Government Act, 1888.* By W. A. HOLDSWORTH. 1888.
3. *Local Government in Scotland.* By Messrs. H. GOUDY and W. C. SMITH. 1880.
4. *Local Government and Taxation in the United Kingdom.* Published under the auspices of Cobden Club.
5. *Memorandum by Lord Advocate M'LAREN on Local Government in Scotland, dated 6th April, 1881.*

THE Government have announced a new Local Government Bill for Scotland as one of the first questions to be brought under consideration of the House of Commons next session. The subject of Local Government is one of importance. It has already engaged, and is at the present moment engaging, great attention in the sister kingdom of England. The Act recently carried through Parliament under the charge of Mr. Ritchie has introduced great changes, and probably as a necessary consequence, has aroused considerable feeling throughout the length and breadth of the country. It appears, however, beyond doubt, that a new system was urgently

required, that further representation in the institutions having the charge of Local Government in England and Wales had become essential, and that there was an urgent demand for greater efficiency and simplicity in Local Authorities. Changes such as that just made are always distasteful to those who have given their attention, care and time to the management of local affairs; they are apt to consider that the existing system can hardly be improved. It is certainly true that in many cases the management was excellent, and it is probably also true that neither economy nor increased efficiency will be secured at the outset, particularly in purely rural districts. It is beyond the province of the writer to give any opinion on these matters, with which he is but imperfectly acquainted. The following quotation from an essay by Lord Edmond Fitzmaurice on 'The Areas of Rural Government' may be usefully given for the information of Scotch readers:—

'The actual making of the rates as a charge on the various hereditaments in the parish lies with the overseers, who are appointed annually by the Justices, and from time to time receive precepts from the various spending authorities, whether representing the Union, the Highway Board, the Sanitary Authority, or the Parish itself, and they assess the amount upon the valuation for which each hereditament figures in the parochial list as issued by the Union Assessment Committee. The poor rate, as shewn above, is in reality a consolidated rate for some purposes, but the reform in this respect is only just begun. "Every one knows," said Mr. Goschen, in a recent speech, "that the first reform is to consolidate all rates, and to have one demand note for all rates, and a single authority for levying the rate and distributing the proceeds amongst such other authorities as have power to call for contributions. It is astonishing that this should not have been done already. Let me give you my personal experience. I myself received in one year 87 demand notes on an aggregate valuation of about £1100. One parish alone sent me eight rate papers for an aggregate amount of 12s. 4d. The intricacies of imperial finance are simplicity itself compared with this local financial chaos. I will waste no words on a reform so universally demanded, only it ought to be carried out.'"

The new Local Government Act for England does not profess to remedy all the objections above referred to. It does not deal with parochial management, and it did not appear expedient that it should do so. It is, however, largely connected with provisions specially applicable to the metropolis and

special counties and liberties. It makes great changes in the management and conduct of local government throughout England, and it would seem to be proper for this paper to give for the benefit of Scotch readers, a short description of its main provisions, to be followed by some account of the Scotch system as at present existing, and concluding with suggestions for the improvement and development of that system. Partly owing to the amount of attention which has been bestowed within the last year on the subject in England, and partly owing to the greater simplicity of the Scotch system as at present in vogue, it is hoped and expected that comparatively little difficulty will be felt in the adoption of a new measure for Scotland. A Scotchman may be pardoned for stating that the practice of Local Government in Scotland appears to have been considerably in advance of the English system, in respect to simplicity, exactitude, and economical management.

Prior to the passing of the new Act, the management of local affairs in the rural districts of England was vested in the County Magistrates, nominated by the Lord Chancellor on the recommendation of the Lord Lieutenant. The Magistrates were selected for the most part from the landowners, and the more important duties entrusted to them were performed at Quarter Sessions under the presidency of a chairman, usually selected from men who had been bred to the Bar or other business pursuits. Much of the actual conduct of business was intrusted to Standing Committees. The Quarter Sessions by themselves or their Committees, took charge of the County Police affairs, the Asylums, the Highways of the County, the administration of the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, questions under the Public Health Act, and other details of a similar nature. They were intrusted also with the management of the County finance and taxation, and they levied the necessary assessments by precepts addressed to the various Unions. By the new Act, a County Council is established in each County for the purpose of managing its administrative and financial business. This Council is to consist of a chairman, aldermen, and councillors, the chairman being chosen by the Council. The 'aldermen,' an expression which conveys

little meaning to a Scotch reader, seem to have been introduced into the composition of the Council with the view of modifying the democratic element. They form one quarter of the Council, and are elected by the Council, not by the rate-payers. For instance, in a county having a Council of 60, the aldermen would number 15, and the elected councillors 45. The Local Government Board determine the number of councillors for each county, and it then becomes the duty of the Quarter Sessions to divide the county into electoral divisions, each returning one councillor. So far as the writer is aware, these electoral divisions possess considerable population. Thus in a county having a population of 300,000, the whole Council may probably consist of from 60 to 70 members, and each electoral division has between 5000 and 6000 inhabitants. It seems likely that under the former system the number of magistrates would be at least 300, although it is no doubt the case that a great number of them would take no interest in county affairs. The election of councillors is to be conducted by ballot, the voters being the county electors registered under the new County Elector's Act; but including unmarried women. Every adult (except a married woman) who has for twelve months occupied within the county any building whatever or land of £10 yearly value, is entitled to be registered as a county elector and to vote in one electoral division.

The question of boroughs within administrative counties seems to have been one which caused great diversity of opinion during the passing of the Act. In the Bill as originally introduced, only the ten largest towns in the kingdom were dealt with as separate counties. Ultimately, however, all boroughs having 50,000 inhabitants were included, and thus have the power of managing their own affairs through their own Councils. All boroughs with fewer than 50,000 inhabitants form part of the county, and are entitled to send a certain number of councillors to the County Council. The Local Government Board determines which municipal boroughs are to return one or more councillors to represent them separately, and the boroughs may be divided into separate electoral divisions if possessing a large population. In such a case as above mentioned, a borough of



20,000 inhabitants would probably return 3 members to the County Council.

The County Councils when elected are invested with all the ordinary administrative powers of Quarter Sessions, such as, county finance, rating, and assessment, the management of county buildings, asylums, county bridges, registration and polling of Parliamentary electors, Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, weights and measures, maintenance and repair of main roads and highways, and numerous other minor matters. They have power also to oppose Bills in Parliament, and to take legal proceedings to protect the interest of the county, as also power to make bye-laws for the government of the county or any part thereof.

The management of the Police and the appointment of the chief constable was one of the questions giving rise to much discussion during the passage of the Bill through Parliament, and it was ultimately determined that these powers should be vested in the Quarter Sessions and County Council jointly, and be exercised through a standing committee consisting of an equal number of Justices and members of the County Council. The standing Joint Committee has the power to appoint and remove the Clerk of the Peace who is to be the Clerk of the County Council,\* and to determine all questions respecting the use of county buildings by Quarter Sessions or the Justices of the County.

There are important provisions in the Act with respect to the appointment of auditors and the powers which the auditors will possess to make disallowances in auditing the accounts of the Councils.

A very important portion of the Act refers to the transfer of revenue from the Exchequer to the funds of the various County Councils in aid of the local rates. In place of making grants in aid of the police, roads, medical relief, pauper lunatics, etc., it is enacted that a fixed portion of the Probate Duty shall be distributed among the several counties in proportion to the

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\* This power does not extend to the person in office at the passing of the Act, who becomes the Clerk of the Council in right of office.

share which the local County Board certify to have been received by each county during the financial year ending 31st March last out of the grants heretofore made by the Exchequer in aid of local rates. It may be recollected that in the Bill as originally introduced it was proposed to distribute the Probate Duty grant among the counties according to the number of indoor paupers maintained in the unions within each county, and the county was to make the guardians a grant of 4d. a day for every indoor pauper maintained by them. It was, however, ultimately decided that for the present the amount should be distributed in proportion to the shares received for the past financial year by the several counties out of the grants in aid. It is estimated that a transfer of revenue to the amount of about £5,000,000 will take place from the Imperial Exchequer to the County Councils; but the County Councils are tied down to apply the sum so received to the same purposes as the former Parliamentary grants were applied, viz., to the police, roads, pauper lunatics, medical relief, etc. In addition to the share of Probate Duty the Act provides that after the financial year ending on 31st March 1889, the Commissioners of Inland Revenue are to pay into the Bank of England to an account to be called the Local Taxation Account, the proceeds of all the licenses, afterwards to be called local taxation licenses, specified in a schedule to the Act. After the amount so collected in each county has been ascertained, it will be paid under the direction of the Local Government Board out of this Local Taxation Account to the Council of each county. The licenses in question may be briefly described as public house or other licenses for the sale of excisable liquors; the dog, game, and gun licenses, and licenses for carriages, male servants, armorial bearings, with others of a general character. The same section of the Act provides that by an order in Council, made on the recommendation of the Treasury, the power to levy these duties may be transferred to the County Councils, after which such Councils and their officers shall have the same power to issue licenses and to collect the duties as the Commissioners of Inland Revenue at present possess. This is a most valuable provision, and it may

be expected that County Councils will, from their more intimate local knowledge, and from the local application of the taxes, be in a much more satisfactory position for the efficient collection of them than the Government officials at present are. It is also contemplated that the change will have a sound economical effect, as the present system, by which the greater the local expenditure is the larger is the grant made, cannot be defended.

It is beyond the limits of this paper to refer to the special provisions of the Act in regard to its application to boroughs. As already mentioned, the large towns having a population of not less than 50,000 are to be completely separate and independent counties. All other boroughs form part of the county for the purposes of the Act; but 'Quarter Sessions Boroughs' with a population of 10,000 are left with a large measure of local and municipal independence. Quarter Sessions boroughs with a smaller population than 10,000, and all other small boroughs will practically be managed by the Councils of the counties in which they are situated.

Having thus given a general description of the Act just passed for England, I will now proceed to state the mode of County Government at present existing in Scotland which is founded upon numerous Acts of Parliament, some of them dating back to considerable antiquity.

It is necessary to premise that there are two great and striking differences in the management of county affairs as administered in England and in the sister kingdom of Scotland. In the first place, in Scotland there is practically no administrative duty resting upon the Justices of the Peace, as such, that duty being discharged by a body termed Commissioners of Supply. Justices of the Peace in Scotland appear to have occupied at one time a more important position than they do now, and it was probably designed when they were first constituted that they should have similar powers and duties to those entrusted to the Justices of the Peace in England. The appointment of the Justices of the Peace in that country, generally called Magistrates, dates back to a very early period, and it is stated that the Commission soon proved of such utility

and importance as to draw from Sir Edward Coke this eulogy: 'The whole Christian world hath not the like of it if it be duly executed.' In Scotland, the first institution of Justices of the Peace appears to have been due to a statute passed in the 11th Parliament of James VI., whereby it is enacted that within every shire in the kingdom there shall be yearly appointed some godly, wise and virtuous gentlemen of good quality to be commissioners for keeping his Majesty's peace. It does not seem, however, that the Justices so appointed took much pains to act until after the Union, since which, down to the present time, Justices of the Peace have been named by a Commission passing under the Great Seal. As a matter of practice, they are recommended by the Lord Lieutenant of the county to the Lord Chancellor, for the time being, who issues a commission of the Peace in their favour. It may be mentioned that in Scotland Justices require no qualification of rank or property.

The duties of Justices of the Peace in Scotland are practically confined to the administration of the Licensing Acts, for the regulation of public-houses and other houses for the sale of exciseable liquors, and the trying of petty offences such as breaches of the peace, assaults, cases under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, and cases under the Licensing Statutes. They hold four Quarter Sessions in the year, but there is seldom any business, with the exception of appeals relating to the granting or refusing of licenses under the last mentioned Acts. They have a civil jurisdiction in small debt cases, but such cases are usually now disposed of by the Sheriff. It must not be inferred, however, from the above remarks that the duties of the Justices of the Peace are not important. As a matter of fact, they are of great service to the community, and in several counties they dispose of a large proportion of the cases that are tried, the counties being divided into districts for that purpose. For instance, in the County of Ayr, out of 3,200 persons apprehended or cited for criminal offences during the year 1887, 1124 were tried before the Justices of the Peace, and 527 before the Sheriff.

The second point of difference between England and

Scotland in the administration of county affairs is that in England, until the passing of the new Act, the county rates, although imposed by the Justices, were levied upon the occupiers of property within the county. In Scotland, on the contrary, these rates are imposed and levied upon the proprietors alone so far as regards what are commonly called 'county' purposes. This observation of course does not apply to parochial rates administered by bodies within the parish, nor does it apply to the road rates levied under the recent statute known as the Roads and Bridges (Scotland) Act, 1878. In these cases the rates are levied upon proprietors and occupiers equally, with the exception of any rate that may be imposed for the payment of debt, or for new roads or bridges; which fall upon proprietors alone. It may also be mentioned that under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts the rate may be levied either from proprietors or occupiers, with a right in each case for the party on whom the rate is levied to recover one half from the other. In many counties it is understood that the rate is levied upon the proprietors, and that they do not recover from the tenants, at least, unless the rate is one of considerable consequence.

As already mentioned, the Commissioners of Supply in Scotland are the County Authority, which at present has the charge of nearly all the county business with the exception of the roads. At one time, roads, bridges, and ferries were managed jointly by the Commissioners of Supply and the Justices of the Peace, but as the management of roads and their adjuncts is now conducted entirely under the statute of 1878, it is unnecessary to refer particularly to the former mode of management.

Commissioners of Supply were originally constituted for the purpose of levying the land tax and adjusting the valuations of the several lands in each county. Commissioners were first established by the Act of Convention, 1667, and their appointment was continued by yearly Acts until the passing of the 38 George III., c. 60, by which the land tax was made perpetual, and the Commissioners previously named were appointed to collect it. The Cess or Land Tax appears to have

been imposed upon Scotland nearly in its present shape by two Acts of Cromwell's Parliament, by which it was provided that every shire should be burdened with a certain quota of the General Assessment, to be apportioned by the Commissioners among the several land-holders according to the rates at which they are valued. The amount of the land tax was afterwards fixed by the Treaty of Union at the sum of £48,000 as the quota for Scotland. The amount falling upon each county fell to be raised out of the subjects valued by the Commissioners appointed by the Act of Convention, 1667, and it is still raised, in all cases where it has not been redeemed, from the different properties in the county, according to what is termed the old valuation—a valuation understood to have been made about the year last mentioned. The Commissioners are still in use to divide and apportion the amount of land tax, between different properties on the occasion of a sale or transfer. That duty indeed was of considerable importance prior to the passing of the Reform Act, 1832, as the amount of the old valuation regulated a freeholder's qualification. The Commissioners have, however, no power to alter the amount of the tax; that is to say, supposing the amount of Cess or Land Tax falling on a certain property to amount to £100, they can divide it among separate portions of that property, but they cannot reduce or augment the whole amount. As a matter of fact, the levying of the Cess by Commissioners of Supply is not now of any importance, and their duties in regard to that business is nominal. It would be much better to allow it to be assessed in the same way as any other Imperial tax.

Until the passing of the Valuation Act, 1854, the qualification for being a Commissioner of Supply was the possession of £100 Scots of valued rent (which may be roughly estimated as equal to a valuation of about £300 a year of real rent) and being named in an Act of Supply; but parties who held the office of Justice of the Peace, and possessed the qualifications, did not require to be named in such an Act. This system continued in force until the Act of 1854, when under the Valuation Act just mentioned, the quali-

fication was changed to the possession of property of yearly value in the county of £100 a year. The eldest son and heir apparent of proprietors of £400 a year, and the factors of proprietors possessing £800 a year are also qualified to act. For the purpose of the qualification, buildings not connected with agriculture are taken at one half their annual value. Subsequent statutes were passed regulating the enrolment of Commissioners on claims lodged: such claims being examined after the production of titles by a committee appointed for the purpose. As under the recent Road Act all Commissioners of Supply are entitled to be Road Trustees, a considerable impulse has been given of late to the desire for enrolment. For instance, in the County of Ayr, the total number of Commissioners enrolled in the year 1869 amounted to 125, whereas at present the total number enrolled is 338.

Since the passing of the Valuation Act in 1854, the duties and responsibilities of Commissioners of Supply have very largely increased. They now administer the general finance and government of the county, and a large sum of money is yearly levied and administered by them. In an appendix I have given some details of the expenditure of County Local Government administered by the Commissioners of Supply in some of the counties of Scotland, from which an idea will be obtained of the extent of their business functions. In the conduct of their business it has been found expedient to appoint Committees or Boards for its more efficient discharge. The Committees in general use are as follows, viz. :

The Finance Committee.

The Valuation Committee.

The Court Houses Committee, and

The Committee for enrolment of Commissioners.

In addition to these there is a Prison Visiting Committee, and a District Lunacy Board; but these two are not confined to the Commissioners of Supply, representatives from the burghs, and it may be from more counties than one being members of them. The Commissioners of Supply further name one half of the members of the Local Authority under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, the other half of that Authority

being appointed from among the tenant farmers in the county at a meeting convened by the Clerk of Supply.

The General Finance of the County, exclusive of that devoted to special purposes, is regulated by the Act 31 and 32 Vict., c. 82, known as the County General Assessment Act. Before that Act was passed the Rogue Money Act (11 George I. c. 26) imposed upon the Commissioners of Supply the duty of levying an assessment known as Rogue Money, for defraying the charges incident to the apprehension, maintenance, and prosecution of suspected criminals. As a matter of fact, a great proportion of such expense was defrayed by the Crown, and the Rogue Money Assessment was not unfrequently applied to purposes other than those specified in the Act. It was found essential therefore to pass the County General Assessment Act. From the assessment imposed in virtue of this Act, fell to be provided (1) the salaries and outlays of clerks, treasurers, collectors, auditors, and other officials necessarily employed in conducting the affairs in each county; (2) the salaries and outlays of Procurators Fiscal in the Sheriff and Justice of the Peace Courts, so far as were formerly in use to be paid by each county; (3) expenses incurred in searching for, apprehending, subsisting, prosecuting, or punishing criminals; (4) the expenses connected with the keeping up of Court Houses or other County Buildings; (5) the expenses connected with striking the Fairs' Prices for each county; (6) the expenses of damage done by riotous assemblies and those incurred in the prevention of such assemblies; (7) the expenses previously directed by Act of Parliament to be defrayed out of the Rogue Money. It may be observed that the Commissioners have been in use to petition in favour of or against Parliamentary Bills affecting Scotland, but there is no authority given them to incur or assess for expenses in promoting or opposing any Parliamentary Bill. The County General Assessment is not generally a heavy one. The fines recovered from offenders go a long way to meet the expense of their prosecution before the Justices of the Peace Courts, and the expenses of all other prosecutions are defrayed by the Crown. Recently, particularly in counties where minerals are worked, the expense



of the administration of the Weights and Measures Acts has considerably increased, owing to the inspection required at coal or iron mines; but as a general rule it is thought that the County General Assessment does not exceed from a halfpenny to three farthings in the £ of real rental. In this is included retiring allowances, so far as falling on the county, payable to retired Prison Officials, and grants to Industrial Schools or Training Ships.

One of the most important purposes falling under the administration of the Commissioners of Supply is that relating to the County Police. The leading statute in regard to this subject is the Act 20 and 21 Vict., c. 72, under which the Police affairs are managed by the committee called the Police Committee, appointed annually at the General Meeting, and of which the Lord Lieutenant and the Sheriff are *ex officio* members. Certain burghs, if incorporated with the county, have also the power of appointing a restricted number of members. To the Police Committee is entrusted the appointment of the Chief Constable of the county, subject to the approval of the Secretary of State. It takes charge likewise of all other matters relating to the Police, although the details of appointing of officers are left in the hands of the Chief Constable. In nearly every Scottish county a considerable force has thus been established, and an efficient system of Police supervision is exercised over the whole country. It is sufficiently obvious that a considerable amount of duty is thus thrown upon the Police Committee in all counties of importance, and the expenditure is consequently large, as shewn in the abstract given in the appendix already mentioned. There is a Government subvention now amounting to half the cost of the pay and clothing of the force, but notwithstanding this large grant the expense of the constabulary force falling upon counties is considerable, amounting as a rule to fully one half of the total County Rates. Like other such rates, the assessment is levied entirely upon proprietors, including, however, proprietors of houses and all urban subjects except those comprised within royal and parliamentary burghs in the county. Even in the case of such burghs it is not uncommon to have an amalga-

tion with the county. It is provided by the Act that Police Districts may be formed with different numbers of constables, according to requirement, which division into districts and apportionment of constables require the approval of a Secretary of State. Where districts are formed, the expense is divided into general and local, and this power is of considerable advantage in relieving districts where there is little crime, and consequently no necessity for a large police force.

The Valuation Act 17 and 18 Vict. Cap. 91, to which there appears to be nothing corresponding in England, was passed in 1854, and has proved a most valuable statute for the purpose of regulating and furnishing means for levying assessments. Before it was passed, it was usual to assess on the old valuation, although there was a provision in a previous statute for assessing upon the real rent by making a valuation, which, however, possessed no great authority. The Valuation Act of 1854 created the machinery by which all properties, both in counties and burghs, are valued yearly, and there is a power of appeal to a committee which sits after the 10th of September in each year, when the Roll is completed. It may at first have appeared unnecessary to make up the Roll each year, but the enactment has proved a wise one, and the Valuation Roll affords a very complete system for the collection both of county and parochial rates. It may be interesting to note that in the County of Ayr the total valuation for the year 1855-6, —the year when the Act was first in full operation— amounted, including railways, to £665,450, and that for the year 1887-8 it amounted to £1,051,814. There was a steady increase for many years, but since year 1884-5, there has been a decrease of about £80,000.

The Registration of Voters is carried out by the Assessor appointed under the Valuation Act, whose duty it is to make up the Roll of Voters for Parliamentary Elections—a duty much increased since the passing of the last Reform Act. This Roll, when so made up, is submitted to the Sheriff, who disposes of any claims and objections made by the agents of the different parliamentary parties, and thereafter the Roll is printed under the direction of the Sheriff, but at the expense of

the county. The system is not altogether satisfactory, as the dual management of the Sheriff and the Commissioners of Supply is apt to create unnecessary expense.

The leading Statute regulating the management of District Asylums in Scotland is the 20 and 21 Vic., c. 71, and under it the charge of all such asylums rests with the District Board of Lunacy, which is composed of Commissioners of Supply with the addition of one member from each burgh in the county or district. When the burghs are numerous, they do not each send a member to the Board. In a good many counties in Scotland, the district of the Lunacy Board is commensurate with the county, but in many others two or more counties are combined. The District Board acts, however, quite independently of the Commissioners of Supply, and appoints its own clerk, who is in most cases a distinct officer from the Clerk of Supply. These boards have the entire management of the County Asylums within their district, and annually intimate to the Commissioners of Supply the sum to be assessed upon the county for what is termed the 'Providing Account,' that is, the sum required to meet the expenditure for the first erection, additions, maintenance, repairs, and furniture of asylums, and grounds. The District Board in the first place fixes the total amount required for the Providing Account, and the amount is reported to the General Board of Lunacy in Edinburgh. The General Board divides and apports the gross amount between the landward part of the county and the various burghs therein; and as already mentioned, the Commissioners of Supply at their annual meeting make an assessment to provide the amount so laid upon the County. The assessments leviable from the burghs are imposed by the various Town Councils, and it is their duty to pay the amount falling upon them to the clerk and treasurer of the District Board, on a certain date fixed. The General Board of Lunacy has a right of supervision over the actings of the District Boards; and the District Asylums are subject to inspection by Commissioners in Lunacy. The Providing Account is intended in all cases where Asylums have been already erected (which is the common case) to meet only the expense of repairs, the payment of

any debt incurred in the erection of buildings or purchase of grounds, and such relative expenses. The maintenance of the patients within the asylum, which is, of course, a much larger annual item than that for repairs, etc., is dealt with under the head of Maintenance Account, and the Parochial Boards within the district pay for the maintenance of each patient sent by them, according to a fixed scale laid down by the District Board. This scale falls to be fixed at such an amount as will one year with another meet the ordinary and regular expense of maintenance. The Parochial Boards receive from Government a subvention of 4s. a week for each pauper lunatic sent by the Parochial Board to the asylum, and the rate of maintenance varies from about 8s. 6d. to 12s. per week. It has sometimes been stated as a grievance by Parochial Boards that, although they contribute with the aid of the Government grant to the total sum required for the maintenance of the whole inmates of the asylum, they have no voice in the management. It will be observed from what has been already stated, that, although the District Board may be said practically to be appointed by the Commissioners of Supply in each year, it neither acts as a committee of the Commissioners nor makes any report to them; nor is its expenditure at present included in the published accounts, etc., of the county expenditure, except in so far as it relates to the assessment for the Providing Account imposed upon the county. The whole accounts are annually submitted to the General Board, and are published by it.

By the Roads and Bridges Act of 1878 an entirely new system for the management of Roads and Bridges in Scotland was introduced. Under this Act all tolls ceased to be leviable in the year 1883. In many counties they had already, in virtue of local Acts, ceased to be levied, but at the time mentioned they still remained very commonly in force. By the Act of 1878 it was enacted that the following persons should constitute the County Road Trustees, viz. : (1) all Commissioners of Supply of the County; (2) one person appointed by each Corporation or incorporated Company assessed as owner of £800 or upwards; (3) the following persons, called 'elected Trus-

tees,' to be elected once in every three years by the ratepayers from among their own number, in each parish wholly or partly situated in the county; that is to say, (a) where the number of ratepayers does not exceed 500, two persons; (b) where the number of ratepayers exceeds 500, but does not exceed 1000, three persons; (c) where the number of ratepayers exceeds 1000, four persons; and (4) two persons deemed to be elected Trustees appointed from time to time from among their own number by the Commissioners of Police of any Police Burgh within or partly within the County, a Police Burgh being a burgh which does not exceed 5000 in population. Where any burgh has had its roads transferred to the Trustees under the Act, the Provost or Chief Magistrate and one member of the Town Council, or the Senior or Chief Magistrate and one of the Commissioners of Police become members of the County Road Trust. The mode of election of the representatives of Burghs and of the Parish Ratepayers is by open vote. It is the duty of the Trustees to appoint at their annual general meeting a County Road Board consisting of not more than 30 members, of which not less than a third nor more than a half are chosen from the elected Trustees. The Chairman appointed by the Trustees is *ex officio* Chairman of the Board.

In the ordinary working of the Road Act, it has been found expedient to divide most counties into districts under the charge of a District Committee, and as in the Road Board, not less than a third nor more than a half of the District Committee must consist of elected trustees from parishes, burghs or police burghs, within the district. In each of these districts there is a clerk, a treasurer, and a surveyor. The District Committees report their proceedings to the Road Board, along with suggestions as to the amount of assessment required in each district, and the Road Board again makes a report to the general body of trustees who alone have the power of imposing assessments. In practice, the general meeting passes, as a matter of course, the assessments recommended to be imposed.

With regard to the assessment, it has to be explained that the rate for the management and maintenance of the roads is imposed by the trustees at a uniform rate on all lands and

heritages within the district, and is payable, one half by the owners, the other half by tenants and occupiers. The same rule does not, however, obtain with respect to assessments for payment of road debts, or for the formation of new roads or bridges, both of which assessments are payable by proprietors only; and in all questions relative thereto the elected trustees have no vote. There is a provision in the Act by which the trustees may either collect the assessments themselves or require the Commissioners of Supply to do so, but it is understood that in practice, the Road Trustees do for the most part follow the system of collecting the assessments themselves. The assessment within burghs is much the same as within the county.

In what is above written I have endeavoured to give a short and popular account of the present system of County Local Government—a system which on the whole has proved efficacious and has been found to answer well the purposes for which it was designed. It is sufficiently obvious, however, that considerable changes are in view, and indeed, since the passing of the English Act of last Session, it is clear that some similar local Government enactment for Scotland is imminent. It is to be hoped that these changes when made may be beneficial; and, although there may be no great urgency for them, still it is apparent that in many respects the present system may be consolidated and improved. I have not referred at all to the question of Parochial reorganization, because such was not attempted in the English Act, and it was found impossible to introduce into that statute provision for the simplification of existing complications of assessment and rating within parishes. The Act also left untouched the urban and sanitary Authorities previously in existence. It is no doubt true that the Parochial management is of great and increasing importance. The administration of the Poor Law, which is entrusted to a Parochial Board elected within each parish, occupies much attention, and is concerned with the assessment and distribution of large sums. It can hardly be doubted that the mode of appointment of a Parochial Board is capable of improvement, but it does not seem practicable to enter upon such a reform in the first Local Government Bill.

The administration of the Education Act is confined to a School Board, also elected within the parish, and the Education Act of 1872 makes it compulsory to have a School Board in every parish, burgh, or district. The Education Act has no doubt given a great impulse to the progress of education, but the cost has been very large and in many places it now equals or exceeds the amount required for the Poor Rate. As there are no Unions or Districts in Scotland the result of making it compulsory to have a School Board in each parish is that in each such area a Clerk, Treasurer, and School Board Officer are required, so that in many, if not most cases, it now costs more to put the machinery in motion than it did formerly to provide a salary for the schoolmaster. It would be a highly important reform if the district elections within the parish could be combined, and it would appear to be quite feasible to have one body elected which might act as Parochial Board and School Board, and also have the charge of the sanitary purposes of the parish. It would, however, it is thought, be imprudent to attempt any such reform in a new Local Government Act for the present, and if those who are charged with the promotion of the measure deem it right to restrict themselves to what may be called purely county purposes, the probability is that a useful and wise measure might be passed without any very great difficulty.

A preliminary question and one of considerable difficulty must be faced at the outset, before it is determined on what lines any new government body is to be formed. That question relates to the assessments. It has already been mentioned that one great difference between the systems in vogue in England and Scotland lies in the circumstance that in the former country county assessments have been in use to be imposed upon occupiers, while in the latter they have, with the exception of the road rate and assessment under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, been imposed only on proprietors. The word proprietor, of course, includes the owners of a large amount of urban property as well as public works, harbours, railways, and other such subjects. If it should be thought to be necessary or expedient to change the imposition of the

assessment to include all occupiers, it is obvious that the rates would become much more difficult and expensive to collect, and that the proprietors themselves would receive little or no benefit. In an able article by Mr. Macdonald on 'Local Government and Taxation in Scotland,' published under the sanction of the Cobden Club, it is suggested that the occupiers would probably have no objection to pay a portion of the rates if they were allowed the privilege of voting in the election of those who are to manage them, although in a subsequent portion of the article it is stated that while the assessments are not formidable, the author has not been able to discover anything like a general desire among Scotch tenants to share them, and so qualify for seats at the County Board. The assessments, however, the author proceeds to say, are so light that if a portion of them were laid on the tenantry, it would be no great barrier to what many think would be a desirable county reform. The writer of this article believes the opinion will be very generally entertained that the occupiers would much prefer not to be assessed rather than have any power to vote in the election of members in the County Board.

It is unquestionably rather difficult to suggest that the intended Act for Scotland should proceed on entirely different lines from the recent English Act, but if it be kept in mind that the county rates in Scotland have for a long period been levied upon owners, that the system has proved satisfactory, and that no strong desire for a change has been expressed, it is hoped that means may be found to retain the present system of assessment much on its present lines, and still to provide for a more popular system of County Government. It is apparent that the present system of representation is, in theory at least, faulty in respect that the Commissioners of Supply consist exclusively of owners of £100 a year in land or £200 a year in houses, and that the large body of urban proprietors who are owners of houses and tenements not reaching to such a value, are in point of fact not represented. The chief magistrates of burghs, whether royal, or parliamentary, or police, are entitled to act as Commissioners of Supply, but the representation so given is of small amount. In any



new enactment it would therefore appear necessary to give such proprietors a right of election. The other consideration, and one of much importance, is that according to the new system, it is intended in place of Government Subventions in aid of the Police, etc., to hand over to the county body a large sum from Imperial taxation. That change seems likely to work very beneficially. The present system offers no inducement towards economy in management, and, indeed, has rather a contrary effect; while it must be obvious to any one who has paid attention to the subject, that if it be ultimately found possible, as it probably will be, to hand over to the county authority the collection of certain excise licenses, a great improvement would ensue. Nearly every resident in the country has observed the difficulty felt by the Excise in relation to the dog and gun licenses. It has been pointed out that the Excise stations as a rule are so wide that it is simply impossible for a Revenue Officer, with his limited local knowledge and his other important duties, to check all these licenses. In most Scotch counties the Excise stations extend over several hundred square miles. If the licenses I have mentioned were placed under the management of the Constabulary, they could be thoroughly looked after without interference with any other duties of the police. It is a subject of common complaint that the dog and gun taxes are greatly evaded, and in one of their reports the Commissioners of Inland Revenue have stated that the collection of these taxes continues to occasion an amount of trouble quite disproportionate to their productiveness. Assuming therefore that a considerable proportion of the Imperial taxation is to be handed over to the management of the new authority, it would appear to be quite feasible to confer the right of election upon those who have a right to vote for Parliamentary representatives without making any great change in the incidence of the rates. The question of road rates and management of the roads will be hereafter specially referred to.

Under the English Act a County Council is to be elected for each county, and the persons who have the right to elect such Council are, in a burgh, the burgesses enrolled in pursuance of the Municipal Corporation Acts, and in the county, the persons

registered as county electors. This may be taken to mean that all persons who are entitled to vote for a parliamentary representative are also entitled to vote in the election of a County Council with the important addition, that single women are entitled to vote, and that those possessing only the Service Franchise are not entitled. It must probably be assumed that, by whatever name it may be called, a governing body for each county in Scotland will be called into being, somewhat analogous to a County Council in England, and it appears to follow as a necessary consequence that the qualifications of electors will be the same as those already adopted in England. It is also probable that the number of the governing body will be about the same in proportion to population as in England. Without professing any exact knowledge it would appear that the number of electors in English counties for each member of Council is somewhere about 4000 to 6000. Thus in the county of Cumberland, with a population of about 200,000, it has been fixed that there are to be 49 councillors in all, and in the county of Derby, with a population of about 320,000, 59 councillors. These counties have been divided into electoral divisions, combining in most cases numerous parishes, and having a population in each district of from 4000 to 6000. It is not improbable that in a new Act for Scotland the county of Lanark may be dealt with in an exceptional way, as was done in the case of the Road Act. This paper would be quite incomplete without an indication of the writer's views as to the lines on which the new overseers ought to be based, and, although it is fully recognised that mere difference of opinion must exist, the following suggestions are offered:—

(1) That the governing body should be called the County Board and not the County Council, as the word Board is of much more common use in Scotland, and its powers and duties will in a great measure differ from those of a County Council in England.

(2) That the number of the Board for each County or Burgh should be fixed by the Secretary for Scotland.

(3) That in place of 'aldermen' a certain proportion, say from one third to one half, should be elected by the County

Board, and the remainder by the voters in districts, to be settled by them with an appeal to the Secretary for Scotland.

(4) The members of the Board to hold office for three years.

(5) The County Board to have power to appoint committees either for special purposes, such as Police and Lunacy, or for districts of the county under its charge.

A body constituted in this manner would, it is thought, be able to carry on efficiently the whole of the ordinary county business, including that at present discharged by the Commissioners of Supply, the County Boards under the Contagious Diseases (Animals) Acts, and the District Boards of Lunacy, although some provision would require to be made in detail for cases in which the districts comprehend more than one county.

There are two points on which difficulty will arise: first, with respect to the management of Roads and Bridges, and second, with respect to Burghs within the Counties.

The Roads and Bridges Act came into full operation only so recently as 1883. A considerable number of difficult questions have arisen under it, but at the present moment it is working well and giving general satisfaction. There would no doubt be considerable awkwardness in continuing the election of Road Trustees in each parish as well as having elected members of the County Board for much wider areas. But on the whole, it is thought that it would be highly inexpedient to force at present the combination of the Road Board with the suggested County Board. It is believed that it would be much better to confine the operation of the County Statute to those matters which have hitherto fallen directly under the management of the Commissioners of Supply, and to leave the County Road management for the present in the shape it has so recently assumed. Power may be given to the two bodies to arrange for consolidation; and, particularly in the matter of collecting the rates, such a power may be exercised with advantage. But it would be highly undesirable to sweep away a system which has just been put into practical working order. The more so is this the case, if the views of the present writer in regard to the incidence of county rates be adopted, as there

is no grievance in the imposition of one half of the Road Rate on the occupier. Most counties had, prior to the recent Road Act, what was called the Conversion Money Tax for parish roads laid entirely on occupiers, and the payment by occupiers in respect of Conversion Money amounted to nearly as much as they pay at present, independent altogether of the tolls from which they are now relieved. Those who feel the incidence of the Road Rate are the proprietors of considerable estates, frequently heavily burdened, and more particularly those who are non-resident. The remedy for that undue incidence is to allow a considerable grant from the Imperial Revenue towards the maintenance of main roads, which are a public benefit; and towards the expense of which the public ought to contribute.

As evidencing the expense connected with county roads, the following particulars are given for the various districts in the County of Ayr, shewing also the Government contribution in aid for the year ended 15th May, 1888. It is to be noted that the Government contribution was doubled for the year in question :—

	Total Expense of Management, Maintenance, and Repair of Highways.	Government Contribution.
District of Ayr,	£4446	£745
District of Beith and Larga,	4045	582
District of Irvine,	1985	319
District of Kilmarnock,	5485	918
District of Mauchline,	2454	350
District of Carrick,	5021	920
	£23,436	£3,834

The other point to which it seems necessary to refer is the manner in which Burghs are to be dealt with. It is probable that many questions may arise between the different Counties and Burghs within them, as to the manner in which the Government contributions are to be divided and apportioned between them. It is believed that there can be but little question that it is desirable to have as few different bodies as possible in the management of such matters as has been referred to throughout

this paper; but no doubt there will be a natural desire on the part of the Burghs to continue to administer their own affairs. Experience has shown however, that in such matters as Police and the like, there is a considerable disadvantage in having the management entrusted to different bodies, and it is to be hoped that much the same course may be followed in the Scotch Act as was ultimately adopted under the Act passed for England. In Mr. Macdonald's essay already quoted, he states 'that the management of Town affairs is generally more energetic, efficient, and popular than that of County matters.' It is to be feared, however, that this proposition may not meet with very general acceptance, but that on the contrary, the management within Counties is considered to be in advance of the ordinary Town Council. There is a large number of Royal Burghs in Scotland, amounting to 66 in all. Of this number, 55 send representatives to Parliament, and 11 do not. Coatbridge was created a Municipal Burgh by a special Act in 1885, and 15 Towns are not Royal Burghs, but send representatives to Parliament under the provisions of the Reform Acts. These are Airdrie, Cromarty, Falkirk, Galashiels, Greenock, Hamilton, Hawick, Kilmarnock, Leith, Musselburgh, Oban, Paisley, Peterhead, Port-Glasgow, and Portobello. Besides these there were four small Burghs in the County of Fife, which at the time of the Union were not included in the classes of Burghs then formed to send representatives to the British Parliament. The Burghs of Peebles and Rothesay form, so far as voting for Parliamentary representatives is concerned, part of their respective Counties; and nine Burghs namely Dunbar, Haddington, Jedburgh, Lauder, New Galloway, North-Berwick, Stranraer, Whithorn and Wigtown were by virtue of the Reform Act of 1885, constituted portions of the Counties in which they are situated for the purpose of electing Parliamentary representatives. Of the 66 Royal Burghs above mentioned, 13 only have a population of 20,000 and upwards. These are Aberdeen, Arbroath, Ayr, Dundee, Dunfermline, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Greenock, Kilmarnock, Kirkcaldy, Leith, Paisley and Perth; and it is suggested that these burghs should be put upon the same footing as the County Boroughs specified in the 3rd Schedule appended to the English Act. As already

stated, it is felt that much difference of opinion must exist on this question, but the writer has aimed at giving his views in such a manner as to bring it before the consideration of all who are interested in the settlement of it. The adoption of a principle similar to that followed in the English Act has much to recommend it.

Within the limits of this paper it has been found impossible to enter upon the question of District Councils or Boards, as to which there is likely to be early legislation in England. It has also been thought unnecessary to refer to wider questions, such as the power of a County Council or Board to recommend provisional orders for the execution of local works. It seems not improbable that the day will come when such a body may have the power of recommending to Parliament the issuing of 'provisional orders' for such purely local works without the necessity of expensive procedure in London, but it is evidently impossible to make this matter a subject of legislation in any Local Government Act at present, as time must be given to see the effect and working of the measure after it is passed. It has also been thought unnecessary to refer particularly to the question of the audit of County Accounts, as no doubt steps will be taken to insure the regular publication and audit of the financial statements of each Board when constituted. In a memorandum issued in April 1881, Lord Advocate M'Laren stated that it appeared desirable that an effectual public audit of accounts should be instituted, and that he was of opinion that, the duty might be undertaken by Government Officers, sent from the Audit Office in London at stated times to each County. As a reason for recommending such audit his Lordship stated that during the four months he had been in office, two public officers in Scotland had become defaulters, and had been deprived of their situations in consequence. Both were estimable men in other respects, and would probably not have lost office and reputation if their Accounts had been subjected to a periodical public audit.

This is a question also on which much difference of opinion is likely to exist. There can be no doubt of the propriety of an efficient and thorough audit, but it is likely that much objection



STATEMENT OF EXPENDITURE FOR COUNTY PURPOSES  
BY THE FOLLOWING COUNTIES—YEAR 1887-88.

	County General Assessment.	Police.	Valua- tion.	Regis- tration of County Voters.	Lunacy.	Contagious Diseases (Animals).	TOTAL.
Ayr, - -	£1,931	£14,114	£555	£1,239	£2,096	£300	£20,235
Aberdeen, -	2,400	7,289	267	543	...	1,286	11,785
Edinburgh,	1,416	7,233	540	398	3,145	1,826	14,558
Fife, - -	1,363	8,528	262	450	2,266	2,126	14,995
Lanark, -	*10,805	26,989	Included in County General Assessment	1,659	2,492	16,324	58,269
Renfrew, -	3,110	10,814	162	545	...	770	15,401

\* Includes New Buildings at Hamilton, and damages incurred through Riots.

In addition to the above some Counties pay separately for Court Houses and Militia Stores.

The Total Rates are generally about 3d. per £, exclusive of Contagious Diseases (Animals) Act.

CHAS. G. SHAW.

ART. II.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FAUST  
LEGEND.

IN a previous article\* I endeavoured to show that the Faust legend is much more than the mere vulgar story of a charlatan's adventures, and that its interest and importance are by no means confined to the fact that it was afterwards moulded into a great literary work. The legend represents the struggle in the sixteenth century between worldly and spiritual interests: it typifies the intellectual movements of that century in Germany; its activity in scientific or quasi-scientific discovery, intimately connected with the prevailing study of magic; the pagan aspect of its Humanism; the sceptical excesses of the Reformation; the farcical character of much of its popular literature. It is not an index of the highest thought of the

\* Vide *Scottish Review* for July, 1888.



time, but it exhibits the way in which the products of that thought were regarded by the common people. More especially is this the case in the indication it gives of the degrading nature of the popular religion, its intense absorption in the idea of retribution for sin, and its overwhelming consciousness of the devil as the most malignant foe of the human race. From this point of view it is evident that the legend possesses in itself a remarkable degree of interest quite apart from the world-wide fame of its literary development, and that, if Faust had never had any history at all beyond the earliest published records of his career, he would still have been remembered as a strange illustration of one of the most important epochs of modern thought.

The legend has had a variety of editors and commentators during the three hundred years of its existence, and in the last half-century a small library of books has been written on its origin and its literary development. Germany has naturally led the way in elucidating the history of one of her own popular heroes, and some of her ablest writers and critics have busied themselves with his fortunes. There are few educated Englishmen who do not know something of Goethe's Faust; but the interest attaching in this country to the Faust legend proper, so far as it does not arise in direct connection with the Elizabethan drama, is probably as yet little more than a reflection of that existing in Germany.

The latest book on the legend has been given to the world by a Frenchman,\* who in dealing with this Teutonic subject displays a truly Teutonic amount of patience and learning. M. Falignan is not content with citing the authorities for the early history of Faust, or even with generally describing the first published account of him. He prints these authorities *in extenso*, giving the Latin text where that was the original form; and he provides for his readers a complete translation of the first history of the magician. Similarly most, if not all, of Marlowe's play, and that both in English and French, is

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*Histoire de la Légende de Faust*, par Ernest Falignan, Docteur-en-Médecine et Docteur-es-lettres des Facultés de Paris. Hachette. 1888.

incorporated into the text. The result is a very formidable volume; and, if it had no other purpose, it would at least serve as an encyclopædia of all the data of the legend. For though M. Falignan's volume is so comprehensive in material, it is defective in the part devoted to a critical exposition of the story. Here the author seems to lack a certain breadth of treatment. There is a want of lucidity about some of his views which is disappointing after reading through the various information he has so laboriously brought together. In one respect he seems to entirely misconceive the most important characteristic of the sixteenth century hero.

M. Falignan states that the main cause which led Faust to give himself to the devil was nothing more than sensual pleasure, and a devotion to that gluttony which he asserts to be the prevailing passion of northern nations. This is an opinion which does not accord either with the express statements or with the general tenour of the early part of the Faust book. There are, no doubt, many aspects from which the Faust of the legend can be regarded: this fact itself contributes a great deal of its interest to the story. He can be looked upon as a sensualist, as a charlatan, as a sceptical scholar; but not as one only of these to the exclusion of the rest. It must always be remembered that, whatever else Faust may be, he represents a factor, a base and vulgar, but still an important factor, in the Reformation movement, and that too, rather in his early than in his later history. It is stated in the Faust book that his fault consisted in his insatiable curiosity in all things in heaven and earth, and that his fall was due to nothing else than his arrogance, his despair, his presumption and temerity. In the first formal discussion which Faust has with the evil spirit, he lays down his three conditions,—Mephistopheles must render himself obedient to all his demands, keep nothing secret from him which he may wish to know, and in replying to all his questions say nothing but what is true. Faust afterwards supplements these by further demands not inconsistent with the former. What has misled M. Falignan is doubtless the description given by the author of the Faust book of the way in which Mephistopheles

commenced his share of the compact by providing Faust with all sorts of luxuries, to delight his senses and destroy his higher aspirations. In the midst of this 'Epicurean life,' the evil spirit brings him a book of magic to distract him: whereupon Faust's curiosity is once more aroused, and he proceeds to question Mephistopheles at length on every detail of the infernal regions and the fall of the angels, until the latter is heartily sick of his interrogator, and begs him to desist. Faust then sets himself to study physical science—astronomy and astrology—and even constructs an almanack and makes predictions about the weather like a modern meteorologist. Since the discussion of divine matters is forbidden him, he strives to obtain the knowledge he wants in an indirect way: he adopts the expedient of raising questions on the origin and beauty of the sky, hoping thus to entrap the evil spirit into speaking of the Creator of the world. So far is he from being a mere sensualist that his intellectual passion is strong enough to make him try and outwit the devil himself.

And apart from the express language of the Faust book, it is obvious that, if Faust's determining motive for allying himself with Satan had been only the insatiable desire of material pleasure, Faust would neither have deserved nor obtained the important place which has been awarded to him in the sixteenth century. Neither M. Falignan himself nor any other of the numerous critics and commentators of the legend would have given him so much attention, had he been, as M. Falignan would have us believe, a mere mixture of vanity and sensualism, with a preponderating amount of the latter. Faust follows a downward path, no doubt, and sinks into lust and vagabondage, but that is the result and not the cause of his fall. That he is not driven to his infernal compact by mere sensualism will be still more apparent in the development of the legend.

Much has been written, especially in Germany, on the historical beginnings of the legend. The subject is one of the cruces of literature, and can hardly be treated at any length in a general review. It is therefore out of the question to do more than refer in the briefest manner to the writers who mention

Faust as their contemporary, and to the various theories that have been formed on the information they give.

The earliest mention of Faust is to be found in a letter of John Tritheim, Abbot of Spanheim, written from Würzburg in August 1507. It was addressed to John Virdung of Hasfurt, an eminent mathematician, in answer to certain inquiries of the latter. Tritheim, who himself shared the reputation of a magician, common to learned men and scientists at the time, speaks of 'Magister Georgius Sabellicus, Faustus junior,' in the most contemptuous terms as an ignorant vagabond, who, the year before, took good care to keep out of his way during a visit to Gelnhausen. In 1509 the name of John Faust appears as that of a distinguished student at Heidelberg. In 1513 Conradt Mudt, a friend of Reuchlin, Melanchthon, and Luther, speaks of one Georgius Sabellicus, who bore the further title of 'Helmitheus Hedebergensis,' which apparently meant 'the demigod of Heidelberg.' More information was furnished in what is known as the Erfurt Chronicle, a document first published in the year 1725; but whether this was in reality an extract from an early reprint of the Faust book with augmentations, or anterior to it, is uncertain. A house is still shown at Erfurt in which Faust is supposed to have lived. In 1516 he is said to have stayed with the Abbot of Maulbronn, and a kitchen which he used for his magical experiments, and a certain tower where he was carried off by the devil, were for a long time objects of interest. The pictures in Auerbach's cellar at Leipzig are well known in connection with the legend. The records of Ingoldstadt in Bavaria contain the fact that an individual who called himself Dr. George Faust of Heidelberg was requested to leave that town and spend his money elsewhere. He is also referred to by Begardi in his *Guide to Health* as a well known magician who had taken in a great many people in various parts of Germany, including Begardi himself; by John Gast, as a potent necromant; by Conrad Gesner of Zürich, as a travelling scholar of great reputation; and by Mennel or Manlins, a pupil of Melanchthon, in the *Conversations* of the latter published in 1562, as a vagabond magician who came to a terrible end. Faust is declared by the last writer to

have studied at Cracow, a University which in the sixteenth century appears to have enjoyed a considerable reputation for free thought; and in 1563 another writer, John Wier, repeats this information. The chronicle of Count Froben Christoph von Zimmern assigns 1541 as the date of Faust's death. Other contemporaries, Andreas Horndorff, Lavater, Büttner and Lercheimer, who like Manlius, was a pupil of Melanchthon, also make mention of Faust and his marvellous doings.

If we are to believe the report of Widman, who, as will be seen later on, was one of the most important of Faust's biographers, Luther also referred to Faust in his *Table Talk*. It is obvious that the book which bears the title *Luther's Table Talk* need not necessarily, and probably did not, include everything of the great reformer which might be classed under that heading. By collecting references from such manuscripts as he had been able to inspect, and by supplementing the information thus obtained by what he could learn from oral tradition, Widman was no doubt able to present the views of Luther on Faust with tolerable accuracy; and in his account there is nothing that does not agree well both with other references to Faust and with the way in which Luther might be expected to talk of him. Many of the stories connected with Faust are evidently borrowed from extraneous sources; and it is of course possible to believe that Widman's whole account of these particular conversations of Faust is a forgery: but it is at least probable that no one would have committed himself to statements which could easily have been denied.

In the face of all these references to a notorious individual, agreeing to a remarkable extent in their estimate of that individual's character, there seems no good reason to doubt that there was a real personage of the name of Faust who made himself conspicuous in the early part of the sixteenth century. But, nevertheless, there are many points in these references which present considerable difficulty. For instance, if Dr. Faust called himself *Faustus junior*, to whom was he junior? Towards the close of the seventeenth century, not quite a hundred years after the first Faust book appeared, a certain theologian named Dürr advanced the theory that the

life of Faust was nothing more than a fiction drawn from the life of John Fust the printer, and circulated by the monks to throw discredit on the new invention. This hypothesis, having proved utterly untenable, has been succeeded by the suggestion that Fust the printer may have been at least *Faustus senior*. It is difficult, however, to assign any motive that could have induced the magician to connect himself in this way with one of the inventors of printing. Hermann Grimm imagines that *Faustus senior* is no other than the Manichean bishop who figures in the life of St. Augustine, a view which is part and parcel of his hypothesis that the Faust book was modelled on St. Augustine's Confessions. Another theory is that *Faustus senior* was a learned man who came from Italy to Paris about the beginning of the sixteenth century, adopted the name Publius *Faustus Andrelinus*, and was held in very great reputation. The derivation of the name *Sabellicus*, which Trithem reports as having been used by Faust, is of a similar character, and is perhaps traceable to a certain Italian poet Marcus Antonius *Sabellicus*, whose fame during Faust's youth must have been of the kind to fire his ambition. Both *Andrelinus* and *Sabellicus* were pupils of Pomponius *Loetus*, one of the chiefs of the Italian Renaissance; and the reputation of this school in Germany, spread to a great extent by the travelling scholars, might have offered an inducement to an adventurous young student to connect himself by name with its prominent members. This explanation of Faust's self-chosen titles, first put forward some thirty years ago, thoroughly accords with that mixture of learning and charlatany which Faust's early career presents in the legend.

Then, again, the hero goes by different Christian names. Sometimes he is George, sometimes John. This circumstance raises the question whether there were two or more Fausts; and but for the fact that those who mention a Faust speak of him in similar terms as a notorious character, and record doings and sayings of his which hang well together, it would perhaps remain an open one. The explanation of this circumstance given by M. Falignan is naive,—the exigencies of his career would no doubt make it necessary for him to disguise

himself. It may easily be objected to this, that the disguise of a change of Christian name would hardly effect its purpose, so long as no change was made in his other and more distinctive name.

Such are in outline the facts relating to the earliest shape of the Faust legend, and such are some of the difficulties arising out of the facts as we have them. The various explanations given of these difficulties have one point in common: they tend to raise the original conception of Faust more and more out of a vulgar sphere, and to show his connection with the great intellectual movements of his time.

The legend now passes into its second stage with the publication of the anonymous biography of Faust in 1587. This is by far the most important event in the early history of the legend, and the work was noticed at length in connection with the meaning of the adventures therein attributed to Faust. It will not be necessary, therefore, to refer to it again. It is known that it had a great success; various reprints of it appeared in the years immediately following its publication. In the early part of 1588 a 'Faust in Rhyme' was issued by some students of the University of Tübingen, a circumstance which appears to have caused some scandal, and to have resulted in the imprisonment of the offenders; and as early as 1590 a new edition, as has been observed, was published with augmentations commonly referred to as extracts from the Erfurt Chronicle. Before the end of the century the adventures of Faust were known through translations in various parts of Germany, in Holland, Denmark, England and France.

The success of the first issue of the 'History of Faust' was not only attested by the numerous re-impressions and re-editions of the book and of its translations into other languages. The interest that it aroused was held to justify the publication, some six years later, of the 'Life and Adventures of Wagner,' Faust's famulus or servant. This was a kind of sequel to the story. It seems to have had more success than usually falls to the lot of a sequel; chiefly, perhaps, because instead of the different countries of Europe which Faust had made the field of his exploits, America, then a comparatively

recent discovery, figured as the scene of Wagner's adventures; and much information as to its climate productions and inhabitants was woven into the narrative in such a way as would alone have sufficed to draw attention to the book at that epoch.

The fame of the legend and its effect on the popular imagination were in no country greater in those years than in England. Marlowe's drama, not in the shape in which we have it now, but in its earlier and unaugmented form, cannot apparently have been composed more than three or four years after 1587—there are strong reasons for thinking that it was played for the first time not later than 1589. In February of that year the records of the Stationers' Company show the *imprimatur* of Aylmer, then Bishop of London, for a ballad on the 'Just Judgment of God show'd upon Dr. Faustus.' It seems, therefore, most probable that one of the early and undated English translations of the Faust book must have appeared within a few months after the original publication at Frankfurt. The troops of English players who went about in Germany and the Low Countries at that period, were very likely to have brought home with them, in some shape, the story which had attained so much popularity on the Continent. This may have been the original German edition, and Marlowe may have used an MS. translation. From the labours of those who have made a minute comparison of parallel passages in the play, the Faust book, and the English translation, it seems almost impossible to avoid the conclusion that the play, as we have it, is based both on the original work and on its English form. More than this it is hardly safe to assert; for, of all the questions involved in the early history of the legend, perhaps not one is so beset with difficulties as the train of circumstances attending the production of Marlowe's drama, and the extent to which it was brought to its present shape by later hands. And in approaching much more important questions, namely, how far the play modified the previous conception of the legend, and what it contributed to influence its development, the very fact that there is little but conjecture, and no means of arriving at certainty, as to the state in which Marlowe left

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the play, makes it impossible to speak of its characteristics as being due to Marlowe alone.

Dr. Faustus on the English stage and the hero of the German book are not quite the same character. The main difference lies in the cause assigned to his downfall, and the motives from which he entered into his compact with the devil. In these important aspects of the legend the English drama afterwards exercised a considerable influence on the popular development of the story in Germany.

In the English play Faust's aspirations as a student give way before his desire to get the good things of the world by the aid of magic. This change in the conception of Faust's character is due to a very definite and curious cause. The way in which German thought made itself felt in England in the early part of the sixteenth century was, as a recent writer has pointed out,\* strangely different from its effects towards the close of the same century. From its place as the cradle of Protestantism and the home of learning, Germany had, in English estimation, sunk to being only the land of magicians and sorcerers. And in the English play Dr. Faustus is no longer the scholar ambitious of all knowledge: he despises in turn philosophy, medicine, jurisprudence, divinity, and finds his sole delight in magic, and that because of the worldly success it promises—

Divinity, adieu !

Those metaphysics of magicians  
And necromantic books are heavenly ;  
Lines, circles, scenes, letters and characters ;  
Ay, these are those that Faustus most desires.  
O, what a world of profit and delight,  
Of power, of honour, of omnipotence,  
Is promised to the studious artizan ! (*Act i., sc. i.*)

The struggle in Faustus' soul, represented by the words of his good and evil angels—

Sweet Faustus, think of heaven and heavenly things !  
No, Faustus ; think of honour and of wealth.

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\* Prof. C. H. Herford. *Studies in the Literary Relations of Germany and England in the Sixteenth Century.* Cambridge, 1886.

is brought to an end when Mephistopheles appears with a troop of devils carrying crowns and rich apparel. It is evident from this that Marlowe's conception of his hero's character is baser and more vulgar than that of the German original; and that Marlowe in this respect was following not so much the Faust-book as the general reputation of German magicians.

The good and evil angels in Marlowe's play are also an innovation. They are not to be found in the Faust-book from which Marlowe drew his materials; but it is a noteworthy fact that the good angel had already appeared in an early German ballad on the subject. There is no need to suppose that Marlowe copied the idea from this source: for that good and evil angels attended upon man was a common supposition and not at all unknown in Marlowe's time on the English stage. It has been conjectured that there may have been an early German play of Dr. Faust containing the good and evil angels which appeared in the dramatic form of the legend afterwards popular in Germany; but the existence of such a play has never been demonstrated, and it is in itself most unlikely.

To whatever German originals Marlowe may have been indebted for a part or all of his materials, it is certain that the further development of the legend in Germany owed much to Marlowe. Those English comedians, who are thought to have introduced the story into England, doubtless brought the English form, which had attained so much success, back with them into Germany. In July 1626 a play was performed at Dresden by English actors which can have been none other than Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*. The same drama seems to have been played at Gratz, in Moravia, even as early as 1608. The first known performance of the German—there may have been others previously—is recorded in 1668 at Danzig; and Marlowe's influence is not difficult to trace. What is peculiar about it is the introduction of a prologue in hell, in which Pluto summons up the devils one after another, and Faust expresses the wish to have as his servant the one who is as swift as the thought of man. At the end Faust counts the hours, as in Marlowe's play, and then, to heighten the effect, hell opens and we see him in torment.

From the stage piece was developed the Puppenspiel or Marionette-play—the commonest and most vulgar form of dramatic entertainment, where Faust always made an attractive play-bill even on into this century. This marionette-play seems to have introduced many varieties of the familiar story: in some, Faust sells himself to the devil for a fair lady, and his term of pleasure is measured, not by any fixed number of years, but a permission to commit so many crimes. The extent to which this licence with the facts goes in the accounts that have been preserved, compel one to suppose that there was no written form of the drama, but that it was improvised as occasion required. Another characteristic of the marionette-play is that it abounds in comic scenes, probably in the first instance a reminiscence of Marlowe, and then degenerating into general ribaldry to suit the taste of a low audience. Still it shows traces of some of those higher aspects of the legend neglected by Marlowe and in part derived from the original book. Faust is filled with repentance, but thinks that there can be no pardon for his sins. Then the thought occurs to him that, where repentance is, there must God be also. He surprises Mephistopheles by asking him if it is possible for him still to repent—a question to which the fiend's only answer is a fresh temptation. At the end Faust's fate is sealed by the awful words: *accusatus est, judicatus est, condemnatus est*. The drama was enacted to the almost continuous accompaniment of thunder and lightning, and the whole was frequently advertised to conclude with a grand display of fireworks.


In this vulgar shape Faust lived on among the people during the seventeenth and the first half of the eighteenth century in Germany. During the greater part of this period the influence of French literature was at its height; and the effect of this in Germany was to divorce the intelligence of the upper classes from the feelings and aspirations of the people. The Thirty Years' War was disastrous to the conditions under which alone a national literature could flourish. There is hardly a single name in the meagre development of German literature from the middle of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century which, outside the region of

theology and philosophy, has attained anything like permanent fame. In this state of things Faust rapidly sank from his position as a typical character of the sixteenth century to a stock figure at the yearly fair.

Still in this same period the legend was not without a literary development which shared neither the baser tendencies nor the vulgar fate of the popular drama. From the first the religious aspect of Faust's compact was an interesting study for theologians and teachers, and in books circulating amongst the learned classes the magician was a recognised subject for a grave homily, as he was on the stage for a sensational farce.

The religious tone visible in the earliest edition of the Faust-book has already been dwelt upon. It was perhaps of a tentative and commonplace character, and important rather from the Protestant views it put forward than from exhibiting any very deep religious feeling. The author, in short, does not quite escape the charge of a general sympathy with his hero; and it may have been from some suspicion of this that he desisted from issuing the Latin version of the story which he had had in contemplation. But if the earliest edition left anything to be desired by those who felt a religious horror at the mention of Faust's enormities, another version appeared before the end of the sixteenth century, twelve years after the publication of the first book, which adopted a more decidedly didactic tone, and may have been of a more re-assuring character to those who looked askance at the earlier narrative.

This was the version published in 1599 by George Rudolph Widman, under the pretext, as he stated, that a great quantity of fresh information relative to the magician had come into his hands. In spite of this assertion, however, the new Faust book was based to a very large extent on the old one: what is new in it is chiefly the great increase in moral and religious reflections. These are inserted at every opportunity not only with the object of making the book innocuous to its readers, but with the express intention of inculcating a righteous abhorrence of all things magical. It may be said that their actual effect is to render it intolerably dull. One of the most prominent



features of Widman's edition is the continual attack carried on in its pages against the texts and ceremonies of Roman Catholicism. A dozen Popes and many less eminent dignitaries of the Church are ranged amongst those who practised the black art. In this respect Widman is only emphasizing the general opinion of the Reformers. Faust's early devotion to magic is ascribed, not to scientific curiosity or intellectual arrogance, but to the studies set before him at the Roman Catholic University of Ingoldstadt. This desire which Widman exhibits of damaging the rival creed—for he seems to have been a strong Lutheran—led him to take an entirely wrong view of the position which Faust occupied in regard to the Reformation, and to place the magician amongst the enemies of the movement instead of amongst the more vulgar of its supporters. But Widman was perhaps not in a position to see the real significance of Faust, and he gave way to the most prominent feeling of his day. For by the beginning of the seventeenth century the movement of Protestantism was well established in Germany, and quite in a position to hold its own in the imminent struggle of the Thirty Years' War. The time was therefore ripe for giving to the legend an aggressive character and employing it as an engine against the Roman Church; and this may be regarded as the main purpose of Widman's version.

And that this is the case there is evidence supplied by the ultimate fate of the book. It was reprinted only after a considerable lapse of time, that is to say, in 1674, and its later editor, Pfitzer, made amongst many alterations an almost clean sweep of the attacks on Roman Catholicism. These attacks had, in fact, served their purpose: they were out of date, and were withdrawn as being unsuited to the tastes of later readers. At the same time the work was rendered much more popular by a judicious amount of cutting down and some attempt at a better historical treatment. The revised version was attended with some success; and at no very long interval another and still shorter edition appeared from the pen of one who styled himself 'ein Christlich Meynender,' *i.e.*, one with Christian intentions. It was this edition which most probably first fell into the hands of the young Goethe.

These two developments of the legend, the popular drama with its degrading associations, and the formal history with its overload of didactic comment, ran on side by side up to the middle of the eighteenth century, responding in their different spheres to the tastes of intellectually divided classes. The legend had slumbered for two hundred years in the popular consciousness. Faust was the hero of the stage, the vulgar favourite: but in addition and at the same time the *bête noir* of the learned, the stock example of the theologians. The time had come for these two diverse conceptions to unite in producing a figure representative in the highest sense of the struggles and errors of humanity. In that wave of free thought which swept over a great part of Europe towards the close of the last century, obliterating old divisions and founding a new order of things, Germany did not fail to find a conspicuous place. Of all her literary efforts in that flowering-time in her mental development, not the least important result was the intellectual fusion of different classes, when the highest literature became also, in a manner unknown since Luther's day, the literature most in vogue. It was an appropriate sign of this change that the popular hero was again transformed into a typical figure, significant of the best phase of German thought, a national possession.

Thus it comes about that it is no inexplicable circumstance that the history of Faust, born at the same time as Protestantism and to a certain extent the incarnation of its ideas, should have reached its highest point contemporaneously with the extreme logical outcome of Protestant ideas, that the magician of the sixteenth century should have undergone a spiritual change in the very age which witnessed the greatest revolt against the external authority of religion.

This, then, is the beginning of the third stage in the development of the legend. It will not be possible here to follow this third stage to its close. That would involve an examination of Goethe's masterpiece, with special reference to his conception of Faust's character and the part played by Mephistopheles, a task not lightly to be undertaken and at least worthy of separate treatment. But it will be suitable to observe the

direction which the new development took, and to mention the writer who can claim the honour of originating it.

Towards the middle of the eighteenth century some of the most thoughtful men in Germany began to express the opinion that the popular conception, in assigning so horrible an end to Faust, was out of harmony with the ideas of the time. Amongst these was Lessing. We are told by one of the greatest of German critics that Lessing is the Reformer of German literature, the founder of the German stage, the forerunner of Goethe and Schiller. In no respect is this reforming energy more apparent than in his treatment of the Faust legend. He had seen the marionette-play in Berlin in 1753 or 1754, and was profoundly impressed by the incongruity between the height of Faust's aspirations and the degradation of his end. He thought it absurd for Faust to have to fall a victim to Satan because of his too passionate desire for the highest knowledge. The old books pointed out that it was Faust's presumption that was his ruin: that spirit of inquiry was in Lessing's eyes no reason for consigning him to endless perdition. We have only a fragment of the attempt Lessing made to remodel the play on new lines, but it is certain that the main idea of it was that in the end Faust was to be rescued from the evil one.

It appears that Lessing's first plan of a Faust-drama was put aside in order to make room for one in which the devil has to do, not with the real Faust, but with a phantom sent down from heaven to take his place, while Faust, sunk in sleep, sees everything in the vision of a dream. But according to 'Maler' Müller, Lessing wrote two Fausts, one with, the other without, a devil; and the place of the latter was to be filled up with a villain in human shape. Engel, one of Lessing's intimate friends, has preserved his recollections of the chief outlines of another plan for a Faust drama. The prologue was to be laid in hell, and the devils were to be assembled under the presidency of Satan to deliberate how they could work the most mischief. The proposal that was to find acceptance was one to rob God of his favourite possession, a youth consumed with the passionate desire for wisdom. The only question was, how to lead him astray. His one desire

was for knowledge, and in this 'curiosity' Satan was to find enough to work his ruin. A voice from on high was to close the scene with the ringing words, '*Ye shall not prevail.*'

In the fragment published in Lessing's posthumous dramatic works, the scene of the prologue is an old Gothic cathedral. Here again the one failing in Faust's character which is to bring him to evil is his over great desire for knowledge: 'for from one failing,' says the devil, 'can spring all manner of vice.' And the devil whom Faust chooses as his servant is as swift, not as the thought of man, as in the old play, but as the transition from good to bad.

Here is an entirely new way of looking at the legend, in which Faust is no longer given over to the evil one for having devoted himself to his service in his lifetime, but stands before us as the eternal representative of aspiration towards the good, of struggle with evil, and of final deliverance from it. A man whose only fault is an over-love of truth could not be allowed to fall into the hands of the devil through that fault. The popular conception of Faust was held to be immoral and therefore untrue; and the new conception spread into every circle of thought in Germany, so that, as was said, a new Faust was everywhere announced. It was Lessing who gave the first glimpse of this new possibility, rather of this new necessity, for Faust to be saved; but it needed a greater than Lessing to show how that salvation was to be accomplished.

T. B. SAUNDERS.

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### ART. III.—PRINCIPAL TULLOCH.

*A Memoir of the Life of John Tulloch, D.D., LL.D., &c., &c.*  
By Mrs. OLIPHANT. Edinburgh and London. 1888.

MRS. OLIPHANT has discharged a very delicate and difficult task with evident skill and affection. Materials for a Life of Principal Tulloch are abundant enough, but there is little, if anything, among them which is particularly striking, or out of



the ordinary. One gets a gentle surprise when he is appointed Principal of St. Mary's at St. Andrews, and again when he wins the second prize in the Burnett Competition. There is something touching in the description of his long and painful and mysterious illness. But beyond this there is little or nothing in the story of his life over which one is tempted to feel profoundly. Stirring or exciting events are conspicuous by their absence. His life was studious and active. There was in it much calm and indefatigable labour, much domestic happiness, much friendship, frequent disappointments, much of that hope deferred which makes the heart sick, and most of the struggles and vicissitudes which are more or less common in the lives of professional men. It was full in fact, full to overflowing, with the everyday work of the world, but with little to distinguish it from that of others who occupy a similar position, or are animated by kindred ideas and aims. Yet as told by Mrs. Oliphant the story of his life possesses a genuinely human interest, and is surrounded by a halo of affection and tenderness which is perhaps only in the power of a writer of Mrs. Oliphant's ability and sex to throw around it or to make one feel. The narrative is eminently simple and unadorned. Opportunities for descriptive writing seldom occur, yet here and there are passages of remarkable beauty, which betray at once the interest of the writer in her subject and her own power and artistic skill. Such, for instance, is the description of the 'little grey town,' where Tulloch spent the greater part of his life, or of Capri, where his own and his biographer's family spent some delightful weeks. The first of these is so exquisitely done that we cannot resist the temptation to cite it:

'St. Andrews has become too well known to demand much description. Its fame, which is partly of letters, but still more of golf, has extended far and wide, and there are now few places where the visitor is more likely to meet with other pilgrims from all quarters of the world. The little grey town, with its rocks and ruins; the stately relics of a historico-ecclesiastical period now entirely passed, and leaving no sign except in these monuments of a lodging far more magnificent than faith or learning has ever since had in Scotland—with the dark and dangerous reefs below, which make St. Andrews Bay a name of fear to seafaring men; and around the half-encompassing sea, sometimes grey as northern skies can make it, sometimes crisp and brilliant in its blue breadth, as full of colour as the Mediter-

racean ; the long stretch of sandhills and cheerful links, the brown and red roofs all clustered about an old steeple or two, thinning out into farm-houses and cottages landward among their spare and wind-swept trees, running down into fisherhouses, and the bustle of a little storm-beaten port towards the east,—stands now, as then, upon its little promontory, with all these charms of situation and association which make a place of human habitation most dear. I think there is no such sweep and breadth of sky anywhere. The “spacious firmament on high” sweeps round and round, with the distant hills in soft outline against its tints of pearl, and the levels of the sea melting into it, yet keeping their imperceptible line of distinction, brimming over in that vast and glorious cup. The great globe sways visibly in the summer sunshine, so that the musing spectator seems to see its vast circumference, the level of its human diameter, the circle that holds it separate from all other spaces and worlds. Nowhere else has my mind received the same impression of the round world and all that it contains. And there could be no more magnificent sight anywhere than the sunsets that flame upon the western sky and the long levels of the links, or the rush of the aurora borealis in the intense blue of the midnight frost, or the infinite soft gradations of earth and sea and air in the lingering summer evenings, when the gleam of half-a-dozen lighthouses comes out intermittent, like faint earthly stars in the dim celestial circles where silence reigns in peace.’—Pp. 122-3.

No town, we will venture to say, was ever more charmingly described, or had its peculiar features set out by a more sympathetic or artistic hand. But passages of this kind are rare. The narrative runs on, telling its tale of hopes and struggles, disappointments and successes, without artificial adornments ; yet all the while it retains its hold on the reader’s attention and enlists his sympathy. The reason we imagine is partly in the style in which it is told, but chiefly in the fact that it is the story of an open and generous soul wrestling with difficulties, and striving to make the earth better and sweeter for its presence in it.

At the same time we are not sure that Mrs. Oliphant’s account of the Principal, notwithstanding the charms with which she has invested it, will meet with an approval altogether unqualified. Nor are we sure that it will be deemed in all, or even in several important respects, altogether satisfactory. There is a thinness and lack of information about it in places which makes one feel that it is not complete. Mrs. Oliphant herself has had fears of this. More than once she refers to her ‘inadequate knowledge of public events in Scotland’ and inability to appreciate the

bearings or significance of the movements in which Tulloch took part. To many this will appear a serious drawback—a drawback, indeed, for which no amount of admiration or literary ability is able to make up. For thirty years Tulloch was a public servant, occupying a highly responsible position, and exercising, more especially during his later years, a very considerable influence in various directions, but it is questionable whether the part he played, or the influence he exercised is here sufficiently indicated or sufficiently appraised. No doubt Mrs. Oliphant has done her best, and made excellent use of such letters and information as were placed in her hands, but for the full appreciation of the position he occupied in the country, and of the extent to which during the past thirty years he helped to mould its life—and few men we will venture to say did more—something else was requisite—nothing less than personal acquaintance with, and perhaps actual participation in, the movements Tulloch originated or helped to guide, and a clear and sure insight into the many and various changes he was more or less instrumental in bringing about. For Tulloch's life, though not heroic, not at least in the usual acceptance of that term, was certainly effective, and most of it was passed beneath the public eye and in public work. More acquaintance with this side of the Principal's life would have given Mrs. Oliphant's Memoir of it less of the appearance of an exotic, while inquiry in other directions might have prevented her from falling into a number of blunders, by which her narrative is curiously marred. Her account, too, of the Principal's literary life, we must own, seems to us but little less unsatisfactory. No doubt Mrs. Oliphant is acquainted with his books, and has read them. Most, if not all of them are mentioned. So also are several of the Articles he contributed to various periodicals, and to publications of a different kind. His troubles as an editor are described, and we have an excellent engraving of the study at St. Mary's. But of the Principal's literary habits, we hear next to nothing. Nor do we hear much about his actual work beyond the fact that he was engaged on this or had finished that. Even his principal work—his work on the Rational Theology of the Seventeenth Century—is dismissed in a paragraph or so, and beyond the facts that

one or two pilgrimages were made to Cambridge in quest of information, and that the work failed to awaken anything like lively interest in the University there, nothing can be learned from the Memoir, either as to its history or effect. In short, if we were to sum up our impressions of the Memoir, we should say that while it deals abundantly with its subject's private and domestic life, it is deficient in the historical element, and fails to show with sufficient distinctness the part he played on the stage of the world, or the influence he had on the general stream of life around him. We do not mean, of course, that his public life is not dealt with. As a matter of fact it is dwelt upon at considerable length. After the modern fashion we have well-nigh a plethora of extracts from letters and speeches, but then the settings and the comments on these are so thin, and that 'inadequate knowledge of public events in Scotland' is so frequently present, that one often looks in vain for any distinct proofs of the effects which the Principal's public appearances and writings were having upon the Church or the country, or upon those whom he sought to move. That Mrs. Oliphant's picture of the Principal is, so far as it goes, truthful, no one, we imagine, will be disposed to deny, but he seems to us to have been in several respects a much greater man, and a much more powerful force in the country than she has been able to make him out—not indeed from any lack of admiration or affection, but simply for the reason she has herself suggested. The first Life of John Stirling required a second to complete it, and we should not be surprised if a feeling were to spring up that something of the sort is needed to complete the Life of the late Principal of St. Mary's. But be that as it may, in the following pages, we do not, as it is perhaps not necessary to say, propose to make an attempt to anticipate any such feeling; all we shall endeavour to do will be to give our readers some account of Principal Tulloch's life and work, using Mrs. Oliphant's Memoir when we can, and at other times giving our own impressions.

John Tulloch was born at Dron in Perthshire, June 1, 1823. His father, the Rev. Mr. Tulloch, was minister of Tibbermuir and of Norse descent. His mother was the daughter of a Perthshire farmer, named Maclaren. Previous to his marriage Mr.

Tulloch had acted for some time as tutor to the sons of Mr. Grant of Kilgraston, two of whom, Sir Francis and Sir Hope Grant, afterwards became famous. Mr. Tulloch is described as an ardent Liberal and a popular preacher—qualities which he seems to have transmitted to his son John. From his mother John Tulloch appears to have derived the ‘less happy inheritance of a sensitive and highly nervous organisation,’ and possibly the germs of that constitutional failing which subsequently so often laid him aside and ultimately carried him off. His first school was the Grammar School at Perth, where, we are told, ‘he was once well flogged by Mr. Logan, the head-master.’ When twelve years of age he was sent to the Madras College at St. Andrews, and in his fifteenth year entered the United College there as a student. Among his fellow students the general impression about him was that he was ‘easy-going,’ and might have done better than he did. ‘As a rule,’ says the present Moderator of the Church of Scotland, who was one of his class-mates, ‘he was boyish in his careless glee, easily moved to laughter, and often rebuked for a quite unacademic outburst.’ ‘These explosions,’ the Moderator goes on to say, ‘continued amid the graver studies of the Theological Hall. I remember on one occasion an absurd answer was given to Principal Haldane (Dr. Tulloch’s predecessor, as it turned out) by one of the students of Divinity. Tulloch’s outburst was so exuberant that the Principal actually started from his chair, and then sat down perfectly paralysed for a few moments. He then turned to Tulloch with a stern expression and said, “You’re a gawky fellow, Mr. Tulloch; you’re a gawky fellow, sir!” and so resumed his examination.’ But as in after years beneath his laughter and explosive mirth Tulloch had a serious strain, and records of a graver kind are not wanting of his student days. Though probably not much drawn to his class-subjects as they then chanced to be taught, he began to busy himself with the larger and, to the young and enthusiastic, much more fascinating questions of literature and philosophy. He wrote essays and read papers, and, though apparently ‘easy-going,’ showed not a little of that profound earnestness and activity of mind which in later years placed him at the head of the Church of Scotland and made him a great moral and intel-

lectual force in the country. After spending about five years in the University of 'the little grey town,' where he formed a number of friendships, which he had the felicity of retaining all through life, he left it without taking his degree and before his studies were completed. As to the degree Mrs. Oliphant has a curious story to tell, not about Tulloch it is true, but about Dr. Gray of Liberton, which throws a strange light on the way things were then managed in St. Andrews. Tulloch's motive for quitting the University before his studies were completed was the desire to put himself under better teaching than it was then possible to obtain in St. Andrews. Whether he obtained it at Edinburgh, whither he went, is not clear. Dr. Lee, who was then the Principal, struck him as a 'solemnity,' but of his ability as a theological teacher he has left no record. His University curriculum was finished in the beginning of 1844, and in the March of that year he passed his 'trials' for license before the Presbytery of Perth; but having been born, as he suggests, two months too late, the Presbytery refused to license him, until he had attained his twenty-first year. The delay was somewhat tantalizing to his impatient spirit, but the day came and he was licensed to preach.

His first appointment, or rather the first he accepted, for he seems to have had overtures from other quarters, was to the post of assistant to Dr. M'Lauchlan, minister of the First Charge in Dundee. One of his reasons for accepting this post was, as his friends appear to have alleged, the likelihood of his becoming after a few years the successor of Dr. M'Lauchlan, who was then an old man. As there was a minister of the Second Charge, the likelihood was the barest possible, and never came to anything except a law suit, in which Tulloch was the loser. Soon after beginning work in Dundee he was pressed to take the living of Arbroath, the Provost of the town and members of the congregation being extremely desirous to obtain him as their minister, and he was actually presented; but after much anxious thought and with a modesty which is now-a-days, perhaps, somewhat rare, he declined the presentation on the ground of his youth and inexperience. How much anxiety this decision cost him may be gathered from his letters. Writing at the time to

a friend, he said—‘After nearly a month of *agony*, for I cannot use a milder term, I have thrown up Arbroath at the eleventh hour;’ and, again in a letter to Miss Hindmarsh his future wife, ‘The Provost of Arbroath is grievously annoyed and offended, and so I have reason to understand will be the whole congregation; but I cannot help it. I could not, and dared not, have undertaken the responsibility of such a charge in my present conscious state of unpreparedness for it.’ The question of whether he should go or should not go to Arbroath had had the effect, in fact, of stirring up all the deeper foundations of his being, and he had begun to have serious doubts as to his fitness for the ministry altogether. In a letter to Mr. Smith, afterwards so well known in connection with the Endowment Movement in the Church of Scotland as Dr. Smith of North Leith, he wrote—‘Had I had the same views’ [*i. e.*, in respect to the ministry] ‘I do not know that I should have taken licence at all;’ and again to Dr. Dickson, now the Professor of Theology in Glasgow, but better known, perhaps, as the translator of Mommsen, he said, ‘I solemnly confess to you that had I, previous to taking licence, viewed the office with the same feelings as I have done since, I could not, if I know my own mind, have taken it.’ His final decision in the matter, however, brought him peace, and he emerged from this, perhaps the first great spiritual crisis in his life, an altered man. Events, however, were not long in forcing upon him the responsibilities from which he had shrunk. During the same year (1845) his father died, and being involved in fresh cares in consequence, when towards the close of the year the living of St. Paul’s, Dundee, was offered to him, he took it and was ordained minister of the charge, March 6, 1846, though not without many fears as to his fitness for the post. Four months later he married Miss Hindmarsh, the loving and helpful companion of all his remaining years. He had become acquainted with her while a student in St. Andrews, but the marriage took place in Jersey, where her family was then residing. ‘No more imprudent step’ (than this marriage) writes Mrs. Oliphant, ‘was ever taken, nor one more absolutely and triumphantly justified.’

Tulloch returned with his young wife to Dundee towards the

beginning of winter, and they were still busy gathering their household gods together when a cruel discovery was made. But here we must let Mrs. Oliphant speak :—

‘ The stipends of the Dundee churches,’ she says, ‘ were derived from old endowments, partly royal gifts, partly the spoils of the monasteries, which were devoted to the maintenance of the Church and relief of the poor, and were under the management and control of the town council—a thing very usual in Scotland. But at this troubled period of the Church’s career, such a control was liable to great abuse. Most of the town councillors of Dundee had joined the Free Church movement in 1843, and it seems to have represented itself to them as a fair and honourable manner of reprisals for the sacrifices made by ministers on their own side of the question, to carry confusion and dismay into the deserted manse which had been filled up by new men. It must have been after Mr. Tulloch’s appointment that the town council came to this extraordinary resolution. They could not interfere with the incomes of the clergymen, who had held their livings from a period anterior to the Disruption ; but in respect to those newly appointed, they set on foot a new distribution, cutting down the stipends from £275 to one hundred guineas, on the plea that all beyond that sum had been granted only during the pleasure of the town council. A more arbitrary or cruel act could not have been. Its utter unscrupulousness and high-handed despotism could not be exceeded by any petty tyrant ; but there is perhaps nothing so like a petty tyrant as the local council, formed of men of unelevated understanding and narrow views, with all the heat of local prejudice and the terrible stimulus of irresponsible power, however small. If anything could be more cruel than a town council it would be a vestry—a group of men being, by some wonderful reason of human nature, more obdurate, less accessible either to reason or feeling, than any single man.’ (pp. 45, 6).

Two hundred and seventy five pounds is by no means an extravagant income for a minister in a large town, and the discovery that even this slender pittance was to be reduced to one hundred and five burst upon the young couple like a thunderbolt. That they would have hard work to make both ends meet need not be said ; but Tulloch and his young wife bore up bravely and uncomplainingly. ‘ Although we are not without our difficulties,’ he wrote at the time, ‘ and pretty hard ones too as the world goes, we are very happy.’ He worked on quietly and cheerfully, ‘ but,’ as Mrs. Oliphant remarks, ‘ by no means, as has sometimes been said, with frantic laboriousness to keep the wolf from the door.’ ‘ No trace of anything of the kind,’ she



continues, 'is in what he himself reports of his life, or in any definite recollection preserved by his contemporaries.' Now and then he could even afford a trip to Edinburgh or to Lauder, and on one occasion to Germany. Relief came to his pecuniary difficulties in 1849, when he was presented to the living of Kettins in Perthshire. Here he remained until 1854, when he removed to St. Andrews.

His appointment to the Principalship of St. Mary's was as curious a turn in the wheel of fortune as it was unexpected. All along from his college days Tulloch's desire had been to obtain a professorship, and already in 1851 he had had thoughts of applying for the post of professor of Ecclesiastical History in Glasgow, which was then vacant. A few months later, again, he had been in Aberdeen on the invitation of Professor Martin, the then editor of the *North British Review*, 'looking about me, and learning what may be learned,' he says with evident reference to an expected vacancy in the professoriate. But in the November of 1853 Dr. Haldane, the Principal of St. Mary's, lay dying, and there was a flutter of excitement in the university of 'the little grey town' as to who should succeed him. Dr. Brown, the second Professor of Theology, had been selected by Sir David Brewster, then the Principal of the United College, as the fittest person to succeed the dying Principal; and the two of them had agreed that, among the many younger men who were looking to a professorship in the University as the height of their ambition, the best choice that could be made for the chair Brown would leave vacant, in the event of his candidature proving successful, was Tulloch of Kettins. With these thoughts in their heads, Sir David Brewster and Dr. Brown paid a visit to the Manse of Kettins, and stated their case. Tulloch agreed to the arrangement, and began his candidature. Dr. Haldane died in March 1854, and the moment came when every effort required to be put forth by the joint candidates. Tulloch responded to Dr. Brown's appeal for activity with the utmost energy, thinking only, so far as he himself was concerned, of the second Chair. Among others he called on Lord Kinnaird, whom he had already written to on the subject, and acquainted with the arrangement come to between Dr. Brown and himself, when to his astonishment he

learnt that his lordship, instead of understanding him to be a candidate for the Chair Dr. Brown was to vacate, had supposed him to be applying *for the actual vacancy*, and had accordingly recommended him to Lord Palmerston, not for the Second Chair of Theology, but for the Principalship. On discovering his mistake, Lord Kinnaird at once wrote to Lord Palmerston, asking him to delay procedure in the matter until he had seen him. But when Tulloch's name was mentioned in high places, it was so strongly supported by Bunsen and others, that Dr. Brown's was dropped, and Tulloch was appointed Principal. To Dr. Brown the disappointment was of course great, but he took it in good part, and not without magnanimity. Congratulations poured in upon the youthful Principal from all sides, and Lord Kinnaird wrote, 'I consider it very fortunate that the mistake occurred,' adding, 'I am glad to hear that your nomination gives general satisfaction, which the arrangement proposed by Sir David Brewster would not have done.' Soon after this great piece of unexpected good fortune, another befell him. In January 1855 the judges for the Burnett prizes awarded him the second prize, worth £600, for his essay on *Christian Theism*. During the same year he removed to St. Andrews, and began his new life by the delivery of an inaugural address at the opening of the University session on 'The Theological Tendencies of the Age.' Here, in St. Andrews, the seat of the oldest University in the country, Principal Tulloch lived during the remainder of his life. Honours did not flow in upon him very rapidly. On a Scottish minister or Professor there are few to flow; but Tulloch obtained, and obtained deservedly, a fair share of them. He held the Croall Lectureship, was a Royal Chaplain and Dean of the Order of the Thistle; he was Junior, and then Principal Clerk of the Assembly of the Church of Scotland; and a few years before his death the Church of Scotland conferred upon him the highest honour which it has to confer upon any of its ministers, by appointing him in 1878 the Moderator of its General Assembly.

By his profession Principal Tulloch was first of all a preacher. What is generally termed a great or popular preacher he can

scarcely be said to have been ; but among one class, the more than ordinarily educated, his pulpit ministrations were extremely acceptable. His name was always sufficient to draw together large crowds as well in country towns as in the large centres of population, more especially in Edinburgh and Glasgow, in both of which places he was extremely popular. His sermons, which were always carefully prepared and betrayed the thinker, perhaps, more than the orator, were clear and vigorous statements of Christian truth, showing on the part of the preacher a large and varied acquaintance with the Christian life and considerable insight into human nature. His position in the Church lent weight to his words, and they were rendered all the more impressive by his naturally fine presence, good voice, and singularly earnest manner. The conclusions of his sermons, it would appear, he was not in the habit of writing. These he declared while at Kettins 'it is no use writing ;' but as a rule they were the most effective part of his sermons. It was while delivering them that the whole of his energies of mind and heart seemed to be most concentrated and that his words became most forcible and impressive. Referring to the declaration we have just cited Mrs. Oliphant says—and those who have heard the Principal preach will be able to confirm every word of her statement—

'This last touch is very characteristic, and will remind many who have heard him in later years, of Principal Tulloch's habit of closing his book and addressing himself direct, often with an emotion which was very contagious, to the audience which had been following him through his argument or exposition with rapt and grave attention. The theologian, the teacher was put aside ; he thrust from him with the impatience of an orator, all that had been prepared, and with his large eyes wide open, and his countenance flushed with feeling, threw himself upon the sympathies and responsive feeling of his hearers. No one could doubt that what he thus spoke had gone to his own heart, and came direct from it, warm and glowing with all the eloquence of nature. In these moments he was the true ambassador, the messenger of good tidings, and at no time was he more characteristically himself. I do not pretend to say that these personal addresses were always equal to the preceding discourse—sometimes they were the finest part of it, but not always ; yet it was impossible to listen to them without being impressed by the strong personal influence of the man. It was of "no use writing" conclusions ; by the time he had got to that point all the boundaries of composition were burst by the warmth of natural feeling.'—(p. 74).

At Balmoral his religious ministrations appear to have been always welcomed, and among the Queen's Scottish chaplains, after Norman Macleod, he seems to have enjoyed the greatest measure of the Royal esteem. Among his letters are several describing his visits to the Queen's Highland residence, in all of which are indications of Her Majesty's high appreciation both of his character and of his ministry. The following, written to his wife, is the earliest, and in some respects the most striking, of these letters.

'I had an interview with the Queen this afternoon (Sunday, August 10th, 1862) and write to note down its character before it escapes my memory. I arrived here from Braemar last night, and at ten o'clock went to Balmoral Castle to give divine service. I found servants waiting at the door under the tower, one of whom conducted me to a room, where I put on my gown and bands. After a while I was ushered along the corridor, through a group of waiting servants, along each end of which were arranged seats—in the lower end for the servants, the upper for the Queen and Court. In the window there was a table covered, at which I took my place with a small Bible, and my sermon in my hand. I remained standing for about three minutes; the ladies and Sir George Grey, the Minister of State in attendance, then entered, and after a short time the Queen came in with two little boys and (I think) a little girl, all in deep mourning. She had a widow's cap with very long pendants broadly hemmed. (I have heard all this, although I never ventured to look at her except as she entered and took her seat.)

'I commenced the service with a prayer, then reading Scripture, thirtieth Psalm, and fourteenth chapter of St. John's Gospel, then short prayer, concluding with "Our Father," then sermon from the text, Romans viii. 28, "And we know that all things work together for good," then another prayer to conclude with—about fifty minutes in all; and as I never sat down, and was under a good deal of suppressed excitement, although marvellously calm externally, I felt a little tired. Her Majesty left the room immediately, and I left for the manse, to prepare for the service in the church. At two o'clock I went back to luncheon, sat beside Sir George Grey, and afterwards had a long talk with him. As I rose with the rest to come away, Sir George said to me, "The Queen desires to see you, and will send for you by-and-bye." I did not feel very comfortable, you may imagine. As we went up the stair Sir George said to me, "No formal introduction is necessary; you just enter and make your bow." A servant received us at the door—very dark, quiet, and retired it seemed—tapped, to which a clear voice replied, "Come in." Sir George went first, made a step or two, and then a very low formal bow: I followed and did the same. The Queen received us almost at the door, and stood all the

time. She said inquiringly first, that I had been to Balmoral to preach before? She then asked if I had a church. She then asked about the number of students at St. Andrews. I said about 150 or 170. There were many more in Edinburgh and Glasgow, Her Majesty said, talking to Sir George Grey. She then said something further that led me to say that St. Andrews was the oldest University in Scotland, and that we were proud of it in consequence. Sir George said I had been telling him that the Duke of Argyll was thinking of sending his sons to St. Andrews. She said half to him and half to me that the Duke's sons were very promising. I replied that the eldest was thought very clever. She then spoke of Dr. Macleod, and said he was a delightful and charming man. Had he not also a clever brother? I said he had. Sir George Grey said, "Your Majesty has just presented Dr. Macleod's brother to a living." She replied, "I have not had the pleasure of hearing him, but I hope I may have that pleasure." She then spoke of Mr. Stewart having preached last Sabbath, and said, "He was eloquent" in an enquiring sort of way. She then said with a very charming smile, "It was very kind of you to come to-day," and we left bowing and backing out of the room as best we could. She detained Sir George Grey, who on rejoining me said the Queen desired a copy of my sermon and the concluding prayer. I said I could scarcely give the copy I had, but would have one made and sent."—(pp. 158-9)

This was the first of many visits which the Principal paid to Balmoral and Windsor. How highly his ministrations were appreciated by Her Majesty may be gathered from the following sentence taken from a letter she addressed to the Rev. W. W. Tulloch, on hearing of his father's death—"I have again lost a dear and honoured friend; and my heart sinks within me when I think I shall not again on earth look on that noble presence, that kindly face, and listen to those words of wisdom and Christian large heartedness which used to do me so much good." In another letter, addressed to Mrs. Tulloch on the same occasion, the Queen again speaks of 'his wise words which breathe such a lofty Christian spirit' (pp. 478-9). Wisdom and Christian large-heartedness were perhaps the most distinctive characteristics of his sermons. They were not rhetorical. They were plain, sensible, and instructive, eloquent because of their intense earnestness, and impressively spoken.

When Principal Tulloch's ministry began, the Disruption of 1843 had taken place. He had grown up and had been educated amid the discussions that led up to it. His father, the minister of Tilbermuir, seems to have been at one time a supposed

supporter of the Non-Intrusionist party, and an amusing, if stilted, account is given by Dr. Beith in his *Memorials of the Disruption* of how he and another member of this party hunted him out, and with some difficulty found him engaged, not in a theological or ecclesiastical polemic, but in a controversy much more humanizing. The minister, in short, was out upon the ice along with his people, engaged in a great curling match. But though he presided at the meeting which the two clergymen had come to arrange for, he did not commit himself to their party, and when the Disruption came, he remained by the Church. How his son felt on the matter at this period, there does not seem to be any precise record. He was one of the ringleaders in raising the rebellion against the custom of filling the office of Lord Rector of the University by certain professors in rotation, and took a part at least, if he was not the chief actor, in proposing Dr. Chalmers for the office. This proposal may possibly have 'meant a sentiment of admiration for the party which afterwards formed the Free Church,' but it is much more likely that it meant simply a desire to honour one who at the time was the most popular man in Scotland. But be that as it may, there is nothing to show that Tulloch ever had the slightest leanings towards the party which Dr. Chalmers led. From first to last he was a staunch Churchman. It was as a Churchman, in fact, that most of his best work was done. He belonged to a band of men who have done more than any others to repair the disaster of 1843, and to regain for the Church its hold upon the nation. Among them were Drs. Norman Macleod, Lee of Greyfriars, Smith of North Leith, Watson of Dundee, Principal Caird, and, though often opposed to those already named, Dr. Phin. All these were chief actors in, and some of them stood at the head of, movements which in different ways have helped to restore the waste places caused by the great Secession, and to bring the Church into its present prosperous condition. Drs. Macleod, Lee, and Tulloch, are specially singled out by Mrs. Oliphant as having done more, each in his own department, than any other of their contemporaries, to alter the character of the Church of Scotland and to lengthen its cords.

'All of them,' she observes, 'were roused by one impulse—seized by a

longing after a communion more extended than that which was confined within the limits of a scientific form of doctrine and a certain number of centuries. They bethought themselves simultaneously that the Apostles' Creed was older and wider and simpler than the Westminster Confession ; that the laws of God had been revealed before ever the Reformers were thought of, and that prayer and praise had not been invented in the sixteenth century. These men were not without their prejudices. They were all ready enough to vituperate Popish superstition, and call heaven and earth to witness how dark and benighted were other lands, and how inferior to their own ; they had their own kind of bigotry like most men. They were even somewhat illiberal in respect, for instance, to Episcopalians in Scotland, whose assumptions of superior authority exercised, and not unnaturally, an irritating influence upon them. But with all this their minds had taken a new turn, unprecedented in Scottish ways—a longing for something “more Catholic, more magnanimous,” as Irving had said in a previous generation, came upon them. They remembered that, in their acknowledged descent from the original fathers of the faith, no leap had been made, no such wonderful bound as from St. Paul to John Knox, which had been somehow the idea encouraged in Scotland ; but that all the old saints, both great and small, were in their spiritual genealogy too, and that all the old ways of the Christian world, tender traditions of everything that was lovely and of good report, belonged to them also—the hymns of Ambrose as well as “The Lord's my Shepherd.” This, there is no doubt, was very new in the Scotch Church. The dogmatists of the “Free” were more faithful in their rigid traditionalism to that handful of great men to whom they limited their primogeniture. It had never been known in Scotland, except perhaps in such a benignant individuality as that of Archbishop Leighton, that the Church should serve herself heir to all Christianity, and recognise a pedigree reaching further back than Geneva. And yet there could be no doubt that every Christian practice and custom as well as instinct and hope were hers, as they were the inheritance of all Christians.'

Owing to the lines they adopted, Drs. Lee and Macleod were brought into collision with the ecclesiastical authorities, and having to defend themselves before their respective Presbyteries and on the floor of the General Assembly, they have the appearance of having played a more important as well as a more conspicuous part in the Renaissance of the Church of Scotland. But that they did is extremely doubtful. Still waters run deep ; and when the history of that movement comes to be written, it will in all probability be found that the influence of Principal Tulloch though perhaps less appreciable, was quite as powerful and enduring as that of either.

Anything like an adequate account of his activity as a Churchman it is here impossible to give; still one or two points may be noticed. The chief bent of his mind was historical, and though the period to which he confined his inquiries was somewhat limited, it was doubtless this historical feeling that inspired his ideas as a Churchman and gave them, for the unhistorical ecclesiastical mind of Scotland, something of an air of freshness. His principal guides seem to have been Hooker, Coleridge, Arnold, and Rothe. As compared with those of his English teachers, his conceptions of the Christian Church and of a National Christian Church were less broad and comprehensive. Those inculcated by Coleridge seemed to him, from their very breadth and comprehensiveness, we imagine, 'diffusive' and 'impalpable' and 'hardly calculated to touch the general mind.' His own seem to have more affinity with Rothe's, though it is not difficult to trace in them the influence of Hooker and Arnold. Essentially, in fact, they were the same. Speaking of a National Church, he said, in his lecture in St. Giles' on 'National Religion in Theory and Fact,' it implies 'nothing less than the organisation of the religious side of the nation; its spiritual aspirations and activities legally embodied and witnessing, in virtue of this embodiment, to the great thought that religion is not merely a private but a public concern—that it behoves the nation, no less than the individual and the family, to acknowledge God and Christ as the great King and Governor of men in all their relations. It is the recognition and constitutional expression of this principle alone that invests religion with national sanction. It is this which discriminates a church from a sect.' And again in the same lecture we have the words:

'The Church and the State are seen interwoven from the first: the civil order of the community constantly borrowing from its spiritual order, and the latter strengthening and organising itself in legal forms. The State is, as it were, the outside structure of the national life, the Church the inside structure of it, and as they fit into one another, and naturally adapt themselves to the common end of intensifying such life, each reaches its true ideal and helps to build up the fabric of national prosperity. . . . The activities of the Church are in themselves distinct from the special activities of the State. They relate to different spheres. They bring into play different faculties. They promote different, if related ends. But both the



one and the other are required to make a true national life. To cut off the civil from the spiritual order, and to make the former merely contributory to physical ends is to debase it. To cut off the spiritual from the civil is not merely to divorce what God has joined, but to convert the spiritual into the ritual, and in separating it from the common circle of humanity—under the plea of its sacredness—really to degrade it, and to prepare the way for turning religion into a superstition, and the Church into a priesthood.\*

Whether this is the true idea of a National Church it is not our province here to discuss. To many it may seem to imply too much; to others, too little. All we say is, that it was Principal Tulloch's, and that it accounts in a large measure for the position he took up in relation to various movements in connection with the Church of Scotland. To its inspiration may be traced the interest he took in the welfare of the Church in the Highlands, the coldness with which he regarded the Patronage Bill, his unceasing efforts on behalf of education, both primary and university, and the energy with which he threw himself forward in defence of the Church against the movement for its disestablishment and disendowment. Another Scotsman, perhaps more learned, but less active and effective, and belonging to a different Communion, has said, 'I am first a Christian, and then a Presbyterian.' Of Principal Tulloch it may be said, he was first a Christian, and then a Scottish Churchman; for next to the spread of the Christian Faith, that which he had most at heart was the prosperity of the Church of Scotland. His last words in the Assembly were in its defence, and one of the last things he wrote was an article which appeared in the pages of this *Review*, entitled 'The Church of Scotland and the Coming Election.' †

As a Theologian, Principal Tulloch has generally been regarded as belonging to what is popularly termed the 'Broad Church.' That term is convenient, but not particularly lucid. It is often extremely misleading. Especially is this the case when it is applied to doctrine. Many doctrines are said to be 'Broad Church,' which many so-called Broad Churchmen would be the first to disown. In one sense Principal Tulloch

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\* *St. Giles' Lectures*, Sixth Series, pp. 30, 66-7.

† No. 12, October 1885.

was a 'Broad Churchman,' in the sense that he refused to be bound by that unlovely form of traditionalism which he spent the greater part of his life in opposing. But in the sense that he held or taught opinions that are in any way opposed, or in contradiction to any of the great principles or doctrines of the Christian Faith, it will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for any one capable of judging to make out. Perhaps the best word with which to designate him as a theologian is his own word 'Rational.' But here again a word of explanation is needed. As generally employed the term has a by no means orthodox flavour; but as used by himself it is less objectionable, and may commend itself to many who have hitherto looked upon it with dislike. What he meant by it he has pretty clearly set out in the Preface to the first Edition of his *Rational Theology*. After remarking that it is the inevitable characteristic of a moderate or liberal section in a Church or State to hold together with comparative laxity, he goes on to say, 'The very fact of their liberality implies a regard to more than one side of any question—a certain impartiality which refuses to lend itself to mere blind partizanship, or to that species of irrational devotion which forms the rude strength of great parties. This characteristic makes the action of such a moderating force all the more valuable; and it may safely be said that no ecclesiastical or civil organisation would long survive its elimination. The "Rational" element in all Churches is truly the ideal element—that which raises the Church above its own little world, and connects it with the movements of thought, the course of philosophy, or the course of science—with all, in fact, that is most powerful in ordinary human civilisation. Far from deserving to be expelled and denounced as merely evil, Rationalism has high and true Christian uses; and the Church which has lost all savour of Rational thought—of the spirit which inquires rather than asserts—is already effete and ready to perish.' Such was the sense in which Principal Tulloch used the word. Perhaps it is not very happily chosen, still, used in this sense, it describes with considerable accuracy his own position and character as a theologian. As we have already remarked, the bent of his mind was strongly historical; he was in the habit of looking

all round a subject; at all events he was always desirous of doing so, and preferred to make up his own mind on independent grounds rather than to submit unconditionally or without thought to authority. The inestimable value of tradition he frankly admitted. He did more. He acknowledged it to be indispensable. 'The element of traditional authority,' he said in his inaugural address at St. Andrews, 'whether it be embodied in the general symbol of the Catholic Church or in some more especial symbol, is to be regarded as in itself wholly invaluable for the interests of Christian science. They who would arbitrarily separate themselves from any of the noble expressions of the Church's past life seems to us utterly and hopelessly wrong.' But, on the other hand, he claimed for himself and he claimed for others the right to freedom of inquiry, believing that the principles of the Christian Faith and the principles of human thought are not contradictory but in perfect harmony with each other. At the time of his appointment to St. Mary's the reaction which followed the theological activity, which was led in Scotland by Mr. Erskine of Linlathen, Mr. Campbell of Row, and Mr. Wright of Borthwick, was in full force. It is easy to understand, therefore, that to what is commonly termed the Evangelical party, he was an object of suspicion. Yet singularly enough no charge of heresy was ever definitely formulated against him. This may probably be taken as a conclusive proof that his teaching was at no time unsound, and that the suspicions it aroused were due rather to the larger and more historical spirit in which he treated the questions of theology he from time to time discussed than to any actual departure from what was regarded as the orthodox faith.\* But be that as it may, there can be little

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\* How little sympathy he had with what are generally known as Broad Church doctrines, and how little he was at variance with what is popularly known as Evangelicalism may be gathered from the following passage in his latest work. He is discussing the attacks which were made against the late Rev. F. D. Maurice. 'If I am asked,' he says, 'to pronounce an opinion I must often agree with his orthodox critics against Mr. Maurice. Sin is certainly more than selfishness, and the atonement more than the perfect surrender of self-will to God. It is a satisfaction of Divine justice as well as a surrender to Divine love. God is not merely Love but Law,

doubt that to him, perhaps more than to any other, is due the fact that theology in Scotland has been delivered from many superstitions by which it was beset during the first decades of the century, and is now being studied in a more intelligent spirit, and with a reverence for a past which is older than Calvin and Knox.

