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ART. I.—THE CULDEES.

THERE are few questions so much debated in ecclesiastical history as those of the origin and nature of the Culdees. Their very name is manifold; for they have been called Culdei, Coledei, Cultores Dei, Coelicolae, Chelidei, Keledei, Coledei, Coelibes, Culdeesor, Keldeer, Ceile-De, and Cele-Dé. Historians are not less at variance as to their origin. Some place it so late as the tenth or even the twelfth century, whilst others are of opinion that they were in Scotland long before the coming of Palladius in the seventh century, and some even trace them back to the time of S. Patrick. Writers have differed just as much when answering the question: Who were the Culdees? Some, as for example Sir David Dalrymple, tell us that they 'either were or wished to be independents.'* Others like Mr. Algernon Herbert have discovered in them the forefathers of the modern Scottish freemasonry, who, according to him, originated in Iona. 'Under the shell of orthodoxy,' he writes, 'Culdeism contained an heterodox kernel,' which he conceives to have consisted in their secret mysteries and the practice of human sacrifices.† This theory is scarcely in

* Reeves: *The Culdees*, p. 190.

† *British Magazine*, Vol. XXVI., p. 1-13, 248-259.

accordance with that of other writers who represent them 'as monks in Scotland and in the Hebrides,'* and as 'religious men living in community commonly called Kelledeos, or men serving God.'† The Bollandists, O'Curry and Dr. M'Curry, ‡ consider that the Culdees were pious *laymen*. We have just quoted other authorities who have held that they were *religious men and monks*, indeed the Editors of the Councils think they were monks 'of a special and more strict rule,' § adding that they differed 'in no way from the doctrine or ordinary discipline of the Church.' Whilst on the contrary the Marquess of Bute, Lord Rector of St. Andrew's University, in his inaugural address to the students, in Nov., 1893, accepted the opinion of the late Bishop Grant, of Aberdeen, on the subject, *i.e.*, that the Culdees do not seem, like other Religious Orders, to have had any bond of common government; and that they were not clerical bodies in an ordinary sense. Others in my opinion come nearer the mark when they state that 'the Keledei' were 'servants of God, living in community, *evidently canons* who had adopted the rule of life given by Chrodegang of Metz.'|| In the following pages I propose to show that the Culdees were, beyond doubt, from their first institution clerics living in common, similar in every way to those *now* known as Canons Regular, and thus many of the above conflicting opinions may be reconciled; for these clerics, 'evidently canons,' were not infrequently styled 'monks,' 'lived in community,' were introduced into Ireland by S. Patrick, and thence spread to Scotland.

I am not concerned with what some of the Culdees became in course of time; if some, like those of St. Andrews, 'lapsed into something like impropiators,' took to themselves wives and transmitted their church endowments, as if they had been their own, to their children, it should be proved that this

* Riddle : *Manual of Christian Antiquities*, p. 780.

† Haddan and Stubbs : *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, Vol. II., Pt. I., p. 180.

‡ *Monks of Iona*, p. 145.

§ Vol. II., Pt. I., p. 175.

|| Alzog : *History of the Church*, Vol. II., p. 279 ; English Transl., 1880.

manner of life was allowed from the beginning of their existence, and not a flagrant violation of the original character of their rule. It is well known that many among the English clergy before the Norman Conquest kept *focarias*, shall we therefore say that this was the spirit of the primitive Church, or that the law of celibacy was introduced by Pope Hildebrand? However disorderly some individual Culdean community may have been, we find even among them a certain regularity still preserved.* Whilst some kept to the last the spirit of the primitive institution, as will be shown in the following notes.

Before proceeding further it is necessary, for the better understanding of what I am going to say, to premise that from the time of the Apostles there have always been in the Church clerics who following the example of the primitive Christians, living *secundum regulam a Sanctis Apostolis constitutam*, according to the Apostolic rule, had all things in common. S. Mark, the disciple of S. Peter, established this discipline among his clergy at Alexandria; S. Eusebius introduced it into Italy at Vercelli, the great Bishop of Hippo, S. Augustine, into Africa, where it was largely propagated by him. He gave to his brethren special regulations which were afterwards adopted by many other Churches. In the year 763 Chrodegang, Bishop of Metz, following the example of S. Augustine, assembled the clergy of his cathedral around him, led with them a community life, *vita canonica sive communis*, and gave to them a rule taken from the statutes of ancient Orders and Canons. The Councils of Aix-la-Chapelle in 789, and Mayence in 813 recommended the same manner of life. Charlemagne expressed his wish that 'all the clergy should be either monks or canons.' † In England, Bede plainly intimates that about A.D. 700 the Bishop and his clergy lived together and had all things in common, as they had in the primitive Church in the days of the Apostles, which way of living S. Gregory had commanded S. Augustine to introduce

* Milne's *Lives of the Bishops of Dunkeld*, quoted by Haddan and Stubbs, Vol. II., Pt. I., p. 180.

† Brueck : *History of the Church*, Vol. I., p. 271.

among his clergy at Canterbury.* When in after time, about the eleventh century, this regular or canonical life was in some Churches given up, and the dissolution of their associations was brought about, a distinction was made between the clerics who lived in separate houses and enjoyed their prebends, and those who still preserved the old discipline. The first were called *Canonici sæculares* and the latter *Canonici regulares*, by which name they have been known ever since. Their order like that of the Benedictines is composed of various Congregations. If any one wishes full information on the subject he may consult the work of the learned Abbot Cesare Benvenuti,† who century by century, from Councils, Fathers, and other ecclesiastical sources, proves that from the first to the twelfth century there have always existed clerics living in common, according to the example of the Apostles. I shall content myself with quoting one or two well known writers who confirm my statements.

The great Suarez in his treatise, ‘De statu religionis,’ writes thus:—

‘With regard to religious clerics it is also certain that from the days of S. Augustine there has never been a failure in the Church, at least in the Order of Canons Regular. As to the intermediate time, from the days of the Apostles up to those of S. Augustine, all are agreed that during the time of the Apostles the *Order of Clerics* was spread abroad among the clergy by Clement at Rome, by James at Jerusalem, and by Mark at Alexandria. There was afterwards a relaxation, but whether this began long or soon after the lifetime of the Apostles is not certain, while it does seem certain that the whole of the clergy did not fall away from *their primitive religious state*, but that at most there was a division among them, some retaining it, and others embracing a secular and less strict life. Pope Urban speaks of it as existing up to his time, which was about 224 years from the birth of Christ, and so about 200 years before that of S. Augustine, and it is not likely that during that time it should have become extinct, although perhaps to a great extent it may have become relaxed.’‡

* Bede : *Hist. Gent. Angl.*, lib. 4, c. 27 ; Bingham : *Antiquities of the Christian Church*, p. 193.

† *Discorso Storico-cronologico Della Vita Commune De' Chierici, dei primi dodici secoli della Chiesa*, Roma. 1728.

‡ *The Religious State*, a digest of the Doctrine of Suarez contained in his treatise, ‘de Statu Religionis,’ by Father Humphrey, S.J.

This is borne out by modern Church historians. Döllinger having said that from the time of the Apostles there have been in the Church virgins, laymen, ecclesiastics, named ascetics, renouncing all worldly possessions, continues thus:—

‘At Vercelli the holy Bishop Eusebius introduced the severe discipline of the Oriental monks among his clergy both by word and example. Before the gate of Milan was a cloister for monks under the protection of S. Ambrose. In Gaul S. Martin of Tours founded the first monastery. . . . S. Augustine, when a priest, founded a cloister at Hippo, in which with other clerics he lived in humility and community of goods, when Bishop his episcopal residence was converted into a cloister for ecclesiastics.’*

Heinrick Bruëck is of the same opinion.

‘Monasticism,’ he says, ‘became known in the West by means of S. Athanasius. It was zealously promoted by S. Eusebius of Vercelli . . . by S. Jerome. S. Martin founded the first cloister in Gaul. S. Ambrose, S. Augustine were zealous promoters of monasticism.’†

I may here remark that the terms monk and monasticism used by these and other writers, when applied to clerical institutions like those of S. Eusebius, S. Augustine, S. Patrick, S. Columba, etc., are only used in a general sense, *i.e.*, as equivalent to religious. Thus, as Moroni (*Dizionario sub voce Canonico*) observes, instances are not rare in which both old and modern writers call Canons Regular monks or Canon-monks. Balsamon, for instance, explaining the word *Canonicus* used by S. Basil, says:—‘*Canonicos eos dicit qui in canone numerantur, scilicet clericos-monachos.*’

What S. Eusebius, S. Augustine, S. Martin and others did in Italy, in Africa, in France and elsewhere, was done by S. Patrick and his disciples in these Isles. The biographers of the great Saint relate his visit to S. Martin at Marmoutier, where he remained four years, and where no doubt he learned and embraced the manner of life established there by his holy uncle. Probus thus relates how S. Patrick came to Marmoutier, and describes his novitiate there under S. Martin:—

‘The Blessed Patrick arrived at Tours and joined Martin the Bishop, with whom he remained for four years, receiving the tonsure and admis-

* *Ecclesiastical History*, translated by the Rev. E. Cox. Vol. II., p. 270.

† *History of the Church*, translated by Rev. E. Pruenste. 1885.

sion into the clerical state, and he held fast to the doctrine and religion which he received from him. . . . He passed the time in utter submission, with patience, obedience, charity and chastity, and all purity of soul and spirit, remaining a virgin in the fear of the Lord, and walking all the days of his life in holiness and simplicity of heart.' *

That the Apostle of Ireland founded some religious order there can be no doubt. In the *Liber Angueli*, a fragment of the famous *Book of Armagh* edited a few years ago by the Irish Jesuit *savant*, Father Hogan, religious orders are mentioned several times in connection with S. Patrick. When we examine the nature of these religious congregations established by the Saint and his disciples, we find that they were so many different branches of the clerical or canonical order.

Let us first of all turn to the above mentioned *Liber Angueli*. The apostolic life led by 'sanctus Patricius,' which was, we may suppose, to a certain extent followed by his religious brethren, is there described by the 'Anguelus.' The conversion of the Irish is ascribed to the unwearied energy of the Saint, whose preaching, fastings, and daily journeyings, resembled those of the Apostle of the Gentiles.†

'The Angel said: the Almighty has sent me for thy consolation, because through thee were converted to Him the Irish whom thou didst bring to Him by thy most hard labours and by thy much preaching, which, through the grace of the Holy Ghost, was most fruitful among all nations, as thou wast assiduously labouring for many days, in many perils among the

* *Trias Thaummat*, p. 48.

† 'Respondit Anguelus : . . . misit me summus omnipotens, ad te. 1. ad animi tui consolationem post Conversionem hibernensium per te ad se in fidem quos ei adquaessisti per durissimum laborem et per tuam ualde praedicationem Gratia Spiritus sancti lucidissimam uniuersis gentibus fructuosam cum esses semper laboriosus multis temporibus in multis periculis a gentibus perfrigus et aestatem essuriens et sitiens deambulans impiger quotidie de gente in gentem ad utilitatem multarum gentium.'

Gentiles, in cold and heat, journeying frequently from nation to nation, for the good of many.' *

The Saint is further introduced speaking with the 'Anguelus' of 'perfectis hiberniae religiossis,' who had renounced all things, being contented with the voluntary oblations of the faithful. Among the prerogatives of the see of Armagh, there enumerated, one was that the successors of Patrick were to be received with 50 of his suite, not counting the pilgrims and sick, by all the convents of the *coenobites*, over which he had jurisdiction. †

Besides hospitality to the pilgrims and tending the sick, one of the offices of the religious instituted by Patrick and his disciples, was to offer to God the pleasing sacrifice of daily praise. ‡

This was also the chief occupation of the religious of Bangor which Sir James Ware and Archdall affirm was founded by S. Comgall for Canons Regular. Speaking of Bangor Wydrin, which was perhaps only a colony of the Irish Bangor, but connected by traditions with 'Padrig,' Mr. Williams quotes an old Triad in these words: 'The three principal choirs of the isle of Britain are Bangor Illtyd Varchang in Caer Worgan, Cor Emrys in Caer Coradawgn, and Bangor Wydrin in the isle of Avallon, and in each of these three Bangors were two thousand four hundred Saints, *i.e.*, one hundred were engaged alternately every hour both day and night in celebrating

* *Liber Angueli*, lin. 22-23.

† universis cynubitarum similiter monasteriis sine ulla dubitatione jus decretum erit rectori airdmachae in perpetuum
Receptio archiepiscopi heredis cathedrae meae urbis cum comitibus suis numero L exceptis peregrinis et infirmis doloribus variis atque improbis et caeteris sit digna refectio aptaque unicuique eodem numero tam digne in die quam certe similiter in nocte.—(*Liber Angueli*, lin. 83-91.)

‡ In Australi vero Basilica aepiscopi et presbiteri et anchoritae aecessiae et caeteri religiossi Laudes sapidas offerunt.—(*Ibid.* lin. 101-103.)

the praise and service of God without rest or intermission.* Thus the labours of Patrick and his disciples in the apostolic ministry, the reception of pilgrims, the tending of the sick, the continual offering of the pleasing sacrifice to God, seem clearly to point out that theirs was purely a clerical order, and that they belonged to that Apostolical Institute now known as Canons Regular.

This has been affirmed in so many words by Irish writers. Canon Burke in his *Life and Labours of S. Augustine* says:—

‘According to Sir James Ware, all the monasteries founded in Ireland by S. Patrick and his immediate disciples were for Canons Regular. All the monasteries founded by S. Brendan, S. Columba, S. Brendan of Birr, S. Kevin, S. Tarlath, S. Finian, S. Kiaran, S. Mac Cartin, S. Colman and others, were peopled by the priests, who lived according to the rules laid down by the holy doctor (S. Augustine) for his canons.’

We have just heard the opinion of Sir James Ware, who in his *De Hibernia et Antiquitatibus eius*, speaks of monasteries founded by S. Patrick, S. Columba, S. Comgal, and others for Canons Regular. Archdall in his *Monasticum Hibernicum*, and Lynch in his *Life of S. Patrick*, say the same. Bower, the continuator of Fordun, speaking of Oronsay, tells us that in that island there is ‘a monastery of black Canons founded by S. Columba.’

In the notes to his *Registrum Prioratus Omnium Sanctorum*, Butler remarks that ‘The old foundations in Ireland were exclusively for canons, and until the foundation of Mellifont by Malachy in 1142, Ireland was in the words of S. Bernard, “terra jam insueta et inexperta monasticæ religionis” (Usser. Syllab., p. 105.) These Canons were Coenobites bound by some of the various rules mentioned in Irish Ecclesiastical History, and were merged by Innocent II., 1139, in the Canons Regular of S. Augustine.’ This merging of clerics living in common or coenobites with the Austin Canons was then general in Great Britain. In Dublin the Canons of the Congregation of Aroasia were established about A.D. 1163 in the Cathedral of the Holy Trinity and in All-Hallows by Archbishop S. Laurence O’Toul, who himself was a Canon Regular, whilst

* *Antiquity of the Cymry*, p. 211.

about the same time, viz., 1177, the Congregation of S. Victor took possession of S. Thomas's. In Scotland Alexander I. and his wife Sibylla brought to Scone a colony 'of clerics of the Order of Canons serving God at the Church of S. Oswald,' at Nostell, near Pontefract, in Yorkshire, that they might there 'canonically constitute an order for serving God according to the rule of S. Augustine.' From Scone they were introduced into S. Andrews and other places by Bishop Robert who had been Prior of that house.

It is now time to examine what relations the Culdees had with these Canons Regular and with those clerics by whom they were superseded. My contention is that the Culdees were but a branch sprung up from the old order of clerics established by S. Patrick and his disciples.

We must here turn to those who of late have written in so masterly a way on the Culdees, viz., Dr. Reeves, who read a learned paper in 1860 before the members of the Royal Irish Academy; Mr. W. Skene in his *Celtic Scotland*; and the late Right Rev. Colin C. Grant, Bp. of Aberdeen, who, in the April Number of the *Scottish Review* for 1888, threw still further light on the question. From these three competent scholars and antiquarians we may learn what the Culdees really were. They have laid the foundations, it is for us to build up the edifice; they have given us the true principles, it is for us to deduce their legitimate consequences; they have collected all the available materials, it remains for us to make them profitable. This we shall endeavour to do in the following considerations.

Comparing first of all what these three great authorities tell us about the Culdees, with what we already know of the religious family instituted by S. Patrick and his disciples, we shall find that not only is there no inconsistency in affirming that they belonged to the same Order, but that on the contrary there is much to prove that they did so. My task here becomes easier, thanks to the pains taken by the late Dr. C. Grant, who in his paper summarises the information of his predecessors, I will, then, freely profit by the fruits of his labours.

That there is some affinity between the Culdees and the Clerics living in common of S. Patrick or Canons Regular, seems generally accepted. Bishop Grant writes:—

‘When charters and other writings bring the Culdees more fully in view, they are seen to be rather like a sort of secular canons than like monks. Most writers concur with Dr. Reeves and Mr. Skene as to this.’

But here I must respectfully observe that, as the same learned writer and Mr. Skene tell us, the Culdees being ‘communities of men from their origin, living under canonical rule, and not individual men living apart, having a rule, a Prior, sometimes an Abbot, a refectory, etc.’ it is clear that secular canons they could not be, and they must have been regular canons. Butler in the above-mentioned *Registrum Omnium Sanctorum*, p. 126, ‘for the strong resemblance of the Canons of S. Augustine with the Culdees,’ refers us to *Liber Prioratus S. Andreae*.* The editors of *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents* (Vol. II. Part. I., p. 176) avow that the appellation of Céle-Dé ‘is first found as the name of a monk of a special and more strict rule,’ and that the Culdees were ‘akin to the (?) secular canons of Chrodegang of Metz, circ., A.D. 759, regulated by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, A.D. 817.’ †

This much then seems certain, and it is not necessary to insist on this point any longer. But I wish to go further, and I hope to make it clear that not only was there ‘a strong resemblance or kinship’ between the Culdees and the Clerics living in Common or Canonical Order, but that they were *substantially* the same.

1. We have first to consider ‘the etymological derivation of the name Culdee and its signification. It is derived from the Irish Ceile-De or Cele-De; Ceile means *spouse*; and De of *God*. Ceile-De then is ‘spouse of God,’ or Ceile may mean companion, servant, one in close union with another. ‡ This is what we learn about the derivation and meaning of the name Culdee; but a *cleric* as all know, and the very Greek word signifies, is one who has chosen God for his portion; therefore

* Preface xv., 370, 374.

† Vol. II., Pt. I., p. 176.

‡ *Scottish Review*, Apr. 1888, p. 221.

clerics who had given up all things lived according to the example of the Apostles, and the early Christians 'had all things common' (*quibus erant omnia communia*), that they might follow Christ more closely, and better serve God, were rightly called spouses of God, servants of God, Célen-Dé.

2. I know that, according to our learned guides, 'the ancient clergy of Ireland and Scotland were not called Culdees, and the term only came into use with anything like a determinate application towards the end of the eighth century,' however, I may be allowed to remark that this may be conclusive as to the term, but not as to the thing with which we are concerned. We can well conceive that for some reason or other a religious family should come, long after its foundation, to be designated by some new appellation; in fact we have examples in the religious of S. Dominic, who are properly styled 'Friars-Preachers,' but now are more generally known as Dominicans, and in the Order founded by St. Gilbert of Sempringham, the members of which, although true Canons Regular, received eventually the name of Gilbertines. The force of this remark seems to have struck the Right Rev. C. Grant, for towards the end of his paper he says:—

'One acquainted with ecclesiastical history must know that a new name for a religious body within the Christian Church signifies the adoption of some new practice or work. Or if perchance an old body receives a new name some trace of the change will be found. The work or practice adopted will generally be new only in the sense of speciality.'

This seems precisely to have been the case with the Culdees, for as the same learned writer shows they undertook a special work, viz., the assistance of the sick, and their hospitals seem to have sprung from overflowing guest-houses, being generally found in the neighbourhood of the great clerical Abbeys.

3. We must make the same remark with regard to the Bishop's observation, that 'the Columban monks were not called Culdees, and the Church of Ireland or Scotland was not called the Church of the Culdees.'* If to 'Adamnan, to Cumin the Fair, to Eddi, to Bede the *name* of Culdee was totally unknown,' as

* *Scottish Review*, p. 222.

Dr. Grant asserts after Skene, that is no reason why the life, or the substance should also have been unknown to them. Adamnan and Bede knew well of societies called 'cœnobiales cœtus, collegia monachorum.' Those who retired from the world to the religious family of S. Columba were said by Adamnan to embrace the clerical life 'sumere clericatus habitum.' Moreover, the Church of Scotland or Ireland at no time has been called the Church of the Culdees, and yet Dr. Reeves in his introduction to Adamnan's *Life of S. Columba*, says that 'the system (of the Culdees) was admitted in Hy.'

Besides, is it so certain that the name of Culdee was unknown until the end of the eighth century? Mr. Skene and Dr. C. Grant speak of a rule for Culdees ascribed to S. Mochuda, which even of a later date than 630, when he died, is of a very early period. Another rule for Culdees is attributed to Maclruan of Tamhlacht, who died A.D. 791. 'These two rules,' says Bishop Grant, 'speak as of a community not beginning but already in long working order.' Hence I infer first that the term Cèle Dé was not unknown before the eighth century, and secondly, that the religious body designated by that name existed as early as the beginning of the 7th century.*

For the following points we are indebted to Bishop C. Grant, who either differs from the two other writers, or draws a legitimate inference from their works. We are then next told that:—

4. 'The Culdees were communities of men from their origin and not individual men living apart.' This is just my conten-

* According to Canon Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*, translated by D. Oswald Hunter Blair, O.S.B., Vol. I., p. 198, 'The Culdees sprang from those ascetics who devoted themselves to the service of God in the solitude of separate cells, as the highest form of religious life, and who were styled Deicole. In the course of time they formed themselves into communities of anchorites or hermits. They were clerics. . . . Their first appearance in Scotland dates from about the same period as the introduction of the secular clergy as they succeeded the Columban monks.' Our remarks will equally apply to the learned Canon's views concerning the origin and the primitive Institute of the Culdees.

tion, and all that the writer adduces in confirmation of his assertion goes to prove my view, viz., that the Culdees were but a branch of clerics living in common. When I say clerics I do not imply that all the members of the religious family were in holy orders, any more than that by a religious body of friars-preachers, we understand that all its members should be preachers of the Word. The rule of S. Mochuda describes the occupation of the Culdees in the following lines :—

‘ We watch, we read, we pray, each according to his strength
According to the time, you contemplate. At gloria until tierce
Each order proceeds according to its duty.’