That he was an ideal or a profoundly scientific theologian can scarcely be maintained. Even admitting that his views were on all points in accordance with the great principles of the Christian faith or not at variance with them, he was wanting in that breadth and subtilty of thought and that precise use of terms which are among the chief characteristics of the first masters in theology. In matters of terminology he was often singularly loose. Few Theologians would ever think of denouncing dogma as a cause of division: most would regard it as the sole basis of union and as in some shape or other the only possible basis. Yet in his *Movements of Religious Thought*, (p. 335), Principal Tulloch specially warns his readers against supposing that such can ever be the case. 'Let us not deceive ourselves,' he says. 'Unity can never come from dogma, as our forefathers unhappily imagined. Dogma splits rather than unites.' As if men had ever been united by anything else than some true or false dogma, either formally expressed or tacitly agreed upon! But the next sentences let us see where we are. 'It,' *i.e.* dogma, Principal Tulloch continues, 'is the creature of intellect, and the intellect can never rest, it remains unsatisfied with its own work, and is always turning up afresh the soil of opinions.' Was there ever a more apt illustration of what Moehler charges the Protestant Churches with, when he says that they have inherited an irresistible propensity everywhere to identify dogma and opinion? The two are here absolutely identified, and there is apparently not the slightest appreciation of any difference between them. But

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and Divine righteousness is strong not merely to make men righteous but to punish all unrighteousness. If it be a question between the Maurician theology and the Pauline theology, there can be no doubt that there are elements in the latter, the full significance of which Mr. Maurice failed to see.—*Movements of Religious Thought*, p. 282.

dogma is not opinion. Dogmas were before opinions and will remain when the opinions formed about them are forgotten, just as a landscape which has produced an impression on the mind of a beholder, existed before the impression it produced and will remain when the impression is faded away. Opinions change from age to age and are subject to development and decay, but the dogmas about which they are formed are always the same. Principal Tulloch, in fact, was more of an historian than a Theologian, and it was in history that his best work as a theological writer was done. At the same time it must be admitted that he was a strong and vigorous thinker, thoroughly honest with himself, and perfectly fair to his opponents. He possessed, too, what among Scottish Theologians has been somewhat rare, not only the historical and critical faculty, but the faculty also of expressing his thoughts clearly and with no small amount of literary power.

Outside of Scotland Principal Tulloch was best known by his writings. Like most writers he was better known by name than in person; and in one of his letters from America he records a somewhat amusing incident which occurred to him in Cincinnati, where he was obliged to stay some hours, owing to a breakdown on the railway. 'I sallied forth into the large unknown town,' he writes, 'and after various inquiries the "Methodist Book Concern" was pointed out to me. I inquired for my books, which I got at once. I said, "Now I am quite willing to pay for these copies, but I think you ought to give me them for nothing, as I am the writer of them." The man looked amazed, and referred me to the head of the establishment, who also looked amazed. When he understood who I really was, he was very gracious, and of course had a copy of each put up for me. I gathered that they both sold largely, one of them being the volume of whose limited sale Macmillan, you may remember, complained. The joke is, they were all dear—dearer, in fact, as everything here is, than at home. Their selling price is one dollar twenty-five cents, or five shillings, according to the present currency. *Beginning Life* was never more than three shillings and sixpence at home, and the other volume can be got abundantly for eighteenpence. They are a strange lot, to steal a

man's brains in that way and never offer him a cent, nor even till asked for, a copy of the book. One of the bishops writes a long flattering introduction; one might say, "Less of your manners and more of your siller, my pious Methodist." As early as his college days Tulloch, as we have seen, dabbled in literature. He wrote essays on such subjects as the Origin and Invention of the Alphabet, the Immortality of the Soul, Wordsworth's 'Excursion,' Spenser's 'Faerie Queen,' and seems to have been then, as subsequently, an omnivorous reader. On his settlement in Dundee he wrote to the newspapers and began to show a predilection for letters which made his friend Smith quite alarmed. A visit which he paid to Germany soon after his marriage seems to have acted as an incitement, having immediately on his return home begun a translation of Neander's lectures on Pascal, and entertained thoughts of attempting a translation of a whole series of his works. This latter came to nothing, but the translation of the lectures on Pascal appeared in *Kütto's Journal of Sacred Literature*, and two years later he contributed an original article on 'Pascal and Christian Philosophy' to the *British Quarterly*, 'the chief organ of the English Dissenters, and then, as I believe still,' Mrs. Oliphant says with a strange lack of information, 'a high-toned and excellent periodical.' He was next employed on the *North British Review*. His connection with this journal may be said to have laid the foundation of his success. After contributing several articles both to it and to the *British Quarterly*, he was asked by its editor to write a review of Bunsen's *Hippolytus* which, though now almost forgotten, was then causing considerable stir. The review was written and was so well thought of by Bunsen himself that when Tulloch's name was proposed for the Principalship of St. Mary's, the learned German lent his weight and influence and was in a large measure instrumental in his appointment. From this time onward Tulloch was a frequent contributor to the higher class of periodical literature, and in 1884 issued a volume, consisting mainly of articles he had contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*, with the title 'Modern Theories in Philosophy and Religion.' His books are so well known that it is needless to recite their titles. Most, in fact all, of them are connected with Religion and the Development of

Religious Thought. The work by which he will probably be known best and longest is his *Rational Theology in the Seventeenth Century*. It is not a brilliant, nor a popular book, but it is a decidedly good and useful book. It deals with an important but neglected phase of English Theological thought, and with men who may almost be regarded as the Principal's intellectual and spiritual fathers. A dull book it is not. Admirably written, and animated throughout by a vigorous and impartial spirit, it has always seemed to the present writer one of the best books of its kind. The fact that a second edition was soon called for is ample evidence of the favour with which it was received. He himself appears to have been somewhat disappointed that it was not more successful than it was. But his expectations seem to have been pitched too high. Few books of its kind, so far as we know, have had so large a success, and it is doubtful whether a greater can fairly be expected. The circle of readers it addresses is not large. For the general reading public with its present tastes any work of the kind can have but few attractions, and so long as such is the case an author who attempts a work in which historical investigations of a somewhat abstruse kind, calm thought and dispassionate judgment are the prevailing features, must be contented with comparatively few readers.\*

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\* Perhaps it may not be out of place here to correct a defect in the memoir with respect to a small matter connected with the *Rational Theology*. At page 321, Mrs. Oliphant cites a letter of the Principal's in which the following passage occurs—'I have seen a great deal of Matthew Arnold lately. He referred me to the last volume of his essays where he had spoken still more highly of my book than in his sketch on Falkland; and is going to publish with Macmillan a selection from Whichcote, J. Smith, Cudworth, etc., under the title of *The Broad Church in the Seventeenth Century*. He invited me to do this in his essay, and it seems rather cool his undertaking the task himself, without waiting to see whether I would do it. The selections will no doubt be taken chiefly from my volumes, which are too large he says for the general reader. Quite true, and I am not sorry he should do the thing.' Mrs. Oliphant then goes on to say—'One cannot help thinking that the Principal must have made some mistake about Mr. Matthew Arnold's intention. He was not likely to have published selections already indicated in a contemporary publication; and as a matter of fact, no such volume, so far as I am aware, was ever pub-

Some one has said, No man dies prematurely. Perhaps there is a large amount of truth in the saying. One would like to believe there is. Otherwise the death of men like Principal Tulloch in the fulness of their powers, and when to all appearance, judged by their years, they are capable of doing still greater service in the cause of religion and human progress, can scarcely be other than a national calamity. But looking back at the life of Principal Tulloch and considering his aims and what he accomplished, the thought occurs that premature as his death in some respects seems, in reality it was not. He had attained the highest honours his Church or country could confer upon him; he had lived to see the Church he had entered in its period of desolation, restored to popular fame and to something more than its former strength and activity; he had the consciousness also of knowing that he himself had had a large hand in its restoration, and the pleasure, which is given to but few, of seeing the aims and ideas for which he had constantly laboured, meeting with an ever increasing popularity. In the last of his lectures on *The Movements of Religious Thought*, he complained 'We in Scotland have been slow to recognise this inevitable law of development in religious thought, supposing ourselves a centre to which others moved rather than a part of the common movement. There was good in the old Puritan idea of religious immobility. It has kept us strong and righteous-minded in many things, but it has not been without its evil consequences. It has made us the hardest religious controversialists in the Christian world—severe upon one another—repellent when we ought to have been sympathetic, and

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lished.' Such a work was published, but neither by the Principal nor by Mr. Matthew Arnold, but by a different hand, working in entire ignorance of what they were contemplating, under the title, *The Natural Truth of Christianity*. The work consists mainly of selections from the Select Discourses of John Smith, M.A., and in its second edition has an appendix containing extracts from Whichcote, More and Cudworth. The present writer has good grounds for believing that Mr. Matthew Arnold did at one time contemplate the publication of such a work as is indicated in the above citation, though it is not at all necessary to suppose that he intended relying wholly or even to any great extent on the extracts given in *Rational Theology*.



uncharitable when we ought to have held each other by the hand.' Some of these evils he was himself largely instrumental in removing or ameliorating, and to him in a large measure is due that freer and more Catholic spirit which is at last beginning to make itself felt in the theological thought of the country.

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ART. IV.—THE WHITE LADY.

(*From the late Ivan Turgenieff.*)

[The spirit which forms the central figure in this extraordinary play of imagination belongs to a class which appears more frequently in the popular beliefs of Russia than in those of our own country. It is not, however, unknown even here. Sir Walter Scott's ballad of *Glenfinlas*, for example, is based upon a legend of a young man killed by a being of this sort—a catastrophe which Turgenieff has obviated or postponed by the peculiar expedient which he has here adopted.]

I HAD been occupying myself with spirit-rapping, and was beginning rather to regret it, as I found that I was becoming nervous and resting badly, when one night, after I had been long trying in vain to get to sleep, and arranging myself in my bed first on one side and then on the other, I was just conscious of beginning to doze when I thought I heard close to me a musical note—a mournful and tender note—as though a single string of an instrument had been struck.

I lifted my head a little. It seemed that the moon had just risen. Her rays shone full upon my face. The patch of the clean-scrubbed wooden floor of my room upon which they rested showed white like chalk. Presently the sound came again, and, this time, more distinctly.

I raised myself upon my elbow. My heart began to beat a little quick. But a minute went by, and I heard nothing more. Then another minute passed likewise. Finally, I heard a cock crow a long way off, and the voice of another cock, still farther away, answer him. Thereupon I settled my head down upon my pillow again, and said to myself 'What on earth is the matter?

Surely I am perfectly well. And this ringing in the ears will not come back again.'

And so at last I went to sleep. At any rate I thought I went to sleep. I had strange dreams. It was as if after an while I was astonished to find myself lying in bed in my own room, and not able to shut my eyes. Then I seemed to hear the musical note again. I turned round and looked into the room. Presently I thought I saw the moonbeams that lay upon the wooden floor begin to get troubled and to thicken and gather together. They took a sort of shape and rose. And in front of me was a white figure, like the figure of a woman, looking at me, and yet I could see through it all as if it had been a wreath of mist. I made an effort, and said :—

'Who is there?'

And then I heard a weak and indistinct voice, like the sound of wind passing through the leaves of a tree.

'It is me. I came to see you.'

'Why do you come to see me? Who are you?'

'Come to the old oak at the corner of the wood, in the night time. I shall be there.'

I tried to make out the features of the countenance, but suddenly an unexpected shiver ran through me. I felt as if I was chilled to the bone. I found then that I was not lying in my bed, but sitting up in it, and in the place where I had been imagining that I saw a spectre, there was nothing but the pure moonlight resting in an oblong patch upon the wooden floor.

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The next day passed very slowly. I wanted to settle down to read, to do some work. Somehow I could fix my attention on nothing. At last, night came. My heart began to throb as if something was going to happen. I went to bed in the end, and laid myself down carefully with my face to the wall.

'Why did not you come?'

These words seemed to be uttered by a small, weak voice, but with a perfectly distinct utterance, inside my room and close to where I was lying.

I looked round. Yes, it was she. There was the same

mysterious figure, the motionless eyes, the unvarying face, the unchanging look of sadness.

‘Come’—it said again, in its low voice.

‘Yes—I will come’—I answered, but with an inner feeling of terror. As soon as it heard me, the spectre seemed to strive to come nearer to my bed. But in this it appeared to fail. Its form became confused and misty, and turned into a mere shred of vapour; and, after a moment, there was nothing more to be seen but the clear patch of moonlight resting upon the white wooden floor.

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The day after this, I was in a state of nervous agitation from morning till night. At supper, I drank nearly the whole of a bottle of wine. I went out upon the door-step for a little while, but I soon came in and went to bed. I felt my pulse. It was quick.

In a little, I again heard the musical note. At the sound, a kind of shudder ran through me. I had not the courage to look round. A moment passed, and then I felt some one behind me lay their hands upon my shoulders, and heard a voice say in a low tone, close to my ear—

‘Come! come! come!’

I was seized with a sudden trembling. I said, with a sort of gasp—

‘Here I am.’

And with these words I suddenly forced myself to sit up in bed. The white figure was actually hanging over my pillow. It gave me a passionate smile, and then instantly disappeared. There was nothing.

In the moment, however, during which I had looked at the figure, it struck me that the face was not strange to me. But where and when had I seen it before?

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The next morning I was very late in getting up. I passed the day in wandering about the country close by. I went, among other places, to the old oak tree at the corner of the wood, and made a close examination of all the ground about it. Towards

evening, I sat down at the window of my study. My old house-keeper brought me tea. But I did not touch it. I could not make up my mind what I would do. I got into such a state that the question occurred to me whether I was quite sane. The sun at last was on the point of disappearing. There was not a cloud in the sky. All of a sudden, the setting beams bathed the whole landscape in a bright red tint, which seemed almost preternatural. The leaves of the trees, the plants, the grass, were absolutely motionless. They might have been turned into stone. The glorious brilliance of colour, and the motionless forms, the sharp outline of every object, and the solemn stillness, formed a strange and mysterious contrast. At that moment, a great brown bird perched upon my window-sill without any warning. I stared at it; and it looked at me somewhat askance, with its deep round eye. 'No doubt,' I thought, 'you have been sent here to remind me not to forget to-night.' As soon as this thought had passed through my mind, the bird spread its glossy wings, and flew away as silently as it had come. I stayed at my window for a long time afterwards. But I was now no longer in any doubt as to what I was going to do. I felt that the spell was upon me. There was no use fighting against it. Some occult force was moving me. It is just the same with a boat when it has got into the rapids: it cannot help being borne smoothly on to the cataract where it will perish. I roused myself at last. There was no red glow over the landscape now. Even the natural bright colours of nature were all effaced. In a few moments, it would all be wrapped in darkness. The unearthly stillness was also gone. A light wind was getting up. The moon rose radiant in the dark blue heaven. Her cold light fell upon the foliage of the trees. At some points the leaves looked as if they were made of silver, and in other places they were quite black. My housekeeper brought a lighted candle and left it upon my table. A breath of wind presently came through the window and blew it out. Upon this I got up hurriedly, put my hat on over my eyes, and set off at a quick pace towards the corner of the wood where stood the old oak.

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This oak is one which was struck by lightning many years

ago. It is what is called 'stag-headed.' The top boughs are all blasted and dead, but the rest of it has life in it for centuries to come.

As I drew near, a small cloud passed over the face of the moon, and the space underneath the branches of the tree became intensely dark. At first I noticed nothing strange, but as I continued to look round, my heart seemed suddenly to stop. I perceived an white form, close to a bush which grows between the oak and the edge of the wood. My hair stood on end upon my head. I could hardly draw breath. Nevertheless, I went on towards the wood.

It was the same figure which had been coming to me at night. I had nearly reached it, when the cloud passed away from the face of the moon. The phantom then appeared as if it were formed out of a sort of milky haze, but I could see through it. On the other side of the face, in particular, I noticed the branches of a bramble-bush, which were swaying in the wind, and which I could see distinctly through the features of the apparition. The eyes and hair were, however, of a deeper shade than the rest of the phantom. The hands were crossed, and I perceived that upon one of the fingers there was the appearance of a small, bright gold ring. When I was about six feet from the figure I stood still, and wished to speak; but I could make no sound issue from my throat; and yet the feeling which I now experienced was not altogether of fear. The figure turned its eyes upon me. The expression in the face was neither joyful nor sorrowful; it was that of a sort of grave interest. I waited to be addressed. But the apparition remained quite silent and motionless, with the same fixed dead look, never turned away from me.

At last, after a struggle, I managed to say—

'Here I am.'

The syllables sounded aloud dull and hoarse. Then I heard the same strange faint voice say—

'I am in love with you.'

'You are in love with me?' said I in amazement.

'Give yourself to me,' she said, in her low tone.

'Give myself to you?' I answered—for my mind was now getting perfectly confused. 'You are nothing but a cloud. You

have not got a body. Who are you? Are you a kind of mist, a sort of fog, a figure made out of the air? How can I give myself to you? Tell me who you are, first. Did you ever live upon earth? Where is it that you come from?’

‘Give yourself to me. I will not do you any harm. Just say only two words—*Take me.*’

I stared at her in amazement. ‘What is she saying?’ I wondered. ‘What does it mean? Shall I try it, and see?’ All at once I felt as if some one had given me a shove behind and made me cry out with a force which startled me—

‘All right! Take me!’

Hardly had I uttered these words when the figure seemed convulsed with an inward laughter which shook every line in her face. She moved forward towards me. Her hands parted and were stretched out upon me. I tried to recoil backwards. But I found I was now in her power. She folded me in her arms. I felt my body lifted about twelve inches above the ground, and in this position we glided forward together at a fairly quick pace, over the grass, which remained motionless below us.

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At first I got giddy, and involuntarily shut my eyes. When I opened them again presently, we were still moving, but I could not see my own woods any more. Down below us I saw a vast plain mottled with dark spots. I was stupefied to perceive that we were at an immense height.

All at once the idea that I was now in the power of a devil came upon me like a flash of lightning. Until this moment the supposition of an infernal agency, and that I might have caused my own ruin, had never occurred to me. We continued to move. And my impression was that we were rising higher and higher. I said at last—

‘Where are you taking me to?’

‘Wherever you like,’ answered my companion, hugging me closer in her arms. Her face was pressed against mine, and yet I hardly felt a touch.

‘Take me back to the earth. I am not happy up here.’

‘Very well. Shut your eyes and hold your breath.’

I obeyed, and had hardly done so, when I felt as if I was dropping through space like a stone. The air whistled through my hair. As soon as I could recover my consciousness I found we were sailing along close to the ground, touching every now and then the top of some plant higher than the rest.

‘Let me down,’ I said. ‘What an idea, to think of flying! I am not a bird.’

‘I thought you would like it,’ she said. ‘We do nothing else.’

‘But who are *you*?’ I asked.

There was no reply.

‘You do not dare to tell me?’ said I.

We continued to glide along near the ground, in the damp atmosphere filled with its exhalations. There was no reply to my last question. The melancholy note which had awakened me the first night made itself heard again. I said—

‘Let me down on to the ground.’

She bowed her head in token of compliance, and in a moment I found myself standing upon my feet. The apparition remained as if standing in front of me. Its hands fell and remained joined before it, as though it were waiting. I was now getting over the first impressions of terror, and I examined her closely. Her expression seemed to me, as it had seemed the first time, to be one of sorrowful resignation.

I did not recognize the place where we were, and I asked her what it was. She answered—

‘Far away from your house; but we can be back there in a minute.’

‘How do you mean? Am I to give myself over to you again?’

‘I have not done you any harm, and I will not do you any. We will go about till the day breaks. That is all. I can take you wherever you like, in any country in the world. Just give yourself to me. Say again, *Take me.*’

‘All right’ I answered, ‘Take me.’

Her arms closed round me again. The ground seemed to sink away at once from under my feet, and we began to move along once more.

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‘Where do you want to go?’ she asked.

‘Straight on.’


‘But there is a forest here.’

‘Let us go above it, only do not let us go so quick.’

We immediately rose with a kind of circling flight like that with which a woodcock makes for the upper branches of a birch-tree, but, this height gained, we sailed on in a direct line. What passed beneath our feet was now no longer grass, but the summits of great trees. The forest thus seen from above, with all its crowded tree-tops spread out below us in the light of the moon, presented a wonderful spectacle. It seemed like some great living thing stretched out asleep and breathing the breath of life in dull, indistinct sounds. Sometimes we passed over an open glade, and I saw the jagged shadows of the trees thrown upon the sward. Now and then we heard the plaintive cry of an hare from the undercover. Sometimes an owl flew past us uttering its own weird note. The air through which we passed was laden with the smell of woodland plants and of fungi and buds swelling with the dew. The brightness of the moon shone all around us, cold and stern, and the Great Bear twinkled solemnly above our heads.

Soon we left the forest behind. Beneath us was a vast plain marked by a line of greyish mist, which showed the course of a river. We followed one of the banks, above the line of bushes which fringed it and which were now all bending beneath the heavy moisture of the night. Some parts of the surface of the stream shone with a sort of steely blue, in others the great mass of waters welled up from beneath, dark and sinister. Here and there slight wreaths of mist hung trembling over the current. At a few spots I saw water-lilies displaying all their loveliness in the silence and solitude of the night, like virgins when they know that nobody sees them. I wanted to gather one of them; my hand reached the surface, but the cold water spirted disagreeably into my face, as I was trying to pull up the coarse stalk.

We began to fly across the river again and again, from one side to the other, as the curlews do. And we made the real curlews rise every moment. More than once we passed above a charming nest of young wild-ducks, all cuddling together in a





group in the middle of the rushes. These young wild-ducks did not try to fly away. One of them would bring his head out hurriedly from under his little wing, and look at us steadily for a moment, and then bury it once more under his plumage of soft down, while his brethren uttered a feeble murmur of 'quack, quack, quack.' Once we startled an heron in the midst of a patch of broom, and as he rose up and shook his wings heavily, I thought of a German.\* As for fish, we saw none: they were all asleep at the bottom.

I was now getting used to the sensation of moving in the air; and it was becoming pleasant to me. Anyone who has ever dreamt that he was a bird will know what I mean. I was also now free from my first fears, and I began to observe closely the extraordinary being by whose action I had been brought into so strange a position.

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She had the appearance of a young woman. Her features were entirely destitute of any trait of the Russian type of countenance. Her form was of a sort of greyish white. It was half transparent. Different shades were barely perceptible in it. I can only compare the whole effect to the appearance of a figure cut in relief upon an alabaster vase, when a lamp has been put inside the vase in order to make the figure stand out like an illuminated cameo. Again it struck me that I had seen her face before.

'May I speak to you?' I said.

'Speak.'

'I see that you have got a ring upon your hand. Did you ever live on the earth? Were you ever married?'

Here I stopped. She returned no answer.

'What is your name?' said I, 'or what shall I call you?'

'Call me Ellis.'

'Ellis!' I said. 'It is an English name. Are you English? Did you ever know me before?'

'No.'

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\* "Heron" is a popular Russian nickname for Germans.

‘Why did you choose me to appear to?’

‘I am in love with you.’

‘Are you happy?’

‘Yes—flying in the air with you.’

‘Ellis!’ cried I, suddenly. ‘Are not you one of the reprobate? Are you not a soul in pain?’

‘I do not understand,’ she answered, in a low voice, bending her head a little.

‘I adjure you in the Name of God—’ I began; but she interrupted me—

‘What are you saying?’ she asked. ‘I do not know what you are talking about.’

Her whole tone and air were completely those of a person who really did not understand in the least what I was saying. At the same time I thought that I felt a slight movement in the arm which held me with a cold grip.

‘Do not be afraid,’ she continued. ‘Do not be frightened, dear.’

And then her face bent down over mine. And I felt an odd feeling on my lips. It was something like a light prick with a blunted needle—or like the dallying of a leech which is not yet quite ready to bite.

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We were moving at a considerable height above the earth. I looked down. We were above some town which I had never seen before. It was built upon the slope of a large hill, and I saw the expanse of wooden roofs, mingled with gardens lying dark in shadow, and the gilded cupolas and metal crosses of a church here and there shining with a dusky gleam above the mass of surrounding houses. At one of the bends of the river a great bridge stood out black across the stream. Among the willow-trees by the bank the tall weighted rods for drawing water by balance rose silent and motionless in the air. Silent and lifeless also was a long white line, straight as an arrow, which entered the town on one side and left it on the other, stretching either way as far as the eye could reach over the interminable plain. This long white line was an highway.

I asked Ellis what town it was. She named one. I asked if it were the one so called, in the province of —. She replied in the affirmative.

‘We are a long way from my home,’ I said.

‘Not for us.’

‘Really?’ said I. Then a movement of audacity suddenly took possession of me, and I said—

‘Take me to South America.’

‘I cannot,’ answered the apparition. ‘It is day-time there.’

‘Then we are birds of darkness, are we?’ I answered, and then continued. ‘Never mind. Take me wherever you like. Only take me a long way.’

‘Shut your eyes and hold your breath,’ said Ellis.

We then seemed to fly with the speed of the whirlwind. The air whistled in my ears. It did not seem very long before we stopped. But the sound did not stop. On the contrary, it was far louder than before. The din I heard was terrific.

‘Open your eyes now,’ said Ellis.

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I did as she told me. ‘Good Heavens! where am I?’ Immediately above our heads scudded across the sky a tempest of low stormy clouds, thick and black, like a pack of infernal hounds careering through the air. Beneath us was another monster—the sea, as though mad with rage. The waters, lashed into convulsions, seemed to throw up mountains of bubbling and seething foam. The waves, torn out of all shape, dashed wildly against rocks as black as pitch, with a sound like thunder. The roaring of the storm, the cold rushing sound of the waters as they were forced up from the depths, the deafening reverberation of the billows as they smote the cliffs, a mingled din in which the ear seemed sometimes to distinguish cries of helpless pain, sometimes the booming of distant artillery, sometimes the pealing of bells—then the grating of the pebbles upon the shingle—now and again the scream of some unseen sea-bird—at intervals some gleam of comparative light making dimly visible the uncertain outline of a vessel. But death everywhere, everywhere death and destruction. A feeling of horror took hold of me and I shut my eyes again.

‘What is this?’ I asked. ‘Where are we?’

‘We are on the South coast of the Isle of Wight, at Blackgang Chine, where ships are often wrecked,’ answered Ellis, and as she spoke I believe that I saw a gleam of evil pleasure in her face.

‘Take me far away from here,’ I cried. ‘Far, far away! Take me home!’

I gathered myself up and covered my eyes. We seemed to fly faster than before. The air did not now whistle through my clothes and my hair, it howled and roared. I could not draw breath.

‘Stand up,’ said Ellis.

I made an effort to collect my senses. I felt the ground under my feet. All sound was now gone. Around me seemed the stillness of the grave. But the blood was throbbing violently in my temples, and my head was turning, with a faint ringing sound within. Little by little the giddiness passed away. I drew myself up, and opened my eyes.

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We were on the bank of my own pond at home. Immediately in front of us I could see through the sharp pointed leaves of a row of willows the broad stretch of the water, with some light shreds of mist resting upon the surface as though they had been fastened to it. On the right hand spread the dull green expanse of a field of rye. On the left I saw my orchard, where the trees stood motionless and dripping, only half distinguishable in the mist. But the breath of the morning was beginning to touch them. In the pale sky were two or three streaks of yellow cloud already touched by the first rays of the dawn. And yet the source of the light was still unseen. The uniform lightness of the heavens indicated not as yet where the sun was to rise. The stars had all disappeared. Not a thing was moving, and yet all things were awakening amid the wondrous stillness of the break of day.

‘The day is coming,’ said the voice of Ellis in my ear. ‘Good-bye till to-morrow.’

I turned towards her. She had already risen from the earth

and was ascending into the air in front of me. All of a sudden I saw her cast her arms above her head. In a moment her face, her hands and her shoulders appeared clothed in the hue of flesh: flashes of life kindled in her dark eyes: a smile of mysterious sensuality played round her reddening lips—what I saw was a young seductive woman. But this change only lasted an instant. She seemed as if seized with a sudden fainting fit, fell backwards, and dissolved immediately like a breath of vapour. There was no longer anything there.

I remained for a little while perfectly confounded and motionless. When I returned to myself, it was as if the hue of flesh, the pale rose-coloured tint, which had for a moment given a semblance of material life to the apparition, had not disappeared with it. The air around me seemed full of it still. It was in truth only the dawn which was beginning to glow. All at once there fell on me a sense of utter physical prostration. I turned and made my way towards the house. As I passed the poultry-yard I heard the goslings beginning to cackle. They are the birds which wake earliest. Along the lines of the roof, on the wooden poles which bind the thatch, were some rooks on the watch, standing out clear against the pale sky as they busily plumed themselves for the day. Now and then they all rose silently together in the air, and then settled down again in a row. Twice I heard in the wood the gruff healthy voice of a black-cock, already on the search for berries among the wet verdure. As for myself, I felt a slight chill coming over me, and went straight to my bed, where I fell almost immediately into an heavy sleep.

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The following night, when I went to the wood, Ellis came to meet me as if I were an old acquaintance. As for me, I had now lost all fear, and was almost glad to see the apparition. I had ceased to puzzle myself by trying to devise any explanation of the phenomena, and the only feeling now in my mind was a wish to be carried away again and to satisfy my curiosity. It was not long before the arms of Ellis were around me and we were high in the air.

‘Let us go to Italy,’ I said in her ear.

‘Wherever you like, dear,’ she answered, slowly and gravely. And then—slowly and gravely, too—she bent her head over me. I thought this time that I noticed that her features were less transparent than they had been the night before. She had become more like a woman, and less like a shadow. She recalled to me more the beautiful being whom I had seen that morning for an instant before it vanished.

‘To-night,’ she continued, ‘is the great night. It comes very seldom. When seven times thirteen——’ Here her words became entirely unintelligible to me, till she concluded——‘then one can see what is hidden at other times.’

‘Ellis,’ I said in an entreating tone, ‘who are you? You may as well tell me.’

She did not answer, but stretched out her thin white hand. Her finger pointed to a spot in the dark heavens where I saw a reddish-hued comet among a mass of the minor stars.

‘What do you mean?’ I asked. ‘Do you live like a comet wandering in an irregular orbit among the sun and stars? Do you live like that among men? What? Is it something else?’

She laid her hand upon my eyes. I found myself suddenly wrapped in an heavy white fog, such as sometimes rises from the bottom of valleys.

‘Italy, Italy,’ she said in a low voice. ‘To-night is the great night.’

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The fog cleared away, and I found that I was looking down upon an apparently illimitable plain. But the soft, warm air which I now felt upon my cheeks, let me know that I was no longer in Russia. Besides that, it was not a plain like our plains. It was simply an immense flat, tame, destitute of vegetation, utterly desert. Pools of stagnant water gleamed here and there upon its expanse, like scattered pieces of a broken looking-glass. At one side the land seemed to end, and I could dimly perceive the presence of a motionless and noiseless sea. Clouds in noble and picturesque masses only partially veiled an heaven lit up by glorious stars. From every direction rose a multitudinous sound, the utterance of myriads of throats, incessant, clear, but

not strident. This sound, at once distinct and dull, was the voice of the desert. It broke its silence by proclaiming its solitude.

‘These are the Pontine Marshes,’ said Ellis. ‘Do you hear the frogs? Do you smell the sulphur?’

‘The Pontine Marshes?’ I exclaimed, with a feeling of disappointment. ‘Why do you bring me to this ghastly uninhabited swamp? It would have been much better to have gone to Rome.’

‘Rome is quite near,’ she answered. ‘Get yourself ready.’

And so we took our course above the old Appian Way. A buffalo which was lying all but submerged in a slimy bog slowly lifted his hideous head, covered with tufts of coarse hair between his back-turned horns. I saw the whites of his dull and vicious eyes as he snorted loudly through his wet nostrils. He had no doubt perceived our presence.

‘Rome! Here is Rome!’ said Ellis. ‘Look before you.’

What was the black mass which cut the line of the horizon? Was it the ruin of some bridge built by giants? Why was it broken here and there in great gaps? No, it was not a bridge: it was one of the ancient aqueducts. Here we were indeed on the holy *Campagna di Roma*. At no great distance I recognized the Alban Hills. The moon was rising, and her rays imperfectly lighted up their summits and the grey ruins of the aqueduct.

We moved suddenly forward, and then I found that our flight was stopped. We were hanging still in the air in front of a solitary pile of ruin. It was too shapeless now for anyone to be able to say what it had been—a tomb? a villa? a public bath? A mass of black ivy wrapped it in its grim embraces, and at the bottom some underground construction, the roof of which had half fallen in, gaped like a dead man’s mouth. I was struck by a smell like the smell of a grave, which seemed to exhale from every one of the deftly cut stones of which the building was composed. It had once been veneered with marble, but that had long disappeared.

‘Here!’ said Ellis. ‘Here! Call out three times the name of some great Roman.’

‘What will happen?’ I enquired.

‘You will see,’ she answered.

I thought for an instant, and then cried aloud—  
'*Divus Caius Julius Cæsar!*' and then again, prolonging the syllables—'*Divus Caius Julius Cæsar! Cæsar!*'

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The last echoes of my voice had not died away when I heard—  
But it is hopeless for me to attempt to convey any idea of what happened. There was first a confused sound, which began so faintly as to be scarcely perceptible to the ear, but which never ceased, as of trumpets sounding and the clapping of innumerable hands. The impression was as if somewhere far away, at an enormous distance of space, down in some unfathomed abyss, vast multitudes of human beings were stirring. I felt that the unseen crowd was boiling and surging, swelling in countless waves of hurried life, and never silent with the voice of ceaseless shouting; but the sound was all dull and distant like the noises in a nightmare which seems to last for centuries. Then the air around the ruin appeared to get dark and thick, and I imagined I saw shadows rising up and passing along. These shadows were like the forms of tens of thousands, of millions, of soldiers. I could see the rounded forms of their helmets, and the sharp outlines of their spears. These shadowy spears and helmets shone in the moonbeams with countless gleams of pale light, and the whole ghostly army hastened forward, hurrying, advancing and still swelling—I felt in it the consciousness of an inexorable power capable of conquering the world. And yet not one shape had yet appeared distinctly. Suddenly a strange agitation moved the whole mass. It was as though immeasurable waves of living beings were parting asunder to this side and that, and drawing back, and thousands of thousands of human voices, far and confused like the rustling of leaves in a forest when the tempest smites it, were saying—'*Cæsar! Cæsar venit!*' A dull stroke was heard. And then a stern colourless head, crowned with laurels, with closed eyes and mouth, came slowly forth out of the dark ruin. It was the *Imperator*.

No words in any earthly tongue can express the deadly sensation of terror which now took possession of me. I felt that if the eyes or mouth of the figure opened, I should die at once.

'Ellis,' I cried. 'I neither will nor can endure this. Take



me away from Rome—this cruel, pitiless Rome. ‘Come away.’

‘What a coward you are,’ she said in a low voice.

And we passed away. As we went I heard behind me—loud enough now—the iron roar of the Roman legions. And then everything became a black blank.

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‘Look,’ said Ellis, ‘you need not be frightened.’

I remember that my first sensation was so delicious, that for a little while I could do nothing but breathe in gently the combination of sensuous satisfactions. I was in the midst of a sort of liquid blue, a kind of silvery brightness. And yet there was no mist, and no particular light. At first I could not see anything. The luminous blue haze seemed to blind me. Little by little my eyes distinguished the outlines of sublime mountains clad with forests. Below me was a noble lake, on whose surface trembled the reflection of the stars in heaven above. From the far-off shores I could hear the sound of the miniature waves that smote gently upon the beach. The heavy scent of orange-trees in blossom reached me, pure and strong, as in a wave of perfume—and strong and pure came with it the notes of a young woman’s voice. The odour and the sound both attracted me, and I expressed the wish to descend towards the earth. We moved in the direction of a splendid palace built of marble, which stood out in strong relief against a great grove of cypresses. The windows of the palace were all wide open, and it was from them that the voice came. The waters of the lake, here laden with the pollen of flowers, lapped against the marble walls of the building. Straight before us was an island covered with the dark foliage of oranges and laurels, amid which porticoes and colonnades, temples and statues, rose above the waters, all wrapped in the veil of luminous silvery haze.

‘This is the Isola Bella in the Lago Maggiore,’ said Ellis.

I could answer only by an inarticulate ejaculation. We descended lower and nearer. The notes of the singer’s voice became more distinct and drew me irresistibly to approach them. I wanted to look upon the face of her who was making such a night vocal with such music. We came close to the window.

I saw a room furnished as a room might have been furnished amid all the luxury of Pompeii before its destruction. It was more like a museum of antiquities than a room of the present day. There were gathered in it Greek sculptures, and Etruscan pottery, rare exotics and precious stuffs, illuminated by two lamps enclosed in crystal globes hanging from the ceiling. The light fell upon a young woman sitting alone at a piano. Her head was thrown a little back; her eyes were half shut; she was singing an Italian air. And as she sang, she smiled to herself. She smiled; and it seemed to me as if the image of a fawn, sculptured by Praxiteles, as young and careless, as sensuous and sensual as herself, were smiling back upon her from the marble niche where he stood embowered in flowering oleanders, and faintly obscured by the perfumed smoke which rose before him out of an antique bronze tripod. The girl was quite alone. Her music and her beauty, the perfection of the scene and the odours of the night, completely took possession of my senses. The sight of youth, freshness and pleasure thrilled through my whole being, and made me entirely forget that I had a companion with me—entirely forget the existence of the mysterious means by which alone I had been enabled to gaze upon the secret life of this unknown foreigner. I tried to go to the window and speak. All of a sudden my whole body felt a violent shock as though I had touched an electric battery. The half-transparent face of Ellis had become dark and threatening. Her eyes were strangely wide, and in them there burnt a look immeasurably evil.

‘Come,’ she said sharply. And then I heard the wind whistle until I became dizzy again. But the sound that lingered in my ears was not now the roar of the Roman legions. It was the last high note of the singer.

We stopped, but still I heard the same high note although I felt the sensation of another atmosphere, and perceived the smell of other exhalations. I felt a cool reviving breeze like the breath from some great river, and I inhaled the odour of hay, hemp, and smoke. The high note which sounded in my ears was long protracted; then it was succeeded by a second; and that again by a third. Their character was so marked, and I knew their modulations so well, that I said within myself at once, ‘That is a

Russian, singing a Russian air.' And thereupon all the things around me became gradually visible.

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We were on the bank of a great river. On the left hand new-mown fields, dotted with immense hayricks, stretched away as far as the eye could reach; on the right, the water extended to the limit of my sight. Close to the shore were anchored long ships, swaying gently with the stream, their moving masts like tall uncertain fingers indicating an unsettled point overhead. The voice of the new singer came from one of these vessels, on board which burnt a small fire that threw upon the flowing surface of the river a long red gleam, itself in perpetual movement as the waters stirred under its light. All around me, on the shore and in the meadows, glowed other fires. I could not tell whether they were near or distant. Sometimes they would go out all of a sudden, and then again, equally suddenly, they would blaze up again with a brilliant radiance. Myriads of grasshoppers chirped in the new-mown fields, as busy in their own way as the frogs of the Pontine Marshes. The sky was cloudless, but it was low and sombre, and from time to time I could hear plaintive cries from the flocks of birds which passed us unseen.

'Are not we in Russia?' I asked my companion.

'This is the Volga,' she replied.

We moved along above the edge of the stream.

'Why did you take me away from that lovely place?' I said. 'I suppose you did not like it. Are you sure you were not jealous?'

Ellis' lips trembled, and the evil look came into her face. Then in a few moments it passed away again, and her features wore once more the expression of passionless repose which generally marked them.

I told her I wanted to go home.

'Wait,' she answered, 'wait. This is the great night, to-night. It will not come back again soon. You can see——Wait a little——.'

Presently we turned and crossed the great river, skimming the surface in a sort of slanting way, and in long swoops, as do the swallows when they are flying before an approaching storm. I

heard the dull roar of the mighty mass of water which flowed beneath us. I felt the cold, cutting wind blowing strongly. Presently the right bank began to loom through the half-darkness of the summer's night, and then appeared the steep cliffs, broken by deep glens. We drew near them.

'Call out "*Sarín na Kichkoo*,"\*' said Ellis, in a low voice. My nerves were still upset from the terror which had seized me at the sight of the Roman Legions. I was tired; and I felt excessively depressed, without exactly knowing why. In short, I had not the courage to do it. I did not wish to pronounce the desired words, because I felt sure that they would act like the charm in the incantation-scene in *Der Freischütz*, and cause the appearance of some appalling apparition. And yet, in spite of my own will, my mouth opened, and I uttered in a forced and weakened voice the words: '*Sarín na Kichkoo*.'

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For some time there was a complete silence, just as there had been in front of the ruin on the Appian Way. Then, all of a sudden, and close to me, I heard a rough laugh, immediately followed by a groan, and then the sound of some heavy body falling into the water with a splash and struggling.

I looked round me. There was absolutely nothing.

A moment later I heard the same sounds coming from the banks, and soon the whole air around me seemed alive with them. It was a tumult of noises: human cries, whistles, furious shouts, and peals of laughter. The laughter was more appalling than all the rest. Then came mingled sounds of oars plashing in the water, the dull crash of axes, and the noise of doors and boxes broken open, the creaking of ropes as men worked the rigging, the grinding of wheels labouring over the beach, the neighing of a number of horses, the pealing of bells tolled in excitement, the clanking of chains, the shouting of drunken choruses, gnashing of teeth, hideous oaths, sobbing, shrieks of despair, military words of

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\* These words are said to belong to some Tartar dialect, and were a war-cry of the pirates of the Volga. When the crews of the vessels which they boarded heard them, they were bound to throw themselves flat upon their faces upon pain of their lives.

command, the groans of the dying mixed with the gay playing of the fife and the music of wild songs. I could distinguish such words as 'Kill him,' 'Hang him,' 'Into the water with him,' 'Set it on fire,' 'Come on,' 'Get to your work,' 'No quarter.' I even heard the sound as of the last gasp of the dying. And all this while, as far as my sight extended, I could see nothing strange. Nothing appeared to break the peace of the landscape. The river flowed on as before, dull and dark. The shore seemed wilder and more solitary than ever. I turned and looked at Ellis. She laid her finger on her lips.

Suddenly a great cry arose from all the plain:—'Stephen Timotheïch! Stephen Timotheïch! Three cheers for our old Father! our Atamen! our Fosterer!' And then, although I could see nothing, I felt all at once in myself that a terrible presence was coming close to me, and I heard a dread voice that cried—'Florry, you dog, where are you? Put the fire about! Come on! Give the white hands a touch of the axe! I want some minced meat made of them!'<sup>\*</sup>

Then I felt the scorching heat of fire, volumes of pungent smoke choked my mouth and nose, and something warm and wet spirted over my face and hands. . . . I think it was hot blood. . . . And roars of laughter broke out all round me.

Here I lost consciousness.

When I came to myself, I was still with Ellis. We were floating gently in the air, near the edge of my own wood, not far from the old oak.

'Do you see that pretty little path,' she asked, 'down there where the moon is shining, where you see the two birches moving? Would you like to go there?'

I was so utterly worn out and broken that I could say nothing but—

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<sup>\*</sup> The historical allusion is to Stephen Timotheïch Razine, a cossack of the Don, about the middle of the Seventeenth Century. He began his career as a pirate on the Volga and in the Caspian, and was afterwards the leader of a formidable insurrection of serfs. He captured Astrakhan and laid waste several of the provinces of Southern Russia. He was ultimately captured, and broken upon the wheel. 'Florry' is his brother, Florus Razine. 'White-hands' is a popular nickname for gentlefolk.

‘Home.’

‘You are at home,’ said Ellis.

And so I was. I was at my own door. And I was quite alone. Ellis had entirely disappeared. The watch-dog came near me, examined me cautiously, and then ran away howling. I managed to get to my room, though I was so exhausted that it cost me an hard struggle. I threw myself upon my bed, and fell into a dead sleep without taking off my clothes.

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The next morning I had an headache which lasted all the forenoon. I could hardly get about at all. But the fact that I felt so ill in body was not what most annoyed me. I was ashamed of the want of nerve which I had displayed. I kept reproaching myself with cowardice, and was angry at the reflection. Yes. Ellis had been quite right. What had there been to be afraid of? Why could not I have taken advantage of the opportunity? I might have gazed upon the great Cæsar himself, in fashion as he lived, and, instead of that, my head had turned with fright, and I had whined and run away, like a child at the sight of the birch-rod. As for Razine, perhaps it was a different story, seeing I was myself a gentleman and a landlord—but, after all, what was there to be afraid of there either? I had shown myself a coward, simply a coward.

Then it occurred to me that the most probable explanation of the whole thing was simply that I had had a dream. I called up my housekeeper.

‘Martha, do you remember what o’clock I went to bed last night?’

‘Dear me, sir, I am sure I could not say. I think it was rather late. Just when it was getting dark, you went out; and I heard the heels of your boots on the floor of your room till past twelve. It was later than twelve. It was towards the morning. Yes, I am sure it was towards morning. And that is two nights that you have been like that. Has something happened to upset you, sir?’

I thought there could be no doubt about it now.

‘How am I looking to-day, Martha?’

‘How are you looking, sir? Just excuse me. Well, sir, your

cheeks are a little hollow, and you are pale-like. Indeed, sir, you look as yellow as a wax-candle.'

I was rather put out, and sent her away.

I went to the window and thought. Either I must be going to die or I must be going to go mad. The thing could not go on this way. It was too frightful. Then I noticed that my heart was beating in a strange, irregular way. It struck me that when I was being carried through the air, a kind of effect was produced as if something was draining the blood out of me, or as if it was oozing away, just as the sap oozes out of a birch tree in the spring-time, when the tree has had the first cuts of the axe. All this was something unnatural. And then, Ellis. What in the world could Ellis be? I felt that she was playing with me, as a cat will play with a mouse. And yet, surely, she did not go on as if she had any wish or intention to do me harm. However, I made up my mind to one thing. Only once more, once more only, would I give myself up to her. I would notice anything I could, and—and then it flashed upon my mind that it might be she who absorbed, who sucked my blood. The idea was terrible.—But, after all, one could not be carried through the air at such a rate without suffering some harm. They say that in England it is forbidden for the railway trains to go more than 80 miles an hour.

I thought about it all a great deal. And the end of it was, that I was at the old oak at ten o'clock that night.

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It was a cold, gloomy, dark night. There was a feeling of approaching rain in the air. To my great astonishment, there was no one under the oak. I took a turn. I went as far as the wood, and then came back again, peering into the darkness all the time. There was nobody about. I waited for a considerable while. Then I called out Ellis' name several times, each time louder than the last. But there was no result. I was sorry, almost distressed. Not long before, the main thought in my mind had been the danger which I was possibly running. Now that consideration had passed away. And I could not bear the idea that Ellis would never come back to me again.

'Ellis!' I called out for the last time, 'Ellis! come! are not

you coming ?' A rook on the top of a tree not far off was disturbed by my voice, and flew down, making a noise among the branches. But there was no sign of Ellis.

I returned towards the house, with my head bowed.

When I reached the walk which goes round the pond, I came in sight of the light from my bed-room window, and it seemed to me like the bright eye of some watcher charged to keep guard over me. As I walked on, it sometimes shone on me uninterrupted, and was sometimes broken by the intervening branches of the apple trees which the windings of the walk brought in the way, to intercept its rays.

Suddenly I heard a sort of sharp rustle behind me, but high up in the air, and in an instant after, I was lifted up off the earth, just as a quail is lifted by an hawk.

It was Ellis. Her cheek was pressing against mine, and I felt her arm round me like a tight ring. She spoke, and when her voice—the same soft murmuring whisper as at other times—breathed into my ear, I had the sensation of feeling a breath of frozen wind.

'It is me,' she said. I was glad, and yet I now again felt fear also. We were moving along at no great distance above the earth.

'Did not you want to come to-day ?' I asked.

'And were you vexed ?' she answered. 'Then you care about me. Oh, you belong to me.'

The last words troubled me. I could think of nothing to say in reply. She continued—

'I could not come. They kept me.'

'Who are able to keep you ?' I enquired.

'Where would you like to go ?' said Ellis, without taking any notice of the question.

'Take me to Italy—to that lake—you know.'

She shook her head in refusal. At this moment I noticed for the first time, that her face was now no longer half-transparent. I thought I could even see a faint rosy colour flushing the milky whiteness of her complexion. I looked at her eyes. They gave me a disagreeable impression. There seemed to be alive in their depths an evil light, almost imperceptible but never absent, which



made me think of a half frozen snake beginning to get thawed in the warmth of the sun.

‘ Ellis,’ I said. ‘ Who are you ? I implore you to tell me.’

She merely shrugged her shoulders in silence. I felt irritated and thought I would punish her. It occurred to me to ask her to take me to Paris. I thought I should be able to make her feel jealous there.

‘ Ellis,’ I asked. ‘ Are you afraid of big towns, like Paris ?’

‘ No.’

‘ Not even the places that are all lighted up, like the Boulevards ?’

‘ It is not the light of day.’

‘ All right. Take me to the Boulevard des Italiens.’

She threw the end of one of her long sleeves over my head. All at once I found I was in the middle of a thick white fog which smelt of poppies. Then everything seemed to pass away at once—sight, and hearing, and almost consciousness. I hardly knew that I was still alive, and this half-forgetfulness of existence was not without a kind of refined feeling of sensuousness of its own. Then the mist suddenly disappeared. Ellis took her sleeve away from my face. Underneath me I saw a vast number of tall buildings, and a great deal of light and movement. I was at Paris.

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I had been at Paris before, and I recognised immediately the place to which Ellis had brought me. It was the Garden of the Tuileries, with its old Spanish chestnuts, its iron railings, its old military fosses and the zouaves like wild beasts who were posted there as sentinels. We passed in front of the Palace, and before the Church of St. Roch, and stopped above the Boulevard des Italiens. A crowd of people, young and old, were moving along the pavement,—workmen in blouses, women in careful toilettes. Restaurants and cafés plastered with gilding blazed with thousands of lights. Omnibus’, cabs, and carriages of every sort and kind crossed one another continually in the street. The whole thing glittered and moved so that the eye was quite confused. At the same time, strange as it may appear, I felt no inclination whatever to quit my pure and lofty point of observa-

tion in order to mix myself up in this human ant-hill. I felt rising towards me an heavy heated glare and a close unnatural smell. There were too many human lives all crowded together in this mass.

I was wondering what I should do, when the voice of a *lorette* reached my ears from below, as shrill and as hard as the screech of metal upon metal. The shameless sound gave me the same kind of feeling as though some foul insect had bitten me. My mind's eye saw the stony, round, flat face—that true Parisian type—lighted by eyes like an usurer's, the white and red paint, the frizzled hair, the gaudy nosegay of artificial flowers stuck under the diminutive bonnet, the finger-nails pared into points, and the vast crinoline. And I figured to myself one of our own simple country squires, fresh from the steppes, just arrived at Paris, and trotting abjectly after this base venal doll. I could picture him trying to hide his awkwardness under an affectation of grossness, forcing his voice into a falsetto and striving to make his r's as guttural as possible, copying the ways of the waiters at Vefour's, making bows and grimaces, and finding nothing to say but platitudes. A strong emotion of disgust took possession of me. It was certainly not here, I realized, that Ellis would find anything to make her feel jealous. I noticed, however, that we were descending towards the earth. Paris greeted us with all her noises and all her smells.

'Stop,' I said. 'Do not you find it enough to stifle you?'

'It was you that wanted to come to Paris.'

'Yes,' I answered, 'but I was wrong, and I have changed my mind. Please, Ellis, take me away. Take me a long way from here. Just look there. There is Prince Koulmanetoff going about the Boulevard, and his friend Sergius Baraxine is gesticulating to him, and calling out, 'Come along to supper, Ivan Stephanich, I have got Rigolboche\* to come herself.' Oh, Ellis, take me away! Take me away from Mabilie, and the Maison Dorée, and the Jockey Club, from the soldiers with shaven fore-

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\* A Parisian ballet-dancer of the baser sort, who once attained considerable notoriety, less from any pretensions to the poetry of movement than from a certain exceptional power of physical distortion.

heads and their huge palaces of barracks, and the policemen with imperials upon their chins; take me away from the cloudy glasses of absinthe, the domino-players, and the gamblers on the Bourse, the button-holes with the bits of red ribbon in them, and the great-coats with bits of red ribbon in their button-holes too, away from M. de Foy, the inventor of the *spécialité des mariages*, and from the gratuitous consultations of M. le docteur Charles Albert; take me away from the *cours de littérature* and the pamphlets published by the Government; take me away from the region of Parisian comedies, Parisian operettas, Parisian politeness and Parisian ignorance. Let us get away!

‘Look down,’ said Ellis; ‘you are not at Paris.’

I opened my eyes. Below me there was nothing but a dusky, monotonous plain, streaked here and there with long, straight, white lines, stretching as far as the eye could reach, indicating the roads. We were passing rapidly over it. And far away at the horizon, like the glow of a great fire, rose towards the sky the reflection of the countless lights of the capital of the world.

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Ellis’ sleeve covered my face again, and once more I became unconscious.

When I recovered my senses, I asked myself where I could be. I saw a park with long avenues of lime trees clipped into the likeness of walls. Here and there stood single fir-trees cut into the shape of parasols. There were porticoes and temples in the Pompadour style, rococo statues of tritons and nymphs in the manner of Bernini grouped in the middle of strangely-shaped stone tanks or basins surrounded by blackened marble balustrades. Was it Versailles? No. A small palace in rococo architecture stood out in front of a dense grove of oaks. The moon was dull, obscured by a light mist, and a filmy whiteness covered the surface of the ground. I could not see what this whiteness was, whether it were caused by the moonbeams or by a mist. On the water in one of the stone basins floated a swan asleep. The gleam of its white back reminded me of the look of our own plains when they are clad in their winter covering of frozen snow. A glow-worm shone here and there like a diamond upon the grass, or upon the base of a statue.

‘We are near Mannheim,’ said Ellis. This is the Park of Schwetzingen.’\*

‘In Germany are we?’ thought I, and then I set myself to listen. There was no sound whatever, except the plash of a fountain somewhere out of sight, but whose waters were evidently falling into some basin. Their murmur seemed to me as if it continually repeated the words, ‘Here, here, always here.’ Then in the middle of one of the long walks between the straight walls of foliage, I saw two figures. One was a gentleman in an embroidered coat, with red-heeled shoes and lace ruffles, and his sword striking gently on his calves as he walked. He gave his hand with exquisite grace to a beautiful lady in hoops, with curled hair powdered as with hoar-frost. Curious pale figures! I wanted to look at them near, but they disappeared almost at once, and I heard nothing but the constant murmur of the fountain.

‘They are only dreams that go about here,’ said Ellis. ‘Last night we might have seen a very different story—lots of things. But to-night even the dreams do not want men to look at them. Come along.’

We rose high into the air and then shot along in a flight so steady that no farther movement was perceptible, and all the world below seemed to fly forwards to meet us. Dark mountains jagged and clad with forests swept beneath us, only to give place to other mountains, with the same outlines, the same valleys, the same glades and clearings, the same stars of red light shining from the windows of quiet cottages perched beside the mountain streams—and still one view of mountains only passed away to be succeeded by another.

We were passing over the Black Forest.

Mountain upon mountain, forest upon forest. Noble forests, ancient but full of life. It was a clear night. I could make out all the different kinds of trees, but principally the tall pines with their straight, whitish trunks. Now and then, at the outside of

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\* Schwetzingen is a town of Baden, about six miles to the South-west of Heidelberg, on the Leimbach. Its palace, which is surrounded with very beautiful gardens and pleasure-grounds, formerly belonged to the Electors Palatine, and during the Eighteenth Century was their principal residence.

some stretch of woodland I could see roe-deer, lying with their slight limbs folded under them, and gracefully turning their heads to watch, while they pricked up their delicate ears. On the top of a lofty crag the remains of a mediæval castle rose mournfully, showing the line of the ruined battlements against the sky, in which a star shone peacefully, high above the forgotten stones. From a little black lake rose the clear croaking of the frogs answering each other in a minor key. . And again there were other sounds, long drawn and sad, like notes of an Eolian harp—and I remembered that it was the haunted land of myth and legend. Here again I saw the open ground on every side clothed with the same light white vapour which I had noticed at Schwetzingen. It was in the valleys that this mist lay thickest, and I counted not five or six only, but as many as ten distinct degrees of it as it stretched up the sides of the mountains. And above all this vast and monotonous landscape the moon reigned tranquilly in the heavens. The air was light and bracing. In it I felt myself brightened, and wonderfully calm.

‘Ellis,’ said I, ‘you must be fond of this country.’

‘Me?’ she answered, ‘I am not fond of anything.’

‘What? Not of me?’ I asked.

‘Oh, yes—you,’ she replied carelessly. And then I thought I felt her arm pressing me to her harder than before.

‘On, on,’ she said, with a sort of icy determination.

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A loud, harsh cry, taken up and repeated again, sounded suddenly above our heads, and then in an instant in front of us.

‘It is the rear-guard of the storks, who are going North,’ said Ellis. ‘We will go with them, if you like.’

‘Yes,’ I answered. ‘Let us fly with the storks.’

Thirteen large and beautiful birds marshalled in the form of a triangle were sweeping rapidly towards the North. At long intervals they gave a few strokes with their strong, curved wings. Their heads were stretched out in front and their legs behind, and their brave breasts met the air which whistled around them in the swiftness of their course. It was a strange sight to behold at this immense height, so far away removed from all other

living things, this bold and hardy life, this energetic will. As they clove the air without a moment's pause or stay, the other storks from time to time exchanged a cry with their comrade who formed the apex of the triangle. There was something proud and stern, like the vigorous assurance of unshaken confidence, in the sound of these loud cries, as they seemed to say to one another in the air, 'We shall fly to the point which we intend, whether we are tired or not.' And it occurred to me that in Russia—and in all the world, for the matter of that—there are not many men with such a resolution.

'It is in Russia that we are,' said Ellis.

It was not the first time that I had observed that she read my thoughts.

'Do you want to go somewhere else?' she continued.

'Somewhere else?' I answered. 'No. I have just been to Paris. Take me to St. Petersburg.'

'At once?'

'Yes. Only cover me with your sleeve, or I shall get giddy.'

She stretched out her hand. But before the mist again enrapt me, I felt once more upon my lips the kind of dulled prick which I had already felt before.

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'Beware,' cried a voice in my ears. 'Beware,' repeated another voice in the distance, as though with a despairing effort. 'Beware,' sounded a third from the very ends of the earth. I aroused myself. Before my eyes was a tall gilt steeple. I recognised the Fortress of St. Petersburg.

It was the summer night of the North, the night wherein there is no darkness. Or is it indeed really night at all? Is it not rather a kind of dull, unwholesome day? I never had liked the summer nights at St. Petersburg. And on this occasion the sight caused me a sort of fear. The form of Ellis had entirely disappeared. She had melted away, dissolved like a morning mist by a July sun, and yet there was my own body which I could see hanging heavily in the air, about the height of the top of the Alexander Column. Well, and so we were at St. Petersburg. Certainly we were. I saw the huge grey deserts of streets, the houses all whitish grey, yellowish grey, or purplish grey, covered

with plaster, which was coming off in patches. I saw the windows buried deep in the walls, the gaudy painted signs of the shops, the iron pent-houses over the door-steps. I saw the dirty fruit-stalls, the Grecian façades made of stucco, the inscriptions, the drinking troughs for the cab-horses, and the police-stations. I saw the domes of St. Isaac's Cathedral covered with plates of gold, the Exchange where no business is transacted, and all its odd medley of colours, the granite walls of the Fortress, and the worn and uneven wood-pavement of the streets. I saw the barges loaded with firewood and hay. I recognised all the smells of dust, cabbages, matting, bark, and stables; the porters motionless and asleep in their great-coats, and the night-cabmen curled up upon their old vehicles. Yes, here was indeed our Palmyra of the North. Everything was quite light, everything was distressingly distinct, everything was sleeping dismally in the clear, dull atmosphere. The consumptive pink of the preceding sunset had not yet quite disappeared towards the West, nor was it going to disappear until a new morning should awaken the starless white sky. The coloured reflection fell here and there in long patches upon the troubled surface of the Neva, whose cold blue waters were murmuring in their slow passage towards the Gulf.

'Let us go,' said Ellis, and, without waiting for my assent, she bore me across the river, beyond the square before the Palace, near to the Foundry. There I heard steps and voices below us. A party of young men with a haggard air were passing along the street, talking about a low ball. A sentinel who had fallen asleep near a pile of rusty cannon-balls woke up with a start, and called out, 'Sub-Lieutenant Stolpakoff Seven!'<sup>\*</sup> A little further on, I saw a young woman sitting at the open window of a great house. She was dressed in a ragged silk gown, her arms were bare, her hair was fastened back with pearls, and she had a cigarette in her mouth. She was eagerly studying a book. The book was a work by a Juvenal of the present day.

I said to Ellis, 'Let us get away quick.'

In a moment the scanty woods of stunted fir-trees and the

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<sup>\*</sup> In the Russian service, where there happen to be several officers of the same name, they are distinguished by numbers.

moss-grown bogs which form the environs of St. Petersburg had passed beneath us. We fled towards the South. The earth and the sky became darker and darker. The unwholesome night, the unwholesome day-light, the unwholesome city, were all left far behind.\*

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We moved more slowly than we had been used to do. My eye could follow the changes which succeeded each other in the aspect of my native land. The panorama seemed unending: woods, moors, fields, undulations, rivers; at long intervals, churches and villages; then again fields, undulations, and rivers.

I felt out of temper, weary, and indifferent. But if I was weary and out of temper, it was not because all that now passed beneath me was Russia. No.

This earth, this flat surface spread below my eyes, the whole world with its population of fleeting, puny creatures, stifling with wants, with sorrows, and with sicknesses, attached to this wretched ball of dust, this frail and wrinkled crust, this excrescence upon the surface of that grain of sand, our planet, whereon has gathered a mouldy coating which we dignify with the title of the Vegetable Kingdom—these human beings like flies, but a thousand times more contemptible, their dwellings of clay, the petty traces of their miserable and monotonous quarrels, their ridiculous struggles against the inexorable and the inevitable—the whole thing seemed to me simply repulsive. I felt sick. I did not want to go on looking at so mean a picture, so trivial a

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\* It is curious to compare this unfavourable description of St. Petersburg with a similar passage in a work by another Russian novelist, Dostoevsky. 'I have come to the conclusion,' says one of the characters in *Crime and Punishment*, 'that quantities of people at St. Petersburg walk about talking to themselves. The population is half-cracked. If we had real men of science, the doctors, the lawyers and the philosophers would all be able to make very curious studies here, each of them in his own line. There is nowhere where the human mind suffers from such strange and gloomy influences. The action of the climate is baneful, to begin with. And, unfortunately, St. Petersburg is the centre of the administration of the whole country, and the consequence is that it gets reflected over all Russia.'



caricature. I was more than weary and indifferent. I ceased even to feel compassion for my fellow-men. My feelings seemed all to melt into one emotion, and an emotion which I hardly like to confess,—simply disgust, and disgust at myself as well as at all the rest.

‘Stop,’ murmured Ellis in a low voice, ‘or I shall not be able to carry you. You are getting heavy.’

‘Home,’ I said. I uttered the word in the same tone as that in which I should have said it to my coachman, at four o’clock in the morning, on leaving a supper at some friend’s house in Moscow, after a conversation upon the future of Russia, and the true meaning of the principle of the Commune. ‘Home,’ I said: and shut my eyes. But I soon opened them.

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I felt Ellis suddenly press herself violently against me, as if she were pushing me forward. I looked at her—and my blood turned cold. If he who reads this has ever seen an human countenance transfigured by the most deadly terror, when there was nothing to be seen to inspire it, he may form some idea of what I saw. An horror, an agony of fear beyond words convulsed and distorted her features. I had never yet seen a living face with such an expression. And here I saw it in a soulless phantom, a preternatural creature, a mere shadow. . . .

‘Ellis,’ I asked, ‘What is the matter?’

‘It is it,’ answered she, with a struggle.

‘What?’ I said.

‘Do not name it! Do not name it!’ she gasped hastily. ‘We must escape—or it will all be over—for ever\*—look!—there it is——.’

I followed with my eyes the direction of her shaking hand, and I saw something—something which was indeed awful.

The thing I saw was all the more appalling because it had no defined shape. It was an heavy mass, dark, of a yellowish black

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\* The reader will remember the stress which the late Hans Christian Andersen, in his *Mermaid*, has laid upon the belief that these elemental spirits possess no immortal souls, and can only obtain one under peculiar conditions.

tint, and mottled, like the belly of an ask.\* It was not a cloud or a mist. It moved gradually over the surface of the earth, like a reptile. It displayed vast movements, sometimes upwards, and then again downwards, the one side always in perfect harmony with the other, which reminded me of the elevation and depression of the wings in a bird of prey which is about to launch itself towards its victim. At other times again, it laid itself low upon the earth and moved on in an hideous series of contractions and expansions like a worm. Its advance reminded me of that of the spider as it creeps upon the fly which has become entangled in its web. What was it? At its approach, I noticed that everything grew numbed, everything became unnerved. From around it spread a deadly and death-dealing chill, which made the heart turn faint, the eyes grow dim, and the hair stiffen upon the head. It was a moving Power, a Power which nothing can stop and nothing can overcome, a Power which has no shape, no sight, and no thought, but which sees everything and knows everything, a Power more rapacious than any bird of prey, a Power which is wiser than the serpent, and like the serpent touches and kills with its icy tongue.

‘Oh, Ellis!’ I cried with a cold shudder, ‘It is DEATH.’

The plaintive sound which I had already heard before escaped from her lips. But now it seemed to me like the groan of human despair. She threw herself into violent movement, but her flight had now become disordered and irregular. She soared and then swooped and dived, and turned and changed her direction continually, like a partridge which is striving to direct the attention of a dog from the neighbourhood of her nest.

But out of the terrible form there came forth long tentacles, thin and hideous like the tentacles of a polypus, which stretched out after us seeking us with their claws.

Suddenly there appeared in the sky a vast figure of a pale horse, and one that sat on him.

Ellis now struggled more violently than ever.

‘It has seen us,’ she cried amid gasping sobs. ‘It is all over

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\* The English name of this animal varies in different districts. It is sometimes called a newt, an effet, or a triton. It is the water-lizard.

—woe to me—I might—I might have lived—now—destroyed—destroyed—.’

These were the last words that I heard before I became insensible.

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When I came to myself, I was lying upon my back upon some grass, and my whole body ached with a dull pain as if I had fallen from an height. Day was breaking, and the light was already sufficient to show objects clearly. At a little distance from me, I saw a road planted with young willows on either side, skirting a wood of birches. I recognized the spot. I began in my mind to go over the different things which had happened during the night. I shuddered as I recalled the frightful apparition with which it had closed. But I was puzzled to explain to myself the deadly terror which had so suddenly taken possession of Ellis. Could it really be, I asked myself, that she also was subject to that Power? Was it possible that she was a being who possessed no immortal soul, a thing predestinated to annihilation? But then how could such a creature be?

I heard a feeble gasp near me, and looked round. About six feet from me lay, motionless upon the grass, a young woman clothed in a white garment down to the feet. Her hair was long and dishevelled, and her dress had slipped off one of her shoulders and left it bare. Her left hand was underneath her head; the right lay upon her breast. Her eyes were shut. Upon her lips there was a little light foam, slightly tinged with blood. My first notion was that this was Ellis. But Ellis was a phantasm, whereas this was a solid woman made of flesh and bones. I dragged myself to her, and bent over her.

‘Ellis,’ I said. ‘Is this you?’

At once a slight shiver passed through the woman’s frame. Her eyes opened, and the great black eyes fixed their gaze upon me. I seemed fascinated and rendered immoveable, but hardly had I realized it when her hot, sensuous lips, all tasting of blood, were wildly pressed on mine, a burning breast was thrust against my chest, and her arms were clasped passionately round my neck.

‘Good-bye for ever,’ said a voice which seemed to die away.

And all at once the figure had entirely disappeared.

I staggered to my feet like a drunken man. I rubbed my eyes continually. I searched all about the place. At last I found myself upon the N—— road, rather more than a mile from my own house. I went home. The sun had already appeared above the horizon when I gained my room.

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Next night I awaited, not, I confess, without some fear, the reappearance of the apparition. But it never came again. One night I went to the old oak, but I met with nothing out of the common order.

I was not particularly sorry that these strange meetings had come to an end. I have often thought about them. I am sure that science can give no explanation of them, and I know of no myth or legend which tells of anything quite like them. After all, what was Ellis? Was she a phantom? Was she one of the souls of the lost? Was she an evil spirit? Was she a vampire? Often and often it has come to my mind that Ellis was a woman whom I had known before—and I have racked my brains to think where and when. Once—to-day—just now, it flashed upon me, and now it has gone out of my head again. My memory is getting confused. I have thought much on the subject, and I cannot make head or tail of it: perhaps no one can wonder. I have not dared to speak to my friends about it, for fear they should think I have become insane. At last, I have come to the conclusion that the wisest thing I can do is to think as little about it as possible. There are plenty of other things with which I ought to concern myself.

As regards my property, the emancipation of the serfs has made it necessary to have everything re-settled, and as to myself, my health has got bad. There is something the matter with my chest, I cannot sleep, and I have an hard cough. I am a great deal thinner than I was. The doctor says that it is my blood that is wrong. He calls my illness *anæmia*. He says I must go to take waters at Gastein. My agent says that he cannot arrange the estate affairs without me. He must just arrange them as best he can.

What I cannot understand is that, whenever I am told that anybody is dead, I hear sweet notes of music, perfectly clear and

distinct. And they are more distinct now, and louder, than they used to be. And the very thought of annihilation makes a kind of shudder go through me. Why should it do that ?

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ART. IV.—THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION DIFFICULTY  
IN ENGLAND.

‘THE Final Report of the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the Elementary Education Acts for England and Wales’ is a tremendous volume, extending to 500 pages of foolscap, in addition to three volumes of evidence already published. The Commission was appointed in January 1886, and terminated its labours in June, 1888. It is to be feared that it has laboured too much. Such an amount of evidence has been collected, so many points have been dealt with, and the Commissioners have reported and have stated their reasons for differing at such length, that it seems almost a hopeless task to condense the facts and opinions set forth into a form convenient and accessible for future reference. The conscientious and exhaustive manner in which the work has been done raises a grave danger that it will share the fate of so many Parliamentary Blue-Books, and remain as a monument of painstaking, yet useless labour. Few people can afford to wade through 500 foolscap pages in the search for useful information, especially when they find that what is said by a majority of the Commission on one page is contradicted by a large minority on another. Thus, 223 pages are taken up by the report of fifteen members, followed by thirteen pages of ‘reservations’ by different members. After this comes a separate report, signed by eight members, extending to thirteen pages, followed by a ‘reservation,’ which again is followed by a supplemental report of 142 pages by five members (with one ‘reservation’), who in addition to signing the report of the minority wished ‘to discuss more in detail the evidence taken before them and the general position of elementary education at the present time.’ This discussion of

details has certainly not been limited, extending as it does to more than a quarter of the whole volume, and one would have thought that all subordinate matters might have been embraced in the report of the majority. There are of course some points arising in every inquiry of this nature on which certain members feel so strongly, that no compromise is possible and separate reports are inevitable, but there are various minor matters on which a certain amount of concession may be expected from all sides; and failing such compromise, the probability is that none of the recommendations of the Commission will be carried out. The object of such a Commission is to collect evidence on disputed points, and on the strength of such evidence to offer to Her Majesty opinions and recommendations which may afford Parliament a basis of future action. But if the opinions are hopelessly at variance even as to the meaning of the evidence adduced, their labours are likely to be of little use, except in so far as correct information may be gathered by any reader from the printed evidence. Few people, however, will engage in that monotonous task, and the public will no doubt accept the report of the majority or of the minority, according as it represents the opinion they already hold.

The real cause of variance between the two sections of the Commission is easy discernible. It is the old question of religious teaching, and feeling seems to run so strongly on the subject, that it makes the Commissioners differ even in matters where one would think that they might very easily agree. The points reported on are very numerous, comprising, for instance, the law and administration of education from 1832 to the present day, the existing school supply, management and inspection, teachers, training colleges, attendance, religious, technical and other instruction, income and expenditure, and Parliamentary grant. Yet the question of Board *versus* voluntary schools—in short, the religious difficulty—seems to affect every other, and accounts for the fact that an important minority have found it necessary to report separately, not merely on the religious, but on nearly every other question submitted to them. The religious difficulty being thus the

root of the whole matter, is by far the most important part of the report, and is the only one which we have space to notice.

The position of Scotland in this matter offers an instructive contrast to the difficulties that beset the question in England. It is not too much to say that in the northern portion of the Kingdom, the religious difficulty is solved, and that, with the exception of a trifling minority, all parties are satisfied with the existing condition of affairs. It cannot be denied, that in everything connected with education, Scotland has always occupied a leading position. In England, the subject, in former times, was always treated as one with which the State had nothing to do, and which had better be left to private benevolence. At a very early period, schools were established for the benefit of the poor, but they were due either to the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church, or to private generosity, and they were quite inadequate to the wants of the nation. It was only at the beginning of the present century, that an attempt was made to place a sufficient amount of elementary education within the reach of the people, by the establishment in 1808 of the British and Foreign School Society, and in 1811, of the National Society for the education of the poor in the principles of the Established Church (incorporated by Royal Charter). But both these societies were supported entirely by voluntary contributions, and the education which they supplied, was not the result of legislation. The first statute upon the subject of elementary education appears in 1870, and there being no former efforts to improve or modify, no former enactments are repealed by it. Though money had been annually voted since 1833, it was in 1870 that Parliament for the first time began to deal with probably the most important question that has ever been before it, and owing partly to its own neglect, found the field already in great measure occupied by contending denominations. In Scotland, on the contrary, Parliament found in 1872, that two centuries before, the duty of education had been recognised by the State, and an attempt made to establish a universal system of education by making it a burden on land. The most instructive commentary on the history of the two countries is

contained in the fact that the Scottish Act of 1872 repealed four previous statutes, while the English Act of 1870 found nothing to repeal.

Indeed, nearly *four* centuries before, Scotland seems to have had some conception of a system of compulsory education. Thus, as early as 1494, in the fifth Parliament of James IV., we find it 'statute and ordained that all barons and freeholders that are of substance put their eldest sons and heirs to the schools, fra they be six or nine years of age, and to remain at the Grammar-schools until they be competently founded and have perfect Latin. And thereafter to remain three years at the schools of art and jure, so that they may have knowledge and understanding of the Laws; Through the which justice may remain universally through all the Realm; so that they that are Sheriffs or Judges Ordinary under the King's Highness may have knowledge to do justice,' &c. At this date, however, education was apparently considered necessary only in the case of 'Barons and Free-Holders,' and for the purpose of the better administration of justice, and it is not till 120 years later that we find the first attempt to provide schools for all the population. In 1616, by an Act of the Privy Council, it was provided 'that in every parish of this kingdom, when convenient means may be had for entertaining a school, a school shall be established.' This determination of the Privy Council was ratified by a Parliament of Charles I. in 1633, powers being given to the bishops, with consent of the heritors and 'most part of the parishioners, to set down and stent upon every plough or husband land according to the worth for maintenance and establishing of the said schools.' How far these enactments were successful in accomplishing this object cannot now be determined, but it would appear that they were only partially so; for in 1696, c. 26, we find the celebrated Act 'for settling of schools,' which recites that 'Our Sovereign Lord (William III.), considering how prejudicial the want of schools in many places have been, and how beneficial the establishing and settling thereof in every parish will be to this Church and kingdom; therefore His Majesty, with advice and consent of the estates of Parliament, statutes and ordains that



there be a school settled and established, and a schoolmaster appointed in every parish not already provided, by advice of the heritors and minister of the parish.' For this purpose the heritors in every parish were to meet and provide a school-house, and fix the schoolmaster's salary, and lay on the necessary assessment on themselves and on their tenants. If they failed in this duty, the Presbytery were to apply to the Commissioners of Supply, who had power to do it for them, and the assessment was to be as valid and effectual as if the heritors had done it themselves. This Act being compulsory and not merely permissive, achieved its object. The heritors, with the fear of the Presbytery before their eyes, did as they were told, and the result was that Scotland attained a high position among civilized nations in the matter of education. Indeed, it would be more accurate to say that from that date Scotland, from being a barbarous and unknown land, became an important, and in proportion to her population, one of the most important nations of the world. 'Before one generation had passed away, it began to be evident that the common people of Scotland were superior in intelligence to the common people of any other country in Europe. To whatever land the Scotchman might wander, to whatever calling he might betake himself, in America or in India, in trade or in war, the advantage which he derived from his early training raised him above his competitors. If he was taken into a warehouse as a porter, he soon became foreman. If he enlisted in the army, he soon became a serjeant. Scotland, meanwhile, in spite of the barrenness of her soil, and the severity of her climate, made such progress in agriculture, in manufactures, in commerce, in letters, in science, in all that constitutes civilization, as the Old World had never seen equalled, and as even the New World has scarcely seen surpassed. This wonderful change is to be attributed not indeed solely, but principally, to the national system of education.' Such is the language of Macaulay\* as to the results of this Act, and there are no grounds for deeming it exaggerated. During the following

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\**History of England*, chap. 22.

century Scotland advanced by 'leaps and bounds,' partly, no doubt, owing to commercial and other advantages conferred by the Union with England, but in far greater measure owing to the education of her citizens. The provisions of the Act were apparently found sufficient for the wants of the country, and for more than a century the subject of education is not mentioned in the statute book. By slow degrees, no doubt, the parish schools spread over the face of the land, and the fruits were seen in the universal prosperity of the nation; but there was seemingly no ambition to rise to greater efficiency until 1803, when we find an Act raising the teachers' salaries and making provision for the establishment of side-schools in large parishes. In 1838, the Treasury were authorised to provide for the endowment of additional schools in the 'Highlands and Islands.' In 1861 the salaries of teachers were again raised, provision was made for the establishment of girls' schools, and schoolmasters were relieved from the obligation to sign the Confession of Faith and Formula of the Church of Scotland.

But from that time, both in England and in Scotland, education became a burning question, culminating for England in the legislation of 1870, and for Scotland in that of 1872. Both countries desired greater efficiency in the education of their children; both were anxious (1) that every child should be sent to school, (2) that an efficient school should be conveniently accessible to every child. But a terrible difficulty in both countries loomed behind. From time immemorial education had meant the teaching of theology and the observance of religion, as well as instruction in secular subjects. In the good old days there had been no great difficulty in the matter. The religious party who, for the time being, had the upper hand inculcated their own views on the minority with a supreme contempt for the opinions of their opponents. If the minority differed from those in power so much the worse for them. *Væ victis* was a natural and proper state of matters. But an advanced civilization has taught us to be tender to other people's opinions, at least in matters of religion. There are indeed few historical phenomena more

curious or interesting than the change which has come over the opinions of a large section of the community on the question of education as connected with religion. In the New Testament we read that the apostles were 'unlearned and ignorant' men, but even at that period it may be doubted if the early Christians were more unlearned or ignorant than their heathen oppressors. At all events, as Christianity grew and flourished, the positions were reversed, and by the Middle Ages learning and piety were supposed to go hand in hand. Whether true piety was always to be found accompanying learning may be doubted, but certainly the religious institutions, the convents and the monasteries, were the home and the nursery of education. Outside of them we find nothing but ignorance reigning by brute force. It was only the man who made religion a profession who could boast of any education, and the man who was learned without being religious, was a rare exception, who ran considerable danger of being burned for his pains. After the Reformation, the connection between religion and education remained as strong as ever. The Protestant churches considered education as much under their care and supervision as the Roman Catholic had done. That the day would ever come when a considerable portion of the nation—and they by no means heretics or infidels—would eagerly advocate the entire severance of education from religion in every shape or form, and the institution of State schools from which all religious teaching and every religious observance should be strictly barred, would have been deemed incredible. There is an interesting Scots Act of 1587, c. ii., in the Parliament of James VI., which prettily illustrates the prevailing opinion of the time upon this subject. It is as follows:—'Forasmeikle as by all Laws and Constitutions, it is provided, that the youth be brocht up and instructed in the fear of God, and gude manners; and gif it be otherwise, it is tinsel baith of their bodies and saules, gif God's word be not ruted in them wherefore' all schools and all Universities and colleges were to be reformed, and no one was to have charge of them, 'nor to instruct the youth privately or openly, but such as shall be tried by the Superin-

tendents or visitors of the Kirk.' The simple faith thus quaintly expressed was until a period, by no means remote, one which was either universally held, or which at least few would have had the courage to attack. But before and after the passing of the English Education Act of 1870, and of the Scottish Act of 1872, a considerable number of Nonconformist politicians eagerly agitated for the entire exclusion of religious teaching or observance from State-aided schools. They first endeavoured to have it expressly excluded in the Acts, and having failed in that, they attempted to get School Boards elected who would voluntarily do what Parliament had declined to make compulsory. Both in England and in Scotland they failed in their second endeavour, almost as conclusively as in their first, and so strong is the current of popular opinion against the proposal, that it may now be looked upon as dead. Even the minority of the Commissioners do not recommend that the present liberty of religious teaching should be interfered with. The question now is not whether there shall be liberty to give religious teaching, but only as to its quality and the manner of imparting it. Thus the report tells us\* that in addition to a large number of voluntary schools, which exist for the express purpose of combining religious with secular instruction, there are 2,225 School Boards, representing the judgment of more than 16 millions of the population, of which only 7 in England and 50 in Wales have dispensed entirely with religious teaching or observances. In Scotland there is not, we believe, a single exception to the rule. Both countries having had the option given them of no religious teaching in their schools, have emphatically declined the offer. Here, unfortunately, the resemblance ceases, for when the question arises what the religious teaching is to be, we find in Scotland—as a rule, the fertile home of theological strife—almost perfect peace and unanimity, while in England, the different sects and churches are at open war, and plunged in vigorous hostilities. The primary reason of this is not far to seek. It is certainly not

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\* Page 113.

because Scotland is less rich in sects and contending churches than her sister country, or that her citizens are less tenacious in holding what they consider sound doctrine. On the contrary, there is probably no nation in the world who, often in the face of bitter persecution, have clung more resolutely to what they considered the true theology, or the correct form of church government. It is probable that they have rather erred in the opposite direction, and have sometimes made of terrible importance, matters of small moment. But on the question of religious teaching, they are almost unanimous. Much as they differ on forms of church government, they are agreed on the subject of theological dogma, and adopt the Shorter Catechism as the correct expression of their faith. The consequence is that the teaching of the Shorter Catechism in addition to the Bible, is almost universal in Board schools. It is probable that all the churches in Scotland, with the exception perhaps of the Episcopal and Roman Catholic, are satisfied with this arrangement. But in the case of the former, the number of their children who care to attend Board schools, is very small, and when they have no school of their own, they appear sensible enough to admit that instruction in a catechism, differing very little from their own articles of belief, cannot do much harm, while the Roman Catholics have been appeased by the facility with which the Education Department, taking advantage of a power given in section 67 of the Scottish Act, have allowed grants to schools belonging to their denomination, even though the school accommodation may have been sufficient without them.\*

In England, on the contrary, the battle of sects is still going on. The laws as well as the creeds of the two countries are entirely different. In Scotland, by the Act of 1872, a School Board may give either any kind of religious instruction or none, as they think proper; but if given, it must be at the beginning or end of the other instruction, so that children who object may easily stay away. In England, by the Act of 1870,

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\* Roman Catholic schools, in receipt of Parliamentary grant have increased in Scotland from 22 in 1872, to 154 in 1886. .

there is the same protection for objecting children as to the hours of religious instruction, but the Board, instead of being at liberty to give what religious instruction they think proper, are expressly prohibited from teaching any 'religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination.' Even if a large majority of the nation, therefore, were agreed upon a catechism, as in Scotland, it would be impossible to teach it in Board schools. How far religious teaching may be carried in England under the present Acts, is well exemplified by the regulations of the London School Board, which have been adopted by many other Boards. They direct that 'the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion as are suited to the capacities of children, provided that in such explanations and instruction, the provisions of the Act be strictly observed both in letter and spirit, and that no attempt be made to attach children to any particular denomination.' The regulations also permit the offering of prayer and the use of hymns, subject to the same proviso as to the observance of the letter and spirit of the Act. To the non-sectarian mind it would seem at first sight that nothing could be more desirable than this arrangement. That the Bible should be read and explained, and prayer offered without any denominational teaching, seems almost an ideal state of perfection, and much more calculated to benefit the youthful mind than the dreary dogmatism of either the Shorter Catechism or the 39 Articles. That a child should learn the story of the Bible and grasp its meaning with the assistance of simple explanation, given in the interest of no particular sect or party, seems infinitely preferable to puzzling its brains with the mysteries of predestination or of original sin. Yet the fact remains that this simple form of religious teaching appears to please no one, and all parties alike seem to view it with suspicion and distrust. Even the minority of the Commission, who may be taken as representing the Nonconformist party, recommend the increase of voluntary schools in cases where 'there is a reasonable number of persons desiring such a school for whose children no sufficient provision exists, regard being

had to the religious belief of their parents.' The fact is, it appears almost impossible for anyone to give religious instruction without betraying a leniency to some particular church or party. The different doctrines of the different sects are so sharply defined and so well-known that probably no intelligent listener could hear a teacher 'explain' a single verse of the New Testament without having a good idea what his theological opinions were, just as a single glance inside a church in England is sufficient to inform an experienced visitor that the incumbent is 'High,' 'Low,' or 'Broad,' as the case may be. Even if the teacher confines himself to religious 'observances,' he will be condemned by the Nonconformist party if he select a prayer from the prayer-book, and censured by the Church party if he elect to trust to his own invention. His very hymn-book will furnish sufficient proof of his opinions to the highly-trained ecclesiastical mind.

Perhaps it is for this reason that various School Boards, while permitting the reading of the Bible, do not allow any comment or explanation, as being contrary to the Act, and this appears to be the opinion of the minority, who report (p. 244) as follows: 'We dissent from the statement [of the majority] that the 14th section of the Act of 1870 merely provided for perfect neutrality among Christian denominations. Jews, free-thinkers, and any other persons who refuse to entrust the religious teaching of their children to others, are all equally entitled, both under section 14 and under section 7, to a perfect exemption from any instruction in religious subjects.' If this view be correct, it is obviously impossible to do more than read the Bible as an ordinary book of history. How could it be 'explained' in such a manner as to be acceptable both to a Jew and to a Christian? Indeed, it may be argued that a free-thinker would be entitled to object to its being read at all. It must be observed, however, that the London and other School Boards do not hold this opinion, and rather agree with the majority of the Commission. Yet a profound distrust of the religious teaching given in Board schools remains evident throughout the country, and this is shown by the increase of voluntary schools. Thus the number of children for whom

accommodation is provided in voluntary schools, has risen from 1,878,000 in 1870 to 3,417,000 in 1886, being an increase of 1,539,000; while Board schools, which of course did not exist before 1870, had in 1886 accommodation for 1,750,000.\* Voluntary schools, therefore, though they started 1,878,000 ahead of Board schools, have increased almost as rapidly.

Of the 1,878,000 voluntary school places existing in 1870, it is estimated that 1,165,000 were in Church of England schools; and of the 3,417,000 places now supplied, 2,549,000 are in schools of that denomination, leaving 868,000 to be distributed among the Roman Catholic, Wesleyan, 'British,' and other undenominational schools. These figures forcibly illustrate the power and influence of the Church of England, showing as they do that in this competition she wins by about three to one against all other competitors combined. In short, of voluntary school accommodation about 75 per cent. belongs to the Church of England.

It is interesting to compare this great increase of voluntary schools in England since the passing of the Education Act with their steady decrease since the same event in Scotland. There voluntary or denominational schools, with the exception of the few belonging to the Roman Catholic and Episcopal churches, have disappeared with extraordinary rapidity, as the following table† shows:—

	1872.	1887.
Board schools, - - - -	(none)	2,582
Church of Scotland (including the schools established by statute), - -	1,311	85
Free Church schools, - - -	523	25
Episcopal schools, - - -	46	73
Roman Catholic schools, - -	22	155

Thus the Church of Scotland and Free Church schools have almost vanished, while the Episcopal shew a slight and the Roman Catholic a considerable increase. This, as has been

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\* p. 253 of the Report.

† *Report of the Committee of Council on Education in Scotland 1887-8*, p. xi.



said, proceeds from the fact that Board are, so far as religious teaching goes, the same as Church of Scotland or Free Church schools, and the Roman Catholics are the only denomination who seriously object to the teaching there given. There is also this leading difference between the two Acts, that in Scotland a School Board was necessarily established in every parish and had the existing parish schools transferred to it, whereas in England, the people had the option of avoiding a School Board, if they voluntarily gave a sufficient school supply. This of course was an incentive to the different denominations, and especially to the Church of England, to increase their schools.

The recommendations of the Commissioners on the religious question have been looked forward to with much interest, representing as they do the opinions of all classes and all parties. It would perhaps have been absurd to expect unanimity, and it has certainly not been obtained. The majority consisting of Lord Cross, Cardinal Manning, the Duke of Norfolk, the Earl of Harrowby, Earl Beauchamp, the Bishop of London, Lord Norton, Sir Francis Sandford, Dr. Rigg, Canon Gregory, Rev. Thomas Morse, Mr. Alderson, Mr. Talbot, and Mr. Rathbone, make the somewhat unexpected proposal that voluntary schools should like Board schools be assisted out of local rates; while the minority consisting of the Hon. E. Lyulph Stanley, Sir John Lubbock, Sir Bernhard Samuelson, Dr. Dale, Mr. Buxton, Mr. Heller, Mr. Richard, and Mr. Shipton, consider such a proposal to be 'unsound in principle, destructive of the settlement of 1870, and certain if it became law to embitter educational politics, and intensify sectarian rivalries' (p. 246). Archdeacon Smith, who is one of the majority on other points, disapproves of this suggestion chiefly on the ground that the ratepayers would have a right to share in the management of rate-aided voluntary schools, which would consequently lose their present freedom of action. He also points out that the proposal would involve levying a school rate in more than 10,000 parishes which at present have no School Board, and that such a demand would strike a death-blow at the subscriptions by which voluntary schools are now maintained. Mr. Patrick Cumin, the

Secretary of the Education Department, who favours the recommendation, so far agrees with Archdeacon Smith as to its effect, for he states in his evidence that if it were adopted, five years would, in his opinion, 'see the end of all voluntary schools.' This is certainly not the consummation wished for by the majority who recommend the change, but whether Mr. Cumin be right or not in his prophecy, it is enough to say that for the present at any rate, the proposal is not within the range of practical politics. The storm which raged round Mr. Forster in 1870, would be aroused tenfold at what would be called a proposal to endow different denominations at the expense of the State, and no Government is likely to raise such an attack if it can possibly avoid it. Indeed, the Vice-President of the Council stated in Parliament last November that the Government have no such intention.

The minority, on the other hand, are in favour rather of an increase, both of Board and voluntary schools, recommending that 'where there is a reasonable number of persons desiring them, there should be schools of an undenominational character, and under popular representative management,' and also that 'persons desirous of starting a voluntary school be admitted to the receipt of annual grants on their satisfying the Education Department that there is a reasonable number of persons desiring such a school, "for whose children no sufficient provision exists, regard being had to the religious belief of their parents;"'—the last words being taken from the Scottish Act. It is probable that the recommendation for greater facility in establishing voluntary schools, which is approved both by the majority and minority, will be carried out, but the difficulty remains, that if you permit both Board and voluntary schools to increase without check, you are to a great extent wasting public money, by encouraging an excessive and therefore useless supply of schools and teachers. In Scotland, as has been shewn, the Board schools have practically killed the voluntary, with the exception of the trifling fraction belonging to the Roman Catholics; whereas, in England, the race between the two has been wonderfully equal, and bids fair to go on with increasing ardour and

increasing waste of labour and of money, not to mention increasing bitterness of sectarian feeling. The Commissioners and everyone else are of opinion that something should be done to meet this difficulty, but are greatly at variance as to what the remedy is to be. The Commissioners do not seem to have considered one plan, which is at all events worth discussion. Why not introduce the Scottish system into England? That could be done by simply repealing the fourteenth section of the Act of 1870—known as the ‘Cowper-Temple clause’ from the name of its proposer—which provides that ‘no religious catechism or religious formulary, which is distinctive of any particular denomination,’ shall be taught in Board schools. The result would be that in England as in Scotland a School Board could give any religious teaching they thought proper. The proposal is entitled to some consideration, because it is in accordance with Mr. Forster’s original intention, and his Bill was introduced into Parliament without this celebrated clause, which was only adopted after considerable discussion. If it were now repealed, it is almost certain that School Boards would be elected pledged to give in schools the religious teaching most acceptable to a majority of the ratepayers. Is there any hardship in this? A ratepayer who objects can do his best, assisted by the enormous power given to minorities by the cumulative vote, to get his own representative elected. Failing in that, he has only, in virtue of the conscience clause, to direct his child to stay away during religious teaching, if he objects to it. It is a much greater hardship that a large majority who want religious teaching are to be prohibited from getting it, unless there happen to be an adjacent voluntary school. The result of such legislation would be, that probably in a large majority of Board schools, the Church of England catechism would be taught. But if the children of the minority are not compelled to attend, is there any hardship in the children of the majority obtaining the religious teaching which their parents desire? The Nonconformists in England would be placed in exactly the position that the Episcopalians and Roman Catholics in Scotland now hold, and if an injustice would thereby be done in the south, that identical wrong is being at present perpetrated

in the north, without a word of remonstrance from any class of politician. The English radical who might denounce this proposal as a form of religious endowment by the State, could not possibly be joined in his opposition by his northern brother, who would be obliged to confess that in Scotland the system gives absolute satisfaction, and that no candidate for a Scottish constituency would dare to propose that the Shorter Catechism be excluded by the State from Board schools. It would be interesting to see certain politicians tossed upon the horns of this dilemma.

It seems to us a great misfortune that Mr. Forster did not stick to his original proposal, for it would have been a very much easier matter than now, owing to the large increase that has taken place in voluntary schools. As we have seen, the number of children for whom accommodation is provided in voluntary schools, has increased since 1870 by no less than a million and a half, which of course represents an enormous increase in school buildings, and if Board schools were to take their place, these buildings would become useless, unless they could be transferred to the School Boards, an arrangement the terms of which are always difficult to settle. This difficulty, however, is not insurmountable and ought certainly to be overcome, if the question would thereby be settled as satisfactorily as in Scotland. Apart from the religious question, it is undoubtedly better to have the education of the whole country entrusted to public Boards rather than in private hands. The impression left upon the mind after reading the Report and parts of the evidence, is that the people of England are eager to have religious teaching of some kind in their schools, and are not particular as to which denomination, if any, such teaching may favour. Thus, Church of England, Roman Catholic, and Wesleyan school teachers, have all given evidence that children, whose parents were of a different denomination from that of the school, have yet not been withdrawn from their religious teaching. From this a minority of the Commissioners draw the conclusion that the conscience clause is 'wholly ineffective,' (p. 384), and in proof of this they argue that if not, it would surely be impossible, for instance, for a Baptist parent to send his child to a school where he is taught that by baptism an infant is 'made a member of Christ, a child of God,

and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven.' But is the explanation not rather to be found in the fact that the working and middle classes have more sense and judgment than their ecclesiastical or political leaders, and that they do not attach the same immense importance to theological differences of opinion, or to the comparative merits of different forms of Church government? A parent not belonging to the exalted ranks, in which these points are deemed of such moment, thinks it possible that there may be some good in a Christian denomination differing from his own, and does not consider it a very terrible calamity that his child should receive some theories regarding, for instance, baptism or the power and position of the priesthood, which he cannot altogether endorse. He is wise enough to know that his child of less than fourteen years will trouble its head very little about such subtle speculations, and that however much it may be instructed either in the advantages or disadvantages of, say, infant baptism, it will probably remember little, and care less, about the whole question, and that if it adopt any fixed opinions at all upon the subject, they will be those which it hears at home or in the church or Sunday school which its parents may select for it. As regards the child who attends neither church nor Sunday school, and who hears nothing of religion at home, the parent is generally quite indifferent as to whether it receive any religious instruction or none, and in such a case, the fairest arrangement seems to be that it should at school receive instruction in the religion most acceptable to a majority of the ratepayers.

The indifference of the people of England to the minute points of denominational doctrine is a refreshing contrast to the bitter and uncharitable importance so often assigned to them, especially when accompanied as it is by a fixed determination to have Christian teaching of some kind. On this last point the Commission speak strongly both for themselves and for the public. They report (p. 113) that 'Whilst differing widely in our views concerning religious truth, we are persuaded that the only safe foundation on which to construct a theory of morals, or to secure high moral conduct, is the religion which our Lord Jesus Christ has taught the world. As we look to the Bible for instruction concerning morals, and take its words for the declaration of what

is morality, so we look to the same inspired source for the sanction by which men may be led to practise what is there taught, and for instruction concerning the help by which they may be enabled to do what they have learned to be right.' Such is the language of the Commission, speaking not only for themselves but for what they believe to be the almost unanimous feeling of the country. If that be so, is there any justifiable reason for reducing the religious teaching of Board schools to a minimum, which is almost vanishing point? If in 1888, as in 1587, the people still cling to the belief that 'it is tinsel baith of their bodies and souls if God's word be not ruted' in their children, why in the name of charity and common sense are they not to have what they so eagerly desire? Those who object are an infinitesimal fraction of the population, and it is simple oppression of the most bare-faced description to prevent an enormous majority from obtaining for their children that instruction which they value more highly than any other, in deference to the wishes of an insignificant minority, who, with the exception of a few religious bigots, object only in theory, and in practice, are glad to have the teaching which, as a matter of politics, they condemn.

J. EDWARD GRAHAM.

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ART. VI.—THE LAST RESTING PLACE OF  
ST. ANDREW.

**A**LTHOUGH a Neapolitan would probably not relish the remark, there would be a good deal to be said for the proposition that the Gulf of Salerno is even more beautiful than the Bay of Naples. The best views of the Bay of Naples are certainly those from the land, where the spectator is surrounded by the exquisite vegetation which forms so delightful a feature in that enchanting region. But the outlines of the land itself are seldom striking, and even the immense cone of Vesuvius is not picturesque in form; while the lovely colour of the sea and atmosphere are liable in the winter and spring to be blighted by the cold winds of the North. On the other side of the peninsula

of Sorrento the view lies open only to the South. The sea is protected from the blasts of the North, and the land-locked appearance so admired by the Neapolitans is more than compensated for by the unbroken expanse of sunlit sea which stretches away beyond the Isles of the Syrens until the tint of its blue waters melts through phases of silver mist into the blue of the Southern sky. The softer vegetation of the shores of the Bay here gives place to wilder and more natural though scantier woods, mostly found in the glens; and instead of the rounded hills of the more northern gulf, the traveller gazes with a wonder and admiration not unmingled with awe upon the tremendous precipices, hollowed out repeatedly into huge caverns, which rise from the very shore and hang beetling over the road cut in their sides. It is about the point where this grandeur of nature is most striking, that the ancient city of Amalfi, gathered into the mouth of a glen, stands between the mountains and the sea. It is difficult, in entering the dirty little town, to realize that this was once one of the great maritime powers of the world. To the historian its past greatness must always invest it with extraordinary interest. To the Scottish tourist, however, it possesses a special and national feature of attraction in the fact that its Cathedral covers the last resting-place of the Patron-Saint of his country.

This is not one of those identifications which, like that of the so-called ashes of the Baptist at Genoa, become almost inevitably the subject of the more or less respectful scepticism of the antiquary. The history of the bones of the Apostle is well known. They remained in their grave at Patras in the Peloponnesos, where they had been laid by Maximilla when they were taken down from the cross, until the time of the Emperor Constantine. That they were among those bodies of Christian heroes which were gathered by him to shed lustre upon the churches of his new capital appears from a curious passage in Jerome's *Book against Vigilantius*.\* 'He complains,' says the eminent Scriptural scholar, 'he complains that the reliques of the martyrs should be covered with a costly veil, instead of being wrapped in stuff or sackcloth or thrown on to the dunghill, so that nothing should be

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\* S. Hieronymi Opera Omnia. Tom. II. Part I. p. 391, Venice, 1767.

worshipped except the drunken and drowsy Vigilantius. Are we then guilty of sacrilege when we enter the churches of the Apostles? Was the Emperor Constantine I. guilty of a sacrilege when he brought to Constantinople the holy reliques of Andrew, Luke and Timothy, whereat the very devils who possess Vigilantius himself do roar and acknowledge their presence? The spot of the tomb, as in the Church of the Apostles, is indicated by the fact that it was for this reason that the sepulchre of Constantine himself was prepared in this place, a fact incidentally recorded by Chrysostom. 'Tell me then,' exclaims the golden-mouthed orator,\* 'wilt thou dare to say that their Lord is dead, whose very servants, even when they are dead themselves, are the Patrons of the Monarchs of the whole world? And this is a thing which one may see, not at Rome only, but also at Constantinople; for here also did the son of the Great Constantine think to do him vast honour by burying him in the vestibule of the Fisherman.'

It was during the sojourn of the remains of the Apostle at Constantinople that they underwent a mutilation which, according to the plausible conjecture of Dr. Skene, was the remote cause of the national position which the Galilean Fisherman now occupies among us. When Gregory the Great returned in 584 from discharging the duty of Aprocrisarius at the court of Tiberius II., he brought with him to Rome an arm of St. Andrew, which the Emperor had given him, and placed it in the monastery of St. Andrew which he had erected upon the site of his ancestral home.† From this it may be conjectured were taken the reliques brought to England by Augustine, a monk of the same monastery, and in honour of which his Royal convert Ethelbert erected the church of St. Andrew at Rochester. Thence again may well have been derived the reliques which were placed in the Church of Hexham, and these are the same which, according to the theory of the present Historiographer Royal,‡ were presented to Angus,

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\* Hom. xxvi. On 2 Cor.

† Alban Butler. March 12.

‡ *Celtic Scotland*. II. 261-275. *Venerabilis Bedæ Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. II. 3. V. 20, and the appended chronicle, *sub anno* 731. The fact that the reliques which were received by Angus, and in honour of



King of the Picts, by Acca the Bishop, after his expulsion from his See in 731.

After the sack of Constantinople in 1204, when the Crusaders had more or less glutted their rapacity upon the more intrinsically valuable possessions of the inhabitants, it occurred to some of them whose tastes were of an ecclesiastical character to send to their own countries some of the mortal remains of the Saints which reposed in the Churches of the Imperial City. The Papal Legate, Cardinal Peter Capuano, who was a member of a noble family of Amalfi, made a very large collection of this kind, including the entire bodies of the Apostle Andrew, those of the brother physicians Cosmas and Damian, and of the lad Vitus, who had suffered martyrdom under the persecution of Diocletian, and that of the Egyptian hermit Macarius, who had died in the desert of Scete in the year 390, along with a great number of skulls, separate limbs, and other things of the same kind. He arrived at Gaeta with these reliques towards the end of March, 1206. There he presented to the Hospital the head of the Martyr Theodore. Other portions he gave to Naples and other places, including the head of the Apostle James the Less to Sorrento, and the arm of the Great Athanasius to Monte Cassino, but the great bulk of his store, including the four entire bodies, he re-

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which he changed the name of Kilrighmonaigh to that of St. Andrews, and proclaimed the Apostle Patron of his Kingdom, consisted of three fingers (probably finger-bones) and a fragment of an arm, is certainly in favour of the derivation from the arm brought by Gregory to Rome. There are also said to have been a knee-pan and a tooth, which may have been the additions of subsequent and less critical times. Most of the arm brought by Gregory seems to be still at Rome, where the monastery of St. Andrew is now called that of *San Gregorio*, but a part was given by Pius II. to the Church of *San Spirito in Sassia*. In Italy, the Churches of Milan, Nola, and Brescia all claim to possess small fragments of the body of the Apostle. There is a very small portion of the remains at Patras, presumably brought from Constantinople. The *Petits Bollandistes* (Nov. 30.) mention several particles in France, but do not say whether they profess to have come from Constantinople, Rome, or Amalfi. They include an arm-bone, at Paris. The considerable piece of bone now in Edinburgh was brought from Amalfi a few years ago. The so-called head at Rome will be discussed in another foot-note.

served for the Cathedral of his native city 'wherein he had received his first Christian nourishment and his first clerical tonsure.' There they still remain. The body of the Galilean Fisherman was brought into the Cathedral of Amalfi on the 8th of May, 1208; and a curious contemporary account of the event is still in existence, which it is worth while here to quote—

'In the year of the Incarnation of Our Lord one thousand two hundred and eight, upon the eighth day of the month of May, of the Eleventh Indiction, during the preceding night the sacred body was venerated by all men in the honourable place in which it had been kept, with watching, and tapers, and smoke of divers perfumes, since none of the citizens believed that the worth of the Apostle would avail him unless he took part in this waking. When day broke, the whole city shone in a garland of new and various decorations, besprinkled with flowers, and clad in stuffs of divers colours. A countless multitude of both sexes go forth with songs of joy and lighted tapers to meet the holy body. The aforesaid Cardinal, with the Archbishop and the Bishops of the province, come forward with bare feet and rest the sacred load upon their shoulders. The members of the ecclesiastical orders go before, Catholic noblemen, Bishops, abbots, monks and clerks, singing aloud for joy, and behind them follow the multitude of the people with shouting. And so they carry [the body of the Apostle] to the church dedicated in his name. There the same Cardinal from the pulpit of the same church having courteously commanded silence, preached the Word of God unto the people. He fired the multitude with devotion toward the Apostle, that they might surround his body with the service of veneration which is due to it, that they might assemble in unwearied prayer around it, that they might beseech it by their works and honour it by the worthiness of their lives. Then he opened the silver coffin wherein the remains of the sacred body were enclosed, and reverently showed to the eyes of all men the head and other bones, so that all might see and believe that God had visited His people through the power of His blessed Apostle Andrew, who had chosen to himself a dwelling-place in Amalfi,' etc.\*

After this the reliques seem to have been taken down into the crypt, in charge only of a few monks of advanced years, and the public saw them no more. Neither was any shrine erected to

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\* See the *Memorie Storico-Diplomatiche dell' antica Città e Ducato di Amalfi, per Matteo Camera.* (Salerno. Stabilimento Tipografico Nazionale. 1876.) The writer begs to express his indebtedness to this most learned and valuable work for nearly all the historical matter contained in the present article, so far as it concerns Amalfi.

mark their place. Only eight years after, in the year 1216,

Honorius III., as we learn from the Amalfitan record, 'having obtained the dignity of the Apostolic See, and being poor in spirit but rich in grace, and enkindled with a devotion toward the blessed Apostle Andrew, sent an Apostolic Command with messengers to the Archbishop John [Capuano, brother to the Cardinal Peter], that there might be sent to him some honourable portion of the Apostle aforesaid which lay in his Church, since he was very wishful to build a Church in his honour. But since it had been God's Will that the monks (*virii Religiosi*) who had put the holy reliques in the bottom of the said crypt (*confessio*) should be taken away, (*sublati de medio*) and the place wherein the body of the Apostle was shut up was known to no man, he was not able to get that which he sought, and could not obtain that which he commanded.'