Any Canon Regular may apply these words to his own community, and as we have seen above, the *Liber Angueli* makes mention of ‘monasteria cynubitarum,’ or religious living in community, as instituted by the Apostle of Ireland.

5. We are also informed that ‘the Culdees had no cure of souls, *i.e.*, they did not act as parochial clergymen.’ That may be so, but it would not be an argument against their being clerics living in common. The members of the clerical Order, as the successors of the Apostles, are not generally forbidden to have charge of souls or perform parochial work. The Patrician and Columban communities were usually engaged in such apostolical duties. But on account of the special office or work undertaken by the Culdees, viz., the assistance of the sick, it is not impossible that in order the better to fulfil this part of their vocation they had given up parochial work. It would only have been in conformity with the example of the Apostles, who thought ‘it not reason to leave the word of God and serve tables,’ so they elected ‘seven men of good reputation, whom they appointed over that business, that they might give themselves continually to prayer and to the ministry of the Word.’ (Acts vi.) We have a case in point in the Priory of St. Mary Spital, without Bishopsgate, founded for Canons Regular by Walter Brune and his wife Roesia. Some difference having arisen, an agreement was made between Magister Joannes Witing, Rector ecclesiæ, S. Botolphi, on one side, and Godefridum priorem et canonicos et fratres, on the other side, concerning the parochial rights of the said church. Among

other obligations the Canons bound themselves to send four times a year those who were not members of their community to the parish church, there to receive the sacraments. The prior, the canons, and the brethren, could not receive any gift from the parishioners, nor even give burial to any of them without having previously made compensation to the parish church.* Therefore the fact of the Culdees having 'no cure of souls' would not be evidence against their being a branch of the clerical order, and that is enough for our present purpose.

6. We hinted a little while ago that the Culdees had some special office or work, and what this was, Bishop Grant informs his readers when he says:—'The Culdees had a double office, one inside the cathedral, or their own churches, one outside of them. The work of the Culdees was considered to be amongst the poor and infirm. To found, maintain, and manage institutions for the purpose of alleviating the miseries of the poor, such was the work of the Culdees in the Celtic Church.' But these works of mercy are by no means unknown to the clerical order. Anyone who takes the trouble to read the histories of the religious orders will find that many congregations of Canons Regular made it one of their chief ends to work among the poor, the leper, the insane, and the infirm. We have seen that the 'cynubitae' of S. Patrick had hospices and guest-houses, where they sheltered the pilgrims, tended the sick of all sort of diseases, and fed them by day and by night, according to the needs of each in particular. By a canon of the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle the Bishop is ordained to erect a hospital for pilgrims, poor and infirm, over which a Canon Regular is to preside.† The rule which Chrodegang prescribed for his clerics who lived in common with him enjoined that a hospital should be near their house, so that the Canons might easily have access to it, and tend the sick. But we need not go so far in order to make good our point. We have only to ask ourselves what became of the old hospitals founded or managed by Culdees. At Lochleven, Monymusk,

* *Dugdal. Monast.*, Vol. VII., p. 625.

† *Harduin Council*, Vol. IV., p. 1143.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 1181.

St. Andrews and elsewhere they were superseded by Canons Regular who continued their work of mercy towards the poor and the sick. The hospital of St. Andrews was given to Canons Regular by Bishop Robert 'in susceptionem hospitem et peregrinorum,' and the *Registrum S. Andreae* tells us how whilst in the time of the Culdees it could accommodate only six sick persons, after coming 'into the possession of the Canons was open to all comers.' Bishop David (circa A.D. 1245) granted Dolbethoc 'as a pure and free alms for the poor and pilgrims streaming thither, to the Prior and Canons of Monymusk.' Still more, the very document from which the Right Rev. C. Grant proves that the Culdees of St. Peter's, York, had a hospital, and supported many poor people, shows that in the mind of the writer of that document, Culdees are the same as clerics, for he styles them several times, *Colidei sive clerici*.* It seems then clear that this office of the Culdean Institution was very appropriate to clerics living in common, but this is even more true of the second office, which we are assured was 'to render more solemn the divine service.' If there is one duty which more befits a Canon Regular than another, it is the solemn performance of the divine service. This is beyond question, and one proof may be found in the fact that Canon, in Germany, is *Chor-herr*, or 'Choir-lord.' The service of the choir has always been one of the chief obligations of the clerical or Canonical Order. As it has been seen above, the religious of S. Patrick offered to God 'Laudes sapidas.' The clerics of Bangor presented to God without intermission the sacrifice of praise.

I think I have made it clear that comparing what the Culdees are said to have been, with the ideal of clerics living in common, or Canons Regular, there is nothing that prevents their being a branch of the same order, and that everything is in favour of that theory.

Having thus shown that there is nothing far-fetched in the idea that the Culdees were clerics living in common, or as we should at present style them, Canons Regular, we may now

* See *Dugdall. Monast.*, Vol. VII., p. 608.

proceed to consider some other points which prove even more directly our assertion.

1. There is first of all the fact that the Culdean houses, both in Scotland and in Ireland, were converted into chapters of canons either secular or regular, for all seem to agree that the Culdees 'died out, or partly became, and partly were superseded by Canons secular or regular.* In Scotland they were supplanted by a body of secular canons at Glasgow, Brechin, Lismore, Dunblane, Rosemarkie, and by a conventual chapter of Regular Canons at St. Andrews, Dunkeld, Monymusk, Lochleven, Abernethy. In Ireland too their place was mostly occupied by Canons Regular, although in some, as at Armagh and Devenish, they held their ground collaterally with the latter down to the time of the Reformation. Of Bardsey, in Wales, Dr. Reeves † tells us that 'when it again appears in history it is in a record of Carnarvon of 1232, where the ecclesiastics of it are styled *Canonici*, most probably regular, because they adopted about this time the regular discipline called after S. Augustine.'

Why and how this superseding of Culdees by Canons Regular came to pass is explained by the same learned writer. Speaking of the Culdean house at Armagh, he says :

'The laxity of their (the Culdees') discipline was the probable cause which rendered the introduction of regular canons into Armagh a desideratum, and we can easily understand how the public recognition of this order in 1126 would greatly tend to diminish the influence of the secular corporation.'

And further on, having proved that the Culdees of Bardsey had been replaced by Canons Regular, he gives the following reason for such a change :—

'We find regular canons as the representatives of the ancient order. Now as the order of canons represented a class of ecclesiastics who occupied an intermediate place between the monks and secular clergy, so we may regard these Colidei out of whom the British Canons grew, to have been of somewhat similar nature, at first secular, *i. e.*, not bound by vows. . . . But when in the middle of the eleventh century a separation

* *Scottish Review*, p. 223.

† *Culdees*, p. 180.

took place between those who adopted the stricter observance introduced by Yvo of Chartres and those who adhered to the old system, then the distinction of regular and secular canons were introduced, and the same variety which existed between these two sections seems to have prevailed among the Keldei, or Colidei, until the stricter portion abandoned the name for that of Canons Regular of S. Augustine, and the laxer portion, which retained it longer, held on till they were either summarily extinguished by suppression, or gradually merged in the absorbing mass of the better organised and more effective system.*

This is precisely my contention. As we have premised above, after the ninth century a revival took place in the apostolic Order of clerics living in common, the chief reformers being Chrodegang in Lorraie, and S. Ives of Chartres at Beauvais. A distinction was then made between those who adopted the newly restored discipline of common life and those who preferred to enjoy their private benefices, the first being called regular and the latter secular canons. This canonical life so revived was introduced into England, Scotland, and Ireland, and thus it came to pass that the Culdees were gradually transformed into Canons Regular, and their primitive discipline, the common life, again restored under another name. Thus we can now understand why the Canons Regular were introduced as reformers into the various Culdean houses. It was because their kind of life was of a similar nature. We can also explain why the Canons Regular were always considered and acknowledged 'as the representatives of the ancient order.' It was because, differing in name, in substance they had always been the same, and thus they abandoned their old name for that of Canons Regular.

2. Another incident in Scottish history points to the Canons Regular as to the natural representatives and heirs of both the Columbian and Culdean Orders. Spottiswoode in his account of religious houses, states that :

'The old cloisters being ruined by the several incursions of the Danes, the monastery (of Iona, to which a Culdean establishment was attached) became in the following years the dwelling of the Cluniacences, who, in the reign of King William, took all their benefices, "cum cura animarum,"

* Reeves' *Culdees.*

in Galloway which were bestowed upon the Canons of Holyrood House at Edinburgh, the Benedictines not being allowed by their constitutions to perform the duties and functions of a curate.'

One of the charters of Holyrood is perhaps even more explicit, for it is there said that King William the Lion grants to the Abbey of Holyrood 'ecclesias sive capellas in Galweia quæ ad jus abbatiae de Hy Columcille pertinent videlicet Kirke-cormack Sancti Andreae, Baliuero, et Cheletun.' Mr. W. Skene, in a paper read at a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries on 14th April, 1873, thinks that the monks who took possession of Hy were not Cluniacs but the Benedictines called Tyronenses, and that the transfer of the churches, chapels, and other Columbian rights to Canons Regular was made about the year 1200.

Nor is this the only instance where the rights of Culdean institutions were transferred to Canons Regular. Kilrimont was made over to the Canons of St. Andrews by Bishop Robert and King David, with all the farms, lands, and offerings, in frank and *quit almoigne*. These donations, however, were made with a proviso worthy of notice, viz., the Culdees of Kilrimont were to become Canons, together with all their possessions and revenues, provided they would consent to conform to canonical rule 'si voluerint canonici fieri.' In the same manner King David gives 'the island of Lochleven to the Canons of St. Andrews, that there they may establish a house of Canons,' but the Culdees who shall be found there, 'if they wish to live according to rule, may remain in peace with them and under them.' Now these transfers of rights from the Culdees to Canons Regular, this faculty on the part of the Culdees to 'conform to canonical rule,' and thus to become members of the canonical family, the obligation on the part of the Canons to receive as members of their community, with them and under them, those of the Culdees who should agree to live according to rule, all this, I say, cannot be explained unless we admit that the Culdees, by embracing the canonical rule, were only returning to their primitive way of life or religious profession which in course of time they had forsaken.

3. Our historical evidence is not restricted either to Ireland or to Scotland, corroborative documents of the Anglo-Saxon Church are not wanting. There can be no doubt that the conventual chapters which for several centuries after the coming of Augustine served the English cathedrals, were nothing else than clerics living in common, established there by order of St. Gregory himself. The learned Dr. Lingard * tells us that

‘In many of these (religious) establishments, the inmates had been regular canons from the beginning, in many they had originally been monks and had converted themselves into canons, but all considered themselves bound by their ‘rule’ to reside within the precincts of their monastery, to meet daily in the church for the performance of divine service, to take their meals in the same hall, and to sleep in the same dormitory.’

Speaking of Christchurch, Canterbury, the same historian says that—

‘It was for some hundred years served by a body of canons who were displaced by a colony of Benedictine monks, in the reign of Ethelred, about four centuries after the original foundation.’†

It was in 1003 or 1006, at the prayer of Archbishop Alfric, that the change took place. In the charter of King Ethelred, by which the church is transferred from the clerics to the monks, the first are styled *cultores clerici*. Thereupon Dr. Lingard observes that this is

‘A singular expression, which seems to intimate that the collegiate clergy were even then styled Culdees, *cultores Dei*, in the South as well as in the North of England.’

Nor is this the only instance where the clergy of collegiate churches are called *cultores clerici*. The same author remarks that ‘In the Cathedral church of York they retained the appellation as late as the 11th century.’‡ In fact, as we have observed above, the managers of St. Peter’s hospital at York

* *Anglo-Saxon Church, etc.*, Vol. II., p. 257. Edit. 1845.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 199.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. I., p. 154.

are styled indifferently Colidei or Clerici, and Mr. Skene tells us that 'the title of God-worshippers (Deicolae) passed to the Canon clerics.'

4. There is also internal evidence to show that the Culdees and the clerics living in common were substantially the same. We have already seen how writers agree that there was between them some similarity, but we want something more. It has been noticed above that Chrodegang introduced a community life among his clergy, to whom he gave regulations taken from the statutes of ancient Orders and Canons. Though some writers call these clerics, secular canons, they were in reality regular, so much so that there have been other writers who attributed the institution of Regular Canons to that holy bishop. Now, Mr. Skene* informs us that the Deicolae or Culdees were brought under canonical rule similar to that of Chrodegang. The learned writer gives us informations as to the nature and chief characteristics of that canonical rule under which the Deicolae lived. We are informed that a certain Deicola, writing to 'the jurists and the clerics,' begs them that 'living justly, piously, holily, they should show a good example to others, and live with soul, heart and body under canonical rule.' He exhorts 'all clerics under them to give humble obedience, and endeavour to fulfil the canonical rule without murmuring, humbly obeying their provosts as *servi Dei.*' He entreats them to be mindful 'of the canonical rule.' At p. 255 the same author quotes the opinion of Dr. Reeves, who admits that 'possibly the institution of Macbruain (the supposed founder of Culdees) may have borrowed from or possessed some features in common with the order of Canons, for certain it is that in after days both the Keledei of Scotland and the Colidei of Ireland exhibited in their discipline the main characteristics of (?) secular canons.'

Thus the two best writers on the Culdean institutions aver that they were under a canonical rule, that they had the main characteristics of the clerics living in common, and that the rule may have been the same. In confirmation of his assertion

* *Celtic Scotland*, Vol. II., p. 442.

Dr. Reeves reminds his readers that the Church of Tamlacht was founded by the Macbruain about twenty-four years after the institution of the order of canons by Chrodegang. And Mr. Skene having given the entry of the *Four Masters*, A.D. 811, where it is related that a Ceile-De 'came over the sea with dry feet, and a written roll given to him from heaven, out of which he preached to the Irish,' is of opinion the Ceile-De introduced into Ireland the canonical rule.

Now whether the Culdees received the canonical rule from the continent or from some institution of Patrician origin, which seems more probable, is immaterial to us. This, however, is certain, that from the beginning they did embrace it, they lived under it; and when in the course of years through human frailty they had almost forgotten it, they were again brought under its observance.

5. We have already reported the authority of Sir James Ware and others who maintain that all the monasteries built by S. Patrick, S. Columba, and their disciples, were for clerics, or with Dr. Lingard that the monks of S. Columba, who came from Ireland, were a branch of the Order as it had been established there by S. Patrick.* If to this we join the opinion of those who, like Ebrard, Harkang, Blumharot, Munter, and others,† have identified the Columbian monks with the Culdees, we shall rightly conclude that the Culdees belonged to the clerical Order.

6. Finally, I will give the authority of a writer who describes the origin and the occupations of the Culdees, and wrote when they were still existing. It is well known that Giraldus Cambrensis mentions the *coelibes sive colidei*, of Monahincha in Ireland and Bardsey in Wales, but it appears to have hitherto escaped the notice of all the writers on the subject, that he also refers to another house of these *colidei*. And not only he refers to them as he does with the two other houses, but what is still better and more to our purpose, he speaks of them as a contemporary writer, he gives us details

* *Anglo-Sax. Church*, Vol. I., p. 200.

† *History of the Church*, by Dollinger; translated by E. Cox, Vol. II., p. 27.

and information as to their religious discipline. The authority of such a writer should be sufficient to satisfy any historical inquirer as to the profession and work these religious men were engaged in. In his *Speculum Ecclesiae*, edited in 1873, for the Master of the Rolls, by T. S. Brewer, p. 167, Giraldus relates that in

‘ Givyneld or North Wales, at the foot of mount Snowdon, not far from Kaermerdyn, there was a house of *religious clerics*. There they served God devoutly, living in common, and following the example of the Apostles, having nothing in private. They were not in any special manner attached to any monastic or canonical order, but “*tanquam coelibes sive colidei, hoc est Deum colentes, dicti*” in their quality of colidei, they were addicted to continency and abstinence. Above all they were renowned for their works of mercy and their hospitality, a kind of life followed by many congregations of clerics through the whole world, before St. Benedict introduced his monastic rule.’*

We have here the interior discipline, the work, and the daily life of the Culdees. They are represented to us as they were before being either merged into Canons Regular or secularized. Whilst we see the view of Bishop Grant confirmed, that their chief work was among the poor and the sick, we find also established our own view, for they are styled religious clerics serving God, living in common according to the example of the Apostles.

A. ALLARIA, C.R.L., D.D.

* *Erat in Venedotia, quae vulgo North-Wallia dicitur, domus clericorum religiosa sub pede montis Erreri, qui barbaro Snaudune, hoc est mons nivium, vocatur, non procul a loco qui curia Merlina Ambrosii dicitur, quasi prope littus maris Hibernici sita. Erant autem ibi clerici Deo devote servientes, sanctoque coetu in commune viventes, et more apostolico nil proprium habentes, nulli, quidem ordini monastico vel canonico specialiter addicti, sed tanquam coelibes sive colidei, hoc est Deum colentes, dicti, continentiae pariter et abstinentiae dati, praecipuaeque caritatis operibus et hospitalitate conspicui, quales ante monasticam religionem a patribus antiquis ordinatam, et regulam ordinationis ejusdem a beato Benedicto datam et scripto redactam, multae clericorum per orbem fidelium congregationes sanctae fuerunt.’*

ART. II.—ALE-DRINKING OLD EGYPT AND THE
THRAKO-GERMANIC RACE.

I.

MORE and more the extraordinary discoveries, made in Egypt within the last few years, yield an interesting insight into the every-day life of the strange people that once dwelt on the shores of the 'mysterious Nile.' The veil of secrecy is gradually rent asunder. Often we get a startling revelation of habits little suspected by those who are too prone to look upon the customs of antiquity as so very different from our ways.

In 1889, when the highly important results of the excavations of Mr. Flinders Petrie in the Fayum were shewn at the Oxford Mansions in London and elsewhere, the beholder found before him the tools and things that had once belonged to a settlement of working men in Egypt nearly 3500 years back. Many of the implements were remarkably like those used now. Among the minor curiosities we saw there some beautifully preserved vine leaves, to the peculiar hairiness of which a well known botanist drew our attention. Immediately we constructed, before our mind's eye, the representation of an Egyptian banquet.

But when I casually observed to the gentleman who had been entrusted with the guardianship of the precious relics from the Fayum, that the Egyptians, though they used wine, had mainly been ale-drinkers, I met an astonished look. This, I confessed, surprised me. I was then entreated to give an indication of the classical sources from which the fact in question could be gathered. This I will presently do here.

The results of fresh excavations by Professor Flinders Petrie have, since then, reached London from the ancient city of King Khuenaten, or Khu-en-Aten, a name meaning the 'Glory of the Sun.' To Europeans, the site of that city is known now under the name of Tel-el-Amarna. Khuenaten, the son of Amenhotep III., is described as a ruler who brought about an entire revolution in religion, art, and social customs. It was the worship of the Sun-Disk, as the source of all life, which

he introduced—mainly under the influence, it is supposed, of his mother Thi, Tii, or Thaaia. She was of foreign blood, from a house neither Egyptian nor royal, and with her came a number of men of her own race, who were appointed as officials in Egypt.

Philosophically speaking, this new cult was a progress in comparison with the complicated mythological system then in existence. Politically, however, its originator sought to make himself worshipped as the 'Light of the Sun,' or the 'Splendour of the Sun-Disk'—even as Louis XIV. of France posed as the *Roi Soleil*. At the Court of Khu-en-Aten, ceremonial forms were adopted, which forced those who came into the presence of the monarch to assume an attitude of abject slavishness. But after a few short and troubled reigns of Khu-en-Aten's successors, the whole new system of the 'heretic king' was swept away within a generation, and every building of his utterly destroyed.*

Still, the searches made by Professor Flinders Petrie have brought up from the ground a number of remarkable objects. Among them is the cast of the head of Khu-en-Aten himself, taken after his death for the use of the sculptors. His is not a strong or agreeable face, with its slanting forehead, weakly mouth, and longish nose; the neck being extraordinarily stretched out, whilst his whole bodily shape, as it appears from other representations, had something womanish about it.

However, it is not the purpose to go into these matters here. Be it enough to mention that, among the pottery found in the ruins of Khu-en-Aten's city, there is a brightly painted jar, which at once reminds us of our theme: namely, the drinking habits of the ancient Egyptians. That jar is pictorially covered with wreaths, vine leaves, and grapes.

The truth is, there was 'a good deal of human nature' in the apparently melancholy dwellers on the sacred Nile, whom it is too much the fashion to judge from their angular sculpture and architecture. The Bible itself certainly does not give the idea of their strict austerity. They were far from always

* Comp. Heinrich Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, Vol. I.

carrying wooden images of dead bodies round the dining-room for the better enlivenment of the general conversation, though it was their custom, on these occasions, to be addressed by the man who carried the image in such wise:—‘Look upon this! Then drink, and enjoy yourself; for when dead, you will be like this!’ (*Herodotos*, II., 78.) Nor was the main occupation of the Egyptians that of embalming cats in the service of their peculiar doctrine of Immortality. On the contrary, they were a people much given to the enjoyment of life’s pleasures.

Among other things, they were ardent worshippers of *Gambrius*, if the fact may be expressed in so anachronistic a term. They were beer-drinkers to an exceedingly large extent—a trait perhaps not suspected by many who are inclined to look upon an Eastern nation as naturally belonging to the region of *Bacchus*, or *Dionysos*.

Sir Gardner Wilkinson* still found malt at Thebes. Moderation in the use of spirituous liquors was certainly not a characteristic of the ancient Egyptians. In their ale-houses, it seems, there was generally such riotousness that women who had compromised themselves were sentenced to keeping an inn of that kind. This was thought sufficient punishment for ladies of delicacy and refinement. The ‘Reformatory’ to which they were thus sent, was, it must be owned, of a peculiar kind.

On the other hand, it sounds rather comic when we read of the rules of some secret society of Egyptian priests, in which it was laid down that those initiated into it were henceforth not allowed, at their meals, to drink any wine, but were to use only beer. No doubt, some sanitary notion, from a local point of view—whether right or wrong—was at the bottom of this prescription. Similar notions can be detected in the dietary laws of many founders of religious creeds. True, the mass of the Egyptian priesthood†—as *Herodotos* (II., 37) reports—had ‘wine from the grape (*ὄινος ἀμπέλιμος*) given to them, together with a great allowance of beef and geese every day, whilst they were not to taste fish.’ Among the Egyptians in general, the pig was looked upon as an impure animal, even as among the Jews. And, like the Jews, the Egyptians were

‘circumcised for the sake of cleanliness.’ So were the Ethiopians, the Kolchians, the Phoenikians, and other Eastern nations.† To all evidence, therefore, the Mosaic customs in question are to be traced to sanitary ideas which the Hebrews got when in Egypt.

II.

But we must turn to the subject of Egyptian beverages.

One of the earliest Greek geographers, Hekataios, who lived before Herodotos, already says that the people of the Nile Delta prepared a drink from ground barley (*τὰς κριθὰς εἰς τὸ πῶμα καταλέουσιν*). It is a fact of no small importance—as will be seen further on—that Hekataios also describes the Thrakian Paeonians as great drinkers of beer, one kind of which they prepared from barley, another from millet; and that they added a herb as a seasoning root.

Even before Hekataios, Archilochos, the lyric poet, mentions beer. His bust the Greeks often placed under a larger one of Homer, reckoning Archilochos, as they did, only as second to the world-famed epic bard. Archilochos, who lived in the seventh century before our era, already knows of the Thrakian fondness for the cup. There is, indeed, plenty of classic testimony that this race was much given both to ale and wine. From Herodotos (I., 12) we learn that Archilochos sang, in Iambic verses, the romantic and tragically sanguinary story of the Lydian King Kandaules and his beautiful wife, who had her husband murdered by his own body-guard Gyges, after which the latter mounted the throne. The Lydians, too, were a Thrakian tribe. Perchance, Archilochos himself had Thrakian blood in his veins, as so many Greeks eminent in warfare, in philosophy, in poetry, and art, had.

It is true, Archilochos had to fight against the Thrakians after he had migrated to Thasos—that is, to the neighbourhood of Thrakian populations. But this is nothing unusual in

* See his *Herodotos*, II., p. 127; note.

† *History of Ancient Egypt*, by George Rawlinson.

‡ *Herodotos*, II., 36, 37, and 104.

the history of the Teutonic race, with which the Thracians were certainly connected by close kinship. In a battle against them, Archilochos lost his shield. 'One of the Saians'—he exclaims in a somewhat curious description of his venture—'boasts of possessing a shield which I, without blame, left behind me in a wood.' The Spartans, to whom he afterwards intended to go, would, however, not accept this peculiar exculpation. At any rate, Archilochos knew the Thracians well. Now, he says of the Phrygians, one of the chief Thracian tribes, and of others of that race, that they drank a barley-brew called 'bruton' (*βρῦτρον*). The same word occurs later on in dramatic fragments of Aischylos ('Lykurgos') and Sophokles ('Triptolemos').

The word '*brut*'(on), or *bru*(ton), is not Greek. Being a Thracian expression for 'beer,' the explanation has been started as an obvious one, that it means a *brew*, in German *Bräu*—or, to use a participle, *Gebrautes*; in fact, beer. We would thus have one of the earliest Teutonic names for 'John Barley-corn,' preserved by Greek poets from the Thracian tongue.

The blood-relationship of the Thracians with the Teutonic stock—hence with Germans, Scandinavians, Englishmen, and Lowland Scots—has been recognised by many of the foremost scholars of various countries. By the ancients, the Thracians are described as fair or reddish golden-haired, blue-eyed, most martial; yet at the same time addicted to philosophical speculation, though fierce in war and ready to quarrel; much given to gymnastics; and withal, musical and poetical; easily indulging in banter and joking, and rather Bacchanalian. These are traits which the various Germanic nations have much in common.

Horace, who lived seven hundred years after Archilochos, and who, strange to say, also left his shield on the battle-field, where Brutus and Cassius met with their death, still depicts the Thracians as mighty carousers, whose festivities often ended in bloodshed. 'Let us drink to-day like Thracians,' he says in an ode in which he jokingly refers to his inglorious military career. In another song he exclaims:—'To fight, in wild strife, with beakers made for the feast of pleasure, is

Thrakian custom, indeed!' All this reminds us of what Tacitus* says of the Germans of his day.

Now, my contention is—and it is for that reason I have given the above details—that it was in all probability through the Thrakians, kinsmen of the Teutonic race, that the Egyptians, who came much into contact with them, both hostile and otherwise, learnt the art of brewing and acquired the taste for ale which they used to so very large an extent.

Both in Europe and Asia, the Thrakians lived under many tribal names. In the Nile country they were apparently the earliest inhabitants, so far as history can be clearly traced. At all events, this was the opinion of the Egyptian priests—in other words, of the learned class—at the time of Herodotos (II., 2). Of the wide distribution of the Thrakian stock, the Father of History avers that 'they are the largest of all races, except the population of India; and if they were under one ruler, or were acting together, they would, in my opinion, be invincible and by far the most powerful of all nations.' This vast race was, of old, famed, on both sides of the Hellespont, as brewers and consumers of beer.

III.

As to the Egyptians, Herodotos (II., 77) reports that 'they constantly use barley wine (*σίτη δ' ἐκ κριθῶν πεποιημένω διαχρέωνται*), that is beer; for' (so he imagined at least) 'there are no vines in their country.' He significantly adds that the Egyptians are 'accustomed to eat raw fish dried in the sun, or salted with brine, and also raw quails, ducks, and smaller birds, after having first salted them.' These are customs which habitual beer-drinkers will have no difficulty in understanding.

The Germany of our days is often facetiously divided into a Wine Land, a Beer Land, and a Schnaps or Gin Land. The greater part of the south, and the west, of Germany belong to the first-mentioned region. Beer holds paramount sway in Bavaria, and in the centre of the Fatherland. Schnaps reigns in the north-east, between the Elbe and the Russian frontier.

* *Germania*, 23.

In Egypt there was a Beer Land, which comprised the larger party of the country. A smaller section may have constituted the Wine Land. Fortunately, there was no Gin Land in Egypt, though it is quite erroneous to believe that the ancient world was unaware of fiery decoctions or distillations. A whole extensive chapter in Plinius' *Natural History* (xiv., 19), deals with such artificial drinks, sixty-six varieties of which he mentions. Among them is 'absinthites,' a liqueur known in France now as *absynthe*; and even one made from the juniper—a kind of gin. Gaul is mentioned as having a distillation of its own, made from the lentisk.

In asserting that there are no vines in Egypt, Herodotos made a slip. I say this without the slightest wish of detracting from the value of the statements of the Father of History. They are generally most trustworthy, and well supported by modern research. Somewhat at variance with his own assertion, that grapes did not grow in the Nile country, Herodotos himself speaks (II., 48) of the rather sensual festivities held in Egypt in honour of the wine-god, Dionysos. It is well known, moreover, that this deity, or personage, with whom the making of wine is said to have originated, visited Egypt in his extensive wanderings. That is but a mythological way of stating a fact as regards viniculture there.

Secondly—as has been shown before—vine-leaves have actually been found by Professor Flinders Petrie in one of the earliest Egyptian settlements. Thirdly, Diodoros, the Sicilian, who wrote at Cæsar's and Augustus' time, reports that Osiris, to whom the introduction of beer into the land of the Nile is attributed, taught the people of that country the art of brewing only in those districts which were not fit for viniculture. This implies the existence of vineyards in some parts of Egypt.

The still later Pliny* speaks of the existence of a special grape of Egypt, called Thasian. It evidently had its name from the Greek island of Thasos, near the Thracian coast, to which the poet Archilochos had emigrated, and which was

* *Nat. Hist.*, xiv., 22.

renowned in antiquity for its vineyards. Pliny also describes another Egyptian kind of grape-juice, which he calls with the Greek name of 'ekbolas'—ejection wine, as it were. To its use he attributes a strange and rather impossible effect as regards the condition of motherhood. If that effect were possible, the use of 'ekbolas' would, in our days, be forbidden by law.

Altogether, the ancients seem to have had some extraordinary wines. In the many chapters which the Roman scientist devotes to the subject, he, for instance, reports that the most esteemed of all the wines found in the lands beyond sea is that of Clazomenae (near Smyrna) 'since they have begun to season it more sparingly with sea-water (*postquam parcius mari condunt*). Worse still, Plinius writes:—'The Lesbian wine has naturally a taste of sea-water (*Lesbium sponte suae naturae mare sapit*).' Of the wines of Pompeii, in his own country, he asserts that after ten years they gain nothing by age, and that they produce headache, which often lasts until noon of the following day.* Curiously enough, it is asserted by ancient writers, such as Athenaios, that wines which have been carefully prepared with sea-water never give rise to headache! But many will probably think that this cure, or preventive measure, is almost worse than the evil.

Strabon,† in speaking of the northern coast of Egypt, west of the Nile, says:—'In the whole of this part of the country, no wine of good quality is grown, and in the earthen jars there is more sea-water to be found than wine. It is called Libyan; and this and beer are the chief drinks of the common folk of Alexandria. Antiphrae, more especially, is made a subject of ridicule, owing to its bad wine.' Under these circumstances, one could almost understand the preference of the Egyptians for ale.

I believe it is noteworthy that in Ethiopia, according to Strabon (xvii., ii., 2), a small, almost Pygmean race dwelt, which made a drink from millet and barley. He adds that they had no oil, but use butter and fat instead. Now, butter is origi-

* *Nat. Hist.*, xiv., 8 and 9.

† *Geography*, xvii., 1, 14.

nally a Skythian produce. The very word, in Greek (*βοτρυπον*), came from that Skythian race, which was kindred to the Thrakians. So it almost looks as if both beer and butter had been introduced among the Ethiopians by one of those northern races; Skyths and Thrakians having so often been in contact with Egypt. Beer and butter, as Victor Hehn points out, generally go together, even as wine and oil do, or did, among the different nations.

The great fact remains that the dwellers near the Nile, though occasionally consumers of the grape-juice and worshippers of Bacchus, were mainly beer drinkers and brewers of that beverage which we are now rather in the habit of regarding as one mainly characteristic of northern nations. Historically speaking, matters were different of yore. Beer once had a far larger sway in the south, the east, and the west, than many centuries afterwards.

Theophrastos, the Hellenic philosopher and author of works on physical science, who lived in the fourth century before our era, and who knew the Nile country, calls the Egyptian brew *zuthos* (*ζυθος*), or *zuth*, if we drop the Greek ending. *Zythum* it is called in Pliny (xxii. 82), and other Latin writers. Similarly so in the Talmud. There was, furthermore, an Egyptian beer known to the Romans and Greeks as *di-zythum* (*διζυθον*), double stout, so to say. In strength and aroma, Diodoros states, the Egyptian brew came very near wine. It must, therefore, have been rather strong ale.

From Greek, the word *zuth*(os) cannot be explained. Can it be from Egyptian? I have asked an eminent Egyptologist, but he was unable to give a derivation. For my part, I can only say—and that Egyptologist held the suggestion to be ‘a very possible and even likely one’—that the word *zuth* bears a remarkable likeness to German, Old Norse, and Scandinavian, as well as English, words for brew (*sud*, *seith*; * *syde*, to seethe.)

What we possess of the remnants of the Thracian language, shows a close kinship with the Norse and the German tongue.

* See the Eddic *Völuspá*, 26.

The Thrakians having been pre-eminently brewers of beer, and repeatedly been thrown together with the Egyptians, is it going too far to assume that the word *auth*, or *sud*, may have been taken over from their idiom?

IV.

Egyptologists know now that there were already various kinds of beer in the Nile country, even as there are at present in England, Germany, and kindred Austria. The most famed beer in Egypt was that of Pelusium.

A beer-tax is mentioned in a recently deciphered papyrus of the second century before our era, which sheds much light on the political economy of Egypt. The revenue from that tax seems to have been considerable, as it is often given the first place in the official budget accounts. A very large amount of such revenue is mentioned as having thus come in, in a single month, in the town of Memphis, namely, 45 talents and 3100 drachmas. Professional sellers of beer are also described, who as such had to pay a tax. Twice a-year the duty was levied. Curiously enough, the number of the days in the months of the hot season, and of the colder season, was reckoned, for that assessment purpose, on quite different standards; the reason being, no doubt, to be found in the larger consumption of beer during the great heat.

Victor Hehn, whose standard work treats on *The Propagation of Plants and Domestic Animals from Asia to Greece, Italy, and the Remainder of Europe*,* aptly remarks:—‘If we collect the passages contained in the works of the Greeks and the Romans, which refer to the History of Beer, we are astonished to find how extensive once the reign of this means of nutritive enjoyment was, and how whole countries have fallen away from it.’

Whether among the Greeks themselves the common folk very largely drank beer—as is asserted by several recent authors—I would fain leave undecided. Often, it is to be feared, these writers mix up the Thrakians with the Hellenes,

* *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Uebergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien.*

two races wholly distinct, though of common Aryan stock. A verse in Aischylos* speaks of beer, but the passage in question decidedly bears not upon Greece, but upon the Nile country. The poet makes the King of Argos boast, towards the herald of Aegyptos' sons, that in his own Hellenic land there are 'true men, not drinkers of bad barley wine' (*ἐψησεν' οὐ πίνοντας ἐκ κριθῶν μέθυ*).

Xenophon, during his expedition, † found in the Armenian villages a kind of ale. He speaks of a barley wine which was kept in large bowls; the grains of barley floated in it, evenly with the brim of the bowl, and there lay also reeds in it, some larger and some smaller, without joints; and when any one felt thirsty, he took one in his mouth and sucked it. The beverage was very strong, unless mixed with water; and to those accustomed to it, it was a very pleasant drink.

The latter observation may be slyly humorous. However, Xenophon also obtained something better on that occasion; for, having asked the village mayor to supper and quieted his fears, that good man, to show his own gratitude, gave a hint as to where some wine was hidden under ground. Let us hope it was some of that Armenian 'Monarites' wine which, Strabon‡ says, was equal to the wines of Greece.

The Armenians were an offshoot or colony of the Phrygian Thracians, as Herodotos (VII., 73) states. Thus, we find beer, or ale, again among a branch of an ancient race kindred to the Germanic stock, and which was in intercourse both with Hellenes and Egyptians.

There can be no doubt, however, that the Thracian chieftains, by preference, enjoyed the grape-juice. When Xenophon was entertained at the famous banquet of Seuthes, on the Thracian Chersonese, near the Dardanelles, the drinking horns brought in were filled with wine. All the table manners and customs observed at that feast have the clearest Teutonic mark. Even the separate tables for each person were there, which Tacitus§ reports were in use among the Germans of

* *The Claimants*, v. 9021.

† *The Expedition of Cyrus*, B. IV., Ch. v., 26-29.

‡ *Geography*, XII., c. ii., 1.

§ *Germania*, 22.

his time. The peculiar way of drinking together, and a kind of 'nail-proof,' by standing up and tossing off the whole contents of the horn, and then spilling the last drops (*ἀναστὰς ὁ Σεύθης συνέξενε καὶ συγκάτεσκεδάσατο μετὰ τοῦτο τὸ κέρας*), are strangely suggestive of customs still prevalent in Germany to-day.

The presentation, during the banquet, of a white horse as a gift to Seuthes, and the speeches made on that occasion, are equally noteworthy. White horses, as Tacitus (X.) reports, were kept by the ancient German communities as sacred animals, used for purposes of divination. Now, from the address to Seuthes, by the giver of the white horse, it is clear that to this steed a sort of magic quality in warfare was attributed. Again, the blowing of trumpets, the gymnastic feats, and the buffoonery which concluded the Thracian banquet, remind us of what was still the custom in Germany in the Middle Ages.

The name of Seythes, or Seuthes, too, has a strong Teutonic ring. The Greeks of old, like the Romans, generally put ending syllables from their own language to foreign names. It is still done by the Greeks of to-day. The real name of Seythes, or Seuthes, was undoubtedly Seyth. Seyd is even now a frequent German family name. It is a well-known abbreviation of Siegfried, Seyfrit, Seyfert, or Seyfarth. I have dwelt on these points to show how clearly the Germanic character of the Thracians—the oldest known brewers of ale—is provable even from such minor facts.

V.

A smile involuntarily steals over the reader of this old classical lore when he finds Dioskorides, a Greek doctor from Kilikia, describing so very correctly the injurious result of the too frequent use of beer, both on the constitution in general, and as regards that special after-effect of intoxication, which in German is called *Katzenjammer*. Kilikia, also, is a country in which a people of Thracian blood originally dwelt. There, too, ale was consequently much in vogue.

Among the Skyths and other populations of the north-east a drink was used, which I would rather range among the distilled

beverages. Vergil, in referring to those races in his 'Georgics' (iii, 376), speaks of their dwellings underground; their fur-coats; the long nights they had to pass through; and their fermented liquor made from a berry, in imitation of wine. But in Pannonia, the present Hungary, we again come upon beer, called there *sabaja*. It was the drink of the common folk. In olden days there lived in Hungary a people of Thracian kinship; and of them Dio Cassius, who held the office of Legate in Dalmatia, says that in their country neither wine, nor oil, was produced; 'the wretched population not only eating, but also drinking, its barley and millet.' *Sabajarius*, beer-swiller, became an opprobrious term among the Romans, who preferred their own wine.

If we go from east to west, we find beer not only among the large Thracian stock and the kindred German race of the time of Tacitus,* but also among the Gauls and the Iberians of Spain. In the fragments of Posidonius, the Stoic philosopher, who lived in the first century of our era, beer is stated to have been the beverage of the mass of the people among the Kelts of what is now central France. The upper classes drank wine from Massilia or Marseilles.

Posidonius describes a Keltic ale-house, in which pint after pint is rapidly drawn from the same cask, and distributed right and left by the waiter. The latter is called 'the boy' (*ὁ παῖς*); actually Greek for *garçon*. Quite a modern picture of an inn; only that now, in France, more wine is drunk than beer. By writers later than Posidonius, Keltic beer is frequently referred to. Now-a-days, after so many centuries of an almost exclusive sway of wine in France, German beer more and more conquers ground there.

Of the non-Aryan Iberians in Spain, the forefathers, to a large extent, of the Irish, and of a section of the Welsh and the Highland Scots, Strabon † reports:—'They also use beer. Wine is very rare among them; and that which is made, they

* *Germ.*, xxiii. :—'Their drink is made from barley or wheat, which by fermentation becomes somewhat similar to wine. Those near to the Rhine also buy wine.'

† *Geography*, III., ch. iii., sect. 7.

very soon drink in feasting with their kindred. . . . When they have drunk, they dance to the sound of the flute and trumpet, jumping up and sinking down upon their knees.' It is recorded that in the famous siege of Numantia, during which the Romans practised outrageous cruelties, the heroic defenders of the town had their courage sustained by their customary barley-corn brew.

Pliny,* in a chapter against the vice of drunkenness, says:—

'The nations of the west, too, have their intoxicating drinks, made from corn soaked in water. In the Gallic and Spanish countries they are prepared in different ways; but though they have various names, it practically comes to the same result. The provinces of Spain have even taught us that these drinks can be made to keep to a considerable age. Egypt, again, has invented for her own use a similar beverage prepared from corn. In fact, there is no part of the world without intoxication. And, moreover, they take their liquors unmixed, not diluting them with water in the way in which wine is mitigated.'

In another chapter (xviii. 12), Pliny says:—'In Gaul and Spain, where a drink is made by soaking corn in the manner before described, they use the yeast, which thickens upon the surface, as a leaven (*spuma ita concreta pro fermento utuntur.*) For this reason the bread in those countries is lighter than elsewhere.' In a further chapter (xxii. 82), the Roman scientist states that wherever beer is brewed—in Egypt, Spain, Gaul, and other provinces—the yeast is used by women for beautifying the skin; that is, as a cosmetic.

Finally, if we come to this country, there is a statement by Pytheas to be noted. That adventurous Greek mathematician and astronomer from Massilia (Marseilles) was the first who visited, soon after the death of Alexander the Great, the shores of Britain, of Northern Germany, and of Scandinavia, sailing up even to Shetland and the Orkneys. In regard to Britain, which he found to be a land of clouds and rain, Pytheas reports that the natives made a drink by mixing wheat and

* *Hist. Nat.*, xiv., 29.

honey. It is a beverage still in existence, here and there, under the name of metheglin. However, it can scarcely be called beer.

VI

Now, the question arises: 'From whom did the Egyptians learn the art of brewing?'

Enough has been said to show that the Thrakians, kinsmen of the Teutons—who surrounded the Hellenic race in a vast outer ring, stretching from the north of European Greece far into Asia Minor—were great brewers of beer in a remote antiquity. There was much contact, friendly as well as hostile—as stated before—between Egyptians and Thrakians. From the records of the monuments about the campaigns of King Ramses II. Sestura (Sesostris); from the heroic poem of Pentaur, in glorification of the victories of this Pharaoh; and from other sources, we learn the names of many Thrakian tribes, such as the Dardani (Dardaians); the Mauna, or Maon (Maonians); the Masu (Mysians); the Liku (Lykians); the Pidasu (Pidasians); the Gergesh (Gergithians); the Tekri, or Tekkari (Teukrians); and, aye, the Turisha (Trojans).*

I hold the Mashaua—a Libyan, *i.e.*, North African people, called Maxyes by the Greeks—and some other Libyan tribes on the north coast of Africa, such as the Gyzantes, the Gaetulians, and the Asbysts, to be also of more or less close Getho-Thrakian connection. Of the Maxyes, Herodotos (IV., 121), asserts that they themselves said they were 'the descendants of men who came from Troy.' Now, Troy was a Thrakian settlement.