The fact was, that, as afterwards appeared, the reliques were divided into two portions, and buried in separate places, the more important, as including the skull, being placed in the more recondite position, where the chance of its discovery was the least. There can be little doubt that the motive of this curious policy was to protect the Church of Amalfi from the chance of being deprived of its sacred deposit. It is probable enough, as has been conjectured, that Cardinal Peter Capuano himself was not without apprehensions that the new Latin dynasty which had been established upon the throne of the Cæsars might take effective measures to have the body of the Apostle sent back to its grave at Constantinople. But the precaution was anyhow justified by the results, when it enabled the Amalfitan Church to elude the commands of the Pope himself in 1216.

In the beginning of the Fourteenth Century the less important portion of the body (the portion, that is, which did not include the skull) was found in the silver coffin in which the whole had been displayed to the public by Cardinal Capuano, buried at the bottom of a pit nine palms (nearly seven feet) deep, sunk in the floor of the crypt, directly underneath the High Altar in the Cathedral above. The reason of the position is obvious. It is found in the words of Rev. vi., 9, 10, 11—'And when He had opened the Fifth Seal, I saw under the altar the souls of them that were slain for the Word of God, and for the testimony which they held; and they cried with a loud voice, saying, How long, O Lord, Holy and True, dost Thou not judge and avenge

our blood on them that dwell on the earth? And white robes were given unto every one of them; and it was said unto them, that they should rest yet for a little season, until their fellow-servants also and their brethren, that should be killed as they were, should be fulfilled.' In this spot the remains in their silver case were allowed to rest, and have since been suffered to remain, to this present day; but since their discovery in this position there has been no further attempt to cast uncertainty upon the exact place, and the mouth of the pit in which they lie has always formed, as it does to-day, the centre of all the public veneration which gathers around the grave of the brother of Peter. The other portion of the body, that, namely, which included the head, remained for a much longer time concealed from sight and knowledge. It was not till Jan. 2, 1603, that in the course of the works for the restoration of the crypt conducted by Scipio Cretella of Cilento under the commands and at the cost of Philip III. of Spain, another pit of the same depth was discovered to the west of the first. At the bottom of this was a white marble cist, the inscription upon which testified that it enclosed part of the body of the Apostle. On examination, it was found to contain the skull and the rest of the missing portion of the other bones. A notarial instrument was drawn up attesting the facts, one copy of which was placed in the cist, and another in the archives of the See. The cist itself was transferred to the same pit with the other remains. On Jan. 29, 1846, the deposit was again examined; and on this occasion the skull was brought up into the crypt and placed permanently in a reliquary of silver and glass, the rest of the bones were re-united in the old silver coffin which had so many centuries before already enclosed them all, and the marble cist was built into the wall of the southern staircase leading to the crypt.

The Cathedral which now stands over the grave of St. Andrew is a building of different epochs, and presents the traces of a singular number of vicissitudes and changes. Putting aside the cloister or cemetery, called the *Paradiso*, which dates from the Thirteenth Century, and the great detached campanile or bell-tower, which was finished about the same time, and both of which may be called external to the building itself, the Cathedral

proper consists of two distinct churches. The older and smaller of these is dedicated in honour of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and seems to be of an unknown date. It had an aisle or chapel on the north, and on the south another aisle or series of private chapels belonging to great families of the Amalfitan Republic. The later and larger church, dedicated in honour of the Apostle Andrew, is built immediately to the south of and against the older building, into which it opens, and both are as it were bound together by one vast porch or narthex which runs along the front of both. This later church owes its existence to the Doge Manso III., a prince who seems to have had ecclesiastical tastes, as it was also under his government that the See was raised to the rank of an Archbishopric. It was begun towards the year 980, a period remarkable in Italy for the erection of great buildings of this sort, St. Mark's at Venice having been begun in 977.

The East end of this building seems to have been pulled down and re-erected on a more splendid plan by the munificent Cardinal Capuano in the year 1203. The record states that he 're-constructed the church in a fair and larger form,' and in a document dated Oct. 11, 1208, (five months after the arrival of the body of the Apostle), it is remarked that he had 're-constructed the Altar and crypt (*titulum et confessionem*).' It may be conjectured that these re-constructions by Capuano were so extensive as to admit of the Cathedral's being regarded as a new building, and consecrated anew, but this time under the name of St. Andrew, after the arrival of the reliques of the latter.\* To Capuano was therefore owing the then magnificent arrangement of the High Altar, which stood in the open, underneath what would, in one of our Northern churches, be the lantern. The Altar itself was built of precious marbles and mosaics, and was placed under a baldaquin of the same materials, at the

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\* Signor Camera, in his *Istoria della Città e Costiera di Amalfi*, p. 33, seems to indicate that the Tenth Century Cathedral, if indeed it had ever been consecrated, had been dedicated in honour of the Baptist. The present writer has not succeeded in ascertaining the year of the consecration of the renewed and completed building. The anniversary of the event is kept yearly at Amalfi upon the Sunday which may fall nearest to Sept. 1.

corners of which were the emblems of the Four Evangelists. Under, that is to say, apparently, within the altar, were deposited the remains of the other Saints. There were also two splendid ambones, of the like materials, the one upon the North side for the Gospel, and the other upon the South for the Epistle. The Archiepiscopal throne, in the midst of an accompanying semi-circular synthronos for the Priests, all of marble, was placed against the inner wall of the apse; and there can be no doubt that the whole work was completed with inlaid pavements and balustrades in harmony. To the munificence of the same Capuano, after the arrival of the Apostle's body, seem to have been owing the beautiful mosaics with which the apse is known to have been adorned, and which represented Christ above, and beneath, the Saints Andrew, Cosmas Damian, Vitus, and Macarius, divided by palm-trees. To Capuano likewise is ascribed the noble narthex. No great alteration appears to have been made from the beginning of the Thirteenth Century till the close of the Sixteenth, when Philip II. of Spain, thinking the crypt and the altar therein somewhat 'rough' (*rudis*) determined to decorate it in the most costly manner. The work was continued after his death, and completed in 1616. During the greater part of that century the Cathedral of Amalfi must have been in the zenith of its splendour. Nothing had been injured. The passage of time merely enriched the tints of its decorations, and added to the inestimable series of historical monuments with which it was enriched.

The decadence began in 1691. In that year the roof and walls of the nave and transepts of the great church were lowered, by which seems to be meant the destruction of the clerestory, and everything upon a line with it. The cause of this mutilation is unknown: the walls may have been considered no longer safe. The building must thus have been very much damaged, and possibly presented a more or less ruinous appearance which may have offered an inducement to the most disastrous transmogrification which it has ever undergone, viz., the so-called restoration by the Archbishop Michael Bologna, from the designs and under the direction of the architect, Peter Antony Sormano of Savona. This work was begun upon Nov. 12, 1703, and lasted fifteen

years. The succeeding pages will convey some idea of its character. Its main features were the destruction of all works of art and of all historical monuments, and the inauguration of an universal reign of plaster and whitewash, with a certain amount of excessively fine rococo inlaid marble work inserted at intervals as a sort of startling contrast. 'I have now' wrote the Archbishop to Pope Innocent XIII. 'completely brought the Cathedral Church into a noble and modern shape . . . The chapels were all completely built by me.'

In this condition it remained until within the last twenty years, when the local authorities set a movement on foot to attempt some restoration by public subscription. They employed as architect the cavaliere Henry Alvino of Naples. The platform was then restored, the narthex was practically re-built, and the façade again raised. It was evidently the intention of Alvino, had he been enabled to do so, again to raise the whole roof of the nave and transepts, and to build a new clerestory. The investigations which he began in the interior point likewise to a desire to restore at least the great double marble arcades which Bologna built up inside rectangular piers. But Signor Alvino is dead. And nothing is being done now in the way of restoration save the continued manufacture of the large glass and gold mosaics which form part of his design for the completion of the façade.

Although the upper portions of the bell-tower and of the façade of the Cathedral are more or less visible from different points of view in approaching Amalfi, the traveller does not see the whole front until he finds himself in a small and irregular open space in the centre of the town—very dirty and noisy—which serves as a market-place. To the Scottish traveller the strangeness of the Southern sights and sounds all around form a curious contrast with the familiar type of the image of St. Andrew leaning on his cross, which rises in white marble over the public fountain, and greets the eye in various other representations on every hand. One side of this irregular square is occupied by the front of the Cathedral. Although small as compared with the immense fabrics to which the Northerner is accustomed to apply this name, it is handsomer than many which serve the same purpose in Italy. It is also made imposing by

the very great height of the artificial platform upon which it stands. This is in fact a block of building some thirty feet high, and in which a most splendid crypt might have been, and perhaps might still be, arranged, but which, with the exception of the Easternmost portion, is now either neglected or applied to secular purposes. This platform is pierced at long but regular intervals, first by a series of quatrefoils, and, above them, by small double windows, sharply pointed, each divided by a white marble shaft. The general tone of the whole façade is the sombre grey, black, and white combination of all the monumental buildings of this part of the world, and is also in the sort of nondescript striped architecture, partly Romanesque, partly Byzantine, partly Gothic, by which they are distinguished, and which is not wanting in a certain dignity, rather, perhaps, historical than artistic. The restoration, or rather the building, of the present façade and porch, although not by any means perfect, reflects credit both upon the energy of the people of Amalfi and upon the skill and taste of their architect, the cavaliere Alvino. The works were executed by public subscription, and under his plans and directions not many years ago, and are, in fact, not yet completed, as they still await the mosaics of glass and gold. Had this architect lived, it is probable that he might have succeeded in doing yet more for the unfortunate but interesting building placed, at least in part, in his hands. As it is, he hardly touched the interior, and the single place in which he removed the concealing plaster in search of the old work, has again been covered up.

To reach the Church the visitor first ascends a low landing-place raised on four steps, and then a very steep straight flight of no less than fifty-seven steps of grey stone. This flight is very broad and its sides centre with the two outer of the three open arches which form the middle of the long porch or narthex which stretches along the whole front of the building above. This narthex or porch was, as already stated, originally built by the Cardinal Peter Capuano at the beginning of the Thirteenth Century, but has been practically reconstructed by Signor Alvino. As the front of the Cathedral across which it stretches consists not only of the Cathedral of the Tenth Century



with its nave and two aisles, but also of that of the smaller and older Cathedral against which it is built on the North, with its chapels on either side, the ascending steps and the great open arches of the narthex to which they lead, and which centre with the newer building, are not in the middle, but considerably to the South of the middle, of the whole narthex. There is accordingly only one other large arch to the South but three such to the North, where there is also the beginning of a fourth, which rests against the bell tower. All these arches are filled in the lower part by a solid decorative parapet, and then by three-light open tracery, becoming much more elaborate above, in white marble. The centre arch of all, which directly faces the great West door of the Cathedral, is double in height, and is covered, along with the open arch on either side, by a sort of tympanum or flattened gable, inlaid in black and white.

Immediately above the roof of the narthex, the upper part of the older Cathedral appears on the North side in a state of white-wash, and low tile roof. The front of the newer Cathedral on the South presents the outline of a long row of interlaced pointed arches, all blind except one arch in the middle of the end of each aisle, which is pierced, so as to form a single pointed window. This outlined arcade must indicate either the traces of the past or the intentions of the future. Well raised above this series of arches is a bold string-course starting just under the commencement of the aisle-roof and crossing the whole building in one uninterrupted line. Resting on the string-course and still all beneath the level of the point where the aisle-roofs lean against the walls of the nave, is another tier of interlaced pointed arches, here pierced with a row of eleven considerable-sized pointed windows. A good way above this tier, quite clear of the aisle-roof, and stretching completely from side to side, is a third row of interlaced pointed arches, this time smaller, forming a set of twelve flat niches, separated from one another by pairs of white marble shafts. It is deplorable to have to record that these white marble shafts were procured by robbing the outside of the apse of the ruined but venerable Church of St. Eustace at Pontone—an act all the more inexcusable in Italy, where white marble abounds to such an extent that it could almost have been pro-

cured from any shop with less cost and trouble than it must have taken to dislodge these small columns from their place at Pontone and bring them to Amalfi. These twelve niches are to be filled with mosaic pictures of the Twelve Apostles, upon a gold ground, by Salviati, of Venice. Several of these pictures are already finished, though not put up. The walls now rise considerably higher before they end in the great tympanum or flattish gable which tops the façade. In this tympanum is to be placed another, but very large gold and glass mosaic by Salviati, representing a colossal bust of Christ, with seraphim on either side. When all these mosaics are finished and in their places, the effect cannot fail to be really more or less splendid, and the extreme brilliancy of the blue and gold stars of the roof of the narthex, which now rather offends the eye, will lead well up to the exceeding and increasing brightness, culminating at the top in the figure of the Saviour.

The bell-tower adjoins the Cathedral at the north-west angle. It was begun in the year 1180, but was not finished till 1276, when it was completed at the private expense of the Archbishop Philip Augustariccio. Structurally, it is entirely separate, and stands at a very different angle. This arrangement is no doubt a skilful device to increase the architectural effect, and the difference of angle is doubtless some tradition of the Greek science in this matter, of which the differing angles in the Puopylœa and the Parthenon of Athens offer a sublime example. The tower is, however, as already remarked, bound into the grasp of the Cathedral buildings by the fact that the under-platform and the narthex run on and rest against it. It consists of five storeys. The first rises to the level of the narthex, and is little more than a basement. The second has a window in each of the outer sides and a marble pillar inserted at each angle, thus carrying on the general design of the narthex. The third storey, which stands clear of the roof of the narthex, has large two-lighted, round-headed windows, almost Moorish in character, on each face. These are now walled up. The fourth storey has four still larger round-headed windows. They have been divided into two portions by a straight architrave, the lower separated into three lights by two marble columns,

and the upper containing a round light. These windows are now mostly walled up and partly concealed by the clock. This mutilation is wretched. A special tower adapted and designed for the purpose, ought, of course, to have been erected for the clock whenever it became convenient to provide the Cathedral with this appendage, and the walling up of the arches is a silly obstruction to the sound of the great bell, popularly called *La Distesa* on account of the distance at which her voice could be heard. *La Distesa* was presented along with completion of the tower, by Archbishop Augustariccio, and has twice since been recast, once by order of Archbishop Del Giudice about the year 1364, and again by Archbishop Rossini in 1597. The uppermost storey of the tower consists of five round turrets, a larger in the centre, with four smaller at the four angles, in much the same way as that in which are arranged the five turrets or spires upon the top of the tower of the Town Hall at Tain, in Ross-shire. These turrets are encased in interlaced pointed arches, and have a very Norman appearance. They and their roofs are now decorated in shining green and yellow tiles. The bell-tower has received a good deal of rococo tinkering and decoration, and no kind of restoration, and until something of the sort is bestowed upon it, it is impossible to form anything like a fair judgment upon it.

On entering the narthex the traveller finds it divided into two aisles, parallel to the front of the church, by a row of seven granite pillars, with white marble capitals, all quite new, and carved in a debased manner with foliage, dolphins, and the arms of the town, a bend.\* Directly in front are the great doors, enclosed in a marble doorway, and on either side the smaller marble doorways leading into the aisles. The great doors themselves are of bronze, and were made at Constantinople by Simeon of Syria, at the order and expense of Pantaleon, 'son of Maurus, son of

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\* The tinctures are not shown in the carving, unless the lines upon the bend are intended to indicate *gules*, which is the colour assigned to it by Signor Camera in his *Istoria della Città e Costiera di Amalfi*. p. 30. Upon the frontispiece of that work the field is indicated as *azure*. This imposition of colour upon colour is of course an outrage upon our accepted laws of blazonry, but those of Italian heraldry may be different.

Pantaleon, son of Maurus, son of Count Mauro,' in the middle of the Eleventh Century. They were the first work of the kind imported into Italy. They are not very elaborate in design. The central panels have figures inlaid in silver, but a good deal of the silver has been stolen.

Considerably to the North of the door of the North aisle is the graceful Renaissance doorway which leads into the older Cathedral. Passing this, and passing through the space which separates the bell-tower from the angle of the building, and turning sharp to the right, up a sort of open court, the stranger finds himself, after traversing about fifty feet, in the region of a small cloister, surrounded by the usual interlacing pointed arches supported upon twin shafts of white marble. In spring and summer this cloister derives a certain grace, not only from the remains of its antique architecture, but also from the beautiful foliage of the vines which grow on the rich and raised soil within it. Speaking generally, however, it has become the victim of neglect, alteration, and the all-pervading white-wash, though fortunately not apparently to such an extent as to make it incapable of a future restoration, at any rate in its general form. This cloister is the cemetery called the *Paradiso*, prepared by Archbishop Augustariccio for the burial of distinguished citizens of the Amalfitan Republic. The cemetery was built in two years, 1266-8, and the first person laid in it was the Archbishop's own brother, the judge John Augustariccio, who was a doctor of Medicine as well as of both Canon and Civil Law, and who died on Jan. 29, 1282. The terrible neglect and ill-usage to which this cemetery has been subjected have concealed or destroyed nearly every trace of the five chapels which once surrounded it\* and the monuments of great citizens which adorned it and them. The visitor is confronted at one spot by a sort of shrine or altar, the front of which is formed of the two sides of a marble sarcophagus split in two. These bear busts of the Twelve Apostles, but they also bear the arms of the Augustariccio family, and it has

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\* Two were dedicated in honour of our Lord's titles of 'Saviour' and 'Crucified,' and the three others respectively to St. Andrew the Apostle, St. Theodore the Martyr, and St. Mary Magdalen.

been conjectured that they may be the sides of the coffin which once contained the remains of the eminent lawyer and physician.

Returning to the front of the old Cathedral—that of the Assumption—and entering by its graceful Renaissance marble doorway, the visitor finds himself in a sort of mean vestibule of painted deal. This is the substructure of a corresponding West-end gallery, which supports a wretched little organ. This barrier past, we are in what of the old Church has been left to us by the ravages of Archbishop Bologna. The general effect of the whole interior is one of dirt, dinginess, and whitewash. The old Church now forms a single chamber, with an apse at the end, and a rounded ceiling. It has a pavement of worn encaustic tiles, but is otherwise a mere mass of plaster arranged in graceless forms, under which its original features are entirely hidden, and which is itself concealed under one uniform coat of whitewash. The entire length, from the door to the back of the apse, seems to be about 130 ft. On the chord of the apse is the Altar, a sufficiently handsome marble structure, with a really good reredos, brought hither from a suppressed convent, and containing pictures in panels. It is perhaps from two to three hundred years old. Before the Altar is the chancel, raised to the height of several feet, and separated from the rest of the Church by a really very handsome balustrade of carved and polished coloured marbles. It is furnished with valueless deal stalls, but in the walls above them on either side are cupboards for reliques, closed by very good Jacobean wooden shutters, painted white, picked out with gilding and with pictures in the panels.

The sides of this Church, from the balustrade to the West end, are divided into seven spaces, which, at least for the sake of convenience, may be called bays, especially as they answer to some of a corresponding number of similar spaces in the larger Church, to which the term more correctly applies. The extreme Western of these, on either side, are plain, and the next two are occupied by doors, that to the South leading towards the great Church, and that to the North into an apartment which will be spoken of presently. The next two are again plain, but in the Southern is hung a good Mediæval panel picture, with a gold ground, but sadly calling for restoration. The fourth or

central bays each contain in a square recess, defended by an inlaid marble balustrade, an inlaid marble altar, in the usual style of the last century. That on the South has behind it a good Renaissance picture. The next bay on the North is blank: that on the South is glazed with plate-glass, behind which and over an additional altar obtruded into the church, can be seen a couple of tasteless coloured statues, one of the Dead Body of Our Lord, nearly naked, and stretched on an offensively glaring gilded bier, the other of the Blessed Virgin, in which the theatrically agonized features and attitude form a ghastly and tasteless contrast with the meretricious richness of the black and gold embroideries in which she is made to appear as having studiously arrayed herself. These figures are publicly carried through the town of Amalfi on Good Friday evening. To the East of this come again two doorways: that on the North leads, or ought to lead, into the *Paradiso*; that on the South leads into the newer church. The last two bays are each occupied by a square recess, railed in in inlaid marble and containing a rococo altar of the same material. The Southern has no feature of interest, but behind the Northern, in a niche closed by a sheet of plate-glass, is a curious Mediæval wooden statue of the Blessed Virgin—perhaps Fourteenth Century—nearly if not quite life size. It has once been entirely gilded, picked out with colours, but time has now caused the whole to assume exactly the appearance of bronze.

The most interesting portion of this older church is what lies behind the door opening in the second bay on the North side. If the traveller can induce the sacristan to open this door for him, he will find himself in a curious chaos of dust and ruins, occupying the space of three bays, where it is stopped by the wall of the *Paradiso*. In the midst of the Northern wall is a beautiful small square window of perforated white marble opening into the way which leads to the *Paradiso*. The state of destruction, darkness, dust, and confusion, is such that nothing but a careful study could reveal the form of the real remains. There are columns, (at least one, double) of polished marble with classical capitals, and walls displaying the remains of antique frescoes, where the aureolæ round the heads of saints

stand out embossed upon the plaster. Brutally forced between the polished surfaces and gracious carvings of the marble pillars stand the beastly constructions of Archbishop Bologna. It is evident that this little nook is what remains of a North aisle to the older Church, into which it once opened by a free and graceful colonnade, and thus caused the whole building to present in the Middle Ages the splendid cross-perspective of two naves and four aisles, comprising five arcades of columns, of which at least three seem to have been double.

The next part of the Cathedral is that in which the devastation wrought by Archbishop Bologna is most undisguised. This is the space which separates the older from the newer Church. It formerly consisted of a series of private chapels belonging to great families of the Republic of Amalfi, and was filled with historical monuments. The two such chapels which are still extant, although in ruins, on the North side of the Basilica of St. Eustace, at Pontone, are placed one East of the other, and each consists of a single square vault and an apse. In the absence of proper investigations it is impossible to speak with certainty as to the plan of those at Amalfi. The conjecture is here hazarded that there were three, or perhaps four, such chapels, each consisting of at least one vault, and then perhaps an apse. The Westernmost *may* have been the Baptistry. In the case of the vaults, at least, the arches were open on each side, allowing access between the two churches. But the shapeless masses of Bologna's walls are said to enclose rows of marble columns, and it must be repeated that it is vain to plunge into conjecture without more light. The whole is now a singular mass of chaotic, dark, dusty, lumber-rooms, traversed by two passages. The first of these connects the second bays (counting from the West) of the older and newer Churches. At the Southern end of this passage—the end, that is, opening into the newer Church—may be seen in the wall above the doorway the distinct form of a pointed arch. In the sides of this passage may be also seen three marble sarcophagi. That to the South is Christian—seemingly Thirteenth Century. Those to the North are Pagan, good works of a late period. The subjects are stated to be the Marriage of Peleus and Thetis, and the Carrying-away of Koré.

They are said to have been brought from Pæstum, but there is such a habit in the Amalfitan part of the world of referring all classical works of art to Pæstum, just as there is of referring all Mediæval buildings to Queen Joanna or the Saracens, that such assertions must be received with great suspicion. They are, in any case, like those of a similar kind, happily less disturbed, at the Cathedral of Salerno, classical Pagan sarcophagi which have been applied in the Middle Ages to the burial of distinguished Christians.

The second, or Easternmost passage, which lies just East of a space divided into almost equal parts between the square back of a side-altar in the newer church and the receptacle of the Good Friday images, has two Thirteenth Century marble sarcophagi, one on each side. To the East of it is a dusty lumber-room, mainly used as a cellar for altar-wine, although the greater part of the whole space is occupied by the back of the square enclosure of another side-altar. On the North side of the East wall, however, are to be seen the remains of a Mediæval fresco. In the centre of this wall is a window, a false light on to the North stair leading down into the crypt which contains the grave of the Apostle, and which will be described hereafter.

The traveller now enters the newer Cathedral—that of the Tenth and Thirteenth Centuries—which is the most important portion of the whole group, and the crypt of which contains the shrine. It is of the regular form which is found in other corresponding churches of the same period and neighbourhood, *viz.*, a nave with an aisle upon each side, with a lantern and transepts, beyond which there originally were, not a chancel and chapels, but merely three apses, centring with the nave and aisles respectively. The general plan, therefore, is not that of a  $\dagger$  but of a T. Although the word ‘lantern’ has been used above, there is no rise of roof at the point to which that term is usually applied: the ceiling of the chancel runs straight across—a very ugly feature which is found in other instances, such as the Cathedral and the Church of St. Antonino at Sorrento. The complete length from the great West door to the back of the apse must be about 190 feet.\* Of this the portion Westward of the transepts

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\* This is a rough guess, from the fact that eight bays of the nave took



is divided by piers into 10 bays of about 15 ft. each. The nave has a breadth of about 35 ft.,\* and the aisles each of about 20 ft. The pavement which, West of the transepts, is entirely of marble, in grey and white checquers, broken here and there by an occasional tomb-stone in inlaid coloured and carved marbles, let into the floor, slopes rather steeply upwards from West to East, thus producing a sham perspective: but the writer was informed that there is no corresponding depression of the roof or contraction of the sides, as in the typical instance at Poitiers, to complete the effect of this rather base trick. From the roof are hung numerous antique Venice chandeliers in plain glass, while here and there, suspended high in the air above the grave of an Archbishop, appear the dusty and decaying remains of his broad-brimmed green hat and its tassels.

The great church excites more than any other part of the group of buildings to which it belongs, the combined feelings of regret for the past, and of indignation at the conduct of Archbishop Bologna, by which these precious works of art and the still more precious monuments of the history of the Amalfitan Republic, and of her noblest citizens, have been covered up or destroyed. The reason why these feelings are here most strongly aroused is probably that the whole which Bologna destroyed must here have been most imposing. At the present day the whole internal surface is hidden by plaster arranged in tasteless forms, and covered with an uniform coat of white-wash, with the exception of the painted and gilded ceiling, the sides of the pilasters towards the nave, and the apse. The ceiling is very handsome of its kind, large deep panels filled with paintings in the rococo sacred-heroic style, although there is on the woodwork a great deal too much of a crude and glaring green, heightened by the gilding, but which may not perhaps be of the time of Bologna himself. The carving of the ceiling—or rather, of the two ceilings, of the nave and transepts,—is by Francis Gori, of Sienna, the four paintings of the Martyrdom and Miraculous

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forty-two paces of the writer. He is obliged to give all the other measurements in the same way.

\* Twelve paces of the writer.

Help\* of the Apostle Andrew, by Andrew d'Asti, of Bagnoli, and the two in the transepts representing the Fishing of the sons of Jonas and of Zebedee in the Sea of Galilee, by Joseph Castellano, of Naples. Not far below the ceiling, across the West end of the nave, run the row of seven small lancet windows apparent in the façade also. At the East end it is closed by a flattish rounded arch resting upon two beautiful monoliths of Egyptian granite, which will be again mentioned presently. The piers which now separate the nave from the aisles are not square but oblong, not from East to West, but from North to South. The reason of this is said to be that each of them encloses two monolithic columns of polished marble, with carved capitals, and that these displeased the taste of Archbishop Bologna, who preferred rectangular piers, and accordingly so enveloped them. This would be almost incredible were it not that similar cases are or have been found in South Italy, as, for instance, in the Cathedral of Bari or the Church of St. Antonino at Sorrento. There seems in fact to have been at one time in the Kingdom of Naples a kind of insane epidemic passion for stucco and whitewash. The piers are whitewashed on the two sides and on the back towards the aisles, but the front towards the nave consists of a great pilaster with a gilded capital, veneered throughout with marble mosaic like the matter of a Florentine table, and each pilaster adorned with a beautiful medallion in carved white marble. The colours are dingy and the design bad, but the extraordinary preciousness of the material and the excellence of the handiwork give an effect of splendour which is imposing in its own way, and forms a singular contrast, in union with the floors, the balustrades, the altars, the reredos, and the ceiling, to the wilderness of whitewash around.

The form of the piers is, as already said, an oblong parallelogram. There is a pilaster on each side. Those on the side towards the nave are veneered with inlaid work of precious

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\* The occasion commemorated is the dispersal by a storm on June 27, 1544, of a Mohammedan fleet which was threatening the city. An annual thanksgiving for this deliverance, which was ascribed to the prayers of the Apostle, is still held in Amalfi.

marbles and support gilded Corinthian capitals, above which runs a very ugly, broad, and heavy straight cornice. Above this cornice again is a wilderness of stucco, divided into graceless rococo panels and simply whitewashed, and above this again a cornice containing a row of oblong lights somewhat in the position of a clerestory, which admit air and throw a strong light upon the ceiling, which is just above them. The side pilasters of the piers are much lower, and are united to each other by a series of round-headed arches in plaster, which run along well below the straight cornice supported by the gilded capitals. The Cavaliere Alvino pulled down one of these round arches, that, viz., in the Westernmost bay on the North side, just opposite the Baptistry. He is said to have found a pointed arch executed in brick, and hence it is conjectured that there is a similar arcade on both sides, resting upon the ancient marble columns. But he died. No drawings were taken. The round plaster arch has been renewed; and it is therefore impossible to tell even the height of the concealed pillars.

The pilasters on the fourth side of the piers, towards the aisles, are high, and on them rest the series of groined vaults which form the roof of the aisles on each side, each groining corresponding exactly to one of the bays. The two aisles are exceedingly similar. Each has a door at the West end. Each consists of nine bays, ending Eastward by three marble steps rising towards the transept, behind the tenth bay of the nave, which has been blocked, and which will be mentioned presently. Each aisle has a breadth of something over 20 ft.\* The lower part of the side of each towards the nave is, of course, composed of the series of pilasters and round-headed arches. The lower part on the outer side consists of nine divisions, of which five are occupied by recessed chapels, and the others by arches, some of which contain doorways. On the upper part appears on each side of each aisle a series of ugly panels in plaster, like blank windows. This gives the idea that above the arcade there must originally have been a triforium (or at least triforium arches, if without a passage), pierced completely through, that is, opening into the

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\* Seven paces of the writer.

nave on one side, and into the aisle on the other, as is the case, for instance, in the corresponding example of the Cathedral at Bari, where also these features have been concealed under plaster and whitewash; and that the outer wall must have consisted (as, for instance, in the Chapel Royal of Palermo or the Abbey of Monreale) of a lower portion of marble panelling or open arches (this last at Amalfi, at least on the North, to lead into the family chapels and older church), and above this, of a series of windows. The effect must have been remarkably light and graceful. The great consolation under present circumstances is the belief that most, if not all, of it remains hidden under the plaster and whitewash, and is awaiting a restoration in the future. The hideous oblong windows which now light the ceiling do not deserve the name of a clerestory. It has, however, been already mentioned that there appears to have been originally a clerestory properly so called, which was only pulled down in 1691, and that to rebuild it seems to have been part of the scheme of Signor Alvino, as his façade is a great deal higher than the present roof, and, where it *returns*, shows the beginning of a set of lancet windows.

The lower part of the present outer walls of the aisles is in no particular way remarkable. The first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth bay on each side is occupied by a chapel in a square recess. With one exception these all have balustrades and altars of inlaid coloured marbles, which would be esteemed very rich and precious in almost any country but Italy, where such features are common. They have reredoses containing pictures, in the usual style, and are adorned with a few inoffensive funeral tablets and monuments. The exception is the Baptistry, which is the extreme North-West chapel. It has no altar. The font, which stands on steps in the middle, is an extraordinarily splendid colossal vase of red porphyry. It is obviously of the classical epoch, but whether it really came from Pæstum or was found somewhere at Amalfi or elsewhere, seems uncertain. There is a credence-table against the West wall, supported upon a very fine conventional eagle cut out of a single block of white marble. This eagle has every appearance of having supported the book-desk of an antient ambon. The second and sixth bays on this (North) side are the passages leading into the older church. The first of them, as already re-

marked, still shows on the inner side the form of a Gothic arch. The eighth bay opens into the white marble stair which goes down into the crypt. It descends 5 steps to the North and then reaches a landing giving a false light into the dreary hole of dust and dirt which now forms the end of the South aisle of the older church. From this landing a flight of 15 steps goes down Eastward at a right angle, to another landing (lighted by a large window to the East) whence 7 more steps at a right angle descend Southward to the final landing, from which the floor of the crypt is reached by an Eastward flight of 6 steps more. The floor of the crypt is thus reached by 33 steep steps from that of the church above—say, about 20 ft.—and the stair is made to describe a curious sort of circuit outside the main wall of the building. It is pretty evident that this ungainly outside circuit has been invented in order to afford room for the recess of the side-chapel in the ninth bay of the outer side of the North aisle, and is a modern arrangement by Archbishop Bologna, the original stairs having evidently descended straight, as at Glasgow, Sorrento, or Pontone. As it stands, the diversion of the stairs would be exceedingly awkward in case of large crowds descending and ascending to and from the shrine, and it has, in fact, been found desirable to limit the use of this Northern staircase on such occasions to women, while the corresponding descent on the South is reserved to men. The steps and landings of this stair are entirely composed of marble. It is commonly believed that these slabs are the remains of historical monuments of the most eminent citizens of the Republic, thus adapted by Archbishop Bologna. Surely it may be hoped that, much as he has already to answer for, this charge at least is not true.

The South aisle, like the Northern, has recessed chapels opening from the first, third, fifth, seventh, and ninth bays, and an additional altar erected against the arch which occupies the fourth. Against the second is a large crucifix. The sixth space contains the door leading into the sacristy, a suite of spacious rooms furnished with wooden presses for the vestments, etc. Among the latter is a chasuble which has attached to it two indifferent pieces of Mediæval embroidery: it differs from the usual Italian vestment in having a cross, instead of a stripe or pillar, on

the back. There are also several other later vestments of moderate historical and artistic interest, bearing the arms of Archbishops, etc. There is one rather handsome Mediæval silver-gilt chalice (XIVth Century?) adorned with enamels and precious stones. There is a very large bust of St. Andrew made of silver, at least life-size, which is brought out on great occasions, and two very splendid silver frontals for the High Altar. The plate is all in a state which no English servant who had any idea of keeping his place (or getting another) would contemplate as within the sphere of possibility.

The eighth space on the Southern side, as on the Northern, is occupied by a white marble staircase descending to the crypt. It is exactly the same in plan as the Northern one, and, as already mentioned, is that assigned to the use of men on occasions of much crowding. It is, however, lighted by windows not on the East but on the South (where there is also an external door upon the second landing) and the visitor finds the East wall in front of him occupied by several interesting marbles. One of these is a piece of very elegant Renaissance decoration—arabesques and conventional foliage—in low relief. It is certainly extremely beautiful, but it may be doubted whether it merits the excessive admiration with which it seems to be regarded by everybody at Amalfi. The other is the side of a marble cist, upon which appears, in rather rude XIIIth Century characters, the inscription :—

+ CORP ; - S - AND - AP - :

This is peculiarly interesting, as this is the very marble box in which the skull and some other parts of the body of the Apostle were found in 1603. It is a singular mark of bad taste that it should simply be found built in here. It ought to have been carefully preserved, either at the shrine or in the sacristy, if indeed it would not have been still better to have interred it bodily under the Altar of the crypt, without disturbing its contents, along with the rest of the remains of the Galilean fisherman.

Before proceeding to describe the crypt and shrine underneath which lies the tomb, it is as well to finish the description of the upper church by speaking of the chancel and transepts. All this part has been pushed forward, as regards its lower plan, although

not its arches and roof, one bay into the nave, so that the latter, with its aisles, now consists practically, as far as the ground plan goes, not of ten but of nine bays. The floor of this portion seems also to have been raised. At the ninth pier of the arcade there is an uniform rise of three steps all across. The decorated ceiling is, however, confined to its proper place. It is, as already remarked, part of Archbishop Bologna's work, and extremely handsome of its kind. As, however, it is just on the same level as the nave ceiling, and runs straight across without any difference at the lantern or intersection, the effect is very bad, as in other churches possessing the same fault, *e.g.*, that of St. Antonino and the Cathedral at Sorrento. The end of each transept is now occupied by an altar and reredos in inlaid marbles, presenting no remarkable feature, and over each of these is a shapeless modern window. From the outside, however, it is possible to perceive that the Southern transept (and therefore doubtless also the Northern) had originally a row of seven rather low lancet windows, which are now walled up. The scheme of the Cavaliere Alvino for raising a clerestory above the triforium of the nave would almost have necessitated a similar raising of the transepts, and it may be conjectured that he would have restored the seven lancets and placed a rose or other window above them. It may also be supposed that he would have wished to introduce a true lantern with lofty windows above the intersection, a feature which would almost immeasurably improve the effect of the interior, and, if crowned by an external spire, of the exterior also.

The Northernmost part of the flight of three steps leading from the level of the North aisle towards the transept is wanting as regards the front of the steps, and through these openings it is possible to look down into the crypt. This is almost a proof that the stairs originally descended as at Glasgow, Sorrento (St. Antonino) and Pontone, inside the external walls of the church. Probably, as at Sorrento, they occupied about half or two-thirds the breadth of the aisle, leaving the other inner half or two-thirds as a sort of bridge, (perhaps rising a step at the arch, but more probably not,) by which to pass from the aisle into the transept. The stair must have started at about the same point as at present, or possibly a little farther Westward (say, one bay, or half a bay,)

and there must have been balustrades, doubtless of marble, to protect it.

The outer wall of the last bay of the South aisle, that is to say, that which is now East of the three steps rising towards the chancel, contains the only sepulchral monument of the old church which was spared by Archbishop Bologna. It is that of the Archbishop Andrew de Cuncto, who died December 27, 1503. Its comparative good fortune is said to be owing to the fact that the family of the deceased was still an important one at Amalfi and protested vehemently against its proposed destruction. It has, however, been a good deal knocked about and altered, it must have been moved from another place, and the position of its component parts has been changed. It is all in white marble, and good Renaissance work. It originally consisted of a recessed altar-tomb, in which the effigy of the dead prelate lay upon the top of the sarcophagus containing his remains, while behind him, on the back wall, appeared a group of sacred figures. Under the middle of the sarcophagus is now placed a sort of white marble table or shelf supported upon an imaginary animal, which has every appearance of not having formed any part of the original work. Above the sarcophagus is the statue, but not now upon its back but its side, in complete defiance of the action of the law of gravitation upon the folds of drapery. It represents the Archbishop in full canonicals. Above this again is the relief which originally occupied the back of the niche. There are three half-lengths in it. That towards the feet represents a saint holding a book. At the head is St. Andrew, presenting the Archbishop—a small kneeling figure in Pontifical vestments, with hands closed and raised in prayer—to the Infant Saviour, Whom the Blessed Virgin, placed in the middle, holds to her right. The figure of Christ, unlike the others, is on the same scale as that of the deceased. It is well done but is too realistic. No attempt has been made to idealize the infancy of the Saviour. It is merely a clever study of the nude, the exact representation of any of the dirty little naked urchins of from one to two years of age, who may be seen on the seashore at Amalfi any summer's day.

The Eastern wall of each transept originally had an apse or recess, centring with the aisle in the same way as in other churches



on the same plan, such as those at Salerno, Ravello, Pontone and elsewhere. Above each, as may still be seen from the outside, was a line of seven small lancet windows. It would appear that these features were not regular apses, as at Salerno, but rather were niches, as at Pontone, partly because the seven windows above show them to have been low and consequently small, and partly because the crypt shows no trace of them as it does of the great central apse. Such as they may have been, they have now entirely disappeared, and their places are taken by two large ugly plaster and whitewash rococo arches, opening into very large chapels beyond. That in the North transept is the one in which the Blessed Sacrament is regularly reserved, for which reason some persons kneeling in prayer will nearly always be found in the transept and aisle before it. It is closed by large iron gates, partly draped in red stuff curtains. The present writer never entered it, and it seems to contain nothing remarkable. The South chapel, called that of the Crucified Saviour, is a choir chapel, used by the Canons and the rest of the Cathedral staff when, according to a very corrupt and objectionable practice occasionally found in Italy, they do not use the main chancel of the Cathedral for the daily service. (In condemning them however we may as well remember the similar occasional use of Henry VII.'s chapel in Westminster Abbey.) This choir chapel is white-washed, as usual, and is furnished with an entirely worthless and uninteresting set of deal stalls. Behind the altar is a very curious cupboard filled with reliques, mostly in Mediæval busts, made of gilded wood. Among these reliques are the remains of the martyrs Cosmas, Damian and Vitus, and of the anchorite Macarius, which were removed by Archbishop Bologna from their original resting-place under the High Altar of the Cathedral, and some portions of the bodies of the martyrs Diomede, George, Maximus, Bassus, Fabius, Pantaleon, Fortunatus, Peter of Alexandria, and others, including all those formerly kept at the convent of the Cappuccini, which has now been turned into an hotel. The altar itself is composed of beautiful pieces of early inlaid work in precious marbles and mosaics, and at either side there is a very valuable piece, on a gold mosaic ground, with figures of birds. The

Northern of these two pieces has, however, suffered a good deal. It is evident that, like other fragments of similar work contained in this church, the antient work found at this altar consists of mere dislocated scraps.

It has been already remarked that the chancel of the Cathedral has been pushed forward an whole bay into the nave. It thus occupies the great central apse, the intersection of the transepts which would properly come underneath a lantern, and one bay of the nave. This heterogeneous space is separated from the nave as thus abridged by a rise of several steps and a balustrade fixed between the piers on either side. Just outside, and against the South pier, is the pulpit, a miserable little construction in painted and gilded wood.

The steps and balustrade are of marble, the latter being of coloured marbles and very richly carved and inlaid. The middle portion (which opens with metal gates) is rococo, but the ends next the piers are composed of beautiful fragments of antient inlay and mosaic. The North side has a curious white marble knob carved into a grotesque. The whole of the pavement within, up to the Altar, is a beautiful inlaid work of precious coloured marbles in the rococo style, having the arms of Archbishop Bologna, on a large scale, as the central feature. Immediately within the balustrade, the arch of the bay cribbed from the nave is closed in by a screen on either side. Against that on the North, is the throne of the Archbishop. It is of the simple Mediæval form universal in Italy, entirely of stuff, decorated with his arms, and is only interesting on account of the precious fragments of antient inlaid marbles and mosaic of which the steps, etc., in part consist. The South side is occupied by the organ, in a carved and gilded wooden organ-gallery. The instrument is large, and better than is usual in Italy.

Just beyond this bay comes the architectural chancel arch. This is fixed between the two main piers of the building, and is supported upon two really magnificent polished monoliths of Egyptian granite. It is now a flattened rococo arch in plaster. The granite columns are, of course, old. They are said to be much larger than they appear to be. Their grandeur was inconsistent with Archbishop Bologna's designs. The upper parts are

said, therefore, to be concealed in his plaster, and the gilded plaster Corinthian capitals, to be merely rings by which they are encircled. Eastward of the two great piers, and occupying the breadth of the transepts, are the ordinary stalls for the Canons and choir. They are wooden, almost mean, and quite uninteresting. Immediately within the chancel arch, however, are two very remarkable and beautiful twisted white marble Byzantine columns, inlaid with gold and coloured glass mosaic, now supporting branches for lights. They are not above the suspicion of having been tampered with, and it is said that they are two survivors from the four columns of a baldachin. At the same time, it must be acknowledged that there is a great fancy in Italy for a couple of standards for seven-lights before the altar (they are sometimes, as at Milan, of silver) and that the custom of having them in the form of columns of this sort is that of this part of the country, while it is not easy, taking the very worst view of Archbishop Bologna, to account for the preservation of this pair if he ruthlessly and entirely destroyed the two others. The High Altar is thrown back into the apse, which it fills up. It ought, of course, to occupy such a position as to be immediately over the grave of the Apostle below, as is the case in the corresponding instances of St. Peter's at Rome and elsewhere, according to that which is written in Rev. vi. 9. This was indeed its original position, but, with singular thoughtlessness, Bologna moved it back in order to obtain more room, and, as he no doubt thought (not considering the perspective of the apse) more effect, and hence it comes that it is not the altar but the officiants who stand above the remains of the Galilean fisherman. It is curious to remark that the same thoughtless blunder seems to have been made at Glasgow in the Middle Ages, by removing the High Altar backwards from the position immediately above the shrine of Kentigern. The wall space on each side of the apse is occupied by a sham ambon of very feeble type, but probably working up old materials; that to the North supports the insignificant and modern Paschal candlestick. Nearer the altar than these are a pair of white marble credence-tables, supported upon the heads of as many small mediæval statues (XIVth Century?) of the same material. The Southern of these is represented holding a torch

of the twisted-wax-taper type, and is said to represent Faith; the Northern has something like a bag or bottle, and is called Charity. Hope is supposed to have vanished. They are certainly very like some of the allegorical figures which support some of the Royal tombs at Naples or that (*e.g.*) of Queen Margaret of Anjou (the wife of Charles of Durazzo) at Salerno. They may have belonged to a similar structure.

The High Altar itself with its steps and reredos is a mass of the most precious marbles, including a quantity of ophite and *verde antico* plundered from the ruined abbey of Positano. On raising the carpet which covers the steps, a quantity of Mediæval wrecks become visible, including a very large round piece of porphyry, and a beautiful carved white marble cornice, which looks as if it might have been the top of the ambon. The reredos is an heavy architectural structure, with a picture (generally veiled) in the middle, flanked by three polished columns on each side, six in all, four of which match, suggesting the idea that they may have been the columns of the original Thirteenth Century baldaquin. Notwithstanding the extreme richness of the materials, which would constitute splendour to the eye of a lapidary (on close inspection) the deep colours cause the general effect to be dark. In other words, it is a failure; and, on festivals, the authorities are fain to try and brighten up its appearance a little by the use of coloured silk frontals. This erection fills up most of the apse. What appears above is plaster work, very fine of its kind, profusely gilded, and adorned with paintings by Silvestro Mirra of Naples.

From the outside can still be perceived the outline of a pointed window in the middle of the apse. This is the same feature which is to be found in corresponding instances in other places, *e.g.*, in St. Eustace's at Pontone, where it is still open; in the Cathedral at Salerno, where it is blocked up; or in St. Antonino at Sorrento, where it has been turned into a door. This window no doubt came immediately above the antient Episcopal throne at the back of the apse. The throne and its encircling synthronos of seats for the Presbyters, has no doubt been destroyed, but it is unknown how much more of the antient decoration has been destroyed or may only be hidden under the work of Archbishop

Bologna. The seats must have rested against a marble dado, and above this we know that there was a great work in glass mosaic, coloured, upon a gold ground, the lower part of which consisted of busts of SS. Andrew, Cosmas, Damian, Vitus, and Macarius, separated by green palm trees, while above them appeared the colossal bust of the Saviour, in the attitude of blessing, between the monograms IC and XC.

It will be seen, from the preceding pages, that the remains of distinctively early and Mediæval inlaid marble and mosaic work, now apparent, are confined to this Thirteenth Century church. They are very limited in quantity, and are found only in the Baptistry, the choir chapel, the balustrade of the chancel, the Archiepiscopal throne, the two standards for lights, the sham ambons and the steps of the Altar. There is not enough to tally with the description of the old church, and the most natural impression would be that they are simply the disjecta membra of a handsome ambon (or possibly of a greater and a less) as at Ravello and Salerno. It is plain that in any future restoration, one of the first steps should be to gather all these fragments together, with a view to a careful study and approximate decision as to the parts of which they once formed portions, and the manner in which they should again be utilized.

The part of the Cathedral of Amalfi which has inspired the present article is that which appeals most strongly to the feelings of the Scottish tourist, or, at least, to any Scottish tourist in whom the sense of Nationalism triumphs over the feelings of the antiquary. This is the crypt—because underneath it lie most of the earthly remains of St. Andrew. It has already been remarked that its architectural position with regard to the rest of the Cathedral resembles that of the crypt at Glasgow, wherein lies the body of Kentigern, with regard to the great fabric above, or the much humbler burying-place of St. Antonino at Sorrento. When, however, it is compared to the magnificent crypt of Glasgow—perhaps the finest in the world—it must be remembered that the comparison is made only as regards the relative position and arrangement of parts. The small and gloomy vault at Amalfi cannot for a moment be likened to the glorious construction

of Glasgow. At the same time, the extreme preciousness of the materials invests it with undeniable splendour.

The crypt of Amalfi, like that of Glasgow, is designed as a burial vault in which the grave of the Patron Saint shall lie directly below the High Altar of the Church above. As at Glasgow and Sorrento, it is reached by two staircases under the transepts, and which were originally at Amalfi, as now at Glasgow and Sorrento, included within the outer walls of the Church. It is, however, a question, which can only be settled by future excavations, whether these two staircases originally entered the vault straight, as they do at Glasgow and now do, after a circuit outside, at Amalfi (and similarly with those leading to the crypt at Salerno), and as they seem to have done at Pontone, or whether, after descending straight to what is now the third landing at Amalfi, they both turned inwards as (at least at present) at Sorrento and deposited the visitor on the level of the crypt in the sort of Westerly apse which is thrown out from it.

The crypt of Amalfi lies directly under the lantern and transepts of the Church above. It is therefore an oblong vault, lying North and South. It is divided across the middle by four square piers, which, connected by arches with corresponding pilasters in the outer walls, form ten groined vaults in two rows of five each. The whole of the surface of these piers and pilasters and of the walls all round, up to the spring of the groining, is formed of inlaid work of precious marbles, like that of a Florentine table. The floor also is entirely of marbles. The spaces above the line of this splendid walling are painted with sacred subjects. The groining is of the most elaborate and beautiful plaster work, profusely gilded and with the panels filled with pictures. The gilding and painting have suffered a great deal from the damp miasma of the vault during nearly 300 years; the marble, of course, defies damp. Of the five bays on the Eastern side four are occupied by altars of inlaid precious marbles; the central is a rather shallow apse, coinciding with the main apse of the Church above. Like the rest of the crypt, it is a mass of marbles and gilded and painted stucco work. It is lighted by a large window in

the upper part. The two bays at the North end have also large windows, giving light from above, and the same is the case to the South. While, however, the Northern windows are plain, the Southern are filled with beautiful Spanish stained glass, representing the arms of Philips II. and III., by whose munificence the crypt was decorated, the work being finished in 1616. By a curious blunder of the workmen, these heraldic windows have been put in the wrong way, so that the lions of Leon and other conventional animals look to the sinister instead of to the dexter. Of the five bays upon the Western side, the two outermost contain the large archways through which access is given to the crypt from the stairs, down a flight of six white marble steps. The tops at least of these archways appear to have been brutally broken through the paintings adorning the upper part of the wall, and this act (which looks like Archbishop Bologna's), is certainly an argument that before and at the time of the Philips, the stairs did not descend straight as at Glasgow, but turned, as at Sorrento, without, however, having the picturesque openings through which, in the example at Sorrento, one looks down from the landings into the crypt of St. Antonino. This hypothesis is farther strengthened by the following circumstance. While the second bay to the North is (apparently) plain, that to the South, which bears a large marble tablet with an inscription commemorative of the munificence of the Kings Philip, has also a small door, and on passing this door the visitor finds himself in a dark and dusty space between the Southern stair and the deep apse which opens Westward from the central bay. Directly Westward is a vault, seemingly uncontinued, which has much the appearance of having been a burial-vault, but it is impossible to say what, as the freaks of Archbishop Bologna at Amalfi were much the same as those of Burn at St. Giles' in Edinburgh. There is, however, a sort of opening on either hand. That towards the Southern stair is closed, with the exception of a window giving a false light. That on the North side leads into the apse already mentioned. The position of this apse exactly corresponds to that of a similar recess at Sorrento, into

the sides of which the two staircases open, and which itself forms the entrance of the crypt. In the case of Amalfi this apse has been fitted up as a choir with trashy stalls painted white and gold, and contains a little gallery with a wretched little organ. By entering this gallery, it is possible to see that the roof consists of the same beautiful gilded and painted stucco work as that of the rest of the crypt.

In the very centre of the crypt is the shrine of the Apostle, consisting of a very rich reredos in carved and inlaid coloured marbles, with a marble altar in front, and a sort of altar-like table behind. This reredos rises under the vault of the central bay, almost touching it, and the rich marble balustrade engages the two central piers and projects a little in front, where it has metal gates. The centre of the reredos is occupied by a really magnificent bronze statue of the Apostle, the work of Michelangelo Naccarino of Florence. The right hand of the figure holds a conventional bunch of silver flowers, and a fish, hung to a chain, of the same metal. These objects seem to be votive offerings. In niches to the North and South are statues, in white marble and on a smaller scale, of SS. Stephen and Lawrence.

The altar is of inlaid coloured marbles, and has an open grating of gilt metal in the middle of the front. Kneeling on the step, the visitor is able to peer through this grating. There is then visible a large silver lamp, which burns day and night, and, between it and the front of the altar, a large crown with arches, of gold or silver-gilt. This crown is flanked by four vases of artificial flowers under glass shades. These miserable decorations, and the worthless gilded cast-metal French candlesticks upon the retable of the altar form a startling contrast to the solid and striking splendour of everything else around.

The remains of the Apostle are said to lie at the bottom of a grave or pit, directly underneath the metal crown enclosed in a coffin of chestnut wood, covered with plates of silver, and this again in a sarcophagus of marble. The entire depth of the grave is stated to be (like that of the other or Western pit in which the second cist was found in



1603) nine palms, or nearly seven feet, and the height of the sarcophagus or cist two palms, or about eighteen inches, so that there is a depth of seven palms, or over five feet, between the top of the grave and the lid of the cist. The grave and coffin are never opened upon any ordinary occasion.\* From the crown is hung down in the hollow space of the grave a curious instrument. This consists of a moderate-sized clear glass pot or large phial, with a spout. The open mouth is set in silver, whence rise three silver branches, upon the top of which rests an Eucharistic paten, while a metal cup is suspended between the paten and the phial. This instrument is withdrawn at times by the Archbishop, and a certain amount of liquid is then sometimes found in one or other of the three vessels. This liquid is called the *manna*, or more usually at Amalfi, the *sweat* ('*sudor*') of the Apostle. By the Amalfitans it is universally regarded as miraculous, and its appearance or absence as an indication whether the Apostle is pleased or angry. None has been found for some time. A small quantity (about a teaspoonful) which was presented to the present writer, closely sealed in a small glass phial, has exactly the appearance of pure water. And he ventures to think—with all due respect to all to whom respect is due—that the phenomenon and its fluctuating character may be explainable by the condensation of vapours in the changing atmospheric conditions of this dank vault.†

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\* They are sometimes opened upon extraordinary occasions. Some years ago they were opened in order to take out a piece of bone to send to Scotland, and which is now at St. Mary's Chapel, Broughton St., Edinburgh. The present writer is under the impression that there must be some secret staircase giving access to the vault, the position of which is known only to the authorities.

† The same phenomenon, although far less talked about, is found in connection with the so-called grave of the Evangelist Matthew at Salerno, where the natural conditions are very similar. Signor Camera (*Istoria*, pp. 47-8), says that the liquid was first observed at Amalfi upon Nov. 24, 1304, but the discovery is mentioned in the local Church Kalendar upon Nov. 29, being St. Andrew's Eve. At the same time, it is interesting to observe the following passage in the works (*De gloria Martyrum*, i. 31,) of Gregory, Bishop of Tours, who died in 596. 'The Apostle Andrew makes

The skull\* which was shown to the public of Amalfi by the Cardinal Peter Capuano in 1208, and re-discovered in 1603, was, as already mentioned, removed from the bottom of the grave and enshrined in the crypt in 1846. It is kept in a sort of small cupboard or ambry, of marble, with a gold or silver-gilt door, upon the Altar-like table which is placed against the back of

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manifest a great wonder upon the day of his solemn Festival. This is the manna which flows from his grave either in the form of flour or in that of oil of delicious fragrance. Hereby is given an indication of the fruitfulness of the coming year. If the manna is scanty, the fruits of the earth will be scanty, but if it be abundant, it is a sign that the fields will bring forth abundantly. They say that in some years oil has run out of the grave to such an extent that the stream has reached to the middle of the Church. This takes place in the town of Patras, in the province of Achaia, where this blessed Apostle and Martyr was crucified for the Redeemer's Name's sake, and so ended this present life by a glorious death. When the oil flows, the perfume is as strong as if the place had been sprinkled with a compound of many spices. This is regarded by the people as a miracle and a mercy, for unctions or drinks made from it often heal the sick. Since the glorious Assumption of this Apostle many mighty works of power are said to have been shown forth, either at this grave or in the divers places where his reliques have been deposited, and of these I have not thought it out of place to recall a few, since the glory of Martyrs and the power of Saints is the up-building of the Church.' The present writer has visited the Church of St. Andrew at Patras, where a graceful white marble cenotaph covers the empty grave above mentioned, from which the body of the Apostle was removed by Constantine, but he heard nothing of any kind of flow from it.

\* Visitors to Rome will remember that the so-called head of the Apostle Andrew is one of the four great reliques preserved in St. Peter's, the position of the upstairs chapel in which it is kept being marked by the colossal statue of St. Andrew which stands in front of one of the four great piers supporting the dome. At Amalfi, the local authorities get over the difficulty by asserting that the head at St. Peter's (which is practically never shown, since it is only the silver reliquary containing it which is occasionally exhibited,) consists only of the jaws and the bones of the face below the eyes. It is true that the skull shown at Amalfi consists only of the portion which contained the brain, but, as far as the present writer has been able to ascertain by some correspondence, the relique at St. Peter's seems very probably to include a brain-pan also. If so, it is obvious that, while both skulls may be false, only one of the two can be genuine, and that the comparative evidence is overwhelming in favour of the Amalfitan one. The Roman

the revedos. Hence, it is in the full light of the window in the Eastern apse. When the ambry is opened, the cranium appears within, in a reliquary of glass and silver, which can be brought out for closer inspection. As the present writer has no knowledge of anatomy, he can only say that the skull appeared to him rather long, and less than the average size of that of an adult man, the forehead somewhat narrow, and the sutures remarkably obscure.

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It is obvious that in any future operations of which the Cathedral of Amalfi may be the subject, a very different treatment ought to be applied to its different parts. The crypt itself should be left unaltered, or rather, simply put as much as possible into the condition in which it was left in 1616. At the same time, an attempt ought to be made to use the interior of the whole of the great architectural platform upon which the Cathedral stands, for a vast and noble crypt or under-church. On the other hand the cloister (the *Paradiso*), the bell tower, and the Church of the Assumption with its Northern and Southern chapels, ought

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'Head of St. Andrew' has, however, a long and curious history of its own. It was presented to Pope Pius II., in the year 1462, by the Prince Thomas Palaiologos (who ultimately died at Rome in 1465) brother of the Emperors John VII. and Constantine XIII. (the last of the Roman Emperors) who was Prince of Achaia and who brought it from Patras; and, since then, it has been the centre of many a Papal ceremony. It is easily conceivable, upon the one hand, that Constantine the Great may have left at Patras, or that some subsequent Emperor or even the Latin authorities may have sent thither, the bones of the face and jaws, as all that remained of the mouth which had there proclaimed the Gospel with its latest breath; and in support of this theory may be cited the facts that the silver-encased object at St. Peter's is described as singularly small for a complete head, that the Church of Amalfi does not claim to possess the jaws and face-bones, that a small portion of bone is still at Patras, and that a tooth is among the parts which were shown at St. Andrews in the Middle Ages, if not as early as the Eighth Century. On the other hand, a nasty suspicion is aroused by the facts that in the Fifteenth Century the skull at Amalfi had passed out of sight and the documents attesting its presence were very likely unknown, while there were very strong reasons for pleasing Pius II. by an interesting and valuable present.

to meet with a restoration as purely conservative, or rather, re-actionary, as possible, so as to bring them back to their Mediæval condition, and, in this regard, especial care should be bestowed upon the series of chapels on the South. In the case of the great Church of St. Andrew, a mixed treatment, partly re-actionary and partly progressive, would be required. The stairs leading to the crypt should be restored to their original form. The whole or almost the whole of Archbishop Bologna's work ought to be removed and the church replaced as far as possible in its Mediæval form. It would probably be well even to remove the chapels of the Blessed Sacrament and of the Crucified Saviour: the Sacrament could be reserved at the High Altar of the Church of the Assumption, the greater reliques should be replaced under the restored High Altar above the tomb of St. Andrew, and those of less importance in other chapels, either in the altars or in suitable ambries. The clerestory ought to be rebuilt, and the transepts raised again to correspond in height with it. Lastly, the roofs of the transepts ought not to be allowed to run along above the High Altar. A new feature should here be introduced by the erection of a lofty lantern amply provided with windows. And on the outside, this lantern ought to be crowned with a lofty spire. The question then remains, what ought to be done with the precious marble inlaid-work of Archbishop Bologna. It is exquisite of its kind and much too good to be lost. In all probability the best plan would be to erect a third church, for the express purpose of containing it, immediately to the South of and opening into the church of St. Andrew. It would not require aisles; recesses between the pilasters would be sufficient to hold such altars as were not wanted elsewhere. Thither should go the whole thing, including the present High Altar and the ceilings—four new shafts being, if necessary, substituted for the four in the reredos which might be required for the restored baldaquin. The only possible difficulty would be in the arrangement of the transept roof, but this would doubtless yield to a little ingenuity. Externally, the narthex ought to be continued to the South as on the North, thus binding the whole three churches together; and the South-West angle ought to be occupied by a new clock-tower, to match the old bell-tower on the North. It would be

far better to draw up at once a 'really thorough scheme of this kind, and to move on slowly towards its realization, than to whittle away at isolated details. Could such a plan ever be carried out, and the dirty streets and houses which now stand between the Cathedral block and the line of the new Positano-Salerno road skirting the sea, which is at present in course of construction, be removed and made to give place to a garden planted with suitable trees such as palms, the mass of the Cathedral buildings would together form an whole not less artistically beautiful than historically precious.

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#### ART. VII.—EAST AFRICA AND THE SLAVE TRADE.

THE purpose of this article is to present a bird's-eye view of the Eastern half of the Dark Continent as it is to-day; and therefore I begin by arresting attention on one of its remarkable geographical features. There extends through its whole length a navigable waterway formed by three great inland seas, together with the Zambesi and the Shiré Rivers at the South and the Nile at the North. There are three places at which the continuity of this waterway is interrupted; but these are comparatively of small extent. The Murchison Rapids on the Shiré is the first of the three; but a road, seventy miles in length, brings the traveller to the point from which he can advance more than 400 miles due north, by a steamer, to the head of Lake Nyasa. Here a road of 260 miles leads to the south end of Lake Tanganika, whence a steam vessel runs to within two degrees of the Equator. There, at the head of Tanganika, is the third and last portage; but the land between the north end of Tanganika and the great inland sea called Victoria Nyanza, has not yet been explored and mapped, but the distance is certainly not greater than 200 miles. Out of the Victoria Lake the Nile flows to the Mediterranean. These great lakes form a most important feature of Eastern Africa, and must have a large place in its future development. And besides those, there is Bangweolo, due west

from Nyasa, and fully a half larger in the area of its waters ; and between Tanganika and the Nile, there lie the Muta Nzige (unexplored), and the Albert Nyanza, where Emin is, the one of these being 200 and the other 150 miles in length.

It is on the land lying between these lakes and the ocean that the mind of Europe is beginning to be fixed with a measure of interest which till lately was given to the Congo ; and if our information is as yet partial and incomplete, there is one aspect in which it is painfully definite. It is the huge hunting ground from which an almost incredible number of human beings is gathered to supply the slave markets of Persia and the Arabian Gulf. Of the overwhelmingly strong and pathetic testimony regarding this monstrous evil, and the extremely acute stage to which it has advanced quite lately, I must speak by and by ; in the meantime let us turn our eyes to the coast, the blockade of which began on December 2nd, and get what notion we can of the ports by which traffic, lawful or unlawful, from the interior discharges itself.

Beginning at the north, we have Suakin which belongs to Egypt, and is for the present administered by our Government. It has a good harbour, and receives nearly all the sea-borne traffic, import and export, of Nubia and the Eastern Soudan. At the moment of writing, however, Suakin has just been rescued from a persistent attack by forces of Mahdist fanatics, who have got somehow large guns and competent gunners. The motive of this attack—which Britain did not find it easy to repel—is not far to seek.

Coming southward, the next port is Massowah, formed by an island connected with the mainland by a causeway, and for the present in the hands of Italy. It is the natural harbour of Abyssinia, and would, if that kingdom were not so self-contained and stay-at-home, have been long ago connected with it. In 1884 Admiral Hewitt concluded a treaty with King John for the suppression of the Slave Trade, and we have no reason to doubt his faithfulness ; but the accursed trade rages in its worst forms all around the Abyssinian mountains, and if not actually from Massowah, then from places of less note on the right and left of it, the trade with the opposite coasts of

the Red Sea goes on actively. It was only the other day that one of our cruisers brought to Aden 206 liberated slaves, of whom a number were placed under care of the Keith-Falconer Mission there.

Just outside the Red Sea there is a port called Tajourra, about which a good deal is said in the Reports submitted to Parliament on December 3, 1888. 'I found,' says Colonel Stace, on September 23, 'no less than 250 slaves (probably mostly Christians) had been shipped from Tajourra in one dhow.' Commander Gissing reports on September 6th: 'They march to the coast of Tajourra some 22 days, and are there kept to be fattened up, when they march to Roheita six days. The price at Tajourra is—for girls 60 to 70 dollars, boys 50 dollars. On arrival at Hodeida (in Arabia) the price is—for girls 120 to 130 dollars, boys 70 to 80 dollars; so the profit is very large. I am not aware of any steps taken by the French to stop this trade; their flag flies at Tajourra, and it goes on apparently without any interference on their part.'

South of the Equator the eastern coast of Africa becomes specially interesting in view of very recent changes, which have already produced much excitement in Europe, and cannot but be attended by large consequences for many years to come. Lying at a distance of twenty-five miles from the mainland is a small island, 616 square miles in area, and having in 1872 a population of 380,000, or 616 persons in each square mile. This is by far the most densely peopled bit of African soil, and the last sixteen years have added greatly to the importance and population of Zanzibar. Two smaller islands, Pemba and Mafia, lying to the north and south of it, and a strip of the adjacent littoral from Witu to Cape Delgado, 600 miles long and 10 miles deep, belongs to the Sultanate of which Zanzibar is the capital. Now, this is the only spot in the entire length and breadth of Eastern Africa where there is even the form of a civilised government; and how far it deserves the name may be judged from the recent cutting off of heads in the street. In all thinking about the present or future of Central East Africa, the circumstance must be kept in mind that what government

exists in it has till now been wholly tribal or patriarchal, broken up into hundreds, probably thousands, of little provinces entirely independent of one another, often in a state of active hostility. The nearest approach to an organised state is to be found in what is called the kingdom of Uganda; but whatever that might have become under Stanley's friend, Mtesa, it is to-day ruled by a hemp-chewing, blood-thirsty young savage, Mwanga, the murderer of Bishop Hannington, and serves none of the ends of a State in the development of resources or the protection of life and property.\* Hence the Arab Sultanate of Zanzibar, planted in what must always be the very focus of communication between East Africa and the rest of the world, has an importance far beyond what its own character and resources would secure for it; and statesmen are very jealous about maintaining its independence, for much the same reason that they have so long maintained moribund Turkey. Down to 1873 the traditions of this precious little kingdom were about as bad as they could be. It had certainly some forms of legitimate trade, but its shores were crowded with dhows laden to the gunwale with men and women and children brought over from the mainland; an open slave market was held; the Sultan had an average revenue of £25,000 from a poll-tax on the slaves sold; and the captives, transferred to larger vessels, were distributed among the ports of Arabia and Persia. Since the mission of Sir Bartle Frere in 1873, and the convention with Britain then brought about, the condition of Zanzibar has improved outwardly; but the things that have happened since August last render it extremely doubtful whether the traffic in human blood and sinew has not been rather concealed than suppressed. There is no open slave-market in Zanzibar, and it has a lawful commerce represented

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\* The *Times* of January 11th in a second edition tells of a crisis having suddenly come in Uganda, Mwanga being made prisoner, the English and French missionaries being expelled, and a purely Mahomedan kingdom set up. If this new dynasty should prove permanent an enormous increase of the Slave Trade would result; but my opinion (so far as the present information enables one to form an opinion) is that the people will probably rise against and thrust out the invaders.



by about a million sterling ; but it is still the city to which fiends like Tipoo Tib and his lieutenants may resort with impunity for purposes of business or pleasure. A change took place in March last, Bargeesh being succeeded by Sultan Kalifa, to whom our Foreign Office gives a good character as honestly desirous to work with us in the suppression of the ruthless and exterminating warfare now carried on against the helpless natives of Africa, but under whose weak and fanatical administration the trade has assumed a character of violence unheard of till now.

The whole of the coast which belongs to Zanzibar, while remaining under the sovereignty of the Sultan, has been farmed out to two trading companies, the one British, the other German, in consideration of a royalty paid by these companies ; and the administration of the ports has been formally placed in their hands. This remarkable transaction dates, in the case of the German company, from the 16th of August 1888, on which day the flag of Germany was run up beside that of the Sultan, with a considerable naval demonstration, at each of the fourteen ports assigned to that country ; in the case of the British East African Company, the date is not quite a month later, and the transference was more quietly performed. The British portion of the coast is 150 miles in length, extending from Kipini or Formosa Bay to Wanga, and among the six or seven harbours belonging to it is that which is described as the finest on the shores of Africa, the ancient town of Mombasa. Like Massowah, it is formed by an island, on which the native town is built, and within the shelter of which, in many natural recesses, there is depth and space for twenty ironclads. The German portion, from Wanga to Cape Delago, is 350 miles in length, and includes those ports which have, since the discovery of Tanganika twenty years ago, received the growing traffic from Ujiji and, more recently, even from the farther side of that inland sea. Being situated precisely opposite Zanzibar and within a few hours steaming of it, these ports have an obvious advantage, as well as in the circumstance that the roads leading into them from the interior have been well trodden for a number of years. Besides, Germany had several Mission stations and an industrial

colony in the country lying immediately behind; so that her taking up the administration of this portion of the coast appears altogether appropriate and matter for congratulation.

This transference of the coast to European powers is, however, by no means all that has taken place. It was preceded by a transaction which brings into diplomacy a new phrase and a new thing. We have to make ourselves familiar now with the meaning of 'sphere of influence,' or 'sphere of interest,' an expression which came into use in the London Convention, signed by the late Lord Iddesleigh for Britain and Count Hatzfeldt for Germany on the 29th of October, 1886, and which is defined as meaning that 'within a prescribed district no other Power shall make acquisitions of territory, accept a protectorate, or compete in commercial pursuits.' Applying this principle to the portion of Africa lying immediately behind the strips of coast belonging to the Zanzibar Sultanate, and extending some four or five hundred miles inland, Germany and England, with the cognizance of France and Portugal, in the said London Convention divided the land between them by a line drawn from Wanga on the coast, to Kavirono Bay on the Victoria Nyanza, all to the north being the British, all to the south being the German 'sphere of interest.' The other, the outside, boundaries of the territory thus dealt with, are not marked with the same precision, but it may be taken as sufficiently accurate, to say that a line from Cape Delago to the great chain of mountains confining Lake Nyasa bounds the German portion on the south, while the Tana River and a line prolonged from its sources to the Nile, limits the British portion. The point to be noticed just now is that it was not until seven months after the London Convention had been signed, that Mr. Wm. Mackinnon, C.I.E. acquired from the late Sultan Bargeesh, 'the entire management and administration of those parts of the mainland and islands of the Zanzibar Dominions, on the east coast of Africa, appertaining to the territory lying between Wanga and Kipini, both inclusive, which are recognized in the Anglo-German Treaty of 1886, as reserved for the exclusive exercise of British influence,' and so laid the foundation of the Imperial British East African Company as securely

as circumstances would allow. Perhaps the German Company proceeded with equal care, so far as the bargain with the Sultan was concerned; but the result in its case has been that unlooked for and triumphant outbreak of violence, which has, for the present, paralyzed all trade in its fourteen ports, pushed the intending colonists into the sea, and made the newly acquired territory a source only of anxiety, expense and bitter mortification.

All that remains of the coast till we again touch British soil in the far south, 1500 miles, goes by the name of the Mozambique coast, and belongs to Portugal. It is matter of grave suspicion that the slave-hunters of the Zambesi and Nyasa regions must bring their shuddering merchandise for shipment to some parts of this coast—Ibo, most probably; but the assertions of Portugal on the side of humanity are stronger and louder than those of any other Power. The only remark, therefore, needing to be made at this point, is that the attempts of Portugal to close the mouth of the Zambesi, by sudden increase of tariff and by the actual seizure of a steam-vessel belonging to the African Lakes Company, have been promptly arrested by our Foreign Office, and Commander Cameron tells us Lord Salisbury has passed his word that the only entrance to the great internal water-way of Eastern Africa shall remain open to the world.

Having thus surveyed the coast in its entire length from North to South, we turn to that inhuman traffic, the sudden recrudescence of which has shocked and roused the philanthropy of Europe. Whatever we may find it reasonable to accept as the causes of the present state of things over the entire extent of East Africa, the testimony is too abundant, too minute, and too recent to allow of any doubt that the trade in human beings is of such dimensions and is accompanied by such unspeakable atrocities as to render indifference impossible. It is more than a generation since the sympathies of Europe were first roused by the appeals of Livingstone, and several worthy efforts have been made in response to them, in the three ways suggested by the great explorer to stop what he

called 'the running sore of the world.' Our Government did something in the way of treaties and employing cruisers; the Universities of England, the Churches of Scotland, and several German and British Missionary Societies, sent in heroic men and women to impart to the natives the knowledge of Christianity and the habits of civilization; and that lawful commerce on which Livingstone set chief value, as a means of destroying the unlawful, has been vigorously attempted in both the North and South. But the result of these operations has not been to abolish, nor even to diminish the evil. At the present moment the very reverse of this is the fact we have to face. Still the efforts made in behalf of humanity have not been without a very real and important measure of success. If anyone will make himself familiar with the work carried on by the various missionaries at Mombasa (Freretown) and Uganda in the North, at Blantyre on the Shiré Highlands, and Bandawe on the western shores of Nyasa, chiefly during the last twelve years, he will be convinced that the natives of Eastern Africa are capable of receiving education and Christianity, with the effect of transforming them from a savage to a civilized state. The experiment has not been made on a large scale, nor has it had long time to work; but it is already quite sufficient to demonstrate the possibility of raising the Africans in the scale of humanity.

The usefulness of a blockade at sea is proved by the cunning used in evading it by obtaining French papers. Too conclusive proof of the antagonism of honest industry to the Arabs' traffic is furnished by the deadly attacks made on the African Lakes Company's stations, and, more recently, on the Germans settling on the coast. There may have been a certain rough aggressiveness on the part of the Germans, a want of sympathy and conciliation in entering on the territories made over to them by the Sultan; but there is no doubt that Lord Salisbury was right when, in his speech on the first night of the autumn session, he ascribed the furious attacks made on the German Company at all the ports to the fact that they had come to do that which would destroy the infamous trade of the Arabs by establishing settlements of lawful industry and commerce.

The public must by this time be more or less familiar with the facts of the case, so that evidence need not be presented in much detail of the unexampled extent of the slave-hunting over Central Africa, and the heart-rending cruelties with which it is accompanied. A daily study of the telegrams from Zanzibar during the last four or five months proves that the statements I am about to quote, describe not what is a few years or even a few months old, but what is taking place at the present moment.

Thus Commander Cameron cries :—

‘Do the people of Great Britain realise that every minute a fresh victim is seized on by slave-stealers, that not an hour passes without more than fifty being killed or torn from their homes, and that during this month of August in which I write, and when most of us are enjoying a holiday, forty-five thousand more victims are being added to the number of those who, through Cardinal Lavigerie and others, appeal to us for aid and protection from some of the foulest criminals that ever disgraced the earth? I am using the estimate I made in Africa : Cardinal Lavigerie quadruples these numbers.’

The Cardinal’s statement, repeated all over Europe and not questioned, is that 400,000 slaves are brought to the coast every year, and that for every one of these, five at least, often many more, are either killed in the hunting, or die on the march. The process of slave making is after this fashion :— Into the midst of dense populations the Arabs—men of large means often—go with a body of porters and armed followers, to collect ivory. They are men of plausible manners, and for a time ingratiate themselves with the natives, erecting villages, sowing seeds, and even remaining sometimes for years in one locality ; then, having got together stock enough for the market of Zanzibar, suddenly the peaceful natives are surrounded at midnight, terrified by discharge of innumerable guns, women and children put in chains, old men and such as make troublesome resistance shot down or knocked on the head, and the rest, needed as porters, placed in the taming-sticks by experienced hands. Let those who would rather remain in ignorance of the truth than have their fine feelings shocked,

pass over the following descriptions by eye-witnesses of the next stages in the process of slave making.

'Within the enclosure,' says Mr. Stanley, describing what he saw in 1882, on ground which he, alas! had discovered only a few years before, and found occupied by tribes who at least were free, 'was a series of low sheds extending, many lines deep, from the immediate edge of the clay bank inland, 100 yards; in length, the camp was about 300 yards. . . . There are countless naked children, many mere infants, forms of boyhood and girlhood, and occasionally a drove of absolutely naked old women, bending under a basket of fuel, or cassava tubers, or bananas, who are driven through the moving groups by two or three musketeers. On paying more attention to details, I observe that mostly all are fettered; youths with iron rings around their necks, through which a chain, like one of our boat anchor chains, is rove, securing the captives by twenties. The children over ten are secured by copper rings, each ring being brought together by the central ring, which accounts for the apparent listlessness of movement I observed on first coming in presence of this curious scene. The mothers are secured by shorter chains, around whom their respective progeny of infants are grouped, hiding the cruel iron links that fall in loops or festoons on their mammas' breasts. There is not an adult man captive among them. . . . The slave-traders admit that they have only 2,000 captives in this fold, yet they have raided through the length and breadth of a country larger than Ireland, bringing fire and spreading carnage with lead and iron. . . . They tell me, however, that the convoys already arrived at Nayangwe with slaves captured in the interior, have been as great as their present band. Five expeditions have come and gone with their booty of ivory and slaves, and these five expeditions have now completely weeded the large territory above described. . . . Every second during which I regard them, the clink of fetters and chains strikes upon my ears. My eyes catch sight of the continual lifting of the hand to ease the neck in the collar, or as it displays a manacle exposed through a muscle being irritated by its weight, or want of fitness. My nerves are offended with the rancid effluvium of the unwashed herds within this human kennel. The smell of other abominations annoys me in that vitiated atmosphere, for how could poor people, bound and rivetted together by twenties, do otherwise than wallow in filth!'

That Nayangwe, mentioned by Stanley, is a spot which it is worth the reader's while to find out and mark on his map. It is pretty near the centre of the continent, lying on the Congo, 385 miles south of Stanley Falls. David Livingstone went so

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\* *The Congo and the Founding of its Free State*, ii., 144-148.

far as this point, tracing the great river; and when Stanley reached it in 1875, he found an Arab settlement, a trading depot of the white-robed, smooth-spoken demons, where they gathered ivory, organized raids, prepared slave sticks and fetters; but even their greed was not strong enough to tempt them to risk the perils of cannibals in the regions beyond. It was from this point that Stanley set out on that 'big swim' of 280 days from which he emerged at Banana Point, tattered and triumphant, after having made the magnificent discovery by which he has added a new world to the sphere of human enterprise. The slavers as we have seen, were not slow to follow him, and the region in which he saw 118 villages burned and desolate was the same which he had seen before—and so shortly before!—smiling in prosperity. Since he disappeared matters have become rapidly worse. Lieutenant Wissman, the discoverer of the great Kasai river, and one of those from whom we expect heroic deeds in the near future, had a similar experience, which he told in a paper read before the Royal Geographical Society. He saw in 1881 a certain beautiful and fertile country, where men who had made considerable progress in the arts of peace, inhabited large towns shaded by palms. Four years later, he returned to Bagua Perihi to find 'a charred pole here and there, a few banana trees' as 'the only evidence that man had dwelt here.' The hordes of Tipoo Tib had been there, and the whole tribe had 'ceased to exist.' Wissman came on the camp of one of the great trader's lieutenants, 3000 strong. 'I paid a visit to Sayol's camp. A scaffolding of beams at its entrance was ornamented with fifty hewn-off right hands. Later, musket shots proclaimed that the leader of this gang was practising musketry on his unfortunate prisoners. Some of my men told me that the victims of this cruelty had been cut up immediately to furnish a cannibal feast; for Tipoo Tib's auxiliaries from the Lomani are cannibals.'

Professor Drummond tells powerfully a tale of like pathos and horror regarding the Wa-Nkondo tribe on the Tanganika plateau\*, but I prefer to quote the words of an eye-witness,

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\* *Tropical Africa*, pp. 72-74.

Mr. Frederick Maitland Moir. Kolunda is the name of the Arab trader who, after ten years' residence in 'the garden of Tanganika,' determined to carry his goods to the coast, and made up his caravan by the atrocious means already described. Mr. Moir saw it pass, three thousand strong :

'First came armed men, dancing, gesticulating, and throwing about their guns as only Arabs can do, to the sound of drums, paupipes, and other less musical instruments. Then followed, slowly and sedately, the great man himself, accompanied by his brother and other head men, his richly caparisoned donkey walking along near by ; and surely no greater contrast could be conceived than that between this courteous, white-robed Arab, with his gold-embroidered joho, silver sword and daggers, and silken turban, and the miserable swarm of naked, squalid human beings that he had wantonly dragged from their now ruined homes in order to enrich himself. . . . Ominously prominent among the loads were many slave sticks, to be handy if any turned refractory or if any likely stranger were met. Mingling with and guarded by them came the wretched, overburdened, tied-up slaves. The men who might still have had spirit to try and escape were driven, tied two and two, in the terrible goree or taming-stick, or in gangs of about a dozen, each with an iron collar let into a long iron chain, many, even so soon after the start, staggering under their loads.

And the women ! I can hardly trust myself to think or speak of them. They were fastened to chains or thick bark ropes ; very many, in addition to their heavy weights of grain or ivory, carried little brown babies, dear to their hearts as a white man's child to his. The double burden was almost too much, and still they struggled wearily on, knowing too well that when they showed signs of fatigue, not the slaver's ivory, but the living child would be torn from them and thrown aside to die. One poor old woman I could not help noticing. She was carrying a biggish boy, who should have been walking, but whose weak, thin legs had evidently given way. She was tottering already ; it was a supreme effort of a mother's love,—and all in vain ; for the child, easily recognisable, was brought into camp a couple of hours later by one of my hunters, who had found him on the path. We had him cared for ; but his poor mother would never know. Already, during the three days' journey from Liendwe, death had been freeing the captives. It was well for them ; still we could not help shuddering as, in the darkness, we heard the howl of the hyenas along the track, and realised only too fully the reason why. Low as these poor negroes may be in the moral scale, they have still strong maternal affections and love of home and country.\*

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\* This picture, drawn with so much graphic force, is taken from the *Scottish Geographical Magazine* for April 1835. Mr. Moir contributes to



To give the reader a fair conception of the outrageous crimes that are being perpetrated against our common nature, it is necessary to refer to things worse than even burned villages, taming-sticks, and starvation. Again I warn the squeamish and easy-going to pass over a page: but if such things are done—and that is beyond doubt—it is not too much to ask Englishmen and Scotsmen to read of them, and to *think*.

Mr A. B. Wylde, in an appendix to his recent book on the Soudan, tells of unutterably dreadful processes by which eunuchs are provided for the markets of Arabia, Persia, and even Egypt, the lives of twenty boys being sacrificed for the successful unsexing of one. He quotes a letter to himself, dated 'Khartoum, August 1878,' in which the late General Gordon says, 'I have hung one man in Obeid for mutilating a boy, and hope to hang five more in a couple of days. We have caught 17 caravans in three months.' In another letter, dated 'Shaka Darfur, 23rd April, 1879,' Gordon says, 'Gessi has, after eight engagements, routed the revolted slave-traders, and I hope hourly to hear of the capture and death of the leaders. I am rooting them out of these lands: we have caught 71 caravans since June 1878.' Alas! the attack on Suakin shows how far the slavers are from being rooted out.

It is not only in the Soudan that this hideous crime of mutilation is practised. Mr. H. H. Johnston in the *Graphic* of September 29th, mentions that at certain stations 'they mutilate a large number of the boys in such a brutal and unskilful manner, that not a few die in lingering agony.'

From the Rev. Clement Scott of Blantyre, the head of the Church of Scotland's Missions there, a man of the very highest character for wisdom as well as zeal, comes the following, under date, February 25th, 1888:—

'It is impossible to tell with accuracy the number that have been carried

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*Murray's Magazine* for November 1888 a paper on 'Englishmen and Arabs in East Africa,' in which will be found a carefully weighed and trustworthy account of the present position of things in the regions occupied by the African Lakes Company, of which he has been manager since 1878.

off with Arabs as slaves, but a large number of women and children are known to be in their hands. That the fate of the majority of the former was not one of slavery only, we have too much reason to fear. Lest it should be thought that I exaggerate, I will tell your readers that the leader of this ruffianly band, a Belooch from Zanzibar, had the blackguard audacity to inform the Rev. J. A. Bain, M.A., and Mr. Monteith, in an interview they had with him before the massacre, what would be done with "the young Wa-Nkonde girls," accompanying his atrocious statement with the foulest language. And there is no doubt that most were abandoned to the Ruga-ruga and other ruffians who formed his force, whose only pay consists in uncontrolled license of this kind, with a very small proportion of the booty captured.'

I shall close this statement of the wrongs of Africa by mentioning a circumstance told me by Dr. Laws of Livingstonia, who sailed into Lake Nyasa in October 1875 in the *Ilala*, and is labouring there still. He went one morning to the school and found no pupils. At length getting hold of a boy and asking the reason, the boy said, 'Did you not hear? So and so,' naming a girl of twelve, a promising scholar, 'was carried off yesterday.' On inquiry, Dr. Laws found that the girl had finished her task of sewing the previous afternoon, folded up her work neatly and brought it to the mistress, bade her good-bye with a smile and started on her walk home with two companions. Though the distance was only three miles, the girls had been kidnapped, placed in a dhow and taken to the other side of the Lake before anyone, who could have saved them, was aware. No wonder the school was not well attended for a while.

Such being the miserable condition of all Eastern Africa, the question has to be faced, what can be done? It would be an insult to our common Christianity to suppose that reasons must be given for doing something. Our all-embracing commerce, with the splendid instruments it has created for facilitating the intercourse of nations, the outstanding phenomenon of the nineteenth century, is surely to be regarded as a part of the kingdom of Christ in its widest and truest sense; and when, by the natural and inevitable advance of commerce, those who enjoy knowledge and civilization are brought into sudden and startling contact with hundreds of millions of men,

who are suffering under peculiarly grievous oppression, there is enough of conscience and heart found to produce pity, indignation, and a prompting to succour those who cannot defend themselves. Action is what is wanted. The fight now going on for the possession of the Stevenson Road across the plateau connecting the north end of Nyasa with the south end of Tanganika (the strategical key of the position in the south), is what attracts me most, because there the forces of civilization are in strenuous and wholesome action. General Gordon was, by the admission of all, a very devout Christian; and his letters from the Soudan, already quoted, have the true ring about them when they speak of hanging one worse-than-murderer to-day and hoping to hang five to-morrow. We trust King Leopold will obey the last solemn appeal of Major Barttelot by bringing Tipoo Tib and his treacherous accomplices to justice. Nothing would so effectually mend matters as the hanging of several such, with all formality, in front of the Sultan's palace at Zanzibar, thus bringing home, both to the ruthless cowardly Arabs and to those who have selfishly winked at their crimes for the sake of the shekels to be gained by trade in calico, beads, wire, guns, gunpowder and ardent spirits, that a force exists sufficiently strong to vindicate the foundation principles of justice and mercy.

What prospect is there of such a force being brought into play? When one sits down calmly to form an estimate of the probabilities in this case, the result is distinctly cheering. At first, the appalling extent and the long persistence of the evil, and the fierce violence against Europeans which is its new feature, together with the absence of any strong governments throughout East Africa, create a feeling of despair; but that does not last long. Not only may we fall back on a trust in the ultimate victory of right: we see already in operation certain influences which may reasonably be expected to issue before many years have passed in drying up 'the running sore of the world.'

First of all, there is the blockade. On the 6th of November, as soon as Parliament had re-assembled, the Prime Minister delivered a very important speech, in which he informed the

country that an alliance had been entered into between Germany and Britain for the purpose of absolutely preventing the import of the materials of war and the export of slaves at any of the ports already described as recently placed under German and British administration. This means very much, especially when it is accompanied by a right of search of all vessels under whatever flag—a concession obtained, though with some reluctance, from France. Of course, if the Arab dealers find that they can no longer send slaves to the markets of Arabia and the Persian Gulf, they will cease to hunt them. The efficiency of this means depends, therefore, on its completeness, and it is with a view to this remark that the vast extent of the coast from Suakin to Delagoa Bay has been described. The portion to which the Anglo-German agreement relates is only 600 miles,—certainly the portion where the trade till now has been most active, but leaving very large tracts both to the north and the south. As to the northern portion, from Mombasa to Suakin, Italy at Massowah is joining in the blockade; and our repressive measures in the Red Sea have been rendered more effective since the slave force made its determined attack on Suakin. There is serious work before the Powers in this matter for some years, but it is free from complications and needs only sustained vigilance. One can hardly say as much about the long stretch of coast southwards, from Lindi and Kilwa to Delagoa Bay. So late as September and October 1888, at least, a brisk trade was carried on between Lindi and the north end of Madagascar, in vessels using French papers. Whether the slaves were detained there, or were sent on to the older markets in larger vessels, we do not yet know. Many are used on the French sugar plantations. But so lately as the 2nd or 3rd of November, Lieutenant Fitzherbert, in H.M.S. *Algerine*, chased a dhow containing 200 slaves, drove it ashore on the north coast of Madagascar, and captured it; but he could set free only 27 out of the 200, the rest being instantly seized and carried inland by the Malagasy natives (Sakalavas). This is a matter requiring some sort of explanation. The British public should keep its eyes and ears open for what may emerge any day as

the blockade proceeds, tending to shed light on the attitude of France; and in the meantime, the following sentences from the last papers laid before Parliament deserve to be carefully read.

‘The extension of French influence in Madagascar and the Comoro Islands,’ says Lord Salisbury to Sir E. Malet on November 5th, 1888, ‘has added another element to the causes by which the Slave Trade has been stimulated. The French are as anxious as any other Christian nation to destroy this traffic, but the naval force by which they are represented in those seas is very small; and they have always refused to give to other nations that right of arresting and searching suspicious vessels which is essential to prevent the French flag from being used for the purpose of evading it. Our cruisers, therefore, have been obliged to look on while Arab dhows, flying the French flag and evidently carrying slaves, have passed outwards under their guns with impunity.’

This is highly suggestive. How were these papers got? Why did France grant them? Why is she jealous of search? Where do the slaves go? Our Foreign Secretary says nothing about these points, though it is obviously not for want of information that he is silent; but in the same dispatch he mentions with unconcealed satisfaction, what he dwelt on also in his speech, that ‘it has been possible, in view of the present exigencies, to remove for the first time the most formidable obstacle which exists to the suppression of the present Slave Trade, namely, the refusal of France to agree to a mutual right of search. The French Government, though unwilling to grant the right of search on all occasions and in all cases, has consented that it shall be looked upon as one of the incidents of a blockade.’\*

Another element which might tend to deprive the blockade of that completeness on which its success depends, is the attitude of Portugal. If that Power does not join in the good work, or if it refuses to our cruisers the right of search, then the Arabs will be only slightly inconvenienced, by no means

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\* Correspondence respecting Suppression of the Slave Trade in East African Waters. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of Her Majesty. November 1888. pp. 3, 4.

checked, in their lawless operations. With reference to this, Count Hatzfeldt says (in the Papers just quoted, p. 2) :

‘As the traffic in slaves and arms, and the hostility of the slave merchants extend to the Portugese coast line adjoining Zanzibar, it will be useful and desirable to obtain the co-operation of Portugal, and her consent to the extension of the blockade to the portion of the coast belonging to that Power.’

And Lord Salisbury, in replying two days later, (November 5th) says :—

‘As the Slave Trade, and the preparations of the traders who conduct it, extend to the neighbouring Portugese Dominions, it would be advantageous and desirable to obtain the co-operation of Portugal, and the consent of that Power to the extension of the blockade to the Portugese coast.’

It would have been satisfactory to find after these passages, a dispatch from Lisbon granting our natural wish. No such paper is printed while I write; but the following sentences from a long communication addressed to the Geographical Society of Lisbon, by Baron de Barros Gomes, Foreign Minister of Portugal, may be taken as expressing the attitude of that Power :—

‘The eloquent voice, that of conviction, of a prelate who is the glory of France . . . is to-day moving all Europe, seeking to hurry on the happy moment in which the horrors of the trade which threatens to depopulate the interior of the Great Dark Continent shall have an end. Portugal can and should unite herself with any efforts and practical attempts undertaken in this generous and most Christian direction. . . . To the labourers of civilization and of the faith, who are pledged to favour the movement which it is proposed to inaugurate in Europe, the support and sympathies of Portugal will certainly not be wanting.’

Words could not be better. It is a curious comment on them to find it stated in a note to the new edition of Mr. Stevenson’s *Slave Map*, ‘with regard to the routes leading westward into Portugese territory, Mr. Ravenstein states that the slaves are set free *after seven years’ forced labour.*’ We take it that Germany and Britain mean to look after the Portugese coast of Africa.\*

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\* The Papers laid before Parliament in the end of December, ‘Africa,

The blockade, however, does not meet all the requirements of the case. It represents all that the Powers of Europe can well do; and it forms a great essential part of the operation necessary for the liberation of Africa. But a physician is not content to stop a sore on the surface: he seeks to remove the peccant humours from the blood. It is far from the seaboard that the first horrors are enacted, and it is quite probable that the Arabs might for years to come continue their cruel oppression in the interior, gathering and storing ivory in hope of finding after a while that our vigilance has been relaxed, as once before it has been, or that they might acquire strength to force Pangani and Kilwa, as they tried to force Suakin. It is necessary that there should enter and pervade Africa power sufficient to encounter and overcome the oppressors. The idea of sending in European armies is out of the question: there are no armies to meet our military expeditions

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No. 10, 1888,' close with the following communication to our Ambassador at Lisbon:—

‘Foreign Department, Lisbon, Nov. 18, 1888.

‘Your Excellency,—The Government of his Most Faithful Majesty appreciate the humanitarian intentions and the high political views which dictated the Agreement signed by the Governments of Great Britain and Germany, to which your Excellency refers in your note of the 16th of last November.

‘Portugal having been invited by the two Governments to join with them in their endeavours, by co-operating in the suppression of the slave trade and by preventing the importation of arms, gives her assent in principle to the extension for that purpose of the blockade to be carried out on the East Coast of Africa, so that the blockade may comprise a part of the coast of Mozambique; it must, however, in the last-named region, be exclusively enforced by the Portuguese naval forces, and with this object His Majesty’s Government will duly increase the number of vessels of which the naval division on the East Coast of Africa is composed.

‘Trusting that the prompt assent on the part of Portugal, in the terms above set forth, to the invitation addressed to her by the two Governments will be considered by them as a token of regard and friendship.

‘I have, etc.,

‘(Signed) BARROS GOMES.’

This seems nearly worthless, and creates serious suspicion that Portugal is more involved with the slave trade than is commonly thought.—Jan. 7, 1889.

if they were sent, but only roving bands of ruffians, who are rapidly demoralizing the tribes which they do not enslave. Armies would terrify the natives whom we wish to protect, and would eat up their substance. It is a police force that is wanted, such as the strongest Quaker must approve, to disarm and capture the marauders; and for this purpose a very small number of Europeans, picked men with good leaders, who would train the natives to self-defence, having gunboats on *all* the lakes and a few handy Hotchkiss guns on the land spaces, would be sufficient. There seems a reasonable prospect of such work being undertaken with thoroughness and determination. Mr. Horace Waller was the first to propose a cruiser for Nyasa, and a seven-pounder has been sent out already to aid the African Lakes Company in destroying the Arab stockade at the north end of the Lake. Cardinal Lavigerie proposes cruisers for Tanganika, and has got a large portion of the money needed to buy them. He is also enlisting a band of one hundred Belgian volunteers to work them,—a number amply sufficient. Commander Cameron, in a letter to the *Times*, on September 28th, develops this plan at some length, and says that, after going into details of expense with care, he does not find that the cost of establishing an interior line of blockade, from the Shiré in the South to Wadelai (Emin's province) in the North, would be greater than that of some expeditions already sent into Africa. Public benevolence would, we trust, furnish the money if once the scheme were fairly placed before the country, a responsible society formed, and one or more first-rate leaders found. Cameron himself, at the close of the passionate appeal he prints in *Good Words* (passionate, but not a whit too strong), says, 'I am ready to act up to what I write, and would freely give my life in the cause of freedom, and will gladly co-operate in any possible manner, either here or in Africa, with those who I trust will resolve that this disgrace to humanity shall no longer exist.' He is busy just now stirring up interest in various parts of the country. Other fit leaders will, no doubt, appear as the preparations go on, Lieutenant Wissman, for instance, who is now not likely to be needed for the German Emin Relief



Expedition, or Sir Charles Warren, who has experience of South African administration. The combination of qualities required is not very common—health, pluck, temper, administrative faculty, with a high Christian *morale*; but there are such men to be found. While others are planning, the Scotchmen have begun to act. In Mr. Moir's article already referred to it is said that 'the Nyasa Anti-Slavery and Defence Fund has been started to undertake the task of repelling the Arab aggressors. It is proposed to send men, both naval and military, to drill the natives and organize an effective force. Ammunition and guns, including artillery, will be provided, and fortified stations erected at important points on the Stevenson Road.' Well done! If the larger operations are carried out, these steps already taken with a promptitude which cannot be too highly praised will be found helpful in no small degree; and the magnificent waterway, which the reader has, we trust, got fixed in his imagination, will become a source of liberty and strength to the whole of Central Africa.

There is one condition, however, of these hopes being realised which must never be lost sight of, the keeping open of the Zambesi for the use of all nations. It is only by that way, at least for several years to come, that the Lakes can be reached. Now the mouths of the Zambesi are in the hands of Portugal, and in the letter of Baron Gomes already quoted the preposterous claim of that country to possess the whole of the Nyasa region and more is once again set forth. Even on the coast the natives (Laudeens, a Zulu tribe) hold their own and force the Portuguese to pay black mail; (an instance is reported in the newspapers of Nov. 16th), and beyond the confluence of the Rua and the Shiré, a hundred miles inland, not a single Portuguese has ever been! It was by Livingstone that Nyasa was discovered, and by British subjects alone, missionaries and traders, has the region been exploited. How ridiculous the claim is, Professor Drummond has shewn, *racily*, in his recent book.\* The exposure by Mr. Oswald Crawford is even more damaging, who tells us that the last Portuguese *White Book*

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\* *Tropical Africa*, pp. 203-221.

contains a map in which the whole breadth of Africa, from Mozambique on the east to Angola on the west is coloured Portuguese, and adds, 'if the area of continental Portugal were painted upon the map of this huge mockery of an acquisition it would show no bigger than a small caterpillar creeping over the paper.'\*

The state of mind which can produce these cumbrous jests is probably harmless, and those who are in earnest about entering Africa for work in the direction of redeeming it, will not find that they are long or seriously hindered. Still it is annoying to find the Kilimane officials seizing a steamer of the Lakes Company because it was not owned and officered by Portuguese, as they did last spring, and only giving way under pressure from our Foreign Office. But, on the other hand, as already stated, Commander Cameron assures us that the Marquis of Salisbury had pledged himself the Zambesi shall not be closed, and the genuine British earnestness which breathes in his dispatches gives us confidence that means will be found of making Portugal understand that medieval conceits, resting on remote poetical traditions and not accompanied by the least attempt to fulfil the obligations inseparable from the claim of possession, will not be allowed to hinder the work to which Europe is setting itself in the name of our common humanity.†

When the blockade on the coast and the police patrolling the lakes in the interior have done their work, the way will be open for the regeneration of Central Africa. And there are certain beginnings made in this direction, which, once the manstealing iniquity is removed, furnish a hopeful prospect in the not distant future. These are five in number.

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\* *Nineteenth Century*, September, 1888.

† The Portuguese have sent up a strong expedition with the purpose, it is feared, of claiming the thriving settlement at Blantyre, near the South end of Nyasa; and an alarmed appeal has been made by the Scottish Churches and the Lakes Company to Lord Salisbury. He assures the memorialists that 'the matter is engaging the earnest attention of the Government.' In his speech at Ayr since the new year began, Sir James Ferguson promised that the government would not be slow to resist this encroachment with all 'the resources of diplomacy and of a great empire'.

First, in order of magnitude, if not of time, is the Congo Free State. The formal foundation of this enterprize was laid in the Berlin Conference, which sat from November 1884 to February 1885, under the presidency of Prince Bismarck, and in which elaborate articles were framed and signed by the plenipotentiaries of Britain, Germany, Austria, Belgium, the United States, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, Spain, France, Italy, Holland, Portugal, Russia and Turkey. By these a territory of three millions of square miles, forming the basin of the great river discovered by Stanley, is constituted a sovereign state under Leopold, King of the Belgians, who had already invested in its formation half a million sterling of his private fortune. One article must be quoted :—

‘ Article 9. Seeing that trading in slaves is forbidden in conformity with the principles of international law as recognized by the signatory Powers, and seeing also that *the operations which, by sea or land, furnish slaves to trade, ought likewise to be regarded as forbidden*; so, therefore, the Powers which do or shall exercise sovereign rights or influence in the territories forming the conventional basin of the Congo, declare that these territories may not serve as a market or means of transit for the trade in slaves, of whatever race they may be. *Each of the Powers binds itself to employ all the means at its disposal for putting an end to this trade and for punishing those who engage in it.*’

If the reader will look back a page or two, he will find a painful commentary on this nobly worded article, for the descriptions of Stanley and Wissman, that have been quoted to illustrate the hideous atrocities of the Arabs, relate to this region. The position of the Congo State, while we write, is such as to call forth sincere sympathy towards those who have the responsibility of administering its affairs. They seem to have formed by far too slight an estimate of the forces of greed, treachery and untruth with which they have to contend, and the truth has been brought home to them with terrible severity in the assassination of Barttelot, and the utter ruin of the expedition he was leading. Let us hope, however, that order will be once more established, and the triumphing of the arch-villain, Tipoo Tib, made short. If there are not resources enough about the Congo State to secure this, its establishment will prove a huge fiasco and a crime. When Stanley emerges again, things will take a turn for the

better; and meanwhile he has accomplished a noble feat in marching across those 400 miles of hitherto unknown territory which separate the Aruhwimi from Wadelai, territory of which he spoke in his last interview with Cardinal Manning as the neck of the slave trade. The world awaits his next movement with intense interest. Our guess is that, having discovered the serious disaster caused by the murder of Barttelot and the scattering of the supplies for which he has been waiting these twelve months, he will collect what he can with all haste and still carry out his purpose of marching through Uganda and Masai Land (the new British territory) to the East Coast at Mombasa.

Next to the Congo State, as a civilizing influence already in operation, is Emin Pasha's State of Wadelai, embracing the Albert Lake and extending north on the Nile—how far we cannot tell. He is the only one of the lieutenants placed by Gordon in the Soudan who has been able to hold his ground; and in the deeply interesting letters sent by him to Dr. Felkin, published in the *Scotsman* in June last, he appeared as growing his own cotton and weaving it into material for clothes and sails, as having two steamers on the lake and boats on the Nile, and as keeping at bay the dervishes of the north.\* Uganda ought to furnish an outlet for communication with Europe, but the malignant influence is, for the present, maintaining a black cordon all round that territory; but this will not last very long if there is any reality and pith about the proposals on the side of humanity. As it is even, and still more in the possibilities it affords when again brought into touch with Europe, this territory of Emin is a bright and hopeful spot on the map of the Dark Continent.

Turning our eyes now from the North to the far South, we find the African Lakes' Company, to which reference has been made more than once. Founded in 1876 by men of capital and high standing in the West of Scotland, it has held its own these twelve years against the fretting impositions of the Portuguese on the coast, and the attacks of the slavers in the interior. The capital

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\* The wonderful telegrams which arrived on December 21st describe him as rich in ivory and food, and the second of them states that he is with Stanley at Bonalya on the Aruhwimi.

invested in its vessels, its twelve stations, and in roadmaking, is stated at £180,000. It has carried the *Charles Jansen* from the Thames to the east side of Nyasa for the Universities' Mission, and the *Good News* from the Mersey to Tanganika for the London Missionary Society; and serves these societies and the Missions of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church in all matters of postage and supplies. Only because its stores were filled with ivory for which the Arabs had not yet got paid, were these stores saved from attack in the assault made last spring. The Company is said, by those who ought to know, to be sure to become a commercial success as soon as it is allowed fair play; and that the men who are interested in it have no intention of letting themselves be beaten, is proved by the prompt vigour with which the Defence Fund has been organized. Here then is a third civilizing influence from which, when the present acute crisis is past, many wholesome influences for Eastern Africa may be expected. Twelve years is not a long time, and the Company has men with long heads, long purses and right hearts at its back. I must not fail to mention that it has consistently refused to import ardent spirits.