Even the extraordinary fashion of wholly shearing the hair on one side of the head, and of tattooing or bedaubing the body, which the Maxyes had, can be matched from accounts referring to various Teutonic tribes. Thus, that peculiar fashion of wearing the hair is still recorded, a great many centuries after Herodotos, of the Longobards, the Franks, and the equally Germanic Warangians or 'Ros,' who in the ninth cen-

* See Professor Heinrich Brugsch's essay on 'Troy in Egypt,' in Dr. Schliemann's *Ilios*.

ture founded an empire, under Rurik (Roderick), on the Finno-Slavic plain, and gave it the name of 'Russia.' Be-daubing the body was a custom of Thracian nobles. It is mentioned also as being in use among the Harian Germans by Tacitus,* and later on among Saxons, and among the Goths in Spain.

Thrakians, as well as their more or less close kinsmen, the Skyths, whose majority at least had a racial affinity with the former, often waged war with the Egyptians. At the same time, in true Teutonic lansquenet manner, Thrakians served as mercenaries in the Egyptian armies. In the same way the Thrakians, though often at war with the Greeks, also became much intermixed with them. In fact, wherever we look, we find that vastly extending Thracian race all over the East—in Europe, in Asia, as well as in Africa. Even if we go so far back as the time of the Trojan war, there existed, if we can trust Strabon's statement, a village in Egypt, called Troy. It was, he says, an ancient settlement of the captive Trojans who had accompanied Menelaus and settled there.

Now, does it not stand to reason that a people so given to their own national beverage, as the Thrakians were, must have continued its use in the Nile country, and that the very words for that brew should have got from the Thracian language both into the Egyptian and Hellenic tongue?† It is true, Diodoros (I., 34) says that 'the Egyptians called their beer *zuthos*.' But so do the Germans call their wine 'Wein;' yet we know that both the German and the English word comes from the Latin *vinum*. Similarly, I hold that the Egyptian word *zuth* is, as I have explained, connected with Germanic words for a brew.

It may not be amiss to bring to recollection here that the learned priests of Memphis themselves believed that the

* *Germ.* 43. Comp. Elton's *Origins of English History*, p. 241.

† In this connection it is of interest to learn that the horse, which appears on Egyptian wall-paintings recently excavated, and photographs of which were exhibited by Mr. Taylor, at Burlington House, in London, is called *hest*. It is exactly the Norse, and Icelandic, as well as the Danish name for the horse even now.

Phrygians, one of the largest Thracian tribes in both eastern Europe and Asia Minor, had been in the land of the Nile before the Egyptians themselves. Herodotos (II., 2-4), who grounds this statement on a rather fabulous anecdote, still says:—‘Before the reign of Psammitich, the Egyptians looked upon themselves as the most ancient of mankind. But when Psammitich had become King, he sought to find out who had been the first; and from thence the Egyptians *consider the Thracians to have been before them*; and themselves they regard as having been before all the others.’

But if the Phrygo-Thracians were the earlier inhabitants of Egypt, it would certainly not be difficult to account for beer in that country, even in the most distant antiquity within our ken.

Psammitich, or Psamatik, was himself not an Egyptian of pure stock. He was of half Libyan—that is, probably, semi-Thracian—origin. His face is of an Aryan, or even distinctly Germanic, type, especially in the nose, whilst his son Neko looks like a true Egyptian. Psammitich, after having been exiled, returned to the throne by the military aid of Ionian Greeks and Karian Thracians. It was his son Neko who began the first canal between the Mediterranean and the Red Sea, contrary to the wish of the priests, who stopped the work by means of an oracle, to the effect that he ‘was working for a barbarian;’ that is, facilitating the conquest by a foreign race. Neko also brought about the first circumnavigation of Africa by Carthaginians.

The oldest Egyptian statues have a pronounced Aryan type. ‘Menes,’ we learn from Herodotos, ‘was the first of men who ruled over Egypt.’ So the priests at Memphis told the Greek historian. This Menes, Minos, Manu, Mann(us) name is an undoubtedly non-Egyptian, Aryan, one. It means man. The forebear of the Teutons, according to Tacitus, was called Mann(us).

Asia—by which at first only what we now call Asia Minor was designated—had its name, according to the assertion of the Lydian Thracians, from As, the son of Kotys, who was the

son of Manes, or Mau.* 'As' is the name of the Germanic Gods. The same name was borne by the dukes of the Vandals. The word also occurs in various tribal names of the Thrakians. The personal name of Kotys has been equaled with that of the Norse deity, Hödur, which was also a human name. The name of Man(es) speaks for itself. The probability, amounting to a tolerable certainty, is, that in earliest Egypt there was a ruling caste of Aryan, Thrakian, connection.

Princes of a darker skinned race afterwards sat on the Egyptian throne. Yet Aryan blood always came in afresh, now and then. Either these kings took wives from a white-skinned, fair-haired stock, or they themselves belonged to a clearer type by more or less distant kinship. It is, for instance, a curious fact that the mummy of Rameses II. Sestura (Sesostris), whom some Egyptologists would identify with the Pharaoh of the oppression of the Jews, and whose features are not the typical Egyptian ones, has been found to have had very fine, almost silken, long yellow hair.† His is a long-headed, dolichocephalic, head.

If we go back to the earlier time of King Khu-en-Aten, we hear that his mother, Thii, Tii, or Taia, who came from a foreign land, and whose profile is a beautiful one, had a fair complexion, blue eyes, flaxen hair, and rosy cheeks.‡ She is stated to have come from 'the north country.' In Mr. Boscawen's opinion, she was a Circassian from the neighbourhood of Lake Van. Even if some parts of northern Africa were meant by the 'north country,' there would be no difficulty in matching her physical description among the Thrakian race, which was partly spread also over that region. The very Gods of the Thrakians, as we know from Xenophanes,|| were represented with similar characteristics as Queen Tii.

* *Herodotos*, iv., 45.

† See Professor Rudolf Virchow's report, from personal inspection, on *The Mummies of the Kings in the Museum at Bulaq*, in the Proceedings of the Academy of Sciences at Berlin, (xxxiv.), 1880.

‡ Prof. Rawlinson's *Ancient Egypt* (Mr. Fisher Unwin's Series of *Story of the Nations*) i., p. 228.

|| *Clem. Alex. Strom.*, vii.

Ethiopians, he says, give their own Gods a black colour, and make them flat-nosed; the Thrakians represent theirs as reddish-golden-haired and blue-eyed (Θράκες τε πυρροὺς καὶ γλαυκοὺς.)

Again, we learn from Prof. Flinders Petrie's excavations in the Fayum, that in the thirteenth century before our era a foreign settlement existed there, in which a light-haired people lived, who used un-Egyptian weights. A man named An-Tursha was buried in it, who occupied a prominent governing position. The obvious conclusion is, that this fair-haired Tursha people in Egypt—a specimen of whose yellow locks was actually found under a dark Egyptian wig of the man in question—belonged to that Thrakian, Trojan, race whose name, according to Professor Brugsch, is rendered in the Egyptian tongue by Tur(sha), *sha* being a mere ending syllable.

Of the high intellectual gifts of the Thrakian stock and of its kinsmen, the Skythian race, the ancients have a great deal to say. From Herodotus, from Strabon, from Plinius, and others, we hear how many important inventions were made by men of Thrakian (Lydian, Phrygian, Mysian, Karian), and also of Skythian origin. Putting this and all the other facts together, I think there is full ground for the belief that the ancient dwellers in the Nile country owed the introduction of ale to that Thrakian race which was kindred to the Teutons, and which, the Egyptians themselves said, had been the earliest population there, even before their own nation.

KARL BLIND.

ART. III.—THE 'PRINCELY CHANDOS' AND THE UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS.

THERE has recently been published an interesting and carefully compiled biography of the first Duke of Chandos, in which a large mass of entirely new information has been placed before the public regarding that distinguished but somewhat eccentric nobleman.* The memoir bears every evidence of

* *The Princely Chandos. A Memoir of James Brydges.* By John Robert Robinson. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co. 1893.

scrupulous and painstaking research on the part of the author, and there are few points either in the public or private career of his hero upon which he has failed to cast fresh light. There is, however, one incident in the life of the Princely Duke which Mr. Robinson has passed over in silence, an omission which is all the more to be regretted as the incident was highly creditable to the Duke, and one which gave him lasting satisfaction. The omission referred to is the Duke's connection with the University of St. Andrews—a connection which began in 1720, and continued unbroken till his death in 1744. It has been said by one reviewer of Mr. Robinson's book that the 'folly of Canons is the only circumstance that keeps alive the name of the Duke of Chandos'; and by another that 'almost the only instance of his generosity mentioned in this volume is that he gave occasional bounties to the labourers on his estate.' But for more than a century and a half the name of Chandos has been something of a household word in the University of St. Andrews, and to this day one of its Professors derives a considerable portion of his income from a foundation that bears his Grace's name. In short, the first Duke of Chandos was the founder of the Chair of Medicine and Anatomy in the University, and he was, in addition, for twenty years its Chancellor and the Conservator of its privileges.

As this circumstance forms not merely an interesting episode in the life of the Duke, but also a curious chapter in the academical history of Scotland, it is proposed, in the following pages, to set it forth with some degree of detail; and, as in the case of Mr. Robinson's memoir, the information here given will be derived entirely from original sources made use of for the first time.

It is extremely difficult—almost impossible, in fact—to determine with certainty how the Duke of Chandos came to be interested in the University of St. Andrews, and to make it the object of his princely generosity. He does not appear to have ever been in Scotland himself, or to have had any family or other ties connecting him with this country. It appears from correspondence still extant that he was on friendly terms with the Duke of Atholl, the then Chancellor of the University of St.

Andrews, with Lord Hay, and other eminent Scotsmen who frequented London, but there is no evidence to prove that any of these was the means of bringing him into contact with St. Andrews. In a letter quoted below the Duke alludes to certain 'civilities' which he had received from the University, and which he had no way deserved. What these civilities were there is now no official means of discovering. The University records are unfortunately defective at this very period—owing apparently to a change of clerks—and the initial correspondence which must have taken place cannot be found. According to a contemporary writer,* the Duke sent the University a present of £1000 for 'having treated his Grace's son, etc., with much respect.' This is perhaps correct: it is at any rate highly probable. Mr. Robinson states that 'the Duke of Chandos, desiring that his son, the Marquis of Carnarvon, should receive the benefit of a course of study at Oxford, entered him during November, 1719, at Balliol College, and placed him under the tuition of Mr. Hunt.' And he further mentions that 'On the 8th of April [1721] the Marquis of Carnarvon received the degree of LL.D. at Oxford. His lordship's tutor, a Mr. Stewart, took that of M.D. at the same time.†' There is no evidence to show that the Marquis of Carnarvon studied at St. Andrews as well as at Oxford, but it seems not at all unlikely that he spent the long vacation of 1720 at the Scottish seat of learning. On the 4th of May, or of June (both dates occur) Charles Stuart, a Doctor of Medicine of the University of Leyden, was admitted *ad eundem gradum* at St. Andrews. Considering how largely this Dr. Stuart bulks in the following correspondence, there can hardly be any doubt that he was the Marquis's tutor, and the same person who was also admitted to a Doctorate in Medicine at Oxford. As will be seen immediately, Dr Stuart was an intimate friend of Mr. Francis Pringle, the Professor of Greek in St. Leonard's College, likewise an Oxford man, an excellent classical scholar, and a person of good social

* John Loveday, in his *Diary of a Tour in 1732*, privately printed, 1890, p. 140.

† *The Princely Chandos*, pp. 107, 131.

standing. It is thus not unreasonable to suppose that in the summer of 1720 the young Marquis and his tutor arrived in St. Andrews, and were hospitably entertained at St. Leonard's by the Principal and Regents. The Colleges of St. Andrews were not then in a flourishing condition, but the University still continued to be frequented by the sons of the Scottish nobility and gentry. At the period in question, besides a considerable number of the sons of leading county families from Fife, Forfar, and Perth, the following noblemen were students at the University, and most of them would be still in residence during the session of 1719-20, (which extended from November to July or August): the Earl of Kellie, the Viscount of Oxfurd, Lord Rosehill, eldest son of the Earl of Northesk, and two of the younger sons of the Earl of Rothes.

As has been said, the records of the University for 1720 are defective. No meetings are recorded between 20th June and 8th November, and four and a half pages of the minutebook of the Senatus have been left blank. The earliest mention of the Duke of Chandos occurs under date 11th December, 1720, when it is stated that 'the Rector produced to the University a letter from Dr. Stuart of the date, Oxford, November 28, 1720, in answer to one received by him from the Rector concerning the Duke of Chandos's donation, signifying that his Grace was very willing to consent to the alteration you incline to make in the disposition of his donation in favour of medicine, and that the Duke himself was to write an answer to the letter he received from the University, which being read, the University delays further consideration thereof for some time, till they see if the Duke's letter comes to hand.'

A scroll copy of the letter of the Rector to Dr. Stuart has been preserved. It is unsigned and undated, but must have been written about the middle of November, 1720. It is in the following terms:—

'SIR,

'It was with much pleasure I communicated the good tidings contained in yours to the first meeting of our Universitie this session, which I could not possibly do sooner, because of the absence of the Masters during the vacation. With the plainest ingenuity we confess our admira-

tion of, and complacencie in, the very generous inclinations of his Grace the Duke of Chandos to our distant body. We have thought it our duty to acknowledge his singular goodness, and condescension to us, in a letter of thanks to himself. But we do not think that should exempt us from paying our regard also to you, whom we know to have been a willing instrument in this affair, as far as you found it necessarie. If that was but little, or nothing, in respect of his Grace's own promptitude, yet still it deserves our kind resentment. And we judge it a proper concomitant of his Grace's character, to have such men about him as are friendly to Societies of Learning. If it is an argument of a generous soul to give there the freest, where with most safety he might have refus'd, this certainly is our case with respect to his Grace. However, after accepting, as becomes us, the largess offer'd according to the particular destination mentioned in yours, we adventur'd to suggest, with great submission to his Grace, another Liberal Profession to be considered of before the last hand is put to the writs, namely, that of Medicine and Anatomy. We are, as we have promis'd, to go on in the meantime to settle the Regulations proper to the Chandos Profession of Eloquence, and have appointed a Committee to that effect : Wishing to hear from you as soon as possible after this comes to hand, that his Grace's final resolution may take place without further delay. The Profession we have taken upon us to mention is that you have the honour to be well acquainted w^t, & where can we meet with a more proper advocate. Therefor we believe you will use all the freedom you can, in decencie, to fortifie our humble motion. In this you will farther oblige him who by appointment subscribes himself with all his heart,

‘ Your very humble and ready serv^t,’

[ROBERT RAMSAY, Rector of the University.]

No copy of the letter of thanks addressed to the Duke himself can be traced, but the following sentences are apparently a fragment of it :—

‘ That your Grace has not reserved the nomination to your self, which was your just right, but vested that honour also in the University ; we are certainly so much the more bound to acknowledge your great condescension in this respect & never to forget the confidence so reposed in us. ’

‘ There is not one amongst us will confess himself out [and] out for the office designed by your Grace : and where to meet with a lucky stranger we yet know not. However, we shall go on in our Enquiry & do the best we can to find out a well qualified person. ’

Two things may be gathered from these letters, namely, that the Duke of Chandos had resolved to found a Chair of Eloquence or Rhetoric in the University, and that the members of the Senatus, while gratefully accepting his Grace's generous

offer, expressed the opinion that a Chair of Medicine and Anatomy would be more useful. Their chief objection to a Chair of Eloquence appears to have been that none of themselves was capable of filling it, and that they did not know where to look for a suitable occupant outside their own number.

However much the Senatus may have been pleased with the news that the Duke of Chandos was willing to alter the disposition of his donation, they could hardly fail to be disappointed at the other portions of the letter of Dr. Stuart. They expected to find in him a 'proper advocate' to fortify their humble motion for a Chair of Medicine and Anatomy. But he turned out to be the very reverse and read them a lesson on the imprudence of their action, under which they must have winced. This letter, which is the one already referred to as having been produced by the Rector at the meeting of 11th December, is in the following terms:—

Reverend Sr,

I take this first opportunity of thanking the University for the honour of y^e letter I lately receiv'd from you by their appointment; I was present with y^e Duke of Chandos when your letter came to his hands, and upon reading of it he desired me to let you know that he was very willing to consent to y^e alteration you inclin'd to make in y^e disposition of his donation in favours of Medicine, and said he wou'd write to you himself upon that subject: I hope you will not suspect me of any partiality to Eloquence or any other faculty in preference to Medicine, to which I have y^e honour to belong, when I tell you that while it was under deliberation here how His Grace's bounty might be most usefully employ'd Medicine was not forgotten, but it was carry'd against it for reasons which I mentioned in a letter to Mr. Pringle, and to which I must confess I can not finde an answer; y^e Theory and Practise of Medicine are not only considered as distinct Professions in some of y^e Universitys abroad but there are likewise other Sciences such as Anatomy, Chimistry, and Botany, which are unseparable retainers to that Science and absolutly necessary to y^e study of it: now as there are no foundations in your University for any of these Sciences, nor perhaps will be for these hundred years to come, and as one man can hardly be sufficient for more than one or at most two of them, I can no[t] see of what great use a Professor of Medicine wou'd be in St. Andrews, where an Anatomist may be ten years in looking for a human body to dissect; I think I plainly forsee that this profession wou'd quickly fall into y^e hands of some young Physitian who, wanting employment, should have interest enough to get himself chosen to it, for a livelyhood to him, without having so much as one scholar to teach, and if this should

be the case in My Lord Duke's own lifetime I leave it to you to judge if his Grace would have great reason to think that he had employ'd his money well, for I can assure you (however he may not think fit to dispute with you about y^e manner of disposing of it) that his design is to have it employ'd to y^e best advantage for y^e promoting useful learning. I shall not trouble you with y^e reasons why y^e proposal of founding a Profession of y^e Civil Law was rejected, you will easily imagin them your self, that which weigh'd most here was y^e account we had of y^e little success such a Profession has had for a long time in y^e University of Aberdeen ; these reasons determined y^e choice in favours of Eloquence, as to which I must beg leave to say that y^e reason you give against it, namly y^e difficulty of finding a person qualify'd for it, seems to me rather to be a good argument for y^e necessity of such a Profession at this time in our country than a solid reason against it ; but I hope it is not quite so bad with us as you imagine. I'm sure I know one in your own University very capable of it, nor do I see how it is inconsistent with y^e Profession he already holds, or if he shou'd not care to accept of it I'll take upon me to name another who in my opinion wou'd be an ornament to any University in Europe, for I know he is reckon'd by very good judges to be one of y^e best Grammarians now alive, the person I mean is Mr. Rudiment, keeper of y^e Advocats' Library, if he wou'd accept of it I don't see wherein it wou'd be inconsistent with y^e employment he now injoys. I hope you will excuse this freedom I have taken in giving you my opinion in this matter, nothing but y^e great respect I have for y^e Noble Founder and y^e earnest desire I have to see useful learning flourish in my country, particularly in your University, for which I have y^e greatest honour, cou'd have engag'd me to differ so far from one for whom I have a most perfect and sincere esteem.

'I am, Reverend S^r, Your most obedient and Most humble Sert.,

' C. STUART.

' Oxford, Nov. 28, 1720.

' Be pleased when you doe me y^e honour to write to me to put your letter under a cover directed to Mr. Thomas Kennedy, Member of Parliament, at Mrs. Cant's house in St. James's place.'

The 'Mr. Rudiment' mentioned in the above letter is, of course, the celebrated Mr. Thomas Ruddiman, whose name has been confounded by Dr. Stuart with his equally celebrated 'Rudiments' of the Latin language. The St. Andrews professor alluded to as being equally capable of holding a chair of Eloquence is no doubt the Mr. Pringle named in the earlier part of the letter, who was a friend and correspondent both of Ruddiman and Stuart.

The Senatus, as we have seen, delayed consideration of Dr. Stuart's letter until they saw if the letter which the Duke of

Chandos had promised to write himself came to hand. The letter duly arrived and was produced by the Rector at a meeting held on 24th December. It is as follows:—

' Dec: 15: 1720:

' Sr,

' I return you my humble thanks for y^e letter you were pleas'd to write me of y^e 15th Nov: in y^e name & at y^e desire of y^e learned body over w^{ch} you most worthily preside. I thought some acknowledgement justly due for civilities I had no way deserv'd from your University, & y^e oblidging manner in w^{ch} you express your acceptance of my gratitude far exceeds y^e value of y^e mark I have given of it, for I may reasonably hope posterity will think favourably of a person to whom you pay such regard.

' I should not have thought of prescribing to you y^e manner of employing it, had it not been represented to me that you wanted only a Professor in Rhetorick: Your letter is a most convincing proof that Art wants no improvement with you: & I readily consent you should follow your own method of making such provision for y^e advancement of Anatomie & Medecine as you desire. I am y^e less concern'd that I mention'd my opinion to you, because by changing it I have an opportunity of showing y^e deference I pay to yours; & my intentions will be best answer'd by your oblidging some worthy member already residing among you.

' I shall conclude, Sir, with my thanks for your good wishes, and assurances of y^e great esteem I have of your learned body, & y^e readiness with w^{ch} I shall embrace all future occations of showing myself,

' Sr, your obedient humble serv^t,

' CHANDOS.'

It need hardly be pointed out that there is a marked difference between the tone and style of Dr. Stuart's letter and those of the Duke's. The one is the somewhat petulant utterance of a man who sees a scheme that he himself favours being set aside for another that he holds to be impracticable and even mischievous: while the other is full of stately courtesy and skilful diplomacy, tinged, it may be, in one part with polished sarcasm. Mr. Robinson tells us that the Duke 'possessed in a marked degree the faculty of making himself agreeable to all with whom he was brought into contact. In fact, he studied and acted up to the motto, *Noblesse Oblige*, and showed frequently magnanimous conduct in support of that maxim.'* This estimate of his character is fully borne out by this single letter, and it is doubtful if Mr. Robinson himself has given a more striking instance of it.

* *The Princely Chandos*, p. 47-48.

On receipt of this letter from the Duke of Chandos the Senatus appointed a committee of six members to prepare an answer to it, and also to draft a letter to the Duke of Atholl, the Chancellor of the University, giving him an account of the affair.