The fourth and fifth of the enterprizes lately entered on, and which we may expect to do much for Eastern Africa, are the German and the British Companies, whose possessions have been described on a former page. Of the German portion it is impossible to say anything as yet. Acquired only in August last, its history has been one of disaster, and its condition one of chaos. While I write, there are daily rumours of the Company being liquidated, of a new Company being formed, and of proposals to 'take the breeks off a Heilandman' in demands for compensation being made on the Sultan who, poor man, has nothing to pay with. Meanwhile Germany is resolved to get sure possession; and she has learned a lesson as to the character of the manstealers and the conditions of African colonization, which will not be lost. Let the Germans receive our cordial sympathy: jealousy in any case would be unworthy, and, in the present case, is mean and un-British. When the Germans do get into the lands they have procured, they will do well to forbid the import of spirits as well as arms.

The territory of the Imperial British East African Company is as yet peaceful, and the steps which are being taken to colonize it are marked by cautious wisdom and the strength of very large resources. The charter granted to it by Queen Victoria on September 7, 1888, is a remarkable document, as proving that those concerned in the craving and the granting of it clearly 'mean business.' The suppression of the slave trade is provided for; the administration of law has been thought out; 'banks, roads, railways, telegraphs, mining, and other industries,' are spoken of as things distinctly contemplated; regulations are laid down to prevent the extinction of elephants,—and so forth. The capital required to start the enterprize was fixed at a quarter of a million sterling, and was subscribed privately by thirty-five persons. Mr. William Mackinnon, C.I.E., than whom no man has done more in the wise and enterprising use of wealth for British India and for Africa, is the Chairman, and with him in the management are such men as Lord Brassey, Sir Donald Stewart, Sir John Kirk, Mr. Burdett-Coutts, and Mr. George S. Mackenzie, Sir Francis de Winton being the Honorary Secretary. Treaties have been carefully made as far as possible with native tribes in the interior, and Lieutenant Swayne has gone in, with a strong caravan, to make more. We have for many years now, since Krapf and Rebmann began missionary work at Mombasa more than forty years ago, seen a steady growth of British influence on the coast, and Frere Town and Rabai are places where the effects of civilizing efforts toward natives and liberated slaves can be seen. There have been trading caravans going all through the territory for a long time, but until Mr. Joseph Thomson, in 1885, gave us the brilliant record of his adventures in Masai Land, it was hardly known. Reading that book a second time one gets a lively impression of the splendid work to which the new Company is addressing itself. The coast-line, it seems, is not so unhealthy as the coast-line of Africa generally is; but after that is passed, the mountains, rivers, and lakes, the pasture lands supporting innumerable flocks so that large tracks are literally flowing with milk and honey, the game big and little, and the rolling plateaus capable of yielding any quantity of wheat, prove that the founders of this new undertaking have

'considered the field' before buying it. Kilimanjaro, made famous by Thomson and H. H. Johnston, is in the portion assigned to Germany, but the Aberdare Range and Mount Kenia, 18,780 feet above the sea, are in the British territory. The natives in some parts are friendly, and amenable to good influences, and the Masai, the warriors, can be reckoned with. Till native labour can be trained, the necessary supply can be drawn from British India, many merchants from thence being already settled on the Zanzibar coast, and now crowding into Mombasa. The uplands suited for the growth of wheat are within one day's railway journey of the coast, and the calculation is that thus Kenia-land (to suggest a short name) may outstrip India in the grain market. The Company means to render itself independent of the Arabs, and, though I do not find it so said, we may assume that it also intends to exclude the shortsighted and destructive traffic in spirits.\*

The point to which my eye turns most wistfully is not Taveita or any other of those lovely spots which Mr. H. H. Johnston has described so charmingly. It is the frontier of this territory farthest from the sea, where it touches the waters of Victoria Nyanza and the confines of Uganda. Not till it has placed steam on the former, not till it has penetrated the latter and opened a safe road to Wadelai and the Nile, will the civilizing mission of this strong Company be accomplished. When Stanley started from the Aruhwimi it was with the hope that he would come down through this region to Mombasa. Let us trust that he may yet do so, and that Mr. Swayne and his caravan, if they do not meet him, will succeed in opening a way through Uganda and that mysterious rim of thick and horrible darkness which

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\* Notwithstanding all the prudence and quietness of its operations, this great Company seems not able to escape from the difficulties created by the very debased state of public opinion existing in Zanzibar and on the coast. Even those traders who are our fellow subjects, and some of them our fellow countrymen, have been hitherto indirectly connected with the slave trade, and the startling statements published by the *Manchester Guardian* in the end of the year, bring home to the British public what we might have looked for. The Indian merchants do not understand yet our decided anti-slavery feelings. The Company, however, seems to have clean hands.

seems to run from Hannington's grave to near Stanley Falls, immediately north of the equator. That point gained, and the road kept open from the Nile to Mombasa, Europe might be said to have a bowstring on the neck of the Slave Trade, for that is the heart of Africa, and there the red lines of blood meet that represent its present misery.

An attempt has thus been made to give a succinct view of the present position of a vast portion of the earth's surface occupied by at least 120 millions of our fellows, and to indicate the elements of a reasonable hope for its being brought, in the course of another generation, under the influence of Christian civilization. The blockade is begun, the police are going in to occupy the Central Lakes, colonization is entering from the South and the North, from the West and from the East. The one danger is, that we shall be satisfied with a little spurt of philanthropic emotion, and shall not realize the absolute need there is for resolute, sustained, unwearying effort.

A. M. S.

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NOTE TO ARTICLE V.

Since this article was written, public attention has been called to the establishment of an Episcopal School at Crieff, and it may be thought that that incident conflicts with the statement that the religious education difficulty in Scotland has been solved. But the agitation at Crieff is really the conspicuous exception which proves the rule, and the statement by the headmaster of the Board school that 'he had never had any complaint from Episcopalians regarding the religious instruction given to their children' confirms the statement that as a rule they have no objection to the Shorter Catechism, and shows that in Scotland as in England it is not the people, but only their ecclesiastical and political leaders, who make the doctrinal instruction of children under 14 of such vast and disastrous importance.

J. E. G.



## SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

## GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. Erstes Heft, 1889.—Dr. F. C. Achelis of Marburg gives us a series of 'Studien über das geistliche Amt,' which are intended to explain and justify the use of the epithet 'geistliche' to the clergy, the service of worship, and the religious office generally.—Dr. J. Dräseke, under the title 'Athanasiana,' takes up the two books included among the works of Athanasius, that are directed against Appollinarios of Laodicea, and subjects them to a careful and scholarly examination, the result of which is that he comes to the following conclusions: 1st, that they are not the work of one author; 2nd, that Athanasius did not write them; and 3rd, that they hail from Alexandria, and were probably written by Didymus and his pupil Ambrosius.—Dr. Becker writes on the composition of the Gospel according to John; Dr. Häring of Zürich on the conception of the Atonement, 'zum Begriff der Sühne'; Professor Bredenkamp on Habakkuk, ii. 4; and Professor Kamphausen reviews Stade's 'Geschichte des Volkes Israel,' Renan's 'Histoire du peuple d'Israel,' vol. I., and Kittel's 'Geschichte der Hebräer.'

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. 1889: Zweites Heft.—Dr. Usteri of Affoltern and Privat-Docent at Zürich subjects the Epistle of James, especially chap. ii., 14-26, to a minute, critical and exegetical study.—'Glaube, Werke, und Rechtfertigung im Jakobusbrief'—in order to precisely determine what the writer really understood by *πίστις*, *ἔργα*, and *δικαιοσύνη*, and then puts this writer's conceptions as to these points in contrast to the Pauline idea of them, to show that they involve no real contradiction.—Dr. Koppel discusses the origin of the Christian Apostolate as witnessed to in the New Testament writings, to bring out the idea of inspiration involved in these.—Professor Zimmer of Königsberg deals with the vexed question of the 'Itala'—the version so called by Augustine. He modestly describes his elaborate and learned paper, 'Ein Blick in die Entwicklungsgeschichte der Itala.'—Dr. Tschackert furnishes five 'Kleine Beiträge zu Luthers Leben.'—The books reviewed are Professor Franz Delitzsch's 'New Commentary on Genesis,' and Tholuck's 'Life' by Prof. Witte.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU. October, November, December.—The first of these three numbers opens with a contribution to which the wide celebrity which it acquired immediately on its publication, makes it unnecessary further to refer, we mean the ‘Extracts from the Emperor Frederick’s Diary.—Neither is there any call to do more than merely mention the article entitled ‘A Literary-Political Association,’ as it is a chapter from the second volume of the memoirs of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, a work which has since then made its appearance in an English version and been made familiar to most readers by copious extracts.—In a most able paper Professor Geffcken considers the various reforms which it has been proposed to introduce in the House of Lords. Believing not only that a second chamber is an absolute necessity, but also that the English House of Peers is by far the best institution of the kind to be found anywhere, he deprecates anything like a radical change. The only reforms which he considers practically possible and advantageous are, firstly, the exclusion of ‘black sheep;’ secondly, the creation of a certain number of life peerages; and lastly, the fixing of a certain age—thirty—before which no peer should be entitled to a seat.—Herr Eduard Hauslick communicates twenty letters written by Felix Mendelssohn Bartholdy to Aloys Fuchs. They chiefly refer to the collection of musical autographs to which Fuchs devoted himself, and together with the explanations and short biographical notices which the editor supplies, make up a very readable contribution.—In ‘Aus dem Hochgebirge,’ which runs through two numbers, Herr Paul Güssfeldt, gives an account of an Alpine journey undertaken by him in 1887. The articles are not only interesting for the descriptions which they contain, but also in the highest degree valuable for the instructions which the experience of years enables the writer to set down, and which, if followed, should help to diminish the number of Alpine accidents.—The most readable item in the November part is Herr W. Preyer’s ‘Darwin.’ It is an exceedingly able summary of the ‘Life and Letters,’ and cannot fail to interest those who are unacquainted with the original work.—‘Berlin and German Music,’ of which Freiherr von Liliencrou is the author, shows a thorough knowledge of the subject, but can scarcely be said to appeal to a very wide circle, in this country at least, nor, for that matter, in Germany either.—In a very long and well-meaning but rather solid paper, Herr Julius Lessing pleads for the State patronage and State subsidy of the Industrial Arts.—Though unfortunately too short, the autobiographical fragment ‘Nachgelassene Blätter von Theodor Storm,’ will be read with great interest, not only for the information which it contains with regard to the writer’s early

years, but also as being the last page that he ever wrote.—‘Tokio-Tgaku’ which, being translated, means ‘The School of Medicine of Tokio,’ is from the pen of Dr. Leopold Müller, and contains a most interesting and, in many parts, amusing account of the difficulties which he had to encounter in his task of founding this institution. The sketch he gives of the state of things which he found existing on his arrival is particularly good. Some idea of it may be formed from what he states of the work expected of him. It was supposed that he would appear at the Academy at eight o’clock every morning, bringing his breakfast with him, and remain there till five o’clock in the afternoon, for the purpose of answering any questions which the students might feel inclined to put to him. His announcement that he intended to bestow only four hours daily to lecturing and on set subjects, was received with astonishment and almost indignation. When, in addition to this, it was found that he required to consult books and used notes for his lectures, matters seemed serious enough to justify official inquiry into his competency for the work he had undertaken.—The essay entitled ‘Frederick the Great and the Italians,’ is neither very important nor very interesting; its professed object, which is to show that the hearty sympathy at present existing between Germany and Italy can be traced back to the time of Frederick, is a sufficient indication of the spirit in which it is written.—The first instalment of Herr Gustav Cohn’s sketch of the life of Lord Shaftesbury is a conscientious piece of work, though it naturally contains nothing but what most English readers are already familiar with.—The light literature for the quarter consists of Herr Conrad Mähly’s ‘Albigenserin,’ which is complete in two parts, and of the first instalment of what promises to be a very powerful novel, Herr Ossip Schubin’s ‘Boris Lensky.’

WESTERMANN’S MONATS-HEFTE. October, November, December.—The October and November numbers both give a conspicuous place to Herr Georg Horn’s sketch of the late Emperor William. On the more important events, which numberless biographies have made familiar, it lays but little stress, but it contains a number of anecdotes which to most readers will not be less acceptable. Its interest is enhanced by five excellent portraits.—Running through the same two numbers there is an excellent description of the environs of Vienna. The writer, Herr Edward Zetsche, shows not only an intimate acquaintance with the country, but also a thorough knowledge of its history, and both combined help to make a most readable and instructive paper.—Not inferior in its way is the account which Herr Richard Garbe gives of a journey to India, in the course of which he

visited Bombay, Elephanta Ahmedabab, Jeypur, Delhi, and Agra. The former of these papers has twenty-eight, the latter twenty-three excellent illustrations.—Another very attractive production of the same kind is that for which Herr Gerhard Rohlf's has gathered materials during visits to two of the three islands which are connected with the name of Napoleon—St. Helena and Elba.—The history of the Munich Academy of the Fine Arts during the last thirty years is pleasantly told by Herr Moriz Carriere who, in his subject, finds the opportunity of sketching the careers of the two Kaulbachs and Piloty, of whom capital portraits are given.—‘Charlotte von Schiller,’ a rather hackneyed theme, is not unreadable, but contains nothing new; neither do the few pages in which Herr Pajeken gives a sketch of life on an American ranche.—The single complete article in the November part is an historical sketch in which Herr Rudolph Scipio relates the unsuccessful attempts made by Doernberg, in 1809, to seize King Jerome. It is an interesting and valuable contribution towards a history of the short-lived kingdom of Westphalia.—Herr Woldt begins in the second and ends in the third of this quarter's numbers an able and instructive account of the exploration, by Wissman and his companions, of the immense tract of interior Africa drained by the Kassai and its numerous tributaries. The writer's excellent descriptions, aided by a series of sketches and a particularly good map bring this hitherto unknown district most vividly before the reader.—A short but pleasant and lively paper by Herr Riedel describes the festivities with which the Chinese in America celebrate Soeri-Nin, or their New-Year.—Finally, a lengthy but most enjoyable and instructive article by Herr Paul Jonas Meier enters into minute particulars concerning the manner in which the gladiatorial games were organized and carried out under the Roman emperors.

**PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER.** October, November, December.—Notable amongst the contributions which these three numbers bring before us is that bearing the signature of Vice-Admiral Batsch and containing a sketch of the history of the German navy. Practically, it is a summary, and a pretty full one, too, as the article extends to some forty pages, of the career of Prince Adalbert of Prussia, to whose energy it is mainly due that, within less than forty years, a powerful navy has been called into existence.—Considering the length of time which has elapsed since a reform of the system of direct taxation in Prussia was first suggested, it may be doubted whether the question is looked upon as one of paramount interest even by those whom it most nearly concerns. At any rate, it is scarcely likely that English

readers will think it worth their while to follow Dr. Strutz through the very detailed and rather heavy study which he devotes to an examination of the subject and to a statement of the special points towards which future legislation should be directed.—The chief attraction of Dr. Delbrück's article 'The Diary of the Emperor Frederick' lies in the title. Those who turn to the five short pages in which the publication of this famous document is discussed are likely to be disappointed. The writer's object is to prove that such productions cannot be properly estimated by contemporaries and that it was consequently most inopportune and most prejudicial to the memory of the late Emperor that his diary should have been communicated to the present generation instead of being reserved for posterity.—A little more than twelve months ago there appeared in Berlin a work in which Herr Conrad set himself the task of enlightening his countrymen as to Thackeray, who, strange to say, whilst Dickens, George Eliot, and others less worthy of notice, are as familiar in Germany as they are amongst us, is almost unknown to the general public. The sub-title, it is true,—'Ein Pessimist als Dichter,'—might awaken some suspicion, but it could scarcely prepare the reader for the conclusion arrived at, to wit, that 'Thackeray is not a great writer.' The verdict has not been allowed to pass unchallenged, and its fallacy has been exposed in an able review the writer of which shows such a thorough knowledge and unbiassed appreciation of the novelist's works that it is matter for genuine regret that his study has not taken a more imposing form than that of a magazine article. Comparatively short as it necessarily is, it will, however, give German readers a better and fairer idea of the author of *Vanity Fair* and *Esmond* than such a one-sided work as Conrad's.—Another literary essay which will well repay perusal is that which has for its subject the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, a man who though but little known and probably never read now-a-days, was not without influence on the philosophical movement of the 18th century. It is possible, however, to think less highly than does Herr Edward Herz of the man who, when on his death-bed, in order to please his family, accepted all the ministrations of a priest, and then informed him that he had been merely acting a farce.—In a short, but clever and incisive article, Herr Robert Hessen, throws well-deserved ridicule on the efforts of the purists who, in their anxiety to rid the German language of French words and expressions, have undertaken a complete reform of the military instruction-book, and whose patriotism requires the banishment of, for example, 'Autorität' and 'Bureau,' and the adoption in their stead of 'Befehlsbefugniss' and 'Geschäftsstube.'—The spirit in which

Dr. Didolf's article 'A Glance at the Past and Future of Poland' is written may be gathered from his concluding exclamation, 'A Polish Poland would be Poland's death; a German Poland would be Poland's salvation!'—The essay headed 'The Fall of the Templars' is but an analysis and summary of Dr. Schottmüller's important work on the same subject, but it is excellently done, and, if it cannot altogether satisfy, may help to console those who have not had the advantage of reading the original.

#### ITALY.

ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE. Year XIII., fascicle 3.—G. Abignente gives an account of 'Le Chartulæ Fraternitatis' and the book of the 'Confrates' of the Salernitan Church, an important and inedited parchment.—M. Schifa writes *apropos* of the expected edition by Dr. G. Baist, of Amatos' 'Ystoire.'—E. Cocchia commences an article, describing the topography of the ancient city of Naples under the title of 'Virgil's Tomb.'—G. de Blasiis writes on the trial and execution of Pomponius de Algerio of Nola under Paul IV., giving the original Latin documents.

GIORNALE STORICO DELLA LETTERATURA ITALIANA. Vol. XII., 34-35.—Contains biographical notes by E. Percopo, founded on original documents, on Marc Anton Epicuro, a Neapolitan poet, who, born at the end of the fifteenth century, lived till the middle of the sixteenth. Palmarini was the first to draw the attention of scholars to this poet. The article enters into the subject with all the thoroughness of an Italian man of science, devoting no less than eight pages to the discussion of the poet's name, whose life and works are then examined.—E. Costa edits the text, and notes the variants of the 'Parmense Codex' of 1081.—V. Valamani contributes an interesting article on the popular poetry, mostly love songs, of Venice in the seventeenth century, giving numerous examples in the dialect. He calls attention to the fact that the truth and naturalness of these songs disappeared in the productions of the following century, when popular poetry was affected. Some of the most curious of the specimens given are satires on the fashions. In one the poet compares the women's heads with melons; in another the men are blamed for spending all their money in love-gifts and frolics, and putting off their creditors from day to day. In another, again, the custom of making love from the street to girls in the balconies (which was derived from Spain and continues to this day) forms the subject. At that time it seems

that fowls were considered poetic birds, for they are the frequent subject of poetical effusions. Of course the gondolas, lagoons, and canals, play a great part in these songs, and the specimens close with one commemorating a Venetian superstition; the apparition of a 'moor of Japan,' who wanders through the streets, frightening maidens, and playing tricks upon the youths.—F. Novati edits and explains some Latin letters by Bartolomeo da Castell della Pieve, a rhymer and grammarian of the thirteenth century.—A. Neri contributes notes on two curious books of the seventeenth century; the 'Alcibiade Fanciallo a Scola,' now ascertained to have been written by Don Antonio Rocco, and the first edition of 'La Grillaia,' by Padre Angelico Aprosio.

ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO. Fourth issue for 1888.—The most interesting article is by Eugène Müntz, giving an account of Giovanni di Bartolo da Siena, one of the Italian artists employed at the Pontifical Court of Avignon in the fourteenth century. 'The number of Italians established on the banks of the Rhone,' says M. Müntz, 'might have made one believe himself to be living in Rome.' Giovanni di Bartolo was till now but little known to us moderns, but he made a considerable figure under Urban V., Gregory XI., and the anti-Pope Clement VII. He accompanied Pope Urban to Rome, where he became the author, among other masterpieces, of the celebrated reliquary on which rests the immortality of his name, with the busts of St. Peter and St. Paul, which was for so long a time the ornament of the Lateran. The expense of this marvellous piece of goldsmith's work was estimated by contemporaries at 30,000 florins. The two busts were destroyed in 1799. Bartolo must have returned with Urban to Avignon, for we find him there at the beginning of the reign of Gregory XI., for whom he worked as gold and silversmith, executing the golden roses sent annually by the Pope to some prince or other high personage. Among these was the golden rose sent to the son of the Duke of Andrea in 1375, that to the King of Armenia in 1383, and that to one Giovanni de Serre, a relation of the prefect of Rome, in 1385. The most important work executed by di Bartolo, during Gregory's pontificate, was a reliquary for the arm of St. Andrew, which cost more than 2,566 florins. In Catania there still exist two notable works by this artist, the statue of St. Agatha, and the shrine containing her relics.—A. Virgili, in the bibliographical review, gives a full account of the two new volumes of Creighton's *History of the Papacy*, giving the work the highest praise, from which some little inexactness does not detract.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA. Oct. 16th.—Here we have a clever

article by R. Fornaciari on 'Fashionable Phrases and Metaphors, in which he quotes the number of grand, scientific, or abstract words and phrases used about quite common things. He comes to the conclusion that our century, in this, too much resembles the sixteenth, when there also existed great abuse of figures of speech, which afterwards was ridiculed. Anyone who studies the titles of books, and notices the effort made to invent something extravagant, will surely be reminded of that period of affectation. We, of the present day, instead of trying to render our meaning in a clear and simple manner, do our best to embody it in a phrase of similes borrowed from all the realms of knowledge.—R. Bonghi describes the recent Meetings of the British Association and their demonstration of the progress of science.—'At Sunset,' and 'Venice on French Art and Literature' are concluded.—L. Luzatti, after describing the three principal groups of Italian workmen, the Socialists, the Co-operative Societies, and the Catholic Mutual Aid Societies under the direct influence of the Vatican, concludes an interesting paper as follows:—'The Co-operative Societies, placed between the Socialists and the Clericals, possess the greatest influence in Italy, no matter to what political party they may belong. They aim at preserving that influence intact, do not allow petty discord to penetrate their ranks, and consider their mission higher than politics, which are only a means, while co-operation—which aims at a more equal distribution of economical social benefits—is the end. The Socialists and Clericals offer a thousand temptations, which are bravely resisted, and in this resistance lies the guarantee of the virtue of co-operation.—Under the title 'Types of Woman,' A. De Gubernatis begins a series of papers, taking for his first type Madame de Custine, the friend of Fouché.—The Political Review says that the toast given by William II. at the Quirinal clearly expresses that the question of the temporal power of the Pope no longer exists for Germany, and that the right of Italy to Rome is beyond dispute.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA. November 1st.—Countess Lovatello describes the origin of the Rosalia, or feast of roses, celebrated in May, mentioning ancient legends connected with the flower, and tracing the festival back to its connection with funerals and sepulchres, and describing all its modifications.—L. Palma discusses the Suez Canal, the freedom of which, he says, belongs to universal public right.—M. Scherillo commences an article, under the title of 'Accidea,' describing the evil passions mentioned in the Divine Comedy of Dante.—E. Mancini writes an interesting paper on the modification of breathing, found-



ing it on recent discoveries by scientific men.—F. d'Arcais, *appropos* of the revival of Gluck's *Orpheus* and *Eurydice* in Rome, says that the reproduction of old operas must always be given with great caution, as an unfavourable performance would consign them at once to former neglect.—(November 16th.—G. Boglietti relates the facts of the war against the Moors of Granada, which resulted in their downfall in 1492, and ultimately in their total expulsion from Spain in 1610.—Scherillo concludes his papers on the delineation of the cruel, the proud and the envious in Dante's *Divine Comedy*.—C. Paoli gives the history of Paper according to the last studies, saying that it may be divided into three stages, the ancient papyrus, the medieval parchment, and modern paper, grouping around them the history of human culture as related to the art of writing.—In 'Literature and the Law,' P. Fambri sums up the discussions held at the Congress in Venice.—Farina's story 'Sunset,' is continued.—The review of foreign literature is occupied with some German books.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA. December 1st.—This number contains an interesting paper by Professor Villari on the Florentine Republic in the time of Dante, chiefly founded on Villani's works.—R. de Zerbi, in an article on 'Political Parties,' points out the prejudices which exist, and describes the state of political parties in Italy.—G. Chiarini continues his analysis and partial translation into Italian prose of 'Romeo and Juliet.'—Paolo Lioy contributes a light and pleasing article on Sicily, which beautiful island, he says, is too little known to the bulk of Italians, and far more appreciated by the English, Russians and Germans.—A chapter entitled 'Milan Cathedral and the designs for the new Façade,' is part of a book by Professor Borto, to be published in January, and gives some curious particulars regarding the collection of sums of money for the building of the Cathedral in the years 1386 to 1402. The most ancient document relating to the Cathedral is one in which, on the 12th May 1386, the Archbishop of Milan called on the faithful to aid in the good work, which they did no less by actual labour than by gifts of objects and money. Processions paraded the streets petitioning the inhabitants for donations of every kind. One very poor woman deposited her old fur cloak, but a compassionate bystander bought it back for a franc and restored it to her. She then, in her zeal, helped to carry stones and earth during the building. In December 1387 there was a large sale of the objects which had been contributed; we read of iron gauntlets, cloaks, bracelets, daggers, pearl brooches, bronze mortars, cloth,

towels, table linen, silver-gilt buttons, which seem to have been a favourite article, for a certain Signora Bignola presented 48 gilded and enamelled buttons, but her husband, saying she was of weak mind, took the buttons back again and gave three florins instead. Veils were also given in quantities. A garment of scarlet stuff was sold for 448 francs, and a cloth mantle for 220 (calculating the sums in modern coin). A cloak of Venetian stuff trimmed with fur, blue and green velvet and 104 gilt buttons was one of the gifts. A string of 143 amber and 16 coral beads was not very costly, but a sapphire brought 300 francs. Pearls to the value of 16,000 francs were contributed and a duchess gave a diamond, a sapphire and an emerald ring, the three being valued at 700 francs; these were not sold but inserted in the decorations of the altar, and were exhibited to the public at Christmas in the year 1396. The year 1388 was a very sad one. Snow fell on the 25th of April, and frosts destroyed the fields. Interminable processions paraded the streets, singing and praying, and an old Chronicle relates that the sun was seen 'to emit fire, sparks and smoke like an oven, and that at other times it appeared dull and the colour of a lemon, changing in various ways.' Unknown benefactors dedicated large sums to the church, once as much as 64,000 francs.—The article contains other curious particulars.—(December 16th).—Professor Villari continues his article on the Florentine Republic, this time taking the exiles of the fourteenth century as his subject.—A. Gabelli writes on the Italian debt, giving it in round sums as follows :—

Debts of the State, - - -	£520,000,000
Debts of the Provinces, - -	6,880,000
Debts of the Communes, - -	35,320,000
Private Mortgages, - - -	310,360,000

G. Ghirardini writes on Cretan bronzes.—R. de Cesare, noting the increased disagreement between Italy and the Papacy, says that the gravity of the situation imposes grave duties on the Government. The peril of Radicalism, which drags it into extreme measures against its will, is not fantastic. The impulse is begun, nor does it seem that there exists strength to resist it. But some stoppage may yet be achieved. It may happen that the Catholics of Rome may desert the voting-urns in which case it would be absolutely proved that the Catholic party has factions and Jacobin tendencies.—G. Chiarini finishes his exposition of 'Romeo and Juliet.'—R. Bonghi reviews the 'Recollections' of Marco Minghette, published in Rome.—The review of foreign literature speaks with admiration of the correspondence of O'Connell edited by J. Fitz-Patrick, and of the man himself.

Speaking of the 'Anthology of Walt Whitman's poetical works,' edited by E. Rhys, the same critic says that the only American poet who can claim the title of a *genius* is Walt Whitman. In the grand and musical structure of Whitman's new strophes there seem to sound, he says, the savage murmurs of the virgin forest and the solemn rush of the Mississippi and Ohio. Sig. Nencione translates many of the most striking poems into Italian prose, and asks how is it that Whitman's name is scarcely known in France and Italy, while the easy verses of inferior American poets are read and translated, but remarks that the same thing happened not many years ago in England itself with regard to Browning, while some ten thousand persons were well acquainted with Longfellow's works. In noticing *Michelangelo* by W. Wetmore Story, the same writer says that every Italian and every artist must be grateful to the author for many of his pages. He thinks, however, that Story has not laid enough weight on the *political condition* of Italy in Michelangelo's time.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE. Oct. 16.—In 'The problem of population and the future of Italy,' A. Galanti seeks to show, in answer to a work by Herr Beloch on the Statistics of Population, that the phenomena of population offer many and varied points for consideration, and that mere statistical calculations will not suffice for such an arduous and complex study. The theory of population has great importance in the economical and civil history of the peoples, but only in a commentary sense, never as the sole explanation of that history. He concludes with an exhortation to the Italians not to give way to an idea that their noble aspirations are vain, but to confide in their own strength and future destiny.—Professor Boch discusses the teaching and study of Greek.—R. Corniani contributes the fiction of this number in a tale called 'Northern Loves.'—G. Grabinski in some notes 'From Italy to Constantinople,' gives his readers an idea of the present state of the countries lying between the two. C. F. Gabba continues his discussion of the question, 'King and Pope, or Pope-King.'—V. Pernice writes at length on the new communal and provincial laws approved by the Chamber.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE. Nov. 1.—An article by Tullio Martello describes the position of university professors in Italy and abroad, and warmly advocates the reform of the universities in Italy, as only in the arsenal of the higher studies can be found the arms of a country's power and prosperity.—R. Farrini gives a short account of optic telegraphy, opining that only one thing more is necessary, that is, to find a means of fixing the now fugitive signs of spectro-telegraphy, so as, in case of need, to be able

to control, correct, or copy them.—C. Antona-Traversi contributes an article on the classic lyrics of the second half of the eighteenth century, of which the conceptions, images, and even phrases are to be found re-appearing in Carducci's 'Levia Gravia' and 'Juvenila,' the writer promising a second article comparing Horace and Carducci.—The notes of travel in Spain by R. Corniani are continued.—'Crito,' *apropos* of Crozier's *Lord Randolph Churchill* describes the difference of conservative democracy in England and Italy, saying that the Italian conservatives have much to learn from England, and ought to study Crozier's book.—(Nov. 16).—A. Tagliaferri, noting the great disproportion existing between the science of the greater part of the Italian clergy and the exalted mission of a Catholic priest, writes on the urgent wants of the Church in Italy, and gives a description (as a true type of what a Catholic bishop should be) of Cardinal Barbadici, who lived in the seventeenth century.—A. Neri gives a short history of the Cathedral of Sarzana, which was commenced at the end of the twelfth century, and completed much later.—M. Calderini describes the works of the late Bolognese painter, Luigi Serra, advocating the institution of a 'Serra Gallery' in which to exhibit permanently the drawings and plans of that artist, whom the writer calls the first of modern reformers of art.—A. Golfarelli writes an account of the two Congresses held this year at Venice.—In concluding an article on the Journal of Emperor Frederick, published in the *Deutsche Rundschau*, 'Sinceras' says that Prince Bismarck would do well to confess that he made a mistake in attacking it, and that the young Emperor has a good opportunity of pardoning an indiscretion committed against himself and his family.—E. degli Azzi writes a short memoir of Francesco Capei, a noted Italian advocate, who died last month.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE. Dec. 1.—Dr. J. Santangelo in this number describes the sulphur industry in Sicily, giving many interesting statistics. The total number of workmen employed in the Sicilian mines in 1885 was 28,749. The wages have lately diminished, and part of them are paid in kind, a system which enables the overlookers to rob the workmen, which robbery is in fact protected by law. The weekly bill of a workman with a family of four children, shows that he lost 2 francs 8 cents by being provided with victuals at the mine store-house, as he could have bought the articles in the public market for that amount less. In 1884 no less than 5,655 children under fourteen years were employed in the mines, and forty-two women. The work is very hard, and the children are generally quite naked, and so

exposed to the inclemency of the weather. What is worse, grown up men work among them also in a state of nudity, while the women, in the interior of the mine, are scarcely covered by a few rags. The weights the children carry render most of them crooked, and prevent their physical development. They are pale, thin, and suffering. Large deposits of fæcal matter accumulate in unused parts of the mines, and the carbonic acid gas from these, and the sulphurous gas developed in the work are also very detrimental to health, while accidents are frequent. Dr. Santangelo gives the following sad picture of a sulphur miner: 'Having had no religious education, he does not even know the first of prayers. He is sceptical, and obeys only his animal instincts. He has had no family education, and knows nothing of the salutary reproofs of a father or the caresses of a mother. Knowing nothing of a family life, he cannot create one for himself, he chooses a female companion from animal instinct, and perhaps takes her to church to be married, but omits the contract before the syndic, which alone renders the marriage legal, so he changes his wife when he has a mind, just as he goes to another mine where he can get better wages.' The writer gives a hundred other particulars, and suggests some remedy for this miserable state of things.—There are in the number, besides some descriptive letters from the East, and the continuation of the novel 'In Town,' a chatty paper from Signor Bonghi about French books he read on his journey to Italy from England, a short biography of the Italian senator Torelli, by F. Lampertico, a curious article entitled 'La Tregenda,' by A. Conti, and an account of the old Italian musician Francesco Landino, an inscription to whom was discovered in the middle of last century at Prato.

*FRANCE.*

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. No. 5, 1888.—M. Isidore Loeb continues here his account of the religious controversies during the Middle Ages, between Jews and Christians in France and Spain. Having in last number confined himself to the controversies and controversialists of France, he here deals in much the same thorough manner with those of Spain. He gives an epitome of the most able and characteristic works which were produced on both sides, and briefly criticises their respective merits.—M. Pierre Paris furnishes the first part of this year's 'Bulletin archéologique de la religion grecque,' giving a summary of the most important discoveries recently made in Greece, which bear upon and illustrate the religious life and art of the ancient Greeks.—M.

G. Dumoutier gathers up and translates a few of the legends and traditions bearing on human sacrifices, that are found among the Muong tribesmen in Tonquin and Anam. Dr. Iguatius Goldziher shows how the knowledge of early Christian tradition and early Christian literature influenced the religious literature of Islam, enriched the 'Lives' of the prophet and modified the moral injunctions and teaching of the Mohammedan writers.—Count Goblet d'Alviella reviews M. Ploix' 'La nature des dieux'; M. Fontanés, M. Carrau's 'La philosophie religieuse en Angleterre depuis Locke jusqu' à nos jours,' and the Editor takes up Pressense's recent work 'La Siècle Apostolique' and M. Chastaud's 'L'Apôtre Jean et le IV. Evangile.' These are followed by the usual *Chronique* for the two months, Summaries of books and magazine articles bearing on the History of Religions, and by a very full Bibliography of the publications bearing on the subject to which this *Revue* is devoted.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES. Juillet-Septembre, 1888.—M. J. Halévy continues his 'Recherches Bibliques.' Two papers are here given which were read before the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* in May and September. In the first he defends his views as to the identity of the four kings mentioned in Genesis xiv. with the Hammurabi, Eriw-Aku, Kudurlagamari, and Turgal of the cuneiform inscriptions, against M. J. Oppert, who severely criticised these views in a paper read before the *Académie* in December 1887. In the second, he endeavours to prove from the data given in Genesis, in the cuneiform Inscriptions, and in Herodotus, that the 'Gomer' of Genesis are the 'Gimirra' of the Inscriptions, and the 'Cimmerians' of Herodotus, and that their original home was not Scythia, but Cappadocia.—M. T. Reinach refutes Professor Graetz' arguments in last number as to the Jewish coins, generally regarded as struck during the revolt of Bar-Cocheba, being coins of the brothers Julian and Pappos.—M. J. Levi gives some varieties of the legend as to the pride of Solomon and its punishment, which are interesting as showing the wanderings of such folk-lore tales, and their probable source. Professor Loeb continues his study on 'Josef Hacohen et les chroniqueurs juifs,' and gives a brief note afterwards on a Hebrew inscription at Giron. The other note-worthy contents of this number are 'Notices et extraits de mes MSS.' by D. de Gunzbourg; 'Institutions de Rabbins français,' and 'Menahem Vardimas,' and 'Dreux et Gournay,' by Ad. Neubauer; 'La résidence des Juifs à Marseille,' by J. Weyl; 'Les Juifs de Nantes et du pays nantais,' by L. Brunschwig; 'Les inter-

pretations d'Akiba et d'Ismaël sur Nombres v. 28,' by Furst; and 'Scènes de Chasse dans le Talmud,' by M. Jastrow.

**REVUE DES DEUX MONDES.** October, November, December.—In the earlier numbers for this quarter there is a good deal of tolerably heavy reading. Under this rubric it is scarcely unfair to class the 'Souvenirs Diplomatiques,' in which M. G. Rothau retraces the various negotiations undertaken with a view to secure the recognition of the Second Empire by the Northern Courts. Neither can any very great interest be said to attach to M. Camille Rousset's 'Conquest of Algeria,' which was commenced over a year ago, and drags its rather weary length right into the December parts. Who, of ordinary readers, cares for either the Second Empire or the conquest of Algeria just now?—A contribution of far greater interest is M. Gabriel Bonvalot's 'Aux Indes à travers le Pamir.' In 1886 the intrepid traveller set out with a view of reaching India by way of Afghanistan. No sooner had he crossed the Amer, however, than he was obliged by the Afghan authorities to turn back and to make for Samarcand. Here, at the suggestion of some Russian officers, he resolved to renew his attempt by another route, across the Pamir, the 'roof of the world.' The journey was performed in the depth of winter, through a vast desert of snow where the cold was so intense that the mercury froze in the thermometer. In spite of all dangers and difficulties M. Bonvalot and his companions again succeeded in reaching the Afghan frontier. Here again, they found their progress barred. But experience had taught them what to expect and what to do. Without waiting for the return of the messenger who had been sent for instructions, of which they knew quite well what the tenor would be, they took it on themselves to cross the Hindo-Koosh without permission and without guides. They had, however, only fled from one prison into another. They were stopped and detained some six or seven weeks by the Tchatralis, and it was only thanks to Lord Dufferin that they were released and ultimately succeeded in reaching British India. Throughout, M. Bonvalot's narrative is most interesting, and at times exciting. His Russian proclivities, however, are so very apparent, and the satisfaction with which he notes whatever is favourable to Russia and unfavourable to England is so thinly veiled, that it is difficult to read his narrative without a sense of irritation.—Another paper of considerable interest is that in which M. P. de Tchihatchef compares the petroleum production of Russia with that of the United States for the purpose of ascertaining which of the two countries is likely to secure a monopoly of the fuel which he

thinks destined to take the place of coals. As his name might almost lead us to expect, the writer decides in favour of Russia.—In a series of articles which require no further recommendation than the mere mention of the author's name, M. Maxime Du Camp, gives the history of the movement which resulted in the convention of Geneva, and details all that the Red Cross was able to achieve in the way of mitigating the horrors of war in the great struggle between France and Germany.—The Russian lady who writes under the pseudonym of Arvède Barine contributes a charming essay on Christina of Sweden. The subject, as all who have even a slight acquaintance with it will know, is not an easy one. Nor, indeed, does the writer attempt to decide wholly for or wholly against either those who have praised or those who have censured the daughter of Gustavus Adolphus. But a minute and conscientious examination of all available documents enables her to explain the striking contradiction between the various judgments which historians and biographers have passed on her.—A third instalment, contributed to the first of the November parts, closes the series of articles which M. C. de Varigny has devoted to English and American millionaires. Like its predecessors, the article contains a good deal of interesting though scarcely new matter, together with a good deal that is mere padding.—The anonymous paper entitled 'Our Field Artillery' is written with evident mastery of an important subject. Whether, however, it is absolutely impartial seems at least open to doubt.—In the second of the November numbers M. Ferdinand Brunetiere brings a second instalment of his 'Studies on the Seventeenth Century' begun as far back as last August. In the present article he traces the various phases in the struggle between Cartesianism and Jansenism, a struggle which resulted in the triumph of the former.—A paper of wide interest is that which M. Victor Du Bled devotes to an exposition of the Municipal Government of large towns. The subject is obviously one which admits of no satisfactory summarising; it must suffice to state that the large towns considered are London, Berlin, and Brussels, and that there are some general and very cursory remarks concerning the various systems which obtain in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Norway, Sweden, Russia, China and the United States.—The mere title of M. Edmond Plauchut's paper 'Egypt and the English Occupation,' will ensure its being read; but, its contents will scarcely secure for it a very cordial reception in this country. Summed up in a very few words, the author's object is to shew that Arabia's revolt was encouraged by English statesmen as affording a pretext for intervention and for taking possession of a long-coveted country.—The last contribution



which call for mention in the essay in which M. Emile Fagnat examines the character and the works of Joseph de Maistre. From a literary point of view this study is equal to anything in the six numbers before us. The subject, however, is one which may possibly awaken but a very moderate amount of interest amongst English readers.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE. October, November, December.—The closing numbers of the year fully maintain the status and popularity of this attractive periodical. They are readable from cover to cover, but no fewer than six articles are of exceptional interest, to leave out of account M. Combe's admirable novelette 'Agläe,' and the 'Récits américains' of Rose Terry Cooke, which last are probably already familiar to many readers north of the 'silver streak.'—In a sympathetic yet critical review of the contemporary poets of France, M. Edward Rod gives a pregnant and somewhat heterodox estimate of Paul Verlaine and poets of the so-called 'Décadence,' who hold in relation to the hitherto accepted standard of poetry a position analogous to that of Swinburne, Rossetti and their numerous disciples. With them 'form,' 'colour,' and above all 'music,' are the essentials in the new poetic departure; thought, 'criticism of life,' even common sense are matters of very minor consideration. M. Rod's position is fairly indicated in a single remarkable sentence; 'I feel more pleasure in turning to the 'Solitaire' (Sully-Prudhomme), 'Caïn' (Leconte de Lisle), or 'Sagesse' (Paul Verlaine), than in the extravagant tirades of Victor Hugo or the impassioned diatribes of De Musset.' 'But yesterday the name of Hugo might have stood against the world!'—M. Victor Dingelstedt, whose residence for many years in Central Asia qualifies him to speak with authority, gives an informing account of the Syr-Daria and the civilizing work of Russia in that region.—Under the comprehensive title 'Les Falsificateurs,' a word which covers all sorts of shams, adulterations, imitations, and artificialities—M. Lullin gathers together copious illustrations of the ingenuity of mortals in simulating natural productions and in even improving on them. It would appear that the demand for artificial eggs already exceeds the power of supply.—The name of Carmen Sylva, the Queen of Roumania is better known in this country than her writings, but at least one of her books has appeared in an English translation. M. Léo Quesnel, who has enjoyed the honour of hearing her Majesty read her own verses in her idyllic mountain palace, supplies a pleasant biographical sketch of the Queen, her character, and her works. One could have wished it longer, fuller in detail, and more precise in its

dates, but in any case it is an enjoyable glimpse of a sweet and gracious personality.—‘Sardine-Fishery and Traffic,’ by M. Emile Yung contains most curious information, and ‘The Literary movement in Italy’ another of Mr. Rod’s papers, affords a survey which cannot but be interesting to lovers of literature.—As usual the various ‘Chroniques’ are distinguished by bright and chatty views of men and books.

**L’ART.** October, November, December.—The number bearing the date of the 1st of November opens with an extract from M. Adolphe Jullien’s *Life of Berlioz*. It is entitled ‘Berlioz et la Damnation de Faust,’ and recalls the circumstances under which the operatic fragment was composed and produced.—‘What becomes of statues?’ The question is asked by M. Philibert Audebrand, who at the same time gives an answer to it in an excellent little sketch which recalls the chequered history of some of the masterpieces of ancient and modern times, and shows to what vile uses productions for which immortality was prophesied have at times been turned.—The single original article contained in the mid-monthly part is a sketch of the career and a short analysis of the works of John Brueghel, a Dutch painter, a contemporary and friend of Rubens.—In a paper which he entitles ‘Les Femmes à l’Académie de peinture’ M. G. de Lérís gives a few particulars concerning the fourteen ladies who, between 1673 and 1783 were admitted as members of the Royal Academy. The first of them was Catherine du Chenu, the wife of the painter Girardon. The last was Mme. Vigée-Lebrun.—In one of the December number Berlioz is again brought before the reader by M. Felix Naquet who contributes a very able review of M. Jullien’s work on the great composer as well as of that which he published some months ago on Wagner.—This is followed by a further instalment of M. Paul Leroi’s charming ‘Silhouettes d’artistes contemporains,’ the subject of the present sketch being Eugène Lambert.—The number which closes the year is chiefly taken up with notices of illustrated books and specimens of the engravings which they contain. The only independent article is one which M. Henry de Chennevières devotes to Listard, a Genevese artist of the 18th century.

**REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE.** October, November, December.—In the first of these three numbers M. Paul Janet continues the series of articles which he entitles ‘Introduction to Philosophical Science.’ The present instalment deals with the opposition which, in philosophy as in theology, exists between science and faith.—M. Bourdon’s paper ‘The Phonetic Evolution of Language’ is one which may be turned to practical use. In dealing with the main

question he is brought to consider the mechanism of articulation and shows how very greatly the pronunciation of foreign languages might be facilitated if more attention were given to this important but very generally neglected subject.—The paper which M. H. Ferneuil devotes to a consideration of the nature and scope of society is, in the main a refutation of the theory based on the assumption of 'a social contract.'—M. Guyau, the author of '*Esquisse d'une morale*,' '*l'Irréligion de l'Avenir*,' '*Morale anglaise contemporaine*,' and other works familiar to students of philosophy, is the subject of an exceedingly able and appreciative sketch from the pen of M. Fouillée. It runs through both the November and December numbers.—In what he calls 'a study of moral statistics,' M. Darkheim considers suicide in its connection with natality, and endeavours to show that if, on the one hand, an excess of births in any given country, or district, corresponds to an increase of suicides, the same results are also noticeable when vital statistics show a decrease of population.—Besides articles to which we have already referred, the last of these numbers contains a paper entitled 'Modern Theories of Generation and Heredity.' It is a summary of the course of lectures delivered by Professor Balbiani at the Collège de France.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE. October, November, December.—The first of the thirteen weekly parts now before us opens with a summarised report of the proceedings at the Congress of the German Hygienic and Medical Society. The reforms necessary in the legislation relative to dwelling-houses, the conditions under which sites for factories should be chosen and granted by the municipal authorities, and finally the manner in which sewage is disposed of in Frankfort, Wiesbaden, Essen and Halle, are the chief points which came up for discussion. Akin to this paper is the report of the address delivered by Dr. Koch at another Congress, that of army surgeons. The subject with which it deals is the prophylaxy of infectious diseases in armies. Under the same category, we find in No. 20—November 17—a very important article on the 'Physical Education of Young Children.' It is from the pen of M. Lagrange, who maintains that the methods of physical education actually followed in France altogether fail to meet the requirement which the health of children imposes. They are, he says, neither hygienic nor recreative; and he altogether disapproves of gymnasia as substitutes for open air exercise, except, of course, where the latter is not easily obtainable, as for example, in large centres of population.—The section devoted to scientific biographies has but one contribution to show this quarter, and that is a sketch of the career and work

of the eminent German mathematician, Clausius, to whom is due the discovery of what is known as the second law of thermodynamics.—Geography also is but poorly represented as compared with former quarters, though both the articles devoted to it must be allowed to be of considerable importance. The former of them, entitled 'The South-African Dominion,' examines, in no very friendly spirit, the progress of British colonization in the Dark Continent, where, it is predicted, England will soon possess another India. The other paper may, to a certain extent, serve as a counterpoise to this. It deals at very great length with the 'French Soudan,' that is Senegal and the Niger country, and considers in what manner and by what means colonization can best and most advantageously be carried on there.—Zoologists will have the consolation that the single paper specially intended for them is one not likely to attract outsiders. Its title is 'La Fonction urinaire chez les mollusques acéphales.'—Ethnography is well represented, as regards both the number of papers devoted to it and the importance and interest of each separate contribution. M. Vigué leads off with an excellent account of the various tribes of Senegambia, with the strange manners and customs of some of which, particularly the Susus, he appears to be very intimately acquainted. As a kind of antithesis to this—that is in so far as the people dealt with are concerned—the reader may turn to the sketch which M. Léo Quesnel gives of the Esquimaux. It should be noticed, however, that it is not based on personal research and experience, but on M. Emile Petitot's work *Les Grands Esquimaux*. In another article M. de Saint-Sernim takes us to the fishing-stations of the Cambodge, and describes, not only the way in which the fishing is carried on, but also, though not minutely, the manner of life of those engaged in the industry. The remaining papers in this special section all relate to the Jews. In an article contributed some time back to the *Revue*, Dr. Le Bon, expressed a very low estimate of the part played by the people of Israel in the civilization of the world. For this he is taken to task by M. Hément, and naturally replies in his defence. M. Ch. Richet then intervenes, to point out certain exaggerations on both sides, and finally M. S. Reinach protests against M. Richet's assertion that charity is not a Jewish virtue. It is scarcely necessary to add that the whole controversy is left at the end precisely as it began.—Passing on to Psychology, we have a variety of subjects connected with it, dealt with in a more or less popular manner. The evolution of the sense of colour, a theory which has found a good number of supporters, is opposed by M. Pouchet who, in a paper which

lays no claim to scientific strictness or authority, shows that red, which is mentioned as having originally been the only colour of which man had the perception, is still that which occurs most often in a number of works chosen by him at random. M. Soret enters into an examination of some of the illusions of sight produced by drawing and painting; and M. Th. Meynert communicates the address on 'Brain and Sociability' delivered at Cologne before the Congress of German Naturalists. Finally, M. Ch. Féré devotes a paper of considerable length to an account of the provision made for the insane in Scotland.—Of miscellaneous subjects we may mention M. Max de Nansouty's 'Inundations and the means of checking them'; M. Georges Petit's description of the actual state of the works of the Panama Canal; M. Janssen's account of an excursion to Mont Blanc; and M. Sesèble's 'Wolf Hunting in Russia.'

REVUE UNIVERSELLE ILLUSTRÉE. October, November and December.—The first of these numbers opens with a very excellent sketch, 'De Saint-Petersbourg à Stockholm,' from the pen of the well-known art-critic M. Emile Michel, who is at present engaged in visiting all the museums and picture galleries in Europe, preparatory to writing a life of Rembrandt, for which he has received a commission from the French publisher, M. Hachette.—Another instalment of these *impressions de voyages* appears in the December number. It takes the reader from Stockholm to Copenhagen.—'France et Italie,' by M. Mereu, an Italian, endeavours to account, in a friendly way and without entering into anything like a political discussion, for the singular phenomenon of two nations who, as he puts it, love each other, but think themselves hated each by the other.—'Une Vengeance,' the story of Spanish life, which represents the light literature for the first month, is abundantly exciting and not badly written, or rather translated.—The 'Souvenirs de la vie littéraire,' contributed by M. Philibert Audebrand, will not strike the reader who knows anything about Gérard de Norval as being particular new; but the strange career and the mysterious death of the clever, but half, if not wholly, mad individual who assumed the name, is one that will bear being re-told, and M. Audebrand tells it in a pleasant way, and from personal knowledge.—'L'Evangile illustré par les grands Artistes' is an interesting sketch, in which M. Dumont shows both with pen and pencil, how the various scenes and episodes of the Gospels have been treated by the great masters.—Akin to this is the paper in which M. Eugène Müntz chats pleasantly and instructively about the Madonnas of Michael-Angelo.—M.

Adolphe Jullien, to whose eminence as a musical critic it is scarcely necessary to refer, has a capital article on Auber.—In continuation of his literary reminiscences, M. Audebrand gives some interesting and amusing details concerning the father of Balzac.—The December number is scarcely up to the average of its predecessors. One very good thing, owing chiefly to the illustrations which accompany it, is M. Delannoy's 'Chiens et Chats.'—The paper which M. Chavelier heads 'Marie Tudor' has one merit, that of being very short.—For the benefit of musical readers it may be mentioned that the November part contains an unpublished melody by Schubert.

#### HOLLAND.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—The November number contains the conclusion of Prof. Kuenen's 'Three paths, one goal.' Two of the paths adopted in early Old Testament studies, were discussed in the former paper, that of intuition by M. Renan, and that of dissection of the sources, by Kittel. The third path, that of comparison, is that of Prof. Bâthgen. The title of his book is *The God of Israel and the Gods of the Heathen*, and indicates the position taken up in the book against Kuenen himself and Stade, that the early Israelites were not polytheists as their neighbours were, but that the worship of Jehovah only was considered right and legitimate among them from the earliest times. This thesis is worked out by a comparative review of the gods of the Semitic tribes, for which the reviewer gives him high praise. It is denied, however, that the difference between Jahveh on the one side and Chemosh and his brother gods on the other, is so wide or reaches so far back as Prof. Bâthgen would have it. 'Jahveh and Chemosh are sons of one house, branches of one stem,' though Jahveh had from the first a character promising better things, which was entirely wanting to Chemosh. The student will await with interest the appearance of Dr. Robertson Smith's Burnet Lectures on early Semitic religion, which will throw a much needed light in this country on a dim and difficult subject. There is a very appreciative critique of Sabatier's book on the origin of sin in Paul's theological system; also a notice of Mr. Evans' *St. John, the Author of the Fourth Gospel*, which is treated as a phenomenon of curious interest.

DE GIDS. Oct.—'Java's greatest curse' is an article on the opium traffic in that island, where it is one of the best sources of revenue, though at the cost of demoralisation of people and officials. The system of farming out the opium taxes for a period of three years is condemned by Kielstra, the writer of

the article. He advocates not the suppression but the regulation of the trade, so as to put an end to smuggling and limit the number of dens. He describes vividly the vexatious position of officials having to deal with spies and informers, and the misery the present system entails on the people. The same subject is treated in a review of Wiselius' able book, *Opium in Dutch and British India*. This author roundly accuses the British Government of a vast deal of *cant* in their descriptions of opium culture. He says that the labour employed, though nominally free, is as really forced labour as that of Dutch India, but he acknowledges that opium culture as carried on by the British is admirable in its methods and results. The whole aspects of the trade are discussed with all its difficulties, and the book is one which government officials might study with profit.

DE GIDS. November.—Naber writes on 'Johan de Witt and His latest Historian.' This is Lefèvre Pontalis, who has industriously brought to light many documents, but has proved himself incapable of deciphering their true import, especially in regard to De Witt's position on the question of centralisation or decentralisation of State authority, and as to his attitude towards France. No one excelled De Witt in the art of misleading others in his documents and letters. His diplomatic career minutely followed out here was that of an Icarus.—From Belgium's School-History is a very long description of the state of Education in Belgium since 1878, than which nothing can be more deplorable. Under the Liberal Government much progress was made in establishing public schools, but these were opposed by all possible intrigues and incredibly mean persecution of the priests, who even made wives desert their husbands and children because the latter were sent to the public school. The accession of a Catholic ministry resulted in such measures being taken, that in December 1887, 2,205 public schools were swept out of existence, and 1500 certificated and capable teachers had to give place to others, many of whom were perfectly ignorant. The expense to districts has, nevertheless, increased, and even Catholics begin to find the effects of their reaction expensive, Belgium has the distinction of being the only country in Europe where the Government opposes progress in public instruction.—'The Story of the Nations'—*Holland*—by Thorold Rogers, though flattering to the Dutch, is in many points inaccurate, and gives a perverted view of Dutch history. It is more of a pamphlet than a history, and is pronounced by the reviewer not worthy of being translated into Dutch.—The death of Zimmermann,

a frequent contributor of graphic, social, and political sketches, is lamented. Though one of the busiest men in Amsterdam—sugar broker and banker—he found time for writing novels, none of which however, is of much account.

DE GIDS.—The December number opens with tributes, more eulogistic than critical, to the memory of the lately deceased Jan van Beers, schoolmaster, poet and novelist. Devoted to his country Belgium, he did good service as editor of many school-books; but as a Liberal, he suffered from the policy of the Catholics, whose tactics referred to above, are dramatically exposed in his novel. He was like his friend Conscience, an enthusiast for the Flemish movement, which he did all in his power to promote, as well as to encourage a brotherly feeling with Holland. His claim to be a poet has been acknowledged by his countrymen. His earlier poems are sickly in sentiment, dreamy and sad; his later ones more manly, less French, more Flemish, but if one, which sees the light for the first time here, the commonplace 'Idyll of Mathijs' is a fair specimen, they cannot rank high.—An interesting paper reviews the art-work and gives glimpses of the life of the three remarkable brothers, Jacob, Mathij and William Maris, all little appreciated in Holland, but whose work, while it is essentially 19th century, will bear comparison with the best 17th century work, of which it is in no sense an imitation, being thoroughly original and characteristic. All three, though very different in their choice of subjects, have yet a curious likeness in their way of treating them.—A contribution to the history of classic philology is found in a paper on Scaliger, his precursors (Stephanus and Isaac Casaubon) and his successors (Perizonius and Beaufort). It is shown how the study of antiquity at that period was especially developed in the circles of the Reformed.—A course of essays on the 18th century deals with Young's 'Night Thoughts' which both in itself and on account of the influence it exercised on the period, is characterised as unique, and one of the most notable documents in European literature, but not easy to read through.

DE GIDS. January.—The most interesting paper is one by Professor Naber on the study of Greek and Latin in Dutch secondary schools. He laments that the Dutch youth spend six years in not learning these languages, and is reluctantly led to the conclusion that Greek should no longer form a part of the general curriculum of grammar schools. Latin, he holds, should retain its place, but should be taught in a more living, a more conversational way than now.



## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

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*The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.* By EBERHARD SCHRADER, D.D., &c. Translated from the second enlarged German edition by the Rev. OWEN C. WHITEHOUSE, M.A. Vol. II. With Addenda and Appendices. London: Williams & Norgate. 1888.

This volume not only completes the translation of Professor Schrader's *Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, but brings to a close the work of the Theological Translation Fund. Not that the work projected by Messrs. Williams and Norgate in originating the Fund has been accomplished, but the support given to them by the reading public has proved insufficient to justify them in proceeding further with it. This is to be deplored, for the volumes issued under it have been among the best of their kind which German scholarship has of late produced. Certainly the last of these, Pfeleiderer's *Philosophy of Religion*, and Schrader's *Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*, are of so commanding interest and importance that the demand for them might well have been expected to be such as to inspire the publishers with fresh hope and courage. It has not been so; and we can therefore only express our regret at the decision they have been forced to come to. Professor Whitehouse apologises for the delay that has occurred in the publication of this volume. When we see, however, how much additional matter this second volume contains to that in Schrader's German edition, and that by Professor Schrader's own notes and the editor's contributions to it the work is really vastly enriched and brought up to date—all the most important discoveries of these past three years are chronicled, and recent articles and discussions summarised, if not given *in extenso*—we feel that apology is hardly needed. Both the author and the translator have done their best to make this English edition as perfect as possible, and it is to be commended for the wealth of information it contains, and the care that has been taken to secure both fulness and accuracy throughout. The light which the recovered Assyrian language and history shed on obscure passages of the various books of the Bible is turned on them here, and under that light much of their obscurity disappears. The 'Excursus on Chronology' is an admirable piece of workmanship, and is enriched with very valuable notes by the translator. The Chronological Addenda, containing the 'Assyrian Canon of Rulers,' 'Eponym Lists,' 'Babylonian Canon of Rulers,' according to Ptolemæus, and 'Babylono-Assyrian Synchronisms'; an elaborate 'Glossary' for all the texts transcribed in the two volumes; Indices, and Additional Notes, and the Bibliography make this edition one of the greatest helps to the Biblical student, and handiest guides to the young Assyriologist that we know of, if he is also interested in Old Testament exegesis.

*The Preachers of Scotland from the Sixth to the Nineteenth Century* (Cunningham Lecture). By W. G. BLAIKIE, D.D., LL.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1888.

Dr. Blaikie may be said to have chosen for his Cunningham Lecture a more popular subject than any of his predecessors. There can be no doubt that Scotsmen have a strong liking for sermons, and will often go long

distances to hear a popular preacher, and any book dealing with preachers is generally sure to find a more than average number of readers. Dr. Blaikie's book is partly historical and partly, in fact largely theological—perhaps necessarily so. His opinions in theology are well known, and here we have nothing to do with them. Our main business is with his book or lectures as a history of preaching in Scotland, for such, we take it, it is ostensibly meant to be. Dr. Blaikie has read widely, and undoubtedly says a good deal which is historical in a vigorous and interesting way, but we hesitate to add that he has written impartially. He is too apt to judge the preachers he has to deal with according as they preached or did not preach the opinions he is himself in favour of. No one, however, we should imagine, will object to his denunciation of such men as 'Jupiter' Carlyle, or Dr. Webster. On the other hand the assertion that 'such supernatural appendages,' as the miracles, visions and prophecies which Adamnan records in his *Life of St. Columba*, 'are characteristic of an author who had lost faith in the power of the Gospel message, backed by a holy Christian life,' conveys an insinuation which is unjust to the memory of Adamnan and in contradiction to all that is known of him. Dr. Blaikie in fact betrays too much of the character of an advocate for an historian. Still his book abounds in excellent descriptive passages, and is written in a very popular manner.

*Works of Thomas Hill Green.* Edited by R. L. NETTLESHIP.  
Vol. III. *Miscellanies and Memoir: with a Portrait.* London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1888.

This volume completes the collected works of the late Professor Green, and forms a very fitting supplement and companion to the volumes that have gone before. It ranges, in its 'Miscellanies,' over a considerable field,—containing papers of a purely philosophical cast, essays on passages of Scripture and on Christian dogma, reviews of books, lectures on the English Revolution, and lectures on educational subjects. It is preceded by a Memoir (covering about one-third of the whole), written by the editor, giving us a vivid and exceedingly interesting account of the author. And it closes with an Index; of which, however, it must be said that it is all too meagre. With the appearance of this handsome volume, we are now in a position to see the exact nature and amount of Professor Green's contributions to philosophy. And the first thing that strikes us is Green's own personality. Old students never tire speaking in terms of the most enthusiastic admiration of the master; and they testify, one and all, to the stimulating and elevating effect that immediate contact with him produced. The same stimulating and elevating effect is produced upon the reader of these pages. We rise from a perusal of them with the impression that the writer and his philosophy are one, and that there is no insincerity here. Green's was clearly a 'life in which philosophy was reconciled with religion on the one side and with politics on the other; the life of a man to whom reason was faith made articulate, and for whom both faith and reason found their highest expression in good citizenship.' The next thing that strikes us is, that Green's philosophy really consists of two great principles,—man's spiritual liberty, and the universal self-consciousness. Into whatever field the writer may happen to stray—politics, philosophy, religion—the turning-point in the argument is always one or other of these. They are for him the open sesame for all doors of the universe—the ultimate explanation of the world and of life. The third striking fact is, that the groundwork of Green's system was laid by him at a very early date. As far back as the year 1858, i.e., when he himself was only twenty-two years

of age, he wrote an essay on the 'The Force of Circumstances,' and there it is laid down that 'this outer world is no independent existence, but a means through which a man's own mind is evermore communicated to him, through which the deity, who works unseen behind it, pours the truth and love which transform his capabilities into realities': and, 'It is a similar lesson which the good man learns from the power of external nature in all its aspects. He finds that it is only what he gives to it that he receives from it, but yet by some mysterious affinity, it evokes what he has to give, and then it bears witness with his own spirit that what he gives is not his own, but inspired from above. There is no chasm between man and nature. Each, we may truly say, is a reasonable soul; one as being the living receptacle, the other, the apt channel, of the influx of divinity.' Here is the very kernel of Green's system; and the way of putting it is scarcely improved upon in later years. But what now is the *value* of that system? This is a question that we dare not, just at present, dogmatically answer. One thing, however, we may confidently say, that the moral earnestness and the speculative ability displayed in these writings must be a power in philosophy for many a day; but, on the other hand, we are not less confident that the doctrine of the universal self-consciousness, as here put, is not likely to be generally accepted as a final explanation of the universe. It leaves too many things unexplained, and creates too many difficulties of its own, to permit its being regarded as wholly satisfactory; and, in its latest form, it becomes too much attenuated and savours too much of a bare abstraction to meet the demand of the religious consciousness for a *personal* all-comprehending Deity.

*The Nervous System and the Mind: a Treatise on the Dynamics of the Human Organism.* By CHARLES MERCIER, M.B.  
London: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

This book, so the author himself tells us, is intended primarily for the Alienist; but it is one, we venture to think, that is likely to have considerably more interest for the general student of psychology. For the alienist—or, to speak in a language more easily understood, 'the student of insanity'—is not by any means prominent in it; and there are certain reasons why the alienist, *quâ* alienist, should not be specially drawn towards it. In the first place, he is soundly rated, in the Introduction, with his apathy in relation to a knowledge of the normal mind; he is told that he regards the acquisition of such a knowledge 'as a useless waste of time, and indeed as a pernicious dereliction of duty.' But really, in the face of such works as those of Dr. Maudsley, this seems to be putting it too strong; and as for ourselves, we can only say that we have known several very eminent alienists, and each of them was a diligent and appreciative student of Mr. Herbert Spencer. In the next place, there is much, very much, in this work that is highly theoretical; at certain points, indeed, the amount of hypothesis and inference is enormous. Can you blame the alienist if he does not show the same amount of enthusiasm all along the line as our author does? Besides the Preface, the Introduction, and the Conclusion, the book itself consists of three parts: the first dealing with the physical and the physiological functions of the Nervous System; the second with the psychology of Conduct; and the third with Mind. The whole is determined by the fact that 'the psychological unit is a *nervous process*, which when transmitted to muscles, issues in a *movement*, and is accompanied by a *mental state*.' In Part I., we have a very clear, able, and effective exposition of the nature and origin of the nerves and nerve centres, following closely on the lines of Mr. Spencer and Dr. Hughlings-Jackson. The virtue here lies, not in anything purely original on Dr. Mercier's part, but in the lum-

inous and succinct statement of well known doctrine, together with great wealth of illustration. In Part II., we have a very full account of the psychological functions of the nervous system, *i. e.*, of its power 'to adjust the organism as a whole to its environment.' But let the introspective psychologist here beware; for introspection is explicitly excluded. The standpoint is not subjective, but objective; and the conduct treated of is the objective ordering of movement, with a nervous mechanism which obeys 'strictly physiological law.' It is Part III. that has for us the greatest interest, and that shews the author in his highest originality. But, unfortunately, here precisely it is where we can least agree with him. His famous classification of the Feelings seems to us entirely vicious, and it does not, as he lays claim for it, set out the order of evolution. That it is marked by intellectual acuteness and a firm hold of scientific method, is undoubted; but the ingenuity is often too great, landing us in the proverbial distinction without a difference; and there is no just appreciation of the limits of Natural History grouping, as applied to the phenomena of Mind. From the necessity of the case, Emotions cannot be as sharply demarcated as the different species, genera, and orders of plants and animals; nor can you work the graded system to anything like the same extent as you do in Botany and Zoology. A vast number of emotions are highly *compound*, being a union of two, three, or more simpler emotions, and so cannot properly be grouped along with any single one of their components. There is interminable overlapping; and so much double, triple, or quadruple entry is required as really to deprive the graded system of all save its nominal value. Nevertheless, it is well to see, once for all, how exactly the thing looks when carried systematically out; and this value at least Dr. Mercier's brilliant effort has, and for this we owe him gratitude.

*Scotland in 1298: Documents relating to the Campaign of K. Edward I. in that Year, and especially to the Battle of Falkirk.* Edited, with an Introduction and Notes, by HENRY GOUGH, Esq., of the Middle Temple, Barrister-at-Law. Alexander Gardner, Paisley; and Paternoster Row, London. 1888.

This volume is one of several by which the Marquess of Bute is aiding the illustration of a period in Scottish history which eminently deserves to have every means for such illustration brought to bear upon it. The period is that of the wars of Edward I. in Scotland. Lord Bute himself has, by his paper on the Burning of the Barns of Ayr, and by his publication (in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*) of a most curious narrative found for him by Mr. H. Gough in a MS. in the parish library of Reigate, Surrey, and written in imitation of Biblical history in a style very satirical and humorous, but often also very profane, begun this work of illustration; and now, by invoking the services of the specially competent gentleman already named, he continues it on a far larger scale in the volume of which the title is given above. We have here all the contemporaneous documentary materials for the history of the war in 1298, gathered from the Public Records, and presented in their sequence, embracing all the details of the levies made for the English army, with the various preparations for the campaign and its expenses, *etc.*; together with such relations of the events of the campaign as are given by chroniclers either contemporary or closely subsequent. The official documents extend in date from July 1297 to November 1298. To show the nature and interest of the volume, it will be enough here to summarize its chief contents. We have first, in Mr. Gough's Introduction, an

outline given of the proceedings of Edward I. in this eventful year ; and this is followed by a series of extracts from the chronicles, of which the latest is that of Meaux, written at the close of the Fourteenth Century. The Documents themselves then commence, with writs for levies, and with letters of protection for the lands and goods of those who were summoned for military service. These were at first issued by the King's son, Prince Edward, while the King was in Flanders. The Prince also, on January 22, ordered the Earl of Surrey to proceed forthwith to Scotland with such forces as were ready, without waiting for that Welsh contingent which afterwards at Falkirk gave great reason for suspecting treachery on their part, by their uncertain behaviour until the moment when they saw that the fate of the battle was no longer in doubt. From the time of the King's arrival in England in March, these documents become naturally more numerous, and additional writs for levies in Wales bring the number of soldiers there raised to a total of 11,200. Mandates for supplies of divisions are on several occasions dispatched to Ireland, as well as elsewhere. Various presentations to ecclesiastical benefices in Scotland are recorded as being made by the King, of which most are subsequent to the battle of Falkirk. Two of the larger and more important articles are, (1) The Roll of Arms of those English knights who led the troops of their retainers at the battle, which is given in duplicate from two MSS., with notes upon each name ; and, (2) Two Rolls of Horses. These latter Rolls are extremely interesting, as each horse is described, and appraised at the value for which compensation was to be made if it were lost in the campaign. Finally, of a date fifteen years later, there come some money accounts of persons who had been employed in paying soldiers' wages and in providing corn. In a note to the Roll of Arms, Mr. Gough mentions an important discovery made by himself some years ago relative to a writ dated 26th January, 25 Edward I. (1297), which has been hitherto erroneously described as summoning a Parliament to be held on the feast of St. Matthew (21st September) next ensuing, and upon which Sir H. Nicolas based an argument which assumed that this writ was supplemented by a later one of 9th September. Mr. Gough points out that *Matthew* is a misreading of the record, which really gives *Matthias* ; and by this simple correction of date the whole argument based on the erroneous reading falls to the ground. The value of this correction has been already recognised at p. 112, vol. i. (1887) of the elaborate and exhaustive *Complete Peerage* now in course of publication, which is understood to be the production of Mr. Cokayne, Norroy King of Arms. From this brief summary of the contents of this volume, it will be easily seen how valuable it is, apart from its relation to general history, for the illustrations it affords of the military system of the Kingdom, of personal and family history, and of prices of equipments and provisions. The name of the editor is a sufficient guarantee of painstaking accuracy. Marginal abstracts facilitate reference to the text ; and a most careful index, which will be found of great service to genealogists, supplies all that in an index can be required. We believe that another volume is in preparation, which exhibits an Itinerary of the movements of Edward I. during all the later years of his reign.

*Maitland of Lethington and The Scotland of Mary Stuart: a History.* By JOHN SKELTON, LL.D. Vol. II. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1888.

With this volume Mr. Skelton finishes his brilliant sketch of Lethington and the Scotland of Mary Stuart. There is another volume still to come

in order to complete the work, but that is to be made up of letters and documents,—pièces justificatives, as the French say. Of the literary charms of the present volume it is needless to speak. Readers of the previous volume will peruse it with unabated interest, and find in its pages that piquancy and fascination of style they have been led to expect. From an historical point of view, the work is an admirable piece of analysis and statement. Mr. Skelton has sifted his material with a keen, cold, critical eye, and set down his narrative and opinions in a calm and judicial spirit. No doubt he is strongly in favour of Mary and Lethington, and has no love for Knox and the 'precise Protestants,' still, the spirit of fairness in which he has endeavoured to form his opinions and to describe the motives and conduct of all who played an important part in the tragic events of the period with which he has to deal, is generally obvious. Here and there he is perhaps open to the charge of undue partiality, but on this point no judgment in the absence of the supplemental volume can be pronounced. The conduct of some he frankly owns his inability to account for; on that of others he hesitates to pronounce an opinion; and though he leaves little doubt as to the opinions he is disposed to accept himself with respect to several incidents, he points out with the greatest candour the difficulties in the way of their definite acceptance. The period, however, abounds in characters, deeds, and incidents about which Mr. Skelton has no difficulty in arriving at clear and definite conclusions. His reading of many of them is new and startling, and sustained as his opinions seem to be by documentary and other evidence, not a few of them will come to many as revelations. Maitland's character he has certainly vindicated against a great deal of unmerited calumny, and shown that he was a faithful servant, a prudent and skilful statesman, animated by broad and enlightened views, disinterested in his aims, and sincerely devoted to the welfare of his country. He was of precisely that type of character which was likely to suffer from the jealousies and prejudices of his contemporaries. In times of revolution, caution, moderation and tolerance, though greatly needed, are not qualities which are highly esteemed. In his conflict with Knox Maitland was certainly worsted, but it is questionable whether of the two, Knox's or Maitland's, the proposals of the statesman would not have proved the more advantageous to the country. As a vindication of the rights of reason and conscience and as a protest against a sacerdotal monopoly, as well as against an incredible superstition, Mr. Skelton is of opinion that the Reformation nowhere failed more conspicuously than under the leadership of Knox in Scotland. The Reformers, he observes, did not loose the bonds of superstition; they banished one incredibility to replace it by another. And the Church of Knox, he tells us, was as arbitrary, as domineering and as greedy of power as the Church of Hildebrand. With those who believe that the revolution headed by Knox threw back for no less a period than two hundred years art and civilization and even religion in Scotland, Mr. Skelton cannot, however, agree; but he is inclined to hold on the whole that if Maitland's counsels had prevailed, the effect of the Reformation on morals, on doctrine, on the social relations, and on the intellectual life of the country would have been much more salutary than it was. One point which Mr. Skelton is careful to bring out, deserves attention, all the more so as it is generally overlooked, and that is, that except in the towns Knox had no considerable following. The new ideas spread slowly; in the rural and Highland districts they had few adherents; and it was many years, even after the new religion had been established in the towns and by Acts of Parliament, before several parts of the country, and some of them in the neighbourhood of large towns, were completely won over or coerced to its adoption. 'A

wide democratic franchise,' observes Mr. Skelton, 'would probably have arrested the Reformation; and had the Scots been left to fight it out among themselves, Mary would have been Queen till she died. Singularly enough Maitland was an Unionist and saw, what few then were capable of seeing, that a wise and statesmanlike treaty of Union between England and Scotland would have been of great advantage to the northern and poorer kingdom. Though not blind to what was good in Knox, and while paying a just tribute to his sincerity, Mr. Skelton does not fail to point out the defects in his character and conduct. He 'was a power in himself,' he observes, but 'an eruptive and revolutionary power,' overbearing and dogmatic, an 'ecclesiastical dictator as violent and irrational as the ecclesiastical dictator at Rome.' His vehemence, however, 'must not be confounded, as it has sometimes been with deliberate rudeness or boorish disrespect; an entire absence of sound judgment, charity and tact, is the worst that can be laid to his charge. His missionary zeal was untempered by apostolic discretion.' On this account both Maitland and Mary found him utterly unmanageable and impracticable. His conduct towards the latter, though intended to win her over to the Protestant party had precisely the opposite effect. Had he desired to confirm her in her opinions, says Mr. Skelton, 'he could not have followed a more successful method than he adopted.' She found that he was narrow-minded, superstitious, and fiercely intolerant—so narrow-minded, intolerant and superstitious, that he had no difficulty in believing that the orderly course of nature was interfered with because she dined on wild fowl and danced till midnight. If this was Protestantism she would have none of it. Nor can we blame her much.' The earlier historians of Scotland were only permitted to call a spade a spade when no reflection on Knox or his friends was intended. Mr. Skelton has used his right and privilege to call a spade a spade with respect both to Knox and those who sided with him. Perhaps the reputation of none has suffered so much by the facts here set forth as that of Moray, 'the cold and scrupulous Moray,' 'the *vir pietate gravis* of the precise Protestants,' and few passages in the volume will be read with greater interest than the paragraph describing the Articles of the 'Band' which Moray signed, and of which Mr. Skelton roundly says 'a more shameful bargain was never struck.' The picture which the volume presents of the unfortunate Queen Mary is extremely touching, and it is only when one has carefully read all that Mr. Skelton has to say, that one begins to feel the excessive difficulty and painfulness of her position. Situated as she was, it would have been little short of a miracle had no breath of ill-fame fastened itself upon her. Many of the charges brought against her, Mr. Skelton has successfully refuted, but in respect to others, particularly the Bothwell incident, he owns himself unable through lack of sufficient evidence one way or other, to arrive at a satisfactory conclusion. The incident in fact is involved in a mystery, which will probably never be cleared up. Of Bursleigh the English minister Mr. Skelton has some good words to say, but of his Sovereign he has none. 'We hear enough,' he says, 'of Mary's bad faith; but Mary's bad faith was pellucid candour when compared with the rank dishonesty of her cousin. Hardly, indeed, in the whole annals of diplomacy can a parallel be found of the unblushing mendacity of Elizabeth.'

*The History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England begun in the year 1641.* By EDWARD, EARL OF CLARENDON.  
Re-edited by W. DUNN MACRAY, M.A., F.S.A. 6 Vols.  
Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1888.

This is a very careful and painstaking edition of Clarendon's great work on the troubles which began in 1641, and which, before they were ended, cost one king his head and drove another into exile. Warburton's notes have been omitted; so also has 'The Short View of the Kingdom of Ireland;' the first, because they have already appeared in two previous editions, and the second, because it is practically a different work. By these omissions, it has been found possible to reduce the seven volumes of the 1849 edition to six, which it is hardly necessary to say, are handsomely printed in good, clear type. So far as the text is concerned, Mr. Macray's edition is incontestably superior to all that have gone before it. It has been collated throughout, we are told, word for word, by the Editor, with the original MS. Of the care with which the work of collating has been done almost every paragraph bears witness. At the end of his sixth volume—not the fifth as stated in the Preface—Mr. Macray has given a table of the readings in the edition of 1849, which he has corrected from the MS. These occupy no fewer than fifty pages of small type, and it is remarkable how few paragraphs there are in which one or more corrections have not been made. Some of them are of course slight, involving in many cases simply the omission of words which former editors have inserted, and such alterations as 'as' into 'and,' 'archbishop' into 'archbishop's,' 'resolutions' into 'resolution,' 'their' into 'the,' 'the' into 'his.' Others of them, however, are of more importance, e.g., 'tone' into 'tune,' 'trustman' into 'truckman,' 'Beedon forest' into 'Needwood forest,' 'Mr. Fern' into 'Mr. Tern,' 'had [too] great reason' into 'had no great reason;' several times Lord Kimbolton of the 1849 edition, is corrected to Lord Mandevil, 'Mountrose's' becomes 'Monroe,' 'in Buckinghamshire' 'at Buckingham,' 'Elector [palatine]' 'Elector of Heydlsburgh,' 'one Gilvy' 'one Kilby,' 'Oakes' 'Okey,' and '[in the beginning of] May' 'upon [Friday] the [fourteenth] day of May.' But slight as some of them are, the corrections were all worth making, and the multitude Mr. Macray has found it requisite to make, is a proof of the minute care with which he has edited the work, and a feature which of itself will commend his edition to the attention of students. While engaged in revising the text, Mr. Macray has taken the opportunity of also correcting the punctuation. Owing to the wrong division of sentences or sections in former editions, the meaning of whole passages was often perverted, or their connection obscured; but by altering the division of many of the sections, and by the adoption of a better mode of punctuation, Mr. Macray has been able in many instances to bring out much more distinctly his author's meaning. The most manifest improvement of Mr. Macray's edition, however, and one for which all students of Clarendon will be grateful, is the addition, where possible, of exact dates. Previous Editors, with the exception of a running date of the current year, gave none. But with the help of Mr. Macray, the reader is now able to follow the narrative often from day to day, and even to correct Clarendon himself as to the order of events and the time at which they occurred. This is no small gain. Another feature of importance is the indication of the two sources of the text. As is well known from the preface of Dr. Bulkeley Bandinel to the 1826 edition, Clarendon worked up in the *History* large portions of his *Life*. Mr. Macray has now pointed out in a series of valuable footnotes the places where the text changes from one MS. to the other, and has thus rendered the task of verification comparatively easy. His own notes are not numerous, considering the extent of the work and the abundance of materials there is now at hand for the compilation of them; but their quality is such as to make one wish that he had added more. The



prefaces, on which, by the way, there is an excellent note, have been reprinted, and in the last volume a number of passages are printed which appear to have been struck out by Clarendon immediately after writing them. One or two such passages are also printed in the list of Addenda. In their way they are extremely curious, and show what thoughts were passing through their author's mind at the time of writing. They are a kind of comment too on the passages from which they have been cut out. One other improvement which deserves to be pointed out, is a new and elaborate index, for which all who have occasion to refer to the work will not fail to be thankful. Mr. Macray is to be congratulated. His work will supersede all previous editions of Clarendon.

*The American Commonwealth.* By JAMES BRYCE. 3 Vols.  
London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

Mr. Bryce's three elaborate volumes on the political institutions of the United States will be read with attention and eagerness by all who take an interest in politics, and more especially by those who are in the habit of regarding the political institutions of America as in every way superior to our own, and of admiring them as combining in themselves the best forms of popular government, and as reflecting on the whole the nearest approach to ideal perfection. An attentive perusal of Mr. Bryce's pages may probably tend to diminish this admiration, while with those who are somewhat sceptical as to the perfection of the American Constitution, it may have the effect of confirming their suspicions and of strengthening their belief that however admirably the institutions of America may be adapted to the requirements of the American people, those under which we live on this side of the Atlantic, are more elastic and in some respects superior. Mr. Bryce is not only an enlightened, he is also a very candid critic, and has answered the question Americans so persistently put to strangers with an elaborate frankness which, though perhaps at times a little galling, they can scarcely fail to admire. Of course the book which Mr. Bryce's will most readily suggest to an English reader is M. de Tocqueville's *Democracy in America*, but the two works are conceived on quite different lines. Mr. Bryce's object, as he tells us, has been less to discuss the merits of democracy than to paint the institutions and people of America as they are, and to trace what is peculiar in them not merely to the sovereignty of the masses, but also to the history and traditions of the race, to its fundamental ideas, and to its material environment. The European work of which the three volumes remind us most, is Von Holst's *Constitutional Law of the United States*, though as compared with this they are much fuller, more critical, more popular, and less legal. Taking the American Commonwealth as it is, Mr. Bryce proceeds to describe its framework and constitutional machinery, the methods by which it is worked and the forces which move it and direct its course, and divides his work into six parts. The first contains an account of the several Federal authorities, the President, Congress, and the Courts of Law, describes the relations of the National or central power to the several States, and discusses the nature of the Constitution as a fundamental supreme law, showing how in a few points it has been expressly, and in many others tacitly and half unconsciously modified. The second deals in a similar way with the State Governments and gives some account of the systems of rural and city governments which have been created in the various States, and which form, to say the least, an extremely interesting subject of study. The Third deals with the political parties, and sketches the organizations which have been instituted for winning elections and securing office. The object of the Fourth Part is to

sketch the leading political ideas, habits and tendencies of the people and to show how they express themselves in action. Part V. contains a number of illustrations, drawn from recent American history, of the working of the political institutions and public opinion, together with a number of very pregnant reflections on the merits and demerits of American democracy. The Sixth and last Part is devoted to the Social Institutions of the United States and deals with many topics of great interest, such, for instance, as the Bar and Bench, the Universities, the Churches, the Clergy, the influence of Religion, the position of women, the influence of democracy on thought, the relation of the United States to Europe, American oratory, the pleasantness and uniformity of American life. But to indicate all the topics of interest on which Mr. Bryce dwells is here impossible. There is not a chapter in the whole of his three bulky volumes which is not instructive. Description and criticism occur in almost every chapter and several are devoted wholly to the latter. There are three chapters in the last volume which will be read with special attention, but more particularly the last of them which discusses the question—How far American experience is available for Europe. From this it will be seen that Mr. Bryce's admiration of the American institutions is very qualified, and that even the Americans, proud of their institutions as they are, are alive to the fact that they have still some things to learn from the older countries, and that their own experiments are not in every respect to be imitated. Of the literary ability which the volumes exhibit it is needless to speak. In this country, at least, Mr. Bryce's work is without a rival, and its excellence will make it a standard work on the subject wherever the English language is spoken or understood.

*A Hand-Book to the Land-Charters, and other Saxon Documents.* By JOHN EARLE, M.A. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1888.

A manual of this kind has long been a desideratum. The collections of Kemble and Thorpe and the volumes now being issued by Mr. de Gray Birch, besides being expensive, are unhandy as text-books, and unsuitable for beginners. That Professor Earle's book has out-grown its original design will be to those who have to use it a matter of congratulation. The first intention, it would seem, was to print 'just a few specimens of land-charters, so grouped as to exhibit roughly the contrast of genuine and spurious.' But the work has now been developed into a considerable body of documents, arranged as primary and secondary, and as far as may be, in chronological order, and does much more than bring out the contrast originally intended. The first sheets betray some traces of this alteration in the original design, but while gaining in size, the work has gained also in value and utility, and will be found an admirable introduction to the study of the larger collections. The genuine or primary records are divided by Professor Earle into two sections, the dated and the undated. The first range from the beginning of the Seventh Century to the middle of the Eleventh, while the latter belong wholly to the Eleventh Century. The Secondary Documents are arranged in fifteen groups. The first comprises documents which are preserved in single sheets, as the primary records are, but which, unlike them, are not contemporaneous with the date assigned to the transaction. Their date is probably not later than the Eleventh Century. Those comprised in the remaining groups are mostly taken from such works as the Worcester Chartulary, the Rochester Book, the Crediton Roll, and the Liber Albus at Wells. Excepting the first, which is a genuine document, group three is a series of fabrications, all bearing

the name of King Athelstane. The dates between which the documents of this division range are from the Ninth to the Fifteenth Century. The notes, critical and explanatory, which Professor Earle has written for these documents, are, as need hardly be said, extremely helpful. The student will find much in them that throws light both upon the text and upon the laws and customs of the periods to which the records belong. Specially valuable is the introduction which Professor Earle has prefixed to the work. Though it runs to more than a hundred pages it is not a bit too long. In it, besides dealing with the character, form and construction of the documents, he throws new light on the manorial system, and the Donation of Æthelwulf, and leaves little doubt that the practice of dating from the year of the Incarnation was originated by the Venerable Bede, and spread into universal use throughout Christendom from England.

*Letters from and to Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq.* Edited by ALEXANDER ALLARDYCE. With a Memoir by the Rev. W. K. R. BEDFORD. 2 vols. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood and Sons, 1888.

Forty years ago, Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe was a well-known figure in Edinburgh, and though he is not even at this distance of time by any means forgotten, the publication of these two bulky volumes will go a long way to keep alive his memory and to perpetuate his name. The contents of the volumes divide themselves into two parts, or to be more exact, into four. First of all we have the preface, in which Mr. Allardyce modestly states the difficulties he has had to deal with in compiling the volumes, and the generous assistance he has received. Next we have a Memoir of Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, written by the Rev. W. K. R. Bedford. Then come the letters, most of them from Mr. Kirkpatrick Sharpe, and many of them to him. And lastly, we have a number of excellent prints, several of them coloured, all of which add to the attractiveness of the volumes. Each volume, we should also add, besides an extensive table of contents, is supplied with a carefully compiled index. The Memoir is written with discrimination and good taste, and tells all that needs to be told of its subject's somewhat uneventful outward life. Sharpe was born at Hoddam Castle, in Dumfriesshire, May 15th, 1781. His family, we are told, is connected with the anti-Covenanting interest of the South-west of Scotland, with Grierson of Lag, of persecuting notoriety, and with the Jacobite Provost of Dumfries who figures in *Kedgauntlet*. Kirkpatrick Sharpe claimed also that his family was connected with the royal race of Stuart, and frequently alluded to the fact. He was educated at Edinburgh, and afterwards at Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree in 1806. Of the social life at Oxford, he has little that is good to say. He never liked it, and was well pleased when his examinations were over and he was no longer compelled to reside there. At the same time, he thoroughly appreciated the numerous opportunities and facilities Oxford offered for antiquarian and literary studies, and was not slow to avail himself of them. His libraries and picture galleries were his constant resort, and his turn for caustic comment, and talent for sketching and caricature, soon won him friends among the best society there. On the death of his father, in 1813, he settled in Edinburgh, and for the rest of his life resided at No. 93 Princes Street. He occupied himself with collecting books and pictures, with sketching, with letter-writing, and with the preparation of his various publications, most of which were of an antiquarian or historical kind. He rarely travelled, and might be seen almost any day of the week between one and two in the afternoon, setting out in the quaint dress he affected,

for the purpose, it seems, of not appearing odd, on his constitutional. The correspondence here published divides itself into two parts—the first consisting of the letters which passed between Sharpe and his Oxford friends, and those which he wrote from Oxford. The rest, like many of those just mentioned, belong to the Edinburgh period, but differ from them in the fact that they deal chiefly with literary and antiquarian matters, and were addressed to, or received from, correspondents with whom he had become acquainted on account of his work. Admirably as the editor has performed the task of selection, it is almost to be regretted that room has not been found for more letters of this class; for whatever may be thought of the others, it is on these, we imagine, that the greatest store will in future be set. Sharpe was one of the band of men who, at the beginning of the century, helped to make Edinburgh much more of a literary centre than it is now, and was acquainted with most of the men who have shed so great a lustre on the period. Among his correspondents were Sir Walter Scott, Chalmers, Laing, Allan Cunningham, Leckhart, Robert Chambers, Motherwell, Maidment, and Harrison Ainsworth. The letters from and to these are all full of interest, both on account of their contents and their manner. Sharpe's letters, indeed, are always either interesting or amusing. He was wonderfully well informed, and has always some odd piece of information to convey, and besides, as need hardly be said, his pen was as sharp as his tongue, and his caustic temper comes out in almost every line. Some of the expressions belong to the last, rather than to the present century. It would be easy to fill page after page with amusing or interesting extracts; the only difficulty would be in selecting. Mr. Allardyce has done his work well—as well as the editor of the Ochtertyre papers might have been expected to do, and that is saying a good deal.

*Life and Opinions of Major-General Sir Charles Metcalfe Macgregor, K.C.B., &c., &c.* Edited by LADY MACGREGOR. 2 vols. Edinburgh and London: Wm. Blackwood & Sons. 1888.

Readers of Military Biography will find a rare treat in the elaborate and intensely interesting account which Lady Macgregor has here issued respecting her late gallant husband. Sir Charles was every inch a soldier, passionately devoted to his profession, and the Indian army has had the privilege of producing few more capable military writers, and few who have deserved so well of their country. Naturally shy and reserved, and sometimes during the earlier part of his career not speaking half-a-dozen words at the mess-table, when a chance of crossing swords with the enemy appeared he immediately brightened up, threw off his reserve, and chatted away merrily. Of fear he knew nothing; he was as cool and collected in the greatest danger as if on the parade ground. Joining the Indian army as an ensign in 1856, he has left behind him a brilliant record. He was through the Mutiny, marching under Outram to the relief of Lucknow, when he had several narrow escapes, and was three times wounded. He served with Fane's Horse in China, and was publicly mentioned in the House of Commons by Lord Herbert, then the Secretary for War, for the gallant manner in which with some twenty-five mounted Sikhs he charged a force of one hundred and fifty Tartar horsemen, routed them, and rescued half a battery of Artillery they were on the point of capturing. In this affair he was wounded in five places, and expected, as others also expected, that he would have received the Victoria Cross for his gallantry; but for some reason or other he did not, much to his own and his friends' disappointment. On the conclusion of peace with China he rejoined

Hodson's Horse in India, in which he was second in command. He next saw service in Bhutan, first as Brigade-Major, then as Deputy Assistant-Quartermaster General. He served under Sir Robert Napier in the Abyssinian campaign, and was present at the fall of Magdala. Subsequently he accompanied General Roberts as Chief of the Staff, and commanded a brigade during the brilliant march to Khandahar. For five years he held the office of Quartermaster-General in India; and but a few months before his death resigned the command of the Punjab Frontier Force. His disappointments were frequent and bitter. Though not unrewarded, there are few men who have done so much to whom the honours due to them have been served out with so grudging a hand. Want of friends at Head Quarters and his own outspokenness seem to have stood in his way. It seems hard to believe, however, that professional jealousy had not something to do with it. As a writer on military matters Sir Charles has had few rivals. A thorough-going reformer, he was anxious to put the Indian army in a state of perfect efficiency, and was profoundly impressed with the necessity for preparing to ward off any attacks which may be made upon the country from the north. His work on *The Defence of India* produced quite a scare, and was immediately suppressed by the Government. It is now looked upon, however, as one of the best authorities on the subject. There is much in these two volumes which is both instructive and entertaining. Sir Charles Macgregor wrote in a clear and forcible way, and much that is here given from his letters and diaries is in every way well worth reading, while here and there are to be met with not a few incidents which help to make up the romance of war. The work has more than a passing interest, and will remain as the clear and attractive record both of the achievements and of the opinions of one of whom Lord Dufferin declared—'Not among the many distinguished captains I have known, could I mention one, who came nearer, in martial bearing, love of his profession, devotion to duty and knowledge of the art of war, to the ideal of a powerful, chivalrous warrior.'

*Principal Shairp and his Friends.* By WILLIAM KNIGHT.  
London: John Murray. 1888.

Principal Shairp's life was not an eventful one. The story of it might be told in a few pages. Professor Knight, however, with the help of Principal Shairp's friends, has written a fairly large book about him. The work is less a memoir and more an attempt to portray a rich and many-sided character in different aspects. Hence Professor Knight remarks in his Preface:—'In the pages which follow, I have merely tried to build a memorial cairn, with the stones which have been sent to me, in reverent and affectionate memory, by those who owe to him some of the best influences of their lives.' Among the many contributors are Professor Sellar and Professor Veitch, the Deans of Westminster and Salisbury, Mr. Butler of Oriel College, Oxford, Mr. Matthew Arnold, and the Archbishop of Canterbury. Professor Knight also contributes his own share of reminiscences. Condensation or omission here and there might have been of advantage, but on the whole few, we imagine, will be disposed to complain that the work is unduly long. That it abounds in interest need not be said. The various contributions throw light, not only on the character of one who instinctively won the admiration of all who knew him, but on much of the life of those among whom his friendships were formed. While reading them, one begins to realize the truth of Professor Knight's words—'He was something much rarer and finer than his writing or his teaching—admirable as these were. He impressed himself with equal power on men of all classes, tendencies and sympathies—on persons of the

highest culture, and on poor students. There are not many such men at any time in the world.' Professor Knight, however, has not only built a 'memorial cairn' 'with the stones sent to him,' as he says; he has also contributed much that is interesting respecting Principal Shairp's literary work, and made use of a number of letters from such as Erskine of Linlathen and the author of *Rab and his Friends*. In short, *Principal Shairp and his Friends* is a work, which for the present generation, at least, has more than ordinary interest. It is one of those books, too, which, because they bring before us a bright and sunny nature, full of enthusiasm, and always animated by pure and lofty ideals, deserve to be read not only for the genial spirit by which they are pervaded, but also for the impulses their perusal awakens.

*The Complete Poetical Works of William Wordsworth.* With an Introduction by JOHN MORLEY. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

If ever any edition of Wordsworth's poems deserved to be called complete, it is the one which the Messrs. Macmillan have now issued, and for which Mr. John Morley has written an introduction. It contains all that Wordsworth ever printed, and one piece, which, though he more than once referred to it, he did not print. It here sees the light for the first time, and is simultaneously published in a separate form for the benefit of those who are already in possession of what has hitherto been a complete collection of the poet's works. It is entitled 'The Recluse,' and contains the first book of the first part of the great poem to which the *Prelude* was intended to serve as an introduction, and of which the *Excursion* was to be the second part. The third part was only planned, no part of it being written. The fragment now issued contains many fine passages, with one of which readers of Wordsworth are already well acquainted, it having been cited by him in the preface to the *Excursion*. Another occurs near the beginning. When speaking of his sister, he says :

' Mine eyes did ne'er  
Fix on a lovely object, nor my mind  
Take pleasure in the midst of happy thoughts,  
But either She whom now I have, who now  
Divides with me this loved abode, was there  
Or not far off, where'er my footsteps turned,  
Her voice was like a hidden Bird that sang.  
The thought of her was like a flash of light,  
Or an unseen companionship, a breath  
Of fragrance independent of the Wind,  
In all my goings, in the new and old  
Of all my meditations, and in this  
Favourite of all, in this the most of all.'

The poems themselves are all arranged as near as may be in their chronological order, and a table is given at the beginning of the dates at which they were severally written or printed. The various prefaces also and Wordsworth's notes and appendices are given. And further, we have a bibliography of Wordsworth, a list of biographies and critical articles on his writings, and an index to the poems with another to the first line of each poem. In short, nothing has been left undone to make the edition as complete as possible. Not a few will turn with interest to the Introduction. They will not be disappointed. The criticism is discriminating, and few will not regard Mr. Morley's estimate of Wordsworth's ability and position as poet as other than just.

SHORT NOTICES.—To the series of manuals entitled 'By-paths of Bible Knowledge,' the Religious Tract Society has recently added two excellent little volumes. The first is a second volume on *Scripture Natural History* and deals with *The Animals of the Bible*. Its author is Mr. Henry Chichester Hart, B.A. It is well supplied with illustrations, and though sprinkled here and there with Arabic, Hebrew, and Greek names, is simple and intelligible. It is one of those books which readers of the Bible do well to have always by them. The other volume is by Professor Sayce, and deals with *The Story of a Forgotten Empire*, the Empire being that of the Hittites, of whom so much is said in the early parts of the Old Testament but of whom so little is known, and who, until almost the other day, were never supposed to have formed an empire or to have been more than a small nomadic tribe. Though not so full as Dr. Wright's book, Professor Sayce's, which is not a fourth the size or price, contains a very lucid and interesting account of the resurrection of this long forgotten people. The freshest, it is perhaps the most valuable volume yet included in the series. To the 'Christian Classics Series' also we have two additions. The first is the valuable little treatise of St. Basil the Great, *On the Holy Spirit*; the other, Tyndale's *Obedience of a Christian Man*. Both volumes are handsomely printed and bound. To the first the Rev. George Lewis has added a brief Life of St. Basil and a number of excellent notes. To the 'Church History Series' has been added *A Short History of the Council of Trent* by the Rev. T. Rhys Evans, the materials for which have been drawn for the most part from Sarpi.

To Messrs. Nisbet's 'Men of the Bible Series' Professor Cheyne's *Jeremiah: His Life and his Times*, is a very valuable addition, and will attract the attention of a much more learned and critical class of readers than that for which the series seems to have been at first intended. *Jesus Christ the Divine Man: His Life and Times*, by the Rev. J. F. Vallings, M.A., is another addition to the same series. 'While the moral and spiritual aspects of the Life have been placed in the foreground, every effort,' the author tells us, 'has been made to present the physical and social environment briefly, yet accurately, in the light of modern research.' The volume is learned, but at the same time popular, and is pervaded by a profound conviction of the Divinity of our Lord and a reverential spirit. A further addition is the Rev. H. Deane's painstaking and commendable volume entitled *Daniel, his Life and Times*. Mr. Deane has read widely and written a work which is both popular and instructive.

The Rev. J. A. Kerr Bain's *The People of the Pilgrimage* (Macniven & Wallace), is a second series of expository studies on Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* regarded as a book of character. The characters here studied are Helpers, False Pilgrims, and Enemies. Mr. Bain has made the famous allegory the subject of devout study. He writes vigorously, and illustrates the text of Bunyan from modern life.

*The English Church in the Middle Ages*, by the Rev. W. H. Hunt, and *The Popes and the Hohenstaufen*, by Ugo Balzani, are the most recent additions we have received to Messrs. Longman's 'Epochs of Church History' Series. The first is an excellent little volume and gives a very vivid account of the establishment of the hierarchy in England, and of the effect which the Church had on the social, political and religious life of the country. The second carries the reader out to a wider field of European politics during one of the stormiest periods in the history of Christendom.

NEW EDITIONS.—Professor Calderwood's *Handbook of Philosophy* (Macmillan) has reached its fourteenth edition, which says much both for its

popularity and excellence. A circulation of over fourteen thousand copies is not often reached by any book, and might suggest to most authors that improvement or revision was unnecessary. Not so Professor Calderwood. The present edition has been in a large measure re-written. Its principal features, Professor Calderwood says, are the introduction of illustrations of the structure of nerve and brain; reconstruction of large portions of the discussion of fundamental questions, including reference to the most recent speculations on Evolution, enlargement of the portion dealing with the existence of the First Cause, and fuller bibliographical references. These improvements will make the book still more acceptable both to teachers and students.

Mr. R. Holt Hutton's *Essays, Theological and Literary* (Macmillan) have been before the public for upwards of seventeen years, and are here issued in a third and cheaper edition. As before they are distributed into two volumes, one containing the Theological and the other the Literary Essays. On the former no alterations have been made; they are the same as in the second edition. Among the Literary Essays those on 'Shelley and his Poetry,' and 'Mr. Browning,' have been recast and brought down to date; use being made in the former of Professor Dowden's *Life of Shelley*, to the manifest improvement of the Essay. Mr. Hutton, while giving Professor Dowden all credit for the frankness with which he has dealt with the strange paradoxes in Shelley's nature, points out that if he has missed anything of a grave importance in his estimate of Shelley's life, 'it is the impressiveness of the lesson which that life embodies against those loose Godwinian doctrines concerning marriage with which he identified himself, and by which his life at every turn was poisoned and spoiled.' In their present shape these Essays will undoubtedly prove themselves acceptable to a still wider circle of readers.

*The Scot in Ulster*, by John Harrison (Blackwood's), is a reproduction of a series of articles, now recast and thrown into a permanent shape, which originally appeared in the *Scotsman*. It is written from an Unionist's point of view, and shows considerable research. Of the Dalriadic Scots it says nothing, but deals simply with the history of the Lowland Scots who were settled there at a much later period.

Want of space compels us simply to mention the following:—*The Philosophy of Religion*, by Dr. Otto Pfeleiderer, translated by A. Menzies, B.D., vol. iv. (Williams & Norgate); *Spiritual Life and other Sermons*, by the Rev. J. E. C. Wellden (Macmillan); *An Examination of the Theory of Evolution*, by George Gresswell (Williams & Norgate); *A Manual of Christian Baptism*, by J. Agar Beet (Hodder & Stoughton); *Some Contributions to the Religious Thought of our Time*, by the Rev. James M. Wilson, M.A. (Macmillan); *The Natural History of Local Boards* (Simpkin, Marshall & Co.); *Practical Geometry*, by John Carrol (Burns & Oates); *Christianity made Science*, by the Rev. Thomas Prescott, M.A. (Williams & Norgate); *A False Step*, by Andrew Stewart (Oliphant); *Quiet Folk*, by R. Menzies Fergusson, M.A. (Simpkin, Marshall & Co.); *Hylomorphism of Thought Being*, by the Rev. Thomas Quentin Fleming (Williams & Norgate); *L'Idealisme en Angleterre au XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle*, par Georges Lyon (Alcan); *Tropical Africa* by Henry Drummond (Hodder & Stoughton); A new and cheaper edition of *The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat* (Fisher Unwin).



THE  
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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APRIL, 1889.

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ART. I.—CORPORATE RE-UNION IN THE REIGN OF  
CHARLES I.

‘A FINE rare show arrives from Rome, and it is all a present for the Queen, and the news of it reaches London, and the King is impatient to see it; and the Queen is lying in, and Mr. Panzani brings all the fine things to the Queen’s bed-chamber; and all the ladies of quality crowd in to see them; and the King with all his nobles hastens to the Queen’s palace; and the boxes are opened, and the pieces are viewed one by one; and Mr. Conn comes in (though still without a red hat) to satisfy the Queen’s curiosity, and Mr. Conn brings more fine pictures . . . and sees the King and the Queen of France; and Mr. Panzani takes leave of the Queen of England (for how could he omit it), and the Queen begs a red hat for Mr. Conn, and Mr. Conn must first do some signal service to the Church; and the King talks about Mr. Conn’s red hat; and the Queen gives Mr. Panzani a fine diamond ring; and Mr. Panzani takes leave of all the ministers; and he pays his respects to all the ladies of the Court; and the ladies send their compliments to the Pope, and they all beg Mr. Panzani’s blessing. It was the end of the year 1636.’

This Sevigné-like description was written in 1794, by the Rev. Charles Plowden in his ‘Remarks on a Book entitled *Memoirs of Gregorio Panzani.*’ Panzani had been about two

years in England, with a secret mission, to report to Cardinal Barberini the condition of the English Catholics, the condition of the Court, and the prospects regarding an ultimate reunion of the Anglican Church with Rome. He was to pave the way for an openly accredited envoy to the Queen, was to conciliate the ministers, disarm the Puritans, and do what he could for the Catholics, still smarting under the penal laws.

Executions, it is true, had become less frequent; but the royal coffers were still replenished by the fines imposed on Catholics for their pertinacity in assembling to hear Mass by stealth. If a priest were caught, he was thrown into prison, tried, and punished with death. In dealing with the laity, Charles I. was never in favour of enforcing the extreme rigour of the law, but he was so often in want of money, that he found it useful to be very severe in the matter of fines.