Pending the arrival of the Duke's letter the Senatus had not been altogether idle in the matter. A committee had been appointed at some previous meeting, of which there is no record, to draft regulations for the proposed Profession of Eloquence, and the receipt of Dr. Stuart's letter does not seem to have interfered with the committee's diligence; for at a meeting held on 14th December a motion to proceed with the regulations was carried over a motion for delay. The report of the committee was accordingly read and revised, and afterwards remitted to the committee for further consideration. The draft regulations were again considered by the Senatus on 22nd December, and their final adjustment was fixed to take place in January, 1721. At the same meeting, however, another committee was appointed to draw up 'regulations for a Profession of Medicine and Anatomy in case the Duke of Chandos' donation be employed for that purpose,' and this committee was requested to give in its report on the same day as the other committee.

On 30th December the whole situation was again discussed, when the committee appointed on the 24th submitted draft answers to the Duke's letter. A small party in the Senatus appears to have been still bent on a Chair of Eloquence, and a proposal was made that seeing the Duke had condescended to the University's wish for Medicine and Anatomy rather than for Rhetoric and Eloquence, the University should now return the compliment and submit regulations for both Professions to his Grace's judgment and leave him to decide which should be selected. This proposal, however, was negatived, and it was agreed to send up regulations for a Profession of Medicine and Anatomy only. From this decision Mr. Pringle and Mr. James Duncan, one of the Regents in St. Salvator's College, dissented. Medicine being now in the ascendant, a committee was appointed at the same meeting to answer Dr. Stuart's letter of 28th November.

On 4th January, 1721, the Committee again brought in several drafts of a letter to the Duke, and these were remitted to a sub-

committee of three to bring in one draft out of the whole. This sub-committee brought in its draft on 6th January, 'which being read and discoursed on as to its several paragraphs it was committed to Mr. William Young to bring it in amended.' This was done on 9th January, and after discussion and a vote, the letter was finally adjusted and passed. At the same meeting a form of letter to Dr. Stuart was agreed upon; and it was also resolved to transmit a copy of the letter from the Duke of Chandos and the University's answer thereto to the Duke of Atholl, who had sent an express for that purpose. On 16th January the Duke of Atholl returned the letter intended for the Duke of Chandos with his signature, and the Rector having also signed it in name of the University, it was ordered to be despatched immediately to his Grace. Unfortunately neither this letter nor any of its many drafts has been preserved.

Having at length answered the Duke of Chandos's letter, and having thereby disposed of the Profession of Eloquence, the Senatus was now free to proceed to the discussion of the regulations for a Profession of Medicine and Anatomy. The committee appointed to prepare these, on 22nd December, brought in a draft of their proposals on 27th January 'which being read and some amendments made thereto, was ordered to lie in the clerk's hands, to be perused by any of the members of the University that may call for it, till the next meeting.' On 30th January 'the draft of the regulations was again read and approved, and ordered to be transmitted to his Grace with a letter. . . . to be signed by the Rector in name of the University.'

The regulations, as finally adjusted and transmitted to his Grace for approval, were six in number. Under the first the members of the University bound themselves and their successors in office, to take all possible care in securing the fund mortified by his Grace for the use of a Professor of Medicine and Anatomy by laying it out upon sufficient and undoubted security, or by purchasing with it some convenient and available piece of land. Under the second it was agreed to proceed to the election of a Professor immediately after the settlement of the fund. The third provided for the incorporation of the new professor as a member of the University under the name and title of 'the

Chandos Professor; and the fourth and fifth prescribed his duties, viz,—

'4. That the Chandos Professor shall have full freedom to treat of the rise, progress and perfection of Anatomy and Medicine, and to teach the theory and practice thereof in all their several parts; and shall have the use of the University hall for his public prelections, of which sort he shall be obliged to have four the first year, to be published, and six every year thereafter, to be delivered at such times as the University shall appoint; and shall, how oft a human body can be got, have a public dissection of the same; and demonstrate the skeleton in public once a year. 5. That for his further encouragement and the public good he be obliged to teach any scholars that shall apply to him, and that once a day, at least every Monday, Wednesday, and Friday, by explaining to them any system of anatomy and medicine that likes him best, and be allowed to take such premium from his students as the University shall agree to.'

The sixth and last regulation reserved power to the University, 'with consent of his Grace the Duke of Chandos, or his heirs,' to make such further regulations as may be thought most conducive for the advancement of this Profession. About a month after their transmission these regulations were returned by the Duke, accompanied by the following letter, in which he expresses his approval of them, with a slight exception personal to himself and his family. This letter was produced by the Rector at a meeting of the University held on 14th March, and a committee was appointed 'to prepare a suitable return' to it, but there is no record of this having been done.

'Feb: 27: 1724:

'S^r,

'I return you y^c overtures you were pleas'd to send me for settling y^e Profession of Anatomy & Medicine in your University, to w^{ch} I have no objection, except to y^c last paragraph, where you have y^c goodness to render my consent, or that of my heirs, necessary to empowr such further regulations to be made as shall be judg'd conducive to its advancement: As this may for severall reasons prove inconvenient, I entreat that this powr may be lodg'd entirely in y^e hands of your learned body without y^c restriction of its being subject to y^c consent of me or mine.

'The blank in y^c preamble I have taken y^c liberty to fill up with y^c sum I formerly mention'd, & do with great thankfulness acknowledge my self truly sensible of y^c hon^r you confer on my family in calling this institution by my name. I have nothing further, S^r, at present to trouble you with,

than to report my desires of having y^e writs expeded, & that you'l please to let me know to whom or where you'd have y^e money paid.

'I am, S^r, your most humble servant,

'CHANDOS.'

During the period that elapsed between the despatch of the regulations to the Duke of Chandos and their return by him, an extraordinary wrangle had been going on in the Senatus over a letter which Mr. Pringle had received from Dr. Stuart. At a meeting held on 13th February 'Mr. Pringle read a part of a letter as from Dr. Charles Stuart, of which part he gave in a double, which was ordered to lie in the clerk's hands.' At a meeting held on the 23rd February it was carried by a majority that Mr. Pringle should be obliged to show the whole of the foresaid letter to the University in order that it might be read and considered by them. The Rector accordingly in name of the University demanded the letter of Mr. Pringle, 'and appointed him—seeing he had it not upon him at present—to give it to the University, Monday next at two of the clock afternoon.' This demand was made on the understanding that it was Dr. Stuart's wish that the letter should be shown to the University.

On the day appointed, 27th February, Mr. Pringle, instead of giving in the letter, 'gave answer why he would not do it, desiring delay for several reasons which he read from a paper for help of his memory.' After a discussion and a vote, Mr. Pringle was called upon to lodge the reasons he had read in the clerk's hands, which he did accordingly, and a committee was appointed to consider them, and report to the University. This was done on 2nd March, and the committee recommended that Mr. Pringle's petition, and the reasons of it should be rejected. This recommendation was adopted by the Senatus, whereupon Mr. Pringle raised technical difficulties, took instruments in the clerk's hands, and craved extracts. These were granted, but the committee's report was ordered to be committed to writing, and the clerk was instructed to issue no extracts which did not contain the reasons of the committee for rejecting Mr. Pringle's petition. Before the meeting dispersed the Rector made an appeal to Mr. Pringle, and asked him, in name of the University,

'if after all that had passed he would now deliver up Dr. Stuart's letter to the clerk to be read and considered by the University, to which he answered he was not at freedom to do it; whereupon it was put to the vote whether the University was satisfied with his answer or not, and it carried not; and thereupon the University appointed him to show the said letter, to be considered by the University, betwixt and ten o'clock forenoon Monday next.' Mr. Pringle, however, remained obdurate, and when the time came (6th March) instead of handing over the letter, he submitted instead thereof a new representation and proposal. The Senatus being thus once more baffled, resolved to delay consideration of the whole affair till their next meeting. They met again on 14th March, when the new representation and proposal given in by Mr. Pringle were discussed, and it was carried to reject them. After that the Rector, in name of the University, 'required' Mr. Pringle to produce Dr. Stuart's letter, whereupon Mr. Pringle, 'in obedience to the University,' produced the said letter, which was read *in praesentia*.

The letter which caused all this disturbance is sufficiently important, as well as amusing, to be reproduced in full. It is as follows, the portion enclosed in square brackets being apparently the part which Mr. Pringle was so anxious to withhold from the other members of the Senatus.

'DEAR FRANK,

'I have lately received three letters from you. Tho' you do not mention y^e reason, I can easily guess why your University is so much inclin'd to Medicine rather than Eloquence, you eloquent people are often troublesome members in Societys, whereas *sine cures* are good convenient preferments and have been observ'd to be very usefull in disposing men to silence and indolence. I must say that a not residing Professor of Anatomy is one of the most extraordinary Professors I have ever heard of, for as Anatomy is a science perhaps the most practical of all others, one would think residence, at least, very necessary in the Professor of it; but [if you be unalterably determin'd against Eloquence, is there no other profession besides that of Medicine (which it's plain will never doe at St. Andrews) you can think on. Is there not the Civil Law, the Law of Nations, and Astronomy (in which S^r Isack Newton is just now about founding a Profession under excellent limitations) all more likely to succeed than Medicine? I hope none of these is inconsistent with any of your present Professions, and who knows but some of you leading men

may have some young Advocate of his acquaintance whom one of these Professions would accomodat very well? If there be anything in my letter that may look as if I presun'd to restrain what the Duke design'd shou'd be unlimited, His Grace I think wou'd readily have order'd me to alter it. for he saw the letter before I sent it away. You mention a letter of thanks which the University designs to do me y^e honour to write to me, but that is an honour which I neither deserve nor desire, for I had very little hand in procuring this bounty, and am now sorry for having contributed in y^e least to it, because I see you are going to throw it away; and this is not my opinion only, but the opinion of every one I have convers'd with in this country on the subject, whither English or Scots. A few days agoe y^e Duke of Chandos asked me why y^e University does not send him the papers that he may put an end to that affair, I told His Grace that I believ'd they were thinking on reasons to offer to him for preferring a Profession of Anatomy & Physick, in a place where a Professor may live twenty years before he can get a human body to dissect & probably wou'd never have a scolar, in any other part of Medicine, to that which His Grace had proposed to them: to this he reply'd that he had put it in their power, and wou'd not recall it, that if they missapply'd his bounty they must answer for it to another, that he was satisfied w^t y^e integrity of his own intention, which I knew was to promote usefull learning & desir'd me to write to the University to make what haste they can, for he is willing to have it finish'd, and therefore I desire you wou'd show them this letter & advise them not to trouble him with any more letters, for he has a great deal of business of much greater importance to him & will not, I dare answer for him, quarrel with them, tho they shou'd give him no reasons at all for their resolution, and indeed it is my opinion, they had better, for their own credit, give none at all than bad ones.] I shall be glad to hear sometimes from you: but I beg you wou'd not give your self y^e trouble to write any more to me on this subject, for I'm sick of it, and I'm sure your new Professor of Medicine will never cure me. I am, with a particular inclination,

DEAR FRANK, your most obedient humble ser^t,

C. STUART.

OXFORD, Jan. 23, 1721.

TO MR. FRANCIS PRINGLE,

Professor of Greek in St. Leonard's College in y^e

University of St. Andrews, Scotland.'

At this distance of time it is not quite easy to understand why Mr. Pringle should have so positively declined to show this letter to his colleagues, especially as he was distinctly desired to do so by the writer of it. His reasons for refusing are not extant; but so far as can be judged from the replies made to them by the committee, they do not appear to have been either weighty or

relevant. To be sure the committee were not very specific in their replies. They rated the obstinate professor on his want of fidelity to the University, and declared that his conduct was a scandalous reflection on their whole body. But the secret of the strife is let out in the last sentence of their report, in which the committee urge 'that Mr. Pringle's obstinate refusing to obey an act of the University ought to heighten the suspicion many in the University have had of his dealing underhand in this affair with a view to his own private advantage.'

The evidence is not sufficient to convict either Mr. Pringle or Dr. Stuart of double dealing, but it is clear there was a mutual understanding of some kind between them. They were in constant correspondence on the subject of the new foundation, and the letters of Dr. Stuart show plainly enough that he looked upon Mr. Pringle as a fitting occupant of the proposed Chair of Eloquence. In all this there is not necessarily anything sinister. The Duke's expressed desire was to benefit some member of the University. He does not appear to have contemplated that the holder of this new Chair would be required to devote his whole time and attention to the duties connected with it. He had rather in view the Professorships and Lectureships with which he was familiar at Oxford, which only entailed residence for a short time and the delivery of a few lectures annually, and which consequently might be held by persons residing in another part of the country, and for the greater part of the year engaged in other professions. Dr. Stuart makes this perfectly clear when he says that the appointment of Mr. Ruddiman would not be inconsistent with his employment as keeper of the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh. But whatever may have been the leading motive in Mr. Pringle's conduct he appears to have stood almost alone in the *Senatus*. Notwithstanding the plain speaking of Dr. Stuart, the majority of the professors stuck to their preference for Medicine rather than for Rhetoric, and ultimately carried their point.

The next step towards the foundation of the new Chair was the preparation of an *Obligation*—embodying the foregoing regulations in legal phraseology—to be given by the University to the Duke of Chandos. A draft of this document was given

in at a meeting held on 31st March, 1721, and it was finally adjusted on 11th April, and ordered to be transcribed in duplicate—one copy upon stamped parchment, and the other upon stamped paper. It was signed by all the members of the University on 21st and 25th April, with the exception of one, who was absent, but who sent a letter 'importing his satisfaction with the progress of this affair.' But it was not till the 6th of May that the document on parchment, duly signed and sealed, was ready for despatch to the Duke of Chandos. It was accompanied by a letter which had been drafted, revised and amended in the usual manner.

The Professors were relieved of all trouble as to the investment of the Chandos donation by an offer made by their Chancellor, the Duke of Atholl, to take into his hand the £1000; and it was unanimously resolved 'that the said money shall be lent to his Grace, preferably to any other person, provided his Grace shall give undoubted security for the same upon his estate of Falkland.' The following letters refer to this subject:—

' HUNTING^r., April 4th, 1721.

' S^r,

' I acquainted you in my last letter of the 1st instant, that I designed to send my secretary to waite on you and the Masters of the University with my opinion of the Duke of Chandos' gift. He is to propose to you a method for security of the money and punctual payment of the annualrents, and also my opinion that there should be an act of the University appointing one of the Masters yearly to make an Oration in commendation of the Duke of Chandos's great generosity &c. as I wrott in my last, of all which and what els I have to say in the matter I refer to the bearer. I am S^r,

' Your humble serv^t,

' ATHOLL.'

' HUNTING^r., April 24th, 1721.

' S^r,

' I was very well pleased with yours by my secretary, Alex^r Murray, and the accounts he gave me of the University's willingness to agree to the proposals I made by him.

' I have now sent by Baylie Seton my Chamberlane for Fa'kland a draught of a bond which if you think fitt to have advised at Edin^r. you may desire your Lawy^r. there to meet with Mr. John Fleemyng, my advocate, that they may concert it together. My Chamberlane will also shew

you the Rental of Falkland that the lands to be named in the bond may be filled up.

'I have also sent you a draught of an obligation which I also ordered Alex^r. Murray to offerr to the University, wherby I am to pay yearly a hundred merks to the Master [who] shal be appointed to make an Oration in praise of the Duke of Chandos's generosity, which you will return to me together with the bond, as soon as the University is satisfied about them, and I shal signe them both whenever they come back to my hands, and you will lett me know at the same time who is to deliver the money to me or my order.

'I doubt not but you have either heard before this time from the Duke of Chandos or will hear before these papers are adjusted.

'I give my affectionat service to the Prin^{l^s}. and all the Masters of the University, to whom I desire you will communicate what I have writt. I am S^r,

'Your real friend and humble servant,

'ATHOLL.

'To Mr. ROBERT RAMSAY,
Vice Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews.'

The money having been longer in coming to hand than was expected, the Duke again returned to the subject in a letter which throws some curious light on the financial state of the country:—

'DUNKELD, July 22nd, 1721.

'S^r,

'I am very much surpris'd to understand from Edin^r that the thousand pound the Duke of Chandois wrote should be sent to the University is not yet come there, nor no account about it, tho' I believe there's now some moneths past since the University return'd an answer to his Grace's letter, in which he desired to know whether it should be payd at London or Edin^r., and I think the University desired it might be payd at Edin^r.

'I am perswaded the delay does not proceed from the Duke of Chandois, but from the difficulty of getting sure hands to transmitt it, since the generall callamity occasioned by the South Sea's mismanagement is the reason that none can be sure what Factors or Merch^{t^s} may be trusted with such a sune, wherefor to obviate this I should think it proper that the University, or you, as Rector, in their name, should write another letter to the Duke of Chandois, humbly representing to his Grace that the University. having return'd an answer to his Grace's last letter, acknowledging his singular & extraordinar bounty design'd to them in bestowing a thousand pound for a Professor of Physick, &c^t., and of which the University sent his Grace their receipt of the same date with their letter, but not having heard since from his Grace, or any by his order, the University in-

treats to know if the said letter and receipt came safe to his Grace's hand, and as they intirely submitt & leave to his Grace the time & method of ordering that money, yet in case his Grace may not fall upon a proper Factor or person at London to transmitt it to Scotland, since it may be hard to know what deallings many have had in the South Sea affair, therefore in case his Grace may find any difficulty on that account, that his Grace, if he so think fitt, whenever he pleases to order the mony to be payd, will be pleased to acquaint the Earle of Aberdeen, who will either receive that mony, since we hear he is to return soon to Scotland, or otherwise that his Lordship will find out a responsall person, who will transmitt it to the University's trustees at Ed^t.

'If the University think proper that such a letter or any to that purpose be writt to the Duke of Chandos, the bearer, Wm. M'Cleish, my serv^t., is ordered to goe the near-st way from St. Andrews to Edin^t., and will deliver it to the University's Advocate, or any they shall appoynt, that it may goe by the next Tuesday's post.

I desire to give my affectionate service to all the Masters of the University, and I shall be glad to hear of your & their health. I am, Sr,

'Your reall friend & humble servant,

'ATHOLL.

'To Mr. ROBERT RAMSAY,
Rector of the University of St. Andrews.'

The suggestion of the Chancellor proved to be unnecessary, as on the day before his letter was written, the Rector of the University had received from the Duke of Chandos an intimation that the money was on its way to Edinburgh by the same post. He writes thus:—

'Jul: 13: 1721:

'Sr,

'By this post I presume you will receive bills from y^e Provost of Edinburgh for y^e thousand pounds I desir'd your acceptance of for y^e establishing y^e Professorship of Medicine & Anatomy in your University. He hath very oblidgingly charg'd himself with y^e paymt of it to your order as you'l see by y^e enclos'd note, w^{ch} must be deliver'd up to him upon y^e receipt of y^e mony. I have nothing S^r at present further to trouble you with, than to entreat you will render acceptable my humble thanks to your University for y^e con^{ble} notice they have been pleas'd to take of what I have done to show y^e respect I bear to their body, & that you will please to assure them I shall on all occations with great readiness & zeal approve my self. S^r,

'Both their's & your most humble servant,

'CHANDOS.

'Reverend Mr. RAMSAY.'

At the same time two letters were received from Mr. John Campbell, provost of Edinburgh, written from London, and informing the Rector that on the 12th of July he had received £1000 from the Duke of Chandos, and that bills endorsed to him for that sum had been transmitted to Mr. James Nimmo, treasurer of the city of Edinburgh. These bills were in due course paid to a representative of the University, who handed the money to the Duke of Atholl's agent, and received in return his heritable bond over the estate of Falkland.

It will have been noticed that the Duke of Atholl was so impressed with the munificence of the Duke of Chandos—the inimitable generosity of the great Duke of Chandos, as it was called by a contemporary visitor to St. Andrews*—that he twice urged the delivery of an annual oration in commemoration of the event. He returns again to this subject in the following letter, which is the last of his communications to the University that has been preserved, but so far as is known nothing came of the suggestion.

'Dunkeld, Dec^r 25th, 1722.

'S,

'I received your letter desiring to know the Duke of Chandos' birthday which I acquainted you with at Edin^r. in July last, which you said you would sett down in wryting.

'His Grace's birthday is on the 12th of Jan^y. I do not know what you mean by a Mortification, but as I have written several times formerly, I think it is very proper that one of your number should be appointed yearly on that day to make an Oration in praise of the Duke of Chandos's munificence and generosity to the University, and that it should be both in Latine and English, and the person who shall deliver the Orations upon his coming to me to Huntingtour with copys of them shal receive a gratuity which I am willing to bestow yearly during my life in commemoration of the Duke of Chandos' generosity. I have ordered this letter to go by an express. I give my affec^t. service to the masters of the University.

'I am, S', Your most affec^t. freind and humble serv^t,

'ATHOLL.

'To Mr. Robert Ramsay, Rector and Vice-Chancellor
of the University of St. Andrews.'

All the preliminary negotiations being now completed, and the endowment received and invested, the Senatus, in terms of their

* John Macky, in his *Journey through Scotland*, London, 1723.

agreement, proceeded to consider the question of appointing a Professor. As a first step thereto they resolved upon the appointment of a University Apothecary, in whose shop the Professor might teach the *Materia Medica* to his scholars. This resolution was carried into effect on 2nd December, 1721, when it was agreed—

(1) 'That the Chandos Professor shall not keep an Apothecary's shop either *per se* or *per alium* lest hereby he should be diverted from giving due application to prelecting and teaching Medicine and Anatomy which we judge his proper work ; and what insight and instruction he shall give his students in the *Materia Medica*, he shall do it in the University Apothecary's shop ;' and (2) 'That Mr. Andrew Watson shall be the University's Surgeon-Apothecary, and from this date shall be designed so, to whose shop the students may resort for learning the *Materia Medica*, for which such a premium shall be given by them as the University shall afterwards appoint.'

The said Mr. Andrew Watson was held bound to furnish his shop with proper materials for the students, as the University and the Professor of Medicine might direct, and to give them insight into Surgery and Pharmacy, and whatever else his practice might afford.

The election of the first Chandos Professor took place on 5th December, 1721, and the successful candidate was Thomas Simson, M.A., M.D. The only other candidates on the list were John Rutherford, M.A., M.D., afterwards Professor of the Practice of Physics in the University of Edinburgh ; and James Stuart, M.A., M.D., who was probably a relation of Dr. Charles Stuart, and may have been one of the four Scotch students of that name who studied medicine at Leyden between 1709 and 1721. Dr. Simson, who was a brother of Dr. Robert Simson, the eminent Professor of Mathematics in the University of Glasgow, was strongly supported by the medical profession both of Edinburgh and Glasgow. His testimonials show that he was a graduate of Glasgow University, and that he had also studied medicine in Holland. He is described as not only an excellent scholar, but 'a person well affected to Church and State,' and 'a true blue whig.' He became a distinguished ornament to his profession, and an extensive writer on medical subjects.

Immediately after his election, Dr. Simson was appointed to

prepare theses *De motu musculari* and *De ventriculi concoctione læsa*, and to defend them publicly. This was successfully accomplished on 10th January, 1722, in presence of a large number of medical men who had been specially invited to St. Andrews to impugn the theses; and Dr. Simson was duly inducted to his office on the afternoon of that same day, when he delivered an inaugural oration. A letter giving an account of the proceedings connected with the settlement of the first Professor of Medicine and Anatomy was prepared and transmitted to the Duke of Chandos on 16th January, 1722.

It is not the purpose of the present paper to trace the subsequent history of the Chandos Chair of Medicine and Anatomy, but it is only justice to Dr. Stuart to mention that his view of the matter proved to be the correct one, and that his predictions were fulfilled to the letter. During the last fifty years the Chandos Chair, as a professorship of the Institutes of Medicine, has been made to serve a useful purpose in the University; but during the previous century it appears to have been a complete sinecure so far as teaching was concerned. According to the evidence given by the Vice-Rector to the Universities Commission of 1826, the Chandos professor had never taught a class with the exception of Dr. Simson, who, he believed, had lectured occasionally. Having regard to the circumstances connected with the founding of the Chair, it is a curious coincidence that the Universities Commission now sitting has decreed that 'The Professorship of Medicine in the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard shall be abolished,' and that 'There shall be a Professorship of Rhetoric and English literature in the United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard'! The way is thus open, if the authorities care to avail themselves of it, of even yet applying the Chandos endowment to the purpose originally contemplated by the Duke and his advisers.*

During the three years immediately following on the appoint-

* Since this paper was written, the Commissioners have cancelled the second sentence above quoted, and have left it to the University Court to make provision for the future teaching of Rhetoric and English Literature at St. Andrews.

ment of the first Professor of Medicine there is no trace of any correspondence between the Duke of Chandos and the University. But towards the end of 1724 an event occurred which brought his Grace into closer and more official connection with the University than ever. On 21st November the Rector laid before the University a letter from Lord James Murray, acquainting him with the death of his father, the Duke of Atholl, Chancellor of the University. A letter of condolence with the late Duke's family was at once adopted, and the masters were ordered to go into mourning. At a subsequent meeting the question of the vacancy in the Chancellorship was discussed, and the 3rd of December was fixed for the election of a new Chancellor. On that day the University being met 'did unanimously make choice of his Grace the Duke of Chandos to be Chancellor of this University,' as well as to be conservator of its privileges. One committee was appointed to prepare a letter intimating to his Grace his election to those dignities, and another was appointed to prepare a diploma formally conferring them upon him. The Duke, however, did not at first see his way to accept the office of Chancellor of the University, and begged to be excused for declining it in the following graceful letter addressed to Mr. Robert Ramsay, Provost of St. Salvator's College:—

Dec : 15 : 1724 :

S,

I acknowledge with a deep sense of gratitude y^e hon^r your University hath done me in electing me their Chancellor. A charge of this dignity, carrying along with it so considerable an instance of y^e esteem of your venerable body, cannot but very highly g^ratify y^e greatest ambition, & would fully satisfy mine, could I believe my self capable of discharging in y^e manner I ought, & to your advantage, y^e duty incumbent on him who finds himself cloth'd with so distinguishing a mark of your fav^r. But when I reflect upon my own insufficiency, w^{ch} y^e distance I am at must have hid from your eyes, I should be unworthy any part of y^e good opinion you have of me, if I should contribute to y^e continuance of your mistake, by accepting a post, in w^{ch} I am but too sensible I can be no ways usefull to you. I must therefore entreat you will have y^e goodness to excuse my declining y^e hon^r you have shown so generous an inclination to confer upon me, & that you will please, out of y^e great number of nobility & gentry, persons of high rank & merit, who adorn your part of y^e island, to make choice of one whose abilities may compensate for my weakness,

& whose interest at Court may be able to obtain those advantages for you (if ever any such application should be requisite) w^{ch} it will be in my powr only to wish. I beg leave to assure you I shall carry with me to my grave y^e remembrance of this most valuable mark of your friendship, & that your good and welfare should on all occations be y^e object of my per-suit, nor shall any one be with greater truth & respect, both to y^e learned body over which with such universall applause you preside, & to your self in particular, more sincerely devoted than

S^r, your most humble & obedient servant,

CHANDOS.

This letter was produced at a meeting of the University held on 26th December, but the members of Senatus were not inclined to accept it as a final declinature of the office. They had evidently set their minds on having the Duke as their Chancellor, they had elected him unanimously, and besides they had incurred expenses to the extent of four pounds sterling in preparing an elegant diploma with the University seal attached, enclosed in a silver box. They accordingly resolved to send on the instrument of election to his Grace, explaining that as it was the greatest pledge of their respect, they had no doubt that his Grace would accept it. They also asked to be excused for sending it by post as none of the Masters could proceed to London during session time to present it personally. At the same time the University conferred upon the Duke the Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws.

The scruples of the Duke were now overcome, and in the following letter to Provost Ramsay, he accepted the office thus pressed upon him:—

Jan : 11 : 172 $\frac{1}{4}$:

S^r,

I receiv'd y^e letter you did me y^e hon^r in y^e name of y^e University to write me of y^e 26th Dec : & however unworthy I may be in my own opinion of y^e unexpected mark it contain'd of theirs and your favour, I should render my self still more so in y^e eyes of every body else should I again decline so valuable an instance of y^e esteem of so illustrious a body : That my posterity therefore may not have cause to reproach my memory with having refus'd an offer so generously made, & of such lasting hon^r to my family, & in hopes a favourable juncture may one time or other happen to enable me by some effectuall service to merit y^e affection you have in so obliging a manner shown me, I entreat you will be pleas'd to let y^e University know I accept y^e hon^r, they have bestow'd upon me with all pos-

sible respect & thankfulness, humbly desiring they will in some short space of time permit me to divest myself of it again, and give them thereby an opportunity of amending their choice, by y^e election of a more worthy person for my successor. I crave leave to assure you too, that I shall think myself truly fortunate whenever I can by any good offices, either to your body in generall, or to any of y^e gentlemen who compose it, in particular, give an acceptable demonstration that I am fill'd with a just sense of this undeserv'd fav^r.

In y^e letter w^{ch} accompany'd y^e instrument of election you are pleas'd to tell me y^e powr of nominating y^e Vice Chancellor is vested in y^e Chancellor, I know not whether y^e death or resignation of a Chancellor vacates y^e office of y^e Vice Chancellor, in some instances in these parts I know it doth not, but if it is otherwise with you, I must entreat you will give me leave to nominate yourself, your abilities will atone for my defects, & give y^e University an early specimen how much I have at heart their interests, by naming one whose excellent qualifications render him so universally esteem'd, and so worthy to preside over their body. I am, with great deference and truth,

S^r, your very humble & obedient serv^t.,

CHANDOS.

I must desire S^r you will be so good to let me know what y^e fees & charges of y^e election amount to that I may take care to have them discharg'd.

The Duke's acceptance being communicated to the University on 22nd January, a letter of thanks was directed to be prepared and sent to his Grace. Of this letter the following appears to be a fragment. It is evidently a deliberate attempt on the part of the Senatus to maintain their reputation with the Duke for skill in the art of rhetoric.

MY LORD,

The honour of your Grace's letter, signifying your acceptance of the office of Chancellor, was received with all the sentiments of gratitude & respect. We might have been justly accused of the utmost insensibility if, on this occasion, we had not shown the most evident marks of joy and satisfaction: what vast advantages, what a prodigious addition to our reputation may we not expect when under your Grace's administration. With what pleasure must all the true friends of this antient University behold at its head a genius fitted for the greatest affairs, formed amidst courts & camps, of such eminent rank & credit in the fashionable world, and so thoroughly conversant in the learned one. And yet with all these distinguishing qualities, how easie, how condescending; so that he seems to receive even these obligations which he confers, and renders it entirely impossible to determine whither the favours themselves

or his manner of bestowing them are the more engaging. Your Grace did not judge it sufficient to take us into your protection, but at the same time, by a humanity peculiar to yourself, you reckon this an honour to your illustrious family, and that the refusal of it would be an injury to your posterity.

The ordinary duties of the Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews have never been onerous, and they have almost always been performed by the Vice-Chancellor. But nearly all its Chancellors have ever been ready to guard its interests and to promote its welfare in every way that lay within their power. To this rule the Duke of Chandos was no exception. During his tenure of office the history of the University was uneventful, and consequently the Duke had few opportunities of rendering that effectual service to it which he promised in his letter of acceptance. But he readily embraced such as he had, and he never ceased to cherish a warm regard for the University.

In 1726 the Professor of Hebrew was sent to London to make a representation to the government on the subject of King Charles the Second's mortification to the University, and on his return he reported that the Duke of Chandos had been of great assistance to him in the matter. Early in 1727 his services were enlisted on the subject of the Malt Tax, which seriously affected the Colleges as brewers of their own ale. In the same year a disastrous fire occurred at St. Mary's College, in which the Professor of Church History perished, and an account of the affair was ordered to be transmitted to the Chancellor; and at a later period his friendly offices with the government were solicited on behalf of a certain candidate for the vacant Chair. In the same year also George the Second came to the throne, and the University prepared a loyal address to His Majesty, which the Duke of Chandos subscribed in name of the University, and presented to the King. In 1733 Mr. Robert Ramsay, Provost of St. Salvator's College, and Vice-Chancellor of the University, died, and the vacancy was at once announced to the Chancellor, and his influence invoked in favour of Mr. William Young for these offices. Through a misadventure the letter did not reach the Duke until the appointment to the Provostship had been made, but from the University's point of view the matter nevertheless

came all right as the Senatus had the necessary influence with the Duke of Newcastle and the Earl of Hay. The letter written by the Duke on this occasion is the last that has been preserved in the muniment room of the University, and it is the only one not written throughout in his own handwriting. It is in these terms :—

May 2^d, 1733.

Sr,

The letter you did me the honour to write me of Jan^y 29th I rec^d not till about a fort'night or three weeks ago. Upon enquiry how this came about, I find that the gentleman to whom it was delivered to be brought up, & prevented by some business from setting out as soon as he intended, & did not arrive in London till y^e latter end of March: so that before the commands of the University, relating to the Provostship of St. Salvator's, came to my hands, that preferment had been disposed of in the manner agreeable to your inclinations & desires; else I assure the learned gentlemen of your Society my utmost endeavours should not have been wanting to have rendered them the service they wisht for, and to have prevented the discredit they apprehended. Since I find Mr. Young is no less acceptable to the University than deserving of the countenance and friendship of all good men, I send you a grant enclosed constituting him Vice-Chancellor of the University. I wish he may long live to enjoy it, and be an honour to your Society, whose prosperity and welfare I shall ever pray for, and with the most fervent zeal endeavour on all occasions to promote.

I am, Sir, your very humble serv^t,

CHANDOS.

Mr. CAMPBELL.

In 1782 the Principalship of St. Leonard's College became vacant through the death of Principal Drew, and an unusually vigorous effort appears to have been made to secure the post for Mr. Thomas Tullideph, Professor of Divinity in St. Mary's College. In the first place, letters to the following effect were addressed to the Duke of Chandos, the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord Hay :—

Oct^r 16, 1738.

MY LORD,

Upon application of the Regents of St. Leonard's College, representing to this our first meeting of this year's Sessions the vacancie of the Principal's office with them, by the death of the Rev^d Mr. Joseph Drew, & their earnest desire that this Universitie would please to concur

with them, humbly to petition your L^p to use your good offices with his Majestie, in favour of the Reverend Mr. Thomas Tullideph, the present Professor of Divinitie in the New College of this Universitie, as a person every way qualified to fill up the vacancie of Principall Master of St. Leonard's, with a just and becoming dignitie.

The Universitie taking this matter under consideration, & remembering that they have been graciouslie heard on like occasions, do humbly beg leave to comply with the Regents' earnest desire, & heartily to recommend to your L^p's good will & favour the said Rev^d Mr. Thomas Tullideph, as a person indeed every way qualified to support the dignitie of that office.

An unaccountable delay having taken place in making the appointment, Lord Hay was written to again and again by the Regents of the College. Private influence was also brought to bear upon the officers of the crown, and in the correspondence which took place Mr. Francis Pringle and his friend Dr. Charles Stuart once more come to the front in two interesting and entertaining letters. The first is undated, but was probably written in October or November, 1738 :—

To Dr. CHARLES STUART.

My dear and amiable old friend,

Friendship is a character as indelible as the Priesthood. Let me then use it as such, and familiarly bespeak my friend's interest in a cause I have much at heart.

Our Principal is dead. It imports us greatly to have a man of good sense and discretion for our Head, one that we know is capable to support the office with dignitie, and is accustomed to live in a social way.

Such a one is our Professor of Divinitie, Mr. Thomas Tullideph, who, I am glad to hear, is not unknown to you. Him I would have you to promote, *velis remisque*, with Lord Hay, Duke of Chandos, &c., and to employ all your gainly talents to make us for once happy.

We have had a long and dreary trial (God forgive the Court) of one countrie minister after another at the head of our affairs: and so has come on't, we have for the most part lived under a cloud, or in confusion.

I would fain see better days, and, before I quit the stage, have the pleasure to behold us in a prosperous way.

The man I have named is recommended by the Universitie to his Grace of Newcastle, to the Earle of Hay, and to our beloved Chancellour, the Duke of Chandos. And I, as a private man, recommend him to my own private, but publick-spirited friend, whom God long preserve.

F. P.

To Dr. CHARLES STUART.

June third, 1739.

My dear worthy friend,

What greater pleasure can there be than to hear from one we have a singular value for, when the fates deny to see him : for verily, as often as I remember you, my heart breaks out into a sort of transport. But now, after thanking you for your care in what concerns me greatly, the honour, peace, and credit of that College where I have been a Regent these 40 years past, 'tis fit you should know that, upon suspicion of some false step we might possibly have made, from our passion of getting the place for once well fill'd, we wrote a 2^d letter to Lord Hay, explaining our intention in the first, which I would fain hope will clear us from the imputation of arrogance or presumption.

This being sent above a month ago, you may venture to enquire what success it has had : and as you love the man we so earnestly wish for, and whom my Lord himself confesses to be a proper man, you will take the opportunitie agreeable to your goodness to push your intended service.

We begin to hope well from the long delay, and the rather that we now hear no more of one whose name and character was for some time a horror to us, I mean Mr. W——r, minister at Jedburg.

You reason very justly between Mr. T——ph and C——l, and you will reason so much the stronger if you know that the one has actually apply'd, if not by himself yet by another, without the consent of our Societie, the other was apply'd to by the Societie for his consent, while he in great tranquillitie leaves the event to the determination of power and order. Secondly, the one has conceiv'd it is a possible thing to fill up the vacancie in our College, without discharging himself of a very lucrative employment in another College : the other can not think without indignation of such an absurditie. Thirdly, the one is now well with his Principal Master, and lives at ease, the other is content to be less regarded, the more to enjoy the amiable libertie of differing from them, and exposing his naked sentiments.

I don't think now of a jaunt to Bath, that Lord Newhall has left me, but gladly would I go so far to embrace my dear friend, upon any reasonable occurrence, being, good sir, from the bottom of my heart,

Your most affectionate humble serv^t.,

F. P.

The earnest prayer of the Regents prevailed and Mr. Tullideph was promoted to the Principalship. They forthwith reported their 'joy and gladness of heart' to Lord Hay, to whose friendly consideration they believed they had obtained 'access to this benefite,' and which they accordingly felt obliged 'to acknowledge with the greatest humilitie, and highest sense of gratitude.' On 4th December, 1739, only a few weeks after Principal Tullideph's

instalment, Mr. Pringle wrote to Lord Hay declaring that 'Our College begins to revive, by the revival of ancient discipline under the present Principal, and if you add the influence of your power and countenance, who knows how soon we shall reappear in our ancient numbers and splendour? *Te Mæcenate revirescent Literæ.*' But alas! the sanguine Professor's hopes were doomed to early disappointment. Before eight years had passed away St. Leonard's College was closed, its Principal was transferred to be head of the newly organised United College of St. Salvator and St. Leonard, and Professor Pringle himself had ceased to teach through infirmity and old age.

On 29th November, 1743, the University conferred the degrees of Master of Arts and Doctor of Divinity, *honoris causa*, on the Rev. William Saunders, chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Chandos, who had been recommended for that honour by several clergymen of distinction. Some months afterwards Dr. Saunders presented to the University Library, 'The General Historical Dictionary, in ten volumes folio, as also Mr. Wright's map or system of the universe, with his book in quarto explaining it,' for which valuable gift the Senatus was duly grateful.

The last Act which the Duke of Chandos was called upon to perform in his capacity as Chancellor of the University of St. Andrews, was to subscribe an address to the King, and 'to order the presenting thereof to His Majesty as his Grace shall judge proper.' The address had reference to a threatened invasion by France, 'in favour of a popish pretender and his descendants,' and in it the members of the University declared their firm adherence to His Majesty's person and government, and their intention to maintain and defend his undoubted rights to the throne of Great Britain and dominions thereto belonging, as well as to train up the youth under their care in the same disposition of duty and loyalty. There is no record to show whether this address reached its destination or not, the next entry in the University Minutes being a notice of the Duke's death. The address was prepared on 9th March, 1744, and, according to Mr. Robinson, 'On the 9th of August, 1744, the Duke of Chandos paid that debt of Nature's which all mortals sooner or later must,

dying at his seat of Canons after an illness of three weeks.* Singularly enough, the members of the University recorded the death of their 'beloved Chancellor' more than two months after the event, having been informed of it only 'from the public newspapers.' No letter of condolence was sent to his family, and no orders were given to the masters to go into mourning as in the case of the Duke of Atholl.

The Chancellorship remained vacant during the year of the Rebellion, but in the spring of 1746 the Senatus, with effusive loyalty, despatched a deputation to Perth to wait upon the Duke of Cumberland and congratulate him upon his success against the rebels, and to use their best endeavours to know if they might have His Royal Highness' leave to choose him their Chancellor. The deputation was graciously received, and obtained the necessary permission. The Duke of Cumberland was accordingly elected Chancellor of the University and Conservator of its privileges in room of the 'Princely Chandos.'

J. MAITLAND ANDERSON.

ART. IV.—THE COURT OF FERRARA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

[From the Italian of the Conte Gandini ; translated by Miss H. Zimmern.]

WHOEVER has read Muratori's great work on the antiquity of the house of Este has been able to form an idea of the power and splendour of that great family, the story of whose origin is lost in the dark ages—a family that had so great an influence on the political events, fortunate or disastrous, which occurred in Italy during the Middle Ages, as well as on the revival of the arts. But if any person desired to obtain some knowledge from this or other histories of the manners, customs, and dress of that time, Muratori's history would not help him much. The great historian had to attend to more important things than such minor researches. It is only in our own day that interest has been evoked for the study of the side-lights of

* *The Princely Chandos*, p. 205.

history. It is but recently that we have come to the conclusion that sociology in all its branches has a place, and no mean one, in history, as important as that of the story of civil progress. In consequence of this discovery, ancient inventories, old records, household bills, have come to be looked on as precious documents, and the more so because they are rare, having never been before thought valuable, so that those of many families have been irretrievably lost. Fortunately this fate did not befall the registers of the Court of Ferrara, which, though not entirely rescued from destruction, still exist in such an abundance from the early years of the fifteenth century as to enable us moderns to penetrate into the most secret chambers, and to search into the minutest particulars and habits of this great family of Este.

It is a fact that while jurisprudence, literature, and art had signalized their revival since the thirteenth century, social education transformed itself much more slowly. Personal habits remained the same; there was the same want of polish, the same contrast between rich and poor, the same simplicity of manners and dress, as well as the same ancient purity of faith guiding every action: in a word, the Middle Ages do not begin to lose ground until after the beginning of the fifteenth century, nay, even a little later. For do we not see the Marchese de Ferrara order, in April, 1434, that a silver falcon should be made and solemnly carried forth out of the 'Porta del Leone to that little church across the moat, and take,' he writes to his steward, 'the measure for a silver cloth with which to gird our lady, and arrange it in a shape that it may fit her well, so as to fulfil our vow, for we have found the falcon that was lost.' Certainly the number of great artists that enriched Italy with masterpieces in the fifteenth century, her flourishing commerce, the improvement that began in the industries of tapestry weaving, brocade and velvet making, must have contributed much towards helping on luxury in dress and adding to the splendour of dwellings. But did these new exigencies of pomp correspond with those of hygiene and household cleanliness? Far from it! It was necessary that Frederick III. should visit Ferrara before lime and mortar whitened its loggias, and the authorities should order that sponges be bought of Nicola da Basilea to wash the

entrance columns to the palace, which had become soiled by the perpetual passage to and fro of men in arms, servants, and beggars. Workmen were also called upon to remove the spiders' webs that infested the palace, to cleanse and dust its tapestries and carpets, for the rooms in the various palaces of the d'Estes were in great part adorned with arrazi, while the beds were covered with embroidered velvet silks of many kinds. How great was the luxury of this kind is shown when we learn that Borso d'Este in 1457 called from Milan fourteen embroiderers, a company with two headmasters and two famous workers, one a certain Jacopo d'Olanda and an Antonio da Birgogna, to embroider the furniture for two bedchambers. But who would believe it that under those covers worked in gold, the sheets were sometimes gnawed by mice, and that in Borso's own room the few chairs were broken and torn? And the pillow-case, we read, was all 'brodga,' which in the Ferrara dialect means dirty. Worse still! the bill presented by Andricola's Court washer-woman amounted at the end of one year to no more than ten francs, *i.e.*, 8s. of our money.