Panzani's mission to England falls about midway between the domestic storms which had troubled the early days of the King's marriage with Henrietta Maria, and the great social upheaving, which finally cost the most shifty of monarchs his throne and his life. The Queen had ceased to resent the expulsion of her French favourites, had consented at last to learn the English language, and tolerate the English people. She had thrown herself heart and soul into her husband's interests; and, since the death of Buckingham, was in possession of his entire confidence. If later on, any cloud arose over their mutual relationship, it was the King's half expressed suspicion that she thought little of his powers of governing, and that however much she loved him, she did not admire his policy, or trust his royal word as thoroughly as he did himself. This is evident from one or two affectionate but querulous letters which he wrote to her when he was in the hands of the Parliamentarians. Of the Court, as well as of the private life of the King and Queen, Panzani could report but favourably. The Catholics were to be helped by the Queen's influence, and as to the reunion with Rome, he thought he had some reason to be sanguine. A letter of Panzani's to Cardinal Barberini, of which the following is a translation, is to be found among the Roman transcripts made by the Rev. Joseph

Stevenson and Mr. Bliss, and deposited in the Public Record Office. He thus writes,—June, 1635 :—

‘According to your Eminence’s instructions, I have had a long talk with Father Philip (an English Capuchin and the Queen’s confessor) regarding the reconciliation of this kingdom with Rome, and the means of bringing it about. He told me that there are unmistakeable signs of a desire for such a reconciliation, not only in the King but among the clergy and laity as well, and the question is mooted almost daily. It is well, however, to be slow in drawing inferences, because, those who are most in favour of a reunion, do not venture to manifest their desire, but rather dissimulate it, under the appearance of a contrary way of thinking, on account of the severity of the laws against Catholics. This same fear actuates the King also, he being of a timid nature; hence the great misfortune of not being able to count on his prudence and judgment, seeing how changeable and uncertain he and his advisers are. Moreover, if by ill-luck, the present rumours of war, oblige the King to arm himself, we may expect some persecution of the Catholics, for money being required, before he can go to war, it will be necessary to assemble Parliament; and the Lower House, composed mainly of Puritans, will grant no supplies, unless the King makes some show of cruelty towards Catholics. For the same reason, all the Bishops and Ministers of moderate views, and favourable to a reunion, begin to be harsh and intolerant, when the time approaches for the meeting of Parliament, and in their sermons, do nothing but inveigh against the Pope; solely from fear of losing their lives or their places. Father Philip says there is no need to be alarmed at the difficulties we may encounter; but that we should be determined to overcome them, and that after God, the envoys may greatly facilitate the business, if they study with all their might how to make themselves agreeable to the King and the State.

‘He who comes here should be all things to all men, in order to win all, and should take everything he can in good part, and find excuses for the King and his officers, if sometimes they do not grant the Catholics all the favours they ask. He should throw the blame on the pursuivants and the informers,

and should adroitly petition for redress. He should keep Windebank (Secretary of State), considered by the Puritans to be "Popishly affected," and others, well informed of all that passes in Rome, and should manage to keep up communication with the papal legates, in order to have news, and at the same time to make himself agreeable to them, for they like above all things to receive marks of confidence. He must be careful, however, in publishing the facts he thus learns, to give no offence to any of the crowned heads, nor bring our religion into bad odour. The Envoy should distribute some gifts, and in fine, use every means to make himself beloved. He ought to be about thirty-five years old, and to have attained a certain solidity, rarely met with before that age. He should also be noble and rich, and of a good presence, furnished with all qualities proper to a gentleman, and above all, his life should be exemplary, without affectation or hypocrisy. . . . On the arrival of such an agent in London, speaking French well, which language is understood by the whole Court, he should first of all contrive to please the Queen, who, being young, delights in perfumes and fine clothes, and likes people to be lively and merry. His next object should be to ingratiate himself with the Court ladies and others; as much is done here by the influence of women; but he should on no account allow familiarity with the Queen and other ladies, to degenerate into lightness or worse; for that would involve the ruin of the whole undertaking. It is customary to say here: if a man's life is good, his religion must be a good one; but the English are shocked at every little thing. The King is extremely modest, and the Queen such, that Father Philip told me her conscience had never lost its baptismal innocence.

'Having gained the good opinion of the Queen and her ladies, the agent may aspire to greater things. The Court is very accessible to bribes; it is therefore quite possible to purchase its good-will; and to this end, it will be well to send the Queen jewels of some value, ostensibly as presents to her, but in reality, that she may distribute them among those Ministers, from whom the greatest help may be expected. The Envoy should not make very valuable presents himself, but

only through the Queen, lest he be suspected of ulterior views, or cause danger to the recipients of them.

‘When the Ministers have been won over, the Queen, instructed by the Envoy how great a reputation she may acquire by the conversion of this kingdom, must try to persuade the King to abolish pursuivants and informers. This, he may not be able to effect immediately, being powerless to repeal parliamentary laws, but he may be able to procure that the pursuivants and informers shall do nothing, without an express and written order from the Privy Council, and only then in a manner conformable to the instructions of the same. In this way, Catholics would have nothing more to fear, because as soon as the Council resolved to proceed against any individual, the Queen would bring her influence to bear on any one of its members, already on her side, and the threatened Catholic would be helped, either to fly, or to elude the officials.

‘This point gained, an almost tacit liberty of conscience would follow; the Catholics would take courage, and the moderate Protestants would no longer fear to declare themselves, openly, their protectors. Then would be the time to treat with the King, through the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the concession of religious liberty, as far as possible. This, once conceded, Father Philip believes, that in less than three years, the whole country would become Catholic. Parliament might then safely be assembled to repeal the laws against Catholics, and re-union with the Holy See would soon follow.

‘But how to obtain liberty of conscience, it is not easy to say at present; neither does it yet concern us, not having arrived so far.

‘This is all that Father Philip said, and whatever else he may tell me, I will write to your Eminence, having nothing further to add now, except that the Envoy should be guided in all things by Father Philip, who has a great reputation for prudence and is respected by the whole Court.’

Father Philip’s ingenious structure soon proved to be only a house of cards. He understood the Queen, and was not far wrong in his estimation of Charles, but he was mistaken in

thinking the King's party in earnest about Catholicism, and was as wide of the mark in grasping the Archbishop's bent, as any Puritan in the realm.

Laud was in some respects wiser than Buckingham had been; he was content to govern the country through the King, throwing what power he could into the hands of the prelates. All the great offices of state were filled by Churchmen. Far from dreaming of any submission to the Pope, he aimed at being a species of independent Pope on his own account. Both he and Juxon, the Lord Treasurer, refused to see Panzani.

Laud's greatest passion was ambition, if anything in a nature so contracted, can be said to assume the proportions of a full-blown passion. He had a marvellous capacity for small things, and all that came under his ken, he knew in its minutest details. He was a believer in dreams, and owned to be greatly troubled by them. 'Thursday, I came to London,' he once wrote in his private diary, 'the night following, I dreamed that I was reconciled to the Church of Rome. This troubled me much, and I wondered exceedingly how it should happen. Nor was I aggrieved with myself (not only by reason of the errors of that Church, but also) upon account of the scandal which from that my fall would be cast upon many eminent and learned men in the Church of England. So being troubled at my dream, I said with myself that I would go immediately, and confessing my fault, would beg pardon of the Church of England. Going with this resolution, a certain priest met me, and would have stopped me. But moved with indignation, I went on my way. And while I wearied myself with these troublesome thoughts, I awoke. Herein, I felt such strong impressions that I could scarce believe it to be a dream.'

The Archbishop united a becoming gravity with a lamentable want of all sense of humour. His temper was hasty, but also vindictive, and he never forgot an injury, to which fact, the notorious Puritan, William Prynne was well able to testify. Laud first attracted the enmity of this man and his friends, by his attempts to restore something like ceremonial in the churches.

When he began his reform, the places of worship were nothing but buildings where discourses and diatribes against Popery were to be heard luxuriously. 'There wants nothing but beds to hear the word of God on,' said Bishop Corbet.

The notion of a priesthood had died out of people's minds. They looked upon their clergy, as preachers merely—the cure of souls was an obsolete word.

'Laud had the communion tables removed from the middle of the churches, into the place formerly occupied by the altar, railed in, and distinguished by altar-like adornments. Finally it became customary to designate them by the ancient name of altar, while the officiating minister resumed the name of priest. The people murmured, and thought they saw indications of a return to Rome.'\*

Some protested that all this superabundant care for externals was eating the life out of Protestantism; the bugbear of others was the appeal to the Fathers of the Church, rather than to the Protestant divines of the Continent.†

The sequel proved that a very real source of danger lay among Laud's own friends. He could not restrain the lengths they would go, in following the track which he himself had laid open. Burning questions were discussed in the pulpits. Thus Panzani, writing to Cardinal Barberini, March 14 1636, says: 'Last Sunday, one of the bishops preached before the King, on the necessity of Sacramental Confession, saying that the Church has never been in a good state, wherever it was not practised.' Panzani goes on to say, that reconciliation with Rome, was an event anticipated by all, and that many people thought the clergy refrained from marrying, in order that they might still hold their parishes in case of a reunion. 'This,' he adds, 'is what I fear, but whether it is true or not, God only knows, who sees the hearts of men.' 'Another sermon was preached lately before the King and the Court,' he writes in the same letter, 'touching confession, and the preacher said its origin could be traced to the Gospel better

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\* *Calendar of State Papers, 1635-1636, Domestic.*

† Gardiner, *Fall of the Monarchy of Charles I.*

than that of any other doctrine; wherefore, he exhorted his hearers to practise it.

‘All the Court are now talking of this sermon, and the King himself at supper afterwards, spoke highly of the practice of confession, saying that one ought to mention all the circumstances of a sin.

Some one who was present said he could not think it right to take away another person’s reputation by naming him, if he were concerned in a sin. ‘The King at once replied that it was not permitted to name accomplices, and turning to Father Philip, who is always present at supper, he asked him if he were not right. Father Philip answered that he was. The Earl of Carlisle, a Puritan, who was also there, assured Father Philip that he agreed with us in everything, except that the Pope had power to depose kings. “We do not believe that either,” replied Father Philip, “we only say that the Pope may do it in extraordinary cases, such as heresy, for instance.” The Earl of Carlisle replied: “You are not all of the same opinion, because I know that some among you maintain that he has.”

‘Here the subject dropped. A lady, conversing with Father Philip on the same occasion, said that if confession were to be practised, Protestant ministers ought to be like ours. “Why?” asked Father Philip. “Because,” answered the lady, “if they have wives, no one will confess to them, for fear of their repeating to their wives, straight off, the sins confided to them.”’

In a former letter, Panzani had written: ‘A preacher said lately that the Pope was the true Vicar of Christ, Successor of St. Peter, and Chief Patriarch, and he proceeded to enlarge upon Papal jurisdiction, when a tumult arose among the congregation, and afterwards the preacher was censured.’

And again: ‘On the first day, and also the first Sunday in Lent, the Bishop of London, preaching before the King, took for his subject the preparation for Our Lord’s Passion, and said, that it was not only needful to mortify the spirit, but also the flesh, teaching which is opposed to the doctrine of the greater number of Protestants.’



Thus the Puritans had some ground for murmuring, and it was not altogether unnatural, that they and Catholics also should imagine that the Church of England had set its face Romewards. These were not doctrines such as Ridley, Latimer and Hooper would own, nor would they recognize the churches in which such language was held.

Greater still would have been the wrath of such men as Prynne, Bastwick or Burton, had they known that the Bishop of Gloucester had applied to Panzani for permission to have a Catholic priest in his house secretly, to say Mass daily for him; and that he was strongly in favour of reunion.

William Prynne, barrister-at-law by profession, by reputation a vituperative pamphleteer, was always ready to denounce, cavil and rail. The list of his philippics fills nearly a whole folio volume of the British Museum Library Catalogue. He had, what Wharton, more eloquently than politely describes as 'the eternal itch of scribbling.' One of his hobbies was the sin of Sabbath-breaking, to which he attributed the fresh outbreak of the Plague in 1636. Encouraged by his example, a whole mass of literature appeared on the observance of the Sabbath—not the modern Sunday, which was decried as an invention of Rome's, but of the old Jewish Sabbath, considered by the Puritans to have a far better claim to be observed.

Prynne had no perception of the relative value of things. Sabbath-breaking, Predestination, and the supreme wickedness of curls, or love-locks as they were then called, were of equal importance in his mind. Laud's innovations put him into a state of frenzy. He declared that the Church was 'now as full of ceremonies, as a dog was full of fleas.'

Giles Widdowes, entering the lists for the Archbishop, argued that 'men should take off their hats on entering a church, because it was the place of God's presence, the chiefest place of his honour amongst us, where His ambassadors deliver His embassy, where His priests sacrifice their own, and the militant Church's prayers and the Lord's Supper to reconcile us to God, offended with our daily sins.' 'Ergo,' answered Prynne, 'the priests of the Church of England are sacrificing priests, and the Lord's Supper, a propitiatory sacrifice, sacrificed by those priests, for men's daily sins.'

Widdowes also wrote in defence of the practice of bowing at the name of Jesus; and considering, doubtless, that men should be fought with their own weapons, took a leaf out of Prynne's book, and called his pamphlet after 'the lawless, kneeless, schismatical Puritan.'

Prynne retorted in a prompt reply which he entitled 'Lame Giles his haltings.' Soon after, being cited to appear and defend himself for having used intemperate language, in a book against plays and players, he was sentenced to have his ears shorn off. Such copies of his books as were forthcoming were burnt by his side as he sat in the pillory. He was degraded, and prevented from pleading as a lawyer. He only wrote the more. The titles of his books are ingenious, and would ensure their sale at any time. As for their contents, odious as is the language he used, Prynne always hit the nail he intended, and was very good at a blow. In *Rome's Master-piece*, he declares that the Archbishop was a 'middle-man, between an absolute Papist, and a real Protestant, who will far sooner hug a Popish priest in his bosom than take a Puritan by the little finger.'

Prynne's fellow pamphleteers, Bastwick and Burton, were not far behind him in the violence of their invectives, although the lawyer must be admitted to bear the palm of coarse vituperation.

In John Bastwick's *Litany*, instead of 'from plague, pestilence and famine,' he prayed 'from bishops, priests and deacons, good Lord deliver us.' In 1637, Laud summoned the three men before the Star Chamber, to answer to a charge of libel. Bastwick's crime was for writing against the 'Pope of Canterbury.' They were all three found guilty, fined £5000 each, were condemned to lose their ears, and to be imprisoned for life. In addition to this, Prynne was to be branded on both cheeks, with the letters S. L., slanderous libeller. The Chief Justice Finch, ordered the scars left by his former punishment to be laid bare.

'I had thought,' said he, 'that Mr. Prynne had no ears, but methinks he hath ears.'

The executioner had only clipped off the outer rims three

years before, but he was now to suffer the utmost rigour of the sentence. Then, 'having burnt one cheek with a letter the wrong way, the hangman burnt that again, and presently a surgeon clapped on a plaster to take out the fire. The hangman hewed off Prynne's ears very scurvily, which put him to much pain, and after, he stood long in the pillory, before his head could be got out, but that was a chance.\*'

Prynne seems to have borne this martyrdom with great coolness, for on his way back to prison, he composed a Latin distich on the letters S L which he interpreted *Stigmata Laudis*—the Scars of Laud.

Although the sentence on these men was imprisonment for life, Prynne and Burton entered London in triumph, three years later, and if revenge is sweet, Prynne was yet to swim in a sea of sweetness. When by a strange irony of fate, or in the due course of that just retribution, which we call a dispensation of Providence, he was hired to search the imprisoned Archbishop for papers, he carried off Laud's Diary.

Under the date August 14th, 1634, were these remarkable entries:—

'That very morning at Greenwich, there came one to me seriously, and that avowed ability to perform it, and offered me to be a Cardinal.'

And two days later:—

'I had a serious offer made me to be a Cardinal. I was then from Court, but so soon as I came hither (Aug. 21) I acquainted His Majesty with it. But my answer again was, that somewhat dwelt within me, which would not suffer that, till Rome were other than it is.'

If Panzani could have seen this strange record of the Archbishop's dreams, desires and impressions, he would perforce have ceased to look upon him as an important factor in his cherished scheme of corporate re-union. No doubt, in declining the Cardinalate, if indeed the offer were not a figment of his own brain, Laud would have had diplomacy enough, not to reveal his private sentiments. The importance

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\* Documents relating to Prynne. *Camden Papers.*

of the statement lies for us, entirely in the anti-Roman tendency which he expresses. For the Archbishop himself it was fatal; the entries serving as the text of one of the chief indictments against him, when he was brought to trial. Nothing he could plead made any impression on his accusers. To have refused the purple, ought to have vindicated him; but they maintained, that for the offer to have been made to him at all, he must have been friends with the Pope. Moreover had he not objected to the term 'Idol of Rome?' And had he not expressed doubt, if not denial, of the Pope's being Antichrist? These things were more than enough for fanatics, whose piety consisted chiefly in denunciations and impolite epithets. It was clear to them that the Archbishop had a 'damnable plot to reconcile the Church of England with the Church of Rome.'

Presumably, Mr. Prynne's ears were for something in the overwhelming potency of this argument. Another, and no less important article of Laud's indictment, related to some pictures of the Life and Passion of Our Lord, which he had once had bound up in Bibles. He was so pleased with the result, that he ordered them to be called 'the Archbishop of Canterbury's Bibles.' The Puritans thought they saw in this, strong proof of the Archbishop's 'popish and idolatrous affection,' their knowledge of human nature being such, that they actually imagined, that on seeing an image or picture of a divine person, men would be forthwith moved to prostrate themselves in adoration of the material of which it was composed.

But we must return to the year 1636. Popular passion ran so high in those days, that the opinion of an unprejudiced contemporary, is therefore doubly valuable. Panzani, who although wrong in his inferences, was accurate as to facts, in writing to Cardinal Barberini describes the Archbishop and his works with great moderation. 'He is short in stature, aged about sixty, is unmarried, and is first in the privy council. His views are moderate, and he is not unfriendly to the Catholic religion. He has the King's interests thoroughly at heart; he studies to increase the revenue, and perhaps for this reason is preferred by the King to all his other advisers. He is ready

for any amount of work, and all ecclesiastical affairs receive his personal attention. He is reputed an Arminian, and in nearly all dogmas, approaches nearly to the Roman Church. With the King's permission, he has made innovations in the Scotch, as well as in the English churches, has erected altars and put sacred pictures in many places. He has the honour and glory of the clergy extremely at heart. Many think his aim is, to reconcile this Church with Rome; others hold quite opposite views, and both extremes have some show and reason, for on the one hand, one sees in him great ambition to imitate Catholic rites, and on the other, what looks almost like a positive hatred of Catholics and their religion. Sometimes he persecutes them, but this is interpreted by many to mean prudence, and a way of escape from the murmurs and quarrels of the Puritans.'

The Queen and Panzani were on excellent terms. Cardinal Barberini had sent Henrietta Maria some very costly presents, and she was anxious to show him a similar attention. Father Philip considered that English horses would form a most suitable gift, but the Queen told him to consult Panzani. 'If Her Majesty wants to send a really acceptable present to Rome, let her send the heart of the King,' said the Envoy, smiling.

Father Philip replied that this treasure she wished to keep entirely for her own.

'I make no doubt,' answered Panzani, 'that in sending the King's heart to Rome, the Queen would only possess it the more entirely, and without danger of rivalry from conflicting religious sects.'

Father Philip then told his royal penitent, that if it pleased the Father of Mercy, she should send this truly precious gift to Rome, and that his Eminence cared for no horses.

Meanwhile the Papal Court had fixed on Mr. Conn, as possessing the rare qualities described by Panzani, as necessary for the delicate position of Papal Envoy to the Catholic Queen of a non-Catholic country.

Panzani being an Italian, and possessing no language but his own, could only communicate with the Queen and the State Secretaries through an interpreter. He was moreover a

priest, and liable on that account, to cause irritation to those of the Court and nation who were not 'popishly inclined.'

Conn was a Scotchman; he had passed twenty-four years in Italy, had courtier-like manners and bearing, was a layman, although a canon of one of the great Roman basilicas, and as we have already seen, was a candidate for a red hat. With his brilliant exterior, great capacity, urbanity and zeal, it is not surprising to learn that he was declared to be a Jesuit, a generic term not only in those days, but down to our own times, for all those who laboured to restore the old Faith.

We find it asserted quite gravely, in the records of the reign of Charles I. that Jesuits were of three degrees, to be found among politicians, merchants, and the professed Fathers living in religious houses.

Conn had no sooner arrived in England, than the report spread that he was a disguised Jesuit, come to receive the King into the Catholic Church.

Charles, in terror of the Puritans, declared that it was a purely malicious invention; but he, none the less, continued to temporize, and the Court to regulate its conscience, according to his vacillating example. In a letter to the Cardinal, written soon after his arrival, Conn gives an account of a long conversation he has had with the King, in the course of which he says:—

'I remarked to His Majesty, that the other Powers of Christendom were extremely jealous of the relations which had begun to exist between the Apostolic See and Great Britain. They know, that a perfect union between the two, must necessarily tend to check their extravagances, and restore to Christ, His lost patrimony in the East.'

'To this, the King replied with some emotion, saying:—

“May God pardon the first authors of the rupture.”

“Sire,” I answered, “the greater will be your Majesty's glory, when by your means, so great an evil is remedied.” To which the King made no further response.'

Not long after, Charles asked Conn whether he considered it an easy thing, for a man to change his religion.

'I told him,' said Conn, 'that when a man applied himself

without passion or prejudice, to find out the truth, God never failed to enlighten him. The which, the King took in good part.'

'I am obliged to proceed very cautiously,' he adds, 'that they may not think the rumour of my coming here, to receive the King into the Church, had its origin in my presumption. It was a truly diabolical invention, and calculated to spoil everything.'

If the Puritans were angry before, Conn's sojourn in England, lashed them into fury. *Rome's Masterpiece* was written when his mission had come to an end, and in the first flush of Puritan triumph. On its title-page, it styles the mission, the 'Grand Conspiracy of the Pope and his Jesuited instruments, to extirpate the Protestant religion, re-establish Popery, subvert laws, liberties, peace, parliaments—by kindling a civil war in Scotland and all His Majesty's realms, and to poison the King himself, in case he comply not with them in these their execrable designs.'

This is how the 'conspiracy' is said to have been discovered:—

'Revealed out of conscience to Andreas ab Habernfield, by an agent sent from Rome, into England, by Cardinal Barberini, as an assistant to Conn, the Pope's late Nuncio, to prosecute this most execrable plot (in which he persisted a principal actor several years), who discovered it to Sir William Boswell, His Majesty's agent at the Hague, 6th September, 1640. He, under an oath of secrecy to the Archbishop of Canterbury (among whose papers it was casually found by Mr. Prynne, May 31st, 1643), who communicated it to the King, as the greatest business that ever was put to him.'

Events had succeeded each other with alarming significance. It had been found impossible to uphold Conn in the position of envoy. He had consequently been withdrawn, and in August 1639, Count Rossetti was sent to lead the forlorn hope of the English Catholics.

There was scarcely any further talk of the nation's return to the bosom of the Church; the tone was now rather that if the King could be got to act with any degree of firmness and consistency, all might not yet be lost.

Rossetti draws a very life-like portrait of the character of Charles in one of his letters:—

‘The King is very high-minded, but having no sincere, experienced and capable persons to assist him, he is often either agitated, or changeable and undecided, in the administration of affairs. He has great parts and much benevolence, is by nature gentle and moderate, and with regard to morals, is singular among princes. It is not possible to exaggerate his love of justice; in the exercise of this virtue he is little accessible to compassion, but at the same time he is no friend of capital punishment. Honesty is one of the strongest points in his character, but not being surrounded with trustworthy Ministers, it often happens that he neglects the interests of the State, and gives himself up to hunting, which is his favourite occupation and amusement.’

But the Puritans were fast gaining the upper hand; Parliaments haggled with the King over the supplies; frightful scenes were enacted in the churches.

‘Last Sunday morning,’ writes Rossetti, ‘many Protestants and Puritans being assembled at church to celebrate their sacrament, it came to a great contest between them; some were determined to communicate sitting, others kneeling. From words, they passed to blows, causing much disturbance.’

‘The other day, a large number of Puritans went into a Protestant church, and upset the altars which stood against the wall, with rails in front of them, where people were going to Communion in the Catholic manner. They took possession of twelve statues, representing the twelve Apostles, and carried them with cries and tumult into the Parliament.’

On another occasion, he wrote:—‘The Archbishop of Canterbury persecutes the Catholics more than ever. On the Vigil of Pentecost, I am told by a trustworthy person, he threw himself at the King’s feet, beseeching him to proceed against the Catholic religion, at least from political interests if not from conscientious motives.’

Laud was terrified. All that he had done to imitate Catholicism, he now undid, as far as he was able, in order to pacify the Puritans. According to Rossetti, the order to bow at



the Holy Name, was revoked. The communion tables were replaced in the middle of the churches, and from being called altars, were re-christened tables. The altar rails were abolished in order that the communicants might do as the Calvinists did.

A quantity of Catholic books were ostentatiously burned in a public square. The state of affairs looked less like re-union with Rome than ever.

But all that Laud could do, availed him nothing; the disturbances continued in the churches, and scarcely a service was held, without a quarrel arising, as to the manner of conducting it, some fighting for one posture, some for another.

Neither did the Archbishop become more popular with the multitude. A courageous stand against the Puritans, might have inspired them with some respect for their enemy; yielding to them from fear only made them more formidable. Sometimes the High Church party would still score a victory here and there. A Puritan holding forth one day in Westminster Abbey, with the usual flow of eloquence, on the difference between the Catholic religion and that of the Puritans, the Bishop of Lincoln rose, and declared that his language was unbecoming in a pulpit, put an end to the sermon, and made the preacher come down.

But these triumphs were rare; few of the King's men were as bold as the Bishop of Lincoln; they all seemed to be painfully busy in saving their skins, while the Parliamentarians complained loudly and efficaciously that Charles had allowed the Primate to foist a new religion upon them.

Through the Primate, they proceeded to attack the King. Placards began to appear all over London, with declarations that the people were determined to enjoy the liberty with which they were born, and to maintain the integrity of their religious worship. One of these placards was discovered one morning nailed to the gate of the royal palace; it contained these words: 'Charles and Maria, doubt not, but that the Archbishop must die!'

The King's authority had disappeared with his dignity, and the parsimony of successive Parliaments had impoverished the royal family to such an extent, that the want of money was

not the least of their troubles. At one time they were reduced to such straits, that hunger would have stared them in the face but for the alternative of pawning their jewels. Under the circumstances it is not surprising that Charles should have turned to the Pope for help.

The following letter of Rossetti's to the Cardinal, if somewhat discursive, is interesting as the record of a kind of *somation respectueuse*, which he now judged necessary to make to the King.

‘Oatlands, August 14<sup>th</sup> 1640.

‘Your Eminence's letters of the 30th June and the 7th July having reached me, I did not omit to speak to Mr. Windebank on the subject of His Majesty's conversion, and of the succour, in the shape of men and money that will be sent to him from Rome, in the event of its taking place. After some talk about the present state of the King's affairs, Mr. Windebank asked me whether I had received letters from Rome relating to the proposal he had already made me. I replied that I had, and that your Eminence was extremely well disposed towards this country, sympathizing deeply with His Majesty in his troubles, caused by the disobedience and faithlessness of the Puritans. This led to my saying that a State could not possibly be either happy or secure unless united, and that unity was impossible without one uniform religion. I then put forward the indisputable fact, that a prince whose subjects profess one faith alone, is beyond compare more powerful than a sovereign whose people are split up into various religions, and that the many sects in this realm, opposed to every form of political government, ought to make His Majesty pause and reflect on the remedy.

‘I added that in reality there was no other remedy than for the King, with all his Protestants, to embrace our holy religion, when, forming one body with the Catholic party, they would be strong enough to keep the Puritans in check.

‘On the other hand, it was, I said, only too evident, that if measures were not taken to repress them, they would grow so powerful as to imperil one day the very existence of monarchy in England.

‘Every hour it became, I held, more apparent how little they were in touch with the King, and how determined they were, never to rest till they had introduced popular government in some form or other.

‘Here I digressed, in order to point out how often King James, His Majesty’s father, had found himself in danger of losing his life by the machinations of the Puritans, having been menaced by them even before he saw the light of day. I then went on to point out that King Charles was placed in the very same danger, and his kingdom reduced to such a state of discord and weakness, that he must fear daily to find himself and his crown the prey of his worst enemies.

‘The Puritans have always been, and ever will be, intent on upsetting all kingly authority. Such is the rebellious spirit of their Calvinism, that it aims at nothing less than the total destruction of the King and of the Catholic religion.

‘I then spoke of the greatness which would accrue to England, if the King’s conversion were brought about, dwelling not only on the advantageous relationships he might form, in disposing of the Prince and Princess in marriage, but also on the disputes, perpetually taking place, between France and Spain, in which His Majesty would be the recognized arbitrator and peacemaker. Neither country would have the temerity to offend him, on account of the power he would possess to harm them, having the supreme Pontiff on his side.’

Rossetti here proceeds to define somewhat lengthily the exact position of a Catholic King of England, in European politics, and the kind of *prestige* he would acquire, if he embraced a religion to which he was already partially inclined.

Then, speaking of the King more personally, he continues :

‘If, having considered all these things, His Majesty comes to a decided resolution, he should not delay putting it into effect from fear of the consequences. Henry VIII. risked more, in his unholy determination to destroy the Catholic religion, which had flourished in this country, with such pious results for so many centuries. I insisted that it was time, His Majesty made an end of his ambiguousness and hesitation, and that he should once for all, fix his mind, there being nothing more in-

jurious than leisurely deliberation, when a man has need of prompt decision and action. I told Mr. Windebank further, that the King's procrastination was simply putting the sceptre into the hands of the Puritans, was ruining the State, his children and himself, and that a really wise prince not only provides for the safety of his kingdom, during his own life-time, but orders things in such a manner that at his death, he secures his inheritance to his posterity.

‘His Majesty, I declared, could take no step more just and more pleasing to God, than by restoring to this country, its ancient religion, professed by his ancestors, and I believed that this King, so good, so just and so virtuous in many ways, was appointed by Divine Providence for the great work.

‘The King was, I said already armed; help might confidently be expected to flow in from Ireland, through the devotion and loyalty of that people, and His Holiness would moreover assist him with men and money.

‘Finally, I showed the necessity of this union, for the salvation of souls, a point which I ought to have begun with, it being certain, that none can be saved, out of the bosom of the Catholic Church. Of this, the Nicæan Council speaks, in the great creed, *in unam sanctam Catholicam Ecclesiam et Apostolicam*, in which Protestants believe, as we do, and yet, it is not said that there are two or more churches.

‘Confessing as they do, that ours is the Catholic Church, they contradict their own belief in the said creed, and not only this, but the ancient Fathers, and the Holy Scriptures agree, that the Church of God is one.

‘Having added many other things to this proposition, I said, that if one examined the reasons which induced Henry VIII. to give up the Church, one would find that they had no other origin, than in sensuality and spleen—false and unworthy pretexts.

‘I ended by declaring, that whoever considers a matter so important as is the salvation of souls, ought to have his eyes well open, and not consent to the errors of that King, whose actions are condemned and abhorred by all.

‘Mr. Windebank replied that he had listened to me with

pleasure, and had weighed all my reasons, finding them very true; but that for the accomplishment of an undertaking so momentous, a large heart and a strong will were indispensable, and these he could not at present promise me. He told me, in confidence, that never until now, had negotiations of such importance, passed through his hands, to be followed by so few results. One day, the King would have recourse to an expedient, and the next, would stultify it, with the greatest inconstancy imaginable.

‘Nevertheless, he assured me that he would not fail to repeat all I had said, to His Majesty, at the first opportunity.

‘. . . The matter is indeed so grave, that one rather hopes in the sovereign power of God than in any human help. Still we must be ready, for His Divine Majesty often makes use of creatures to bring forth works which shall redound to his service.

‘I observed, both with Father Philip and Mr. Windebank all the caution that such an important undertaking demands. May God Who gives and Who takes away realms, Who changes and governs them as He pleases, enlighten the King’s mind, that he may know what he should do, for the salvation of his own soul and the souls of all his people.’

In 1641, many letters were written and received by Count Rossetti, relating to the freedom of conscience to be granted to Catholics, in return for a sum of 600 scudi. But freedom of conscience was one of the unfulfilled conditions of the royal marriage settlement; and the Pope, it was objected, could not treat with an heretical sovereign. ‘Only in the event of the King’s conversion’ wrote the Cardinal, February 21st, 1641, ‘would it be possible for me to entreat His Holiness to send a considerable sum of money.’

On the 19th July of the same year, Rossetti wrote as follows:—

‘I told him (Father Philip) that the only way to obtain help from the Holy See, was by His Majesty’s return to the Catholic Church.

‘He answered that such a step would be extremely difficult at present, not because the King had any dislike to Catholicism,

neither did he wish to prevent Catholics from saving their souls; but that it was evident, if he changed his religion just now, he would run great risk of losing his crown and his life. But if he were enabled to recover his power and authority, the Catholic cause would be strengthened by supporting him; and his conversion might then be confidently looked forward to.

‘The Queen Mother told me, that in speaking of certain miracles performed by the saint, in whose honour processions are being made just now at Antwerp, she observed the King listening attentively, seeming to have a decided taste for the Catholic religion. She however, admitted, that although he appears to have great natural capacity, and to understand the critical state of his affairs, he is, as they say, timid, slow and irresolute.’

Charles never went any further than a ‘decided taste for the Catholic religion,’ and what would have happened had he really thrown himself into the arms of the Pope, must remain one of those curious and unsolvable historical problems, with which the world is full.

Would the Papacy, still a force in Europe, have been able to save him from the terrible fate that awaited him? Obligated to act from definite, logical principles in the place of his mischievous theory of the *royal prerogative*, the *divine right of kings*, would he have gained in moral weight, as well as in the material advantages held out to him?

The Puritans were, it may be argued, as little inclined to tolerate an infallible Pope, whom they hated and feared, as an infallible king, whom they could drive into a corner, and possibly the king would only have died for another cause.

Under a portrait of Charles I., painted in the fortieth year of his age, in which he is represented as grave, troubled and with a hunted look in his eyes, Prynne wrote the following verse:—

‘All flesh is grass, the best men vanity,  
This, but a shadow, here before thine eye,  
Of him, whose wondrous changes clearly show  
That God, not man, sways all things here below.’

J. M. STONE.

## ART. II.—THE NATIONAL MUSIC OF SCOTLAND.

A NOBLE national music, it has been remarked, is an indication of many national virtues. The songs of a country are the truest expression of its national life and sentiment; and the general diffusion of beautiful traditional melodies among a people, implies the prevalence of refined sensibilities and of tender and exalted feelings. Such melodies could never originate with a nation of sordid and sensual tastes; nor could they be preserved among men whose natures rendered them insensible to those charms which music is by all allowed to possess. The national song of a country is the natural result of the manners of life of the people; and just as these vary in different nations, so does the music which has grown with these nations vary in its peculiarities and effects. Not a country in the world is without a national music of its own. Rude and barbarous it may be, but it will have its own distinct characteristics, and it will appeal as no other music can to the nation or tribe to which it owes its existence.

The power of national song has indeed been long recognised and admitted. Linking itself with objects and events that are cherished and memorable, it has become 'the depository of all that is interesting to human feeling or dear to national pride; and by the innumerable recollections which it involves, united with its natural power to excite emotion, it acquires a magic influence over the heart which no other art can lay claim to.' It has frequently been minimised and sneered at as a low form of musical creation, unworthy of serious attention, and incapable of elevating the mind. But surely the place of music is to please as well as to ennoble; and it is at least not surprising that the people should find a special charm in that which is of their own production and belongs to themselves. Nature has always proved stronger than art, and here we have further evidence of her superiority. In musical composition the admiration and applause of the cultured few may be gained for that which is scientific and abstruse; but it is only by simple

strains that the ordinary hearer is captivated and the finer feelings of his heart are stirred. The critical musician may, if he will, decry the national music of a country as being devoid of expression and beauty, but the people to whom it belongs will assuredly feel that it is lacking in neither of these qualities. For our part, we think the music of every nation—every civilized nation at least—has charms which any one can appreciate if its true spirit is entered into without prejudice; and there is certainly something wrong with the heart of that man who, loving his country, does not also love his country's music. If there is any truth at all in Shakespeare's lines, surely he, of all men, is 'fit for treasons, stratagems and spoils . . . let no such man be trusted.'

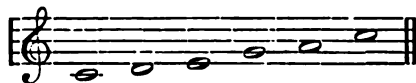
The term 'national music' has sometimes been misunderstood. It is properly applied to 'that aboriginal or self-sown music which is referable to no individual author, or school of authors, but seems to be the fruit of the very soil itself.' It designates any music which, being written in the peculiar taste of the nation to which it appertains, appeals more powerfully than other music to the feelings of that nation, and is consequently pre-eminently cultivated in a certain country. Need we say how well this description applies to the national music of Scotland? The latter has come down to us the inheritance and the growth of centuries. 'In its various forms it is interwoven with the history of the country from the earliest times; and it is closely associated with all the national, social, and religious feelings of an ancient, free, and thoughtful people.' Its character, too, is of the highest. It is, both extensive and varied, and in every one of its branches we may claim for it a very eminent degree of praise. Its dance tunes are full of a spirit and force unequalled by those of any other nation; its humorous airs are marked by a signal power of 'clever or grotesque merriment;' its graver melodies are generally polished and graceful; and those of a pathetic nature are unrivalled in the tenderness of their effect. Taken all in all, we are not convinced, to quote the words of an old writer, 'that there is any other body of national music in the world that surpasses that of Scotland in force, in character, in



versatility, or genius.' Holding these opinions, it will be readily conceived that we enter on the consideration of our subject with feelings not only of pleasure but of pride.

Every one who has made any acquaintance with the melodies of Scotland must have been struck not only with their peculiar character, but also with the varied styles in which they are composed. As a writer in an early *Blackwood* has well said, 'even where we cannot draw a distinction in point of known antiquity, we see some of them that have all the aspect of modern compositions, while others present us with passages of melody to which we are elsewhere unaccustomed, and which have a wild and strange, though, in general, also a pleasing and touching effect. *The Lass of Patie's Mill*, for instance, is not known to be a modern air, but, if presented to us for the first time without information as to its history, we might pronounce it to be beautiful, but we should not conjecture it to be old. Others of the Scotch airs are in a different situation, and would strike us, even without explanation, as different from the compositions of modern masters, and as the probable growth of another age, or country, or system from our own.' On these facts, it comes to be a question for consideration, what are the essential peculiarities into which this singularity of style and effect can be analysed?

Several ingenious theories have at various times been advanced in explanation of the peculiarities of Scottish music. To examine here every one of these theories would be as impracticable as it is unnecessary, and we shall confine ourselves to a consideration of those features which have been most generally claimed as the true characteristics of the national song. These characteristics, it has been affirmed, are fully accounted for by three particulars: (1) by the use of a scale consisting of five notes, the fourth and seventh of our modern scale being omitted—



(2) by the marked and constant use of the flat seventh of the

scale ; and (3) by the use of the Scotch 'snap.' It was Dr. Burney, the musical historian, who first pointed to these particulars as constituting the peculiarities of Scottish melody, and the musical world, apparently without the slightest consideration or examination, has all but universally accepted them as correct. We hope to prove that one at least of the particulars is totally erroneous, and it will be a task of no great difficulty to show that the remaining two afford only an imperfect explanation of the peculiarities of Caledonian music. As Mr. Colin Brown has remarked, these dicta of Dr. Burney 'have been the means of bringing a blight upon the whole subject of Scottish music, for anything more untrue or more absurd could hardly have been said regarding it.' The subject is of sufficient importance to justify our dealing with it in some detail, and in doing so we shall take the points in the order in which they are mentioned above.

The theory of a pentatonic or five-note scale in Scottish music is one which has been advanced in many musical works besides those of Dr. Burney. The fullest view of it is, however, to be found in a 'Dissertation concerning the National Melodies of Scotland,' prefixed to the edition of Mr. George Thomson's Collection of 1822. The writer of this dissertation resolves the theory into these propositions: 'That there is but one series of sounds in the national scale, upon which every ancient Scottish air is constructed, whatever may be its varieties, either of mode or of character. This national scale is the modern diatonic scale divested of the fourth and seventh, there being no such thing in the national scale as the interval of a semitone.' A careful examination of the whole body of Scottish music has shown, says the writer, that 'every air (with a very few exceptions) which is really ancient is constructed precisely according to this scale, and does not contain a single note which is foreign to it; excepting only in the case of those airs (which are few in number) of which the series has occasionally been altered by the introduction of the flat seventh.'

Now, it may be observed first of all that the pentatonic scale is not by any means peculiar to Scotland. It is found in the

music of several nations of various degrees of civilization and culture, and it cannot therefore be looked upon as the exclusive property of Scottish song: to speak of it as *the* national scale is not only absurd but incorrect. Furthermore, although it is the case that several of the Scottish airs are without the fourth and seventh of the scale, that proposition is not true of more than a very small proportion of the whole. Out of fifty melodies contained in Thomson's *Orpheus Caledonius*—to go back to the earliest printed collection—only about half a dozen are defective in both the fourth and the seventh; while there is scarcely a single air which does not contain one or other of these intervals. In the Skene MS., one of the oldest collections known, we find numerous instances of semitonic intervals, which could never have been introduced if the airs in which they are found had been systematically constructed according to a scale from which these intervals were excluded.

It would be perfectly easy to give the names of many undoubtedly ancient airs in which may be found striking examples of the use of both the fourth and the seventh of the scale. *The Broom of the Cowdenknowes*, for instance, is a melody the antiquity and nationality of which have never been called in question; yet here we have the fourth of the scale introduced with singular beauty and effect, and that not merely as a passing note, but as an accented note of some duration. Again, no one has ever disputed the authenticity of *Ca' the Yowes to the Knowes*: it is undoubtedly very old, and, as Burns remarks, 'in the true old Scotch taste; ' yet in this air we see the seventh of the scale employed with excellent result. Once more, in *The Souters of Selkirk*, an admittedly genuine old air, we find both the fourth and the seventh of the key, the tune actually ending with the latter interval! Now each of these three melodies—and they are not, let it be particularly observed, isolated examples, but are selected from a large number which might be mentioned—must either be held as destructive of the pentatonic scale theory, or must be deprived of the status of genuine and ancient melodies 'of which they have enjoyed the undisturbed possession ever since we knew anything of them at all.' It is hardly necessary

to say which of the two positions must give way. The five-note scale theory is, in fact, untenable. It would exclude as unauthentic many undoubtedly ancient airs, and would leave absolutely unaccounted for a large number of the admittedly genuine productions which have long been included in our national collections. We are, of course, far from denying the legitimacy of inferring a general rule from examples which point to a deviation from its observance; but we maintain that the theory of a pentatonic scale cannot be held if there are any considerable number of exceptions to its application. That there are such a number of exceptions we have plainly indicated; and we are therefore driven to the conclusion that, although a few of the Scottish airs show an absence of the fourth or the seventh of the scale, such absence must be considered as only an occasional peculiarity, and not as an essential or invariable feature of the whole body of the national song.

The theory of the flat seventh has always been a pet one with musical writers seeking to account for the peculiar character of the Scottish music. If this were not the case we should deem it unworthy of notice here, for the explanation of the matter is so simple that one can only marvel at its being so long withheld. Until Mr. Colin Brown, in the preface to his admirable collection entitled *The Thistle*,\* explained that the theory arises entirely from an error of notation no one seems to have thought of disputing its soundness. The matter has been so clearly put by Mr. Brown, that we cannot do better than quote his words. 'Much of our old Scottish music,' says he, 'is constructed upon the oldest noted form of the major scale, Guido's gamut—

5 6 7 1 2 3 4 5  
so la te do re me fa so.

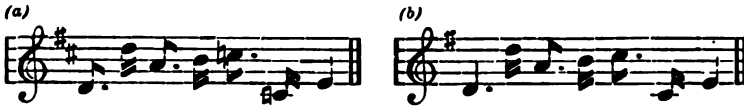
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\* This excellent work was published by Messrs. Collins in 1883. By its faithfulness to the old traditional forms, by the appropriateness of its accompaniments, and by its admirable historical and critical notes it has raised itself to the position of being the best collection of Scottish airs yet published. Those of our readers who may desire to study further the subject of Scottish song could not select a better guide.

The melodies, *A man's a man for a' that*, and *Scots, wha hae wi' Wallace bled*, are fine examples of this mode, in which it will be observed the seventh interval fa-so is a full tone. When music of such construction is noted in the major scale of the tonic,

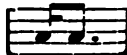
1 2 3 7 5 6 7 8  
do re me fa so la te do,

in which the seventh interval te-do is only a semitone, of course the te must be flattened; hence all the flat sevenths which disfigure our music books.' A good illustration of these points is found in the well-known song of *Tullochgorum*. It is generally noted with eleven flat sevenths in the melody; but it can be written, and it ought to be written without a single flat seventh. In order to make this plain we give the following illustration from the second line of the song, (a) being the usual form with flat sevenths, (b) the proper form which allows of the melody being written without flat sevenths—



The theory of the flat seventh, like that of the pentatonic scale, must therefore be abandoned; it has arisen 'solely and simply from music being erroneously noted in a form or mode of the scale different from that in which it is constructed.'

That which is assigned as the third peculiarity of Scottish music has a somewhat more solid foundation than the other features we have just considered. Such piquancy as many of the airs possess is due in no small measure to the characteristic rhythmical figure known as the 'snap' or 'catch'—a figure which consists of two notes so written that the first has only one fourth the duration of the second—



Good examples are to be found in *Roy's Wife o' Aldivalloch*, in *Whistle o'er the lave o't*, and in *Within a mile o' Edinburgh town*. About the middle of last century, when imita-

tions of the Scottish airs were being produced in London, the 'snap' was used most unsparingly as being the supposed leading peculiarity of the Caledonian melodies. Evidence of this may be seen in several of the Anglo-Scottish songs printed in Johnson's *Musical Museum*. This particular form of imitation spread even to the Italian operatic music of the day. Dr. Burney, giving an account of the state of the opera in the middle of the last century, says:—'There was at this time much of the Scotch *catch*, or cutting short the first of two notes in a melody.' And again, recording the performance of the opera *Vologeso*, composed by Cocchi, Perez and Jomelli, he remarks, 'The Scots *snap* seems to have been contagious in that school [the Neapolitan] at this time, for all the three masters are lavish of it.' There is, however, a probability of the continental masters having introduced the snap into their compositions quite independently of any suggestions from the Scottish airs. Both Mozart and Gluck employ it, and it is unlikely that either of these composers would have sought inspiration from Scotland. It must be noted, too, that the 'snap' is by no means peculiarly Scotch. It appears in old Italian melodies between the dates of 1560 and 1730; and it is also to be found in the folk-music of the Hungarian and one or two other continental nations. In Scottish music, it is essentially a characteristic of the dance known as the 'Strathspey;' and whenever it is met with in a song it will generally be found that the air has been at one time used as a 'Strathspey' tune. It is only occasionally found in the older airs, and hardly ever in slowly moving melodies of a pathetic nature. On the whole, therefore, the 'snap' cannot be looked upon as a universal characteristic of the Scottish music.

Having thus shown that no one of the usually-accepted peculiarities of our national melody sufficiently explains its character, it is necessary to enquire what are its true features. These, briefly, are to be found in the modal structure of the music—a structure which has been frequently put down as the result of rudeness or ignorance, but which is conformable to the approved, and, indeed, the only principles of musical composition prevailing in the remote periods which produced those

airs in which it is exhibited. The laws of melody which were then in force are best illustrated by a reference to the old ecclesiastical music, which was constructed, not upon our two modern modes only, but upon the seven modes of the ancient Church. In these seven modes the same sounds were employed as are now used in the scale of C major, but each note of the seven which form our scale was taken as the beginning of a series and carried through to its octave diatonically—that is, without any accidental alterations of sharps or flats. Thus the mode on the second of the scale would read—D, E, F (not F sharp), G, A, B, C (not C sharp), D; the mode on the fourth would read F, G, A, B (not B flat), C, D, E, F; and so on with the others, using every note of our modern scale as the foundation of a series of diatonic progressions extending to the octave of the starting note. Of the seven modes which are thus formed, three (those on the 1st, 4th and 5th, of the scale) are what we now understand as major modes, while four, (those on the 2nd, 3rd, 6th and 7th, of the scale) are minor.

Now it is in the affinity of the national music of Scotland with these old modes that we find an explanation of much in the former which otherwise must appear to us anomalous. It is, for instance, by this affinity that we can alone account for the number and variety of the cadences, which constitute one of the special peculiarities of the old airs. Our modern music knows only two forms of cadence—major and minor—whereas in the Scottish music cadences will be seen on every note of the scale. These we could not possibly explain by our present system. A peculiarity, too, of many of these cadences is, that they close on an unaccented part of the measure, instead of, as is usual in other music, on an accented part, the last note being really of the nature of an echo. Instances of double cadences are numerous, and we need only point them out as existing in *A man's a man for a' that*, *Maggie Lauder*, and *Wae's me for Prince Charlie*.

Again, the same affinity affords an explanation of the curious fact that airs are to be found not only beginning but ending on every note of our modern scale. It is certain no composer would now think of closing an air with the seventh of the

major key; yet this note, as we have already seen, is used as the concluding note of *The Souters of Selkirk*; and it may be found in one or two other airs, if the latter have not been put into an incorrect notation, as is frequently done by ignorant compilers. *The Reel of Tulloch*, properly noted without flat sevenths, ends with the fourth of the scale, and is a perfect specimen of the mode of the fourth. The number of airs having as their first and last notes the second of the scale is almost as large as in the case of those written in our modern minor of the sixth of the key. In this class may be named *The Laird of Cockpen* and *John Anderson, my Jo*—in their original forms, we must add, for some tinkering editors have reduced both airs to the notation and harmony of the common minor key. Examples of airs constructed on the modes of the third and the fifth are very common; of the former class we may instance *I'm owre young to marry yet* (a fine example of the mode) and *Roy's Wife o' Aldivalloch*; of the latter, *Scots, wha hae*, and *O Waly! Waly!* Except on the fourth and seventh, there are indeed numerous instances of airs written on every one of the modes, which must thus be recognised as the foundation upon which the old Scottish national music is laid, and which, more than anything else, must be held as accounting for its peculiar construction and outstanding characteristics.

The modes serve also to explain the occasional omission of the fourth and seventh of the key from some of the more ancient airs. The circumstance that these modes 'were all framed upon the notes which occur in the diatonic scale of C major, made it necessary often to avoid those intervals that were inconsistent with the general impression of the several modes. Thus, in the mode of F, the natural B, or fourth of the mode, would frequently be a disagreeable note, and there being no flat B in the scale, that interval (the fourth) would come to be often omitted. Again, in the mode of G, the natural F, or seventh of the scale, would be omitted for the same reason, except in those cases where it could be made subservient to a pleasing and peculiar modulation.'

To these comprehensive principles which we have endea-



voured to set forth, it will be found the great body of the Scottish national airs are, as we have already indicated, reducible. We say 'the great body'; for, just as many old ecclesiastical compositions are unassignable to any mode, so there are several Scottish airs which cannot be explained on the principles we have illustrated. These airs, however, form a very small minority; and in a matter so confessedly obscure we must be content to establish a connexion between the old modes and the Scottish national music, though we are unable to follow it out in every particular.

It is important to observe, however, that what is accounted for by this connexion is only the scales themselves—their peculiarities and their general laws. The connexion must not be taken as implying that our national airs are founded upon Church models, or that they resemble the ancient Church song. It is a pretty fancy of the Church historian to trace the influence of the old ecclesiastical music on the national melodies: 'The daily cathedral service, the solemn chanting of the monks in their conventual buildings, and the way in which the Roman ritual had so beautifully blended music with almost every act of religious worship, diffused a love of it among the people. It is probable that some of those touchingly simple Scottish airs of unknown antiquity, which give such perfect utterance to the finest feelings of the Scottish heart, may first have been sung by young men and maidens, who learned from monks the concord of sweet sounds.'\*

In truth, however, the two styles (the popular and the ecclesiastical) had nothing more in common than two compositions may be expected to have which are drawn from the same series of sounds. More than that could, indeed, hardly be looked for. The old ecclesiastical music, like the Church to which it belonged, was quite opposed to progressive development; it was governed by strict laws and arbitrary rules which left no freedom for the spontaneous, instinctive expression of natural musical feeling. Under these circumstances it could not be expected that the composer would succeed in producing

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\* Cunningham, *Church History of Scotland*, edition 1882, i., 508.

music characterised by any other qualities than dryness and pedantry; and these are the very qualities which the ancient Church music exhibits. On the other hand, the musician of the outer world, if we may use the term, was unfettered in the expression of his feelings; he had to work with the same colours—the same old modes—as the church composer, but, unlike him, he could give free play to the dictates of his heart and fancy, and he was thus enabled to produce a picture as beautiful and true to nature as the other was unreal and ineffective. ‘Recent researches,’ says one of the keenest investigators into the history of national song, ‘have more and more established the fact that, along with the scientifically cultivated music of the Church, there existed always a secular and popular music, which, though without much pretension in an artistic point of view, was generally distinguished by a natural vigour and true expression, while the more skilfully composed ecclesiastical music was often pedantic and dry.\* And this is undoubtedly true. It is in any rate the case that in their rhythm, measure and accent, the Scottish airs are altogether opposed to the old music, for the latter had none of the qualities named. In all that gives to them their beauty and tunefulness these airs are different from the music of the ancient Church, from which they could have borrowed nothing, because, as we have seen, it had nothing suitable to give.

It may be considered as one of the leading peculiarities of national music that the names of those who have combined to make it are seldom known. This is the case with every collection of national song with which we are acquainted; and it is peculiarly so with regard to that of Scotland. Naturally enough, perhaps, this absence of composers’ names from the large majority of the Scottish tunes has led to various attempts being made to trace the origin of these tunes and to associate them with individuals. We cannot hope, in the space at our command, to notice all these attempts, but two, by reason of the persistency with which they have been maintained, must be specially dealt with.

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\* Engel, *The Study of National Music*, p. 318.

The notion was at one time widely entertained that the best of the national music of Scotland was composed by David Rizzio, the unfortunate favourite of the equally unfortunate Mary Stuart. Rizzio was an Italian, having been born at Turin, in Savoy. His father, who was a poor man, bred him and the rest of his children up to music. Ultimately David went to the town of Nice, where the Duke of Savoy then kept Court, 'and it was his chance,' says an old historian, 'to be taken into the service of Mons. Moret, who was shortly to go ambassador from the Duke to Scotland. The Queen had at this time three *valets de chambre*, who sang three parts in music, but they wanted a bass to sing the fourth part. And David Rizzio, being a good musician and a merry fellow, they told her Majesty of him as a person fit enough to make the fourth in concert. He pleased her Majesty greatly, and she employed him for a time in writing her French letters.' This latter office—that of French secretary—Rizzio did not long enjoy. On the 9th March, 1566, he was, as every student of history knows, brutally murdered in Holyrood. He had come to Scotland in 1561, and had thus been little more than four years in the country.

How or when the belief that Rizzio was the composer of many of the old Scottish melodies originated it is difficult to determine; but certainly there is no trace of such a belief for at least a century and a half after his death. Tassoni, his countryman, born in 1565, states in his *Pensieri Diversi* that 'a new and plaintive style of melody' was invented by King James of Scotland, by whom is no doubt meant James I. The value of this assertion will be considered afterwards, but in the meantime it is cited as showing that not only had no claim been then put forward on behalf of Rizzio, but also that an earlier origin was then assigned to Scottish melody. Mr. G. Farquhar Graham, editor of Wood's *Songs of Scotland*, thinks it probable that Rizzio's name was first connected with Scottish melody by his countrymen who were in England about the beginning of last century. 'We know,' says Mr. Graham, 'that Italian music was then fashionable in London, and that Scottish song divided the public taste with it. Whether the flowing style of

melody peculiar to the Lowland pastoral airs induced the belief that an Italian only could write them we do not pretend to say.' It is at anyrate certain that as a composer Rizzio was not heard of until 1725, when Thomson published his *Orpheus Caledonius*, the first collection of Scottish music so-called. In this collection the editor distinguishes seven of the songs by an asterisk, and says: 'the songs marked thus were composed by David Rizzio.' It may be well to quote the names of these songs, they are as follow: '*The Lass of Patie's Mill*,' '*Bessie Bell*,' '*The Bush aboon Traquair*,' '*The Bonnie Boatman*,' '*An thou were my ain thing*,' '*Auld Rob Morris*,' and '*Doun the burn, Davie*.' This is the earliest evidence in favour of Rizzio. But what is its value? Three of the songs mentioned were certainly not more than fifty years old at the time of printing, and the last in the list is generally believed to have been of very recent composition. As to Thomson himself, he must have come to look upon his action as having favoured an imposture, for in the second edition of the *Orpheus*, published in 1733, he suppresses the name of Rizzio entirely and without comment.

A little later on in the century (1740), the Rizzio theory was again set afloat by the ridiculous attempts of James Oswald, the editor of *The Caledonian Pocket Companion*, to make the public believe that airs of his own composition were the work of the Italian. Oswald evidently considered this a splendid joke. In the volume of the *Scots Magazine* for 1741 (p. 455) his tricks are pointedly alluded to in a poetical epistle addressed to him—

' When wilt thou teach our soft Æidian fair,  
To languish at a false Sicilian air ;  
Or when some tender tune compose again,  
And cheat the toun wi' David Rizo's name ?'

It will thus be seen that no dependence can be placed either in Thomson or Oswald in regard to the Rizzio theory. 'Their pretended knowledge,' as has been remarked, 'is mere assumption, which, however it might have imposed on the credulous and uninformed, will not bear the test of sober criticism.'

But unfortunately it is necessary to examine the theory still

somewhat more in detail, for it has been repeated even within comparatively recent years by writers who, if they had not the means of acquiring better information, should have had the good sense to remain silent. In this connexion, we regret to have to take Goldsmith to task for his treatment of a subject which he at anyrate had better have left alone. In his works will be found an *Essay on the different Schools of Music*, in which the national music of Scotland receives a share of attention. After making the extraordinary statement that the Italian school was founded by Pergolesi, Goldsmith goes on—

‘The English school was first planned by Purcell. He attempted to unite the Italian manner that prevailed in his time with the ancient Celtic carol and the Scotch ballad, which probably had its origin in Italy; for some of the Scottish ballads, *The Broom of Cowdenknowes*, for instance, are still ascribed to David Rizzio. . . . It is the opinion of the melodious Germiniani, that we have in the dominions of Great Britain no original music except the Irish; the Scotch and English being originally borrowed from the Italians. And that his opinion in this respect was just, it is very reasonable to suppose; first from the conformity between the Scotch and ancient Italian music. They who compare the old French vaudevilles brought from Italy by Rinucini, with those pieces ascribed to David Rizzio, will find a strong resemblance, notwithstanding the opposite characters of the two nations which have preserved these pieces. When I would have them compared, I mean I would have their bases compared, by which the similitude may be most exactly seen. Secondly, it is reasonable, from the ancient music of the Scotch, which is still preserved in the Highlands, and which bears no resemblance at all to the music of the Low country. The Highland tunes are sung to Irish words, and flow entirely in the Irish manner. On the other hand, the Lowland music is always sung to English words.’

The absurdities contained in this short extract are almost too extraordinary for serious notice. What can be thought, for example, of a writer who tells us to look to the *basses* of musical compositions in order to compare their resemblances? The merest tyro in harmony could write above a given bass an air in almost any style—Scotch or Italian, ecclesiastical or martial; and it is hardly necessary to point out that every series of variations upon a given theme and bass by a skilful composer affords an example of what may be done in this way. The opinion of ‘the melodious Germiniani’—the adjective, by

the way, is sadly inapplicable—may well be left out of account; unsupported by evidence it is without value; and no fact is better known to musicians than that the old Italian airs have nothing whatever in common with the Scottish melodies. Besides this, what becomes of the Welsh music, if there is ‘in the dominion of Great Britain no original music except the Irish?’ And when has it been shown that the Scottish Highland tunes ‘flow *entirely* in the Irish manner?’ It has certainly been shown, and that conclusively, that Oliver Goldsmith chose to put before the world an essay upon a subject of which he was most profoundly ignorant. We will not mention the names of other writers who have re-echoed Goldsmith’s mis-statements in regard to Rizzio. It will be sufficient to say in this connection that the theory was advanced so late as 1838 in a book which had an extensive sale, and is even now frequently sought after.

Thus far, we have said nothing of Rizzio as a musician. Is there, it may be asked, any evidence to show that he was capable of composing such airs as we find among the national music of Scotland? There is no such evidence. Not a single piece of music—of course we take no account of the airs of Thomson’s and Oswald’s collections—is ascribed to him, and history has been searched in vain for a hint that he composed anything in any style. Geminiani, indeed, in his *Treatise on good taste in the Art of Music* (London, 1749), exalts him as a composer; but his assertions are as vague and worthless as those quoted from him by Goldsmith. However, allowing Rizzio to have been a composer of some merit, it was impossible for him to have greatly affected the style of the Scottish national music. That style was fixed before his time; for many of the best melodies are traditionally ascribed to a more remote period. Again, Rizzio, as we have seen, was only four years in the country. In this short time, even with leisure, which it is doubtful if he possessed, he could not possibly have acquired or invented a style of musical composition so different in all respects from that of his own country. Nor is it likely that he would have done so had his advantages and opportunities been greater than they were;

no foreigner has ever, so far as we are aware, succeeded in catching the true spirit of the Scottish national music, and imitations of it, even by natives, have seldom proved successful. If it is necessary to make any reservation at all in favour of Rizzio, it need only be that he may, in the words of the author of *The Minstrel*, 'have played the national melodies with more delicate touches than the Scotch musicians of his time, or perhaps corrected the extravagance of certain passages; for one is struck with the regularity of some, as well as amused with the wildness of others.' In both or one of those cases it might perhaps be said with truth that the Scotch music is under obligations to Rizzio. 'But,' again quoting Dr. Beattie, 'that this style of pastoral melody, so unlike the Italian, and in every respect so peculiar, should have been established or invented by him, is incredible; nay (if it were worth while to affirm anything so positively on such a subject), we might even say, impossible.'

The assertion of Tassoni that a new style of Scottish music was invented by King James I. has already been mentioned, and it may now be disposed of in a few words. Many indeed still 'suppose that the peculiar and plaintive pathos that haunts our native melodies may have been first breathed into them by this Royal musician.\*' The theory has at least the merit of being plausible. James, unlike Rizzio, was a native of the country; he had a special interest in the people, and knew their customs and characteristics well. More than that, music was the art in which he excelled. Bower, his contemporary, tells that he 'sang sweetly,' and could play deftly on every instrument then in use, especially on the harp. But we have no proof that James was a composer of music of any kind; certainly no documents exist to show the style of that 'plaintive and mournful music, different from all other music' which the monarch is said to have 'invented.' Even tradition does not point him out as the author of any particular song. The most therefore that can be said is, that James may have composed one or two of the old national airs, and that as no tradition

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\* See Principal Shairp's *Studies in History and Poetry*, p. 269.

down to our time has ascertained them, they pass undistinguished under other names and are wedded to modern words.

After all it must be admitted that these speculations in regard to composers are futile. The only satisfactory theory is that which regards the people themselves as the originators of the national tunes. A national air is seldom 'composed' at all in the ordinary sense of the term; it is more frequently extemporised in a moment of extraordinary emotion, by some one having gifts superior to his fellows.\* If impressive it is soon taken up by others, further diffused, and thus traditionally preserved. Like an invention making towards perfection, it may pass through many hands, he who had the first idea of it seldom completing it, but transmitting it on to others who enlarged upon it until it reached its final state. There can be little doubt that the great majority of the Scottish airs had their origin in this way, and that they came, not from the pens of trained musicians composing by rule, but from the people themselves—from those who actually felt the sentiments and affections whereof these airs are so expressive. The very variety of the national song is a proof of its plebeian origin. Professional musicians would produce pretty much the same style of melody whatever might be their surroundings, because they would write according to prescribed laws. On the other hand, the peasantry dwelling amid the melancholy of the Highland hills would almost certainly give us airs of a wild, pathetic and dreamy character; and those, again, whose homes lay among the verdure-clad, well-cultured valleys of the South country would be the originators of songs expressive of love

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\* The following quotation from the Preface to the Songs of the Jubilee Singers is interesting in this connection :—'The origin of these songs is unique. They are never composed after the manner of ordinary music, but spring into life, ready-made, from the white heat of religious fervour during some protracted meeting in church or camp. They come from no musical cultivation whatever, but are the simple, ecstatic utterances of wholly untutored minds. From so unpromising a source we could reasonably expect only such a mass of crudities as would be unendurable to the cultivated ear. On the contrary, however, the cultivated listener confesses to a new charm, and to a power never before felt, at least in its kind.'



and tenderness, and other emotions suited to the tranquillity of pastoral life. At anyrate, it is clear that the higher classes did little or nothing for the national song, and that the bulk of them, in such time as they could spare from external war or internal dissension solaced themselves by the charms of foreign art.

Very little can be said with certainty regarding the age of any of the Scottish national airs. Previous to the publication of the Skene MS.,\* the earliest printed collection was of so recent a date as 1725, although before this several melodies had appeared in a fragmentary form in different parts of the country. The Skene MS. itself, although the oldest collection of Scottish music now known, carries us back only to the beginning of the seventeenth century—a date which would not be considered of high antiquity in the general history of music. There can be no doubt, however, that the greater number of the airs contained in this MS. were of considerable age at the time of collection. ‘They bear for the most part,’ says the *Blackwood* reviewer already quoted, ‘the appearance of antiquity, even at that period, being designated by titles that seem to be the initial lines of popular or vulgar songs with which they must have been allied for a period of at least some duration. The instrumental symphonies and variations, also, which are introduced into some of the airs, seem to imply that they were familiar themes, of which the celebrity offered an inducement to present them in a novel aspect.’ It is in this celebrated MS. that we first find that beautiful old air *The Flowers of the Forest*—an air than which no one in the whole body of national song is more closely interwoven with the feelings and patriotism of our country. Here, too, we have the melody of *Bonnie Dundee*, one of the most beautiful and characteristic of our national airs. Other old favourites are, *The last time I came o’er the Moor*, *Jenny Nettles*,

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\* This MS. owes its name to John Skene, of Hallyards, in Midlothian. The original is in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, but a translation in one volume 4to, was published at Edinburgh in 1838. The late David Laing, the eminent antiquary, supposed the MS. to have been written early in the seventeenth century.

(under the name of *I love my love for love again*) *John Anderson, my Jo*, (in which a major third is curiously introduced on the close of the minor key), *Good Night, and joy be with you*; and many more which might be named. It is not likely that any of these were of recent date when the MS. was being completed; and it is satisfactory to be able to refer to an authentic national collection of comparatively early date as a proof that our Scottish music is not the production of recent times. That collection affords also a decisive answer to many depreciators of the national song, and especially to Ritson, who has left on record the opinion that there is no evidence of the existence of any Scottish tune prior to 1660, and who demands to know 'upon what foundation we talk of the antiquity of Scottish music.' If Ritson could have seen the Skene MS., it is certain he would not have committed himself in this extraordinary way. No one, however, recognising the modal character of our Scottish airs would cast doubts on their antiquity. The principles of modal construction are the oldest known—'anterior to any which have been used since music has been studied as a modern art or science'—and any composition in which these principles are exhibited must therefore of necessity be very old.

The connection between the Irish and the Scottish national music has frequently been brought under notice by one country claiming melodies from the other. It is, of course, well known that both countries had at one time a common language—that not many centuries have passed 'since the Scots dwelling equally in Ireland and Scotland, formed a strong connecting link between the Gaelic-speaking people of both countries. This being the case, it seems at least reasonable to suppose that the two peoples had something like a common music between them. And further, as their language has come down to us, may we not conclude that some portions of the music may have survived, and that each nation has now in its respective collections some airs which at one time belonged to the other or were perhaps the common property of both? *Limerick's Lamentation* and *Lochaber* are both Irish airs which have been claimed as Scotch. The pretty

little song of *Robin Adair* has still for its burden the Celtic welcome of *ceud mìle failte*—a hundred thousand welcomes, ‘equally well-known,’ says Mr. Brown, ‘in the Highlands of Ireland and of Scotland;’ and several other fine old airs are common to both countries, thus showing that they must have had a common origin. But although the music of the two countries possesses a strong family resemblance, each has at the same time ‘a peculiar distinct individuality, so strongly marked that no one familiar with the structure of the music can fail to distinguish the separate nationality.’ At the same time, it would be unsafe to dogmatize on a matter so wanting in real trustworthy evidence, for no one feature can be put forward as the unfailing characteristic of Irish any more than of Scottish music.

A few words in regard to Gaelic music, properly so-called, may here be in place. Speaking generally, the melodies of the Highlands are of a sweet and simple character, plaintive and sorrowful, rather than joyous and inspiring. The Gaelic race have insensibly absorbed the gloom of their lonely glens; and their music, more than that of any other country, seems to have always given expression, as Ossian has it, to ‘the joy of grief.’ The Highland *Lament* is *sui generis*, ‘having no exact counterpart in any other language, its wild, rich music, presenting a perfect picture of the weird and grand scenery in which it had its origin.’ Love songs form perhaps the largest class in the Gaelic muse, being full of fervour, and capable of arousing a spirit of the most romantic attachment and adventure. Patriotic songs are also abundant, for the Gael loves his northern hills and glens, and his poetry gives frequent emphasis to the opinion that—

‘Gaelic’s the best language, the best music is the pipe.’

Strictly humorous songs do not bulk largely in Gaelic collections; but it is pleasing to be able to say that such as do exist are almost entirely free from the slightest taint of impurity or indelicacy.

The extraordinary diversity and complexity of metres which is the outstanding feature of Gaelic verse has no doubt helped

to infuse a special character into the music of the Highlands. Every one who has heard Gaelic songs rendered by those who are most capable of entering into their spirit will have observed how the singer dwells on the penultimate syllable of each line and drops the last almost inaudibly. This is accounted for by the peculiar rhythm of the Gaelic words, which are all accented on the first syllable; so that the tunes, following closely this peculiarity, end with an unaccented, or sometimes two unaccented syllables. In their modal character the Gaelic melodies are even more marked than the Lowland airs. Tunes in the Doric mode (the mode on the second of the scale) are more numerous than those in any of the other modes, though the latter are also well represented. Collections of Gaelic music have been made from time to time, and while much has been done to preserve what is really good, there can be no doubt that many excellent airs are still floating about the country which have never been reduced to musical notation.\*

The dance music of Scotland, regarding which something must be said, is almost entirely the product of the Highlands. There it has been 'nursed in the lap of tradition, fostered in the family of national pastimes, and developed to a perfection which has spread the influence of its character over the length and breadth of the land.' In its distinctive rhythm, in its metrical accent, and in its suitability to the movements of the dance, this department of the national music of Scotland is unique and unapproachable. A great deal of its sparkling character is no doubt to be traced to the fiddle (the true Highlander never speaks of the violin), which seems to have been the first musical instrument to give an impetus to the composition of Scottish dance music. The bagpipe, with its defective scale and inharmonious drone, could never compare

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\* We would commend to the attention of those interested in Gaelic poetry and music a little volume recently published by Messrs. Maclachlan and Stewart under the title of *Songs and Hymns of the Scottish Highlands*. The book contains a well-written introduction; and the musical contents (excepting a trio of most objectionable consecutive fifths in the opening number) can be warmly praised.

with the fiddle for brilliance and for inspiring quality of tone ; and when the latter instrument came into use in the country the number of reels and strathspeys increased enormously, while at the same time their quality improved. From the introduction of the violin up to the present time, contributions to the dance music of the country have been very numerous, and a bare list of composers of repute would take up considerable space. To Neil Gow, king of Scottish fiddlers, the country owes most in this direction ; and next to him should perhaps be mentioned Captain Fraser, who published a capital collection of tunes in 1815, under the patronage of the Highland Society.

The leading branch of Scottish dance music is, of course, that of the reel and strathspey. The music of the reel consists of eight-bar phrases, generally in common time, but sometimes in six-four. The most characteristic of all the Scotch reels is perhaps the *Reel of Tulloch* ; but *The Cameronian Rant*, *You're welcome*, *Charlie Stewart*, and a few others are equally good. The source of the reel itself cannot now be traced with any certainty. It is a Danish as well as a Scottish national dance ; and some writers point to the origin of the word (Anglo-Saxon *hreol* or *reol*) as showing that the dance must have come first from Denmark or Northern Germany. It must be admitted that several of the Danish reels still in use bear a strong likeness to the old popular dances of Great Britain ; but the probability is that the reel is of Celtic origin, perhaps indigenous to this country, and from here introduced into Scandinavia. The dance was at one time popular in England, and is still to be met with occasionally, although generally a hornpipe tune is used. The Irish have also their reels, which are played much faster than the Scotch ; but the national dance of the Irish may be said to be the jig, which, as a rule, is not danced with any of the hilarity which usually accompanies a Scotch reel or strathspey. Thackeray adverts to this in his interesting sketch of the diversions of the 'finest pissantry in the world' : 'Anything more lugubrious than the drone of the pipe, or the jig danced to it, or the countenances of the dancers and musicians, I never saw. Round each set of

dancers the people formed a ring, in which the *figurantes* and *coryphées* went through their operations. The toes went in and the toes went out; then there came certain mystic figures of hands across, and so forth. I never saw less grace or seemingly less enjoyment, no, not even in a quadrille. The people, however, took a great interest, and it was "well done, Tim!" "step out, Miss Brady!" and so forth during the dance.\* The jig has always been popular in every European country, and it is said to be of purely British origin. Scotch jigs are mentioned by early English writers, as well as by Burns, who, in his *Jolly Beggars*, has—

‘ Wi’ hand on haunch, and upward e’e,  
He crooned his gamut, ane, twa, three,  
Then, in an *arioso* key,  
The wee Apollo  
Set aff, wi’ *allegretto* glee,  
His *giga solo*.’

The strathspey is of the same musical measure as the reel but slower in movement. Of this class of tune there are many fine specimens, all rich in melody and of infinite variety. There are those which are capable of putting life and mettle into the heels of the dancers whether they will or not; some are characterised by stateliness and dignity, others are light and graceful; some are humorous, others are even plaintive. To do justice to the reel and strathspey, it requires a native player; the peculiar swing of the music can never be caught up by an Englishman. It is told of an excellent violinist from the South that, being asked to play the *Reel of Tulloch*, he give up the task in despair, exclaiming with an amusing mixture of impatience and disgust, ‘Confound your music; it is eternal, for it has neither beginning nor end.’

Of the musical peculiarities which distinguish the Scottish airs we have already spoken; their wonderful variety has also been a subject of remark, and need not therefore be greatly enlarged on. As Principal Shairp (*Aspects of Poetry*) has

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\* *The Irish Sketch-Book*, by Mr. M. A. Titmarsh [W. M. Thackeray], edition 1857, p. 132.

said—' Whatever may have been their origin, these airs, which have been sung by so many generations, are full of character, and have a marked individuality of their own. They are simple yet strong; mild, yet sweet; answering wonderfully to the heart's primary emotions, lending themselves alike to sadness or gaiety, to humour, drollery, or pathos, to manly independence and resolve, or to heart-broken lamentation.'

Keeping each of these characteristics in mind, is it necessary to make any apology for advocating the claims of the Scottish national song on our musical artists and amateurs? In doing this, are we asking for anything more than a rightful attention? Enough has, we think, been said to show that the Scottish airs are neither 'harsh nor crabbed, rude nor capricious, but regular according to laws of high origin, and animated by a spirit of true feeling and poetry.' Some are indeed unrivalled both for beauty and simplicity; and we know of nothing which affords a better scope for the exhibition of musical talent than a genuine Scottish melody tastefully and sympathetically rendered. Sung in a natural unaffected manner, such a melody must go to the heart of every person of feeling whose taste is not vitiated by fashion and novelty. Moreover, the words associated with most of our national airs are, as is well known, of great beauty and merit—indeed not less so than the music—and deserve for this reason the attention of every artistic mind. Had space permitted, we should have liked to direct special attention to many individual airs, and to urge their claims on all lovers of national song. We can only hope that what has been said will lead to a more general interest being taken in the melodies of Scotland, and that a field of musical study which has hitherto been only imperfectly cultivated, may yet receive the attention which it so well deserves.

J. CUTHBERT HADDEN.

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## ART. III.—THE PANAMA SCANDAL.

IN a recent number\* of the *Scottish Review*, we gave such a sketch of the main features of the Panama Canal Scheme as may, perhaps, have led our readers to anticipate the prodigious catastrophe which has at last occurred. In March 1888, having already issued shares and obligations to an aggregate amount of £65,900,000, for an undertaking which he had promised to complete for £24,000,000, M. de Lesseps informed his shareholders that he was in want of a farther sum of £24,000,000, in order to complete, not the original plan of a sea-level canal, but what he called a temporary waterway, rising by 5 locks to a height of 170 feet above the Atlantic, and falling by the same number of steps to the Pacific. To do this, making the top pound or *bief* 50 feet higher than (as indicated by us) the hydraulic conditions of the locality would properly allow, he proposed, by the aid of M. Eiffel, to give to the locks in question the unprecedented lifts of 26 and 36 feet, and to pump water for the top level from a reservoir to be constructed for that purpose. This modified plan, if the 24 millions of money was forthcoming, was to be *certainly* in a condition to allow of the transport of 7,500,000 tons of shipping a year, commencing on the 1st July, 1890. By July, 1888, however, the requisite 24 millions had already grown to 29 millions.

A remarkable feature in the financial history of a speculation, which it is, perhaps, wiser to describe than to define, has been that steady appetite for capital which no supply has served to satisfy or to blunt. A similar phenomenon is to be observed in the history of the Suez Canal, the estimated cost of which rose, step by step, from £6,800,000 to £28,000,000. These, however, are modest figures compared to those of the Panama enterprise. The Company for making the Panama Canal was constituted with a capital of £12,000,000; the pro-

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\* *Scottish Review*, January, 1888, pp. 35-59.



jector intimating that it might be necessary to borrow an equal amount in order to complete the work. On 22nd February 1880, the shareholders were informed that the Canal would certainly be completed for £26,320,000. On the 27th of May, 1885, after spending nearly £20,000,000, M. de Lesseps informed the Minister of the Interior that with £24,000,000 more (making £42,800,000) he would certainly finish the sea-level canal. On 15th November, 1887, having spent about £40,000,000, the 'President Director of the Interoceanic Canal' wrote to the Minister of Finance to say that with £22,600,000 more, (say in all £60,000,000) he would certainly complete a canal with locks. In March, 1888, having dissipated £44,000,000, M. de Lesseps stated to the general meeting of the shareholders that with £24,000,000 more, making in all £68,000,000, he would certainly open the canal with locks and pumps to raise the water. Three months later the last figure had grown to 73 millions. At that time the French Government had been weak enough to authorise the issuing of a lottery loan, baited with heavy prizes, for £28,800,000, of which, however, the public only subscribed for about £12,800,000. In March, 1888, it was officially stated that the sum of £17,600,000 would be sufficient to pay for the works then remaining to be erected, (for the temporary canal), including the iron locks, the pumping machinery, and installation and purchases of all kinds. Nine months later, £18,000,000 was still required to complete this work. The capital received or demanded has thus grown, in 9 years, from £12,000,000 to nearly £100,000,000. The idea of a sea-level canal has been abandoned as impracticable. And if, from any source, funds could be obtained for the purpose of attempting to construct a canal with locks, on any plan that could receive the sanction of a responsible and competent engineer, it is probable that the cost of such a work would be very little reduced in virtue of the vast sums already squandered in the valley of the Chagres.

The plan and location of a locked canal would occupy quite a different line from that required for a sea-level water way. For the latter, no doubt, it would be proper to follow the

trough of the river valley for the navigable channel ; a course which involves the construction of lateral canals to carry off the torrential floods, which would otherwise wreck the works, as well as the building of a regulating dam of 120 feet in height to control the floods of the Chagres. For the former, it would be proper to rise, within the shortest practicable distance from the sea, above the level of the river floods, and to cross the indomitable Chagres by an aqueduct. A plan of this nature was suggested by the American engineer, Mr. Menocal, whose knowledge of the locality was contemptuously ignored by canal makers who were not engineers. But in this case even the 22 kilometres of shallow work, the partial dredging of which was so loudly vaunted as a main part of the execution of the Canal, would have to be abandoned as altogether useless. At the present time, with the capital squandered, the works stopped, the workmen gone away, and the completion of a water way, within the limits of the concession, utterly impossible, it would be waste of time to discuss with any detail the wild imaginations of M. Eiffel.

That the scheme of a water way for ships across the Isthmus of Panama is now virtually and irrevocably at an end, we have not the slightest hesitation in concluding. The only ground of demur to this conclusion that we can recognise is that the magnitude of the loss is so great, that the losers are unable to realise that it has actually occurred. When good money has been thrown after bad, at the rate of ten millions a year for so many years ; it is hardly in human nature to say—' Well, it is no use to try further. Let us make an end of a foolish job.' Let us listen for a few minutes to the evidence of a French engineer, M. Felix Paponot, *membre de la société des ingénieurs civils*. In a work published this year under the title of *Suez et Panama, une Solution*, M. Paponot has given definite statements, the accuracy of which we are able to some extent to verify. He is an advocate for a sea level canal ; and he gives estimates of the cost of the completion (1) of a canal with locks, (2) of a sea level canal of the width of 22 metres at the platform, and (3) of a sea level canal of the full width of 46 metres at the bottom. It must be understood that our verification of M.

Paponot's statements extends only to his computation of the minimum quantities of excavation required in each case. For a canal with locks he gives a total cubic quantity of 80 million of metres. He is assuming the possibility of completing such a canal on the present line; and the total credit which he allows for the work already done towards this object is for 32 million of cubic metres, leaving 48 millions of cubic metres to be excavated. For a narrow sea level canal he shows that 133,000,000, and for a wide sea canal that 219,000,000, cubic metres would have now to be removed. These are minimum quantities, taken from the section, at slopes which certainly do not err on the side of safety or caution. M. Paponot has further estimated the work as executable at more than twice the speed, and at one half the cost per metre, that experience up to the present time has shown to be requisite. He leaves out of his calculations the enormous dam at Gamboa, the sea lock at Panama, and in fact every thing except excavation, interest, and management. And yet he tells us that project No. 1 will require £25,520,000; No. 2, £43,160,000; and No. 3, £60,000,000, to be spent in addition to the actual outlay, which he estimates at one hundred millions sterling. And to pay interest on these fabulous sums the only estimate of traffic which can be called serious, which is that of the bureau of statistics at Washington, shews an annual traffic of under 2,000,000 tons, or about £1,200,000 per year.

There is, however, one point of relief (if such they choose to think it), which emerges from the ruin of the subscribers to the Canal. Their loss has not been shared by the projectors of the scheme; the 'Founders,' as they call themselves. The exact advantages already secured by these persons it may be difficult to particularise; a fact to some extent explained by M. de Lesseps himself (*Bulletin*, p. 45) in the account which he gives of the advice given to him, when a young man, by Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt. It is as follows—'My dear Lesseps,' said the Pasha, 'You are young. Remember in the course of your life when you have anything important to do—if you are two, there is one too many.' 'Well, I said to these gentlemen,' continues M. de Lesseps, 'this is the situation. I do not

doubt your loyalty—but I must be alone.' Even so, however, the list of benefits that has oozed out is not by any means meagre.

At the first meeting of the Company, when constituted with a share capital of £12,000,000, the shareholders were informed that they had to pay

For the Concession, - - -	£400,000
For Preliminary Expenses, - -	432,000
For Profit on these Expenses, - -	472,000
For an 'American Financial Group,' -	480,000

Of this sum, amounting to £1,784,000, £1,415,700 was actually paid to the promoters out of the first £5,000,000 called for on the shares!

In addition to this, 'these founders, besides 2,000,000 francs in cash, will have 15 per cent. on the net profits of the enterprise.' The founders appear to have thought that a bird in the hand was worth two in the bush. Accordingly, as was before done in the financing of the Suez Canal, these anticipated profits were capitalised, under the title of '*parts de fondateur*,' in 'parts' of 5000 francs each. According to M. Paponot there were at first 500, and afterwards 900, of these parts, which attained a price of 80,000 each. We give that on M. Paponot's authority; not remembering the statement to have been made in the *Bulletin*. It is not, however, improbable; as we have it on the authority of M. de Lesseps himself, that the 5000 franc '*parts de fondateur*' of the Suez Canal attained in November 1880 the price of 380,000 francs each. It is certain that for the year 1883, the last for which we have had occasion to analyse the accounts, the promoters of the Suez Canal received the net sum of £143,454; and the directors and staff a further sum of £57,380, out of the profits of that undertaking. But even the lower price cited for the Panama 'parts' is not to be despised, considering the wholly imaginary value of the property sold. A further 3 per cent. of the profits was allotted to the directors; but, with the same prudent disinterestedness which seems to have marked the proceedings of the board in dealing with the money of the subscribers, these gentlemen

contented themselves with the modest payment on account of £9,600 a year for their trouble. How modest this is may be illustrated by the fact that they have been compelled to pay the manager in Panama £20,000 a year, besides houses, carriages, horses, etc. Then there were *frais de representation*, payment of various visits and expeditions, and other matters of which the details very naturally are not made prominent in the *Inventaires généraux*. On the whole the promoters do not seem to have come badly off, so far as money is concerned.

But as regards character and credit, the record is more dubious. How many of the '*parts de fondateur*' have been retained by M. de Lesseps and his nominees, and how many have been sold at 80,000 each or under, the public have not the means of knowing. Neither was such sale, to whatever extent it may have been carried out, a burden on the shareholders. But it swells the sum obtained from the French public on the faith of promises made with reckless prodigality, and made only to be broken. And to have claimed, received, and kept from the shareholders, in the first year, the above stated sum of £1,784,000, of which less than one fourth was even said to have been laid out on preliminary expenses, for the inauguration and management of a work on which so enormous an amount of money has been absolutely wasted, is a procedure which we leave to the judgment of any honest man.

It may be possible for a sanguine man to deceive himself as to a possible amount of future traffic. But this can be no excuse for stating the results of the most superficial assumptions as facts, and for neglecting the corrections of the American Board of Statistics. Even more deserving of censure is the assertion, made by M. de Lesseps so lately as 29th November, 1888, that the subscription then sought 'is not subject to the ordinary risks of industrial enterprises, as the redemption of the capital invested, and the payment of the promised prizes, are assured by the deposit of French Rentes and other securities enjoying the guarantee of the State.' The 20 per cent. of the loan so deposited may no doubt be so utilised as to assure the repayment of the whole sum within 99 years. But

M. de Lesseps omits to mention that the loan, thus to be extinguished, is *without interest*. No sources exist for the payment of interest on it, except out of capital. And probably few persons would be disposed to advance a sum of money without receiving any interest for it, merely on the guarantee that it shall be repaid within 99 years. This ought to have been explained as the real meaning of the 'guarantee,' a term, as used, eminently qualified to deceive the unwary investor.

The struggles made by M. de Lesseps to obtain funds for the continuation of his works have been incessant. In a better cause such perseverance might have been styled heroic. Having obtained from the weakness of the French Government permission to add the enticement of a lottery to the golden promises which were beginning to lose their attractiveness, on the 29th of June 1888, he attempted to issue two millions of these lottery obligations. This was his tenth appeal to the public, counting that of the first unsuccessful prospectus in 1879. In spite of the allurements of prizes of £20,000, of £10,000, and of smaller sums, only about 40 per cent. of this new issue was taken up. The proceeds was but a drop in the bucket, evaporating in a few months. After a propagandist tour through France, a strong effort was made to issue the remainder of these obligations in December, 1888. As the time for announcing the degree of success attained approached, the excitement became extreme. On the 11th of December, the day before that fixed for closing the subscriptions, the grand hall in the office of the Panama Company was crowded with subscribers. 'Many of these were women, flushed and excited, willing to stake their last penny with the hope of retrieving their fortunes. They were like desperate gamblers, whose hopes rise highest when their losses have been greatest. One lady nearly fainted on hearing from a man just from the Stock Exchange, that 500f. shares had fallen to 140f.' On the 12th, there was even a greater crush than on the preceding day; 'the public consisting exclusively of M. de Lesseps' veterans.' The scene already described took place over again. 'About four o'clock the noise was suddenly checked by the appearance in the hall of M. de Lesseps. He

climbed on a table and said, 'My friends, the subscription is safe; our adversaries are confounded. We have no need for the help of financiers. You have saved yourselves by your own exertions. The canal is made.' M. de Lesseps was then so overcome that he wept. The 200 or 300 persons present received this communication with transports of joy, and for a time there was nothing but cheering, weeping, and mutual congratulation. Every one was allowed to shake hands with M. de Lesseps, and address him with words of sympathy, confidence, love, and admiration. After the excitement had somewhat abated, the news went round that 410,000 bonds had been subscribed in Paris, and about as many in the provinces. Marseilles alone figures for 86,000. M. de Lesseps having then retired, an official stated that the lists, which were to have been closed on the preceding day at six, would be kept open till Saturday at noon. The price of shares and bonds rose, and those who were in the secret no doubt profited by the golden opportunity. On the next day, the general enthusiasm was maintained. Subscriptions flowed in. The only unfavourable symptom was the backwardness of the Company in furnishing the returns. That, however, was said to be no doubt attributable to the time required for counting so large a number of applications. Alas! at 5 p.m. the calls for 'that good M. de Lesseps' were responded to only by his son. 'We are sitting,' he said, 'at an important meeting of directors, which I left for a moment to come here. Would you prefer to know at once what I can tell you?' ('Yes—yes.') 'The subscriptions reach a total of 180,000 bonds. This being below the minimum fixed by M. de Lesseps, we shall commence returning the subscriptions to-morrow. You see, I am telling you exactly how things are.' Here there were a few cries of 'Yes, that is the best thing; we must subscribe again.' But the most of the people were too much dazed to express their feelings.

Comment would fail to add to the impression produced by the graphic description of the above quoted correspondent of the *Daily News*. On the 15th December, at a sitting of the Chamber of Deputies, which lasted till close upon eight o'clock at night, the project of the Government for authorising the

Panama Canal Company to postpone paying its debts for three months was rejected by 262 votes to 188. On the same day the President of the Tribunal of the Seine appointed the Provisional Administrators 'to administer provisionally the Society, to assure the continuance of the works; and, to that end, to contract loans and offer pledges' On the very day of entering on these functions, the discharge of the duty of the administrators was rendered more difficult by the division in the Chamber. On the 16th, and 18th, alarming despatches were received from Panama, of disorders threatening on the Isthmus, and of injury done to the works by flood, and stoppage of the railway from the same cause. The chief anxiety of the administrators was to prevent a stoppage of the work, and to arrange for the transfer of the undertaking to a new company. To this effect they opened negotiations with a syndicate, or body of financiers, whose names are not given in the report. These capitalists required a delay of six months, for the purpose of obtaining an independent report on the state of the line and work. At the expiration of that time they would declare whether they accepted the responsibility or not. In the meantime they would advance £80,000 a month for the prosecution of the works, the amount being secured by a prior claim on all the disposeable property of the Company. The administrators would not consent to more than four months' delay, and required £250,000 a month for the prosecution of the works. Further difficulties of a legal nature arose; and the administrators then agreed with the contractors on the works to carry them on until the 15th of February, being paid by 90 days' bills, secured by the deposit of 33,500 shares of the Panama Railway. As far as the very meagre accounts received from Panama go, this period has been utilised for drafting off the negro labourers from the Isthmus, so that the termination of the works has not been attended by local outrages, as was feared would be the case. The attempts to form a new company have collapsed.

The administrators admit in their Report that 'the discontinuance of the works might entail facts of exceptional gravity, and of incalculable consequence.' M. de Lesseps, in a



report published together with that of the administrators, says 'the least suspension of the work would be a veritable catastrophe, as regards the workyards and machines, which, once stopped, will necessitate considerable loss of time and money to be again started, as well as for the thousands of workmen of all races who have come to the Isthmus, who live by their work from day to day, and whom a stoppage would throw into destitution. Who can foresee the consequences of a suspension of the work?' This is all very true, but it comes rather late. Towards the close of 1888, Senor Tanco Armero, an agent of the Columbian Government, was sent by them to report on the state of the Canal works. He stated in his report that the total further expenditure necessary on the Canal would exceed £120,000,000, independent of the interest on money and cost of administration, which he valued at £4,000,000 a year. He said that the Company states that 15,000 men were employed on the works, but that it was his belief that at no time had more than 5000 men been so employed. M. Nicholas states that amongst the European element there have been 5,200 deaths in 29 days and three months, the burials averaging about seven per day, and the death-rate being 98 per 1000 per annum. In one station, amongst 159 young men specially selected for their physical vigour, 23 have died within 22 months.'—(*St. James' Gazette*, 21st December, 1888.) Mr. Froude's account of the state of things inaugurated by M. de Lesseps in Panama, in his recent book on the English in the West Indies, is to the following effect: 'In all the world there is not perhaps now concentrated in any single spot so much swindling and villany, so much foul disease, such a hideous dung heap of moral and physical abomination, as in the scene of this far-famed undertaking of nineteenth century engineering. By the scheme, as it was first propounded, six and twenty millions of English money were to unite the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, to form a highway for the commerce of the globe, and enrich with untold wealth the happy owners of original shares. The thrifty French peasantry were tempted by the golden bait, and poured their savings into M. de Lesseps' money box. Almost all that money, I was told,

had been already spent, and only a fifth of the work was done. Meanwhile the human vultures have gathered to the spoil. Speculators, adventurers, card sharpers, hell keepers, and doubtful ladies have carried their charms to the delightful market. The scene of operations is a jungle, intensely hot, swarming with mosquitoes, snakes, alligators, scorpions, and centipedes; the home, even as nature has made it, of yellow fever, typhus, and dysentery; and now made immeasurably more deadly by the multitudes of people who crowd thither. Half buried in mud lie about the wrecks of costly machinery, consuming by rust, sent out under lavish orders, and found unfit for the work for which they were intended, unburied altogether lie also skeletons of the human machines which have broken down there, picked bare by the vulture.'

The reference, in the nervous English of Mr. Froude, to the 'far-famed undertaking of nineteenth century engineering,' leads us to mention the main reason which has induced us, once and again, to call attention to what M. Le Roy Beaulieu calls the greatest financial catastrophe of the century. The *Standard*, long a supporter of the scheme, thus speaks of it on the 5th of December last:—'The history of the Company has been, financially, a history of greater recklessness than can be found on the same scale in connection with any other undertaking, since *Law's* Mississippi Scheme. . . . The Panama Canal has failed through the determination of its promoters to pander to some of the most vulgar and unworthy motives that guide men's conduct. It was started amid wholesale plunderings, and all through its disastrous career the Company has been bled with the utmost shamelessness.' It may not be altogether the duty of a British journalist to take up the cudgels for the thrifty peasantry of France, misled by the hero of their blind and misplaced confidence, and animated moreover, by the idea that in opening the 'International Canal,' they were dealing a heavy blow against the United Kingdom. It is painful to witness the dissipation of hardly gained savings. But if the least attention had been given to the warnings of the British press, the catastrophe which has occurred would have been averted.

The most serious result of the Panama crash we take to be the influence that it is likely to exert in drying up one of the main springs of the prosperity of the civilised world. To say nothing of the rich harvests to be ensured by the skill of the engineer in almost every department of industry, the great economy of water carriage, with the relation of that economy to production, is a subject that, at least in the United Kingdom, is only beginning to be understood. And if, as Mr. Froude's language would seem to imply, a colossal engineering scheme of this nature had turned out a colossal robbery, the effect would naturally be to strangle industrial enterprise, and to discredit the noble profession which forms the van of the great army of industry. It is therefore of no small moment to insist on the fact, that both the Suez and the Panama Canals possess the unenviable peculiarity of having been made, not by an engineer, but by an amateur. They may be more properly called negations of engineering than engineering schemes. From the time when, in November 1854, M. de Lesseps possessed himself of the plans and studies of Messrs. Robert Stephenson, Negrelli, Talabot, and Linant, and made use of them to obtain a concession for himself, to the date of that projector's last report, published in the *Bulletin du Canal Interocéanique* of 2nd February, 1889, but one single report of a competent and impartial engineer has been made on either of the two canals, which could have served as a guide to the subscribers. That single report was made at the instance of the French Government; its preparation was resisted to the uttermost by M. de Lesseps; and up to the present moment it has been carefully withheld from publication.

Following his acknowledged principles of being sole arbiter of the companies which he 'founded,' M. de Lesseps has directed every step without counsel, control, or, it may be added, knowledge of what was required. His eye has been bent steadily on the Bourse. He has never put forward a single estimate that has not been falsified by the event. For the work of a responsible engineer, he has substituted the action of what he has called consultative committees, superior councils, and the like, which have been, for the most part, little more or

less than pic-nic parties, at public cost; and with the recommendations of which he has dealt as he thought fit. He has talked of campaigns and of enemies, and has burlesqued the language of the Bulletins of Napoleon Bonaparte; when the real subject for enquiry was that of a mechanical or arithmetical nature. It is sufficient to cite his own language to show that he is either profoundly ignorant of the business of the Engineer, or has taken an advantage, which we need not qualify as it deserves, of the ignorance of others. The extravagant cost at which so simple an operation as the opening of a canal across the Isthmus of Suez was half completed is alike without precedent and without excuse. For that waste of the money of the subscribers, the promoters enjoy a revenue of upwards of £200,000 a year. In proposing a work of unexampled magnitude, without survey, plan, or estimate, or any idea of cost except such as was derived from the tone of the market, what M. de Lesseps called his estimates, varied, as we have seen, from month to month. There was absolutely no relation between any one of them and the work which it was proposed to do. The indicated total sank from 42 millions sterling in 1879 to 22 millions in 1880; sprang up to 78 millions in 1888; and as set forth by M. Paponot, would now amount to above 140 millions, for the same project of work. Not only so, but M. de Lesseps prefaced his appeal for funds by the solemn and reiterated assertion that a canal in a pestilential country, involving an excavation of between 300 and 400 feet deep exposed to a tropical rainfall, was far easier than one to be dredged through sand, with but one short section when the cutting was as much as 80 feet in depth, in a healthy and accessible locality. And one of his last utterances in 1886, was 'there will not be sufficient time for the construction of locks. We shall make them later on. The essential point is that by the date mentioned (1889) shipping shall be able to pass through the Canal.' That is to say that the costly and difficult works which were to be constructed in order to raise vessels to a height of 170 feet above the level of the sea were only to be constructed after the Canal, which depended on their agency, was completed with-

out them. After this our readers will probably come to the conclusion that M. de Lesseps would say anything that he thought convenient, and that it does not very much matter what he did say. If a career like this is to be condoned or misrepresented, it will be a blow not only to the sense of every man of honour, but to the very existence and idea of honesty.

There is, however, a certain amount of consistency in the language of M. de Lesseps for which we desire to give him the credit that it deserves. He has often promised that the Panama Canal should be finished in 1888. On the 12th December in that year he announced to his anxious subscribers, *Le Canal est fait*. The only drawback to this good news lay in its inconsistency with fact. But then, *tant pis pour les faits*.

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#### ART. IV.—THE TENNIS COURT.

IT is curious to observe the parallel between the present financial difficulties of France, of one feature of which the previous article on the Panama Canal offers a lively exposition, and those which occasioned the convocation of the States-General and the consequent birth of the great Revolution in 1789. During the Centenary of that great event, it is our intention to publish from time to time a literally translated extract from the *Moniteur* of the time, each extract coinciding, as far as circumstances will permit, with the centenary of the event to which it relates. As the *Moniteur* was controlled by the dominant party, the reader will thus have placed before him an account not only contemporary but official, and written from the point of view of those by whom each movement was directed. The great Revolution actually began on May 4, 1789, by a solemn public procession and Mass of the Holy Ghost, held to implore the Divine Blessing upon the labours of the States-General. But of this ceremony the *Moniteur* contains no account. The first number bears the date of May 5, and begins with a report of the first session, held upon that day, including the speech from the Throne, and the statement of the Ministers as to the business to be submitted for deliberation. We give here the number con-

taining the account of the famous Session in the Tennis Court (*Jeu de Paume*), and the Royal Session which followed, which form together the first truly revolutionary episode, and after which the States-General were known as the National Assembly. It is necessary, however, to commence the narrative by translating the last half column of No. 9, commencing the account of the sitting of the House of Commons on June 20.

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SESSION OF SATURDAY, JUNE 20TH.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

At an early hour in the forenoon, the public, having been informed that a majority of the members of the Clergy intended to join the National Assembly, made their way in crowds towards the common Hall. But heralds were heard making the following proclamation in the streets :

‘The King having resolved to hold a Royal Session of the States-General on Monday, the 22nd of June, the preparations to be made in the three halls used for the meetings of the respective Estates render it necessary that these meetings be adjourned until after the afore-said session shall have taken place. In a further proclamation His Majesty will make known the hour at which he is to proceed, on Monday, to the Assembly of the States.’

A detachment of French Guards takes possession of the House of Assembly.

About nine o'clock, the President of the Assembly and the two secretaries present themselves at the main entrance. They, and a great number of deputies with them, are refused admission.

The President calls for the officer on duty. The Comte de Vertan comes forward and states that his orders are to prevent access to the Hall, because of the preparations which are being made there for a Royal Session.

M. Bailly, speaking with firmness and decision, protests against a measure which prevents the opening of the sitting announced the day before and fixed for that hour, and forthwith declares the Assembly constituted.

The Comte de Vertan adds that he is empowered to allow the officials to enter for the purpose of procuring such papers as may be required. Thereupon the President and the

Secretaries go in, and observe that most of the benches have been taken away, and that all the entrances to the Hall are guarded by soldiers.

The Deputies utter bitter complaints at this outrage. Some of them, in the excess of their grief, are already anticipating the early dissolution of the States; whilst others are filled with indignation at seeing the majesty of the nation thus profaned and insulted by an act of arbitrary power, which since monarchy was established on a firm basis, and even under the most oppressive reigns, was altogether unparalleled.

Gathered together in groups in the Avenue de Versailles, they ask each other what is to be done under the painful circumstances. Here they cry: 'Let us all go to Marly! Let us go and hold a session in front of the Chateau itself! Let us strike into the hearts of our enemies the same terror with which they have filled ours, and make them tremble in their turn! The King has announced a Royal Session, but puts it off till Monday; the delay is too long. He shall hold it at once; he shall come down from his Chateau, and have nothing further to do than to place himself in the midst of his people!'

[Here ends No. 9 with the words: 'To be continued in our next.' No. 10, bearing the date of June 20th to 24th, contains, under the heading of 'States-General,' the

CONTINUATION OF THE SITTING OF SATURDAY, JUNE 20TH.]

In another place they exclaim: 'What! Do they intend to dissolve the States? Does the Government want to plunge the country into the horrors of a civil war? Scarcity prevails everywhere, and everywhere is the dread of approaching famine. For the last two years French blood has been reddening the earth. We were going to put an end to these misfortunes, to lift the thick veil behind which the monopolists hide their intrigues, to clear the Government itself from the charge of having starved the people, and to prove that the two hundred millions which are in the royal treasury are not the proceeds of this crime; and now the Government steps in to prevent us.

'If our annals are opened, it will be seen that men like Louis XI., Louis XIII., Richelieu, Mazarin, Brienne, attacked, harassed, and oppressed corporations and individuals; but is it

now thought that twelve hundred Deputies chosen by the nation are to be made subject to the caprice, to the fickle and vacillating policy of a despotic minister ?'

Such are the various feelings of the Deputies who, in the midst of those who surround them—travellers who pause to contemplate the sight, men of the people who gather in crowds—frankly and freely express their opinion.

Some propose that they should assemble in the *Place d'Armes*. It is there, they say, that we must rehearse the glorious days of our history ; it is there that we will hold our *Campus Maii*.

Others talk of holding their meeting in the ante-chamber, and, as a new spectacle, uttering the language of Liberty on the threshold of that sinister Hall where, but a short time ago, the head of whoever dared to pronounce the sacred word was marked out for the executioner. At that moment notice is given to the Deputies that M. Bailly, with the two secretaries and a score of members, has obtained admission to the Hall in order to procure the papers which had been left there the day before, and gone to the Tennis Court of the Rue St. François, which he has fixed upon as the place of assembly.

*Session of the Tennis Court.*

The various knots of Deputies gather together, and proceed to the place appointed by the President.

The President gives an account of what has taken place, and communicates two letters which he has that morning received from the Grand Master of Ceremonies, the Marquis de Brezé :

‘ Versailles, this 20th day of June, 1789.

‘ Sir,—The King having commanded me to cause proclamation to be made by heralds of His Majesty's intention to hold, on Monday, the 22nd day of this month, a Royal Session, and, at the same time, of the necessity of suspending the sittings owing to the preparations which have to be carried out in the halls of the three Orders, I have the honour to make this known to you.

‘ I am respectfully, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) ‘ LE MARQUIS DE BREZÉ.’

‘ P.S.—I think it would be advisable, Sir, that you should have the kindness to entrust the Secretaries with the care of putting away the papers, lest any of them should go astray.



‘Would you, also, be good enough to let me have the names of the Secretaries, so that I may give instructions for their admission, the necessity of not interrupting the pressing work now going on not admitting of indiscriminate access to the halls.’

To this letter the President states that he made answer in the following terms :

‘Sir,—I have as yet received no order from the King, with reference either to the Royal Session or to the suspension of the sittings, and it is my duty to proceed with that which I have fixed for eight o’clock this morning.

‘I am, &c.’

In reply to this communication, the Marquis de Brezé wrote a second time, and to this purport :

‘Versailles, this 20th day of June, 1789.

‘Sir,—It was by a formal order of the King’s that I had the honour of writing to you this morning, and of informing you that His Majesty wishing to be hold, on Monday, a Royal Session for which preparations require to be made in the three Chambers of the Estates, it was his intention that no one should be permitted to enter them, and that the sittings should be suspended until after that to be held by His Majesty.

‘I am respectfully, Sir, your very humble and obedient servant,

(Signed) ‘LE MARQUIS DE BREZÉ.’

M. BAILLY: ‘I need not point out how painful is the situation in which the Assembly now finds itself. I propose that we now consider the course it is requisite to adopt at so critical a juncture.’

M. Mounier expresses an opinion which is supported by M. M. Target, Chapelier, and Barnave. He shows how strange it is that the Hall of the States-General should be occupied by armed men; that no other place should have been put at the disposal of the National Assembly; that its President should have received no other notice than that contained in the Marquis de Brezé’s letters, and the National Representatives none but that conveyed by the placards; and, finally, that, in order not to interrupt their labours they should be obliged to meet in the Tennis Court of the Rue du Vieux-Versailles. And he submits that, in consequence of this violation of their rights and insult to their dignity, as well as in their consciousness of the relentless and unscrupulous intrigues by which it is

endeavoured to drive the King to the adoption of disastrous measures, the Representatives of the Nation should bind themselves, by a solemn oath, to watch over the public safety and the interests of the country.

Approval of this motion is signified by unanimous acclamation. The Assembly at once adopts the following resolution :

‘ The National Assembly, considering that it is called upon to establish the constitution of the realm, to restore public order, and to maintain the true principles of monarchy, and that nothing can prevent it from continuing its deliberations in whatever place it may be obliged to constitute itself ; and that, finally, wheresoever its members are met together there the National Assembly itself is :

‘ Resolves that all the members of the Assembly shall forthwith take a solemn oath never to separate, and to meet wherever circumstances may require, until the constitution of the realm be firmly established on a secure foundation ; and that, after the aforesaid oath shall have been taken, all the members, and each of them individually, shall confirm by his signature this irrevocable resolution.’

M. BAILLY : ‘ I request on behalf of the Secretaries and on my own, that we be allowed to take the oath first.’

This they do forthwith in the following formula :

‘ We swear never to separate ourselves from the National Assembly, and to meet wherever circumstances may require until the constitution of the realm be firmly established on a secure foundation.’

The President then administers the same oath to every member.

The Deputies for the Colony of St. Domingo come forward and request permission to unite themselves provisionally to the nation, by taking the same oath.

The President having informed the Assembly that the Committee of Verification has unanimously recommended the provisional admission of the twelve Deputies from St. Domingo, the Assembly grants the request, and they take the same oath.

This ceremony is followed by applause and by repeated and general cries of ‘ Long live the King.’

After the oath has been taken, the Marquis de Gouy, addressing the meeting, says :

‘ The Colony of St. Domingo was very young when it gave in its allegiance to Louis XIV. ; to-day, richer and more brilliant, it places itself under the protection of the National Assembly.’

The roll of the bailiwicks, stewardries (*sénéchaussées*), provinces, and townships is then called over in alphabetical order, and each member answers, advances to the table and signs.

M. CAMUS: 'I have to inform the Assembly that M. Martin of Auch, in the bailiwick of Castelnaudary, has signed 'opposer.'

A general cry of indignation is heard.

M. BAILLY: 'I move that the opposer's reasons be heard.'

M. MARTIN: 'I declare that I do not consider it in my power to swear that I will carry out resolutions which are not sanctioned by the King.'

THE PRESIDENT: 'The Assembly has already expressed the same principle in its addresses and its deliberations, and it is the desire and intention of all its members to acknowledge the necessity of the King's sanction in the case of all resolutions bearing upon the constitution and upon legislation.'

The opposer persists in his views, and the Assembly decides that his signature shall be allowed to remain on the roll in proof of the liberty of opinion.

The calling of the roll and the signing of the resolution are over by half-past four.

M. Le Chapelier rises to urge not only the expediency, but even the absolute necessity of informing the King of the grief which the Assembly feels at this occurrence. In his opinion the address [to be adopted for this purpose] should let His Majesty know that the enemies of the country are constantly besetting the throne, and that their advice is tending to place the Monarch at the head of a party.

The feeling of a great many members is that these expressions are too strong.

M. Mounier submits that M. Le Chapelier's address does not represent the views of the Assembly. He acknowledges, he says, that formalities have been roughly dealt with, and that, indeed, but little decency has been shown in the matter; that no motives and no pretexts can hamper the National Assembly, but that, in this respect, it has fully avenged itself for the want of consideration of which it has to complain; he adds, that in fact, the last speaker has gone too far in making use of the words 'enemies of the country' before knowing the result of

the Royal Session. He is of opinion that it is befitting to keep such a weapon as this in reserve so as to be able to have recourse to it at a more opportune moment. He proposes a more moderate address in which the Assembly shall express the surprise and the pain which it feels at having been refused admittance to the hall appointed for the meetings of the National Assembly, at the very moment when a junction with the Clergy was about to be effected.

M. M. Barnave and Gouy-d'Arcy are also in favour of an amendment. But, the Assembly does not deem it advisable to enter upon a discussion of the subject. It decides that the resolution carried in the morning and the minutes of the meeting shall at once be printed.

The Assembly adjourns to Monday 22nd, at the usual hour, and resolves further, that if the Royal Session takes place in the National Hall, all the members shall, for the purpose of continuing their usual deliberations and labours, remain in the Hall after such Session has been closed.

The meeting terminates at six o'clock.

In accordance with the terms of the proclamation announcing the forthcoming Royal Session the Estates of the Nobility and of the Clergy have suspended their sittings.

#### SUNDAY, JUNE 21ST.

This evening, at six o'clock, a deputation consisting of forty-three members of the Nobility, was received by His Majesty. The Duc de Luxembourg, as president, was the spokesman.

The King's reply was as follows :—

'Patriotism and the love of its Kings have always been the distinguishing marks of the French Nobility. I accept with pleasure the renewed assurances which you now give me of these sentiments. I recognise the rights which birth has conferred upon your Order, and I shall also know how to maintain, in the interest of my subjects, the authority which has been entrusted to me, and will never allow it to be interfered with. I depend upon your zeal for your country, as well as on your attachment to my person, and confiding in your loyalty I expect that you will adopt the conciliatory measures on which

I am now intent, for the benefit of my people. In this manner you will further add to the claim which you already possess to their love and their respect.'

SESSION OF MONDAY 22ND OF JUNE; MORNING.  
HOUSE OF COMMONS.

*In the Church of Saint Louis.*

This morning at eight o'clock the heralds announced by proclamation that the Royal Sitting was postponed till to-morrow, the 23rd.

Admission to the Royal Hall being still prevented by sentries, the members of the Assembly met first at the church of the Recollets, and subsequently in that of Saint Louis which afforded a larger and more convenient place of meeting.

About eleven o'clock, the Assembly having been constituted in the nave, M. Bailly makes known that, two hours after midnight, a herald had brought him a letter from the King, in His Majesty's own handwriting, conceived in the following terms:—

*' To M. Bailly, President of the Order of the Third Estate.*

' Sir,—I inform you that the sitting which I had announced for Monday will not take place until Tuesday, at ten o'clock in the morning, and that the hall will not be opened till then.

(Signed) LOUIS.'

'21st June, 1789.

' I have commissioned the Grand Master of Ceremonies to deliver this letter to you.'

In forwarding the King's letter to M. Bailly, M. de Brezé wrote to him in these words:

' Sir,—I have the honour to send on to you a letter which the King has commanded me to deliver to you. I beg you will kindly acknowledge receipt of it.

' I am respectfully, M. le President, yours, &c.,

(Signed) LE MARQUIS DE BREZE.'

*M. Bailly's Answer.*

' Sir,—I have received the King's letter which was addressed to me, and which His Majesty commissioned you to forward to me.

' I have the honour to be, Sir, yours &c.,

(Signed) BAILLY.

The minutes of the meeting held on Saturday, June 20th, in the Tennis Court are read. After this has been done, those members of the National Assembly who by reason of absence or illness had been unable to take part in Saturday's meeting are admitted to take the oath. Several gentlemen acting as substitutes (*suppléants*) having also come forward and asked to be allowed to signify their adhesion to the resolution by affixing their signature to it, the Assembly grants their request.

About half-past twelve M. Bailly announces that he has just been informed of the intention of a majority of the Clergy to come to the Assembly at one o'clock, and requests any ecclesiastics who may be present to join them at the residence of the Archbishop of Bordeaux.

The members of the National Assembly who occupied the seats at the upper end of the nave, nearest the sanctuary, at once hastened to give them up, as being the most honourable.

A few moments later, M. Laffon de Landebat, in the name of those who have raised opposition to the mandate and the election of the noble deputies for the Stewartry of Bordeaux requests that he and his fellow-deputies be admitted, and that the matter at issue be settled by the National Assembly.

The National Assembly allows M. de Landebat to take instruments of his request, and refers the settlement of the dispute with regard to the powers of these Deputies to the Committee of Verification.

About two o'clock the Clergy assemble in the choir of St. Louis's Church for the purpose of calling over the roll of the hundred and forty-nine Deputies of the Clergy who, on Friday, the 19th of June, signed the declaration in favour of verification in common.

Whilst the list is being read loud applause greets the mention of the names of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, the Bishop of Chartres, the Archbishop of Vienne, the Bishop of Rhodéz, Thibault, incumbent (*curé*) of Souppes, Grégoire (d'Embermenil), and three other incumbents, Deputies from Poitou, who were the first to set the patriotic example of joining the Third Estate. After the roll has been called, the Clergy send a deputation, at the head of which is the

Bishop of Chartres, who announces that a majority of the Estate of the Clergy having resolved to unite for a common verification of powers, he has been commissioned to make this known to the Assembly, and to request for them admission to the National Hall.

The President replies that the Deputies of the Estate of the Clergy will be gladly received, with all the respect due to them, and informs them that their usual place of precedence is free for them to occupy.

A moment later, M. de Pompignan, Archbishop of Vienne enters, followed by three prelates and by all the other ecclesiastics who compose the majority, and all of them proceed to the place which has been appointed them.

The silence which prevailed when the gates of the choir were opened is soon interrupted by applause and universal acclamation. In the midst of this touching scene the Archbishop of Vienne rises and says :

‘Gentlemen.—We come with pleasure to give effect to the resolution adopted by a majority of the Estate of the Clergy in the States-General. This meeting, which, to-day, has for its sole object the common verification of powers, is the signal and, I may say, the prelude of the constant union which they desire to maintain with the other Estates and particularly with that of the honourable Deputies of the Commons.’

THE PRESIDENT :—‘Gentlemen. You behold the joy and the acclamations which your presence calls forth from this Assembly. They are the outcome of the purest sentiments, of our desire for union and of our anxiety for the public weal. You have left the sanctuary, Gentlemen, to take your place in this National Assembly where you were awaited with so much impatience. As the result of a deliberation over which a spirit of justice and of peace presided, you have voted the union which was so ardently desired. France will bless this memorable day, and will inscribe your names in the annals of our country; more particularly will she remember those worthy ecclesiastics who preceded you and whose announcement of your intended coming promised us the fulfilment of

our most earnest desires. How great is the pleasure which this affords us, Gentlemen! That good work which is the wish of our hearts and to which we will now apply ourselves with courage and perseverance, will be performed with your co-operation and in your presence; it will be the fruit of peace and of fraternal love.

‘But all our desires are not yet fulfilled. I notice with regret that brethren of another Estate are absent from this august family. Nevertheless, this day is a day of happiness for the National Assembly; and, if I may be allowed to refer to my own personal feelings, the most glorious day of my life will be that on which I have beheld this union, on which I have had the honour of welcoming you in the name of this august Assembly, of giving expression to its feelings and of conveying to you its congratulations.’

THE ARCHBISHOP OF VIENNE: ‘I now lay upon the table the printed list of the members of the Clergy who have voted for the common verification of common powers.’

The President proposes that the Clergy be invited to appoint sixteen of their own members whose powers are already, or will be immediately, verified, to join the Committee of Verification, in order that they may take part in examining and reporting upon the writs which still remain to be verified, as well as upon those of which the verification will be given in by the Clergy.

This proposal having been accepted by the Assembly, the members appointed are the Archbishop of Bordeaux, Deputy for the Stewartry of Bordeaux; the *abbé* d’Abbecourt, Deputy for the viscounty of Paris; the *abbé* de Villeneuve, Deputy for Marseilles; the *abbé* Charrier de la Roche, provost, incumbent of Ainay, Deputy for Lyons; Gouttes, incumbent of Argilliers.

The Archbishop of Vienne requests, in the name of his Order, that the report on the verification of powers be communicated to them, in order that they may take cognisance of it, and make upon it such remarks as circumstances may require.

The Assembly orders this to be done.



M. TARGET: 'Gentlemen. On this day, which will ever be held sacred in the remembrance of men, on this day which it seems to have been the will of Providence to render more solemn by making the temple of Religion a temple of the Fatherland, it is our duty at once to communicate to the best of Kings an event of such happy augury to our country. I ask you, therefore, Gentlemen, to vote that the honourable list which the Clergy have just handed in to you be forwarded to the King as a token of our respect and a pledge of public happiness.'

THE ARCHBISHOP OF BORDEAUX: 'We have some worthy brethren who are not here. They will comply with the wishes of the nation; we beg of you to postpone this expression of patriotism, so as to give them an opportunity to join us.'

The Marquis de Blacons and M. d'Agoult, Deputies for the nobility of Dauphiné, present themselves for the purpose of having their powers verified in common. They are received with enthusiastic applause.

THE MARQUIS DE BLACONS: 'Gentlemen, the union of the greater part of the Clergy having removed the difficulties which had arisen with regard to our mandates, we now come forward to request that our powers be verified in common, and that information be given us with regard to those which have already been verified.'

M. de Blacons and M. d'Agoult thereupon lay their writs on the table. The Assembly remits to the Committee of Verification to examine and report upon them.

The sitting is adjourned, and will be continued to-morrow morning at nine o'clock, in the usual place of meeting.

#### CLERGY.

The members of the Clergy who were of opinion that the verification should take place in common, met at the residence of the Archbishop of Bordeaux, for the purpose of afterwards proceeding, at one o'clock, to the Parish Church of St. Louis, where the Commons were assembled. They were to the number of one hundred and forty-nine. They had previously

sent four deputies to Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld with the following declaration :

‘The final vote in connection with the question discussed last Friday by the Deputies of the Clergy having established the fact that a majority of voices had been given in favour of a common verification of powers, those who had given their support to this view were awaiting the moment when all the Deputies of the Estate should be assembled, in order to consult as to the means of giving effect to their resolution.

‘An unforeseen event has put off the sitting which was to have taken place, and this Royal Session is postponed till to-morrow, Tuesday.

‘The Order of the Third Estate is at this moment assembling in the Church of Saint Louis ; the majority of the Clergy, therefore, intend to avail themselves of this opportunity for the purpose of carrying out their resolution, so that the two Estates being united may proceed to the common verification of their powers, pending such time as they may be joined by the honourable members of the Estate of the Nobility.

‘The majority of the Clergy hasten to make known their intention to the Very Reverend and Reverend Deputies of the Clergy ; and, before proceeding to the common place of meeting which, for the present day, is within the Church of St. Louis, will all assemble at one o’clock in the choir of the aforesaid Church of St. Louis.’

#### ROYAL SESSION.

TUESDAY, THE 23RD OF JUNE.

At the hour appointed the Deputies proceeded to the ordinary place of assembly. The hall was surrounded by numerous guards. Barriers had been put up. In the adjoining streets and in the *Avenue de Paris* detachments from the French, Swiss, Municipal, and *Marechausée* Guards had been stationed.

The doors having been thrown open, the two privileged Estates were first admitted to take their places. The members of the National Assembly were obliged to wait for more than an hour, most of them in the rain. The National Assembly expressed their discontent by repeated murmurs. The two Secretaries went to make formal complaint of the impropriety of this long delay.

A general withdrawal was being discussed, when M. de Brezé made his appearance. The President informed him that

he would complain to the King of the disrespect shown by the Master of Ceremonies. At half-past ten, the members of the National Assembly entered two by two, in the deepest silence. The public had been strictly excluded.

The throne stood at the extremity of the Hall; the Clergy were on the right, and the Nobility on the left. On either side of the passage running down the middle, the Members of the National Assembly took their places, which extended to the back of the Hall. The four heralds and the king-at-arms took up their position in the centre. The throne was raised on a platform, which occupied one end of the hall, as far as the second pillar. Below this platform and around a table, the Ministers were seated: one chair alone was unoccupied; it was M. Necker's.

About eleven o'clock the King left his Palace. The royal carriage was preceded and followed by the falconers, pages, and esquires, as well as by four companies of the Body-Guards.

The King enters the Hall, accompanied by the Princes of the Blood, the Dukes and Peers, and the Captains of the Body-Guard. On his arrival, the Deputies rise, and then resume their seats.

In an address expressed in the following terms, the King makes known the object of the session:—

'Gentlemen. I thought I had done all that lay within my power for the welfare of my people when I had resolved upon convening you, when I had overcome all the difficulties attending your convocation, and when, by indicating what I intended to do for the happiness of the nation, I had, so to speak, gone out to meet its wishes.

'There seemed to be nothing further left for you to do but to complete my work, and the nation was impatiently awaiting the moment when the beneficent intentions of its sovereign and the enlightened zeal of its representatives would, by their mutual co-operation, enable it to enjoy that prosperity which such a union could not fail to procure.

'The States-General have now been opened for nearly two months, and they have not yet been able to agree as to the

preliminaries of their business. Love for our common country should, of itself, have proved sufficient to bring about a perfect understanding, but the unhappy differences which have arisen are a source of alarm to every mind. I wish to believe, and I fondly cling to the thought, that Frenchmen are still what they were. But, to avoid making reproaches to any of you, I am willing to suppose that, if opposition, disagreements, and exaggerated claims have arisen, it is due, amongst other circumstances, to the long interval which has elapsed since the States-General last met, to the excitement which has preceded this convocation, to the object for which recourse has been had to it, and which is so different from that which brought your ancestors together, and to the restrictions which have been imposed on your powers.

‘I owe it to the common welfare of my kingdom, I owe it to myself to put an end to these fatal dissensions. It is with this intent, Gentlemen, that I have again assembled you around me. It is as the common father of all my subjects, it is as the defender of the laws of my kingdom that I have come here to set forth the true spirit of these laws, and to repress any attempt to violate them.’

‘But, Gentlemen, after having clearly laid down the respective rights of each Estate, I expect from the love of their country which animates the first two of these Estates, I expect from the affection which they bear me, I expect from the knowledge which they have of the evils from which the State is suffering, that, in matters regarding the common weal, they will be the first to propose that union of counsels and of sentiments, which I consider necessary in the present crisis, and by which alone the safety of the State is to be effected.’

The following declaration is then read by one of the Secretaries of State :—

*Declaration of the King concerning the holding of the present States-General.*

I. It is the King's will that the ancient distinction between the three Estates be maintained in its entirety, as being essentially bound up with the constitution of his kingdom ; and that the Deputies freely chosen by each of these three Estates, forming three Chambers, deliberating Estate by Estate, but having the power, subject to the royal sanction, of agreeing

to deliberate in common, shall alone be considered as forming the representative body of the Nation. Consequently, the King has annulled, as being illegal and unconstitutional, the resolutions passed by the Deputies of the Third Estate, on the 17th of the present month, as well as any others which may have resulted therefrom.

II. His Majesty declares the validity of all the powers which have already been, or which are to be, verified in each Chamber, and with regard to which no opposition has been, or will be, raised; and His Majesty commands that the respective Estates shall communicate to each other the result of such verification.

With regard to those powers in reference to which opposition may be raised in any of the Estates, and as to which the parties interested may make appeal, provision shall be made, for the present session of the States-General only, in such way as is here-after to be set forth.

III. The King sets aside and annuls, as being unconstitutional, contrary to the letters of convocation, and opposed to the interests of the State, any restriction of powers which, by hampering the liberty of the Deputies of the States-General, might prevent them from adopting the forms of deliberation agreed upon, either separately by each Estate, or, in common, in accordance with the express wish of the three Estates.

IV. If, contrary to the wishes of the King, any of the Deputies have taken a rash oath not to depart from any one special form of deliberation, His Majesty leaves it to their conscience to decide whether the regulations which he is going to set forth are not in conformity with the letter and the spirit of the engagement by which they have bound themselves.

V. The King allows such Deputies as shall consider themselves hampered by their mandates to apply for fresh powers to their constituents; but His Majesty directs them to remain, in the meantime, with the States-General, so as to take part, but with consultative voice only, in all deliberations on urgent State affairs.

VI. His Majesty declares that, in future sessions of the States-General, he will not allow that the *cahiers* or mandates be considered imperative. They are to be nothing more than instructions entrusted to the conscience and the free opinion of the Deputies who may have been chosen.

VII. His Majesty having, for the welfare of the State, exhorted the three Estates to unite, during the present session only, in order to consult in common upon matters of general utility, wishes to make known his intention as to the manner in which this may be done.

VIII. All matters bearing upon the ancient and constitutional rights of the three Estates, the special constitution to be given to the next States-General, feus, the beneficiary privileges and honorific prerogatives of the first two Estates, shall be expressly excluded from the number of those which may be dealt with in common.

IX. The special consent of the Clergy shall be necessary in the case of

all measures which may affect religion, ecclesiastical discipline, or the management of religious orders and bodies, both secular and regular.

X. Any decision to be arrived at by the three Estates together, in reference to any writ to which opposition may be raised, and as to which the parties interested may appeal to the States-General, shall be carried by a majority of votes ; but if two-thirds of the members of any one Estate protest against the finding of the Assembly, the matter shall be submitted to the King, and be finally settled by His Majesty.

XI. If, with a view to facilitating their union, the three Estates should wish that the resolutions which they may have to pass in common, should not be carried by any majority of less than two-thirds of the votes, His Majesty is disposed to authorise this arrangement.

XII. Any matters with regard to which a decision may have been arrived at by a meeting of the three Estates, shall again be brought up for discussion on the next day, if a hundred members of the Assembly unite in a request to this effect.

XIII. With a view to promoting a spirit of conciliation, the King wishes that, on the present occasion, the three Chambers should separately proceed to the nomination of a commission composed of any number of Deputies they may deem fit, which shall make arrangements for the organization and distribution of standing committees to transact the different branches of public business.

XIV. The general assembly of the Deputies of the three Estates shall be presided over by the presidents chosen by each Estate, and in accordance with their ordinary rank.

XV. The maintenance of order, propriety, and even the freedom of debate itself, requires that His Majesty should forbid, as he hereby expressly does forbid, that any person, not being a member of one of the three Estates which compose the States-General, should be present at any of the deliberations, whether they be carried on separately or in common.

The King again addresses the Assembly :—

‘It has been my wish, Gentlemen, also to lay before you the various benefits which I am conferring upon my people. This is not with the intention of circumscribing your zeal within the circle which I am about to trace ; for I shall adopt with pleasure any other proposal which the States-General may make for the public good. I may say, without deceiving myself, that no king ever did so much for any nation ; but what nation has proved itself more deserving of it than the French nation has by its sentiments ? Nor do I hesitate to add that those who, by putting forward exaggerated claims or by raising inopportune difficulties, may further delay the carry-

ing out of my paternal intentions, will show themselves unworthy to be considered Frenchmen.'

This speech is followed by the reading of the following Declaration :—

*Declaration of the King's Intentions.*

I. No new tax shall be imposed, and no existing tax shall be continued beyond the term fixed by law, without the consent of the Representatives of the Nation.

II. Any new burdens which may be imposed, or any old ones which may be continued, shall be in force only during the interval to elapse between the present and the next session of the States-General.

III. As loans may possibly lead to a necessary increase of taxation, none shall be raised without the consent of the States-General, subject to the condition, however, that in the event of a war or any other national danger, the Sovereign shall be empowered to borrow at once to the amount of one hundred millions ; for it is the King's formal intention never to allow the safety of his empire to depend upon any other than himself.

IV. The States-General shall carefully examine the state of the finances, and shall make whatever enquiries may be necessary to afford them the fullest information.

V. Returns of income and expenditure shall be published yearly, according to a form to be proposed by the States-General, and approved by His Majesty.

VI. The sum to be assigned to each department shall be fixed and unvarying, and to this general rule the King subjects even the funds destined to the support of his own household.

VII. For the purpose of securing this fixity of expenditure in the several departments of the State, it is the King's wish that the States-General should inform him as to the provisions suitable to be made, and His Majesty will adopt them, provided they be compatible with the royal dignity and with that despatch which is indispensable in the public service.

VIII. The representatives of a nation faithful to the laws of honour and of probity will do nothing that can affect the public credit, and the King expects of them that they will afford every guarantee and every security that can inspire confidence in those who have claims on the State.

IX. When the formal intention announced by the Clergy and the Nobility, of renouncing their pecuniary privileges shall have been given effect to by their votes, the King purposes to give it his sanction, so that no further distinction or immunities may exist in the payment of pecuniary contributions.

X. In order to give binding and lasting force to this important measure, it is the King's will that the name of "*taille*" \* be abolished throughout the

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\* Poll-tax on feuars.

whole Kingdom, that this tax be incorporated either in that of the *vingtièmes* or in some other territorial impost, and that, whether it be replaced in this or in any other manner, it shall be levied on a just, equal, and proportional basis, without distinction of condition, rank, or birth.

XI. It is the King's will that the duty charged on *franc-fiefs* be abolished as soon as the income and the fixed expenditure of the State shall have been equally balanced.

XII. Property of every kind shall everywhere and always be respected ; and under the name of property, His Majesty expressly includes the tithes, quit-rents, rents, feu-duties, and generally all rights and prerogatives, both beneficiary and honorific attached to lands and fiefs or belonging to individuals.

XIII. The two first Estates of the Realm shall continue to enjoy exemption from personal service ; but the King will consent that the States-General shall devise means for the conversion of services of this kind into pecuniary contributions which shall then be levied equally from all the Orders of the State.

XIV. It is the King's intention to determine, according to such advice as the States-General may give, what appointments and offices shall, for the future, retain the privilege of conferring and transmitting nobility. But, His Majesty, in conformity with the right inherent in the Crown, will nevertheless grant letters patent to those of his subjects, who, by services rendered to the King and to the State, shall have shown themselves worthy of such reward.

XV. The King wishing to assure in a firm and lasting manner the individual liberty of every citizen, invites the States-General to devise and to lay before him the most suitable means of reconciling the abolition of the warrants known under the name of *lettres de cachet* \* with the maintenance of public security and with the precautions necessary as well for guarding the honour of families, in certain cases, and for quickly repressing the beginnings of sedition, as also for protecting the State from the result of any treasonable intercourse with foreign powers.

XVI. The States-General will examine and make known to His Majesty the most suitable means for reconciling the liberty of the press with the respect due to religion, morality and the honour of the citizens.

XVII. There shall be established in the various provinces and generalities States Provincial of which two-tenths shall be chosen from the members of the Clergy, of whom a part shall, of necessity, belong to the episcopal order ; three-tenths from members of the Nobility ; and five-tenths from members of the third Estate.

XVIII. The members of these States Provincial shall be freely chosen by the respective Orders, and both elective franchise and eligibility shall depend on a certain property qualification.

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\* i.e., Arbitrary warrants for arrest by the royal authority only.



XIX. The members deputed to these States Provincial shall deliberate in common on all business, according to the custom of the Provincial Assemblies which these States shall supersede.

XX. An intermediate commission, chosen by these States, shall administer the affairs of the province during the interval between one session and another, and these intermediate commissions being alone responsible for the management of such business, shall have as delegates persons chosen either by themselves alone or by the States Provincial.

XXI. The States-General shall lay before the King their views concerning any further details of the internal organization of the States Provincial, as well as concerning the arrangement of such formalities as shall seem suitable for the election of the members of this Assembly.

XXII. Independently of the administrative business committed to the provincial Assemblies, the King will entrust the States Provincial with the management of hospitals, prisons, work-houses, and foundling-homes; with the supervision of the expenditure of towns; with the preservation and maintenance of forests, with the custody and sale of the wood proceeding therefrom, and with any other business which can be most conveniently administered by the provinces.

XXIII. Any disagreements which may arise in the provinces where ancient States are in existence, and any protests which may be made with regard to the constitution of these assemblies, will demand the attention of the States-General; they will make known to the King what measure it may seem to them suitable to adopt, in conformity with prudence and justice, for the purpose of establishing a fixed order in the administration of these same provinces.

XXIV. The King invites the States-General to apply themselves to devising suitable means for using to the best advantage the domains which are in his own hands, and to lay before him their views as to what it is advisable to do with regard to such domains as are mortgaged.

XXV. The States-General will consider the project which His Majesty has long entertained, of levying all customs at the frontiers of the Kingdom, so that the most perfect liberty may be given to the circulation within it of both home and foreign produce.

XXVI. His Majesty desires that the unfortunate effect of the duty upon salt, as well as the importance of this source of income, be carefully discussed, and that a means of at least lightening the levying of it be included in any scheme proposed.

XXVII. It is also His Majesty's will that the advantages and disadvantages of the subsidies and other imposts be also attentively examined, but without losing sight of the necessity of establishing an exact balance between the income and the expenditure of the State.

XXVIII. According to the intention expressed by the King in his declaration of the 23rd of last September, His Majesty will examine with serious attention any projects which may be submitted to him with

reference to the administration of justice and the means of perfecting the civil and criminal law.

XXIX. It is the King's will that throughout the whole extent of his realm, no delay and no obstacle be offered to the registration and the execution of such laws as shall be promulgated during the session of the States-General, in accordance with their advice or in conformity with their wishes.

XXX. It is His Majesty's will that the employment of statute-labour (*corvée*) for the making and maintenance of roads be wholly and for ever abolished in his kingdom.

XXXI. The King desires that the abolition of the right of mortmain, of which His Majesty has set the example in his own domains, be extended to the whole of France; and that proposals be submitted to him as to the means of providing for any compensation which may be due to such nobles as possess this right.

XXXII. His Majesty will shortly make known to the States-General the regulations which he is considering with a view to restricting the paramountships (*capitaineries*),\* and thus giving, in a matter which most nearly concerns his own personal enjoyment, a new proof of his love for his people.

XXXIII. The King invites the States-General to consider, in all its bearings, the system of conscription for the militia, and to devise such means as may reconcile what is due to the safety of the State, with the relief which it is His Majesty's desire to be able to grant his subjects.

XXXIV. It is the King's will that there shall be no power ever to alter, without the separate consent of each of the three Estates, any measures affecting public order or the welfare of the people, to which His Majesty

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\* 'The *Capitaineries*,' says Arthur Young, 'were a dreadful scourge on all the occupiers of land. By this term is to be understood the paramountship of certain districts, granted by the King to Princes of the Blood, by which they were put in possession of the property of all game, even on lands not belonging to them; and, what is very singular, on manors granted long before to individuals; so that the erecting of a district into a *capitainerie*, was an annihilation of all manorial rights to the game within it. This was a trifling business, in comparison of other circumstances; for, in speaking of the preservation of the game in these *capitaineries*, it must be observed, that by game must be understood whole droves of wild boars, and herds of deer not confined by any wall or pale, but wandering, at pleasure, over the whole country, to the destruction of crops; and to the peopling of the galleys by the wretched peasants, who presumed to kill them, in order to save that food which was to support their helpless children. The game in the *capitainerie* of Monceau, in four parishes only, did mischief to the amount of 184,263 liv. (over £7,000) per annum.' Tr.

shall have given the sanction of his authority during the present session of the States-General; and His Majesty places them, before-hand, on the footing of a national property, for which, as for every kind of property, he wishes to ensure absolute safety.

XXXV. After having called upon the States-General to apply themselves, in concert with him, to these great schemes of public utility, as well as to all which can contribute to the welfare of his people, His Majesty declares most expressly that he intends to retain in all its entirety, and without the least limitation, the constitution of the army, as well as all authority, power, and right of supervision which the kings of France have ever enjoyed over the military establishment."

Before withdrawing the King pronounces a third discourse, which we transcribe :

' You have just heard, Gentlemen, the result of my arrangements and of my views; they are in conformity with the anxious desire which I have of promoting the public welfare. And if, through some fatality which I am far from anticipating, you leave me alone in this noble enterprise, I will effect alone the welfare of my people, I will deem myself alone their true representative; but, knowing the purport of your instructions (*cahiers*), knowing the perfect accord which exists between the desire of the majority of the nation and my benevolent intentions, I shall feel all the confidence which such rare harmony must inspire, and I shall walk onwards towards the object which I have set myself with all the courage and all the firmness with which such an object should inspire me.

' Remember, Gentlemen, that none of your projects, none of your provisions can have legal force without my special assent. I am, consequently, the natural guardian of your respective rights; and all the Orders of the State may depend upon my equitable impartiality.

' Any want of confidence on your part would be a great injustice. So far, I alone have worked for the good of my people. Perhaps it is rare that the sole ambition of a King should be to induce his subjects to agree to accept his benefits.

' I command you, Gentlemen, to separate at once, and to proceed to-morrow morning, each to the Chamber appointed

for his Order, for the purpose of resuming your sittings. I consequently order the Grand Master of Ceremonies to have the chambers prepared.'

After the King's departure the Deputies of the Nobility and some of the Clergy withdraw. All the members of the National Assembly and several *curés* remain immovable in their seats.

Shortly after, the Marquis de Brezé approaches the President and says:

'Gentlemen, you have heard the King's intentions.'

The Comte de Mirabeau rises, and with indignant tones and gestures answers thus:

'Yes, Sir, we have heard the intentions which have been suggested to the King; and you, who cannot be an organ of communication between him and the States-General; you who have neither place nor right of speech here, you are not the man to remind us of his discourse. Nevertheless, to avoid every misunderstanding and every delay, I declare that if you have been instructed to send us hence, you must go and get orders to use force; for we will leave our places only by the force of bayonets.'

With one voice the Deputies cried out: 'Such is the will of the Assembly.'

The Grand Master of Ceremonies retires.

A solemn silence reigns throughout the Assembly.

M. CAMUS: 'The power of the Deputies who compose this Assembly has been recognised. It has also been admitted that a free nation cannot be taxed without its consent. You have consequently done what it was your duty to do. If, at the very outset, impediments are thrown in our way, what are we to expect for the future! We are bound to abide, firmly and unreservedly by all our former resolutions.'

M. BARNAVE: 'The steps which you are to take depend upon your position. Your resolutions depend upon yourselves alone. You have declared what you are; you have no need of sanction. To you alone is it competent to impose taxes. You have been sent by the nation to be the interpreters of its wishes and for the purpose of establishing a constitution; you are bound to remain assembled as long as you shall deem it necessary for

the interests of your constituents. It befits your dignity to insist on retaining the title of 'National Assembly.'

M. GLEZEN, *Deputy for Rennes*, having referred to the indiscreet applause of some of the members of the two first Estates, adds: 'Absolute power is in the mouth of this best of Kings, in the mouth of a Sovereign who acknowledges that the people should make its own laws. It is a Bed of Justice\* which has been held in the midst of this National Assembly; the King has spoken as a master when it was his duty to ask for advice. Let the aristocracy triumph; it has but a single day. The King will soon be enlightened. The greatness of our courage will equal the magnitude of the crisis. We must be ready to die for our country. The resolutions which you have passed, Gentlemen, are wise. An arbitrary act of authority must not intimidate you.'

M. M. Pétion de Villeneuve, Buzot, Garat senior, the *abbé* Sieyès, and the *abbé* Grégoire, support in energetic terms the course which has been proposed.

The members having been called upon to signify assent or dissent by rising or remaining seated, it is seen to be the unanimous decision of the National Assembly, that the resolutions previously passed be upheld.

THE COMTE DE MIRABEAU: 'On this day I bless Liberty for producing such glorious fruits in the National Assembly. Let us give security to the result of our labours by declaring the inviolability of the Deputies to the States-General. This is no indication of fear; it is an act of prudence; it is a safeguard against the unscrupulous counsels by which the throne is beset.'

After a short discussion, this motion is adopted by 493 votes to 34, and the Assembly adjourns after having passed the following resolution:—

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\* Bed of Justice. (*Lit de Justice*). Originally the throne on which the King of France was seated when he went to Parliament. Hence, a formal visit of a King of France to his Parliament. These visits had several objects; but latterly, when Parliament became a power in the State, beds of justice were held principally for the purpose of compelling its members to register edicts of the King when they shewed themselves unwilling to do so. Tr.

'The National Assembly declares that the person of every Deputy is inviolable ; that any private individual, corporation, tribunal, court, or commission daring to prosecute, impeach, arrest or cause to be arrested, imprison or cause to be imprisoned, any Deputy, either during or after the present session, in consequence of any proposal, advice, opinion, or speech delivered by him in the States-General ; as well as all persons lending their assistance for any of the aforesaid breaches of privilege, by whomsoever the order for them be given, shall be considered infamous and traitors to the nation, and shall be guilty of a capital crime. The National Assembly further declares that if any of the above-named acts should occur, it will take all measures necessary to punish the authors, instigators, and perpetrators of the deed.'

For the transaction of the remaining business the Assembly adjourns till to-morrow, at nine o'clock.

These several resolutions were adopted in the presence of several members of the Clergy. Those whose powers had been verified took part in the vote ; the others requested that mention should be made of their presence.

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY.

*M. Bailly in the Chair.*

SESSION OF WEDNESDAY, 24TH JUNE.

After the minutes of yesterday's Session have been read, it is resolved that a printing-office be established in Versailles, for the use of the National Assembly, and M. Baudoin *député suppléant* for Paris, is appointed printer.

With this commencement of the report of the proceedings of the first day upon which a Chamber sat under the formally-assumed title of NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, we close the present extract.

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ART. V.—A SCOTTISH GOVERNING HOUSE.

*The Arniston Memoirs. Edited by GEO. W. T. OMOND, Esq., Advocate, Edinburgh. 1888.*

**A**MID the many contributions which one source after another is affording to our knowledge of the past, it is difficult to avoid occasionally commiserating the historian of

the future. How will he be able to digest, and compress within reasonable bounds, the vast mass of materials, none of which he can afford to overlook? And what form of historical narrative will he be impelled to adopt? Chronicle has been followed by dissertation; the reigns of monarchs have yielded to periods that denote the fortunes of politicians and the supremacy of parties; dry narrative has been thrown aside for dramatic description. A late tendency has sought to depict the steady swell of national development among the great body of the people that has been ever going on under the surf and curl of Parliamentary political life, and the magnitude of the true historian's task is being more and more appreciated. Yet in this as in other matters there is much truth in the old legal maxim, *Dolus latet in generalibus*. Hasty and superficial generalisation is really the grave danger that besets a democratic body, and is the origin of the anomaly that with the loudest talk about justice, and a widespread generous desire to do justice, there is frequently perpetrated the most aggravated and unblushing injustice. Nothing contributes more to this result, which in the long run brings its own retribution, and decay to the society that permits it, than loose and imperfect, while nominally broad and liberal, views of historical facts. There is a danger in literature and politics, that while emancipating ourselves from vain and hampering 'traditions of the fathers,' we may only do so to abase ourselves beneath the Juggernaut wheels of what are called 'great movements.' The safeguard is to be found in getting behind the movement, and tracing the men who have set it in motion. It is only thus that real progress is to be made towards a philosophy of history, and that history at the same time can retain the picturesque incidents, the elements of individual interest, the light and shade, that have made it the most fascinating of all studies.

In the abundance of biographical details, supplied from sources of unquestionable authority, there may perhaps be found the antidote to the generalised method of writing history. After all, the object of the science is to relate the actions of men rather than to record the operation of forces,

and the forces with which it deals are in the main the passions and the opinions of men. It has been described as 'the essence of innumerable biographies,' and 'philosophy teaching by example.' It certainly affords plenty of examples to show how the action of individuals falsifies the forecasts of the wisest philosophy. Action and reaction may be a law of human affairs, but the prevalence of the one or the other often depends on the prospects of a single man. Individual biography may afford the key to national events, and must supplement and correct the error that only takes account of waves of general sentiment and opinion.

But none the less is it true that a nation is a composite whole, and that men are to some extent the creatures of their circumstances and time. And it is especially interesting to trace a well developed type of individual character or social position, that has acted long enough on national affairs to produce important effects, and itself existed long enough, with its main features unchanged, to illustrate the influence on private life of great public movements. The growth of hereditary opinion is interesting, and the pedigree of parties is a fascinating subject of research. Lord Stanhope's startling but plausible theory of the absolute reversal of position between the Whig and Tory parties at the beginning and end of last century has failed to secure the approval of Mr. Lecky, but there is more to be said for it than the later historian admits. It suggests an enquiry on which much light may be thrown by the increasing additions made to our knowledge of the secret springs of last century's political movements by selections from the documents and narratives of the lives of those who took part in them. Possibly not the least valuable information may be found in a part of the country different in many respects from that in which the originator of the idea found the mass of his materials.

If the question were put to an ordinary Scotsman, as to what family receptacles were likely to contain most illustrating the history of last century, and as to where the most characteristic type of Scottish politician during the same period was to be found, the reply would certainly be 'the house and home



from which came Henry Dundas.' The strange tendency which connects all the abuses of a defunct régime with its most prominent and honoured name, still prevents the capacious mind and warm heart of the first Lord Melville from receiving its due deserts in the country to which he was deeply attached. Even yet in the city whose inhabitants once 'thought their streets too vulgar for Lord Melville to walk upon,' an occasional scream of vulgar malignity discharges itself in letters to the newspapers advocating the renaming of spacious streets and crescents, and the metamorphosis of the monument that commemorates the great colleague of Pitt, under whose auspices the energies of Scotsmen found so splendid a sphere in the making of British India. It is a remarkable fact that no biography exists of a statesman who for long was a figure in the House of Commons only lesser than Pitt, and Burke and Fox, and was, without exaggeration, the Dictator of Scotland.

But Henry Dundas was only the most prominent figure of a remarkable race, who left their mark on their country, and bore witness in their own career to special features of its character, and peculiarities of its national life. They not only exhibited but united the characters of enterprising country gentlemen, of good lawyers and of great statesmen. Between these varying lines of life a connection has always existed, but rarely has it been so close as in the Scotland of last century. Wherever Parliamentary Government is found, the Bar secures a large share of political prominence, not always to the advantage of the country, and sometimes undoubtedly a little to the discredit of the long robe. Wherever vast masses of half-educated men are invested with political power, ready talkers are in request, and eloquence and considerable leisure are too frequently for long the chief results of a life vowed to the worship of Themis. Nor is it always those who stand highest in the respect of their professional brethren, who are most successful in catching the lesser advantages of political life. Wherever there is a great capital with a popular assembly and a large bar, two classes gravitate irresistibly towards politics, and strangely enough they represent the highest excellence,

and the lower types of the legal profession. For public life requires the best men, and offers the loftiest and purest prizes of professional triumph, while on the other hand it gives a certain purchase in the struggles after mere professional gain. The conjunction produces alike a Lord Cairns or Sir Henry James, and a contrasted type of which the examples are many. But if the experience of the French Revolution, and of later days among ourselves lends some shadow to the common opinion that a lawyer who takes to politics remains a lawyer at heart, and is to be treated by the electors simply as a useful stick with which to beat the other side, it is equally true that even yet there is in the case of the Scottish Advocate a safeguard against purely self-seeking views of public life, that does not exist in that of the London barrister. Five hundred miles is a strong guarantee of patriotism. An English barrister may practise in the Courts, and sit for a Metropolitan division, may even run down to Scotland, and sit for a Scotch county on the strength of alterations in Scottish Law that simply mean the transfer of one man's property to another, and all the time be merely advancing his purely professional career. A seat in the House is a well understood professional investment. But a Scottish advocate must sacrifice his professional gains or his public ambition. For him 'carpet-bagging' is unprofitable, and even the acceptance of Crown office, which demands a seat in Parliament, may involve a serious monetary sacrifice. Payment of members would probably considerably alter things in this respect; but as it is, even with the increased facilities of travelling, public life is still to the north of the Tweed associated with a high standard of legal excellence. Only those who have made their position and can rest on their oars, or those who have a position independent of sordid exigencies, can venture to look towards Westminster.

This must have been even more the case in last century. The doors of political preferment were shut to all except a few, while its permanence rendered it prudent for those few to seek it. A great opening was afforded to the men who possessed the necessary qualifications, which comprised

'connection' to secure high place, and 'ability' to preserve it. But connection in Scotland meant something more than the same phrase in England. It was a more flexible term than the system of organised co-operation, of which the pure Whig party was the most conspicuous instance. The claims of kinship were always readily recognised in the Northern kingdom, and extended to a degree unknown elsewhere. In no country was the aristocratic spirit more real than in the Scotland of last century, and in none was it freer from the concomitants that arouse envy and ill will. In a different way the gradation of ranks that has been the boast of England was as marked a feature, and a state of society in which the 'bonnet-Laird' or the well-to-do farmer claimed a distant connection with a great peer or haughty chieftain, was not favourable to political adventures founded on broad distinctions between the Poor and the Rich. Indeed, the structure of society in Scotland presented in some respects a state of things halfway between the *ancien régime* of France, and the circumstances of England, while it possessed peculiar and marked features of its own. The old Scottish cavalier had as much of the French *gentilhomme* about him as of 'the fine old English gentleman,' and in many ways Edinburgh recalled Paris as much as London. '*L'épée, la robe, ou l'église,*' wrote La Bruyère, '*il n' y a presque point d'autre vocation;*' and the utterance, sinister as it was in the case of a nation that was driving to other shores her enterprising manufacturers and skilled artisans, might have been applied with considerable truth to the little country whose commerce was but starting on a great career. 'The sword' had for generations taken Scotsmen to serve in Continental armies, and the family of Lord Melville was to supply a General to the Scots Brigade in the service of Holland. The Church had played as important a part in the national life as that of France, though with results very different. But no body of men in Scotland possessed a more distinctive character than the bar, and none had more successfully asserted their right to share in public events. The Hopes had guided the counsels of the Covenanters, other advocates had on more than one occasion joined the banners

of the Cavaliers in the field; but the Whig system established after the Revolution was the parent of the great legal houses who exercised a power scarcely less than that of a great feudal baron of the old time, and not inferior to the influence of any great peer among their contemporaries. At first the influence of men whose rank was that of simple gentlemen of small estate was chafed under; and an old Scottish couplet quaintly expressed the position:

‘ First came the men o’ many wimples,  
Whom commonly folk ca’ Dalrymples,  
And after them came the Dundases,  
Who rode our Lords and Lairds like asses.’

But the latter house never aroused the bitter hostility for long felt for the former. Their lot was cast in quieter times, their supremacy had not the air of novelty, and seemed more in the established order of things than that of their predecessors. Their conduct of affairs did not comprise a massacre of Glencoe, and they had the good fortune to be associated with the wise policy of George III., that ultimately made the children of those who had suffered at Carlisle the most loyal defenders of the throne of the House of Hanover. Indeed the story of the House of Arniston, compared with the fortunes of others that followed their lead during the crisis of the French Revolution, very well illustrates two distinct currents of political thought and action, which contributed to form the great Tory party of Mr. Pitt, and are the proper progenitors of the comprehensive Conservatism of to-day. In Scotland, we look in vain for tangible evidence of a large moderate Tory party definitely attached to the Protestant succession, and free from the taint of Jacobitism, such as existed in England, more especially in the Hanoverian Tories who followed Sir Thomas Hanmer in the later years of Queen Anne. In the troubled career of the Scottish Parliament between the Revolution and the Union, it is difficult to trace anything like formed parties, though some of the Scottish statesmen acted in cooperation with Nottingham and other Tories in England. But if in England the ‘ practical proscription of every one who did not bear the name of Whig ’ drove the mass of English Tory-

ism into Jacobitism, how much more must this have been the case in Scotland, where men thought that by 'the weary Union' the country had been 'sold to her auld enemies,' and the attachment to the representative of 'a hundred kings' was so much more devoted and intense? If the fear of a Restoration was the best safeguard against Revolution in England, it was the surest guarantee of their position to the Whig statesmen, who leant on the English Ministry for their support. Yet even in Scotland but a short time elapsed after the last Jacobite rising before men began to marshal themselves in the two great party camps, on other lines than had hitherto divided them. The evidence of this is to be traced far away from the capital. For example, in a northern county where Jacobitism had been particularly strong, the Pittites rallied round a noble house, who had been cavaliers in the civil wars, had stood out for King James at the Revolution, had taken the field in the '15, and, though the chief remained quiet, had sent a son as one of Prince Charles' most dashing lieutenants in the '45. The Fox interest found their leaders in another house that had risen to influence on the ruins of the lesser Jacobite gentry, and had been the steady supporters of Whig Ministries. Yet in less than ten years from the rout of Culloden the Tory interest is found sending its summons for aid in a trial of strength to a household that had been conspicuous in adherence to the House of Hanover, when the district was in the hands of the followers of Prince Charles.

But the Hanoverian avenue to the Toryism of Pitt, was more common in the South than in the North of Scotland. It was that trod by the Dundases. They had been Covenanters with the great mass of their neighbours, exiles in Holland previous to the Revolution, and steady Whigs after it. One remarkable exception no doubt there was, but without it a characteristic feature of Scottish family history would have been wanting. It is said that the indiscretion caused the young man to spend the rest of his days a close prisoner in a strong room of the family mansion, but it is probably more correct to treat it as an instance of the native prudence that frequently placed father and son in opposite camps of politics,

for the practical purpose of 'keeping the rigs together.' His kinsmen at any rate remained Whigs. But they followed the lead of Pulteney in 'the great Olympian sedition' of the old Whig party, and the strong mind of Henry Dundas only anticipated the action of the second great rift in the Whig ranks, on the occasion of the French Revolution, in taking up the position he assumed when the younger Pitt came upon the scene. From that time until the crash of 1832, the position of the Dundases in Scotland is the most apposite illustration of Lord Beaconsfield's contention that circumstances led to the adoption by the Tories, and their condemnation for, a system built and developed by the Whigs.

In the latter part of the 18th century, the representative of an old *East Lothian* family married, as his second wife, a lady of considerable force of character. His son, by a former marriage, was to carry on the family line, and become, according to the Scottish *parlance* that marked the head of a low country house of purest gentility, the Seventeenth Dundas of that Ilk. But the second wife, apparently, was determined that her eldest son should start in life on as equal terms as possible with his half-brother, and the lands of Arniston, in Mid-Lothian, were purchased, to provide for him. Tradition, as in the case of the 'Luck of Ederhall,' connects the fortunes of his family with the fate of a wine-glass, that was the property of his mother; and Sir James Dundas of Arniston, who at one time was Governor of Berwick, became the progenitor of a long line of able lawyers and skilled politicians.

The second Laird of Arniston, another James Dundas, was the first who attained a seat on the Scottish bench, taking his judicial title of Lord Arniston, as was then the custom in all cases except that of the head of the Court, from his family estate. But his tenure of legal office was short. His lot was cast in troubled times, and he seems to have been a man of scrupulous integrity. In common with the vast majority of his neighbours in the South of Scotland, he joined in signing the National Covenant of 1638, but as 'the Troubles' unrolled their 'Iliad of woes' for Scotland, he seems to have had serious misgivings as to the dominant policy. It would be as unjust

to accuse a man, who had signed the National Covenant, of inconsistency for refusing to take the Solemn League and Covenant, as to make the same accusation against the followers of Lord Hartington, for their actions, before and after the Home Rule policy of Mr. Gladstone was disclosed. As Hyde and Falkland, in England, had severed themselves from the measures that led on from Reform to Civil War, so Montrose and his special followers in Scotland found themselves leading the Cavaliers to whom they had been opposed. But the Scottish Revolutionaries would take no denial, and were not satisfied with passive obedience. The records of the Presbyteries of those days are full of the pressure, exerted alike upon the 'malignant' cavalier, and the half-hearted adherent of the earlier Covenant, and among others, Sir James Dundas was ultimately persuaded or coerced, though not until a year had passed after the King's head had rolled on the block, to subscribe the Solemn League and Covenant, and to declare the Marquis of Hamilton's expedition to his aid, so disastrously foiled by Cromwell at Preston, an 'unlawful engagement.' When Scotland lay crushed under the control of the Ironsides, Sir James Dundas seems to have lived quietly on his estate, but with the revival of the Court of Session on the Restoration, a seat on the bench was conferred upon him. It is to his credit that he was as faithful to the oaths he had taken as he had been reluctant to accept them. A declaration was required from all the judges that the Covenants were 'unlawful oaths and were taken by and imposed upon the subjects of this kingdom, against the fundamental laws and liberties of the same.' Lord Arniston was prepared to make the declaration with a qualifying clause, but conceived that his previous conduct barred him from doing so otherwise, while the king insisted on an unqualified renunciation. In November 1663 he ceased to sit, and soon placed his resignation in the hands of Government.

Sir James died in 1679, and his son Robert, like many other Scottish gentlemen, spent the years immediately prior to the Revolution in exile in Holland. Returning with William of Orange, the following year saw him elected as one of the members of

Parliament for Mid Lothian, a position which he held till the Union, and also elevated to the Scottish bench as the Second Lord Arniston. For long the Scottish judges continued to advise the Ministers and to take an active part in the less public executive functions of Government, but the bench must have afforded a remarkable contrast to the stormy scenes which the old Parliament House witnessed when stirred by the fiery eloquence of Fletcher of Salton. Lord Arniston had brought from Holland a taste for planting and gardening, and would sit in his old age reading Italian books beneath a favourite tree. In later years his son, when head of the Court, was on one occasion entertaining the magistrates of Edinburgh, when an unlucky municipal magnate, a carpenter by trade, expressed his admiration for the tree, estimated the number of feet of timber it contained, and offered a handsome figure for it. The chief of the Law turned sharply on him and replied: 'I would rather see you hang from its topmost branch.'

Lord Arniston's eldest son predeceased him. Like all his race he was an advocate, but, unlike the others, of strong Jacobite leanings, and he had perilled 'the interest' in course of construction, by moving at a meeting of the Faculty of Advocates the acceptance of the famous model in honour of the Pretender, which had been sent by the Duchess of Gordon. He did so in a very uncompromising speech, and was one of the deputation despatched to thank the Duchess. But the Government threatened a prosecution, the Faculty thought it wiser to rescind their acceptance, and James Dundas's marriage was soon followed by his death. The old judge died in 1726, but before he passed away had witnessed a remarkable instance of forensic success on the part of his younger son Robert, who was appointed Solicitor General in 1717, only eight years after his call to the bar, became Lord Advocate in 1720, and was elected Dean of Faculty—the blue ribbon of the Scottish bar—in the following year. For a century more there was scarcely a time when one of the house did not hold high office under the Crown.

The career of Robert Dundas illustrates the political condition of the country, the state of society, and the large



amount of liberty which subordinate officers of Government then allowed themselves in opposing the measures of their chief. A notorious *bon vivant*, Dundas is described as 'naturally averse to study and application,' but he proved himself an active politician and a lawyer of no mean calibre. The Secretary for Scotland, the Duke of Roxburghe, seems to have consulted him in preference to the Lord Advocate when he held the post of Solicitor General, and wrote him at length in 1718, on a proposal for substituting another system, more just to the claims of Scotland, for the election of the sixteen representative Peers, who in practice were chosen from a leet sent down by Ministers, to the scandal of the order and the advantage of the Jacobite intriguers. It is amusing to find the Duke conclude with a truly Whig argument: 'I shall only add one thing more, which is, that if this business is not done now, we are sure the Tories, whenever there happens to be a Tory administration, will not again risk its being to be done by the Whigs, and what the consequences of its being done by the Tories may be I leave you to judge.' In 1722, Lord Advocate Dundas became Member for Midlothian, but, in spite of his office, he joined the malcontent Scottish Members in opposition to the Malt Tax which had excited great popular discontent north of the Border, and Walpole dismissed him from office in 1725. Before long the same measure was taken with his friend, the Duke of Roxburghe, who had secretly favoured the agitation, and the opposition collapsed. Their fate was soon shared by many of their colleagues, when Walpole bowed to the storm and surrendered his Excise scheme, but punished the authors of its defeat.

Dundas now became the animating soul of the Whig dissentients in Scotland, where Walpole was represented by the Earl of Islay and the great Argyll interest. His letters show that he anticipated serious evils to the country, from the system which he described as 'corruption and oppression,' although he refrains from dwelling on political affairs, because 'there is no such thing as writing news unless we have a mind that what we write should be read at the post-office.' 'I never,' he says, in words which many a modern legislator can heartily

sympathise with, 'was so harassed with close attendance at the House of Commons to no other purpose than, so far as we can, to prevent other folks doing mischief.' 'Our proceedings in Parliament,' he writes again, 'will certainly alarm every country either with joy or surprise; our last resolution surely shows more confidence or more submission than ever King William could obtain or King Charles adventured to ask.' In the midst of political turmoil and intrigue a heavy blow fell upon him. A series of letters record the loss by smallpox, in the course of a few weeks, of two sons, two daughters, and 'an incomparable wife.' Three years later he took his seat on the bench as an ordinary Lord of Session, by the title borne by his father and grandfather, and on the fall of Walpole's administration, was frequently consulted by the Marquis of Tweeddale, who held the Scotch Secretaryship in that of Lord Wilmington. 'A dissolution of Parliament,' wrote Lord Tweeddale, 'would ruin the Whig interest, since it is certain a new Parliament would be a Tory one.' In the close of 1747 the death of Forbes of Culloden vacated the President's chair, and it remained unfilled for nine months, so delicate was the task of selection. Lord Marchmont has preserved an amusing account, from the lips of Lord Chesterfield, of the ministerial deliberations over it on one occasion. After various names had been canvassed, 'then the Lord Chancellor (Hardwicke) weighed what had been said in his Chancery scales of equity, and seemed to be of opinion they should name Arniston. But nothing was decided at this meeting.' Arniston was ultimately named; Mr. Pelham wrote him a frank and manly letter on the relations it was hoped he would maintain to the Ministers and other office-holders in Scotland; and Lord Hardwicke gracefully described his promotion 'as a proof that extraordinary merit in your profession and strict impartiality in the administration of justice, attended with real affection and attachment to his Majesty and his Government, are allowed their due weight.' He presided over the Court of Session to his death in 1753, and had already seen much more than the promise of the great abilities which, displayed by his son, were to outshine his own fame in the same place.

Robert Dundas, the second, was noted for his 'quick apprehension and natural genius,' and after less than five years at the bar was appointed Solicitor General in 1742, when not yet thirty years of age. Such early promotion was calculated to spoil a young man's manners, and Lord President Forbes, in acknowledging the respectful terms in which he had intimated it to him, thought it well to suggest a caution in language that could give no offence.

'Insolence,' writes the old lawyer and statesman, 'is so incident to office that it is become proverbial, and a young man of all others ought to be the most on his guard against it. But then it has been ever observed that it most commonly possesses low men, raised by some accident or jerk of fortune to employments above their merits, if not their hopes: it seldom lays hold of men whose abilities and rank in the world makes them equal to the office to which they are invited, and gives them reason to consider it as no elevation, though it be a preferment.'

Young though he was, Dundas came upon the official stage in difficult and stirring times. The Lord Justice-Clerk Fletcher of Milton was a close ally of the Duke of Argyll, and an able political intriguer in an interest hostile to that of the Dundases; Lord Advocate Craigie was an honest lawyer, of whom his more brilliant subordinate had occasion to write: 'I hope a little more practice, not in the law but among men, will make him more cautious.' These diverse interests had, with the aid of the commander-in-chief, to control and guide Scotland, when civil war came like a thunderbolt in a clear sky. For though there were rumours of Jacobite activity, and orders to be on the watch for suspected persons, those who held the reins laughed at the idea of an attempt, such as Prince Charles Edward improved upon the rumours by carrying out. Soon the anxiety equalled the incredulity, and Lord Tweeddale could plume himself on having 'suspected so dead a calm.' Owing largely to the rivalries in official circles, the Government in Edinburgh failed to act with energy, and the Jacobites were soon going about with 'the strong blaze of Restoration in their faces.' The Lord Advocate and Solicitor General were in Sir John Cope's camp the night before the battle of Prestonpans, and slept in the house of a county friend some little

distance off. In the morning they heard the sound of the guns, and soon learnt of the defeat. From his stepmother Dundas received an account of affairs in Edinburgh, and the old lady consoled herself with the reflection that present plunder was not to be looked for, as 'the forfeitures of estates are to be given to defray the loss of what their friends may suffer.' One precaution she did take, telling the factor 'to put the hounds all out to the tenants.' But the Highland army scrupulously respected the houses of those who were most prominent on the side of the Government.

The divisions in the Cabinet led to the resignation of Dundas's friend, Lord Tweeddale, who was an ally of Lord Granville, and the Solicitor General, worried as he was by the strained relations with the Lord Justice-Clerk, in spite of the exhortations of his father, of Lord President Forbes, who wished that, 'in our present situation, he had tugged a little longer at the oar,' and of other friends, determined to follow his example. It was, perhaps, none the worse for the future influence of his family in Scotland that he was dissociated from all Government employment, when Civil War had given place to Treason trials and the headsman's axe.

For eight years he devoted himself to professional work and the improvement and embellishment of his estate. But in 1754 he entered Parliament, of course as member for Mid-Lothian, and the occasion was a fortunate one. The Duke of Newcastle had just become Prime Minister, and the Lord-Advocate been promoted to the bench. The vacant office was given to Dundas. For some time his attention, like that of his modern successors, had largely to be given to the lawless state of the Highlands, and constant reports were sent to him by military officers as to their condition. On two occasions he acted a part unworthy of a man of such eminence, for he opposed the election of David Hume as librarian of the Faculty of Advocates, and he joined in the illiberal and fanatical attacks that were made upon John Home in connection with his tragedy of Douglas. His first legal appointment had followed on the fall of Walpole; his last was reached in the last year of George II., for in 1760 he took his seat at the head

of the Scottish Judicial system as the Second Lord-President Dundas. For twenty-seven years he presided over the Court with lustre and dignity, reforming its business and enhancing its character, while his younger half-brother, Henry, soon filled the Parliamentary position he had quitted, and took rank as an Imperial rather than a Scottish statesman.

Henry Dundas was called to the bar three years after his brother's promotion to the bench; in three more, at the age of twenty-four, he became Solicitor General; and Lord Mansfield prophesied, 'Your brother will certainly go as far as his career can carry him.' He became member for Mid-Lothian in 1774, and in the following year was made Lord Advocate under Lord North. Great as were his prospects in Parliament, his attachment to the Scots bar made him reluctant to sever his connection with it; and even after ceasing to be Lord Advocate, he sought to hold, for some time longer, the honour of Dean of Faculty, which his brethren had conferred upon him. In 1781 an old uncle writes of him with pride: 'He is plagueing Charles Fox and the faction.' His growing success and influence soon met the difficulty which the Lord-President had felt when pressed by the Duke of Newcastle to take in his hands the affairs of Scotland, of the incompatibility of high judicial office with the active exercise of political power and patronage.

High legal office had come to be considered so inalienable an appanage of the House of Arniston, that when Henry Dundas sought a wider sphere, it seemed but befitting that his nephew should, as soon as possible, take over the functions he had left. Robert Dundas, the son of the Lord-President, was not of equal vigour with his father and uncle; but in spite of his kinsman, political foe, and personal antagonist, Lord Cockburn's statement to the contrary, he had a fair share of the ordinary work of the profession, and would certainly have passed a qualifying, if not a competitive, examination for the positions to which he was advanced. Perhaps the most striking tribute to the influence of his kinsmen, as well as the ability of the greatest, was the manner, remarkable even in an age of confused and changing parties in which Henry Dundas had kept

his place while ministries rose and fell. North, Rockingham, and Shelburne came and went, but he seemed destined to be Lord Advocate for ever. The Coalition however indicated that the time had come to choose sides once for all, and Dundas, perhaps partly from personal, but more from patriotic motives, and in conformity with the idea of supereminent duty to the king amid all changes of his servants, which his father had formerly impressed on his brother, threw in his lot with Mr. Pitt. In the fierce battle with 'Fox and the faction' he did yeoman's service, and his aid was recognised by the appointment of his nephew Robert as Solicitor General in 1784. Robert Dundas was then twenty-five, and had been five years at the bar. His uncle had great confidence in his judgment and discretion, and had told his brother to show all his confidential letters to 'your son Robert.' This confidence was fully justified by young Dundas's conduct of affairs during a most critical and anxious time. The relations between the relatives were rendered closer by the Solicitor General's marriage to a daughter of the future Lord Melville, and in 1789 he succeeded Islay Campbell as Lord Advocate. At the General Election of 1790, Henry Dundas exchanged the county of Mid-Lothian for the city of Edinburgh, and again Robert Dundas stepped into his shoes and the seat that had been filled by so many of their house. He entered Parliament with a moderate estimate of his own abilities, and a deep veneration for Mr. Pitt, and the account of their relations which he sent to his wife is honourable to both. He had mentioned going down to a Committee on the Corn Bill, and continues :—

'I wrote you in very bad spirits and in worse humour with myself for having risen on Friday last to give my opinion about that business. It seems however that I was mistaken as Pitt was much pleased, and said what I had stated was in point of matter and manner more to the purpose than anything he had heard on the subject. In short he thinks I shall do him good ; and in proof of it I was admitted by his own desire, to the previous meeting at his house yesterday, of 8 or 10 of his friends, to consider what was to be stated in answer to the expected attack on the bill for appropriating the unclaimed dividends. He says he never wants me to make a set speech, but wishes me to make myself previously master of the

business to come on, and not to rise and speak on it unless I feel inclined, and anything occurs which I think myself able to answer. If I do ultimately turn out of use to him in any way I shall be abundantly satisfied.'

It is difficult to realise that Dundas was Pitt's senior by a year, but how perfect is the tone from a Master of the House of Commons to a zealous but diffident subordinate!

Dundas's tenure of office as Lord Advocate coincided with the duration of Mr. Pitt's long administration, and when the great minister resigned in 1801, he preferred on the score of health to accept the comparatively light duties of the Court of Exchequer, rather than wait for the office that his father and grandfather had held, as his zealous friends desired. The period during which he had directed the operations of the Scottish Crown office, had been one round which controversy long raged, and even now it is difficult to obtain an unprejudiced judgment on the conduct of its public men. There was much room for reform, there was great danger of revolution. Mr. Pitt was certainly not a statesman hostile to the first whenever he considered it compatible at the moment with the safety of the State, and it is curious that though Henry Dundas frankly declared his opposition to Municipal Reform, his nephew the Lord Advocate, seconded a motion in favour of reform of 'the election law for the return of members to Parliament,' at a meeting in Edinburgh in July 1792. But the action of those who aimed at Revolution while clamouring for Reform, soon made it necessary for statesmen to postpone the overhauling of the constitutional tackle to the paramount necessity of steering the ship safely through the breakers. The strong practical sense of the Dundases would probably, had events held on their natural course, have reconciled them to guiding an inevitable change to a successful issue, but it was not in human nature that they should be eager to disturb the system with which, under Whigs and Tories alike, the fortunes of the House of Arnishton had been identified. But with thrones falling abroad, and sedition rising up at home, statesmen of even broader grasp than the Lord Advocate felt that to tinker then with the constitution was out of the question. Perhaps

the most fatal result of the mistaken policy of Fox, was the manner in which the action of his friends made it impossible for Government to relax the bonds of the past by a hair breadth, and thrust back for a generation changes that were needed, and should have come as healthy developments rather than as surgical operations. To a very great degree the conduct of Fox has been in our time repeated by Mr. Gladstone, and the parallel is painfully complete. There has been the same unblushing coalition with bitter opponents described by every term of parliamentary opprobrium, the same playing upon Separatist chords in Ireland, the same sympathy and encomiums on those whose interests are opposed to those of Britain, even to the extent of being in arms against her, the same pseudo-humanitarianism in politics, appealing to lofty sentiments, but shutting its eyes to real tragedies. There has been a similar revolt of the most honoured section of a historical party, and a like miscalculation as to the powers and principle of public men. There has been a similar staking of reputation on a gambler's throw to regain power, and the same desperation after defeat. For the Conservatives the parallel has its encouragement and its warning. In the beginning of the century political justice inflicted on the Whigs a long exclusion from power, and the Tories justly reaped more splendid honours than have ever fallen to the lot of a political party for saving the constitution and the Empire. But, as justly, they ultimately paid the forfeit for failing to utilize for all great ends the powers that had fallen to them, for assuming that the temporary must last for ever, and for neglecting some pressing interests of the people. If, now as then, sedition must be met with an unyielding front, the experience of the past should guard against a repetition of the mistake that resistance to rapine and revolution involves a stolid perpetuation of the *status quo ante*.

The private correspondence of the time even between men far removed from official life bears witness to the critical state of the country, and Lord Advocate Dundas was justified in acting with promptitude and energy. It is conceded even by those who attenuate the danger, that in the trials in which the



harsh homilies of some of the Judges, and the imperfections of the Scotch jury system, brought discredit on the Government, the Lord Advocate fulfilled his duty with moderation and courtesy. The letters that passed between him and his uncle show that their policy was to act in time when they believed they had a good case, to avoid giving occasions for theatrical demonstrations, and not to flinch from the natural consequences of the action of the legal tribunals.

‘In the representation,’ wrote Lord Melville, after the conviction of Muir and Palmer, ‘presented to me by Messrs. Lauderdale, Grey, and Sheridan, they state their intention to bring the business before Parliament. It is not, however, my intention to gratify them in that respect, for if the Judges’ report expresses no doubt upon the subject, I will carry the sentence immediately into execution, and meet their clamour in Parliament without any kind of dismay. There is no foundation for the report you have heard of any particular severity to Muir and Palmer.’

‘You get great credit here,’ he wrote again, ‘for your attack on the Convention,’ referring to Dundas’s arrest of the ringleaders at a Convention which discussed armed rebellion. ‘Wild as we have been in this country,’ the Lord Advocate was able to reply, ‘our senses are beginning to return, and even reformers are not ripe for equality and a Convention modelled on that of France.’ But the strain of feeling—not to be wondered at when we remember all that was at stake—showed itself in the opposition of the Faculty of Advocates to the re-election of their Dean Henry Erskine, who in his political action had been unmindful of his position as the head of that ancient body, and he was replaced by Dundas. The honour that would probably have come to him in due course was dimmed by its receipt on political grounds, but if such was to be, he probably would not have wished to change the occasion. If the time had its perplexities, and painful duties, it had also its moments of patriotic joy, and one of these must have come when the Lord Advocate’s brother-in-law, Admiral Duncan, wrote him the glorious news of Camperdown.

‘In short,’ he said, after giving some particulars of the action, ‘I feel perfectly satisfied. All was done that could be done. None have any fault to find. I have now in my possession three Admirals Dutch—an Admiral

De Winter, Vice-Admiral Reuter, Rear-Admiral Meame. The Admiral is on board with me, and a most agreeable man he is. He speaks English well, and seems much pleased with his treatment. I have assured him, and with justice nothing could exceed his gallantry. He says nothing hurts him but that he is the first Dutch Admiral ever surrendered. So much more credit to me. He tells the troops that were embarked in the summer were 25,000 Dutch, destined for Ireland, but after August that expedition was given up.'

After taking his seat as the head of the Court of Exchequer, Lord Chief Baron Dundas had to spend much of his time in foreign travel for the sake of his health, and on one occasion his services were called in on one of His Majesty's frigates to declare a betrothed couple, who had failed for four years to find a clergyman, man and wife according to the Law of Scotland. In 1805 came the famous tenth report, and the resolution carried by the casting vote of the Speaker that cost Mr. Pitt 'a deep and bitter pang.' The misfortune of his old colleague, as well as Ulm and Austerlitz hastened his end, and it was with mingled feelings that his followers hailed the ultimate acquittal of Lord Melville. But in Scotland the exaltation was great, and all the more unrestrained on account of the spiteful conduct of the Whig Solicitor General, who warned the Magistrates of Edinburgh against allowing an illumination of the city. Six years later Lord Melville came to Edinburgh for the funeral of his old friend Robert Blair of Avontoun, the Lord President, who had died very suddenly. To his nephew he wrote 'the circumstances which occurred in January 1806 have a strong and striking resemblance to what has recently happened.' Little did either of them think how sadly that resemblance was to be emphasized. In the simple words of the daughter of the one and wife of the other, Lord Melville 'dined and spent the evening with the Chief Baron, cheerful and well, went to bed where he was found by his servant lifeless next morning the 28th. He died almost upon the birthday of his great private and political friend Mr. Pitt.' The Lord Chief Baron was destined to see the triumphant conclusion of the great struggle, in which his political chief and able kinsman had so long borne the burden and heat of the day, for he survived Waterloo, dying in 1819.

Robert Dundas, eldest son of the Lord Chief Baron and seventh Laird of Arniston, was called to the Scots bar in 1820. He had chosen his profession with the special view of following a political career such as had been pursued by so many of his race. Indeed he came within an ace of being appointed Solicitor-General, but on the passing of the Scottish Reform Bill, he personally accepted the result which he seems to have foreseen and foreswore public life, devoting himself to agricultural improvement and the development of the mineral wealth of his estate. But although those who looked ahead had seen the shadow of the impending change,—a change far greater in Scotland than England, because the old system had stood in much greater need of reform, and the reformers had been more violent,—while George IV. lived, the ascendancy of the Dundases had been externally as imposing as ever. The second Lord Melville had succeeded his father as ‘manager’ for Scotland, and the tenure by the family of the City of Edinburgh representation only expired when the new system came into force. Other relatives were in Parliament, and Arniston was a centre of political consultation. But a foretaste of the coming shock was experienced when Lord Melville found the Government proposals as to the currency attacked, so far as they affected Scotland, by Sir Walter Scott, in the Malachi Malagrowther letters, and the result was a temporary ‘quarrel, in all its forms,’ between the two old friends. A more serious blow was dealt by the schism in the Tory ranks, consequent on Lord Liverpool’s death. Lord Melville, who was one of the seceding ministers, and his friends deeply distrusted Mr. Canning, and looked with suspicion on his Whig allies. Honest as both sections were in their views of what was best for the country, the event was one from which the Tory party never recovered, and its effects were peculiarly deleterious to their interests in Scotland. Scotch business was handed over to the Home Office, presided over by Lord Lansdowne, and thus Canning made his Whig allies a present of the northern kingdom. Although Lord Melville returned to office with the Duke of Wellington, and Lady Melville wrote to her nephew, ‘They

say there is a general amnesty for Rats,' the *solidarité* of the Tory party, both in Parliament and in the country, had been rudely shaken, and the resignation of Mr. Huskisson over the East Retford Franchise Bill, showed an open rift. A statement in a letter from Sir William Rae, the Lord-Advocate, to Mr. Dundas, illustrates how slight are the circumstances on which important events may hinge.

'Huskisson walked home with Plantá, who said that Huskisson should resign, and accordingly he wrote a letter to the Duke of Wellington, dated at two in the morning, resigning. . . . It seems strange that a man of the age of Huskisson should not have chosen to sleep upon a matter of such grave importance. If he had waited till morning, and spoke to the Duke, all would have been well, as they have all along been on good terms. Lord Palmerston, it seems, said something to the Duke about resigning, which his Grace hardly deigned to notice : he afterwards observed he was not going to take a cannon to kill a butterfly. All this, mind, is for your private ear.'

With Huskisson went the other Canningites; and it is curious to notice Henry Dundas's opinion of a future Whig premier, Lord Melbourne :

'I am sorry he has resigned : altho' a Whig, he is a very good one, a decided anti-reformer, and has, I believe, given great satisfaction in Ireland. Taken all in all, he is a good man, and very sound in his opinions.'

Though the Government came out well in the debates upon the Huskisson secession, the passing over Sir William Rae's claims to the post of Lord Chief Baron, in favour of the Whig Abercromby—a remarkable instance of the 'conciliation,' which, as Lord Beaconsfield said, 'conducted us to a revolution'—disheartened some of their best friends, and the Catholic Emancipation Act was peculiarly distasteful to the rank and file of their supporters in Scotland. At the election of 1830, William Dundas, brother of the Lord Chief Baron, was again returned for Edinburgh; Henry, Lord Melville's son, for Winchilsea; and Robert Adam Dundas, cousin of the Laird of Arniston, for Ipswich. But with April 1831 came the last of the old elections, in which Robert Adam succeeded his uncle at Edinburgh, and the

windows of his cousin's town house were again shattered by the savage Edinburgh mob, as his father's had been in the days of the revolutionary riots. At the first election after the Reform Bill, the Scottish counties returned nine Tories out of thirty members, while but one solitary member appeared to represent the Conservatism of the burghs. The days of the Dundases as a great governing house were over.

Mr. Robert Adam Dundas continued to live a Parliamentary life, and became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in Lord Derby's administration of 1852; but both Lord Melville and Mr. Dundas of Arniston withdrew from prominent political life, although they retained their interest in public affairs, and gallantly aided in the reorganisation of the Tory party in their locality on a basis suited to the new system. In 1834, they had the satisfaction of regaining the county seat; and although it was again lost in 1837, the number of Scottish Tory members had risen from nine to twenty. Mr. Dundas died in 1838, and Lord Melville, who had acted as chairman of the Royal Commission of Inquiry into the Poor-Law in Sir Robert Peel's time, followed him to the grave in 1851.

For 130 years, from the accession of William III. almost to the death of George III., with the solitary exception of the period from 1726 to 1737, there had not been a moment when high legal office was not held by some member of the Arniston family; and if we add to their legal eminence, the political position in Parliament of the first Lord President, and of the first and second Lord Melville, we may well question whether any other family, originally simple country gentlemen, can show so deep an impression on the fortunes and history of their country. It was the evil fortune of the Dundases to be specially associated with the obstinate defence of a system that demanded renovation; but even in the case of those who were born wedded to it, the services to the nation far outweighed the blame that attaches to a restricted view of the needs of the time. 'The retirement of Lord Melville (the younger),' wrote Lord Cockburn, 'from the government of Scotland was not an event for which in itself any candid Scotch Whig could rejoice; because no man, individually,

could have conducted the affairs of the country with greater good sense and fairness, or with less of party prejudice or bitterness.' And amid all the rancour of political controversy and revolutionary bitterness, the commanding figure of his father, 'the Pharos of Scotland,' was revered by all Scotsmen, and not a few of his active opponents were ready to acknowledge the magnanimity and good qualities of 'Hal Dundas.' This unique position the Dundases owed to a combination of qualities and circumstances. The high ability of the stock was sustained on a level most remarkable in so many generations, and their correspondence bears witness to the solid sagacity that in the most brilliant underlay their more conspicuous gifts. Professional influence they had, but the profession in which each won his spurs, though one in which influence goes as far as anywhere, is yet one in which it most stringently demands the co-operation of personal merit. It is very well to say that So-and-so has very good backing, but the heights of forensic success are only won when the man has proved himself better than his backing. Their political influence was strengthened by a long connection with official life, but it owed almost more to a series of alliances that gave them kinsmen in many counties of Scotland, but most of all in those south of the Forth. Their own natural position in Scottish society as a family of established reputation, interested in everything affecting the welfare of the land, gave them wider interests, and broader and sounder views on general social questions, than if they had read them up as purely professional men on quitting Edinburgh for Westminster. They were essentially practical men, and they had a solid grip of the various interests that made up Scottish life, not to be obtained by any amount of theoretical disquisition. The closing years of their ascendancy showed that they had acquired the errors as well as the virtues of practical men, and that they shared the mistakes common to many followers of Mr. Pitt. The great War had unavoidably postponed the great minister's schemes of internal reform, but with the Peace of 1815 came the opportunity and duty of turning attention to internal problems. To a large extent it was done, but because

it was not done in the questions that produce the popular spectacles of politics, the statesmen of the time have for long lost the credit of doing it at all. Lord Beaconsfield once observed that there ought to have been a change of Government in 1819, and there is no doubt that the long tenure of unchallenged power enervated the political energies of the Tory party. Mr. Gladstone, when proposing his recent changes was profuse in making allowances for the apprehensions of the Tories of the Georgian era, and the children of Lord Melville may be pardoned for a too implicit faith in altering circumstances in the precise order of things, that under his firm hand had successfully stood the strain of a terrible crisis.

A curious dispensation of fortune has assigned the task of editing the *Arniston Memoirs*, and estimating the character of Lord Melville to a gentleman whose historical school is that of Lord Cockburn, and whose political career comprises an assault upon a Liberal Unionist seat in the interests of the advanced Parnellism of Mr. Gladstone's later days. A less biased treatment of the career of the Dundases may be thus secured, and it may be a guarantee to the public that the judgment will not err on the side of eulogy as far as the more recent generations are concerned. Mr. Omond deserves, not compliment, but the due recognition of sincere approval, for the manner in which, on the whole, he has discharged a difficult enterprise. It is not easy to draw the line between the domestic and the national, it is much harder to judge correctly the actions of those whose conduct in a great crisis ran counter to the writer's sympathies and sentiments. But those who care to examine the social condition of the past, and to reconstruct the face of their own country, will be aided by not a little valuable information as to the farming, the arboriculture, and the general manners of the past, which these *Memoirs* contain; while the historical student will not find much to quarrel with in the groundwork of the narrative as far as it trenches on politics. But we must add, that in our view, to give the true tone and colour of the events in which our ancestors acted as the eighteenth passed into the nineteenth century, and to do the men themselves full justice, the annalist must be in

some sympathy with their convictions, and must realise their responsibilities, fighting for the existence of their country, with the most terrible of foreign enemies, with traitors at home, and with, it must also be said, 'superior' young men of generous instincts, and considerable conceit, who were driven by the hard logic of events into the paradox of denying the existence of the one and becoming the catspaws of the other. To do justice to Pitt and Dundas, the truth must be spoken about Fox; and unpleasant as it is to dwell on the shortcomings of one who holds so honoured a place in the country's history, the hard facts of the situation with which statesmen had to grapple should receive their due prominence. It must not be forgotten that Pitt, who was no alarmist, believed that 'if he were to resign, his head would be off in six months'; that the French archives show that ministers, and not their critics, were right at the time of the 'invasion panic'; that to a storm on one occasion, and nervousness in an Admiral on another, Ireland and England owed their escape from an inundation of the hosts that swept over the Continent of Europe; and that during the campaigns in Portugal, the great soul of Wellington was lashed into indignation, and the dispositions of Napoleon materially aided by the manner in which important information was communicated through the proceedings of a reckless Opposition in Parliament. The errors of the Tories may have been many, and the contributions of the Whigs to the welfare and comfort of the country have been great, but let us remember that successful resistance to Napoleon was the basis of all subsequent prosperity, and without 'the pilot who weathered the storm,' and his colleagues, we should have had no constitution to reform, and very possibly no great industries and but a comparatively scanty population to ameliorate.

' If peerless yet our common wealth sublime,  
Views its calm image in the glass of Time ;

. . . . .  
Honour to him as to the saving star,  
He was, and therefore are we what we are.'



## ART. VI.—GREECE BEFORE 1821.

[The following article, which originally appeared in the *Nouvelles Revue* for Jan. 1, 1884, has been translated with the permission of the author, but circumstances have made it impossible to submit the rendering for his correction, and he is not, therefore, responsible for any of its details.]

THE Hellenic race occupies at the present day very nearly the same geographical position which it held in the days of classical antiquity. The course of ages, the forces of political movement, the vicissitudes of invasion, and the influences of successive conquests, have wrought but little change in it in this respect, save in Southern Italy and on the Western coasts of the Mediterranean.\* The Hellenic population is compact in the islands of the Ægean Archipelago and in the peninsula of Greece proper. From the mouth of the Strymon Southwards, it occupies the sea-coast both of Turkey in Europe and of Turkey in Asia, and stretches inland for a greater or a less distance. According to Eton, in his *Survey of the Turkish Empire*, published in London in 1799 and again in 1801,† the Hellenes at the beginning of this century calculated their own numbers at seven millions. Eton himself, however, justly remarks that this estimate was obviously an exaggerated one. Even at the present day, with the increased population of the free Hellas, and the comparative amelioration in the condition of the peasantry in some parts of the Turkish Empire itself, it would not be safe to reckon the entire number of Hellenes as exceeding six millions.

When the War of Independence broke out in 1821, the consequences were felt wherever an Hellenic population existed.

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\* A great deal of Greek blood of course exists in a more or less corrupt state in these districts, and the tradition of the race is preserved in Southern Italy and Sicily by the existence of a good many Greek Churches, especially in the cities, where the worshippers, although otherwise scarcely distinguishable from other Italians, continue to use the forms and language of the Greek Church. Tr.

† Ed. 1799, p. 291.

All the Hellenes did not take an active share in the struggle, but they were all exposed to be massacred, persecuted, outraged and plundered. The inhabitants of Thrace, of Asia Minor, and of the islands immediately adjacent, were too close to the centre of the Empire, too much surrounded by Turks, and too open to all the excesses of tyranny to have been able to move, even if they had had the courage. But in Epiros, in Thessaly, and in Macedonia, where the Hellenic element was strong, and where men's nerves were braced by the pure air of the mountains, the population rose in arms at the very first signal. In these districts, however, the revolutionary movement was immediately crushed. They were strongly occupied by the Turks, and served them as bases of operation during the whole of the war. The struggle itself raged in the Southern parts of the mainland of Greece, in the Peloponnesos, in Crete, and in the Western Islands of the *Ægean*. These Greek provinces alone, containing about one quarter of the entire Hellenic race, maintained, by themselves, for the space of seven years, an unequal conflict against the whole power of the Ottoman Empire. And yet, when the war was over, they were not all allowed to keep the freedom to gain which they had suffered so much. The territory which was formed into the new Greek kingdom was found to contain scarcely 700,000 souls, when its inhabitants essayed for the first time to count themselves after having laid down their arms.\*

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\* Félix Beaujour (*Tableau du commerce de la Grèce, 1787-97*, p. 22) estimates the population of Macedonia, Epiros, and Thessaly at 1,400,000; that of the rest of the mainland of Greece at 220,000; and that of the Peloponnesos at 360,000. Stephanópoulos (*Voyage en Grèce*, ii. 166) arrives at the same conclusion with regard to the Peloponnesos. The census made by the Venetian Republic in 1686 (*vide* Sathas, *Τουρκοκρατούμενη Ἑλλάς*, p. 366) gives only 200,000, but it is not an unnatural phenomenon that the population should have increased by fifty per cent. in an hundred years. Pouqueville, however (*Voyage en Grèce*, iii. 440), taking his figures from those of the *Kharatch* or poll-tax paid by the Christian inhabitants, reckons the Christian population of the Peloponnesos at only 150,000, that of Thessaly at 275,000, and that of Epiros at 373,000. As for Crete, Paahley (*Travels in Crete*, ii. 326) estimates the population before 1821 at between 260,000 and 270,000. In classical times they were be-

The population of the same districts had been in antient times at least six times as numerous, and, notwithstanding all the wars which the Byzantine Empire had been compelled to wage, they were still plentifully inhabited when the Crusaders dealt the first blows at the power of Christian Constantinople, and even at the later moment when she was finally annihilated by the Turkish conquest.

The Turks set themselves to batten upon what remained of the antient prosperity of the country which they had conquered. They did so with the simple and unthinking instinct of beasts. They ate whatever they found, without any

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lied to amount to a million. When the Venetians took possession of the island in the Thirteenth Century, the inhabitants amounted to between 500,000 and 600,000. Half of them were still left in the Sixteenth Century. After the Turkish Conquest of Crete, an English traveller quoted by Pashley, calculates the number at no more than 80,000.

According to the statements made by Capodistria to the representatives of the Powers in 1828 (*vide* Mamoukas, *Tà κατὰ τὴν Ἀναγέννησιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος*, I. 235-6), the population of the territories then forming the Greek State had been 950,000 before 1821, but had sunk to 765,000. This figure would seem to have been exaggerated. Thus, the inhabitants of the Islands of the Archipelago are set down as 178,000 in both years; Eubœia is credited with 169,000 in 1821, and 120,000 in 1828. But the Isles of the Ægean had only 143,000 in 1840, and the number did not rise to 175,704 till the census of 1875. As for Eubœia, the census of 1840 gave only 43,340, and that of 1875, 83,350. The population of the Peloponnesos amounted to 431,000 in 1840, and to 709,245 in 1879; according to Capodistria, the numbers had been 500,000 before 1821, and 400,000 in 1828, the former figure however including the Mohammedan population, which formed about one-tenth. The first census of the kingdom, made according to Capodistria's calculation, gave a total population of 650,000; and that of 1836, 751,000, nearly the same as given by him in 1828. In 1840 the total had risen to 856,000, and according to the census of 1879, the original provinces contained 1,409,334 inhabitants, and the Ionian Isles, 244,433; giving a total of 1,653,765. The portions of Thessaly and Epiros since added to Greece probably raise the figure to 2,000,000. The population of the original provinces seems to double in 48 years (see the official statistical tables for 1875, p. 18), but it may be hoped that an increase both of well-being and of territory will not make it needful to wait another fifty years in order to see doubled or trebled the present number of free Hellenes. As to the population in classical times, the reader may consult the dissertation of the k. Kustorches in the *Ἀθηναίων*, vols. iv. and v.

thought for the morrow. It never occurred to them to think of preserving or developing the bountiful resources of the territories upon which they had lighted. And accordingly, under their deadly government, these countries proceeded to fall rapidly into ruin and desolation. 'Wherever,' observes the English eye-witness Eton, (p. 143, ed. 1799, p. 135, ed. 1801), 'the Turks have established their dominion, science and commerce, the comforts and the knowledge of mankind have alike decayed. Not only have they exemplified barbarism and intolerance in their own conduct, but they have extinguished the flame of genius and knowledge in others.' The dwindling of the population and the steadily increasing imminence of public ruin not only have hitherto been, but still actually are, the glaring evidence of what is meant by being under the Turkish Empire, as regards the complete destruction of all public prosperity. In the year 1204, when Villehardouin and his fellow Crusaders came into contact with the East, their first emotion was one of dazzlement at the spectacle of such marvellous wealth and splendour. But since those days the Turks have been allowed to effect a complete change. The travellers who visited Turkey at the end of the last century or the beginning of the present, are unanimous in recording with horror the wretchedness which was co-extensive with the Ottoman Empire. The inhabitants had learnt by experience not even to till the ground beyond what was necessary for the bare support of life. 'They have no courage,' says the French traveller Savary,\* 'no spirit. And why should they attempt anything? If they took to sowing or planting, it would lead to the idea that they were rich, and so inevitably bring down the Aga to devour whatever they possess.'

One result of the cessation of cultivation and production was that all communication with the rest of the world came to an end. Greece became an inaccessible and unknown country. From time to time, some traveller gifted with more obstinacy, more culture, and more curiosity than almost all the rest of

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\* *Lettres sur la Grèce.* Paris, 1788, p. 45.

mankind, overcame the difficulties which beset him, and visited Hellas in order to see what material monuments of her past greatness might still survive, and then went away again. The impression left upon these travellers, with regard to the Hellenes, varied. Some of them left the country moved by an humane compassion, others reproached them—cruelly and unjustly—as being unworthy of the soil, that soil consecrated to civilization, upon which they had allowed themselves to be made vile. ‘When I was at Gastouni,’ says Bartholdy,\* ‘I overheard a conversation between an English traveller, a Greek monk, and our own host, who was the doctor in the place. The churchman and the physician complained bitterly of the Turkish yoke. ‘God,’ said the Englishman, ‘has deprived the Hellenes of their freedom because they did not deserve to have it.’

The rich vales of the Peloponnesos almost ceased to supply any produce for commerce. Foreign relations grew less and less, ‘on account,’ as it is expressed by M. Chaptal,† ‘of the insecurity which reigns inland, where every species of disorder was rampant.’ ‘Our own French merchants’ says M. Juchereau de Saint-Denis‡ ‘were at one with those of Holland and of England in complaining, years before our Revolution, that trade in the Levant had ceased to offer the same advantages as formerly, and they attributed the miserable prices offered for their own merchandise and the diminution of their profits to the increasing poverty and depopulation of the Turkish Empire.’ The plain of Elis had become an uncultivated wilderness. ‘The execrable Government of the Morea’ says the English witness Leake§ ‘added to local tyranny, has reduced the Greeks of Gastouni to such distress that all the cultivated land is now in the hands of the Turks, and the Greek population have become cattle-feeders or mere labourers for the Turkish possessors of the soil.’ ‘The town [of Dhivri]’

\* *Voyage en Grèce, traduit de l' Allemand.* Paris, 1807, II. 13.

† *De l' Industrie Française.* I. 147.

‡ *Revolutions de Constantinople en 1807 et 1808.* Paris, 1819, I., 134.

§ *Travels in the Morea, 1805-1806.* London, 1830, I., 11.

he tells us in another place\* ‘ occupies a large space, the houses, to the number of 200, being dispersed in clusters over the side of the hills ; but a great part of them are uninhabited. This is chiefly owing to the *angária* of the Lalliotés, who come here and force the poor Greeks to carry straw, wood, etc., on their horses to Lalla without payment.’ The inhabitants of Monembasia and its neighbourhood had endeavoured to save themselves by emigrating to Hydra, to Spezzia, and even to Asia Minor.’ ‘ Before the Russian invasion of the Morea,’ says the English traveller,† ‘ there were 150 Greek families, but they, as well as the Greek inhabitants of the villages of this district, fled after that event to Asia or to Petza, Ydhra, and other islands. Some of them returned after Hassan, the Capitan Pasha, had expelled the Albanians, who had marched into the Morea against the Russo-Greeks, but the Vilayeti has never recovered its Christian population, and does not now contain more than 500 Greeks.’ ‘ The town of Karitena,’ continues the same observer,‡ ‘ is much depopulated of late. There now remain about 200 families, of which not more than twenty are Turkish. The emigrants have chiefly gone to the territory of Kara Osman Oglu, in Asia Minor, where they are subject only to the land tax and *kharatj*.’ The nomadic movements by which these poor wretches strove to find some amelioration in their condition by passing from one part to another of the Ottoman Empire were merely like the action of a sick man who seeks to find relief by thrusting his aching limbs first into one and then into another part of his bed of pain. Turks in Asia are just the same things as Turks in Europe. The same causes produce the same results there as elsewhere. The rich plains of the East had been reduced to the same state of barren wilderness as the vales of the West. The Asiatics were reduced to beggary as well as the Europeans. ‘ The depopulation of some provinces’ testifies M. Juchereau de Saint-Denis,§ ‘ has been so marked that, out of twenty flourishing

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\* *Ibid.*, I., 237.

† *Ibid.*, I., 204.

‡ *Ibid.*, II. 23.

§ *Révolutions de Constantinople*, I. 134.

villages which formerly existed in the neighbourhood of Aleppo, it is now scarcely possible to reckon four or five. The tyranny of the provincial Governors drives the peasants to seek refuge in the towns, and, once they are there, starvation soon decimates them.'

It was a common device to try and find relief by changing from one town into another at a small distance. The subjects of Ali Pasha at Galaxidi, for instance, endeavoured to escape by going to Bostitza. But this expedient was more difficult for those who inhabited the country remote from the sea-coast. It was the habit of Ali Pasha to make a periodical round of all the towns and villages under his jurisdiction, in order to receive the 'voluntary offerings' of his wretched subjects. 'When Ali,' says the same English observer, Leake, in another work\*, 'makes a tour round this part of his territory, he never fails to visit this place. The Archons generally meet him in the plains, and offer perhaps twenty purses, begging him not to come into the town. He receives the present with smiles, promises that he will not put his friends to inconvenience; afterwards comes a little nearer, informs them that no provisions are to be had in the plain, and, after being supplied upon the promise of not entering the town, quarters on them, in the course of a day or two more, with his whole suite, perhaps for several days, nor retires until he has received a fresh donation. In these *progresses* he expects something from every village, and will accept the smallest offerings from individuals. His sons, in travelling, fail not to follow so good an example. As he dares not exercise this kind of oppression in Albania, the districts on the Eastern side of Pindus are the great sufferers; and neither pestilence nor famine are more dreaded by the poor natives than the arrival of these little scraps of coarse paper scrawled with a few Greek characters, and stamped with the well-known little seal which makes Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia tremble.'

The people of Galaxidi had taken flight because Ali Pasha wished to compel them to serve as sailors on board the fleet

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\* *Travels in Northern Greece*, I., 308-9.

which he was equipping. But the town of Bostitza, where they had taken refuge, is just across the water, in the Peloponnesos, and 'the present Pasha of the Morea,' as we again learn from Leake\*, 'is said to have paid the Porte 400 purses for his appointment for one year, and he will probably squeeze 1,000 out of the poor province. Vanli Pasha, who was removed last year to Candia, paid 600 purses for two years, and yet greatly enriched himself. The Morea has the character of being the most profitable Pashalik in the Empire, of those, at least, which the Porte has the power of selling annually.'

As a rule, indeed, these satraps were only appointed for a period of one year at a time. The frequency of the appointments was of large pecuniary benefit to those who possessed over the Sublime Porte the influence—open or occult—necessary to secure a nomination to a provincial Pashalik. In the report † which Capodistria addressed in 1828 to the representatives of the Powers in answer to the questions which they had put to his Government, he gives some extremely interesting information as to the manner in which Pashas were in the habit of exercising their powers. 'How was it possible,' he asks, 'to look for just and enlightened administration from a Pasha who but very shortly before attaining that dignity had been in work as a slaughterman, and who is now simply the ignorant nominee of an absolute despot? . . . No man dared to open his mouth in the presence of the Pasha of the Peloponnesos. That Pasha had the power of life and death over his subjects—and they trembled whenever they had to go near his seraglio. Fear seized them before ever they found themselves within sight of the despot, or within ear-shot of the terrors of his voice. At the gate of his palace were always to be found ready waiting an hundred and fifty soldiers under full arms, an itch-aga, and an executioner. It needed only a particular sign of his head to cause any one of his petitioners to be led out to die.'

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\* *Travels in the Morea*. II., 346.; ed. 1830. See also Pouqueville, *Voyage en Grèce*, Chapter cxxxv., at the beginning.

† See it in *Μαμούκας, Τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀναγέννησιν τῆς Ἑλλάδος*. II. 316.



The Turks amassed fortunes, but, as they grew richer, the people whom they ruled grew poorer. 'The Ottoman Empire,' wrote Pouqueville,\* with a feeling of generous indignation, 'the Ottoman Empire is the Empire of woe. It is not like any other country in the world. The people who live in it are at once ferocious and apathetic, and are destitute of the slightest feeling for the public interest. From Constantinople to the banks of the Euphrates, and from the shores of the Bosphoros to Cattaro, the towns are cess-pools full of dung and filth: the villages are either dens of wild beasts or deserted. The exclusive subjects of conversation are pestilences, conflagrations, epidemics, and famines. The gates of the great cities are hidden by groups of gibbets and towers loaded with human skulls. The roads traversed by the local governors are lined with gory heads, stakes for impalement, and other instruments of death. The traveller meets no one who is not clad in the livery of destitution. There is no police, no public order, no rest, and no safety for life and property. The gentler virtues are unknown in this country. If a man has any money he buries it, and if he has any valuable objects he hides them in the depths of his harem. If he wishes to escape suspicion he must avoid living with the appearance of being in easy circumstances.' In the cities the Greeks inhabited quarters separated from those occupied by the Turks. The Turks inhabited the citadel, if there were one: if the town had no fortress, they expelled the Christians from the best neighbourhoods. Christians were always liable to expulsion from their dwellings at any whim of their masters. Savary relates (p. 262) a curious anecdote illustrative of this fact. The circumstance occurred in 1780, and is, as he remarks, a proof of the treatment which the Greeks received in their own country. 'With the exception of the Archbishop and of Europeans,' he says, 'no Christian has the right to ride inside a town. The Bishop of Canea took it into his head to disregard this tyrannical regulation. One evening, when he was returning from the country along with several monks, he did not dismount, but passed through and

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\* *Voyage en Grèce*, II. 271.

rode quickly up to his own house. The janissaries who were on guard at the gate looked on this action as an insult. The next day they roused the troops, and it was determined to burn the Bishop and the Priests. The mob, roaring curses, were already carrying combustibles to the Bishop's house, and its inhabitants could not have escaped the horrible fate to which they were destined, had not the Pasha, warned in time, issued a proclamation, by which any Greek, of what class soever, was forbidden to sleep within the walls of Canea. This prohibition was rigorously enforced, and, every evening, these wretched slaves might be seen slinking out of the gates of Rettimo, and retiring for the night into the fields.' This state of things lasted for two months, 'but,' says Savary, 'money is here the cure for all evils. The Cretans combined their resources together, and, by a very heavy bribe, obtained the revocation of the edict. The pride of their Bishop cost them dear.'

That a Christian who might happen to be on horseback had to dismount as soon as he came in sight of a Turk was not the only badge of slavery to which he found himself subject. To make a Greek smart at every turn of daily life by something to remind him of his subjection to an Osmanli, was an object upon which the Government of the Sublime Porte bestowed an almost infinite ingenuity. Thus speaks the English traveller Eton, in his *Survey of the Turkish Empire* (p. 104, ed. 1799)—'The insulting distinction of Christian and Mahomedan is carried to so great a length, that even the minutiae of dress are rendered subjects of restriction. A Christian must wear only clothes and head-dresses of dark colours, and such as Turks never wear, with slippers of black leather, and must paint his house black or dark brown. The least violation of these frivolous and disgusting regulations is punished with death.' On this head each class of inhabitant found himself under a special law. Whether a man were a Greek, an Armenian, or a Jew, was to be displayed at once by his costume. Special laws regulated the hats with which the chiefs of the Christian communi-

ties were allowed to shelter their humble heads.\* Bishops and other ecclesiastics (who, be it said, enjoyed peculiar and exceptional privileges above their fellow-believers), were absolutely forbidden to wear the broad-brimmed hats which immemorial custom had assigned for their use. They were not allowed to have any brims. †

But mutilating the head-dress of the clergy was only among the minor vexations to which the adherents of the Christian religion were exposed. They were not allowed to build any new Churches, and even the repair of the old ones was only permitted by special firman, which could only be obtained with great difficulty and by means of heavy payments in money. 'According to a recent firmahn,' says Leake (*Morea*, I. 133), speaking in 1805, 'the Greeks of Mistra are allowed to repair their Churches on condition of paying 300 piastres for each to a mosque at Constantinople.' 'The Greeks [of Smyrna],' says Chandler, ‡ 'before the fire [of 1764] had two Churches. They applied to their Bishop at Constantinople for leave to rebuild that which was destroyed, but the sum demanded was too exorbitant to be given.' The traveller who records this incident remarks that by the continuance of such a policy the extirpation of Christianity within the Turkish dominions was only a question of time.

The use of bells was not allowed except in a few privileged places where there were no Turks to be offended by the hateful sound. Among these favoured spots were the villages of Chios, the inhabitants of which carried on the cultivation of mastic. These villagers were exceptionally fortunate on account of their dependence upon the Imperial harem, but even they were not allowed the full enjoyment of the fruits of their own labour. One half of their entire harvest was the property of the harem, and the other half they were only permitted to sell at the price fixed by the will of the Aga of the

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\* See not only Eton, as above cited, but also Lacroix, *Etat présent des nations et églises grecque, arménienne, etc.*, p. 11. Paris, 1741.

† Hence the peculiar hats which long usage has now rendered the ordinary head-covering of the Greek clergy.

‡ *Travels in Asia Minor*, p. 66. London, 1775.

island. The cultivation of mastic was allowed nowhere except on the land of such villages as had received the authorization of the Government. \*

If a neighbourhood happened to possess any natural advantage, the feature in question, instead of proving a benefit to the inhabitants, was immediately made a source of misery and oppression. Thus, for instance, there is a spot near Kandelion in the Peloponnesos, where the snow lies long. 'The mountain on the left,' says Leake (*Morea*, III. 109), 'has a remarkable cavern, or shady hollow, an unlucky circumstance for the poor Kandiolites, who are obliged to supply the serai at Tripolitza from it, and carry the snow there at their own expense.'

But it was not necessary to be a Pasha in order to be able to maltreat Christians. Anybody who was a Turk was allowed to do it to his heart's content. For instance, Col. Leake saw a Turk kill a Greek peasant at the gate of Larissa, because the Christian had an ass loaded with charcoal, which he wished to carry for sale to the market-place (in hopes of a more certain, as well as a higher price for it), instead of letting the Turk have it. It is hardly necessary to add, as the conclusion of this example, that the *cadi* declared the murderer guiltless. The only chance the other way would have been if the family of the victim had had more money.

Whenever a suit lay between a Christian and a Mahomedan, no Christian was admitted as a witness. This provision of Turkish law, however, it must be owned, pressed with comparative lightness upon such Christians as were wealthy, because Turkish witnesses are never wanting to call God to witness to anything, as long as a suitor is able as well as willing to pay them to do so; and if he also possess the funds needful for securing the favour of the judge, the latter is exceedingly easy as to the character of the witnesses. The drawback to this method in the eyes of Christians, viz., that the righteous and the innocent are thus exposed to ruin and to

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\* Olivier, *Voyage dans l'Empire Ottoman, fait par ordre du gouvernement*. Paris. Year IX., Vol. I., pp. 285-9.

death through the words of a few hired perjurers, is not one which a Turk regards as of any consequence.

'In every province of the Morea,' said Capodistria, in the statement already cited,† 'in every province of the Morea there was a *cadi* nominated by the *cajasker* of Roumelia. Such a *cadi* held his post for a period varying from six to twelve months, or, on some rare occasions, for as much as eighteen months. He was the judge, and the judge without appeal, of every civil and commercial cause, of whatever nature or of whatever magnitude, and to him appertained likewise the duty of enforcing his own decisions. The execution of the judgment could alone be suspended by an appeal to the Pasha, at the centre of administration, Tripolitza. These facultative appeals were a mere abuse of power. From the Pasha there was no appeal. And yet law-suits dragged on and on. Turkish jurisprudence, obscure and often inconsistent, allowed of differing opinions by the *ulemas* which only made confusion worse confounded.'

It is probably not difficult for the reader to form some idea of the sort of justice which was meted out by such tribunals. In Pouqueville's *Voyage en Grèce* (IV. 231) will be found an account of the judicial method adopted by the Pasha of Tripolitza for clearing himself of his liabilities towards his doctor who had lent him money. It was simple.