The wardrobes were full to overflowing of rich robes and precious furs; yet, nevertheless, it was common to wear dresses which were often of real gold brocade, together with collars which time and not art had fringed, with sleeves out at elbow. And so universal was the habit of darning stockings and doublets that even the prince, cavaliers, and pages, kept in their rooms a box containing three large thimbles, twenty-four needles, and one ounce of thread of several colours. These boxes had often to be replenished. Let us cast a glance at those who were the masters of the house of Este during the fifteenth century. The four who held the seignory were Nicolo III., who died in 1441; his two natural sons, Lionello, who governed for ten years (until 1451), and Borso, who lived unmarried, and whose seignory lasted twenty years (until 1571), and lastly, his legitimate son by his third wife, Ercole I., who died in 1505. Where and how did these nobles dwell? Let us carry our mental vision to the well-known castle of Ferrara, above whose towers there floated in the wind in those days the pennons of blue linen with a white eagle painted in the centre. Who that has visited the

castle can fail to remember the emotion he felt when the guide pointed out the room where Parisina was surprised by her husband in company with her step-son? Here, too, are shown the treacherous mirror, the prison, and the block of that cruel story. But is it true, is it exact, did things really happen as Byron and Algieri say? Truth compels us to point out the little fact that at that time it was difficult for mirrors to render such services to watchful husbands. They were but poor little things, composed of many pieces, and incapable of reproducing an entire scene. Further, always impelled by love of truth, we are obliged to state that the affair certainly happened in March, 1425, but did not take place in the castle, which at that time was not finished, and few, if any, of the rooms were habitable. A certain Cristofalo da Parma had charge of it, and to him were assigned three rooms, a kitchen, and the cellar. It was called the new castle, because it had been built only forty years ago, that is in 1385, and also to distinguish it from the old castle outside the city, which was destroyed at the end of fifteen hundred.

The old castle was filled with slaves, some of whom were Turks, who made bombs, battering rams, powder, and other implements of war. Here, too, were the smithies of the armourers, workshops of jewellers and watchmakers, furriers and saddlers; here, too, was a theatre for 'Puppets,' as we find a company of actors were called in the language of the time. They had been invited over from Venice to perform on the occasion of the wedding of Ercole I. That same old castle harboured the granaries, the haylofts. Here, too, were vast cellars and dismal dungeons, in one of which were shut up for many years the brothers Pii, lords of Carpi, to punish them for the noted conspiracy of 1469, and here also they were executed.

On the 4th of September, 1476, was beheaded in this place Messer Niccolo, son of Lionello, as punishment for his attempted rebellion against Ercole I., his uncle. The day after, during the obsequies, the body was exposed to popular view in the church of S. Francesco, and in the register of expenses we find noted the making 'of a pair of silk hose dyed in grain for Messer Niccolo, whose neck was cut at the old castle.'

The new castle does not seem to have been distinct as a residence for the lords of Ferrara; certainly they did not live there until after this attempted rising, that is after '76, when Ercole I., believing it necessary for his safety, shut himself up within its walls. Since remote times the Estes had lived in the so-called 'old house,' of which every trace seems to be lost, while the older palace, built after the fire of 1264, was kept at the disposal of 'foreign' visitors.

Under this name are classed such personages as Pope Martinus V., who lodged there in 1420, Pope Eugenius IV., who slept there in 1433, the Emperor Sigismund, etc., etc. We gather from an inventory of 1436, that is, eleven years after the death of Parisina, that Niccolo had left the old house, where Lionello remained with his family, and had come to live in the palace, having allotted instead to strangers the castle of Tchisanvia, also called 'del Paradiso.' But in Borso's time, as he preferred this place, the palace resumed its old duties, sheltering within its walls Pius II., Frederick III., etc. Alberto d'Este having died in 1393, his son Nicolo, third of that name, at the age of nine was created, under tutorship, Marchese di Ferrara. Being left a childless widower, he married, in 1418, Parisina, daughter of Malatesta del Malatesta, lords of Rimini; by whom he had one son, who died at a tender age, and two twin daughters, Ginevra and Lucia.

Parisina, of whom history has handed down to us only her tragic end, was certainly not wicked. We find from the account-books that Fra Maginarcho, her chaplain, bought her books of devotion; Bartolomeo, stationer, sells her a little office to the Virgin; she gave liberally to churches, she sent offerings to S. James of Compostella; Mastro Andrea da Vicenza painted sacred images at her commands. We learn, too, that to show her religious fervour, she has clad at her expense Franciscan and Dominican friars and novices. Whenever one of her eleven maidens of honour married, she gave her, besides the trousseau, a nuptial chest, gold ornaments, and six hundred francs as dowry.

This, however, happened rarely, because the greater number of these maids were of an age when their dresses still needed lengthening. They habitually wore dark green fustian gowns

with light brown sleeves, and an upper garment of fine red cloth, for they were all dressed alike. Sometimes Parisina provided them with house dresses which were second-hand, for we read in her accounts that she bought for six francs, 'a gabertine, not new, for Domenica, our waiting-maid, twelve braccios of linen to line two upper garments made of old cloth,' and so forth. She gave herself much trouble for these damsels, and also for Lucia, her husband's nurse, who came to her when in need. The court musicians also turned to her at Christmas time to be tipped, in order that the old custom might not die out, they said. Like a good housewife, she ordered three books in which to set down the accounts on what was spent in clothes; she sends to Carpi to have linen thread spun specially for her; she bought, and as was then the custom, it would seem, much linen at second-hand, such as table-cloths, sheets, and coarse towels. For races she had a special fondness, and kept horses to run in her name. She also kept falcons, which she provided with little gilt bells, and tiny pincers with which to cut their bills. For the sum of four francs she bought four owls; she ordered millet for her 'panthers,' as decoy birds were then called; she wrote to Bologna for bird-lime, and Baldinetto da Pistoia mended her nets.

Parisina it seems loved to play on the harp, and for her daughters when they were but three she bought two harps for three gold ducats. In September, 1424, she ordered from the villa at Porti, 'carteselle da dozzena' (‡) for 4 sous the pair, 'for our daughters to suck.'

She certainly wore luxurious gowns with veils of soft cotton. Once she spent three francs in order to mend a coat covered with pearls, and Tomasino dalla Rama had frequently in the loom gowns for the Marchesa and her daughters, though these habitually wore dresses of white fustian. Her beds were covered with red Venetian silk and velvet draperies. In one of the letters of Alessandra Strozzi, published by Guasti, we read (24th August, 1447) that Marco Parenti, Caterma's betrothed, had given her a cloak of red silk and velvet, 'which is the handsomest cloth in Florence,' and 23 years before this date the Marchesa of Ferrara used this cloth for bed covers. From this we can gather some idea of the luxury and splendour of that court. And

we may add that the bed was closed in by 6 curtains, for which 140 braccios of red cloth were needed. From Venice Parisina caused ivory combs to be sent her as well as perfumes, musk, also cords for the harp, and seed for the parrots. Buzante, a mercer, prepares two mirrors for her, Bonasolo da Bergamo, a blacksmith, furnishes her with needles, scissors, and even tooth-picks. Filippo, another smith, mends the lock and key of Madonna's little study. So much for this victim to a base crime, who clearly to judge from all this must have been a superior and cultivated woman.

Let us return to Nicolo. The catastrophe and his first anger over, it is said that he repented and remained for a while in solitude. Be that as it may, four years after he married for the third time, Ricciarda da Salazzo, by whom he had two sons, Ercole and Sigismondo, his first legitimate male offspring, for of natural children he had but too many, eleven sons and seven daughters, which with the two just mentioned and Parisina's twins sum up to twenty-two children, all of whom he educated with the greatest severity.

It is not told by historians how two of these, Megliaduse and Borso, had for preceptor Jacopo da Riso, nor how the first frequented in Bologna the lectures of Giovanni da Tmola, an unknown legal authority; as the rolls of the Bolognese school of that time are unfortunately lost.

Among the household accounts we find proofs of the Marchese's strictness with his sons. A servant begs him to give a coat to Borso, that he may have something new to take back to Bologna, 'as he has only the green one which he wears every day.' Megliaduse writes from Padova asking for five 'braccios' of cloth, so that he may not remain without hose. From an inventory we gather that Borso slept on a mattress stuffed with straw, and that Lucia, one of the twins, had a tattered cover over her head.

In the summer of '24, the plague threatened Ferrara, so Nicolo sends two of his sons to Modena, perhaps the only ones at home, begging that they be watched, and corrected when they need it, and above all that they should ask no one to dine with them. If they did he warns the expenses will not be met.

The pages also, who were of patrician families, were assigned perceptors and fencing masters. The pages' table was separate

from that of the maids of honour. They played with balls, which were made by the shoemaker, and they must have been very vivacious; but we can learn little about them except that Pietro di Neti broke his neck by falling, and that Condulmaro, a relation of Eugenius IV., was bitten by a dog. As for their personal toilette, little sufficed; a brush, a wooden comb, and a copper basin, was all they required. They slept all together on straw. In 1474 Ercole I. introduced a reform. He had some linen nailed over the pages' bed, so as to prevent the straw from spreading, so at least says the document. It is natural to suppose that in those times certain diseases were not rare. Mastro Lbardella and Mastro Rompazio, barbers, had to cure those boys from a certain disease which the simplest cleanliness would have rendered impossible for them to contract. The pages dressed in jackets of red cloth, belted in at the waist, the upper garment bore the colours of the family. The hose of red cloth in winter, and in summer of linen. On their heads they wore caps or hoods, and their hair, as we see from an old oil painting, fell long on to the shoulders.

It was the custom to keep back the pay for the month of December of all those who occupied public places such as administrators of justice, employees at court, etc. This was a species of tax. But those of lower grade, carriers of water and wood, etc., were so miserably paid that grace was accorded them, otherwise, said the chamberlain, nobody would undertake the work. For these people a shift and one pair of hose lasted several months, and their food consisted of two small loaves a day, which they cut up with a knife that they wore at their belts. No wonder we read that food constantly disappeared from the kitchen.

It was, however, by no means only the lower classes who wore their clothes in tatters. Witness a mandate from the Marchesa to her steward-general: 'Messor Prosdocimo Conte, a worthy man, who coaches the children for no pay, may be said to be naked, and it does not reflect to the honour of our lord that thus naked he should stay with our children, therefore we wish you to provide enough cloth to make him, at least, a pair of hose and a cap.'

Such the court of the Marchese; how about its lord? **Nicolo III.** was an excellent governor, so much so that a bronze equestrian statue was erected to him in Ferrara. At his court men of arms met, ambassadors came for help and counsel, and often appealed to him in their frequent quarrels. What a number of documents could we quote interesting both for history and costumes! In 1424 grievous disagreements arising between the Viscontis and the Florentines, the Marchese was begged to bring about a reconciliation. This is not mentioned by Muratori, but the Marchese himself asserts it in a letter, dated January 26, to his steward (the passage at arms happened later in July), 'there will come,' he writes, 'to Ferrara, on the 3rd of February, the ambassadors from Milan and Florence, for the treaty of peace which we have on hand. We are certain they will not want to stay at the same inn, and for this reason we want you to send word to mine host Antonio Galgano, and to the other of the Swan, that they might get ready the two or three rooms you will think best, that when they arrive they may find everything in order.' The Milanese ambassadors must have arrived first, because the Marchese, who was waiting to hear of their arrival in order himself to come to Ferrara, writes from Topadataro, 4th of February, to his steward: 'We wish you to present in our name, to the ambassadors of the Duke of Milan, bread, wine, wax, confectionery, veal, and capons, as much as will seem becoming to our honour, and send these things by a person that talks well; besides this do not send anything without our licence.'

Let us suppose ourselves to be in Ferrara in 1436, the date of the inventory of which we have spoken above, and let us visit the apartment of the Marchese, who we know already is in the palace on the piazza. At the entrance we find the door-keeper, by name Querio, who will let us pass. After going up the stone stairs, we find a bench in a little room, a chessboard and a saddle trunk, inside of which are all the necessaries for saying Mass during a journey. In a little closet next door on a straw bed sleeps Matteo, whose wages, always behind, amount to three francs a month. His duties consist principally in preparing the lamp for the gaming table of the chevaliers, and in watching the door of his lord, which is near at hand. Let us enter.

The walls are frescoed all over with children playing; in front of the fireplace, fixed in the wall, are two iron candlesticks, under the chimney hangs the shovel, which is more like a spade, and the andirons; in front stands a seat. The bed is composed of boards on trestles and a bench at the foot of it. The mattress is stuffed with cotton, covered with two sheets of three widths, and over this a cover of green serge lined with linen and stamped with lilies and roses. The walls are hung with Flemish tapestries, almost new and representing greenery with birds, those at the head of the bed have six figures. On the floor lies a carpet five braccios wide with designs of animals and branches of roses. In the middle of the room stands a table of cypress wood and a chair covered with some rough cloth; around the walls are six benches. The room contains besides a painted chest, an hourglass, a wardrobe, and on the floor a large brass basin for washing the feet. In a little closet opening into the room are three benches, another brass basin, an hourglass of iron with a bell.

Let us proceed into the family eating room. Here we find two tables joined together, two old benches, a pail on the floor for washing the plates, and a sideboard. Spoons, forks, and saltcellars are of pewter, the knives have bone handles. In the sideboard we may find perhaps some jars of quince jam prepared by Mastro Gughelmino, for which the Marchese had an especial predilection. When for some reason the Council wanted to change its court chemist, the Marchese used not to oppose, only stipulating that Gughelmino should go on making quince jam for him, 'because,' he said, 'we want his.'

Lack of time does not permit of our passing into other rooms. You may have noticed how benches were used instead of chairs. In the inventory, that embraces the furniture of 221 rooms, we only find 6 chairs mentioned, while there are about 400 benches, which on solemn occasions were covered with cushions of tapestry. Window glass was also as yet little used and very expensive; a chest of small pieces, which came from Venice in 1424, cost 41 golden ducats. They were perhaps ordered for the guest chambers; for the windows of the Marchese some old sheets were used.

Nicolo III. wore the 'houPELLAND' of the French, of the time

of Charles VI. This garment, common also among women, according to Violet-le-Duc in use since the middle of the third century, was full, with large sleeves, and lined with fur, and made of different shapes. It has already been noted how it was common to dress untidily, and how there were kept in wardrobes, ready for great occasions, garments remarkable for the richness of their stuff and work, which must manifestly have cost enormous sums of money, since they were generally ordered a year beforehand and were the work of more than one master.

Nicolo III. had no less than thirty-six robes of gold brocade, 'gold, curled and crimped;' they had open sleeves, sleeves closed at the wrist, sleeves turned up, leg of mutton sleeves, gathered sleeves, dragon's wings sleeves, sleeves lined with grey miniver, with marten and goat, sleeves embroidered in fennel shoots, in pomegranates, and in other vegetable devices, sleeves trimmed with fringes and tassels; red and green cloaks, red ones and black ones; hoods, caps, hats of gold cloth, with peacock and ostrich feathers, gloves embroidered in gold, bells and girdles of leather covered with silk, satin, or velvet, with fastenings of silver gilt, and hooks by which to hang the sword or oftener the purse for money, and also little handkerchiefs which were so small that a dozen were made out of three 'braccios' of linen.

They also kept in reserve gilt and painted furniture, silver vases for perfume, ivory hourglasses, floor carpets of velvet and even of golden cloth, Moorish tapestries, and over 300 tops for benches and curtains for the walls, which on the arrival of strangers or guests were hastily brought out and quickly hung up with staves and ropes, all over the house, but especially in the large room where the great banquets were given. Then would appear tablecloths and napkins from Flanders, and certain square pieces of the finest linen were used at State dinners for wiping the mouth. These were shut up in silver boxes for fear they should be poisoned. On these occasions all the silver plate appeared; vessels of jasper inlaid with pearls and precious stones for the bread; plates, cups, tankards, basins with the eagle enamelled upon them, candlesticks in open work, goblets with lion's feet, pots for confectionery painted with figures, animals, and flowers in enamel, and even with daisies in diamonds; works of

art that had been executed in part by artificers of the thirteenth century, since an inventory of 1440 speaks of these as 'old things in the house.'

It is astonishing to see how with all their richness the household of the Marchesato was always penniless, so much so that often, to pay the most urgent expenses, they gave tops to the Jews in pawn. We have frequent proofs of this in the Register of Mandates.

Once when Nicolo III. was going to Venice, the Court shoemaker, Mastro Aloise, ran after him saying that according to his lordship's order, he had presented himself to the stewards general and asked to be paid, but that they answered him that they had no money, he therefore begs the Marchese to give him at least enough to buy some leather as he has been waiting seven months and has got into debt. It is true, that they used up a marvellous quantity of shoes; three pairs a month were given to each page, and one or two pairs of slippers to the damsels. The children of Nicolo III. wore out on an average, eighty pairs of boots a year each. Isabella d'Este when only eighteen months old, had already worn out thirty pairs of little shoes, and some of them had double soles.

Nicolo III. died in Milan, December 26th, 1446, when fifty-seven years of age. Filippo Marchese Visconti, tired of the war in Lombardy, had entrusted him with the administration of the duchy. From this arose jealousies on the part of the Sforzas, and hence his sudden death aroused suspicions. When the news reached Ferrara, the sorrowing people went to hear the 'requiem' in the Cathedral, when Lionello was present with all his family dressed in dark cloth. For the damsels they had made dresses with twelve braccios of cloth, and for the pages with nine; that is, a cloak, a pair of hose, and a cap, no jacket it held was needed as they remained covered with their cloaks.

Lionello continued the traditional splendour of his house, in the matter of protecting the arts, and when, after the death of Margherita da Gonzaga, he married, in 1444, Maria of Aragon, daughter of King Alfonso, the tournaments and feasts, the number of guests that were invited, surpassed in splendour anything of the kind that had ever before taken place in Ferrara.

While the two youths, Ercole and Sigismondo, who were barely ten years old, were sent to Naples to the Court of their grandfather, and were educated in the knowledge of letters and of arms; the Court of Ferrara assumed a character peculiar to itself.

Besides some unmarried daughters of Nicolo there were several natural daughters of Lionello's brothers. To educate these girls there were chosen ladies of the old Court, held as better suited to this noble office. These old ladies of Lionello have passed into a proverb. Among them we find held in veneration a Filippa da Modena; when in 1449 the Marchesana Maria died and the year after Lionello, to be succeeded by Borso, who, not to create obstacles for his legitimate brothers, died unmarried, Filippa had the absolute government of all the girls at Court, and many of them she accompanied to the altar, and perhaps it is in her memory that the dame who leads a bride to the altar is called, to this day, in some part of Italy Filippa.

Nicolo V. desired, as Ercole was so young, that the seigniorship of Ferrara should be given to Borso, who had already evinced a ripe and wise mind. And in point of fact when violent discords harassed the whole of Italy, never a cloud troubled the tranquil government of this prince, who was qualified by Paul II. as the pattern of all rulers. Coupled with the most rigid severity of manners, rare in those times, he knew how to gather together and foster all that survived of the pomp and poetry of the old Mediæval Courts, and had so much love for letters and arts that, to use a phrase consecrated by historians, we may affirm that he anticipated the times of Lorenzo il Magnifico.

His favourite pastimes were racing and hunting, and his racers and hunters were envied by distant Courts, where he often sent some of his horses in exchange for splendid gifts.

He searched the land for dog and bird breeders. Falconers, wolf and bear hunters were procured to him from Crete. His friends and relations came gladly and with much great pomp to his hunts. In 1469, on his invitation, Lodovico Gonzago came all the way from Mantova with a suit of one hundred horses. His special delight was heron stalking, so much in vogue in the Middle Ages, and for this end he procured hawks from Norway.

But he need not have sent his falconers so far ; for at Venice, the great market for goods from all parts of the then known world, the linen merchants from Holland often offered these birds for sale, which they had procured from the extreme north. We see also that a certain Domenico di Pietro, a Venetian jeweller, undertook to procure for him Persian leopards, famed as being trained to hunt. They would crouch on horseback behind the huntsman and at the right moment spring on the hare or wild goat. The care of these precious quadrupeds, that cost the ducal treasury about 150 gold ducats each, was entrusted to Battaghino and sons, who kept this office for over half a century. The leopards were clad in cloth and laid on cushions, in order that they might not rub their fur. When brought out of the kennel to take the air, they were led by a silken cord fastened to a leather collar, adorned with silver bells.

It was Borsò's habit after dinner to descend into the great square and talk to the people, adjusting quarrels, helping the poor, not even vagabonds did he send empty away, and in those times the number of such persons was not few.

Of a gay and agreeable temperament he passed his evenings with his familiars, the Strozzi, and Caleagnini, playing chess or a game called 'of the Emperor,' or with small cards of gilt leather, at 'ronsa' and at 'oca,' games no longer known. Or he would jest with Leocola his clown. He also liked to watch jugglers who pretended to be dumb or tumbled about ; wandering players who dressed up like women, and 'bagatelle players from France and Flanders ; minstrels who plied the spinnet and the lute, singing in verse and prose.

From some accounts, written in his own hand, we see how he distributed gold by handfuls to comfort knights who had escaped from Turkish captivity, or to endow pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land, or to visit the shrine of S. Giacomo of Gallizia. He distributed presents to all at Christmas. To his sisters he gave 60 gold ducats, also to the knights, and even to the servants, according to an ancient custom, he gave a ducat to buy a Christmas loaf. Such being his liberality we may imagine how he must have entertained Pius II., when he invited him into his



palace, as well as Frederick III., who came into Ferrara with a suit of thousand horses.

The expenses incurred on that occasion form interesting reading. There have been preserved the bills of those who furnished him with a quantity of flasks and glasses, spoons, knives, and pails to give drink to the horses, also bakers' and butchers' bills. They have even noted down the expense of the knives required for cutting the meat and for the cords with which they weighed the bread.