Besides this, it was not held as a crime in a Turk to murder a Christian. 'It may be further remarked,' says Eton (101), 'that there is not one instance of a *fetva* which declares the murder of Christians to be contrary to the faith; or of any argument drawn from justice or religion, used to dissuade the Sultans from perpetrating such an enormity. The pleaders for mercy have been guided by policy or moved by compassion.' But on the other hand, as we find remarked by the same writer (98), 'A Christian may not kill a Mahomedan even in self-defence; if a Christian only strikes a Mahomedan, he is most commonly put to death on the spot, or, at least, ruined by fines and severely bastinadoed; if he strikes, though by

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\* *Mamoukas*, vol. XI., pp. 312 *et seq.*

accident, a *Sherif* (*emil* in Turkish, i.e., a descendant of Mahomed, who wear green turbans), of whom there are thousands in some cities, it is death without remission.'

Wherever there was most reason to be apprehensive of the Christian population, the Turks made it a principle to treat them with especial severity. Thus we learn from Olivier (i. 214) that in Crete, 'whether it be that the Sfakiotes inspire them with mistrust, or because the great number of the Greeks renders it necessary for them to be upon their guard, the Turks are here more given than anywhere else, upon the slightest pretext, either to kill a Greek with their own hands or to send him for execution.'

It is, no doubt, true, as has been before remarked, that for those who have money enough, it has always been possible to purchase the friendship, or at least the protection, of Turks. 'The whole Divan,' remarks Felix Beaujour, 'is for sale, if only the intending purchaser has money enough wherewith to buy it; and this is the reason why the Beys and the Agas utilize the provinces to obtain the means of saving themselves from the bowstring and acquiring appointments to the office of Pasha.'

Venality was the grand principle which formed the groundwork of the whole administration of the Pashas. 'They buy their appointments,' continues Beaujour (II. 181), 'at Constantinople, where there is nothing which is not for sale, and they recoup themselves anyhow they can. Throughout the whole of the Ottoman Empire, the Governors work an inexhaustible mine of fines.'

In other words, the whole tribe, from the Sultan himself down to the smallest personage in the employment of his government, live by sucking their subjects. It is a long and thorough experience of the Turkish race which has generated the Greek proverb—

Τούρκον εἶδες, ἄσπρα θέλει,  
κι ἄλλον εἶδες, κι ἄλλα θέλει.

The most convenient medium for the extortions of the Turkish Governors was the *Kharatch*, or poll-tax. The *Kharatch* or

death, was the alternative offered to every Christian. Everyone who paid it took care to secure his receipt, and yet the Governmental receipt often proved to be no protection against the ingenious rapacity of the tax-gatherer. The language of the receipt itself is striking. 'Every *Raya*,' says Eton (98), 'every *Raya* (that is, every subject who is not of the Mahomedan religion) is allowed only the cruel alternative of death or tribute; and even this is arbitrary in the breast of the conqueror. The very words of the formulary, given to their Christian subjects on paying the capitation-tax, import that the sum of money received is taken as a compensation for being permitted to wear their heads that year.'

The nominal figure of the poll-tax was not high. But the publicans or collectors to whom the collection of the tax was farmed always found means for extorting from the tax-payers at least double the sum which found its way into the Treasury. It is unnecessary to say that this difference of more than 50 per cent. went into their own pockets. The abuses committed in the collection of this tax, as well as the stamp of inferiority which it was intended to impress, rendered the *Kharatch* more odious than the tithe, or than any other of the varied means of extortion and oppression which the fiscal ingenuity of the Turks devised for enabling them to harass and to beggar their wretched Christian subjects.

The *Kharatch* was of three sorts. The first applied to the rich, who were legally subject to a payment of twelve or fourteen piastres per head. The second class of contributories embraced all other adults, from artisans and labourers down to the very beggars, without any exception. These paid half as much per head as was paid by the rich. Lastly, came children of fourteen years of age and under, who were assessed at three piastres each, beginning to be liable at the age of eight years in towns and at that of five years in the country. 'If' says Beaujour (i. 51.) 'the father of a little Greek raises any dispute as to his exact age, the tax-gatherers measure the child's head with a cord, which is made to serve as a sort of standard, and,

as they can always make the cord what length they like, the father can always be proved in the wrong.\*

The Greeks of the islands were justly considered to be the least unfortunate of their race, since, as a rule, there was no Turkish population settled among them. But with the return of each spring-time and the accompanying appearance of the Capitan-Pasha to levy the taxes, the islanders were made to suffer at one blow the accumulated evils which they had been spared during the preceding twelve months. The Capitan-Pasha, like his brethren of the land, extorted under the name of offerings and presents to himself, a sum at least equal to the total of the poll-tax and other imposts which he raised on behalf of the Treasury. At the same time also, his officers and other myrmidons down to the private soldiers, swarmed about over the islands, wringing subsidies for themselves out of the poverty of the inhabitants. It was in vain that these latter fled to their mountains, to hide themselves in dens and caves of the earth, or sought to conceal the few objects of value which they might possess. The Turks seized the elders and put them to the bastinado, until their wives had brought them their trinkets, and those of the women their neighbours. It was, moreover, very often the case that the Turks, after appropriating the jewellery, threw husband, wife, and child together into slavery.†

Besides this, the inhabitants of the isles and of the coasts were subject to a conscription of young men for service in the fleet. It is true that the number of young men so taken was

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\* On the subject of the system of taxation which prevailed in the Turkish Empire before the war of 1821, and especially with regard to the *Kharatch*, the first chapter of the fifth volume of Pouqueville's *Voyage en Grèce* may be consulted, as well as the work of Felix Beaujour, and that of Eton, already cited, p. 35 *et seq.* Tournefort and Choiseul-Gouffier give detailed accounts of the islands visited by them. Juchereau de St. Denis estimates the sum received by the State, under the head of *Kharatch*, at about £60,000. It is as well, also, to consult the work of Maschobákés upon the state of the law in Greece during the Turkish domination. (Athens, 1882.)

† Eton, p. 177; Choiseul Gouffier, I. 185. See also an article by the author, in the *Esra* newspaper for June 20, 1882, upon the capture of a Turkish frigate by the Christian slaves on board her.



not sufficient to imperil the natural increase of the population, and that the denial of Christianity was not imposed upon them. But the sea-faring population bewailed nevertheless the loss of their sons, whom the will of their tyrants tore from their homes. It was a tax of blood which was paid with tears.

Yet the conscription of sea-faring lads was as nothing in comparison with that indescribable blood-tax, the conscription of little children, which lasted till towards the close of the Seventeenth Century, and the memory of which haunted every Greek home like the presence of a devil. Every five years the agents of the Janissary regiments went through Greece, and took away one little boy out of every five over seven years of age. It is unnecessary to say that they chose the most beautiful. The fathers and mothers knew that the children they thus lost were lost to them for ever, that they would become Mohammedans, live and die Janissaries. As for the race, this tribute threatened its very existence, the very hope of its future was turned against it, its persecutors forged from its own very blood the instruments of their oppression. Bondage seemed a light thing in comparison with this tribute. No other enslaved nation has ever had to suffer such a torture as this.

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Thus lived the Greek race from the Fall of Constantinople in 1453 until the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1821. They seemed to be buried, if not crushed, under the sufferings and degradations entailed by their slavery. And yet they still kept heart alive, because they knew that their racial existence was not dead. The very contempt with which their savage masters held themselves separate from the 'unbelievers' served to cherish and foster both the consciousness of nationality and the sentiment of nationalism. Under the heavy rod of Osmanli despotism the Greeks stood apart as a separate and peculiar people, all the members of which were bound one to another throughout the whole breadth of the Turkish Empire, not only by the threefold tie of one blood, one tongue, and one religion, but also by the very political and social organization to which

they had been subjected by their conquerors at the date of the fall of their country.

When Mahomet II. had made himself master of Constantinople, he empowered the Œcumenical Patriarch to exercise over his co-religionists a civil jurisdiction which practically rendered this ecclesiastic the head of the Greek nation. The Patriarch's enjoyment of this office was accompanied by certain privileges and his investiture by certain external marks of honour. In adopting this course of action the Turkish conqueror has been accredited with the intention 'of rendering their bondage less irksome to the Greeks and of accustoming them to bear its yoke, by the concession not only of liberty of conscience but also of the right to the public celebration of their religious worship.\*' Whether these were Mahomet's motives at all, may well be questioned. Certainly, they were not his sole motives.

It was impossible that the supreme Pontiff of Islam, the Khalifeh of the True-Believers, should profane his sacred character by sinking so low as to concern himself with the civil or religious affairs of infidels. The prescriptions of the Mohammedan religion left a choice of two alternatives for his new subjects. They might either become Moslems or they might redeem their lives by a regular payment in tribute. For those Christians who chose the latter alternative, the Turkish Government devised the special organization of which they made the Patriarch of Constantinople the pivot, with the view of concentrating the central control of the whole national affairs of his fellow-countrymen and fellow-believers in the hands of this one man, and thus having this complete control directly, easily, and simply, under their own eye and hand, in the person of an officially recognised head and representative. It may perhaps also be the case that, by investing the Patriarch with this character, they hoped to prevent any action of the Orthodox in the direction of an inter-communion with the Latins, since it was possible that a re-union of the Eastern and Western Churches might have raised fresh forces against the

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\* Lacroix. *Etat présent des églises grecques*, 758.

common enemy of all Christianity, and that to this end also was designed the high position with which they sought to enhance the dignity of the ruling pastor in the eyes of his flock.\*

The Patriarch accordingly obtained privileges which gave him what might be called, in a sense, a sort of relative independence. He was solemnly invested with an almost sovereign authority over his co-religionists. He was the person who was their representative in the eyes of the Sublime Porte. He was elected by the Prelates and the representatives of the laity. He was responsible to no authority except the Divan, and to the Divan only in case he were accused by the Synod. He was the Supreme Head of the clergy, and over them he possessed the power of exercising criminal jurisdiction. He had a power of direction over every church, and the financial affairs of each were subject to his control. Over the laity he was invested with a judicial authority which extended not only over all matrimonial cases but also over every case where the parties concerned were both Christians, whatever the character of the question, unless the parties themselves voluntarily elected to compare before the Turkish tribunals rather than before that of the Patriarch. These powers the Œcumenical Patriarch was in the habit of delegating to the different Archbishops and Bishops, as his Legates in the provinces. Even the humbler of the clergy shared in the advantages of the jurisdiction with which their Head was invested. They were exempt from the *Kharatch* (poll-tax) and were allowed themselves to levy a tax upon every Christian family, in order to meet the expenses incidental to the discharge of the public functions which were conferred upon them by law.†

The result of all this peculiar legislation for conferring a Temporal Power upon the Patriarch of Constantinople, was of course to establish an *imperium in imperio*—a Patriarchal Temporal Power inside a Mohammedan Temporal Power. Nor need it be disputed that in an ideal state of things this arrangement might have served very well, not only for smoothing over

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\* See Maschobakes, p. 51.

† See Maschobakes, as before, and also Mamoukas, XI., 308.

the various difficulties which necessarily resulted from the political and social revolution of 1453, but also as leading to an improvement in the future position of the Christian population. That such might, however, have been the result, pre-supposed certain conditions which did not exist. The Turkish Government, on the one side, would have had to have been somewhat less savage, fanatical, cruel, and tyrannical, and the Greek clergy, upon the other, would have had to possess a morality rather higher than that which had already existed among them in the last days of the Empire, and which had been shaken still lower by the terrible cataclysm of the Mohammedan conquest and by the consequent annihilation or expatriation of all the best surviving elements in Byzantine society. The real marvel is, not that things were no better, but that they were no worse—that the clerical group thus placed at the head of the Hellenic people showed themselves endowed with such an amount both of intelligence and of patriotism as to render it possible to preserve and to uphold the standard of Hellenism beneath the shelter of the Phanar.

It must be remarked, at the same time, that the conquered Christians had no guarantee whatever to assure to them the continuance of the privileges which had been solemnly promised to them at the moment of the conquest. As a matter of fact, several of the successors of the conqueror annulled at their mere will the concessions granted by their predecessors. In 1519, for instance, the Christians of Constantinople were deprived of all their stone churches, with the exception of two, the largest of which was taken from them in 1607.\* There were some Turks who even went so far as to advocate the extermination of the *giaours*. Mahomet II. himself degraded the Patriarch Joasaph (the second successor of Gennadios) and caused not only his beard but also his nose to be cut off, because he refused to contravene the Canons of the Church by giving a dispensation to the Protovestiaros to contract a bigamous marriage with the daughter of Demetrios Assam, Lord of Athens, during the lifetime of the lawful wife of the said Protovestiaros—the which

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\* See 'Τυηλάντου, Τὰ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωσιν'. Constantinople, 1870, p. 123.

refusal brought upon the Patriarch in question the wrath of the Sultan, or rather, of the Pasha, who happened to be a personal friend of the Protovestiaris. When it came to be a question of electing a successor to Joasaph, one section of the electors sent the Sultan an offering of a thousand pieces of gold, as an accompaniment to a petition that they might be allowed to elect anyone whom they chose. The Sultan pocketed their money, called them fools for their pains, and said 'Elect whoever you like.' \*

This little incident typifies from the very commencement the relations of the master to his slaves. The Sultan called them fools for their pains—but he pocketed their money. He did not care a straw what was the condition of Christians, as other rulers would have cared about the condition of any large and important class of their subjects. His only idea was how much he could get out of them, the same consideration which presents itself to the mind of the conquering side in a war, when settling the amount of indemnity to be exacted from the losers. On the other hand, the Christians had already learnt by experience to know that with Turks, money, nothing but money, but money, is Almighty, and that the Sultan himself is for sale. So they made haste to meet his wishes, and thenceforward has continued the system of venality which forms the very base and pivot of the whole administration of the Ottoman Empire.

This system of venality is one of which the higher clergy of the Christian Church have not always been able to avoid the contagion. The Bishops had to obtain their Sees by bribery, and they could only retain possession of them by bribing the Pashas, and by other forms of self-degradation. It was not very long before the habit of giving money to their masters began to be accompanied by that of wringing it out of their flocks. It was the Turks who invested the Bishops with power, and they imbibed with it some of the Turkish habits in its use. And yet, all the same, covered as she was by the leprosy of venality aggravated by all the ills of slavery, the Greek Church never lost the consciousness of her

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\* *Turco-Græcia*, pp. 21, *et seq.* and *Ἑλληλάνθης* p. 19.

duty towards the Greek nation. While that dark night lasted there were always to be found some Bishops whose virtues redeemed the vices of so many of their brethren. In short—and say what we will—the Greek people owe to their Church the preservation of their Faith, of their Language, and of their Unity. And their Church will never find their gratitude lacking towards her. The errors of the past were more than atoned by the death of the Patriarch Gregory, by the patriotic devotion of Germanus of Patras, and by the deeds of so many other Prelates who have died the Martyrs or lived as the Confessors of the cause of our National Independence.

Moreover, the results of living under the Turkish Empire were not confined to the clergy. The evil was in the fact. Priest or layman, Patriarch or Grand-Dragoman, it was the same thing. Every Christian who accepted authority from the Turkish Government and used it in their name, was brought, willed he, nilled he, to the same expedients—cringing before his owners and bullying his humbler fellow-slaves. The very Elders of the country villages were not always exceptions to this rule—a fact quite sufficiently attested by the meaning which is attached to the title '*codja-bashi*' in the Peloponnesos.

The degradation which the national character suffered under the influence of such causes was really the greatest both of the dangers and of the evils of slavery. Happily, amid this deterioration, the Hellenic people never lost the sense of their own dignity. And it was this sense which breathed a life ever keener and more keen into their longing to be free. It was not the hardships alone of the life of slavery which they bewailed: the consciousness of dishonour smarted still more. It is sufficient to cite in proof the writings which Hellenes were able at that epoch to publish in foreign countries, and, after the war broke out, the documents in which the insurgents made known to Europe their resolve to die sooner than endure again what they had suffered for so long.

At the same time, and notwithstanding all that may be said as to the tyrannical misconduct of some village elders in some parts of Greece, it is still none the less true that the communal system was the social anchor to which Hellenism owed its preservation.

The Patriarchate, as has been already remarked, supplied the element of political unity, and afforded what may be termed the external expression of national life. The Grand Dragomen, the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia, and the aristocracy of the Phanar in general, by being in the eyes of the Turks and of foreigners the representatives of the New Hellenism as it quickened, exercised upon the destinies of their race an influence as fortunate as it was powerful. But it was in and by the communal system that shape was given to the home life of the people.

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The pressure of slavery under the foreigner, which weighed upon all alike, not only made warmer the ties which bound the members of every family one to another, but also bound each to all within every little community. Like the members of a larger family, every member of the community, by helping his brother, found it less hard both to suffer and to resist in the common interest of all. They were not free, but they found in the community a certain field for social activity which, narrow as it was, recalled, after a fashion, what life had been in the days of independence, and so, in a fashion, carried on the old memories of national life and made ready, in a way, for the coming Hellas of the New Birth. It is needless here to enter into the question whether the communal system which existed in Greece under the Turks owed its origin to classical or to mediæval times. This is a question which concerns rather the students of the monuments of past history. But the phenomenon of these *demoi*, all independent of each other, differing so widely from each other in regard to details, and yet all recognizing, as the very basis of their organization, the equality of the electors and the responsibility of the elected,—this phenomenon, presented by surviving Hellas, so vividly recalls, in its varied unity, the character of the ancient Hellas, that if it be not indeed an unbroken inheritance from her early days, it is hard not to admit that it was at the least but a new flower upon the old stem still growing in the old soil.

Fortunately, it did not occur to the Turks to make any attack

upon the communal system. On the contrary, they found that it suited their system of administration very well, and they accepted it quite willingly. Just as they made the Patriarch of Constantinople responsible for the whole race, so did they make the elders responsible for the whole of each community. Thus the communal system served greatly to simplify the machinery of government. It was an easy way of assessing the tribute, regulating the forced labour, and getting in the *Kharatch*, and the subjects of these imposts found them less difficult to bear when they were able to adjust the weight of the burdens among themselves without being harassed by the intervention of Turks. It is true that there were many places where the relief thus obtained was but small, owing to the presence of Turkish persecutors, whether official or private, and acting either in the name of the Imperial Exchequer, or in virtue of that right to oppress which every Turk claims for himself. But there were also many places where there were no Turks, and where the population could consequently breathe freely and the community flourished. The communal system, by binding the interests of every individual to those of institutions common to all, by allowing to all some occupation other than that of trying to meet the exactions of the tax-gatherer, by concerning all in the local government, in the affairs of schools and hospitals, in the management of the police, and in the development of the resources of the country, prepared the people for freedom, and gave some foretaste of the progress of which they would be capable whenever they were delivered from the burden of the Turkish domination.

When the War of Independence broke out, these communal societies served as centres of activity, and also as bases for the new organization of the country. Then did the Elders of all kinds, Proestôtes, Codjabashis, Demogerontes, Ephoroi, or Epitropoi, put themselves at the head of their freed fellow-countrymen and contribute to form an aristocracy of champions of the Fatherland; they, like the Prelates of the Church and the rest of the Phanariote hierarchy, now cast aside the signs of their slavery and degradation, threw themselves upon the side of their



country, and contended for the honour of leading the national movement and of striving to ensure its success.

It was when the war broke out that the vastness of the gulf by which nature has separated Hellen from Turk became most strikingly visible. For four centuries had they been associated in intimate contact. Mutual familiarity had done nothing but intensify their mutual hatred. While the Turk degraded and corrupted the Greek population, it had never occurred to him to try and attract even the principal inhabitants towards his system or to make it the interest of any of them to support it. The Osmanli Government looked upon all Hellenes as its enemies, and treated them accordingly.

Hence it came to pass that even those who did not approve the revolutionary outbreak, cast themselves into it, because they realized that such a course was less dangerous for them than to adhere to the Turks. But it is not in this direction that we are to seek the causes of the national movement. The cause of the war was the gradual and universal awakening of the Hellenic people.

The author of these essays has elsewhere\* remarked how large a part in this awakening was due to the increase of education. It is true enough that Hellenic culture had never entirely died out. But in the earlier periods of Ottoman domination, it was confined to a few clergy who enjoyed an ecclesiastical education, and a still more limited number of laymen who found means to pursue the study of letters and of the sciences. The mass of the population was plunged in ignorance. The village teacher was generally the Parish Priest, and the few pupils whom he could gather around him under the shadow of his Church acquired little more than a mechanical power of reading the Psalms and the other contents of the ecclesiastical office-books. These humble schools did little more than supply a proof that the love of learning, which is in-born in the Hellenic mind, was not dead. They were, so to speak, only the little morsel of leaven which was destined in the future to leaven the whole mass. But from

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\* *περι Νεοελληνικής φιλολογίας, δοκίμιον.* London, 1871.

the Seventeenth Century, the Hellenes in the service of the Porte afforded their aid to the Patriarchate in commencing an extended system of education, by founding schools and protecting the teachers and their pupils. The true development, however, did not take place until still later, especially towards the end of the last Century. Then it was that the lowly teachers of the preceding generations gave place to men of learning, who were imbued with an enlightened love for the classical glory of their race, and kindled with a passionate desire for its renewal. Henceforward many an Hellenic town had a school, and pupils came in thither from the country round about. In these schools, moreover, the works of the classical authors and of the Fathers of the Church no longer formed the only subjects of study. In them were to be learnt the results of modern science, which cultured Greeks were now busying themselves in communicating to their countrymen, either by original works or by translations of the best foreign treatises.\*

The principal source which supplied means to education, and was the strongest lever for raising the Greek people out of the rut of lethargy into which they had fallen, was Commerce. Commercial activity dates its revival from the Eighteenth Century.

‘The Greeks of other days,’ said M. Juchereau de St. Denis (I. 155), ‘crushed under the yoke of Osmanli despotism, used to get European merchandise through the hands of European agents, established in the different seaports of the Levant. Within the last fifty years, under the impulse of their constantly disappointed hopes for a brighter future, they have taken to studying our language, imitating some of our manners and customs, and trying to gain some knowledge of Europe by personal observation.’

From the epoch when he wrote, the commerce of the Levant became mainly centred in the hands of Hellenes. Little by little, the Christian’s home began to learn what is meant by ease

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\* See the *Σχεδιασμα περι της καταστάσεως των γραμμάτων*, by Paranikas (Constantinople, 1867), and also the fuller work upon public instruction in Greece by Chassiotes (Paris, 1881).

and comfort, and with material improvement, began the aspiration after a higher intellectual and moral position. These happy results of commercial activity were not confined to Constantinople, to Smyrna, to Thessalonica,\* or to the isles of the Ægean, whose merchant ships were now beginning, in ever increasing numbers, to bear to their rocky homes the wealth which was destined, later on, to keep alive the War of Independence. The improvement was to be seen here and there in landward Hellas, wherever the absence of Turks permitted some out-of-the-way village to enjoy a certain amount of security and of freedom. The commercial and industrial development achieved by these communities, was itself a clear proof of the talent and the activity inherent in the Hellenic population. The existence of such oases in the midst of the desert of Osmanli savagery, startled the few travellers who were able to reach them, by recalling the memories of European civilization. The German Bartholdy, a man whose prepossessions are sufficiently unfavourable to the Hellenes, was astonished to find at Ampelakia,† in Thessaly, several persons who were capable of addressing him in his mother-tongue, and he was still more astonished when he found that they had given themselves, as a recreation, the opening of a little theatre, in which they were representing Kotzebue's *Menschenhass und Reue*, which was then in vogue in civilized Europe. At Katarrytes, at Syracon, in Epiros,‡ similar phenomena were to be found. 'It is the tradition of Kalarytes,' says Leake,§ 'that the Vlakhiotes

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\* See Félix Beaujour, *Tableau du Commerce de la Grèce, 1787-1797*, Paris, Year VIII.; and also the Comte Chaptal, *De l'industrie Française*, Paris, 1789, vol. I., where there is a special chapter upon the trade of the Levant,

† French translation (*Voyage en Grèce*), I. 183, *et seq.* Félix Beaujour speaks of Ampelakia, I. 272, *et seq.* He gives full particulars of the organisation of this Thessalian township as an industrial community. He says that there were 25 factories, where 2,500 bales of cotton were dyed in a year. This industry was based upon the red dye, commonly called the Andrianople red, and it is not generally known that this trade was introduced into France from Greece. See M. Chaptal, *L'art de la teinture du coton en rouge*. Paris, 1807.

‡ See Pouqueville, *Voyage en Grèce*, II. 173, *et seq.*, and Leake, *Northern Greece*, I. 274.

§ *Northern Greece*, I. 274. See also Pouqueville, II. 431.

have not been settled in this part of Pindus more than 250 years, which is very credible, as it is not likely that they quitted the more fertile parts of Thessaly until they felt the oppression of the Turkish conquerors, and their inability to resist it. The removal has not been unfortunate, for their descendants have thereby enjoyed a degree of repose, and have obtained advantages which their former situation could hardly have admitted. They began by carrying to Italy the woollen cloaks, called *Cappe*, which are made in these mountains, and much used in Italy and in Spain, as well as by the Greeks themselves. This opened the route to a more extended commerce: they now share with the Greeks in the valuable trade of colonial produce between Spain or Malta, and many are owners of both ship and cargo. The wealthier inhabitants are merchants, who have resided abroad many years in Italy, Spain, or the dominions of Austria or Russia, and who, after a long absence, return with the fruits of their industry to their native towns, which they thus enrich, and, in some degree civilize. But they seldom return for permanent residence till late in life, being satisfied in the interval with two or three short visits. The middle classes pursue a similar course; but, as their traffic seldom carries them so far from home as the higher order of merchants, they return more frequently, and many of them spend a part of every summer in their native place.'

At Sialista, in Macedonia, there could hardly be said to be a single family some member of which was not established in Italy, in Hungary, in Austria, or in Germany. Among the old men in the town, there were very few who had not lived abroad for ten or twelve years. Among the mountain villages near Volo, in Thessaly, the same activity was attended by the same results. It is to these merchants, while either still living in some foreign land or when returned to their native country, that Hellas owes that wonderful revival of popular education which preceded her political resurrection. Such men were the Zosimai, the Mourousoi, the Kaplanai, and so many other benefactors of their race. Such men were those who founded and endowed schools. These were they who were either themselves workers in the fields of literature and learning, or who generously subsidized and supported the publication of useful books by others. These were they who

made themselves the leading apostles of freedom and of civilization, by telling their fellow-countrymen what they had heard and seen in the dominions of civilized governments, and exciting in them the desire to obtain the like blessings for their own land. It is among these merchants that are to be found the names of the first founders of the *Hetairia*. It was principally from among them that were drawn the emissaries who spread through the provinces and colonies of the Hellenic race the secret knowledge of the national movement which was about to break forth. Of 692 names of members of the *Hetairia*, 251 are those of businessmen, and 35 of ship-captains.\* The wealth which trade and commerce had amassed in Greek hands was freely and readily offered for the needs of their country.

But it was not alone the development of trade which engendered the War of Independence. Trade brought material well-being, trade brought about and helped relations with foreign countries, trade brought out and hastened the moral and intellectual awakening of the people, trade stirred up the desire to be free; trade was the mother of those merchant-ships wherein were trained the sailors who have gained immortality by labouring and fighting for Greece. Trade was like a quickening breeze which blew upon the grey heap of ashes until the fire, which smouldered below, broke out into a clear blaze. But the fire had been there all the while, and the fuel was ready to be re-kindled. The Church and the communal system had saved the integrity and the unity of the nation. The class of men who surrounded the Patriarchal throne at Constantinople had shown their intellectual and political superiority over the Turks. The *Kleptai* and the *Armatoloi*, by handing down from generation to generation the warrior-spirit of our race had given a continuous promise—a promise since fulfilled by what deeds! and by what devotion!—that when the hour for battle came, *Hellas* would have children who could fight for her. All these things together showed that Greece was ready for liberty. All her population

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\* See the appendix to the 1st vol. of Philemou's *Ἱστορικὸν δοκίμιον περὶ τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Ἐπανάστασεως*.

were but awaiting the moment to shake their chains from their limbs. The *Hetairia* did it, because the hour was come. When the sowers of that brotherhood went forth to sow, they found everywhere good ground, ready to receive the seed which has now begun to give to Hellas the first fruits of her second spring-time.

There were some people at the time of the outbreak of the war—and there have been some since—who thought that the outbreak was premature. It is possible, from one point of view, to understand this opinion. On the side of the Hellenes there was a want of organization either military or political, there was the want of sufficient means, and there was the want of any alliance or of any hope of help from any foreign nation. On the side of the Osmanlis there was power and strength, vast, bloated, overwhelming: all went to show that the battle must be a very hard one, and that success was very problematical. And, as a matter of fact, for many a long year, as she writhed against her gigantic oppressor, Hellas bled heavily. For ten years, in a war wherein she received no quarter, her population was much more than decimated, in the field, in massacres, in epidemics. Anything which Turkish savagery had hitherto by any accident spared went now. The towns were destroyed. The country was laid waste. Anyone who happened to have any property lost it. There was not a family which had not agony and martyrdom carried into its midst. And when it was over—when so much blood had been shed, and so much suffering borne, it was only a little fraction of the Hellenic race who obtained independence. Three hundred thousand Hellenes gave up their lives, in order that six hundred thousand might be free.\* We have had to wait fifty years more to see another scrap—a very small one—of Hellenic soil, liberated by the will of Europe. God knows how long the Hellenes who still are slaves will have to wait before the hour of deliverance strikes. Perhaps I should have expressed myself better by saying, how long the alien tribes, which have immigrated into the Balkan peninsula and are striving to make themselves a way to the

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\* Herzberg, *Geschichte Griechenlands*, IV. 590.

shores of the Greek sea, will be tolerated in their efforts to defraud Hellas of her rights.

The people who blame the War of Independence for having been premature are fond of saying that if the Hellenes had only been content to go on living quietly under the Turks, they would have ended by becoming gradually more and more powerful both in the administration and in the Government, that their superior intelligence, education, and adroitness would have enabled them peacefully to take the places of their masters, while they would at the same time have preserved and confirmed their moral and political supremacy over all the other races which inhabit the Turkish Empire. By such means, argue these thinkers, the Hellenes, by stepping gently and imperceptibly into the shoes of the Turks upon the one side, and uniting themselves with all other sorts and conditions of Christians, upon the other, would have been enabled, by sheer force of time and events, to raise again upon the shores of the Bosphoros that Christian Empire which was felled by Mahomet II.

These dreamers forget that when the Hellenes took up arms, they proclaimed their indestructible rights, and not their own rights only, but the rights of every race which the Osmanli had enslaved. These dreamers forget that if the Hellenes had not claimed and won those rights, these same Hellenes themselves, and all the other Christians in the Turkish Empire, and all the other peoples in it, and the Turks themselves along with them, would have been very likely to have fallen one solid prey to Another Conqueror—Another Conqueror, whom Turkey's constantly growing weakness must necessarily have invited to come in at last, and to take all,—a Conqueror, strong and civilized,—a Conqueror, within whose mighty Empire Hellas would have run much chance of losing the very consciousness of her nationality, as she must have lost even the dream of independence.

And even if that had not been so, to what depths of degradation would the Greek race have sunk had they refused to the ancestral blood which filled their veins the honoured task of washing out the stains of slavery? If they had thrown

themselves solely upon their intellectual acumen and trusted to nothing but to the power of their superiority in cabal and intrigue to enable them to restore the Byzantine Empire? Half a century has passed by now since the War of Independence, and yet that long lapse of time has not been long enough to remove all the stains which the degradation of Turkish slavery have left upon the character of our race. No, a people who voluntarily keep their chains around them are a people who are not worthy to be free. The second birth of Hellas was a thing which could not if it ought, and ought not, even if it could, have been the work of Christians disguised as Pashas. It was not and is not the destiny of Hellenism to effect a reconstruction of the old Greco-Roman Empire. It was right that Hellenic independence should be won, as it was won, sword in hand and at a great cost. Some people say that that cost was too great. If so it be, so much the greater ought to be the gratitude of posterity towards those who did not grudge the price. It is owing to them that Hellas has once more taken her name and place among the nations, with the light of a new morning beginning to glow round her head.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΒΙΚΕΑΑΣ.

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ART. VII.—JULIUS WOLFF.

**W**E live in an age of contrasts so sharply opposed to one another, that it would seem difficult, if not impossible, to imagine them contemporaneous. Intellect and feeling are as if arrayed in hostile ranks; and while the one, raising the standard of science, presses forward into worlds unknown, denying and rejecting much of what former times revered and bequeathed as a sacred legacy to the present day, in her eagerness to grasp at the heritage of the future; the other, equally negligent of the present, turns with a passionate fondness to the past, and evokes all its shadowy forms and outward signs to repeople the world of fancy. Perhaps it is because re-action is a necessary law in the intellectual as well as in the



moral world, that the same generation which has witnessed the marvellous discoveries whereby time and space, and all so-called natural conditions may be set at nought, has also seen the revival of the Arthurian legends in our literature, a reproduction of Queen Anne's furniture in our houses, and Kate Greenaway dresses for our children.

The same tendency is observable among our Teutonic cousins; equally fervid in the pursuit of knowledge, and pushing science and investigation to the furthest limits, they have at the same time, with no less tenderness, reverted to all that was old-German, and a new school of poets has appeared, under whose potent spell the vague shadowy legends of old have re-assumed form and substance for whoso will read them.

Julius Wolff, one of the most eminent of these writers, was born on September 16th, 1834, at Quedlinburg, in an old-fashioned gable-roofed house, full of nooks and corners, such as he loves to describe in his works, and surrounded by the wild romantic scenery of the Hartz mountains, which we likewise meet with in his poetry. His father was the owner of a large cloth-factory in the town, and here Julius, after a happy student-life in Berlin, was for a time employed. His surroundings, however, were entirely uncongenial to his nature, though the opposition which all his attempts at literary pursuits met with from his friends and relations, was so strong that, for a time, he was obliged to yield to it, and only indulge secretly in what was his real vocation.

In 1869 he commenced his literary career by founding the *Harzer Zeitung*, but when the Franco-German war broke out, he joined the army, where he gained the Iron Cross. In 1871 appeared his first volume of poetry *Kriegslieder* (war-songs). His next attempt was more ambitious — *Till Eulenspiegel ridivivus*, for which he had some difficulty in finding a publisher, till the firm of Meyer in Detmold spontaneously offered to bring it before the public. It quickly won popularity for the writer, by the harmony and ease of the verses, the lively exuberant fancy, interwoven with a genuinely patriotic feeling.

Even more successful was his second work, *Der Rattenfänger* (Ratcatcher) *von Hameln*, which has since been brought on the

stage in various forms with success. The subject is identical with that of Robert Browning's humorous poem, but the treatment is entirely different, for, except in the Mayor's description, at the Town Council, of the daily sufferings caused by the swarms of rats and mice, a pathetic, and we might almost say, tragical element pervades Wolff's poem. The ratcatcher himself, with his mysterious power of fascination over human beings as well as animals, has nothing of the ludicrous character of the 'Pied Piper of Hameln,' but might almost be termed a German version of the classical myth of Orpheus. The double love-story with its fatal interweaving is sweet and touching, and the little songs scattered throughout the work have a spontaneousness which recalls the warbling of birds.

For the sake of those of our readers to whom the German original is closed, we give an attempt at translations of some of these songs, which, however inadequate, are kept as close as possible to the meaning, metre and feeling of Wolff's poetry.

' Ruddy ringlets has my love,  
As any fox so red,  
And teeth as white as ivory,  
And lynx-eyes in her head.

Her cheeks are like the rose's leaf,  
Her lips like any cherry ;  
And when my love awakes from sleep,  
She steps erect and merry.

A roguish imp lurks in her wit,  
Her chin can boast a dimple,  
Her little heart is pure as gold,  
Her mind is good and simple.

Her speech and laughter like a bell,  
And like a lark's her singing,  
And she can curtesy and can dance,  
And rival cricket's springing.

And how she loves me ! gracious heavens !  
She knows what loving hight ;  
And when she kisses,—by my faith !  
I fancy she doth bite !

But more of her you shall not learn,  
Though you ask the live-long day,  
For aye my eyes would soon scratch out  
If I should more betray !'

The life of the never-staying, ever-wandering ratcatcher is well expressed in the following :

' The shoes must be cobbled, the purse be filled up,  
God bless thee, thou kind roof-tree !  
Farewell, dear comrades, that with me sup,  
From slander keep me free.  
And weep not at parting, ye maidens all,  
I blow the feather over the wall,  
Whether crooked or straight it flies,  
There my way lies !

They stuck in my jacket a scented spray,  
And filled up my glass once more ;  
Then forth from the portal, I wandered away  
Like a stranger sent from the door.  
And back to the towers I looked from the bridge,  
While all the birds whistled from hedge and from ridge :  
" Ever onward, wanderer, now !  
Why lingerest thou ? "

I marched o'er the heather and over the moor,  
Where the wind so cold did roam ;  
It sang in the rushes, and madly did roar  
When I reached the forest's gloam.  
The trees were all swaying and creaking and bending,  
And whispering and sighing and rattling and rending,  
And the brook did foam and flee :  
" Follow me ! follow me ! "

Then I came to the clattering mill in its play,  
And I thought : Thou'lt turn in there  
And under the bench thy bundle thou'lt lay,  
And greet with a silent prayer.  
The mill-stone thou'lt hurl in the waters deep,  
For if they bear that, thy weight they will keep ;  
But the mill-wheel pursued its play :  
" Turn away ! turn away ! "

I have strolled about in the wide, wide land,  
And wandered now there, now here,

But all the good luck that came to my hand  
 Would not fill my knapsack, I fear.  
 The flowers by the way, and the stars in the sky,  
 The latter so distant, the first dead and dry ;  
 And alone, my heart, art thou,  
 Who thinks of thee now !'

The little scene where Hunold Linguf, the ratcatcher, goes into the forest to snare birds, and holds converse with them, each after its kind, is full of innocent fun, and delight in the feathered creation. We translate the introduction :

' To the woods he went full often,  
 Under every tree stood listening,  
 For the wise and learned singer  
 Understood the songsters' language.  
 On the Basbergs leafy summit,  
 By permission of the Council,  
 He had made a bird-decoy ;  
 Thither climbed he every morning,  
 Sat and watched, and lured and whistled,  
 For his friends and boon companions  
 Were the little singing birds  
 In the guild of Nature's singers.  
 And the little merry-makers  
 In the woods were also wanderers  
 Who, like to himself, the outlaw,  
 Careless built their tiny houses  
 Where from hail and rain and snow-storm  
 They could find a sheltering corner.  
 By their names he knew each songster,  
 By their flight and by their voices.  
 When, in places which they haunted,  
 He perceived a painted feather,  
 Then he stooped, and placed it safely  
 In his high and pointed bonnet,  
 Certain from which downy pinion  
 Or which plumed tail it had fallen.'

The close of the poem, which relates the revenge taken by the ratcatcher on the townspeople, whose malignant suspicions have robbed him of his true love, Gertrude, has a deeper meaning in it than Browning's poem suggests. We catch in it an echo of the feeling so deeply implanted in the Teutonic

nature: "He prayeth best who loveth best—all things both great and small":

' It was Sunday ; in the Minster's  
Lofty vaults the congregation  
Was assembled ; in the pulpit  
Stood the Minster's noblest preacher.

And love's spirit softly floated  
Through the lofty temple's transept.  
But, without, in all the highways,  
Passed the Evil one, and scattered  
Tares and weeds among the corn ;  
While, within, in sacred twilight,  
With bent heads, before the Unseen  
Kneeled the congregation praying.

Hunold through the streets of Hameln  
Walked resplendent in the daylight,  
And upon his pipe he whistled  
An enchanting melody.  
What, or whom, by this his music  
Sought he to beguile ? Of vermin  
None were left in all the city ;  
Safe in church were all the burghers ;  
None save children in the houses.  
But the children heard ; came running  
Joyous shouting, to the doorways,  
Recognising from a distance  
Their beloved Piper's whistling.  
Great their joy when they beheld him,  
Their dear friend, whose life in danger  
Yesterday had moved their young hearts  
Tremblingly to pray in secret.

Ah ! they knew too well that longer  
He could never stay in Hameln,  
And to-day, perhaps, was playing,  
In farewell, their favourite ditty,  
Which had never sounded sweeter.  
Yes, indeed, it was entrancing !  
Calling them to games and dances,  
Tempting them to song and laughter.  
And he nodded to them kindly,  
Looking in their bright sweet faces

With such deep and tender feeling  
 That resistless him they followed,  
 Him, their gay bedizened darling,  
 Through the city to the gate.

What a picture ! First the piper,  
 Gaily dressed, and decorated  
 Rich with chains, with wondrous girdle  
 Hung with merry bells all tinkling.  
 At his heels the crowd of children,  
 Boys and girls and toddling babies,  
 Clad in rich or scanty clothing.  
 While the elder ones went gliding  
 With their feet to keep the measure ;  
 Timidly the smaller children  
 Tried to follow in their footsteps.  
 Many, tripping, fell, or stumbled,  
 Rose again, and on they followed,  
 Laughing at their own mischances.  
 And the crowd grew ever thicker,  
 While still sounded sweet the ditty  
 From the reed-pipe of the Piper.  
 And through all the streets and byeways  
 Pressed the throng, and neared the gateway.  
 Will they pass it ? Will the children  
 Cross the threshold of the city ?  
 But their Hunold smiled and beckoned,  
 Singing now the while he fiddled.

When the song was fairly ended,  
 He began again to sing it ;  
 And the children's eyes beamed brightly,  
 And their cheeks were crimson roses,  
 And they whispered, and they listened,  
 As they gladly followed Hunold.

Now the Koppel rose before them,  
 And their little hearts beat higher,  
 As the mountain opened widely,  
 Showing them mysterious twilight,  
 And a path which led within it.

Hunold ever went before them,  
 Piped and beckoned them still onward ;  
 And the children followed closely.  
 When, of all the crowd, the latest  
 Vanished in the gloomy precincts,

Then the mountain closed its cavern—  
 Over grass and stones and brushwood  
 Shrill the autumn wind did whistle.

From the service in the minster  
 Home returned the Hameln burghers,  
 There to find their empty houses.  
 Void of rats and void of mice,  
 Void, too, of the darling children !

The note of regret at missing even the familiar rustling of mouse and rat, not to be wholly suppressed in the midst of the terrible loss which had befallen the town, is very significant. The character-drawing in the little drama is most masterly ; the sweet womanliness of the wealthy burgomaster's daughter and the heroic devoted love of Gertrud, who saves the life of the lover whom she believes to be faithless, are charming traits.

To a later volume of poems, Wolff gave the name of *Linguf Rattenfänger's Lieder* (Linguf the Ratcatcher's songs), thus connecting them with this work, as if they were the compositions of its hero. In them he has managed to portray the life of a wandering minstrel of the mediæval times, in which his fancy by preference loves to dwell, and these songs may be characterised as historic lyrics, a style in which he has rarely, if ever, been surpassed.

Nature, in all its most attractive aspects, has also found a ready interpreter in Wolff. All the scenery of the Harz mountains is reflected in his next work, founded on a legend native to them. *Der wilde Jaeger, ein Waidmannsmär* (The Wild Huntsman, a woodland story), which was published in 1872, is perhaps the most perfect in form of all Wolff's works, and contains a description of the approach of Spring, which is one of the finest in German poetry.

' So sings the Storm, and hearing  
 All beings feel its power,  
 Like life-inspiring music,  
 Flooding the spring-tide hour ;  
 " And who thus strikes our buckler !  
 Who wakes us in the night ?  
 And who will dare the battle  
 With the tyrants armed might ?

Is this the hour of triumph  
 For our long-oppressed race ?  
 Then thy lofty brow, oh saviour,  
 The verdant crown shall grace !  
 With courage high thou breakest  
 A pathway through the wood,  
 While we with inward forces,  
 In serried ranks have stood."

So thoughts of revolution,  
 Freedom, and hope arise ;  
 So comes the swaying and surging,  
 Under the stormy skies.  
 For strong bands must be broken,  
 And many an iron chain ;  
 Throughout the land rise joyful  
 Who in fetters long have lain.  
 It ferments and stirs in the woodland,  
 Through the branches high and low,  
 While to the ground the fir trees  
 Shake the burden of the snow.  
 The pines with their rustling needles,  
 They bend and moan in the blast,  
 The juniper and the yew-tree,  
 And the larch's boughs wide-cast.  
 And down the bark so rugged  
 It flows like living sap,  
 Hangs wet on every branchlet,  
 And where the twigs o'erlap.  
 While under the larches and bushes  
 The rime melts from the ground,  
 And glittering drops are shining  
 On the dead leaves strewn around.

And thus, in a few days' compass,  
 The Winter is conquered quite,  
 And melted and broken and vanished  
 Is all his princely might.  
 The glistening coronet slideth  
 From his ageing forehead down ;  
 His silver armour is riven,  
 His icy sceptre and crown.  
 Yes, broken is the sceptre  
 Which sealed all living things,  
 And the white and crystal mirror  
 Is swept from the water-springs.



Though rags of his ermine mantle  
Still hang the steeps upon,  
The clasp and crown of diamonds,  
The veil and laces are gone.

Up springs the erst frozen fountain,  
The brook foams white again,  
And wave on wave leaps swiftly  
From the mountain to the plain.  
Brimful the streams roll threatening  
Through all the trembling land,  
And bear the grating ice-floes  
Down to the ocean strand.

Misty it is and gloomy  
In the woods and forests weird ;  
And there a secret whispering,  
A growing and sprouting is heard.  
Through the earth are striving and piercing  
The roots with their fibres long ;  
In the air a boding and longing  
Is heard in the birds' new song.  
But stay ! oh leaves and blossoms,  
List to the North-wind's blast !  
For Winter returns in anger,  
His season is not yet past !  
To the tender buds and burgeons ,  
He brings but death and woe,  
He rattles with sleet and hail-stones,  
And blinds with drifting snow.  
Again in the Frost King's fetters  
Are bound the foaming brooks,  
And clothed with a snow-white mantle  
The grass that scarce up-looks.  
And renewed is the struggle  
Again, as man to man,  
With strokes of keenest falchion,  
And din in the battle's van.  
Spring conquers in the daytime,  
And Winter in the night ;  
He from defeat has risen  
With undiminished might.  
Again he comes low-creeping,  
Lies broad upon the fields,  
Before him the younger hero  
Retreats and all but yields.

Then Spring renews his forces,  
 And, with overpowering might,  
 From his usurpèd kingdom  
 Drives Winter in headlong flight  
 For, before Spring's rushing battalions,  
 With banner and shining spear ;  
 Before the sunny army  
 Winter recedes in fear.  
 Battered and torn, his vassals  
 Are scattered to left and right,  
 And high aloft the Springtime  
 Sits enthronèd in his might !'

None but a true poet could have succeeded in blending the weird and ghastly legend of the Wild Huntsman, known to us already in a slightly different form through Bürger's poem, with the gentle idyll of the loves of the huntsman, Ludolf, and the woodland maiden, Waldtraut. Side by side with a mysterious dread of the unseen, and the horror of Woden's spectre-host, only visible to eyes that are soon to close in death, we find a love and sympathy for all living creatures pervading this poem, which the writer has dedicated to the home of his childhood. It is a delicate touch, that not only the maiden who has passed all her life in the forest among them is drawn into ties of affection for flowers and birds and all denizens of the forest, so that she is moved by pity to free the trapped fox, but even the wild Count Hackelberend is softened at times by the unswerving fidelity of horse and hound. Their mute appeal almost checks his sacrilegious hand when about to draw the fatal arrow against the crucifix ; and, in the solitude of his dying hours, his revengeful hatred gives place for a moment to a gentler feeling of regret for the life that is passing, as his dog creeps nearer to him in the silence of the deserted room, and licks his hand.

' Still he lay, as if he slumbered,  
 When upon his hand, all sudden,  
 Felt he something warm and humid.  
 It was Willi, his hand licking,  
 Standing near him by the bedside.  
 A broad heavy paw the staghound

Held out to the Count, who caught it,  
 Like the hand of trusted friend.  
 For the dog's sad look was touching,  
 Mute he gazed upon his master  
 With a look of grief and questioning.  
 "Faithful dog!" said Hackelberend,  
 My companion dear and trusty!  
 Speak then! speak! What would'st be saying?  
 We must part, for where I'm going  
 Thee I cannot with me carry;  
 And we three, we never more shall—  
 Thou, and I, and Wunsch—go hunting  
 Through the woods in wind and weather,  
 Where thou'st oft so gaily bounded,  
 Following the noble stag!  
 Now comes another sportsman,  
 The grim old hunter Death;  
 Aims so truly, never missing,  
 Hunts and drives me in the darkness!  
 Farewell, Willi! Thou hast truly  
 By me stood in faithful friendship  
 'Gainst both bear and wolf and wild-boar.  
 Once again shalt thou be with me,  
 On the last long ride of all!  
 But it will be slow and mournful—  
 Greet me Wunsch! greet Wunsch, my Willi!"  
 And he leant his face, caressing,  
 On the rough-haired staghound's head.'

While this poem has for its subject the wild paganism of the Germanic nation conquered by the strength of Christianity, and at the same time the might of the oppressed peasantry rising against the tyranny of the knightly class, so the next poem, *Tannhäuser*, a *Minnesang*, shows the beauty and grace of the Middle Ages. Love and chivalry, the splendour and pomp of the Crusades, tournaments and Courts of Love, Venice, Rome, and Byzantium, the strife between Guelf and Ghibelline, are here depicted with a glow of life and colour which makes them live again in our colder and more prosaic age; while the songs scattered through it show the lyric power of the writer undiminished. We give one example of these lighter verses:

'I for thee a rose have broken,  
 From the branch bedewed;

And in secret to it spoken,  
Whispering subdued.

Deep within its calyx resteth  
Sweet a timid word,  
And a hundred red leaves cluster,  
Lest it should be heard.

To thy sweet lips press it closely,  
Imitating me ;  
Thou may'st sip the dew-drops sweetly,  
Scented so for thee.

With affection's tender greeting,  
Thee I leave, though fain ;  
Roses fade, and hearts are silent !  
Hope to meet again ! '

'Tannhäuser' might be called a chivalrous romance, and consists of twenty-six short cantos, the varying metres of which show what an adept its author is in the reproduction of the old ballad and heroic verse of Germany. The story itself is borrowed from various legends of the Middle Ages. Following the example of Wagner in his well-known opera, the half-mythical 'Minnesänger, Heinrich von Oterdingen,' is identified with Tannhäuser, and an additional and loftier interest is bestowed on his personality by ascribing to him the authorship of the great national epos, the 'Nibelungenlied.' His life is characterised by brilliance and mystery, from his first appearance in the hermitage in the forest, through all the changing fortunes in his career as novice in a monastery, knight-errant, crusader and minstrel, captive in the Venusberg, penitent pilgrim, seeking absolution from the Pope, to his final expiation of all his errors by the composition of his great work, which was to live after his own disappearance from among his fellow-men. The keynote to this phantasmagoria lies in Tannhäuser's pursuit of the true and ideal Love, which exposes him to the deceptions and affectations of *minne*, for which he stands as a champion in the *Sänger Krieg* in the Wartburg against Wolfram von Eschenbach, who defends *religion*.

Among the scenes of such a varied panorama, it is difficult

to select such as best display the writer's genius and power. The wild woodland life of Heinrich's early years is charmingly sketched in a few lines of regret at having to bid it farewell :

' Where are ye now, ye reveries proud  
Which promised such a kingdom bright,  
And, like the fir-tree's slender spires,  
Pointed the way to heavenly light ?  
Were ye mere pictures, 'mid the changes  
Of clouds which faintest breath can tear ?  
Fading like tender buds of spring-time,  
Killed by the night-frost's fatal air ?  
Ah ! in your stead what must he cherish  
Who dreamed of you the live-long day ?  
His visions, too, showed him a heaven,—  
Another heaven—another way !—  
*This was not what he oft had pictured*  
Crowned with a starry circlet bright ;  
The glory which his heart had tempted  
Was not a gleam of saintly light !  
Away from the sweet notes of spring-time,  
From sunshine and the breath of flowers,  
To be immured in gloomy cloisters,  
And pass 'mid tombs the weary hours !"  
Instead of striking joyous harp-strings,  
And roaming blithely everywhere,  
Heinrich must bear the Cross's burden  
And in the church low kneel in prayer !  
But every drop of blood within him  
Rebelled against such dreary fate ;  
If here you dam the mountain streamlet  
It breaks through stone another gate.  
' The way is open !—wolves can gallop  
Free through the woods ! What holds me here ?  
Away ! and who the stag would capture,  
With skin and bones, must know no fear.—  
Halt ! must I flee and flee for ever,  
Hunted and driven on and on ?  
I'm bound by hand-clasp and by promise—  
The time to change my lot is gone !  
So be it then, and not a murmur  
Shall more be heard. Oh ! woodland green !  
What now I hide within my bosom  
In fiery flames may yet be seen !'

The same note of sylvan freedom is still more fully developed in the strolling band of players, with their leader, Spervogel :

‘ “ Here I drink, with all the honours,  
 To our guild ! which, free as air,  
 Lives and wanders on the highway,  
 Has nor home nor carking care !  
 Nought but warm blood in its heart-veins,  
 Life and spirit in full flow ;  
 All that's best in song and music  
 Be greeted, loved, and honoured now !  
 And so, gleemen, who can sing here ? ”—  
 Ha ! what tuning and what strumming  
 Of a hundred instruments  
 Sounding, clashing all together—  
 While the hats and caps were flying—  
 Hands and heads were stretched out quickly—  
 Fiddle-bows were gaily sweeping  
 Through the air, and each man shouted,  
 “ I can sing ! and I ! and I here !  
 Merry ballads, modern love-songs,  
 Here a wine-song, there a roundel,  
 Here a chorus, there a chant !  
 Harpers sang in our old country  
 Long before the knights had learnt !  
 Master fiddler, do but hear me ! ”  
 “ No, hear me ! I know the finest ! ”  
 “ But 'tis I that know the newest ! ”—  
 “ Softly, children ! ” cried the master,  
 “ All must come in proper order,  
 And then none will come too short ! ”

‘ Then began a merry singing,  
 Unembarrassed, never tiring ;  
 First the one and then the other  
 Was by name called by the master,  
 That with songs it fairly sparkled ;  
 But the best he sang himself.’

More serious is the sketch of the anarchy in the German Empire consequent on the strife for the Imperial Crown :

‘ Still ever-wandered, with fire encompassed  
 Tempest and cloud through the German land ;

And serried helmets, in fierce defiance,  
Looked o'er the shields of each hostile band.  
The armies fought in the princes' battles,  
Whom bishops denied the sacrament ;  
Hither and thither rode the swift envoys  
With many a red-sealed document.  
And past the silent vacant throne  
Strode ten sad years with their iron sway,  
And still for the sake of the emperor's crown  
The strife of the kings pursued its way.  
Hie Philip ! Hie Otto ! Hie Hohenstaufen !  
Hie Guelf ! was ever the battle-word,  
And gold and promises easily purchased  
The priestly rank, or the knightly sword.  
But Rome was steadfast ; in troubled waters  
Fishing, and playing her false, false game ;  
Banning and blessing one side and the other,  
The rule of the world was her ultimate aim.'

The most effective scene in all the poem is that in the Wartburg, and we much regret not to be able to give more than Tannhäuser's concluding song, by which Wolfram von Eschenbach is doubly conquered, yielding to Tannhäuser the crown of merit, adjudged at first to himself, and his friendship in place of rivalry.

' On bluest wavelets carried, lonely upon its way,  
A noble swan so snowy came from the South one day ;  
For it had heard a rumour of a royal eagle's might,  
And had hastened hither swiftly to conquer the eagle in its flight.

They spread aloft their pinions in the clear morning air,  
Death was the conflict's forfeit and Life its guerdon fair ;  
Circle they wheeled on circle, with wings so white and brown,  
Till from the daring essay with drooping wings the swan sank down.

But ere its eyes had closed, ere to life it said farewell,  
Its voice once more resounded—"Now hear my last death-knell !  
You may not now deny me, full soon ye hear me not !"  
So they listened to his singing as the dying swan bewailed his lot.

"Farewell, O pure, pure breezes ! O foaming rushing sea !  
Farewell, O flowery perfumes ! Now all is lost for me !  
Farewell, my gallant charger ! my harp of lovely sound !  
Thou sword, so true in battle !—So trusty none was found !

“ For one alone I sorrow that I must now depart,  
 For her I leave my greeting, this last song from my heart.  
 To all the winds I cry it ! I loved her more than all,  
 She knows my heart from childhood ; before her eyes I choose to fall.

“ But plant upon my grave-mound only one rosetree sweet,  
 Dame Minne wove my pinions, and Honour, as 'tis meet ;  
 And now I wait the death stroke, I ask for nothing more.  
 Farewell, thou sweet existence ! thou makest for me the parting sore ! ”

The epilogue to the whole is no less majestic and beautiful, but still more difficult to render justice to in a translation. We quote the last verse only :

‘ The singer’s is the happiest, the richest lot, I trow ;  
 He gives a lofty form and shape to what his heart doth know,  
 He conjures hell and heaven with his enchanter’s rod,  
 And with the shades he pictured he silently departs to rest in God ! ’

It is not surprising that a poet of Julius Wolff’s especial tendency should have chosen the graceful myth of *Lurlei* as the next subject for his verse. More surprising is it in reality that none have been earlier tempted to treat it *in extenso* as he has done, since Clemens Brentano in his *Wunderhorn*, and Heine by his gem-like song, made it a traditional treasure. Wonderfully poetical and passionate and romantic is Wolff’s rendering of the legend, and though in statuesque purity, and loveliness, and perhaps pathos, it falls short of Fouqués *Undine* (with the story of which it has much in common), there is greater force and local colouring in ‘*Lurlei*’ than in our old favourite, which nothing can displace from our hearts ! *Lurlei*, like *Undine*, is brought up by a fisherman and his wife, who, however, carefully conceal from the world that she is not their own child, and there is only a faint glimmering of the awakening of her human soul when her lover, the Count Lothair, is false to her even before the marriage which was to separate her forever from her mysterious kinsfolk beneath the waters of the Rhine.

Maddened by her disappointment, *Lurlei* vows the destruction of all men whom, by her beauty and wondrous siren songs, she can entice to the terrible precipice of the *Lurlei* rock, or lull



into fatal security while passing the dangerous whirlpool below. The tragic power which forces her not even to spare her foster-brother Heinrich, whose true and loyal devotion had alone, among her many lovers, touched her heart to some response, is well described. Where there is failure, it is rather in the supernatural scene of the Pix's palace under the waters. In spite of fairy-like description, there is a prosaic tinge in it when compared with the overmastering passion and force of the more human scenes.

The dreamy undulation of the waters around the boat seems to re-echo in the flow of the verse in these lines :

' On the precipice has faded  
From the rocks the roseate glow—  
Cool breathes the shining river  
As zephyrs o'er it blow.  
And every tiny ripple  
Reflects the pearly shine,  
So that in radiant brightness  
Flows the hill-encircled Rhine.  
From bank to far bank stretches  
The path of the waters wide,  
And over its mirrored calmness  
The lonely boat doth glide.  
The slow waves swing and rock it  
Softly now here, now there,  
And beat and lisp and gurgle,  
And at the inmates stare,  
Who float on the stream, and speechless  
Gaze in each other's face ;  
A maiden with hair all golden,  
And a youth of strength and grace.  
They care not to hasten their journey,  
It is enough to float ;  
They have even lifted the rudder  
Into the little boat,  
And let it drift on slowly,  
And twist and turn like a vane,  
If only they stay together  
Now they have met again.'

The whole character and spirit of the Rhine landscape, its smiling plenty and light-hearted gaiety, is charmingly given in a description further on :

' Through the verdant landscape passing,  
 From vale to mountain clothed in vine,  
 Man's short life in speed surpassing,  
 Day and night flows on the Rhine.

Rolling waves on waves together  
 Reach each other fellow-hands,  
 Time and water, road companions,  
 Linked in never broken bands.

And swiftly storms and whirls and rushes  
 The current through ravines and dells,  
 Still forward, ever forward striving  
 In waterfalls or silent swells.

So full and lavishly it floweth,  
 It never stops, nor halts, nor fails ;  
 The giant's strength still greater groweth  
 In passing through the fruitful vales.

Within its depths sandriffs are hiding,  
 And cliffs uprear their foam-beat ledge,  
 Past which a thousand barks are riding,  
 From Alpine lake to ocean's edge.

They glide along past banks and shallows,  
 Where sheltering trees the wind's force broke,  
 Their pennants move like fluttering swallows  
 To the strong oarsmen's steady stroke.

They oft must turn and twist and wander  
 Through troubles, dangers, and alarms,  
 Till, from among the rocks' meander,  
 They reach St. Goar from Bingen's arms.

Now to the left and now to right  
 They wend between the narrow banks,  
 Where th' Seven Virgins clothed in light,  
 And dangerous rocks stand round in ranks.'

We subjoin a little ballad, a specimen of the many which  
 the book contains :

' There were two neighbours' children  
 Whose secret love unnamed  
 They never told each other,  
 Though their hearts with passion flamed.

None spoke of the heavy burden  
 That made their hearts so sad,  
 Until, for love and sorrow,  
 Their thoughts grew wild and mad.

He at last thought to wander  
With the pain he bore for her sake ;  
And she to find a shelter  
In the depths of her native lake.

The path he followed led him  
To where she stood on the strand,  
He stayed his rapid footsteps  
And took her trembling hand.

“ Why standest thou here by the water,  
And gazest so forlorn ? ”  
“ And thou, then, whither goest thou  
So early in the dawn ? ”

“ Far, far away I'm going,  
For there's one who loves me not,  
And my poor heart now is breaking  
To think of my lonely lot.”

“ And here I will seek my cradle,  
Because one says me nay ;  
I cannot live without him  
E'en for a single day.”

“ Tell me, who is the caitiff  
Who dares to show thee scorn ? ”  
“ First tell me who's the coy one  
Who drives thee forth forlorn ? ”

“ She stands with pallid features  
By the deep water's brim.”  
“ And he, with gloomy aspect,  
Will cross that mountain dim.”

Their loving looks encounter—  
No death for lorn love's sake !  
He went not o'er the mountain,  
Nor she into the lake ! ’

Besides the works we have been considering, so eminently poetical in form and character, Wolff has proved himself a successful writer in other branches of imaginative literature. His dramatic attempts have not perhaps added to his fame, but his prose romances would alone have gained him distinction, even if he had not already been renowned when the first of them was published in 1881. *Der Sulfmeister, eine alte Stadtgeschichte*, preserves all the best qualities necessary to the historical novel. Truthful local colouring, careful study of the past,

with a skilfully interwoven plot by which the interest is never suffered to flag, are combined with humour, grace and pathos in the characters and situations, while the heaviness too often inseparable from similar productions is never once perceived. The rich burgher-life of Mediæval Germany (the scene is Lüneburg and the time 1454) has seldom been more attractively rendered than in these pages, and while we are spared long paragraphs of description and weighty digression, we still feel transported back through the intervening centuries, and recognise the charm of a simpler age than ours, when the guilds of the various trades had laws and rights of their own, and industry, commerce, and modern politics were yet in their cradles. The skill with which our author has succeeded in reproducing the language and style of the times without falling into the defect of strangeness and forced expressions, is worthy of the greatest praise. We quote a description in the opening chapter as a proof that the poet has by no means taken leave of poetry, though his thoughts are no longer expressed in rhyme and measure :

‘The young apprentice, who called the heath his home, looked delightedly around, while his heart beat joyfully. For what he saw here had been familiar and dear to him from his childhood. He knew the heath when it was all covered with red blossoms where the bees hummed, while the larks sang above ; he knew it in foggy, grey November, when it lay gloomy and misty, sad and dreary, like a wide uncultivated field ; or when the rain beat on it, and the wind howled over it ; and he knew it, too, in its dazzling white robe of winter snow, when the last tree on the horizon showed clear and sharp for miles through the transparent frosty air. This plain, on which nothing was to be seen but sky and heath melting one into the other in the silvery immeasurable distance, and the peculiar beauty and quiet charm of which seemed unmarked by his indifferent companion, had imprinted itself in all its silent grandeur so deeply in the heart of the one who had been born here, that he would never forget it. Even when he gazed at the reflection of the magnificent banks in the broad current of the Rhine, he involuntarily thought of the little pools of water in the black peaty soil of the Lüneburger Heath, hardly large enough to mirror a little cloud, or a few glittering stars. And now he saw it again, this brown heath, and his foot trod the uneven ground and the numberless little hillocks with the ragged tufts of grass, and he was on his way back to his dear ones, who did not as yet expect him, and to embrace whom was now his most fervent wish.

No wonder that he strode along so quickly, and inhaled so eagerly the fragrant earthy smell which rose from his native heath after the spring showers. And still more rose from the ground before him. A thousand memories were rooted for him here among the heather, thickly sown with the happy days of his childhood, when he rambled through the country with his companions, guiding the drivers, or visiting the bee-masters who travelled over the heath with their hives, letting the busy swarms feed now here, now there, on the abundant flowers. And then, like a shadowy picture in the air, the old many-towered town rose before his mind, and in it the high-gabled house of his father, with each room, from top to bottom, where he saw himself, a child with children, running and jumping, or crouching together in some mysterious corner beneath the staircase, planning secrets, whispering and laughing—a golden, shining, fairy time!

And there!—far before him some living beings appeared—they came nearer, he could see them plainly, dearly loved forms come to meet him. He knew them well, his tall serious father, and his mother, his dear mother, his brothers and the fair-haired sister—oh! he could have rushed to meet them with outstretched arms and a cry of joy had he been alone, alone on the endless heath!

They were the household spirits who welcomed the wanderer; the wonderful power of returning home from the strange world, which took such possession of him that his heart was quite full of it here upon the heath!

‘The heath stood in full flower. In all its endless extent it lay stretched in shining beauty, and the colours played and changed in the wonderful light. The tender pink of each separate tiny blossom in the miles of bush on bush and flower on flower, blended into one equal mass of gay rose colour, which grew darker the farther it receded, and gradually became a purple line. Then, half imperceptibly, a bluish shade passed over the shining sea, penetrating it more and more till it softly melted into a deep violet that became darker and darker till it was lost, at length, in the farthest distance, in perfect blackness.

They who were doomed to part could still see each other. Sometimes Hildegund leant one hand on the horse’s crupper and looked back at the beloved wanderer, whose figure grew smaller and smaller as he strode through the blooming landscape. But the wider the dividing space became, and the darker the back ground, the more difficult was it for her to discern Gilbrecht’s retreating form, paler and paler in the distance. More than once she lost sight of him; then she reined in her horse, and sought to penetrate the distance. He reappeared once more, not yet taken from her, but drawn back again into a visible existence by her longing gaze. But was that slowly-moving figure, hardly to be distinguished as moving, that uncertain wandering point, really her handsome young bridegroom, her fair-haired Gilbrecht? Oh, yes, she saw him striding along with firm step,

his knapsack on his shoulders, and stick in hand, with the hat, all wreathed with green, on his curly head. In her heart she saw him thus, though no longer with her eyes. He had vanished entirely in the sunny distance of the endless flowery heath.'

Between these two descriptions lies the tale, less passionate and poetical than those in metrical form, but penetrated by the manly vigour and honest sterling virtue of Gilbrecht's father, the Sülzmeister, Gotthard Henneberg, the true hero of the book. The hardy burgher-patriot in strife with the encroaching power of Rome and foes within his native walls, the true and loyal champion, who, for love of law and order spares not even his own son, is represented in Henneberg. The changeful fortunes of three pairs of lovers—and we might count four, for there are no less—are interwoven with the stirring events of the story. The humorous element is abundantly supplied by the scenes with 'Daniel in the lion's den'; the soubriquet given by the wits of the town to the abode of a very hen-pecked shoemaker, to whom one of the two apprentices introduced in the opening scene is bound. 'Timmo's' unscrupulous audacity and transcendent impudence, by which he works his way, first to the domination of the shrewish Gesche, his master's wife, and finally through hairbreadth escapes to a position of importance in the town, fairly win our laughing sympathy, and as far as we know, he is a perfectly original creation of our author, and a character most felicitously imagined and depicted. We give one scene, when, having discovered his master's secret intention of getting himself elected as Town-councillor, he endeavours to increase his own importance in Gesche's eyes, by a revelation intended to lead her completely wrong. We must, however, premise that the especial humour of these scenes can hardly be done justice to in a single example, which is moreover abbreviated for lack of space.

'Gesche, who believed that she knew every corner of her husband's heart, and ruled him entirely, was enraged because, in this case, she could make nothing out of him, and she finally concluded that his secret must be very dangerous, and possibly concern herself nearly. Timmo pretended to know nothing, and Gesche revenged herself for his and Daniel's

obstinate silence by attempting starvation—that is to say, she gave them something to eat, but neither plentifully nor of the best. Timmo soon grew tired of this, and determined to reconcile his mistress by a mendacious confession, and, at the same time, revenge himself for the bad treatment he had been experiencing.

‘So, during one of Daniel’s absences, when Gesche once more commenced an attack on his silence, Timmo pretended to be sitting on thorns, and then, rocking himself backwards and forwards on his stool, he rubbed his shins with both hands, scratched first his elbows, and then his head, and cast a despairing look at his mistress, and an anxious one at Hans.

‘Gesche noticed these manœuvres, and, guessing them to be the struggling preparations for a complete confession, called to Hans :

“‘Hans, prythee run to Mistress Lina Langepepe, in Wall Dyers’ Street” (which lay at the opposite end of the town), “greet her with my love, and ask how it fares to-day with her and her infant.”

‘Hans looked at his mistress as much as to say, “Oh, how he will take you in !” and disappeared.

“‘There !” exclaimed Gesche, approaching her chair to the very edge of the window-dais, “now the coast is clear. Speak !”

“‘Mistress,” began Timmo, again scratching his head, “it is a very ticklish thing. I scarce know whether I ought to tell you, or how.”

“‘Nonsense. Go on !” said Gesche encouragingly.

“‘Well, mistress, if you would but swear to me——”

“‘Yes, yes, yes !” cried Gesche, “anything ! But go on !”

“‘Well, then, this is it—that is, I think not that they will manage it. I really cannot believe that they will carry it through against you, against their wives. But the Legate has verily promised——” and with this Timmo sighed, and gazed compassionately at his mistress.

“‘Who ? What ? How carry it through ? What has the Legate promised ?” shouted Gesche.

“‘Well, mistress, ’tis not so easy to tell you such a thing to your face !” said Timmo. “But the masters of the guilds, I know not whether all, but certainly some of them, have given their word to the Legate that they will vote against the Council, if he will get from the Pope permission for them—mistress—be not vexed ; I cannot help it.”

‘Gesche stamped her feet.

“‘For them——?”

“‘To take a second wife—a younger one. Oh, mistress ! calm yourself. Calm yourself, mistress !”

‘But his mistress was quite calm as yet. She needed time to understand. Then she began to tremble, her face twitched violently, and she played and drummed with her fingers in her lap before she spoke a word. Suddenly she burst out into a shrill laugh ; then, hoarsely and spasmodically, as if breath failed her, she uttered the words :

“‘So that is why—he refused to tell me ! This, indeed, concerns me

nearly! He wants another wife? A young one! Well, let her come, let her only come!" and she raised her clenched fists.

"Oh, mistress! calm yourself!" begged Timmo, "It cannot be settled so soon!"

'There must have been a low tone of suppressed laughter in Timmo's words, for Gesche suddenly cast a vicious look at him, and then, distorting her wide mouth, she ground her teeth, and hissed,

"Listen, fellow! It will go hard with you if——"

"Mistress," said Timmo, with offended pride, "I can but say what I heard, and if Master Daniel has already chosen another wife, pretty and young, of which I am not assured——"

"I would not advise him to do it!" exclaimed Gesche, and her voice sounded like the grating of a wheel on granite.

'Just then the door opened, and Daniel's voice was heard outside.

"Step in, dear Mistress Florentina, step in," it said, "my wife is probably within."

"Oh, yes, she is," came from the window; "thy wife sits here! Beg the dear young mistress to come in."

"Oh, I thought thou wert out, dear wife," said Daniel, hesitatingly, as he led Florentina into the room.

"No, dear husband, I am here as you see," replied Gesche, with a voice that sounded like the sharpening of a knife, and she sat with angry eyes, like a cat ready to spring.

'Florentina bid the mistress good day, and received in return a curtsy, behind which lurked half-a-dozen notes of interrogation.

'When they had left the room again Gesche could no longer contain herself, she sprang up panting—

"So that was she, his future second wife, whom he means to bring into my house! I defy him to do it!"

"Mistress, I pray you be quiet," begged Timmo.

"Nonsense!" she cried. "I must have it out, else I shall choke!"

'When Daniel returned, she planted herself before him, and began in a menacing tone—

"I know all. Thy whole secret!"

"Indeed? thou knowest it?" asked Daniel, quite astonished. "From Timmo?"

"Yes, from Timmo."

"Mistress," remonstrated Timmo.

"Be silent," cried Gesche.

"Well," asked Daniel, quite pleased, "and what dost thou say to it?"

"What do I say to it?"

"Yes! Art thou not glad?"

'Gesche was dumbfounded.

"Courage, Gesche. Thou wilt see! But make a friendly face. It is an honour for thee also."



"An honour for me! Hear him, ye saints above!"  
 "But it pleases me not that Timmo told thee!"  
 "Really not?"  
 "No, I wished to surprise thee."  
 "Daniel," cried Gesche, lifting her hand, "if thou wouldst ride the wooden ass in the market-place, say so; thou canst have the necessary beating at once!"  
 "But, Gesche," remonstrated Daniel, "how canst thou say that to me? a future councillor—"  
 "A future — what?"  
 "Councillor! yes, yes, a future councillor."  
 "All ye saints, aid me! He is getting more and more mad!" cried Gesche, wringing her hands.  
 "I thought Timmo had told thee that I was to be made councillor, that is my whole secret," explained Daniel.  
 "Now the house will fall," thought Timmo, and rushed out of the room like the wind.  
 'The husband and wife make it up and later Timmo again appears on the scene.  
 'Timmo did not return that afternoon. But towards nightfall he presented himself at the time he knew Daniel would be out.  
 "Good evening, mistress," he began, with perfect ease, as if nothing had happened.  
 'Gesche did not reply, pretending not to see him.  
 "Mistress, do you know where I came from?" Timmo went on after a pause.  
 "I care not," cried Gesche, savagely. "For my part, you may return whence you came."  
 "But I have avenged you, mistress! I have given those who told me about the master and his second wife a good beating. It was shameful to lie so, was it not mistress?"  
 "Shameful, yes!" said Gesche, and not a word more would she utter.  
 That evening all was very quiet in the lion's den; and the night fell, the last night before the day which was to decide the fate of the town and of its noble council.'

In his next prose romance, *Der Raubgraf* (The Robber Count), we find again more of the passion of Wolff's poetry. The scene is laid in the vicinity of his native town of Friedlinburg, and the historical framework of the story is taken from its annals. The wild marauding life of the nobles in the Middle Ages, their incessant feuds with one another and with the pretensions of the clergy, as here delineated, have not entirely stifled a gentler ideal of life and character even in the

Robber Count himself. His most attractive personality, with all its manly courage and capacity for love and self-sacrifice, explains the irresistible affection with which he inspires women of such very different natures as the two heroines, and leads to the sad complication of his own fate. We give an extract from the interview between him and the haughty Countess Jutta, canoness of a secular sisterhood, of which he was the legal defender and protector in those troubled times. That such a position should foster the growth of a tenderer feeling between two kindred natures (Jutta is bound by no vow of celibacy) was but natural, and for a time Count Albrecht looks forward to leading the beautiful high-born lady to his own rock-girt fortress of Regenstein as its mistress. While yet wavering in uncertainty of his own heart, chance throws him into frequent companionship with Oda von Falkenstein, an essentially feminine nature, who speedily captivates him more entirely. How he manfully endeavours to repress the first dawn of this feeling, and sacrifice his own to what he believes to be her and his brother's happiness, furnishes the principal plot of the story, which we will not further divulge. Count Albrecht is keeping Oda a prisoner in his castle, and thereby excites the jealousy of the Abbess Jutta, who extorts from him the avowal that he hopes to make Oda the wife of his brother Siegfried. In her relief at hearing this:

“ Ah ! ” she exclaimed, and the sigh came from the very bottom of her heart, while a happy smile passed across her lips. But she tried to command her feelings ; to conceal as far as possible the reason of her former anxiety and present joyous relief. He must have noticed that nothing but jealousy had inspired her with such keen mockery. But the Count, she thought, was too generous to show that he had remarked it. Or had he nothing new to learn ? That was not impossible ; she had not always been quite master of her feelings in his presence, and they had perhaps been too often betrayed by her rash lips and the expression of her eyes. But if he knew what she was unable to hide, why did he make no use of his knowledge ? Could the love of such a woman as herself neither flatter nor make him happy ? And yet, in her proud beauty, she felt worthy of the splendid hero, and they were a pair which might fitly be compared to Siegfried the Dragon-killer and Brunhild von Isenland.

‘ At least, after what had just passed, she would preserve the appearance of feminine reserve, that she might not have to confess openly that she

had gone too far and forgotten herself. So she summoned up all her strength of mind, and said :

“ Pardon me, Count Albrecht ! Had I known your wish and hope for a union between the Countess Oda and your brother, I should at once have understood your acts and approved of them. But the Countess was to be confided to my care as a member of the sisterhood, and it was therefore my duty as abbess to expect and further her arrival here. The case is now different, and we must agree on what is to be done.”

“ If you, like me, had brothers, Domina, or if you knew my brother Siegfried,—” began the Count.

“ Oh, I know him well ! ” interrupted the Abbess, as she reseated herself and invited her visitor to do the same.

“ You have seen him occasionally, but you do not know him as I do, who wish that such happiness and joy may fall to his fair head and brave heart as—as I have never been able to attain, and perhaps never can. You know well that during the last years of my dear father’s life, the cares of the family lay on my shoulders ; he sent me now hither, now thither, to consultations and treaties ; my careless youth was cut short, for my head was so full of serious things that my heart could never assert, and still less gain, its rights. And now that I am master in the land, all the care and anxiety of holding what we have lies upon me, the eldest of the six Regensteiners. When have I ever rest or peace ? I am driven from one feud to another ; I must wake and watch like a sentinel on a tower, with enemies and dangers all around ; I must be always armed, always on my guard, always in the saddle, thinking and acting for all, now interfering by word, and now by my sword, and never able to rest or dream. And yet I would not have it otherwise, for I love this life ! I will be a knight and cavalier, helping others when I can, and where I set my foot there I will stand ! Now can you understand that I would risk any enmity in order to make my brother happy ? ”

‘ Jutta never turned her eyes away from his face, drinking in every word he said, and a peaceful happy feeling came over her. So that was the key to his silence, his hesitation !—he had no time to love ! It seemed to her that he said all this to comfort her, as if silently to beg her to be patient with him. And she would be patient ; she would never again vex him by her longing and violence, but sweeten and reward the burden and unrest of his hard life by her redoubled consideration and friendliness. She would faithfully cling to him with quiet patient love, until better days allowed him to think of his own happiness.

‘ When Count Albrecht had ended, Jutta remained silent a while, responding to his last question only by a bend of her head, but now she looked at him thankfully, for had he not at last revealed to her a part of his inner thought ? Then she inquired, with sincere sympathy, whether there were any prospect that his hopes would soon be realized.

‘ Count Albrecht shrugged his shoulders. “ It is that which makes me

anxious," he replied. "The young Countess is so tender, shy and timid, that, while she wins all hearts, she keeps within due limits all who would approach her too rashly."

"Timidity, modesty that won all hearts? Did he purposely say that to her, the bold and passionate woman?"

"Is the Countess really so exceptionally beautiful as Florentius says?" she asked, with a lip that already began to curl.

"I should scarcely call her really beautiful, the pale lily," the Count answered, smiling; "but over her whole being is spread such a sweet loveliness, such an inimitable grace, like morning dew and flower-bloom, and her every movement, her voice, and the frank earnest expression of her blue eyes are so charming, that one is compelled to quiet worship."

Jutta listened to this description with growing displeasure. The evil spirit which had before raged within her and had scarcely been laid to rest, again beat palpably at her heart. Only he thus depicts a girl who!—oh, he has no time to love!

"But are you convinced, Count Albrecht," she asked, "that they love one another?"

"There can be no doubt of the true love of my brother," he replied, "and he never wearies of mutely confessing and proving it by knightly service in all chastity and honour. But as yet I have seen no sign of her love for him."

"Then she loves another?"

The question escaped Jutta's lips in violent haste, and she looked sharply at the Count.

"I do not know, Domina," said Albrecht, "and I hope not," he added gravely.

"She is your prisoner, Count Albrecht," said the Abbess, "will you force her to be your brother's wife even if—even should you notice that she loves another?"

"How can you ask such a question, Domina?" exclaimed the Count, "force the dear sweet maiden against her will, against the pure inclination of her heart! Never! But reflect; true love lies hidden like gold in the mine, and grows slowly like an oak, when it is worthy of enduring for life."

"How know you that?" asked Jutta in surprise.

Albrecht was silent. He was struck by the question, and almost afraid of his own words.

"Count Albrecht! give me the Countess! She is as safe with me as with you."

Jutta again said this in such a hurried and masterful tone, and looked at him with such a peculiar, half-anxious, half-menacing glance, that the Count felt doubtful of her intention.

He slowly shook his head and said, decidedly and thoughtfully,

"No, gracious lady!"

"I will keep and cherish her as your brother's betrothed bride," said

Jutta. "I will favour her above all others, and fulfil her every wish. Come here with your brother as often as you will. You shall be welcome on any day and at any hour, and Siegfried shall see Oda without witnesses. They shall speak to each other as confidentially and freely as we do now, and no listener shall hear what passes from mouth to mouth, from heart to heart."

"The Count shook his head.

"In this way Count Hoyer's wish would be fulfilled, and you could treat with him in all peace and friendship, if your brother wooed her here," persisted Jutta. "Thus the Bishop would be deprived of all pretext for interfering; and all that I can do, Count Albrecht, so that Oda's lands may fall to your noble house as her dowry shall be done. I will give my princely word to the Count and the Bishop, and even strive for this before the Emperor at the Imperial Diet."

"Jutta's cheeks were flushed by her zeal, her breath was hurried, and in her voice trembled an increased excitement.

"I thank you, Domina," replied the Count, "but your trouble would be in vain. The quarrel must be fought out with sword and lance, and in that way I hope the sooner to reach my goal."

"Jutta looked at him with displeasure and evidently repressed an outburst of anger. She bit her lip and impatiently sought for words.

"Reflect on one thing, Count," she said, once more falling into a tone of bitterness. "Is it fitting that the maiden should remain alone among you men at Regenstein? Here with us women is the proper place for a modest, well-born, and deserted gentlewoman. What can you say against this?"

"She has her waiting-woman with her," replied Albrecht.

"Her waiting-woman? Indeed! What a mighty protection for her honour!" mocked Jutta. "And that contents the noble lady? With that her tenderness and touching modesty is satisfied? Well, that is really touching! But I should have thought that a Countess of Falkenstein would have had more reserve and good feeling than to prefer to remain in a lonely castle among unmarried knights, protected by soldiers and vassals, against I know not what—against robbery and attack, or undesired disturbance!"

"Who tells you, Domina!" thundered Albrecht, rising from his seat, "that she *prefers* to remain in the lonely castle, which draws upon itself, on her account, both enemies and quarrels?"

"She does not prefer?" cried Jutta, rising also. "Ah!—so you keep her by force, Count, not only out of compassion? only out of love to your brother, so that he may win the rich bride? Oh, how I envy that brother his ready helper and purveyor! Do not roll your eyes. You have but little to reply. My reasons are exhausted, and you have none, at least none that will hold good. Therefore I say to you, give me the Countess! Let your brother, for whose sake alone you keep Oda so safe and fast, sue

for her favour *here* ; and if you will not, then permit me to think what I like !”

‘ Count Albrecht clenched his teeth ; a vivid flush rose to his face.

“ For my part think what you like,” he said, roughly, “ and I shall do what I like ; if that does not please you, Domina, I cannot help it. You shall not have the Countess Oda ! And so, fare you well till you are in a better humour !”

‘ He left the room with ringing steps, mounted his horse in the castle-yard, and rode off to Gersdorf.’

It is worthy of remark how persistently the anti-clerical tendencies of the author reveal themselves in all his works. The situation of the hero’s most strenuous efforts to save the heroine from life in a cloister occurs in each of his three romances.

Very different from *Der Raubgraf*, where the course of true love never did run smooth, is Wolff’s last work (1887) *Das Recht der Hagestolze* (The Bachelor’s Law, the story of a marriage in the Necker valley), where all is touched in lighter colours, and with a gayer spirit.

Whether intentionally or not on the author’s part, this work might almost be regarded as a pendant to the preceding one, with comedy in the place of tragedy. The scene is still laid in the Middle Ages, but the romantic and pathetic elements are in abeyance, and the plot, though slight, is lively and full of interest, and might be adapted for the stage with excellent dramatic effect. There is abundance of picturesque description and good character-drawing. Especially the figure of the hero, Hans Landshaden, in his honest manliness, and blundering simplicity, is inimitable. The subject of the story is furnished by the endeavours to elude the law by which, in the Middle Ages, the estates of an unmarried man, dying after the age of 52, reverted to the feudal sovereign instead of remaining in the family of the possessor. Such a danger, unsuspected by himself, threatens Hans, a confirmed bachelor with a horror of matrimony and especially of mothers-in-law, and the friendly intrigues of his brothers, aided of course by their respective wives, to secure his wedded bliss, the warding off of rivals, and the successful manoeuvres of a lively niece and a jovial Abbot, maintain the humour and interest of the story unabated

to the last page. The weakest touch in the whole picture is, to our thinking, the disguised Jewish maiden, Josephine, whose unrequited passion for Ernst, Hans's nephew, the second hero of the book, leads her to complicate the plot further by her treacherous endeavours to cross the boy-and-girl love-story of Ernst and Richilde, which is closely interwoven with that of the principal hero and heroine. If the introduction of such a character was necessary for the development of the plot, we should have preferred her to be more interesting in herself so as to enlist more of our sympathy in her loveless fate. As it is, she serves as a foil to the group of high-born ladies in the Minneburg, all destined in the end for sunshine and happiness in the good old fashion, 'so they married and lived happily all their days.' As a specimen of the general tone of the book, we give a scene of Hans' courtship of the lady of his love by the cession of a deed of mortgage which had long been a bone of contention between the families.

Sidonia, his niece, has accompanied Hans on his way to his lady-love, and tries to get out of her uncle the real object of his visit, at which she only guesses.

"Uncle Hans," began Sidonia, "were you not formerly on very friendly terms with Juliana?"

"Certainly," replied Hans, "why do you ask?"

"Oh, I should be so glad if the old kind feeling could be restored!"

"That entirely depends upon Juliana," he said, "and to-day will show whether she be inclined to a reconciliation."

"Indeed, to-day?—Have you any hope?"

"Who can tell, Sidonia! You know her well; she allows no one to see into her heart."

"At least but seldom. Sometimes I manage it. She trusts me very much. So you, too, wish to be good friends again?"

"Decidedly!" he quietly answered. "What I can do to that end, shall be done; but if this," and he put his hand on the pocket which held the mortgage, "cannot do it, it will be a difficult affair."

Sidonia waited to see whether her uncle would betray what kind of talisman it was that should rekindle the extinguished flames of friendship; but as he said nothing more, she was too cautious to ask. After a little time she began again.

"Juliana lives as lonely a life in her castle, Uncle Hans, as you in yours. I could not bear such solitude long."

"What has one horses in the stable for?" he retorted, laughingly.

“That is all very well, if parting did not come after meeting; the separation from one another!”

“That only heightens the pleasure of a visit, and fans one’s longing.”

“So you do sometimes long for her?” asked Sidonia with a smile.

“For whom?” he inquired, startled.

“Whom are we speaking of? I thought of Juliana?”

“I was not thinking of her when I talked of parting and meeting again,” he replied, with some embarrassment, “I was thinking—for example, of your father, and other good friends.”

“Aha!” exclaimed Sidonia, “but are you not glad to think of seeing Juliana again to-day?”

“If only she will not treat me to the same sauce as last time!” he replied, sighing.

“Oh, you are sure to be welcome with what you have in your pocket,” suggested Sidonia.

“You mean the mortgage?” he said, without thinking, “Yes, I hope so too.”

When the two had ridden for some time in solemn silence, Sidonia asked,

“How will you give her the deed, Uncle Hans?”

“I was just considering,” he answered, “for you must know, Sidonia, that we mean to give her the wood back without demanding a penny in return; the whole debt is cancelled.”

“Ah, that is good!” cried Sidonia. Naturally, she thought the two thousand gulden was Uncle Bigger’s wedding-present. “But,” she added aloud, “you must be very careful; you must let it out gradually, else the right effect will be missed.”

“Do you think so? Well, how should it be done?” he inquired.

“I will tell you what, Uncle Hans. No one can see us here in the wood; let us rehearse the scene. I represent Juliana; you bring me the important news, and, from question and answer, we shall see how the matter will turn out, so that afterwards you may be prepared for everything.”

“A capital proposal, Sidonia!” cried Hans, “we will do so.”

They rode deeper into the wood under the trees. Hans dismounted, lifted Sidonia like a child from her saddle, and then tied the horses to a young birch tree.

“There!” she said, “this mossy stone shall be Juliana’s chair; in it I sit as mistress of the Minneburg, and graciously listen to your message.”

She sat down, and imitated, as well as she could, the bearing and expression of the lady whose part she was to play, while Hans stood opposite, reflecting on his introduction.

“Now, don’t stand there like a penitent,” cried Sidonia, laughingly. “You bring me something. Speak!”

Hans cleared his throat, bowed profoundly, and began.

“Noble Lady! we have considered your reply, brought to us yesterday by the beautiful and amiable Sidonia——”



“Stop! Stop!” she interrupted, “no woman likes to hear a man call another beautiful and amiable, however much it may be true. So begin again, and leave that out.”

“Noble Lady,” Hans repeated, “we have duly considered the reply brought to us by Sidonia in your name, and to my great regret, I must tell you that we three brothers have decided to refuse what you propose altogether.”

“Very good, very good,” said Sidonia in an undertone. And then, imitating to the life Juliana’s voice and manner, she said, sharply and haughtily, “I regret it too, Junker Hans, and am only amazed that you undertook the disagreeable errand, and were bold enough to bring yourself such unpleasant news. I must say, Sir, that I should have been better pleased if you had left it to Sidonia to divulge.”

“By my faith!” exclaimed Hans, “that is strong!”

“Yes, you must expect that,” replied Sidonia.

“Dear me, what shall I answer?” he inquired, with a deep sigh.

“You must only smile. Smile, Uncle Hans! Still more; more scornfully! Hold your head up!—so! Now you must say, ‘Will you patiently hear me, noble lady?’”

“Will you patiently hear me, noble lady?” repeated Hans.

“What can you have to say that is worth the trouble of listening to?” said Sidonia, in Juliana’s most contemptuous tone.

“Oh, noble lady,” answered Hans, “did you know what I have in my pocket——”

“No, no! not yet,” interrupted Sidonia, “you must let her wait a little!”

“Well then; so, oh noble lady, Sidonia has told us that, at the bottom of your heart, you care more for our friendship, than ——”

“Stop! for Heaven’s sake! not a word about that!” cried Sidonia. “That would be a fine stumbling-block!”

“Then what shall I say?” asked Hans, discouraged.

“Wait a little!—Say that you had another proposal to make which perhaps might meet with her approbation.”

“Then once again! Oh noble lady, it may be that I have another proposal to make—for which we might hope—to be so happy—as to rejoice—in your acceptance of it.”

“Pretty well. But it must go more smoothly,” said Sidonia, and added, in a different voice, “I will accept no proposals that change the single condition which I have made.”

“But suppose we are content with much less than what you have offered?”

“I will not bargain with you for money!”

“But if we renounce the right of chase?”

“Very good! very good, Uncle Hans!” exclaimed Sidonia. “Now take care! Juliana will grow attentive and rather kinder—‘You will renounce the right of chase? Really? are you in earnest, Junker Hans?’”

“Certainly, noble lady. Not one of us shall in future enter the wood without your permission.”

“Excellent! Now she will look at you with *such* eyes—see, so!”

“Ah!” said Hans, “that is nice!”

“Oh Junker Hans, continued Sidonia, “I will gladly give you permission at any time. And—what did you say about the mortgage?”

“Money must not be spoken of between us, noble lady.”

“How so, Junker Hans?—Now you must take the mortgage out of your pocket,” prompted Sidonia.

“Hans did so, and handing it to her said, “Here Mistress Juliana, I give you back your wood without—without —”

“Without demanding anything but your friendship,” prompted Sidonia.

“But your friendship, Mistress Juliana,” repeated Hans, relieved.

“Junker Hans! Hans! my Hans! how I thank you!” cried Sidonia, who sprang up, threw her arms round the amazed knight and kissed him heartily on the mouth.

“Then she burst into a peal of laughter. “Do you see, it will happen so, it will happen so!” she exclaimed with joy. “And what will you do now? You will hold her fast, quite fast, will you not?”

“Yes, yes; you see I do so.”

“Well, now you can let *me* go,” she said, still laughing and escaping from his arms.

“Not bad,” said Hans, with a chuckle; “that pleases me; if only the trial succeeds.”

“It cannot miss,” Sidonia replied, “if you will only do everything right.”

“Do you know, Sidonia,” Hans observed, “we might, for safety’s sake, repeat the last part, from where I take the mortgage out of my pocket; I believe it did not go smoothly enough.”

“Oh yes, it did, Uncle Hans! For the first time it went *very* smoothly,” she answered. “You will certainly not forget what you have to do. Now, come! In less than an hour we shall be at the place where you must show what you have learned.”

“He took her up in his arms again, to lift her into her saddle. “Another kiss, girl, as payment,” he begged, carrying her on a little. She made no fuss, but offered him her fresh and rosy lips. Then he placed her on her horse, mounted himself, and they merrily rode on their way.”

In due time Hans reaches the Minneburg, and is introduced into the chamber of Mistress Juliana.

“Hans remained standing on the threshold in all his splendour, like a vision. He did not wish to interrupt Sidonia’s greeting, as she flew to Juliana, and cried, “Here we are, Mistress Juliana. Forgive that I did not return yesterday. But to-day we galloped till the sparks flew.”

“Juliana could not reply, so excited was she, but she remarked the rose in Sidonia’s bosom, and looked quietly into the maiden’s face. Then she approached Hans, and said, offering him her hand, “You are welcome, Junker Hans.”

‘He bent forward with such delight beaming in his face ; he pressed her hand so warmly, that a stream of hope flooded her heart. Before he had spoken a word, they were seated, gazing at each other. Sidonia had rapidly whispered a word to Hiltrud and Richilde. “Come ! a message from Ernat ;” and, like startled elves, they all three slipped through the door. Hans and Juliana were alone.

“I see by your countenance, Junker Hans,” began Juliana, “that you bring me peace.”

‘Hans was confused. That was not in the part ; he ought to begin, not she.

“Will you hear me patiently, noble lady,” he said, in order to get into the right track. “To my regret, I must tell you——”

‘It was now Juliana’s turn to be startled by this unpromising beginning ; but in the speaker’s eyes there was such a merry and roguish sparkle, that she interrupted him with a laugh.

“Ah, Junker Hans ! save yourself the trouble of trying to mislead me ! You certainly do not look like one who has to communicate ill news. There, in your pocket, upon which you lay your broad knightly hand so protectingly, is hidden the mortgage. You may as well produce it, for you cannot deny it.”

‘Hans was speechless, and made anything but a wise face at this unexpected attack, for he felt quite dizzy, and, as if it had been stung by a wasp, his hand involuntarily started away from the pocket. Where was now all the delightful prelude and surprise, which, according to the plan prepared, was to be heightened word by word, till it culminated in a brilliant conclusion ? That was all over. He was not in the least prepared for what was now to come, and he had neither the courage nor presence of mind to meet Juliana’s remarkable hit by a clever counterstroke, nor to tease her with artificial hindrances and difficulties until he could triumph over her.

“Mistress Juliana,” he said, “I am completely taken by surprise at your wonderful perspicuity. You have guessed right. Here in my pocket is the mortgage, and I am truly glad that you did not for a moment think that I could come here again, without bringing you the fulfilment of your desire.”

‘And, taking the document from his pocket, he offered it to her with these words, “Here, noble lady ! take your wood back from us.”

‘With an earnest glance, and most blissful confusion, which rejuvenated and embellished her countenance, Juliana took the deed, and offered her hand to her friend, saying briefly but heartily, “I thank you, Junker Hans !”

‘He looked at her with beaming eyes, while his heart beat high in expectation of what would follow. But, as nothing happened, the smile gradually faded from his lips. She did not fall on his neck, as Sidonia had supposed to be the only right thing to do at such a solemn moment.

Instead of that she rose, drew a key from her dress, and said, "Let us settle everything at once, so that the matter may be finally concluded and forgotten."

'She had laid the document on the table, and now went to a coffer and unlocked it.

' "What do you mean, Mistress Juliana?" asked Hans.

'She smiled embarrassed, and answered, "Well, I thought you might be so good as to take it with you—it has been set aside all ready—the two hundred gulden——"

'Hans jumped up.

' "You have mistaken me! The money is not to be mentioned!"

'She looked at him astonished, as if she did not yet understand.

' "What did you say?"

' "The wood is yours, and will remain yours, but not a penny will we take from you in return," he answered decidedly.

'She turned very pale, and stood staring before her without replying.

' "Now take care!" thought Hans. "All will yet be well. Then, hold fast, quite fast, as Sidonia said!"

'But cold and hard came the words from Juliana's lips:

' "I will accept no gift from you."

'Hans grew hot. The vein on his forehead swelled. He hastily caught up the mortgage, and, holding it before him in both hands, cried, with a flushed face and loud voice—

' "Mistress Juliana! I will tear this document into a thousand pieces and throw it at your feet if you say another word about paying or giving. I came here in the joy of my heart, to do what I have long wished, yield the wood to you; and my arm, my sword, and my blood are at your service at any moment; but cursed be the penny that passes from your hand into mine! There," he thundered, casting the document on the table, "there lies the scribble! Send the money if you can do no other, but you will never then see a Landshad again under your roof!"

'He trembled all over, and stood like an angry lion, shaking his tawny mane, with eyes sparkling with anger.

'Juliana had never seen him thus. While he was raging, she gazed at him, as if trying to penetrate to the very bottom of his soul. Then she said,

' "Junker Hans, a short time ago there was a Jew here who prophesied that a long cherished wish of mine would presently be fulfilled. The prophecy has come true. You return me the wood and——"

' "And you will accept it as frankly as I offer it?" he asked with joyful emotion, stretching out both his hands.

' "Yes," she answered firmly.

'They held each others' hands fast, and looked deep into each others' eyes. On his and on her lips hovered a word, perhaps a cry, which was pressing up from their hearts, but—their lips remained dumb. If one of them had but uttered a sound, they would have sunk into each others'

arms. Each expected something from the other which did not come, and the decisive moment passed without the fateful sign.

“Their hands slowly unclasped. Juliana turned away with a suppressed sigh, and closed the coffer. She felt as if her heart closed also.

“Farewell!” Hans murmured, and went to the door. She bent her head, but never moved.

“At the door he turned, and once more looked at her with a sad and hopeless glance, and, as if parting for ever, the strangled words were again uttered—

“Farewell, Juliana!”

“But she could refrain no longer. She almost ran to him, seized his hand, and cried, “Stay!—I must speak to you!”

“She led him to the bay-window, pointed to one of the benches, and seated herself on the other opposite. As they sat so, looking at each other, the most anxious expectation was expressed on Hans’ features, while Juliana, highly excited, could scarcely frame words with which to utter that of which she desired to rid her mind.

“Hans Landshad,” she began at last, “do you still remember what happened here three years ago, between two persons who, as it then seemed, loved each other?”

“I still remember it, Juliana,” he replied, much struck by this introduction; “two persons embraced, who, at that moment, had forgotten what they owed to a third.”

“Yes, it was so,” she said. “But they remembered in time, and parted. You rushed away, and when I recovered my senses, I was grateful to you for doing so. But now I ask you—why did you never come again?”

“I did not wish to be a traitor to that third person.”

“You shame me by your reply,” she said, blushing. “But why did you not come when you could no longer be a traitor to that third person?”

“Because I thought that you hated me, like all of us.”

“You I never hated!” she answered with emotion, and with an earnest look.

“Juliana!” he exclaimed, starting up.

“No, no, remain seated,” she cried, stretching out her hand as if to ward him off. “I have still a third question. Why do you come again now! Why do you return the mortgage without payment? Why do you seek peace and friendship from one whom you did not miss for these long years?”

“If I must be frank,” he replied, with reluctance, “I came at the instigation of my brother Bigger.”

“By your brother’s instigation!” she repeated, with bitter disappointment. “Then not of your own accord? I thank you for your sincerity, Junker Hans!”

“He was greatly embarrassed, and perceived what an awkward and almost insulting answer he had given.

"I only wanted to say," he stammered, "that the proposal about the mortgage came from Bigger; but I came gladly; not, that is, the first time, for I was afraid of you; but to-day I came joyfully, thinking I should please you about the mortgage. See! I put on my best bridle and my best doublet on my horse—no, no, the contrary!"

"Your best bridle! how good you are!" she cried, with a smile. "But if you had not said so," she added, "I would not have believed that your brother Bigger cared for making peace with me, or has he some particular reason for giving up his enmity against me? Tell me that, too."

"I know of none," replied Hans. "You mistake Bigger. He has no enmity against you, and sincerely wishes, as we all do, to live on friendly terms with you."

Juliana reflected a few seconds, examining Hans closely, whether he spoke the truth. Then she said—

"Good! I will come and offer the hand of reconciliation to the ladies, your sisters-in-law Caterina and Agnes."

"You will be highly welcome!" he replied. "But, Juliana—how shall it be with us in future? Is peace and friendship re-established also between us two?"

"Peace? Friendship?" she repeated slowly. "Were we ever at war? Were you my enemy?"

"Never, never, Juliana!" he exclaimed. "But when I came here lately, for the first time after long absence, it seemed to me that we had become much—very much estranged."

"Was that my fault?"

"No! no! I confess it. I deserved what you let me feel. But now—will you forgive me, Juliana? Will you once more grant me your grace and favour?" he asked, rising; and with a beseeching look, he offered her his hand.

"With all my heart!" she replied, in a full warm tone, and gave him her hand, which he held fast.

"You make me happy, Juliana! very happy!" he whispered.

They walked slowly, hand in hand, through the large chamber, but not towards the door, for he led her towards a window. She guessed his intention, stopped half way, and looked at him with a merry roguish expression. She met an ardent fiery gaze which seemed to comprehend her whole person; and she saw how his broad chest rose and fell. How handsome, how heroic, he seemed to her at this moment! She glowed and trembled before the strong man, and involuntarily she stepped back. But he held her hand in both his own, and pressed it first to his heart and then to his lips, with such vehemence that he almost hurt her.

"May I come again, Juliana?" he murmured.

"As often as you like," she whispered, looking at him with beaming eyes.

"Thanks! thanks! farewell! To meet again!"

“To meet again soon, dear friend!”

‘But while they said farewell, they still clasped each other’s outstretched hands, as if those hands could no more part than the beaming glances with which they looked into each others’ eyes. Then Hans tore himself loose and hurried away almost as quickly as he had done three years ago.’

The unravelling of the plot, the manner in which Hans’ real dislike to a wedded life is at last overcome, we leave to the readers of the book to find out.

And so we take our leave of our charming German author, hoping that he may yet enrich the literature of his Fatherland with many poetical legends and romances, such as it has been our pleasant task to bring to the notice of English readers. The lines with which he concludes his noble ‘*Tannhäuser*,’ and which we have cited on another page, naturally recur to our minds in thinking of his literary achievements, and we trust and believe that these have by no means exhausted his powers, and look forward with confidence to other and perhaps even greater works to come.

EDITH MARGET.

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ART. VIII.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

*GERMANY.*

**THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN.** (Drittes Heft.) 1889.—Professor Hermann Schmidt, of Breslau, has the first place here with a careful study as to the ‘*Bildung und Gehalt des messianischen Bewusstseins Jesu.*’ The questions he raises and discusses under this title are as to when Jesus became conscious of His Messianic character and mission, and what His conception of that character and mission was—what His idea was of Himself, and what idea He had formed of the nature of the ‘kingdom’ He was to establish. Dr. Schmidt admits that the data furnished by the Gospels regarding Christ’s early years and spiritual development are too meagre to set the former point above controversy. The only words of Jesus Himself we have are those addressed to His mother in the Temple, when He was twelve years old, and they are not sufficiently precise to enable us to determine whether or not He then saw clearly before Him the character of His life’s work. They make it clear that He

was conscious of a peculiar relation existing between Himself and God, but they are inadequate to define for us what that consciousness in the mind of Jesus involved. Weiss maintains that they indicate at least a dawning conception of His great mission; while Beyschlag dates this from His baptism. Dr. Schmidt examines the arguments of both writers, and endeavours to educe from the Gospels their testimony as to both questions raised by his paper.—Dr. Julius Köstlin follows with an article on the relations of Church and State in the United States of America, and the light these relations there furnish to help to readjust those in Germany.—Dr. Bredekamp's 'Zur Urgeschichte' comes next. He examines the first eleven chapters of Genesis, and seeks to bring out the evidences these afford as to the date of their composition, and the date of their being wrought up into their present form.—Dr. Gess examines and criticises Professor Häring's views as to the Atonement; and Herr Pfarrer Walther gives an account of the Low-German 'Psalter' printed at Lübeck in 1474.—The books reviewed are A. Köstlin's *Geschichte des Christlichen Gottesdienstes*, and H. Hering's *Helfsbuch zur einföhrung in das liturgische Studium*.

DEUTSCHE RUNDschau (January, February, March).—Each of the three monthly parts opens with instalments of Herr Ossip Schubin's serial 'Boris Lensky.' This is followed, in the first number, by a most interesting series of letters between Theodor Storm and Eduard Mörike. They are sixteen in number and range between 1850 and 1865. The correspondence opens with a letter in which Storm requests Mörike to accept a copy of the 'Sommergeschichten und Lieder,' which he had just published, and, availing himself of the opportunity, gives expression to his admiration for the poet. For various reasons which the letter itself explains, Mörike's answer was not written till nearly three years later; but the friendliness of its tone compensated for the long delay. It closes with a request for some information as to the young writer's 'exterior existence,' with a view to the settlement of a question which had been debated amongst Mörike's friends, of whom some thought that Storm must be a pastor, whilst others judged him to be a doctor. In reply, Storm, who, by the way, was a lawyer, writes an exceedingly interesting autobiographical letter, and from this time a fairly regular correspondence goes on for a couple of years. In '56 there is but one letter, and another in '59, both from Storm to Mörike. The interesting fragment of correspondence and of literary history closes in June 1865 with Mörike's feeling answer to a letter in which Storm had informed him of the death of his wife.—The



next item is the conclusion of the essay which Herr Gustav Cohn devotes to a sketch of the life of Lord Shaftesbury, and which, as we have already indicated, is founded on well known English works.—As the signature of Herr Hermann Grimm which is appended to it shows, the next contribution appeals chiefly to students of art. The title promises nothing more than an account of Rudolf Stang's engraving of Leonardo da Vinci's 'Last Supper.' But, Professor Grimm is too great an admirer of the Italian master to allow the opportunity to escape him, and what he in reality gives the reader is a history of the master-piece which Morghen's reproduction has made so familiar. But, though probably but few of those who know the 'Last Supper' from engravings only are aware of the fact, the fresco itself has long been practically destroyed, and the work of copying it from the fragments still visible on the wall of the bare, damp, miserable room which, after having been used as a refectory by the monks of Santa Maria, was turned into a stable by the French, is not much less difficult than that of reproducing an antediluvian monster from a rib, a tooth and a toe. In consequence of this, even Morghen's masterly engraving did not give complete satisfaction with regard to all the details. This led Rudolf Stang to attempt the arduous task of sketching what has really ceased to exist. The changes which he has introduced and the reason for them are duly set forth, but, it must suffice to state that the result is such as to lead so competent a critic as Professor Grimm to express the opinion that the original has now been reproduced as nearly as it is possible to be.—A paper on 'Common Fallacies;' a review of the second volume of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg Gotha's reminiscences, and a short sketch of the working of the Prussian Admiralty complete the first number.—In the next part, Herr Heinrich Brugsch contributes a very valuable dissertation on the gold, silver, and copper currency of the ancients. It is full of interesting information, of which, however, the practical utility, to the English reader at least, is necessarily diminished by the author's use of the German decimal system.—In an article which he entitles 'Der Kampf ums Mittelmeer,' Major Otto Wachs sets forth the importance of Biserta in the struggle which he considers inevitable between France and Italy, and he more than hints his belief that the important question as to which of them shall command the Mediterranean is not likely to be settled without the intervention of German arms.—Professor Hermann Grimm again appears in this number, but this time it is, so to speak, only with a personal matter he has to deal. Some months back he wrote a paper in which he advocated a wider and more thorough study of the

German language in the Gymnasiums. In reply, a Berlin teacher pointed out that the vernacular was ill-suited for the purpose of teaching accuracy of thought and expression, and adduced some two and twenty passages from the Professor's own paper in proof of the 'ungebundenheit,' or, not to put too fine a point upon it, the slovenliness of even the best German writers. As might be expected, Herr Grimm has not allowed the matter to pass without a word of protest. But he is not content with merely defending himself. He returns to the attack, and goes the length of asserting that Latin is not only inferior to German in educational value, but is practically useless to all but professional philologists.—In the March number, Herr Philip Spitta devotes a lengthy paper to the first opera of Faust. It is not, however, that composed by Spohr in 1813, but one of which the librettist was Heinrich Schmierer. The interesting part is that this Schmierer had the coolness to appropriate, for what he calls his 'original' opera, whole passages from Goethe's early Faust fragment, and that the plagiarism does not appear to have been detected.—An unsigned article entitled 'Das russische Interregnum vom Jahre, 1825,' throws light on an obscure period of Russian history.—In a short but thoughtful and suggestive paper—'Realismus oder Pessimismus'—Herr Hausrath protests against the notion that realism need in any way exclude beauty from art.—In addition to this, there is an article entitled 'Die Entwicklung der modernen Pilzforschung,' another of which the late Crown-Prince Rudolph is the subject, and a review of Lady Blennerhasset's biography of Madame de Staël.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (January, February, March).—With a fourth instalment Baron von Roberts brings his powerful and dramatic novel, 'Die schöne Helena,' to a close.—This is followed by a short essay in which Herr Thomas Achelis gives an 'analysis of the essential ideas' of Herr von Hartmann's 'Philosophy of the Unknown.' Apart from its value as a philosophical study, the article will be acceptable to many because of the few biographical details which it contains. Of these it will be sufficient to mention one or two. Eduard von Hartmann was born in Berlin on the 23rd of February, 1842. His father was an artillery officer, and he himself early chose the same career. Before long, however, an incurable disease of the knee having unfitted him for the duties of his profession, he was obliged to retire. This was in 1864. He then devoted himself to painting and to music, but abandoned them both after having satisfied himself that, in spite of his decided taste in that direction, he could not hope to produce anything markedly original in either art. He next gave himself up to philosophical

study, of which the first results were published in the form of short essays. Shortly after, however, he produced the work which has won for him a high place among the thinkers of our time. It may be added that a very striking portrait of Hartmann accompanies Herr Achelis's essay.—Two descriptive articles are devoted respectively to Aquileia and to the environs of Saint Petersburg. The former of them is but a few pages long; the later not only takes up a goodly space in the first number, but is also continued in the second. It is profusely illustrated.—In this part we may further mention a short paper in which Herr Franz von Löher indicates the sources from which the history of civilization in the early part of the Middle Ages is to be drawn; and another in which Freiherr von Mansberg traces the rise and decline of embroidery during the same epoch.—In the February part biography is well represented by an article in which Herr Ludwig Pietsch sketches the career of the painter Franz Defregger, some of whose Tyrolean pictures are almost as familiar in this country as in his own. Two excellent double-page engravings accompany the paper.—A most amusing and not uninteresting contribution is that in which Herr Hennicke shows the influence of telegraphy on language. In the first place he indicates the new words and expressions with which it has enriched the language of all countries, and in this connection he points out how differently the process has been carried out in German, English, and French. From its nature German has lent itself most easily to the formation of compounds, and is able to use one word where English requires two or three, as for example, 'Doppelnadeltelegraph,' of which the equivalent is 'double needle instrument.' It might, however, have been fair to add that, though there are three English to one German word, in this particular case, there is only the difference of one letter. French being analytical and not synthetical, is necessarily long-winded in its expressions and is obliged to say, for instance, 'perte du courant à la terre,' where German has merely to use 'Erdschluss.' This facility which the Germans possess of heaping words together in one huge compound is not altogether to the advantage of the language, and Herr Hennicke gives an amusing list of monstrosities which the telegraph has called forth. One specimen will suffice, 'Horizontalriemenbetriebsevakuationspumpe.' The author also brings together some interesting examples of the devices used for compressing telegrams into as few words as possible, and the following sample of a polyglot message is curious enough to be quoted: 'Emperor's daughter Ausfahrt enthusiastic cheers, false Paul Mecklenburg Catholic, further false France Russia threatened Pforte Kriegs-

fall if English convention ratified, if not, dann zunächst alles beim alten, Germany remains abwartend; Lapaix shows Leerheit all German Anklagen about Liga; dicitur Autriche fera invitations.' The mistakes which the substitution of one letter for another occasionally produces are, of course, not forgotten, and not the least ludicrous of those quoted is that which, a few years ago, made the *Times* announce that Lady Kennedy had presented her husband with twins. It happened, however, that Sir Arthur was a bachelor, and the whole mistake had arisen from the transmission of 'Governor Queensland twins first son,' instead of 'Governor Queensland turns first sod.'—An article which will also be read with great interest is that which Herr Scholz devotes to the Russian writer Dostójewski. Although his works are becoming known amongst us, the details of his career are not familiar, and yet, they are as striking as any of his novels, which indeed, are to a large extent autobiographical. His 'Reminiscences of the House of the Dead' are, in fact, nothing but the record of his wretched existence as a State prisoner in Siberia, where he remained five years.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (January, February, March).—The first number opens with a contribution, in which Herr Paul Cauer examines the question of educational reform. The writer declares himself entirely opposed to the scheme which has for its object to establish a uniform curriculum in all secondary schools. One of his objections to it is that by necessarily curtailing the time to be devoted to Latin, in order to find room for more science and for modern languages, it practically renders a classical training impossible. According to his own view, the only way out of the difficulty is to put the gymnasiums, the real gymnasiums, and the oberrealschulen on an equal footing, and to have it open to each to make his own choice.—In the next paper Herr Adolf Michaelis considers the aims and objects of the German archæological institute, a subject of somewhat limited interest.—The lengthy article which Professor Reusch entitles 'Eine Crisis in Jesuitenorden,' is based on Dr. Döllinger's work, 'Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten in der römisch-katholischen Kirche.' Its object is to give a sketch of the controversy which arose between Gonzalez, the General of the Order, and the majority of the members of the Society on points of morality. The author takes occasion to introduce a sketch of the constitution of the Jesuits, as well as of those principles to which, as he says, the name of 'Jesuit morality' is usually given.—The last contribution to the January number is an exposition of the new system of county government in England.—To the February part, Professor Karl Müller contributes a theological article, which he entitles

'Die Symbole des Lutherthums.'—This is followed by a very philosophical essay on Homer and Hellenism.—Herr August Schmarsow contributes an interesting sketch of the life and works of Andrea Pisano.—Another even more purely biographical contribution is that which Herr Adolf Harnack devotes to August Neander. This eminent German historian was born, exactly a hundred years ago, of Jewish parents. While pursuing his studies at the Johanneum College in Hamburg he became a convert to the Christian faith, and assumed the name by which he is known. He subsequently studied at the universities of Halle, Göttingen, and Heidelberg. His great attainments led to his being appointed professor of theology at the last of these. In 1812 he was chosen to fill the chair of theology at the University of Berlin, where he remained until his death. In the same year he published 'The Emperor Julian and his Times,' which established his fame as an ecclesiastical historian. His greatest work, entitled 'Universal History of the Christian Religion and Church,' was given to the world between the years 1825 and 1845, and was comprised in five volumes. In 1835 he produced a reply to Strauss's 'Life of Jesus,' in a work entitled 'The Life of Jesus in its Historical Relations.' Neander died in 1850.—In the last of the three numbers for the quarter, the place of honour is occupied by an article, of which the subject is the old chronicler, Jean Froissart. It is both biographical and literary.—Dr. Gerhart von Schulze-Gaevernitz, who places the recently published novel by Geoffrey Drage, 'Cyril,' by the side of 'Sybil' and 'Coningsby,' has drawn from it 'a programme of English political reform,' which he here sets forth in a long paper.—We have at various times had occasion to direct the attention of our readers to articles, in German reviews, on a subject which has excited considerable interest of late years, the purification of the German language. Numerous societies have been formed for the purpose of promoting what many look upon as the patriotic reform, and excluding foreign, which, of course, means chiefly French words from the language. Some have actually gone so far as to invoke state interference in the matter. The present number of the *Jahrbücher* publishes a protest against any such measure. It bears the signatures of, amongst others, Ernst Curtius, Gustav Freytag, Julius Rodenberg, Paul Heyse, Hans Delbrück, Heinrich von Treitschke, Ernst Hæckel, Rudolf Virchow, and Erich Schmidt.

## ITALY.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE. Jan. 1.—Making large use of Signor G. Canale's book on *Tripoli and Genoa in the Middle*

*Ages*, Signor de Castra gives an interesting account of the 'Colonization of Tripoli by the Genoese.'—The letters from the Orient continued in this number speak, of Jerusalem.—G. Mercalli gives a full account of the recent eruptions in the island of Vulcano, the southernmost of the Lipari Isles, which is about six miles long by two or three wide. Its southern portion is fertile and cultivated, but the northern portion is barren and sandy, and dominated by a vast crater, called the Fossa di Vulcano, which, from time immemorial, has smoked and thundered. The whole island consists indeed of an ancient volcanic crater. The hills are formed of old lava, scoria, pumice-stone and ashes, encircled to the west, south and east, by the present active crater, just as Monte Somma encircles Vesuvius. A squallid valley, which may be compared to the well-known Atrio del Cavallo of Vesuvius, divides the Fossa di Vulcano from the hills, which gently slope to the south towards Cape Bandiera. Here, on that part of the island most distant from the crater, live about 250 souls, scattered in small rural cottages, and occupied in the cultivation of the land. From the time of the Romans sulphur and alum have been taken from the north-east part of the island, and in our century was also found a small quantity of boric. In the desert part of the island only one house, the property of an English company, and inhabited by Mr. Narlian, the director, is found. This gentleman has lately confined his attention to sulphur, as the alum and boric acid did not pay. He also cultivated much of the land around, doing his best to render the soil more fertile, but the recent eruptions have buried half his groves, covered his vineyards with a black coat of cinders and ashes, and considerably damaged the house and factories. When the eruption broke out, Mr. Narlian and his workmen and field-labourers, to the number of 30, fled the spot. On the south of the island no damage was done, and all accounts of the flight of the inhabitants are imaginary. The story of the eruption which commenced on the 2nd of August last and, with a short pause, continued up to last month, is the usual one of intermittent violent outbreaks and more moderate activity; with subterranean thunder and local earthquakes, masses of incandescent material were cast out of the crater to great distances. One mass weighing more than 15 tons was cast to about a mile's distance and buried itself several yards deep in the earth. The explosions were heard forty miles off, and the column of steam and smoke, mixed with ashes, rose in a dark-grey or nearly black cloud to a height of two miles, sometimes emitting flashes of lightning. At night the cloud, illuminated by the mass of boiling lava in the crater, looked like one mass of fire, and from it fell a real rain of fiery stones.

The writer of the article was surprised, while in a narrow ravine on the sides of the crater, by a strong eruption preceded by explosive sounds. He was examining several *fumaroli* or smoke holes, and they suddenly emitted, with a shrill whistling sound, more vapour than usual, while the ground beneath his feet shook. In a few seconds he heard a noise as if masses of rock were being clashed together on the summit of the crater. He and his Liparese companion crouched close to the side of the ravine to escape the stones, which they could hear rolling down the mountain near them, and some of which actually flew over their heads, falling at the base of the crater. Taking up one of the biggest blocks they found it still hot enough to melt a zinc wire, therefore more than 423 degrees centigrade. No liquid lava issued from the craters during the eruptions; some probably found its way to a weak point under water, for once a boatman was nearly wrecked by a sudden agitation of the sea a mile to the east of the island, while pumice stones rose to the surface of the waters. The agitation only extended for about 300 yards, and at the same time there was a strong eruption of the waters with much lightning. The crater of Vulcano was believed, in the Middle Ages, to be one of the mouths of hell, and some 6th century chroniclers gravely state that Theodoric's soul was precipitated therein. From the 15th to the 17th century the recorded eruptions on the island were pretty frequent and strong. During the 18th century the numerous and violent eruptions seem to have exhausted the force of the volcano sufficiently to enable it to remain comparatively quiet for about 25 years, when the island, which had been deserted, was again inhabited. But in 1873 the volcano awoke once more and has since continued active. After July 1887, it was silent for a year, the vent being probably blocked up by some large fragment, which caused the gases to accumulate and led to the violent eruptions of last year, which may be considered as the *continuation* of the eruptive period commenced in 1873. It is probable that the volcano will soon return to relative calm, and there is another fact that will reassure the islanders, which is, that in the history of the eruptions, none has been known to be accompanied by disastrous earthquakes either there or on the neighbouring isles. It really seems that Vulcano and Stromboli are true safety-valves, at least for the regions close to them, and the fact that the islands rise very little above the surface of the sea is also favourable.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE. Feb. 1.—G. Cassani discusses the subject of mutual aid societies in relation to the law of 1886, both in this and in the following number.—R. Corniani continues

his notes of travel in Spain.—The papers on the Soudan and the Mahdi are continued, and in this number give an account of General Gordon in the Soudan, describing the debates in the English Parliament, and the discussion in the papers about the abandonment of the Soudan, and the events that occurred after Gordon's arrival in Khartoum. The writer, Signor Grabriuski, blames Ismail's refusal to agree to Gordon's proposals, describes the General's character, and attributes the responsibility of the catastrophe to the unwise and inexplicable policy of the English Government.—F. Gallo commences a series of realistic scenes of military life, taking for his first group of figures 'Merry Types,' exhibiting them by various anecdotes.—'Letters from the Orient,' and the Venetian Campaign, are continued.—Signor P. della Spina contributes an 'Open Letter' on the Catholic question, addressed to Signor Rendu.—E. Salvadori describes the *Diatessaron* of Tatian discovered among the Vatican parchments, and recently published by P. Crasa.—(Feb. 16).—G. P. Assirelli continues his articles on the Lotto in Italy, and rejoices in the fact that the Operative Societies and Postal Savings bank have, in 1886, saved a sum of 184,559,785 francs from the maw of the Lotto, that being the amount of deposits in the Societies and the Savings bank. He notices the influence which superstition has in increasing the passion for the Lotto, and its baneful effect on the population.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (January 1st).—Here is an article by the poet G. Carducci, written in his usual finished style, entitled 'A Jacobin in formation,' and telling the story of Count Giovanni Fantoni, who amongst other things, published in 1782 some odes dated 'On board the Formidable, by permission of Admiral Rodney,' and dedicated to Catherine of Russia. He published another collection of prose and poetry in 1785, dedicating it to Lord Cowper who was a member of *La Crusca* and lived in Florence.—Professor Zumbini writes a full but brief article on foreign and Italian sepulchral poetry, and the 'Carme' of Foscolo, drawing comparisons between the treatment of such a subject by English, French, German and Italian poets. N. Marselli contributes a most interesting article on punishments and prizes in the army, claiming for the Italian army great progress in a rational system of discipline. He insists on the necessity of using punishments that are not degrading, nor so irritating as to make a soldier who suffers them either an idiot or a savage. He advocates great encouragement of *amour propre* in the officers. After entering at length into the subject in all its branches, the writer concludes by wishing for his country no servile imitation of foreign systems, but a more lively faith in the



forces which regulate and move the world, because the future belongs to those nations which, without being wanting in the necessary number of men, know how to value quality more than quantity.—M. Ferrars discusses telegraphic reform.—E. Pessina writes a brief monograph on Mancini.—F. Cardon gives an account of Stanley in search of Emin Pasha, expressing the admiration of him entertained by the Italians who see in him the man destined to relieve not only Enim, but also their own countryman, Casati.—(Jan. 16th).—Continuing his papers on Florentine history, Professor Villari narrates the facts relating to the progress made by Henry VII. in Italy, pointing out how Dante urged him not to be discouraged but to continue the enterprise, in language which admirably represents the ideas of that period, and proves Dante's exaltation of spirit. He was the first who clearly expressed the new Ghibelline conception which had struck profound roots in the century when a new dawn was rising on mankind.—G. Barzelotti publishes the first part of a review of pessimistic philosophy in Germany, describing its diffusion during 1860 to 1880, and points out the causes of its rapid spread. When in 1848-49, he says, the attempts to gain liberty were frustrated, men of letters and science, artists and students, made Schopenhauer their favorite philosopher, and his philosophy reached the height of popularity in 1870 to 1880, contrasting discordantly with the joy of the whole nation at the late victories.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Feb. 1st).—Professor Zumbini concludes his two papers on the 'Carme' Foscolo, calling it the most beautiful hymn ever chosen to grace the eternal religion of the tomb, and which will live as long as that religion endures.—G. Setti continues his excursion into Magna Grecia, and Professor Villari his discourse on secondary education.—E. Nencione writes a most interesting article on Paul Bourget, describing his new works, in which he finds chapters of admirable delicacy of observation, and exquisite elegance of style.—Professor Emery writes a pleasant article on defensive alliances among plants and ants.—(Feb. 16).—The number opens with a discourse addressed to, and read in the presence of, Queen Margaret, by Professor Carducci, on 'Poetry and Italy during the Fourth Crusade.' He relates the preachings of the Fourth Crusade in France and in Italy at the end of the twelfth century and its commencement in the following year, gives a picture of the assembling of the fleet at Venice, of the assault on Constantinople, of the progress of the Crusade, and points out the potentiality of the poetry which lies in actual events.—J. Moleschott writes on 'Sceptics and Believers

in the Scientific world,' proving that it is doubt which produces discovery and conquest, and that instead of crossing one's arms in despair and asking of what use is all the mass of facts and syllogisms, we must recognise that what we know is infinitely small in comparison with what remains to be known, and, comprehending that the human species is one link in the evolution of the world, be well-furnished against any fear or discouragement, because we know that the universe is an indivisible unity in which the microcosm calling itself man is the mirror of the macro.—As his second type of woman, Professor De Gubernatis takes Countess Helen Potoska, founding his account on Lucien Perry's book, *Historie d'une grande dame au XVII siècle; La Comtesse Hélène Potoska*.—The review of foreign literature occupies itself with Spanish works. The biographical bulletin notices Mr. J. E. H. Rogers' book, 'The Economic Interpretation of History,' giving an account of its scope, and praising its clever research into facts, but affirms that when it enters into the field of theory it is full of errors both evident and serious, so that its severe and sometimes bitter criticism of the classic economists are deprived of all value.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (March 1st).—G. Finali writes an article on the third and fourth volumes of 'Baron Recasolés' Letters and Documents,' including the period from April 1850 to March 1860.—E. Masi concludes his paper on 'Giovannie de Gamerra and the Sentimental Drama,' which is written with the desire of recalling a name that has been forgotten in literary Italian history.—In the form of a letter to Signor Boselli, R. Bonghi describes secondary instruction in England as a preface to a further description and discussion of Eton College.—E. Mancini contributes a brief ethnographic paper on 'Marks' apropos of the time of carnival.—V. discusses Italian foreign policy on the basis of the last Green Book on Massowa and the Suez Canal.—A. Valdarmini writes on the essential factors of civilization and social science.—L. Morandi concludes his article on 'Pasquino and the pasquinades,' and D. Carazzi writes on 'The devourers of microbes.'—(March 16th).—A d'Ancona writes on the 'Popular songs of Piemonte,' quoting many of the poems contained in the book of the above name, by Costantino Nigra.—F. d'Arcais, writing on the late Paul Ferraris, the Italian dramatist, says that his celebrity commenced with his comedy of 'Goldoni,' first represented at Florence, and that his 'Medicina di una ragazza malata' (A Sick Girl's Medicine) was an almost perfect work. Ferraris was esteemed in private life for his virtues no less than for the public services he rendered to the Italian theatre.—G. Barzelotti continues his papers on Philosophic pessimism in

Germany. — L. Cesotti writes on 'Arms in Europe,' giving minute statistics of the different European armies, and advocating certain reforms.—Neera's novellette 'To-morrow' is continued.—A. Brunialto, in an article on the 'Highways of Commerce,' says that he believes the day will come when we shall be able to enter a comfortable carriage in Paris or Vienna, and alight in Calcutta or Peking, and it is almost impossible to imagine what great transformations in commercial traffic will then ensue. But scarcely our grand-children will see that day and until then, various changes will take place in tariffs, naval constructions and motive powers. Some of the new highways now damage Italy, but she can always make use of them, and seek new outlets. People must have faith in the future.—G. Chiarini writes on the new book, 'Letters from Ugo Foscolo to Lucietta,' the publication of which he regrets as it does no honour to the poet.—O. Marucchi contributes a critical article on the second volume of *Inscriptiones Christianæ urbis Romæ*, by G. P. de Rossi, the archæologist.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (March 16th).—'Our beautiful Fatherland, from Giramonte to Otranto, with a glance at all Italy' is an enthusiastic and eloquent article, touching upon the historical facts and scenes which can heighten the idea of love for the country.—C. Toudini de Guarenghi writes on Montenegro, describing the changes that country has gone through and depreciating any project of depriving the Slav population of their independence.—C. Cascano writes on the Bologna University, and the honours dispensed on occasion of the centenary.—'From Italy to Constantinople,' by G. Grabinski, is concluded, and the novelette 'After a Refusal' continued.—E. Poggi's subject is the third centenary of the elevation of Loreto into a commune.—The review of foreign literature is devoted to French books.

REVIEW OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE (March 15th) contains: 'The problem of the province in experimental political science,' by E. Coppi, in which the author says, that one last objection can be raised against provincial government, that there is a doubt whether it will not reawaken federal aspirations and menace national unity, but that such fear is vain, for the province, as contemplated by Minghetti, has nothing to do with federation, being no political body, but only a chief organ of circumscribed administration. The province, claimed by experimental political science as an organic necessity, is not the *canton* of Switzerland, nor the *state* of the American, Australian, or Mexican union, nor the *province* of the Argentine Republic; it is not, in short, a federal state, but merely an administrative organism. In France, where the movement in its favour is

increasing in acuteness, it is not the reconstitution of the old states, but the *province nouvelle* which is desired; and in England it will not be long before the province will be constituted under the form of 'union of counties.'—'Taxes and free competition,' by X.

LA CULTURA. (January 1-15, Feb. 1-15).—Contains many able reviews of Italian books, and short notices, among which is one by an American writer, 'Topics of Ancient History,' by Clara W. Wood, mentioned as a curious kind of work. 'Brava gente' (Good Folk), by A. Caccianiga, is described as a most pleasant work, which gives the author's impressions of many remarkable persons, such as Azeglio, Doudan, Flaubert, Georges Sand, etc., with a most humorous chapter entitled 'In the Country,' and a touching episode of the war in Rome. Among the announcements is one of two forthcoming books by Paul Mantegazza, *The Second Tartuffe* and *The Physiology of Hate*. In a new work, *Architecture in Italy from the 6th to the 11th Century*, (the reviewer says), the author, Raffaello Cattaneo, has accomplished the difficult task of weaving the artistic history of five centuries, searching into the darkness of barbarism, upsetting a cloud of prejudices, pointing out a number of old errors, and resolving many hard problems. He has succeeded in enlivening the review of those far-away centuries with a large number of works of art grouped according to style, and in ascertaining the obscure origin of such edifices as predominated in Italy after the year 1000 A.D., and in pointing out the age of many. The volume is enriched by about 200 engravings, almost all after the author's original drawings.—A. Loria notices a work by a young political economist, Signor Groziani, (who has written a *Critical History of the Theory of Value in Italy*), calling it a promise of original research in this field by a new and powerful champion.—B. mentions Signor Lanceani's *Ancient Rome in the Light of recent Discoveries*, (Macmillan & Co), as well worthy of translation into Italian, though written for foreigners. In it there are some things, however, which might be disputed.—A translation of Longfellow's 'Evangeline' by Arnaldo Bruschetti, is much praised, and more translations from the same poet wished for.

With the opening of the year three new Magazines made their appearance.

VITA NUOVA (No. I, January, 1889) contains Edgar Poe's 'Raven,' by E. Nencione.—Poetical Biography, by G. Setti.—A ballad 'The Eternal Nymphs,' by A. Tomaselli.—For the critical edition of the *Commedia*, by G. Mazzini.—'The Angelina,' by P. Sperani.

LETTERE E ARTI (No. I., January, 1889) contains an Ode by Carducci. — ‘Algernon Swinburne,’ by E. Nencione. — ‘Shuffling,’ by Altobelli. — ‘The Queen’s Sin,’ by Panzecchi. — ‘The Couriers of Art’; ‘Snakespeare’s Juliet and Italy,’ by Franchetti. — ‘The Youth of Francesco De Sanctis,’ by Masi.

L’ARCADIA (No. I., January, 1889) contains ‘On the Nativity of our Lord,’ by L. M. Parocchi. — ‘Italian Literature,’ by A. Capecelatro. — ‘Comments on the Divine Comedy,’ by A. Bartolini. — ‘Vincenzo Monte’s version of the Iliad,’ by A. Monaci. — ‘The Civilization of the Fifth Century,’ by J. Carmi. — ‘The First Inhabitants of the Earth,’ by V. Prinziavalli. — ‘Animal Heat,’ by A. Murino, and ‘The story of Arcadia,’ by G. Biroccini.

LA RASSEGNA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE, of Florence, which has a staff of able writers, contains in its numbers the following articles (January 1st). — ‘A Memoir of Prince Carignano,’ by A. Gotti. — ‘The Parliament now Sitting,’ by C. di Levi. — ‘Equal Justice for All,’ in relation to the law which exempts Deputies from arrest, by G. B. Benvenuto. — (January 15th) ‘Italian Political Authors,’ by D. Zainchelli. — ‘The Moderating Power in the Brazilian and Portuguese Constitutions,’ by G. B. Ugo. — ‘Useful Reform in Charitable Institutions,’ by V. — (February 1st.) ‘The Condition of Italian Finance,’ by A. J. De Johannis. — ‘Precedence among the Diplomats of the Sixteenth Century,’ by V. A. Fattara. — ‘Popular Instruction,’ by A. Marescotti. — (February 15th.) *First Lines of a Critical Programme of Sociology* by J. Vanni, is reviewed by A. A. Vacaro. — ‘James Montgomery Stuart,’ by V. Anseidei. Mr. Stuart early took up his abode in Italy, was loved and esteemed by all Italians, and died last January at Perugia. — (March 1st.) ‘Officials as Deputies,’ by D. Zainchelli. — ‘The Italian National Debt during the Last Ten Years,’ by A. J. De Johannis. — ‘The Principle of Nationality and the Precursors of Maucini,’ by F. S. Nitti.

#### FRANCE.

REVUE DE L’HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. No. 6. 1888. — Professor Maspero takes occasion here from the completion of H. Brugsch’s ‘Religion und Mythologie der alten Ægypter,’ and of R. V. Lanzone’s ‘Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia,’ to review at some length the general subject of Egyptian mythology, as presented in these works. It is but the first part of his review that appears in this number. Of Lanzone’s ‘Dictionary’ as a dictionary, he has little to say which does not take the form of praise. It is, he thinks, remarkably free from errors of detail,

and the few he has noted are of so little importance that he does not name them, much less set himself to correct them. He speaks highly also of Brugsch's work, but complains of the inconsistent way in which he spells the names of certain Egyptian deities in the various sections of his book, and of his relegating all his references to texts, and explanatory and other notes, to the close of his volume. He combats, too, the veteran and learned Egyptologist's opinion, that the Egyptian religion underwent no fundamental change from the times of which we have the earliest monumental testimony, but remained substantially the same throughout all the centuries and changes of dynasty up to its final overthrow under the Emperor Theodosius. M. Maspero, though he once himself held this opinion, has long abandoned it, and has frequently in his writings during the last ten years endeavoured to refute it. He goes over much the same ground again here, and seeks to show that, though the ancient texts continued to be carefully copied, transmitted, and revered, the interpretations given to them by the later generations of priests and educated Egyptians varied considerably, as did also the ideas they entertained of the gods, whose ancient names they still continued to employ. He describes, then, the myths that bear upon the origin of things, and the cosmogony of the world.—M. C. Huart describes the rise, nature, and collapse of the reformatory religious movement in the bosom of Islam in Persia, from 1845 to 1853, inaugurated by Abd-el-Wahhâb, and known as 'Babism,' or 'the religion of Bab.'—M. L. Freer furnishes an interesting article on 'Le séjour des morts selon les Indiens et selon les Grecs.'—M. L. Horst continues his 'Études sur le Deuteronome,' and discusses here the vexed questions of the 'sources' of the book, and the date of its composition.—M. Pierre Paris gives a further instalment of his 'Bulletin' of the archaeological discoveries made in Greece in 1887-88, in so far as these bear on and illustrate the religion of the Greeks.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS. No. 1. 1889.—Professor Maspero's review of H. Brugsch's 'Religion and Mythology of the Ancient Egyptians' and R. V. Lanzzone's 'Dictionary of Egyptian Mythology,' is continued and concluded in this number. He examines and notes the differences in the ancient legends and myths of the Egyptians as to the origin of the world's order, the gods themselves, the relations between them, the fate of the dead, etc., and shows where he agrees, and where he differs, from these writers on all these points.—M. Maurice Vernes discusses the question, 'When was the Bible composed?' It is a preliminary study which gives the results of

investigations made into the Old Testament books, and which results he promises to justify in a forthcoming volume. He regards the Bible as the product of post-exilian times—roughly speaking, from B.C. 400 up to B.C. 200. He does not dispute the use of more ancient sources, but the books as they are now, were all composed after the Restoration, and in the following order: The proto-Pentateuch, the Historic Books, the Prophets, the Pentateuch, or rather the Hexateuch as it now is, the Hagiographa. They are all in their present form of Judaic origin.—M. P. Regnaud furnishes another of his Vedic Word-Studies, 'Étymologies Védiques.'—M. L. Sichler translates from Aphanassief some Russian legends—a contribution to Folk-Lore. The 'Chronique' and 'Bibliographie' of both numbers are as usual very full, interesting, and useful, as are the summaries of the papers read before learned societies, and magazine articles bearing on the history of religions.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (January, February, March).—The interesting subject of Ethnography is well represented in the numbers before us. An important and instructive contribution to this section is M. G. Capus's 'Les Kafirs et le Kafirstan.' M. Capus, it may be remembered, was one of M. Bonvalot's companions in his journey of exploration along 'the roof of the world,' and he has, therefore, some right to take up the obscure subject. Two lengthy instalments in Nos. 1 and 8 have not yet exhausted what he has to say concerning it. In No. 5 there is a short account of the ethnographic exhibition held at the Geographical Society, where M. Charles Rabot allowed the public to visit the various collections which he had brought back from Greenland. In a more purely scientific paper, which is the reproduction of the opening lecture of his course of ethnographical mythology, M. A. Lefèvre treats of the development of myths and religions. Finally, M. Charles Rabot gives an interesting sketch of the Laplanders and their customs.—As contributions to Psychology, we find in the first place a paper on 'Common Fallacies.' It is a report of a lecture delivered by M. S. Exner at the Congress of German Naturalists, and appears, as we have noted, in the original German, as a contribution to the *Deutsche Rundschau*.—M. Ch. Richet, dealing with 'Genius and Folly,' replies to certain objections raised to the article written by him as a review of Professor Lombroso's work on the same subject. A most interesting paper, bearing an English signature, that of M. F. Galton, gives the result of a number of experiments and inquiries made by him with a view to determining the indications and effects of mental fatigue. M. Binet, whose name we have

often mentioned in connection with hypnotism, has a further paper on the same subject, 'Les Perceptions inconscientes de l'hypnotisme;' and M. Souriau examines the causes and the nature of the pleasure which motion affords us.—Under the heading 'Enseignement des Sciences,' we find only one paper, a description of the new galleries of the Paris Museum.—The kindred subject, 'Histoire des Sciences,' claims three contributions. In the first of them, M. Gustave Richelot treats of the tendencies of modern surgery. His main object is to show that, thanks, amongst other things, to the introduction of the anti-septic method, operations which were once considered dangerous may be readily undertaken, and that it is most unjust to condemn those who perform them, even when they are not absolutely necessary, but, as he calls them, 'operations de complaisance,' such as, for example, the altering the shape of a nose.—A matter of less general interest is treated by M. Gaston Tissandier, in his lecture, 'Science et Patrie;' but, on the other hand, M. Lanesan appeals to a wider circle in his essay, 'Buffon and Darwin.' So far only a first instalment has appeared.—A couple of scientific biographies have also to be noticed. The former of them is that of Henry Debray, an eminent French chemist who died recently; the latter of M. Silva, the late Professor of Analytical Chemistry at the Ecole Centrale.—In connection with public works, there are several interesting papers. One deals with the Panama Canal; another with the Eiffel tower; and a third with the building of the forthcoming Paris Exhibition.—For the amusement and instruction of mathematicians, we indicate a paper contained in No. 7, in which they will find a variety of ways of proving the 47th proposition of the first book of Euclid.—Amongst other articles to be found under various rubrics we may further mention 'La Natalité en France,' 'Les Chemins de Fer,' 'Les Landes de Gascogne,' 'Le Cimetière Mérovingien d'Ableiges,' and 'Les Castors en Europe.'

**REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE** (January, February, March).—In a fourth instalment to his 'Introduction to the Science of Philosophy,' M. Paul Janet deals with the relations between philosophy and theology. The practical conclusion at which he arrives is that it is unphilosophical to set theology aside, and that, on the contrary, a philosopher cannot but derive some benefit from the study of it. Very far from believing with Positivists that the human mind should shun theology as well as metaphysics, and limit itself to the positive sciences, he believes that the positive sciences should be followed by metaphysics, and metaphysics by theology, so that every sphere of human thought may be culti-



vated.—In an essay which runs through two numbers, M. Paulham considers the nature of the process of abstraction and of abstract ideas.—About the beginning of last October, a blind girl, thirteen years old, was sent from her home in Brittany to Paris, where she was to be admitted to the home for blind children. By some strange mistake, however, she was taken to the hospital for the blind, where, on examination, it was found that her blindness was owing to a congenital cataract. A successful operation restored, or rather gave her sight. The case was a particularly interesting one, not so much from the result of the operation as from the fact that it is now almost invariably performed when a child is quite young, and that consequently psychologists seldom meet with subjects able to give them information as to their first sensations on beholding exterior objects. M. Dunan at once availed himself of the rare opportunity thus afforded for carrying out a series of experiments in this direction. The result of these is here recorded in a paper which the writer puts forward, not as containing anything absolutely new, but rather as confirming previous observations.—In addition to what we have already mentioned, the February number contains a study by M. Ch. Lévêque, ‘L’esthétique musicale en France—Psychologie du quatuor;’ and a paper by M. Binet, ‘Recherches sur les Altérations de la Conscience chez les hystériques.’ In the third number M. Evellin heads the table of contents with a paper entitled, ‘La pensée et le réel.’ This is followed by an article in which M. Beaunis examines the analogy and the points of resemblance between physical and moral pain. Lastly, M. Regnaud treats of the phonetic evolution of language.—In each of the three numbers there are the usual analyses and summaries.

REVUE UNIVERSELLE ILLUSTRÉE (January, February, March).—Throughout the quarter there is an abundant supply of lighter literature. In addition to this, the January number contains an article of considerable length, which M. Alfred Leroux entitles ‘Ce qu’on pense en France de l’Allemagne nouvelle.’ Its contents may be gathered from the mere title; whilst the spirit in which it is written is sufficiently indicated by the writer’s conclusion, which is to the effect that the new-born empire has assumed an essentially fragile and transitory form.—This is followed by a short sketch of Bernard Palissy.—Still shorter is the contribution headed ‘Bianca Capello.’ Two pages suffice to contain all that M. Pierre Gauthiez has to say about one of the most striking figures of the Middle Ages.—An article founded on Jules de Goncourt concludes a very readable number.—A light and pleasant bit of writing by M. Antony Valabrègue

brings a Parisian winter very vividly before the reader.—It is followed by a more substantial piece of work, dealing with the Old Testament subjects treated by the Florentine artists of the Renaissance period. The signature of M. Eugène Müntz vouches for the literary merit and critical excellence of the article.—Under the title, ‘L'enfance et la jeunesse de Mignet,’ a chapter from a forthcoming biography of the well-known French historian is given by M. Edouard Petit.—The last of the three numbers contains one article, in particular, which will be read with interest at the present time; it is a short sketch of Marie-Antoinette, by M. Felix Naquet.—A thoughtful paper, contributed by M. Eugène Veron, considers the importance of art in connection with civilisation.—Of the remaining contents, the most generally interesting will probably be found to be M. Mereu's sketch of the Roman Carnival.

L'ART (January, February, March).—The year opens with a number devoted almost exclusively to reviews of illustrated works. The only other contribution consists of a couple of pages on embroidery and lace. The middle of the month, however, brings a number of more general interest. It contains a very pleasantly written sketch of the career of Mlle. Camargo, a famous dancer of the last century. Two details not unworthy of mention are, first, that she was of noble lineage on both her father and her mother's side, and second, that it is to her that the introduction of short skirts is due.—This is followed by an account of Rubinstein's course of ‘musical literature’ at the Conservatoire of St. Petersburg.—The first of the two February parts opens with an article in which M. P. G. Molmenti communicates a discovery which he has made of certain documents referring to the painters Bellini. The documents in question are contracts for pictures to be painted by Jacopo and his two sons for the guild of St. Mark in Venice.—M. Frédéric Henriet follows with a sympathetic sketch of the life of the painter Eugène Lavielle, who died in the beginning of the present year.—Another similar sketch, but longer, more important, and illustrated with some excellent etchings of his works, is devoted to Troyon.—Two full page etchings, one ‘The Fisherman's Family,’ after Haquetti, and the other, Teniers's ‘Fiddler,’ are deserving of special mention.—In March reviews again bulk largely, and in one of the numbers they leave room for only one article, entitled, ‘Etude sur un Manuscrit de la Bibliotheque Nationale,’ and containing a notice of three miniature painters of the seventeenth century, Cotelle, Bedau, and Bonnet.—The last number for the quarter contains another obituary sketch, the

subject of it being the sculptor, Léon Longepied.—A very notable contribution, with which we shall conclude, is that in which M. Müntz gives an account of the famous competition between Leonardo da Vinci and Michael Angelo, the outcome of which was to be the 'War of Pisa' of the former, and the 'Battle of Anghiari' of the latter.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January, February, March).—Amongst the most important contributions in the numbers before us must be included M. Edmond Planchut's elaborate study, 'L'Égypte et l'Occupation Anglaise.' It has already run through two parts, and is continued in three further instalments. In the first of them, which bristles with columns of figures, the financial situation is considered, and the conclusion arrived at is that the agriculture of the country is rapidly declining. With regard to the works being carried on for the purpose of irrigation, it is declared that they must prove injurious unless supplemented by a complete system of drains, though this does not appear to be even contemplated. The English army of occupation is represented as a crushing and useless burthen; and, to sum up the long impeachment, the policy of England is condemned as contrary to the treaties to which she has given her signature.—Another article for which the first number is worth turning back to is M. Tchihatchef's interesting description of the great African desert. The author believes that the Sahara is destined to play a very important part in the civilization of Africa, thanks to the exceptional advantages which it possesses, and which have been refused to the other desert regions of the globe.—To classical readers we would also recommend the charming essay which M. Gaston Boissier devotes to the poet Prudentius. One of its attractions will be found to consist in the numerous quotations which the writer introduces, and which can scarcely fail to awaken interest in a poet who assuredly does not deserve the obscurity which has gathered about him.—The second of the February numbers is particularly rich in readable matter. In the first place it opens with an extract from the fifth volume of the Duc d'Aumale's *History of the Princes of Condé*, which, however, makes up a complete essay by itself, and which bears the title, 'Le Duc d'Anguien et les Dames.'—Following closely upon this, the Russian lady, who writes under the pseudonym of Arvède Barine, contributes an interesting article founded on the lately published *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess*.—Then M. Emile Montégut brings an able and appreciative essay on William Collins.—Finally, M. Henry Gaidoz describes a visit to the Channel Islands.—In the num-

ber bearing the date of the 1st March there are two salient articles. The average reader will probably turn first to M. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé's interesting sketch of the career of that extraordinary man who at one time held in his hand the destinies of Russia, and who died in obscurity the other day at Nice.—Interesting, however, as are these glimpses of General Loris-Melikoff, M. Emile Séuart's learned essay, 'Un Roi de l'Inde au III<sup>e</sup> Siècle avant notre Ere,' will be even more warmly appreciated, though perhaps by a smaller public. The monuments of Asoka are amongst the most curious and important remains of a forgotten civilization in India, and English scholars are still busied in discussing the text of certain of the inscriptions. M. Séuart gives a lucid account of the monuments—a series of inscribed rocks and a series of columns—which range like landmarks along the frontiers of a vast empire, embracing at least the whole of Northern India; describes the labours of Prinsep in deciphering and translating the 'edicts;' identifies the royal author of this wonderful literary achievement, and finally presents a comprehensive survey of his relations with the religious teachings of Buddha.—So far as that ingenious 'Breton magistrate and rural gentlemen,' Noel du Fail, who died in 1591, is known to living mortals, it is as the author of a series of works which are usually classed with the witty and not wholly 'reportable' literature of the sixteenth century. His merit, however, as a keen and faithful delineator of rustic life has been fully recognised, and M. Henri Baudrillart here pushes still further his claims as a portrayer of the peasantry of France, and especially of his own north-western region.—The fiction of the various numbers is attractive; and amongst other articles which will repay reading are a study of Lamennais; 'L'Examen chimique des vins'; and some considerations, *a propos* of the congress which is to be held during the Paris Exhibition, on international arbitration and universal peace.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (Octobre-Décembre, 1888).—M. J. Halévy furnishes another of his 'Recherches Bibliques.' Here he deals with the three names given in the genealogical table of Gen. x., which in his previous papers he had omitted or rather left over for separate treatment. They are the names in vv. 3 and 4, Riphath 'son' of Gomer, and Elishah and Tarshish 'sons' of Javan. The geographical position of these is still a subject of controversy. The reading Riphath is well known to be doubtful, and no name at all similar to it is found in any list of places in the region indicated in Scripture that has yet been recovered. M. Halévy proposes to read Phirat instead of Riphath, and seeks

to justify this correction by, among other things, a passage from the Annals of Sargon, where in this very district mention is made of a Bit-Purutash or Bit-Puritish. The consonants of this Puritish answer, he says, to those of Phirat in Hebrew, with the exception of the final sibilant. He takes this latter to be an unimportant suffix which had been dropped in pronunciation by the Hebrews, as was frequently the case in the adoption of foreign words. Elishah he regards as indicating Laconia, and thinks the name had been given to the district from an important maritime town Elos mentioned in the inscriptions recently discovered in Cyprus. Tarshish he identifies with Crete, and supports his opinion, as against those who locate it in Tartessus in Spain, by some very weighty arguments. He thinks from analogy that Crete or the part of it referred to, bore that name from a town Tarra, or Tarsa (whence the ethnic name Tarsaios), on the south-east coast of the island.—M. J. Derenbourg gives us the first part of a work recently discovered of Abou Zachariah ben Bilem on Isaiah, and prefixes to it an account of the writer and his other works.—M. J. Lévi under 'Signes de danger et malheur,' deals with the Talmudic Legends about David in *Sanhedrin* 95a, and seeks to account for them and show their affinity with similar legends in other languages.—The other articles are, 'Les Juifs de Touraine;' 'La communauté des Juifs d'Athribis;' 'Sens et origine de la denomination *Sem Hamephorasch*;' 'Joseph Hacohen et les chroniqueurs juifs;' 'L'exégèse biblique en Espagne au XII. siècle;' and 'Le Maqré Dardeqé.'

#### S W I T Z E R L A N D.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE. (January, February, March). While no single article in these numbers monopolises attention, there is little that will not repay perusal. The fiction is especially attractive, and we are glad to meet once more with a novelette, 'Chemin de fer et cimetièrè,' by that most delightful of story tellers, Björnstjerne Bjornson.—In a chapter of travel Dr. Châtelain gives us interesting glimpses of the 'Land of the Midnight Sun,' while M. Louis Léger conducts us through 'Unknown Bulgaria,' and M. E. Sayous describes 'The incidents and sights of a journey to Buda Pesth,' where last year he attended the annual session of the Hungarian Academy.—The ideas of Rabelais on 'The Question of Education' afford M. Paul Stapper material for a sober and judicious review of a subject which has attracted such brilliant writers as Guizot and Sainte-Beuve. He credits Rabelais less with originality than with the largeness, richness,

and correctness of his conception of education as a whole.—Amongst the papers of a solid and instructive character may be particularized, 'l'Exploitation des Voies ferrées en Amérique et en Europe,' 'La Législation Internationale du Travail, and 'le Relèvement de l'Agriculture.'—M. Veuglaire summarizes the recently published volume *L'Armée russe et ses Chefs en 1888*, and draws his own conclusion, into which, however, we need not enter here, more especially as lack of space prevents us from doing more than mention M. Edouard Rod's review of the literary movement in Italy, and M. Rios's companion paper on Spain.—As usual the gossip in the various Chroniques is varied, light, and exceedingly pleasant reading.

#### HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (Jan.) contains: 'In the Salon of Countess Diana,' an amusing bit of comedy, in which a poet recites his own verses, and other ridiculous fashionable diversions go on.—M. Buys has a long political article, 'The Holy Alliance,' a title suggested by the actual position of parties, on present prospects, especially as regards the Liberal party. Their most imminent danger in the stirring times that may be looked for is internal disruption; he, therefore, counsels moderation, and deplors the increasing withdrawal of men of position and intelligence from political life.—'Lessons from the Past' is a favourable review of a history of British Guiana, under Dutch and British rule, by Gen. Netscher. He frankly confesses that the former was all along a history of mismanagement, failure, and even disgrace, so inhuman was the treatment of the slaves. No worse policy is conceivable than to hand over a colony to be exploited by a company. The present backward condition of Surinam is contrasted with the prosperity of the neighbouring British colony.—Burgerdijk, who has already made Shakspeare's plays his own *par droit de conquête*, has now published a translation of Venus and Adonis and the Sonnets, and seems to have accomplished the difficult task felicitously.

DE GIDS (Feb., Mar).—'William III.: his relations with England,' is a masterly historical sketch of the complicated series of events which culminated in the Revolution Settlement. The character and policy of William, to which that of Charles is an admirable foil, is delineated with exhaustive research, and at the same time with vigour and picturesqueness.—A singularly repulsive and inartistic novelette traces the mental and moral development of 'Willem Norel' from boyhood, through his student career, to a settled position and marriage, which last seems to compensate fully for the doubts

and mental struggle of the first part of the story not in any other way resolved.—The same provoking inconsequence is felt in Vosmaer's last novel 'Initiated,' where the hero, Frank, and his wife, Sietske, are supposed to go through, on their marriage tour, a process of initiation into a sort of æsthetic religion, a very tiresome process carried on mostly in Italy, in the presence of works of art. Not only is the æstheticism quite incomprehensible as religion, it is even more so as a view of a possible art development. The novel was, however, left unfinished, and is not without fine passages and sentences, such as, 'Without gentleness and beauty the good is not good, nor the holy, holy.'—Constantin Huygens (1596-1687), the grave old Dutch poet, whose father was Secretary to William of Orange, and who was himself in the service of the States, has lately been revived in a book of selections, and by the republication of 'Hofwijck,' one of his principal poems. A sketch is given of him, and also of his very remarkable old mother, Christian, whose letters have been preserved.—'Metamorphoses of Hellenism,' by Was, treats of the relation of the modern to the ancient Greeks, and of what has been and may yet be accomplished in the world by Hellenism.

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## CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

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*History of German Theology in the Nineteenth Century.* By F. LICHTENBERGER. Translated and Edited by W. HASTIE, B.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1889.

In his scholarly preface to his excellent translation of Lichtenberger's useful work, Mr. Hastie dwells upon the change which has come over the feelings with which German Theology is regarded in England and Scotland, and seeks to justify it. On the whole, it may probably be termed an excellent piece of writing, and a necessary introduction to the work which follows, but, on the other hand, it may be said to betray just a little too much partiality for those whom it seeks to defend. That the influence of German Theology on that of England and Scotland has been great, there cannot be the slightest doubt. The effect of that influence is a different matter, and one about which there may be different opinions. Mr. Hastie's preface partakes very much of the nature of an eulogy. It is an open question, however, and one that Mr. Hastie does not attempt to answer, whether the influence of German Theological works here has not been to a larger extent repressive. It may be insular prejudice, but it seems to us that a calm survey of the subject would discover indications that for some time back the Theological thought of the country has been so thoroughly dominated by what German Theologians have said and done, that it has yielded itself almost implicitly to its guidance, and well nigh forgotten to assert its own freedom and existence. Authority is

good, and in matters Theological cannot be lightly ignored. There can be no doubt, also, that Germany has contributed much to the better understanding of Scripture, and to the development of all branches of Theological study; but we can have too much of Germany, just as we can have too much of anything else, and each nation is in duty bound to follow its own peculiar path in theological as well as in other studies, in order that out of the diversity there may arise that unity of knowledge to which the Apostle alludes. Nevertheless, to those who wish to become acquainted with the History of Theological Studies in Germany during the past century, and no earnest student of Theology can afford to be ignorant of it, Professor Lichtenberger's work, which Mr. Hastie has here translated and edited, is an excellent guide. It divides itself into parts—from Kant, or the beginning of the Kantian influence, to Strauss, and from Strauss to the present. The first division is prefaced by a brief, but remarkably lucid account of the philosophical systems of Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel. Then follows an account of the old Rationalists and Supernaturalists, such as Wegscheider, Paulus, Planck, Bretschneider, and De Wette. But the central figure of the period is Schleiermacher, to whom and his disciples, Neander, Nitzsch, Twisten, Julius Müller, and Ullmann, the greater part of the division is devoted. The account of Schleiermacher is particularly full and attractive, many biographical details being given, and careful analyses of the celebrated *Discourses on Religion* and of the *Monologues*. Hengstenberg and the leaders of the speculative school, Daub and Marheineke, are treated at moderate length, and then follow two chapters on the classical literature of the period, in which the influence of Schiller, Goethe, and the lyrical writers on the theological thought of the time is analysed and appraised. Of Goethe, Professor Lichtenberger remarks: 'His genius awakens more admiration than sympathy. His songs draw tears from us, or they swell our heart with a sweet joy; but they never produce in us the aspiration towards a better country, where the source of our tears shall be dried, and where we shall hear more beautiful songs. The grace of the Gods, it has been said, is diffused over his works, and it communicates to them a peculiar magical charm, a certain calm and unalterable serenity. But how far is it from that peace of God which passeth all understanding, and which Goethe cannot give, for the simple reason that he does not himself possess it!' In the second division of the work the greatest prominence is given to Strauss, F. C. Baur, Rothe, and Bunsen. Ewald is dismissed in a few sentences, and the Catholic Theologians in a few pages. The number of names which occur in this division is, as need hardly be said, very great. Professor Lichtenberger appears to have been desirous of including those of all who have done anything whatever in theology, but we cannot help feeling that a wiser course would probably have been to have passed over the less important, and to have treated a number, who are here treated of but slightly, at greater length. This, however, must be said, that brief as Professor Lichtenberger's characterizations sometimes are, they are remarkably condensed and luminous, and bear evidence of the desire to be perfectly impartial. Mr. Hastie has performed his part well; and though the translation is based upon Professor Lichtenberger's *Histoire des idées religieuses en Allemagne depuis le milieu du dix-huitième siècle jusqu'à nos jours*, from the alterations and additions which have been made upon it, with the sanction and co-operation of the author, it is practically a new book.

*Essays in Biblical Greek.* By EDWIN HATCH, M.A., D.D., &c.  
Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1889.



Compared with Hebrew the language of the Septuagint and the New Testament has received but slight attention. Each of the Universities has its Chair for Hebrew, but none for Hellenistic or Biblical Greek. Here and there a course of lectures has been given on the subject and one or two Grammars have been published, but no attempt has been made to deal with the language in the same exhaustive way that Hebrew scholars have dealt with the original language of the Old Testament Scriptures. Dr. Hatch's work is of an entirely tentative character and is designed, as he tells us, 'not so much to furnish a complete answer to the questions which it raises as to point out to students of sacred literature some of the rich fields which have not yet been adequately explored, and to offer suggestions for their exploration.' But tentative as it is, each essay in the volume is a scholarly and valuable contribution to the subject, and will be read by those who take an interest in the study of the New Testament Scriptures or of the Septuagint with considerable pleasure. The first essay deals with the value and use of the Septuagint. Here Dr. Hatch, while affirming the resemblances between Attic Greek and the language of the New Testament, takes occasion to point out the baselessness of the common assumption that the two are identical, and illustrates the differences between them—differences due chiefly to time and country—with such words as *ἀδυνατεῖν*, *ἐπισκιδεῖν*, *ἐργάζεσθαι*, *ζωοποιεῖν*, *κτίσις*, *ἀγαθοποιεῖν*, *διαλογισμός* and *ἐπιγνωσις*. For New Testament exegesis the value of the Septuagint, he points out, is partly in the fact that it is more cognate in character to the New Testament than any other book, that much of it is proximate in time, and that it is of sufficient extent to afford a fair basis for comparison, but chiefly because it is a translation of which we possess the original. 'For the meaning of the great majority of its words and phrases,' he observes, 'we are not left solely to the inferences which may be made by comparing one passage with another in either the Septuagint itself or other monuments of Hellenistic Greek. We can refer to the passages of which they are translations, and in most cases frame inductions as to their meaning which are as certain as any philological induction can be.' The second essay consists of a number of short studies of the meaning of words in Biblical Greek, the meanings of such words as *ἀγαρεῖν*, *ἀρετή*, *γλωσσόκομος*, *δαιδαλμων*, *διάβολος*, *διαθήκη*, *δικαίος*, *ἐτομάζειν*, *θησαυρεῖν*, *μισθήριον*, *παραβολή*, *πένης* and *πτωχός* being traced through classical and post-classical Greek, in the LXX and the New Testament, and occasionally in Philo and some of the sub-Apostolic writers. But probably the most important of the essays from an exegetical point of view is the third, which is devoted to an examination of a number of the psychological terms which occur in Biblical Greek. Here Dr. Hatch travels over a wide field and gives the history of such words as *καρδία*, *πνεῦμα*, *ψυχή*, *δύναμις*, *σῶμα*, *σάρξ*, *ψυχικὸς*, and *νόος* as found in the LXX, the Hexapla and Philo; the conclusion at which he arrives being that the fine distinctions which are sometimes drawn between the use of psychological terms in New Testament exegesis are not supported by their use in contemporary Greek. The remaining essays are devoted to the quotations made from the LXX by Philo and early Christian writers, to Origen's revision of the Septuagint text of the book of Job, and to the text of Ecclesiasticus. It is to be hoped that the essays Dr. Hatch has here published are but the promise of a larger and more complete work. They do indeed open up a wide and rich field for research and few are so well qualified to work it with success as their author. An index to the various passages of Scripture, from which the words illustrated are taken, is added to the volume and is of great service. We trust, however, that subsequent editions will contain an index of the words themselves.

*Physical Realism: being an Analytical Philosophy from the Physical Objects of Science to the Physical Data of Sense.*  
By THOMAS CASE. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1888.

Back to Aristotle—not, however, in doctrine, but in method. That seems to be the teaching of Mr. Case, and the present work is a contribution towards shewing us how it may be done. Modern philosophy, it would appear, is all wrong, and ever has been. Since the days of Descartes, in beginning with the subject and working outwards to the object. The correct way is to begin with the object—but it must be the physical object of science; and then the result will be found to be entirely different, and far more satisfactory. What then is the physical object of science? Obviously, it is not the physical object of sense, as commonly understood. For, in the first place, science deals with invisible corpuscles, with imperceptible molecules and their motions: its objects, therefore, are insensible and ‘inconceivable’ (unimaginable?). Yet, in the next place, they are emphatically the real and emphatically the *known*. ‘Natural philosophy is not a sham. One or other, or many, of its propositions, may be untrue. But its whole fabric of the physical, but insensible, world which causes the image of it to arise in us, cannot be an invention. There is a thing beyond sense, a reality beyond phenomena, not only actual in nature, but known to science. There is a thing real and known which is not a sensible phenomenon, because such things as imperceptible particles are known really to exist, though they are incapable of becoming sensible. There are attributes real and known which belong to this thing, but are not sensations or sensible phenomena, because such attributes as the imperceptible motions of imperceptible particles are known really to take place, although they are not capable of becoming sensible. Finally, these real things by these real attributes are real and known causes of human sensations because the imperceptible motions of the imperceptible are known really to cause sensations of light and other sensations in men, although the latent process, by which an imperceptible motion such as the undulation of æther produces sensible light, is totally beyond the reach of sense, which perceives not the undulation but the sensible result. Thus real things and real attributes transcending yet really causing sensations are, in some way or other, known to the natural philosopher.’ But surely there is such a thing as the sensible? Yes, certainly; and nothing is sensible except what has been impressed on the body, and in the body on the nervous system, of a sentient being. It has two characteristics—(1) it is internal, being within the nervous system, and (2) it is physical: and this gives us the bond of connexion between it and the insensible. And if we ask, how can the sensible object be at once physical and internal? ‘I answer, it is the nervous system itself sensibly affected. The hot felt is the tactile nerves heated, the white seen is the optic nerves so coloured. . . . From such sensible data, internal, as science requires, and physical, as logic requires, man infers physical objects in the external world by parity of reasoning.’ Here, then, is the Physical Realism which Mr. Case presents to us. It may be expressed in two propositions: ‘There are physical objects of science in the external world; therefore there are, as data to infer them, physical objects of sense in the internal nervous system’; and it claims to be entirely opposed to psychological idealism in all its forms, and it refuses also to countenance Natural Realism or the Intuitive theory of Hamilton and the Scottish School. What then are we to say of it? We can honestly say, in the first place, that, as put by the author himself, it wears a very striking appearance, and, when taken in connexion with his vigorous criticisms of Descartes, Locke, Berkeley,

Hume, and Kant, it is exceedingly plausible. But, in the next place, we must equally confess that, on near inspection, it fails to satisfy. Obviously, much depends on the word 'known': and when it is said that the objects of science should be our starting-point because the physical corpuscles are eminently the known, we can only shake our heads, remembering that there are such things as the states of our own minds and that these are facts, while the molecules of science are only hypotheses. Again, 'physical' is a leading term, and yet it is very ambiguous. Finally, the 'reality beyond phenomena,' as given by the physicist, is 'no noumenon,' and the problem of philosophy remains precisely where it was. The truth is that the incompatibility between the physicist's view and the philosopher's, on which the theory reposes, is more than doubtful, and the idealist is still left with his withers unwrung.

*Social Progress. An Essay.* By D. GREENLEAF THOMPSON.  
London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1889.

This thoughtful and instructive volume is a sequel to three works already published by the same author, and carries another stage towards completion the exposition of a philosophical system—a Theory of Knowledge and of Being, as he calls it—which has been for some years in progress, and which the author has been gradually submitting to the public. His exposition began in 1884 with *A System of Psychology*, in two volumes. Then came in 1886 *The Problem of Evil*, and last year was issued *The Religious Sentiments of the Human Mind*. It is easy to see the logical connection of all these four works from the titles they bear; and Mr. Thompson now informs us in a very interesting, because chiefly biographical, preface to *Social Progress*, that the work before us is shortly to be followed by two others, one treating of the *Ethics of Sex Relations*, and the other of the *Fundamental Rights of Man*. In the present volume, which he informs us is only an introduction to the last named, he discusses first the conditions of Social Progress, and then the means of promoting it. In his treatment of both he carefully considers the multifarious idiosyncracies and interests of the individual, as well as of the community, and endeavours to show within what limits individual liberty may, and ought to, be allowed to assert itself, so as to promote the development of each, and secure the peace and prosperity of the State. The difficulties in the way of duly restraining the selfish and cultivating the altruistic instincts or emotions, are dealt with in a very temperate and thoughtful fashion. The whole essay, indeed, is characterized by a wise moderation of expression and judicious balancing of the conflicting elements to be considered in dealing with all social problems, that must commend it to the approval of all but the extremists of the Radical and Conservative schools.

*Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe d'après les écrivains de l'antiquité et les travaux des linguistes.* Par H. D'ARBOIS JUBAINVILLE, Membre de l'Institut. Tome I. 2nd Ed. Paris: E. Thorin. 1889.

Leaving the traces and witnesses, often enigmatical and always dumb and inarticulate, which the early inhabitants of Europe have left behind them in the caves and dens of the earth, to be questioned and interpreted by archæologists, M. D'Arbois Jubainville, in this remarkably learned and painstaking work, confines himself to the examination of such traces of their existence and history as are to be found imbedded in the languages of Europe and in the written records of the ancient world. The work is of considerable dimensions. The first volume, the only one before us,

runs out to over four hundred octavo pages, and besides numerous references to modern writers, presents us with a vast array of citations gathered from the wide fields of Greek and Roman literature, and designed to illustrate or support the statements the author has placed in his text. Such works are not written or compiled in a day, and the one M. D'Arbois Jubainville has now issued in its new and improved form, represents the labour of many years, though at first the fruit of learned leisure. Generally speaking, his researches may be said to have led him to the same conclusions as those reached by archaeologists as to the origin and character of the early inhabitants of Europe as it now exists, though, as might be expected from the character of the evidence he has to examine, he is able to follow the footsteps of the tribes and races he meets with more closely, and to distinguish between them more sharply than is permitted to the student of archaeology. The first of whom he finds traces in the writings of antiquity are the Cave men. These he finds referred to by Æschylus, Homer, and Hesiod, by Thucydides, Aristotle, Plato, and others, as the Cyclopes, in whom they recognised a race earlier and distinct from their own, and whom, along with Grimm, our author identifies with the ancestors of the Finns. In the chapter on the mythical island of Atlantis and the legendary origin of the Iberians, M. D'Arbois Jubainville enters upon the discussion of a more difficult and doubtful topic. His evidence is drawn from Plato, Theopompus, Marcellus, and Poseidonios. The principal question here, and one which appeals to the writers of antiquity can scarcely settle, is as to the value of the evidence. If it may be believed, however, the Iberians had their original home in a large island to the west of the Pillars of Hercules, from whence they invaded Europe, surprised the Cave men with a civilization higher than their own, took possession of their lands, and continued to spread East, North, and South, till they were met and driven back, and finally almost entirely absorbed by the advancing tides of a population entering Europe from the East. In passing, M. D'Arbois Jubainville does not omit to notice the brilliant conjecture, or mysterious prophecy of the tragedian Seneca as to the existence or discovery of vast regions of country beyond the ocean, and to name him a 'predecessor of Christopher Columbus.' Still following his authorities, M. D'Arbois Jubainville identifies the Iberians with the Sicane, the Cunetes, and the Tartessians, and traces them in Spain and Italy, in Gaul as far East as the Rhone, in the British Isles and along the northern shores of Africa, where they came in contact with the Egyptians. Their chief settlements, however, appear to have been in Spain, where they were split up into different tribes and known by different names, and where also, while attaining to their highest degree of civilization, they had to combat the Phœnicians on their southern sea-board, and to resist first the Ligures and afterwards the Gauls on the north. In their advances eastward they were met by the Pelasgi, who, as M. D'Arbois Jubainville shows, were identified by ancient writers with the Tursanes or Tursenes, Tyrrhenians, Teucroi, Pæonians, Mysians, and Etruscans. Their first migration into Europe he places about the year 2,500 B.C., and in 1700 B.C. he finds them in possession of the South-east of Europe and scattered along the valley of the Danube. In Italy, according to Greek writers, they made their first appearance under the leadership of Oinotros and Peucetios as early as about the year 2000. A second immigration of them into the same country took place between 972 and 949 B.C., when they were known as Etruscans. The traces of this mysterious people in the literature of antiquity are closely followed by M. D'Arbois Jubainville, who from the numerous indications he meets with of them is able to give a tolerably full account of the development of their power and

its decadence. After the earlier, but contemporaneously with some of the later immigrations of the Pelasgic race, came the Egypto-Phœnician colonists. These M. D'Arbois Jubainville identifies with the Leleges. He assigns their immigrations to the period between the seventeenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., and shows that they were settled not only in Spain, but also in the islands of the Ægean Sea and on the mainland of Greece. The notion that Europe was the cradle of the Indo-European races M. D'Arbois Jubainville sets aside as untenable, and adopts the generally received opinion that their original home was in the country to the North of Persia and Afghanistan. By the aid of Comparative Philology, in which, as need hardly be said, he is a master, M. D'Arbois Jubainville is able to sketch the degree of civilization to which the Indo-European races had attained while as yet their family was undivided, and before they had turned their faces westward, and having crossed the Urals and the Volga, had settled in the plains of Europe. The first of them to do this were, so far as historical evidence is concerned, the Liguses or Ligures, who are here identified with the Siculi. Arriving, about 2000 years before our era, like all the Indo-Europeans of Europe they cultivated cereals and were accustomed to use the plough; and like all the Indo-Europeans of Europe and Asia they were acquainted with bronze. After the Iberians and before the Celts they occupied Gaul; after the Iberians and before the Umbrians they were the masters of Italy, where they were known as the Siculi and Aborigines. But before tracing the history of these M. D'Arbois Jubainville turns aside to deal with another people who immigrated into Europe from Asia, viz., the Scythians, whom Herodotus speaks of as the Scolotes and Sarmatians. These are regarded by our author as of Iranian descent, and, following their own traditions, he places their first arrival in Europe about the year 1500 B.C. Here, however, it is utterly impossible to touch upon the many points of interest which M. D'Arbois Jubainville discusses. The reader will find something to attract him on every page. As already said the passages which M. D'Arbois Jubainville adduces from ancient authors in support of his statements are remarkably numerous. He examines them with skill and in the course of his investigations throws light upon many an obscure term, and upon many points of ancient geography. For the student of archaeology not less than for the student of the ancient Roman and Greek writers, the work is extremely valuable. The second volume should be equally attractive and may be anticipated with pleasure.

*Letters of David Hume to William Strahan.* Now first Edited with Notes, etc. By G. BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1888.

By preventing the dispersion of this valuable series of letters and securing its publication Lord Rosebery has rendered a signal service to the history of literature and laid men of letters under an obligation which they can scarcely fail to acknowledge with gratitude. Gratitude is also due to Dr. Birkbeck Hill for the manner in which he has edited the letters. It is perhaps not too much to say that a more competent editor could not have been found. The news that they had been placed in the hands of the Editor of Boswell was sufficient to raise our expectations and to assure us that the work would be done with skill; but we must frankly own that we were not prepared to see it done with the remarkable minuteness, and absolutely profuse yet well ordered information with which it is. Editing after this manner we had imagined was out of fashion, and it is with no small pleasure that we have found it is not. Strahan to whom the letters were addressed, was a Scotsman, born in Edinburgh, and a printer. On

the expiry of his apprenticeship he went up to London, carried on his trade with success, set up his carriage and entered Parliament. Among the works he published or had a hand in publishing were not only those of Hume, but those also of Gibbon, Johnson, Robertson, Adam Smith, Blackstone and Blair. He was on good and even intimate terms with all the most eminent men of letters of his day. According to Beattie he was 'eminently skilled in composition,' and Hume and Robertson availed themselves of his knowledge of English in the correction of their proofs. His services in this respect are more than once acknowledged by Hume in the letters now published. Of Hume himself the letters tell little that was not known before. They exhibit the violence of his feelings towards the English, his intense antipathy towards Chatham, his belief that the country was on the verge of bankruptcy, his expectations as to the result of the war with the American colonies, and his own moral cowardice, vanity, 'distempered and discontented thoughts,' and unmanly complaints of neglect. At the same time they show his hatred for 'ignoble ease,' his noble industry, and unwearied efforts to make his writings as perfect as possible. Here and there, too, are expressions of Hume's own feelings of satisfaction with his work. At the time these feelings were no doubt in a measure justified. They were backed up by the opinions of the most eminent men of the day. But readers of recent histories of England can scarcely refrain from a smile at Hume's claim to have written with perfect impartiality or at the hope he expressed at having put his account of the Stuart period beyond controversy. But to our way of thinking, the notes which Dr. Birkbeck Hill has added, and his whole work of editing, is quite as valuable as the letters themselves. 'In my notes,' he says, 'my aim has been not only to make every letter clear, but also to bring before my readers the thoughts and feelings of Hume's contemporaries in regard to the subjects which he discusses;' and adopting Hume's dictum that every book should be as complete as possible within itself, and should never refer for anything material to other books, he has not only sought out the passages which illustrate anything Hume discusses or alludes to, even in the most passing way, but he has also printed them, and made his volume as serviceable as a library, and, indeed, in connection with these letters more so. The extent to which some of the notes run is remarkable. For instance, Letter 36 occupies about two pages and a half of large type, but the notes to it cover no fewer than nineteen closely printed pages, and touch on a whole multitude of subjects,—from Hume's house in Edinburgh, his old claret, and his manner of living, to Wilkes' expulsion from the House of Commons. Lord Bute's influence with the King, and Chatham's reference to it in the House of Lords. In addition to Hume's Letters to Strahan, the volume contains several others, some of which are here printed for the first time. Hume's autobiography has been added, and Dr. Birkbeck Hill has written a short account of Strahan. A list of the chief events in Hume's life is given and a number of informing notes are supplied to the autobiography. A full index closes one of the most careful, elaborate, and admirable pieces of editing we have seen.

*The Life of William Denny, Shipbuilder, Dumbarton.* By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1889.

'I read few biographies, and I never expected to write one,' is Professor Bruce's confession. He has managed to write a biography, however, which is not only readable, but also thoroughly attractive, enjoyable, and help-

ful. That that is due in a large measure to his own style and directness of expression may be taken for granted; but it is due in a still larger measure, we believe, to his subject. Mr. Denny was something more than a shipbuilder. He was a man of more than ordinary culture, of intellectual vigour, and of a large, generous, and beneficent nature. While devoting himself to his profession with an energy and intelligence which has made his name famous as a shipbuilder, he aimed at playing the part of a social reformer in the circle more immediately around him. And hence Professor Bruce has not merely to record his deeds as a master workman and his inventions and triumphs in naval architecture; he has to trace the history of Mr. Denny's intellectual and spiritual nature, and to say much in respect to his efforts, hopes, disappointments, and successes in doing good. All through, but especially in the second half, readers of the volume will find much to stimulate them, and much that calls for sober and earnest thought. Mr. Denny was not inexpert with his pen, and some of the passages he wrote, and which Professor Bruce has wisely printed, are among the freshest in the volume. Professor Bruce has evidently written the biography, unused as he is to this kind of writing, with the warmest sympathy, but not without discrimination. Here and there he betrays a desire to improve the occasion, but his thoughts are fresh and never tedious.

*César Cui, Esquisse Critique.* Par la CTSSE. DE MERCY-ARGENTAU. Paris: Librairie Fischbacher. 1888.

M. César Cui, though a major-general in the Russian army, professor of fortifications in the three Military Academies of St. Petersburg, and the author of several works on the art of war, is practically speaking the founder of the new school of Russian music. In the volume before us, which is the result of prolonged study and enthusiastic though discriminating admiration, the Countess de Mercy-Argentau details her own introduction to his music, gives a sketch of his life, translates several of his critical papers, describes his efforts to cultivate the taste for national music, and analyses his principal works. Of these last we can say nothing. The most interesting aspect in which the work presents itself to us is as a history of the new musical movement in Russia. By birth M. C. Cui is partly French and partly Lithuanian, having been born at Wilna in 1835, where his father, Antoine Cui, a soldier in the French Army of Invasion of 1812, had settled after being wounded at Smolensk. His mother was the daughter of one of the lesser houses of the Lithuanian nobility. In sentiment and feeling, however, he is thoroughly Russian. His efforts in the direction of musical reform date back to the year 1863, since which he has laboured incessantly both as a critic and composer to create in St. Petersburg and throughout the Russian Empire an interest in the national music. For the extent to which he has succeeded, and for the method he has employed, we must refer the reader to the Countess de Mercy-Argentau's attractive pages. Taken in connection with other movements going on in Russia, this, of which M. C. Cui may be regarded as the leader, is of considerable importance, and has a large historical significance.

*Blackie's Modern Cyclopaedia of Useful Information.* Edited by CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A. LL.D. Vol. I.: A—BLA. London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Dublin: Blackie & Son. 1889.

Dr. Annandale, who has already proved himself a remarkably capable editor, has here taken in hand a work which, in its own way, promises to

be as useful as his *Imperial Dictionary*. His aim is to provide a book of reference which shall be at once handy in size, comprehensive in scope, moderate in price, and adapted to the wants of that numerous class of readers who, while taking an interest in many subjects outside their own special pursuits, have not the time to undertake an extensive course of reading, or even to master the more elaborate and often discursive articles to be met with in the larger and more expensive cyclopedias. So far as the present volume is concerned, we can only say he has succeeded admirably. The articles, as far as we have examined them, are short, full of matter, clearly written, and accurate. Special attention is given to such topics or subjects as pertain to the present day and the modern world ; but such as belong to the past are by no means neglected. There are excellent articles, though of course condensed, yet always well informed, under such titles as Alexander, Alcuin, Æschylus, Achæans, Abelard, Alexandrian Library, Alexandrian School, Assyria, Babylon, Babylonia, Barbour (John), Bard, and many others. The geographical, biographical, and legal articles are specially well done. The same may also be said of those dealing with birds, fishes, and animals. Numerous illustrations are scattered through the volume, and altogether the work bears the promise of being in every way useful and acceptable to those for whom it is designed.

*Essays by the late Mark Pattison, sometime Rector of Lincoln College.* Collected and Arranged by HENRY NETTLESHIP, M.A. 2 vols. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press. 1889.

The late Rector of Lincoln was not a voluminous writer ; but what he did write, he wrote well. The *Essays* which Mr. Nettleship has here placed together and edited with excellent skill, were worth issuing in a permanent form. They are clear, sparkling, and scholarly. The field they cover is wide, and each of the essays bears ample evidence of careful thought and extensive reading. Of the author's theological position we have here no call to speak. It is well known. Of the twenty essays which the volumes contain, only five deal with theological subjects, the best known of which is the *Essay on the 'Tendencies of Religious Thought in England, 1688-1750,'* originally contributed to the once famous *Essays and Reviews*. More attractive to the general reader are the more valuable biographical and historical essays, and the fragment of a *Life of Joseph Scaliger*. It is in these that the late Rector is seen at his best. The *Essays on the Stephenses, Muretus, Joseph Scaliger, Huet and Wolf*, which form the bulk of the first volume, are excellent. In the *Essay on Gregory of Tours*, Dr. Pattison shows his dislike for the pictorial style of writing history, and by his account of the trial of Prætextatus, brings out into strong relief the ecclesiastical condition of Europe in the Sixth Century. In the second volume, besides the papers dealing with religious thought, both in England and in Germany, we have the philippic against Warburton, and an article on Calvin. The tone of the latter may be gathered from the following sentences : 'It is necessary to dwell on the services rendered by Calvin to human liberty, for his sins against it were of the deepest dye.' . . . 'The punishment of Servetus was a stroke of policy. Calvin gained in character with his contemporaries by it. He had justified his faith by his acts, and not left the Church of Rome the sole glory of taking vengeance on the enemies of Christ. All the Protestants approved ; Melancthon emphatically so. Calvin never repented it. Greatly as the Calvinistic Churches have served the cause of political liberty, they have contributed nothing to the progress of knowledge.'



*The Works of William Shakespeare.* Edited by HENRY IRVING and FRANK A. MARSHALL. Vol. V. London, Glasgow, and Edinburgh: Blackie and Son. 1889.

Mr. F. A. Marshall and his collaborators are gradually fulfilling the promise indicated in their first volume, and producing one of the best, if not the most complete and useful, edition of Shakespeare which has yet appeared. The present volume contains five plays—viz., *All's Well that Ends Well*, *Julius Caesar*, *Measure for Measure*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Macbeth*. The last is admittedly out of its place, and has been inserted here in consequence of an accident by which the 'copy' of nearly four acts of *Hamlet*, which it was intended to place next after *Julius Caesar*, has been lost. The editing is on the same lines as that of the previous volumes, and equally full and conscientious. Mr. Symons' work on *Macbeth* deserves to be specially mentioned. His introduction to the play is excellent. *All's Well that Ends Well* is identified by Mr. Evans, who edits this play, with the 'Love's Labours Won' mentioned by Francis Meres. Mr. Wilson Verity refuses to see any profound or secret idea underlying *Troilus and Cressida*, and finds in the piece nothing more than a love story, or a study of love from a stand-point exactly the opposite of that from which it is studied in *Romeo and Juliet*. In the critical notes to each play an honest attempt is made to deal with the various difficulties presented by the text; but on some, as for instance on the difficult passage 'make ropes in such a scarre,' in *All's Well that Ends Well*, no light is thrown. Mr. Marshall's note to the phrase, 'the corrupt deputy scaled,' is unsatisfactory. 'To scale' certainly means to separate, but the obvious meaning here is 'weighed in the balance,' 'judged,' 'condemned.'

*Cross Lights.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1888.

It is a common practice of those who help to lade the magazines for their monthly voyage to try and rescue their share of the goods from the waters of oblivion; though the vessel sinks uncared for, it sometimes happens that the salvage is acceptable. But the author of these charming essays will run no such risk, and instead of trusting his wares to a ship which sooner or later goes down, he prefers to charter a little bark of his own. His bales have with a single exception never formed part of any previous cargo: they are of diverse kinds and all worth inspection. Amongst them one may draw special attention to the essay on 'The Study of Classical Archæology,' which guards against the common mistake of making too many hard and fast generic distinctions between ancient and modern art, and of generalizing on the former from inadequate material, since it is obvious that recent discoveries have antiquated, and future discoveries may still antiquate, many of those 'principles' of Greek art which our forefathers looked upon as established to all time. In 'Wordsworth's Successor' few would perhaps recognise Mr. Browning, and yet a claim is put in on behalf of considering them both as didactic poets, men with a mission, who, allowing for different audiences and dissimilar problems, are 'instinct with the same spirit of kindly wisdom.' To readers North of the Tweed the papers on Macpherson's *Ossian* and Blair ought to prove attractive reading. In 'Logic and Language' the writer protests, in a paradoxical mood, against that over-regard for strict logic which makes grammar the supreme criterion of style; and finally, in 'Shakespeare on the Stage,' he points out, *pace* modern stage-managers and the play-going public, how absurd it is to sacrifice the true interests of the drama, which is and must always be pre-eminently ideal, to an overwhelming regard for

historical and archaeological truth, often, as in Shakespeare's case, unattainable in the representation because unregarded in the composition. Essays treating of such various subjects so well, and viewed from a standpoint so uncommon, are not often brought within the compass of a single volume.

*Sketches from a Tour through Holland and Germany.* By J. P. MAHAFFY and L. E. ROGERS. London: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

*Aalesund to Tetuan. A Journey.* By C. R. CORNING. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1889.

*Midnight Sunbeams.* By EDWIN COOLIDGE KIMBALL. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1889.

These are three delightful works of travel, in any one of which the reader will find much to attract and entertain him. It is difficult to decide which is the most attractive; they are all admirably written, and each is an excellent specimen of the printer's art. Messrs. Mahaffy and Rogers' volume, however, is illustrated with a series of quaint exteriors and river scenes and landscapes, which give it an additional attraction, and in this respect it has the advantage over those along with which we have placed it. It is the record, we take it, of a holiday tour. Its authors appear to have set out in good spirits, and to have retained them throughout their journey. They have written in a very lively and entertaining mood, and the many sketches scattered through their pages show that they have had a quick eye for all that was quaint and beautiful around them. A better or more lively companion in the shape of a book for the same journey, whether by the fireside or along the road or canal, cannot be desired, than the one now before us.—Starting from London, Mr. Corning seems to have travelled hither and thither for a couple of years as fortune or caprice directed him. When he started he had no intention of visiting either Aalesund or Tetuan; he does not appear even to have known their names; but before his journey was finished, he had taken on his way Portsmouth, the Channel Islands, Normandy, Monaco, Genoa, Naples, Rome, Venice, Bergen, Abo, St. Petersburg, Moscow, Berlin, Madrid, Toledo, Gibraltar, Cordova, and Seville. Some of the ground over which he travelled is well-beaten, other of it is not. But this makes little difference to Mr. Corning, or his book. He is always fresh, and always entertaining, even when what he has to communicate is not particularly new.—Mr. Kimball's travels were more circumscribed than those of his countryman. They were confined to the land of the Norseman—a country whose charms have only recently become widely known; and few will read his book without desiring to see the scenes he so graphically describes. For their guidance he has written a chapter containing a number of practical hints, and setting out the requirements and costs of the journey.

*Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers.* Vol. 13. Chatham: Mackay & Co. 1888. Reprint of Paper 1. Filmer & Mason, Guildford.

In an article on the Water Circulation of Great Cities, in the number for April, 1886, we referred to the great requisite of preserving our wells and springs, as well as our brooks and rivers, from the dangerous contamination which is now rapidly on the increase. The subject has long

engaged the attention of the men of Science, to whom is entrusted the supervision of the Health of the Army; and the current number of the *Professional Papers of the Corps of Royal Engineers*, contains a great deal of definite information on this important project. The last few years have witnessed a new departure in the theory of water purification. 'The basis of chemical purification,' according to Professor Franz Schwachhöfer, 'is that all matter held in solution by the water shall be converted into insoluble compounds, and then precipitated.' Supposing this desideratum to be effected, the insoluble precipitate so formed would be putrescible, so that the problem is only advanced by a single step. In point of fact, the precipitates formed are but partially insoluble. They have the characteristic of associating with themselves from eight to ten times their own weight of water, thus forming a foul and unmanageable semi-fluid known as 'sludge,' the disposal of which is a constant source of expense, of nuisance, and of danger. So universal is this difficulty, that Dr. A. Pfeiffer, of Wiesbaden, in the *Deutsche Vierteljahrsschrift für öffentliche Gesundheitspflege*, 1888, comes to the conclusion that, 'as no chemical treatment can comply with the requirements of modern science, it is useless to compel towns to adopt costly chemical systems of clarification,' and that 'it would be better, in the case of rivers of large volume, to discharge the said sewage into the stream, than to set up expensive works at the outfall for chemical systems of treatment.' It is depressing to find so late an outcome of German study to be adducible in support of British practice. It is the more to be regretted because few British rivers are of sufficient volume to bear out Professor Pfeiffer's most insalubrious recommendation. Not thus has the matter been dealt with at the School of Military Engineering at Chatham. The view taken in the volume under notice, is that the true object of the chemist is, not to store up, but to destroy, putrescible matter as such, and that at the earliest moment. At Chichester barracks this has been done; and not only is the outflowing sewage rendered pure, according to analysis by the chemists of the War Office, but the brook into which it falls, which had been in so foul a state as to lead to legal proceedings, is stated to be now running clean water, and tenanted by aquatic animals. The process has been carried on at Chichester, from July, 1886, to the present time. It is now applied at Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace, and is at work in twenty English Counties. It is, perhaps, owing to the character and position of those who first adopted the method, that the ordinary class of advertisements have not made their appearance. But this will be far from discouraging to those who are aware of the extreme caution that characterises the officers of the Royal Engineers. A system so far sanctioned by official acceptance and recommendation, cannot fail to be worthy of the attention of all those who are in Sanitary trouble. The pretty little watering-place of Grange over Sands is at present the nearest point to the border in which the system can be seen in operation, as applied to the service of a town. The Household application of the process has been introduced into Scotland.

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*Faithful and Unfaithful*, by Margaret Lee (Macmillan) is not only a powerful story, it is also a serious indictment against the laws of divorce in the United States, and a revelation painful and vivid of an unpleasant side of American life. Sides equally painful in social life may unquestionably be found without crossing the Atlantic, but here something is at least done in order to prevent the sore spreading or becoming chronic. After reading Mr. Bryce's chapter on the 'Pleasantness of American Society,' *Faithful and Unfaithful* rather grates on one's feelings. Yet it is written

with a purpose, and we must assume that the picture it contains is not overdrawn, but is a fair representation of what not unfrequently happens. But whether it is or not, as a piece of novel writing the book is admirably done. Mr. Travers is just one of those scoundrels who may be met with in most large cities, polished, plausible, attractive, yet thoroughly selfish and utterly heedless of others. His wife is trustful and with many admirable features in her character. Her intellectual development, however, is somewhat slow—perhaps too slow for an American. The other characters are equally well drawn. There is no lack of interest in the story; nor is there any carelessness in the writing. The workmanship of the volume indeed is excellent. The work deserves to be read both for its revelations and for its intrinsic merits.

*The Land of Darkness* (Macmillan), we are told, though forming no part of the personal story of the Little Pilgrim, is essential to the right understanding of the additional chapters which are here given of her experiences in the unseen. That is undoubtedly the case, and a very striking and powerful piece of imaginative writing it is. It describes what may be supposed to be the condition of the lost after death, their restless, ceaseless but futile efforts to secure peace, their unutterable misery, and the unspeakable agony which the simple utterance of the name of God produces in them. There is something Dantesque about it. The anguish described, however, is more mental than physical. The chapters descriptive of the Little Pilgrim's further experience are beautiful, exquisitely so. The one great lesson her experience inculcate upon her is that the highest words in heaven are hope and love.

In *Cressy*, 2 vols. (Macmillan), Mr. Breté Harte returns to the scenes of old Californian life. The story falls in the time when the country was only partly settled and when its rough settlers did what seemed good in their own eyes or tried to do. Mr. Breté Harte does not write much, but what he has here written is done with elaborate care. *Cressy*, in fact, deserves to rank, if not as the best, certainly as one of the best of its author's longer stories. There is an abundance of attractiveness in it. It is brimful of quiet humour, and when closing the second volume one wonders whether the whole thing is not a huge joke, and whether the author is not quietly laughing at his readers at the surprise he has given them. There can be no doubt, however, as to the skill with which the story is managed. *Cressy* is no ordinary heroine and beneath her apparent simplicity hides a duplicity or skill, we scarcely know which to call it, which few will suspect.

Mr. Gissing is giving ample evidence of his claims to be regarded as an artist of much more than average ability. In *A Life's Morning* (Smith, Elder) the promise of *Demos* is sustained, and we have in it a study of human character and a plot both of which are admirably worked out. The three principal characters are sharply contrasted, and the life's morning of two of them, though opening with much trouble, breaks out at last into a clear sunshine, whose brightness is tempered by the sadness of painful memories. Beatrice, whose life's morning is just as troubled as that of Wilfrid and Emily, disappears somewhat unsatisfactorily. In fact, the winding up of the story is the one unsatisfactory thing about it. There is, of course, the inevitable marriage, but Beatrice vanishes, and one knows not whether into misery or into joy. A little more, too, might have been said in order to reconcile the apparent contradictions in her character.

Mrs. Oliphant's *Neighbours on the Green* (Macmillan) consists of three volumes of stories, with a slender thread of connection running through them. They are charmingly written, and each story has an interest of its

own. For our own part we much prefer them to the three volumed novel. It is difficult to pick out one story and say that it is better than the rest. All are equally good, while their variety is another proof of their author's fertility of invention.

For what the translator and publisher of *Tempted of the Devil* (Alex. Gardner), may not find themselves answerable as the result of thus bringing under the notice of the British public the possible uses of the Practical Kabbalah, it is impossible to say. Every incipient Donnelly will be up and doing, busy with Kabbalistic equations, magic quadrates, and mystical numbers, proving and disproving at his own sweet will, and able to predict the most ghastly fate for anyone profane enough to doubt his accuracy. As a piece of biography, the book is very charming, a vivid picture of German country life towards the end of the 18th century. For educated and studious readers its chief interest centres in the curious and graphic sketch it gives of a peculiar phase in the history of intellectual development—a sketch of the days when 'Werther' and 'Nathan der Weise' were new publications, when Lessing was drawing attention to Shakespeare, and meditating over his never accomplished Faust, when Voltaire reigned supreme, and the French Revolution was about to burst upon the nations, and create, in politics, literature, and social life, a new world for the wise to try their hand in developing. As such a sketch, *Tempted of the Devil* has deep and lasting interest, enhanced by the admirable way in which Miss Macdowal has done her work as a translator.

*Under-Currents* (Smith Elder), is a great improvement on any previous efforts of the author which have come under our notice, in that it is to a far less degree disfigured by that coarseness of tone, and vulgarity of style, which in general so fatally mar the work of a really clever writer. Apart from the shoe string scene, an episode in the genuine frolicsome barmaid style, the girls in the book conduct themselves with decency, and the story throughout is amusing enough. The return of Michael Sedley, and the resultant tragedy are very powerfully described, and leave upon one the impression that had the writer chosen to face the steep and toilsome road that leads to permanent reputation, she might have become something better than a showy clever writer of popular sensational stories.

*The Last von Reckenburg* (Alex. Gardner), amply merits the high praise bestowed upon it by the veteran novelist, Gustave Freytag. The picture of a woman of great force and nobility of character is drawn with much skill and power; especially masterly is the indication of extraordinary moral strength conveyed in the delineation of the calm composure, devoid of all heroic attitudinizing, with which she bears the burden she has lifted from the shoulders of her frailer companion. As a picture of German life, with its sharply defined line between the nobly born and the middle classes, and of the stormy political conditions of the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, the book is equally admirable; as remarkable for quiet humour as for vivid life-like portraiture.

Mr. Shorthouse has written a book and called it *The Countess Eve* (Macmillan). Her husband is Comte du Pie-Adam, and her garden is called Paradise. Thus the mystical tendency of the book is sufficiently indicated. He who, having kept the chambers of his soul pure, fresh, and wholly free from the unclean brood of Zola and the like, wishes there to enshrine a vision of exceeding loveliness, had better at once read this enchanting mystical romance. That is all we have to say about it. Critical analysis is a very

useful thing in its proper place, but not when it leads to an attempt to dissect a beautiful dream with a blunt carving knife.

*The Aspern Papers* (Macmillan), the first of the three stories contained in these two volumes, is a very happy effort in Mr. James' peculiar style ; and shows to great advantage his marvellous power of manipulating the slenderest materials. The way in which the man, so to speak, sinks the biographer, actually in port, is delightful ; though it is disappointing to lose in consequence all knowledge of what the papers contained. *Louisa Pallant* is too vague and incomplete to be anything save irritating. In *A Modern Warning* we find the American Eagle screeching anew, and disposed to wave aloft the Star Spangled Banner, while he dances on the faded worn-out Union Jack, and we feel inclined to say, 'My dear bird, do not screech so loud. Nobody denies the glories of the Great American Nation! and at any rate, be logical. If Great Britain is the home of a worn-out despised nation, be not so exuberantly exultant over every American girl who contrives to get herself chosen as a wife by a son of that degenerate race.' In truth, the excessive delight of our American cousins over these transactions seems a little uncomplimentary to their women, very much so to their men. But if we are to accept Agatha Grice as a fair representation of the sort of treasure an Englishman secures when he takes unto himself an American wife, why, we can only say the wrongs of his neglected country-women are amply avenged ; and *The Modern Warning* is a very emphatic 'Englishmen beware' indeed !

*Beyond Cloudland* (Alex. Gardner), is unquestionably the work of a cultured and reverent mind. There are in it excellent passages and chapters of great interest. The attempt to deal with the invisible world, and to give imaginary sketches of what is going on there is not new ; but so far as we know Miss Crawley-Boevey's idea—or at least the treatment of it in modern fiction is. It reminds us of the old, very old idea, prevalent among savages, that during sleep the soul leaves the body and takes to wandering. To this Miss Crawley-Boevey adds the idea that certain souls affect, or rather are compelled to affect, certain localities beyond the earth's atmosphere, say in the moon, or the planets Mars, Saturn and Mercury, and that other souls from which they have been estranged may follow, find and regain them. The idea is certainly capable of treatment in fiction, but the treatment it has here received is only partially successful. Miss Crawley-Boevey has written a number of excellent chapters, but here and there we can not resist the feeling that the chapters either need re-arrangement or that the connection between them is lost. Some of the characters are fairly well drawn, as e.g. Herbert Graham, Miss Crompton, Blanche Murray and her mother. Neville Rede is an admirable character, but his lectures are apt to be a little tiresome. For a certain class of minds we imagine the story will have not a few attractions.

*The Epistle to the Hebrews*, by Frederic Rendall, M.A. (Macmillan), consists of a translation of the Epistle to the Hebrews with Notes and an Appendix, which occupies more than half of the volume, devoted to the discussion of the Authorship, etc., of the Epistle and the Sacrificial language of the New Testament. Mr. Rendall's thoughts on this last topic throw considerable light on the text, and are deserving of close attention. The notes, critical and explanatory, have the merit of really grappling with the difficulties of the text, and, unless we are mistaken, will be found fresh, helpful and suggestive.

*Galatians* and *Ephesians* (Nisbet) are two more volumes of the Rev. J. S. Exell's *Biblical Illustrator*. Those who are in possession of the previous volumes of the series know how closely they are packed with materials and suggestions for sermon-making. *Galatians* and *Ephesians* are quite as replete with material. They are little short of marvels of compilation, and one cannot but admire the indefatigable industry every page betrays. The writers among whom he is most at home are those belonging to the modern Evangelical school. The writings of the Fathers might also be gleaned. The harvest to be gathered there is not less rich in suggestiveness.

*The Light that Lighteth every Man* (Macmillan) is a volume of sermons by the late Dean of Adelaide, the Rev. Alexander Russell, B.D. They are simple, earnest and devout. In the introduction which he has written for the volume, Dr. Plumtre has given a sketch of their author's life, pointing out among other things the excellent work he did in Australia. Mr. Russell was somewhat of a poet, and Dr. Plumtre has here given some specimens of his ability in that way.

*Our Present Hope and our Future Home* (Alex. Gardner) is apparently a series of sermons which the Rev. J. B. Sturrock, M.A., has broken up into short chapters for the convenience of his readers. His aim, he tells us, has been to 'provide profitable reading for the Christian fireside.' He touches upon many difficulties and failings in the religious life, and conveys many wise counsels in a style which is animated by a sincere desire to do good.

The tenth volume of *Present Day Tracts* (Religious Tract Society) contains six papers by Dr. Godet, the Rev. M. Kaufmann, and others, dealing with such subjects as the authenticity of the four principal Epistles of St. Paul, the moral difficulties of the Old Testament, the unity of the faith as a proof of the Divine origin and preservation of Christianity. M. Kaufmann, who has deservedly won for himself a high reputation as an authority on all matters connected with Socialism, here deals with it in its relation to Christianity. In another volume of the same series we have a number of tracts dealing with man in relation to the Bible and Christianity. The topics here specially discussed are among others the age and origin of man from a geological point of view, and also from the point of view of history. Professor Macalister devotes a paper to 'Man Physiological Considered,' and Sir W. Dawson, another to the 'Points of Contrast between Revelation and Natural Science.'

Dr. Marcus Dods' *Introduction to the New Testament* is a further addition to Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton's 'Theological Educator.' It is a fairly successful attempt to deal with a large subject in a small compass. An attempt is made to state the various theories which have been, and are still, held respecting the many points which emerge in an introduction to the New Testament, but their adequate treatment is not attempted. As a handbook for students the book is insufficient, but it may serve as an introduction to the study of larger and more exhaustive works.

In Messrs. Nisbet's 'Men of the Bible' series we have the 'Life and Times of David,' by the Rev. W. J. Deane, M.A., whose books on *Samuel* and *Saul*, *Daniel* and *Abraham* in the same series we have already had occasion to notice.

Much as we may differ from Hume in his speculations, there is no denying their value and importance for the historical study of philosophy. His language is often perversely loose, but the ideas he set forth have had the effect of recasting European philosophy. Mr. Selby-Bigge's edition of the

*Treatise of Human Nature* (Clarendon Press) is an exact reprint of the first edition of the work. One misses anything in the shape of a critical introduction, but that is made up for by a remarkably elaborate index covering nearly seventy pages of small type, and containing a minute and exhaustive analysis of the whole work. Of the convenience of this for those who are desirous of getting rapidly at a clear view of Hume's system, or of informing themselves respecting his thoughts on any particular point involved in it, it is needless to speak. The treatise is printed in good clear type in a single volume, which contains the whole of the original appendices.

To the important series issued by Messrs. Longmans entitled 'Manuals of Catholic Philosophy,' the most recent additions are *The First Principles of Knowledge*, by the Rev. J. Rickaby, S.J., and Father R. F. Clarke's *Logic*. In the first an attempt has been made to state the sound, traditional principles of certitude and to bring them into constant contact with those which are antagonistic to them, and more especially with those of Hume and the pure empirics. Father Clarke, as need hardly be said, follows Aristotle and St. Thomas Aquinas, and seeks to set aside the theories of Kant, Hegel, Sir William Hamilton and John Stuart Mill, and so to 'lead back the English student into the safe paths of the ancient wisdom.' To a large extent, therefore, as is the case with most books on this subject, the work is controversial.

Mr. Hodgkin's *Dynasty of Theodosius* (Clarendon Press), is an admirable introduction to his larger work on *Italy and Her Invaders*. It is by no means, however, a mere sketch of the contents of that work, or even of its first two volumes, though it touches upon many points discussed in them, but from the new matter it contains deserves to be regarded as almost independent contribution to the subject. It consists of seven lectures, one of which did not form part of the original course, and will be read with pleasure by those who have already had the privilege of reading Mr. Hodgkin's *opus magnum*.

Mr. Carter's *Summer Cruise on the Coast of New England* (Alex. Gardner) is a delightful book, reminding us strongly of Frank Buckland's *Curiousities of Natural History* and deserving a place beside those charming volumes. While entertaining, it is thoroughly instructive. Among the company is a Professor of Natural History who in all matters concerning marine Zoology seems to be perfectly omniscient, and has an abundance of information to convey. Those who wish to learn something about the denizens of the deep along the shores of New England may here learn it in the pleasantest of ways. Better or more entertaining companions than Mr. Carter and his fellow-voyagers cannot be desired.

Among Reprints and New Editions, the first place is undoubtedly due to Dr. Jessop's *Coming of the Friars* (Fisher Unwin), in which he has collected a number of those charming papers on the Mediæval life of England, which have already, and so justly, attracted so large an amount of attention in the pages of the *Nineteenth Century*. Besides the paper which gives its name to the collection, we have in the volume 'Village Life in Norfolk Six Hundred Years Ago,' 'Daily Life in a Mediæval Monastery,' 'The Black Death in East Anglia,' and 'The Building up of a University.' Criticism of these papers would be superfluous. They are admirable attempts to set the old life of the country vividly before the mind of the reader, and to awaken an interest in the national history.

*Holiday Papers* (Smith Elder) is a collection of papers written by the Rev. Harry Jones, as the title indicates, during his holidays. Readers of



*Cornhill*, *Good Words*, and other periodicals, have already met with them, and will be pleased to meet with them again in a permanent form. They are chatty and pleasant. Here and there they are amusing; at the same time they are instructive. Not the least entertaining among them is 'Some Clerical and College Reminiscences;' other good papers are 'Parochialia,' 'Sunshine,' 'Insect Homes,' 'Nervousness,' and 'Day-Dreams of Invention.' But dip into the volume where we may, there is sure to be something instructive and entertaining.

The two parts of Green's *Short History of the English People*, which Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have issued with maps and analyses, will be acceptable to teachers, and to those also who are interested in the study of English history. The first part comes down to the year 1272, and the second to 1540. The analyses are as full as may be, and cannot fail to be of the greatest assistance. Each part is further supplied with a chronological table, giving the events from year to year, and also with an ample index.

*Culture and Anarchy* (Smith, Elder), though called an Essay in Political and Social Criticism, is in reality the first of the late Matthew Arnold's religious writings. It has long been before the public, and is perhaps the most important of the series to which it belongs. It is here issued in a popular form, and to all appearances is an exact reprint of former editions.

As its title indicates, *Amusing Prose Chap-books* (Morison, Glasgow) is a collection of the prose popular literature chiefly of the last century. Its editor, Mr. R. H. Cunningham, has put together in it some twenty-five pieces, among which are such as the *Wise Men of Gotham*, *Jack the Giant Killer*, *Dick Whittington*, *Blue Beard*, *Robin Hood*, the *History of Dr. Faustus*, the *Famous History of Friar Bacon*, and a number of other tales, with which, before the days of cheap newspapers and cheap literature, the populace was wont to be entertained. They remind us of bygone times, and in their present form will be acceptable to many. In an editorial note, Mr. Cunningham takes the occasion to point out the popularity these books once enjoyed, the number of persons their production gave employment to, the way in which they were distributed, and the present scarcity of original editions.

In *Popular Lectures and Address* (Macmillan), Sir William Thomson has gathered together a number of lectures on that class of Scientific subjects he knows so well how to treat. The present volume is the first of three, and contains eleven principal pieces, with a number of Appendices, dealing chiefly with the constitution of matter. First we have the lecture on Capillary Attraction, delivered at the Royal Institution in January, 1886, which is followed by three Appendices. Then follows the addresses on 'Electrical of Measurement,' 'Maxwell's Sorting Demon,' 'The Size of Atoms,' 'The Six Gateways of Knowledge,' 'The Wave Theory of Light;' the paper on 'The Age of the Sun's Heat,' reprinted from *Macmillan*, and the lecture on the Sun's heat delivered before the Royal Institution in 1887. The second volume is to treat of subjects connected with Geology, the third with ocean and maritime affairs.

Of Mr. Leighton Jordan's *Standard of Value* (Longmans), it is sufficient to say that it has now reached its sixth edition,—a fact on which Mr. Jordan may be congratulated.

Of periodicals we have received, among others, *The Cornhill*, which still supplies excellent reading in the shape of literary and scientific papers and fiction both in longer and shorter stories; *The English Illustrated Magazine*,

which besides Professor Minto's *Mediation of Ralph Hardelot*, and a number of good readable papers on a variety of topics, has a charming series on *Coaching Days and Coaching Ways*, by Mr. W. O. Tristram, set off by many admirable and often amusing illustrations; *The Sunday at Home* and *Leisure Hour*, each of which are full of entertaining and instructive reading both for Sundays and week-days.

Limitations of space compel us simply to acknowledge the following: *Roman Mosaics*, by Rev. H. Macmillan, D.D. (Macmillan); *Footprints of the Revealer*, by Rev. W. Morison, D.D. (Nisbet); *Lux Benigna; or, History of the Orange St. Chapel*, by Rev. R. W. Free (Whittingham); *Commercial Geography*, by Dr. C. Zehden (Blackie); *Deductive Logic*, by St. George Stock, M.A. (Longmans); *Leaves of Life*, by E. Nisbet (Longmans); *Janet Hamilton*, by Joseph Wright (R. & R. Clark); *Inorganic Chemistry*, by A. H. Sexton (Blackie); *St. John's Ward*, by Jane H. Jamieson (Oliphant); *St. Vedas*, by A. S. Swan (Oliphant); *The Winter's Tale*, by R. Deighton, B.A. (Macmillan); *Scott's Rokeby*, by M. Macmillan, B.A. (Macmillan); *Andrew Gillon: A Tale of the Covenanters*, by John Strathesk (Oliphant).





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No. XXVI.

THE  
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