From an old register of 1469 we gather that Borso lived in a room called the 'certo sina,' in the palace of Schivanvia, and that Nicolo di S. Severino, a tailor, had cut 32 braccios of linen from Renso and 19 of cloth woven with gold, for the hangings of the bed, that had been bought at Lucca. In these hangings Antonio of Cremona, embroiderer, worked seven shields with the d'Este arms to hide those of the community of Lucca which remained underneath. Borso did not wear the 'houPELLAND.' The 'Honqueton,' also a French fashion, had gradually taken the place of the other garment. Even in the country Borso often wore this newer garment, made of gold cloth. It was lined with either marten fur, goat, wolf, or Spanish cat. Over the 'Honqueton' it was customary to wear chains of gold set with precious stones, which often cost over three thousand ducats, and Borso constantly bought rings of great value. But the occasion on which the prince excelled in his regal splendour, was when in 1471 he went to Rome, invited by Paul II., who desired to create him Duke of Ferrara. We will omit, for the sake of brevity, the particulars of the journey, only saying that the ceremony took place in St. Peter's on Easter day, 14th of April, and that the Pope presented Borso with the golden rose and the ducal mantle. Of this also historians make mention; according to Rodi this mantle was of red damask, and Muratori and Frizzi say that it was lined with grey miniver. From an indisputable document dated 12th September, 1475, we can ascertain it was of purple brocade, lined with 651 ermines; and the occasion on which we find it mentioned is when Ercole I. had it brought out to wear (in spite of its having served at Borso's funeral) and finding it spoiled by the moths, ordered that Mastro Antonio, furrier, should line it

partly anew, and for this 313 ermines were needed ; the old fur was kept to use for other dresses. Borso returned to Ferrara on the 18th of May. The crowd that ran to meet him had the sorrow to find that he was ill. He had caught some fever while travelling. Neither the gentle air of Belriguardo, nor the care of the doctors, who never left him, could cure him. We find that the daughters of Ser Antonio del Fabbro made for him large sheets of the finest linen ; that Nicolo di S. Severino cut him a vest that should double across his chest. Then, as he grew worse, his four large dogs refusing to leave him, though their presence troubled him, were chained up. At last the doctors, not knowing what other remedy to give him, caused him to take a decoction of silk-worms. But not even this succeeded in delaying his death, which occurred on the 20th of August. He was 58 years old, having been born in 1413. Dressed, as we see in the registers, 'in the habit and hose of the dead,' he was exposed in the large room at Schivanvia on a bed covered and draped with black cloth.

During the requiem sung in the Cathedral he was exposed, enveloped in his ducal rob, his arms folded, outside, up on his breast. 'As for his dress,' says the account-book, 'as only the arms showed they made him sleeves of gold brocade, so as to seem as if all the underdress were of that material, and this was done for his burial at Certosa.'

These sleeves were afterwards used to border two saddles for the new duke. Ercole I., brought up, as we have already said, at the court of Aragon, grew up a warrior. When King Alfonso, who treated him like a son, died, Ercole, offended because the new king, Ferdinand, his companion from childhood, no longer showed him the same friendliness as of old, joined the army of the Duke of Calabria, who was then fighting against Naples, and in the Battle of Sarno, 1460, coming face to face with Ferdinand, took him prisoner. Later he passed into the service of the Venetians, and was severely wounded at a battle that took place on the 23rd of July, 1467, where he had three horses killed under him.

When he ascended the throne there came to do him honour ambassadors from Sixtus IV., from the seigniories of Florence,

Siena, Venice, from the Dukes of Milan and Burgundy. Among them was Caraffa, sent by Ferdinand Aragon, who, forgetful of the past, offered him the hand of his first-born, Eleonora.

Leaving aside the long preliminary arrangement for this marriage, preliminaries that lasted two years, as well as the political scope of this marriage, which was concluded in 1473, we will only say that Eleonora started for Ferrara on the 24th of May of that year, followed by a large suit, and also by Sigis-mundo and Alberto d'Este, who with the poet Boiardo, count of Scandino, had gone to fetch her to her new home. It is well known that Sixtus IV., when she passed through Rome, received and entertained her.

In Florence is still to be seen, in the Royal Archives of State, descriptions (dated 2nd of June, 1473) of a dinner given to Eleonora by Cardinal S. Sisto in the Palace del S. S. Apostoli, which lasted six hours, when viands of all kinds and shapes were brought in on golden platters. This dinner was later on returned by the Duke of Ferrara; the historians do not mention this, but the account-books bear witness of the fact. Eleonora arrived in Ferrara on the 3rd of July. As her solemn entrance was described by the chroniclers, we can limit ourselves by saying that she was led to the Palace of Schivanvia by the bridegroom, under a canopy of gold cloth, and that the court, as well as the large room, the bridal chamber and bed, was draped with gold brocades. Some of these valuable cloths were those that Borso, in 1471, bought from the Florentine merchants, Guglielmo Gondi, Piero Francesco, and Giugliano de Medici, when he went to Rome.

The entertainment at the Court began on the 29th of June, and lasted until the 12th of July. These entertainments did not consist only in feasts, races, and tournaments, but also in keeping everybody in the city well fed. During these fifteen days the Court not only provided food for an army of artizans, workmen, and jugglers, called to Ferrara for the occasion, but also furnished victuals to every person of condition who had come from foreign parts, attracted by these great festivals, especially by the great tournament which took place on the 6th of July in the large square, where on a platform was prepared a colation called a

'saccomanco,' so called because after the guests had partaken of it, the people were allowed to pillage. Even to the friars and nuns during these days of festival were sent on every day, excepting fast days, two pounds of meat apiece.

The number of guests, between relations, prelates, and ambassadors, was so great that the Duke was obliged, in order to provide them with lodgings, to billet them on private families, to whom he sent the necessary tapestries, silken covers, and Flanders sheets, but the mattresses and bolsters they were obliged to hire from the Jews, who kept a bank in Ferrara, and they often had to be contented with old goods. As long as the stranger nobles remained in Ferrara, the Court sent them all they required for dinner and supper, and not only this, but also enough to give over to the poor or anybody they chose. For example, to the Cardinal of Roverella, who had a suite of thirty people, was sent every morning 360 pounds of meat, and the rest in proportion.

The great dinner of all was given on the 4th of July (the day after the arrival of the bride). Among the many dishes that appeared, there were served at one course, on large, square silver trays, eighty gilt peacocks with fire issuing from their mouths. As for the cooks, only, at the Villa of Belfiore, where the bride remained a few hours before coming into the city, there were thirty-six. In the Court kitchen the cooks of the Duke Ambrosio of Prussia and Gerardo of Arezza had forty-two cooks under them, besides a Lorenzo, who cooked only sturgeons, Mastro Bernardino who gilt the peacocks, and Mastro Martino who provided the iron frames to hold them up. A company comes from Venice in order to make all kinds of sweatmeats. Other Court cooks were sent out to various palaces; for example, the kitchen of the Florentine ambassadors was served by a Mastro Mariano, a German. Since the death of Maria of Aragon, wife of Lionello, that is, for twenty-three years, the Court of Ferrara had had no Marchesana, because Ricciarda, after the death of Nicolo III., had gone back to Salazzo. She returned to Ferrara as soon as she knew that her son had mounted the throne, but died soon after, in 1474, and was buried in the Church of the Angels. Therefore, Eleonora was obliged

to form a new court for herself. There had come with her many dames and damsels, but some of these returned to Naples after the marriage, presented by the Duke with rich jewels; there only remained three damsels, Silvia, Diana, and Colonna. To these were added fourteen more, daughters of patrician families of Ferrara and Modena, and for them were chosen two governesses, a Greek by name Theodora, and a Giovanella, wife of the court seneschal. Eleonora's nurse, Costanza, also remained in Ferrara; she received from the Duke a necklace, which she wore on her hair. Besides this was Giovanni Martino, a dancer. To complete her Court were chosen some pages, among them a French one, and a dwarf, Agostino, one braccio and a half of stuff being enough to dress him from head to foot. Nor must we pass over her slaves, six women, who attended to the lower services. Among them there was a Moor, who bore the same name as the Duchess, and one Albanian. From the wardrobe of Ercole I. there had disappeared completely the 'Honqueton,' in vogue a few years before. To that robe had succeeded the long one that reached the feet of the wearer, trimmed with little silver buttons, and to the short belted jacket the 'guardacore,' not very different in shape, only instead of being fastened with strings it closed in front with what are now known as 'frogs,' that were made sometimes of gold cord, and called 'gonghe,' from the Greek γόνυ. An evident leaning towards Spanish fashion soon showed itself. The use of gold and red cloth in male dress was gradually dropped to give place to satin and velvet of dark green or violet colour. The hose of red cloth began only to be worn by pages, for then the 'guardacore' was of pale blue or violet, and sometimes of white silver satin, with the 'frogs' of little loops of silver. The pages of the Duke bore the arms of the family embroidered on their breast, while those of the Duchess bore the arms of the house of Aragon. To complete the description of the costumes, we will add that the shoes were fashioned with square toes, and that they wore caps or felt hats; and, when on horseback, a short black mantle and the Spanish cloak, for which were needed $2\frac{3}{4}$ braccios of cloth. Fourteen long robes of pale-blue cloth were ordered at this time for the pages, and these they wore when they entered the bath with the Duke. Of forty

robes to wear over the dress, that Eleonora brought with her 'trousseau,' we only find one of gold cloth, the others are of velvet, satin, or short silk, all of dark colours, while the dresses were of gold or silver brocade, with a train or 'curtapisa'—a word which we do not find in glossaries, but which means a border worked or sewn on the bottom of a dress. Sleeves of every shape were then in fashion. Some of Eleonora's dresses had the left sleeve covered with pearls. This fashion passed later on to the men's dresses, as can be seen by the portrait held as that of Duke Valentino, which has one sleeve slashed and not the other.

The damsels also wore their dresses of pale colours, by preference a dead pink with sleeves of a different hue; the Greek and Giovannella dressed in blue and red. Since Eleonora was beautiful, wise, and of sweet manners, her Court speedily became a haven for poets and artists. She encouraged studies, and at her instigation Nicola da Lonigo taught the pages Greek, and translated for them Diodorus Siculus. She divided her time between overlooking the studies of her damsels, and teaching them how to play on the harp and make gold bobbin lace. When her children grew up she cultivated in them a fine taste for the classics and the fine arts. Alfonso and Isabella played the lute; the Duke hired for the Court chapel twenty German singers, an organist and lute, and contralasso players.

In the early months of 1474 we see Eleonora occupied in preparing 'for the infant that we expect.' A gilt cradle was draped with white damask lined with light silk and trimmed with gold fringe, satin covers, and a feather mattress. Isabella d'Este was born on the 18th of May. It was she who, married to Gonzaga, became the most accomplished gentlewoman of her time, whose portrait was painted at different periods of her life by Cristoforo Romano, Costa, Francia, Tura, and Leonardo da Vinci himself. The year after, in June, was born Beatrice, who, unhappily for her, became the wife of Lodovico il Moro.

In 1476 the seigniorship of Venice invited Eleonora to that city, and the Duke prepared the litter for her to travel in, furnishing it with new pennons and linings. Muratori speaks of this journey, but though he says that the year after Eleonora went to Naples

with her children, he does not say that she took Isabella to Venice. But the accounts give proof of expenses for the making of little dresses, French in fashion, cut out of Borso's gold brocade 'honquetons,' 'for the child who is going away,' as well as Neapolitan cloaks, and bed covers of satin for Isabella's nurse. Beatrice, who was eight months old, and seems to have been delicate, stopped at home.

After Eleonora returned from Venice the much desired heir was born at last. The seigniories of Venice and Florence stood sponsors to him by means of their ambassadors. In memory of his maternal grandfather he was called Alfonso. Mastro Trullo, painter, prepared 160 small flags for the christening breakfast. The cradle of the infant was trimmed with red satin and gold fringe, and its swaddling clothes had gold lines worked all through them.

The people on hearing the happy news of this birth, with true mediæval enthusiasm, ran to set fire to the benches of the council chamber and the schools, and would also have burned the shop doors, if the Duke had not ordered them to desist. The year after, that is in 1477, in the spring, Eleonora was again journeying to Naples to see her father, and as we have already said, took her two daughters with her. Isabella, who was three years old, went on horseback; Mastro Tioravante, saddler, had arranged with irons a saddle for her, so that she was safe from falling; Beatrice was laid in a basket and given to the care of the women.

And with this fact we have reached the decline of the fifteenth century, the final limit of our study.

In these last years fashions and costumes did not change, but the times did, for flourishing Ferrara was betrayed in her alliances, and saw herself threatened by the cruel claws of the Lion of S. Marco, who tore from her the Polesine of Rovigo, a sad event which embittered the last days of Ercole I.

All this is beside our argument, so we will part here, happy if in prowling among old archives we have been able to furnish our readers with some curious, interesting, and little known details of domestic life in the upper classes in those remote times, which are nevertheless of personal interest.

ART. V.—SOME SHETLAND FOLK-LORE.

THE lonely Shetlands, encircled by the ever-moaning sea, form naturally a fitting home for legend and romance. The history of the islands and of the races that have peopled them stretches back into those mists among which antiquarians grope about with varying success for signs and symbols of a vanished time. It is, however, pretty certain that, as far back as even the sixth century, folk of Scandinavian blood were in possession of the islands.

There have been many changes from time to time among certain sections of the population, but the great bulk of the people are still distinctly of the ancient Scandinavian stock. On this account there was naturally for a long time a strong affinity between the beliefs and language of the Shetland folk and the beliefs and language of the folk of Faroe, Iceland, and the coast of Norway. In language and beliefs these peoples were, of course, at first the same. It was from the coast of Norway that the main stream of the viking tide swept westward. But changed physical and political conditions together with the introduction of Christianity modified in course of time both language and beliefs until the record of the old remained alone in Iceland—that cabinet of priceless, literary treasures. The dialect still spoken in the Shetlands is full of words directly traceable to an Icelandic origin, but the dialect is disappearing fast, though something has been done towards the saving of it by native writers who have used it as the natural and fitting dress for local song and story. The old beliefs have vanished long ago, leaving behind them, some maintain, strange tale and superstition, folk-lore and local legend, as a blurred and feeble aftershine. It is impossible, of course, to say to what extent the local legends and folk-lore have had their source in old Norse myths about the gods and heroes, or to what extent they are the product of native feeling and imagination in more recent times, but we know it happened here as it has happened everywhere else when one faith supersedes another. Earnest but unwise propagandists of the new almost invariably misrepresent and travesty, in order

to denounce the old. Christianity, in this case the aggressive faith, on its arrival in the North found confronting it the strong, old Norse mythology, and the Christian missionaries promptly removed Odin and the gods from Asgard, Valhalla, and beneficent protection of men from the grim race of Giants, and relegated them to Hell and darkness and the rôle of evil spirits, fallen angels whose whole aim and business was direct hostility to man. In this way the old mythological beliefs became degraded, and the helpfulness which had formerly been attributed to the Asa of the Edda was transferred to the representatives of various kinds of prowess among the Christian Saints. This transfer was found to be the only possible expedient in cases where the popular belief in some of the old gods proved stubborn, and simply would not have its object changed at once from helpful god to hostile devil. After the superseding of the ethnic doctrines by the Christian, the popular imagination took hold more firmly than ever on tales and legends of a lower order in which the leading characters were fairies, imps, and elves, 'trows,' as they are now called in the Shetland dialect. These beings had good or evil influences, as the case might be, upon the lives of men. Naturally they were divided into two great groups of 'Sea-trows' and 'Land-trows.' The sea necessarily dominates everything in Shetland. To islanders it is bound to be ever the subject of most vital interest. The thought of it has filled the native mind from the time of the viking expeditions of the Norsemen to our own time with its fisheries and trading voyages. On this account the folk-lore relating to the sea more than the folk-lore relating to the land resembles the blurred aftershine of the old, ethnic myths. A century ago the Shetland fishermen, in common with their brother-fishermen all round the German Ocean, believed in the existence of a water-deity who had special charge of seas and streams. This being was called in Scotland the 'Shoopiltie.' He frequently appeared to fishermen in the form of various monsters of the deep. Sometimes, especially at night, he took the form of a fine Shetland pony, and appeared suddenly, usually beside a stream, to some lonely wayfarer on hill-side, apparently inviting him to mount. If the wayfarer did so the pony instantly made

off with him and sprang into the sea from an adjacent cliff. In this form the creature went by the name of the 'Water-kelpie' or 'Da Nyugle.' A few years ago an acquaintance of mine one day told me that he had just been speaking to an old Shetlander who informed him that he had seen 'Da Nyugle' one night by a burn when he was coming home from visiting his friends. He compelled it to disappear by the use of Scripture texts.

Whether it was and is in propitiation of the 'Shoopiltie' or not I cannot say, but the Shetland fisherman has always had, and in secluded districts still has, certain observances which are regarded as essential preliminaries and concomitants to success in fishing. When the fisherman is leaving his cottage for his boat it is of the utmost importance that he should first meet a person who has a 'güd fit,' that is a lucky foot. The folk of his acquaintance have all either a 'güd' or an 'evil' foot. If he sees a person with an 'evil fit' approaching, he will at once make a detour so as to escape a meeting. Sometimes, as an effectual precaution, he will send out a person of his own family so that he or she shall be the first to meet him. When the fishing-boat is being drawn down from its 'noost' or standing-place the men are careful not to hand anything to each other across the boat. When the boat is afloat, if it has to be turned, its bow must follow the direction of the sun. It must on no account be turned against the sun. On their way to the fishing ground and all the time they are at sea, the men avoid mentioning the ordinary names of certain objects. For this purpose they have a special sea-vocabulary. Some of the words in this vocabulary are of Icelandic origin, while others are of local manufacture. A few of them are :—big knife, *skunie* ; mare, *hurda* ; minister, *up-staander* ; dog, *baenir* ; end of line, *damp* ; horse, *hoknir* ; cow, *burik* ; church, *baen-hus* ; cat, *volir* ; mast, *stongg* ; yard, *rae*.

Turbot and flat fish on being taken into the boat are laid with their white side up. The fishermen are also particular not to count the fish while they are being taken. I knew of a case where a lad got the end of a rope laid very smartly across his shoulders by an old fisherman because he had called some article in the boat by its own name, and had begun to count the fish.

It was once believed by the fisher-folk that there was a fairy region underneath the sea inhabited by beings mortal like themselves, but very much more beautiful, who breathed an atmosphere and who came sometimes by the help of seal-skins and the skins of other water-creatures through the ocean to the upper air. If the mer-ladies lost these boyton dresses of theirs or had them stolen while on earth they were thenceforward prisoners in the upper world. Many legends have already at different times been published relating to incidents of this kind, in which some enamoured Shetlander had stolen the dress in order to compel the beautiful sea-stranger to become his wife.

The legends relating to the 'land-trows' have been naturally very numerous. Experience of sea-spirits was necessarily limited for the most part to sea-faring men, but in experience of the 'land-trow' the same men when on shore, landsmen, and women in the course of their domestic duties alike could share. Environment was favourable as an incentive and assistance to belief. In the depth of the long winter the night lasts eighteen hours. The cottages of the Shetlanders are rather scattered. Near at hand lies the dark and lonely moor or hillside with its unknown occupants. In the interior of the hills the deposed deities of the olden faith in their rôle of evil spirits were supposed to lurk. It was the habit of the Norse to use a hillside as a burying-place. Thus one could well expect to meet there sometimes the good or evil spirits of the dead. Such spirits were believed to bear the character which they had borne when incarnate. The local conception of the nature of the 'trows' was closely similar to this idea. The 'hill-folk' were kindly and beneficent when treated with consideration and respect, but utterly malevolent when slighted or insulted. It was for this reason that the 'trows' were always called by prudent people 'Da Gùd Folk.' The 'trow' which resisted for the longest time the efforts of the Church was the domestic 'trow' or 'brownie,' whose function it was to help in all the household matters, such as churning, baking, brewing, and the rest.

The belief in both male and female professors of the black art was once, of course, wide-spread. The area of belief has grown necessarily narrower with each generation. An old woman who

enjoyed some deal of notoriety as a witch, died at Lerwick in the beginning of the present century.

The following specimens of Shetland Folk-lore have not, so far as I know, been in print before.

DA BOAT O' TAFT.

In the Island of Fetlar, Shetland, there is a place called Taft. The boat belonging to this place has always borne a high name for success in fishing. There are people who may feel inclined to attribute the fame of the Taft boat to the superior energy and perseverance of the successive skippers and their crews, but in the family traditions of the folk of Taft there is a more mysterious explanation of the fact. The head of the family for the time being was usually called among his neighbours 'da gūdman o' Taft.' About Lammas, one year long ago, the then representative of the title was in Norway on a trading voyage. In the olden time the main trade of the Islands was, of course, with Norway. In somewhat later times the great trade was with Leith by way of Hamburg. In Norway Taft met with an old man whom Taft's descendant calls a 'Norwa Finn.' This old Finn was a sorcerer. In the course of conversation he offered to wager a considerable sum of Norwegian money that Taft would not be able to catch a single fish from then till after Yūle Day. Taft did not believe in sorcery, and so he readily took up the wager.

'Aa richt,' he said to the old Finn, with a laugh, 'an du's bit able ta hinder me ta get a tail o' fish frae noo till efter Yūle Day, I sall lay da money i' dy haand neist simmer whin I'm ower.'

They shook hands upon the bargain and Taft went home to Shetland. Some one has remarked that the Shetland meteorological year consists of 'nine months of winter, and three months of bad weather.' Whether it was that the old Finn knew how to humour 'Da Shoopiltie' or not, one thing was certain: that there was not a solitary day of fishing-weather from the time of Taft's arrival till the very morning of Yūle Day. Taft was of course most anxious to win his wager, and he was watching eagerly for the first 'slud,' or interval of moderate weather. On Yūle morning the sea was calm, and Taft immediately got out his line, took a piece of pork for bait, a keg of 'sillok' oil ('sillok,' young coal-fish), and asked Billy o' Gardie, a neighbour, to go to sea with him. Gardie was agreeable, and the two rowed out beyond the Inner Haf, or inner fishing-ground, to a spot called 'Aith's Deep,' which was a sure place for fish. Gardie 'aandoed,' that is, kept the boat steady with the oars, and Taft put down his line. Taft had not told Gardie anything about his wager. The line had scarcely reached the bottom when Taft struck a fish. Instantly he hauled it up, flung it and line and everything into the 'fore-head' or bow of the boat, and bade Gardie, who thought he had gone mad, pull shorewards for his life. In a few minutes a storm was howling all about them. They flew before the wind towards the shore. There was

only one place where they could land, and even there the danger was immense. They got close to the shore, and three great waves rose in succession. Taft flung out his keg of 'sillok' oil, and the third wave bore the boat in past the rocks and safely to the landing-place.

Next year Taft was in Norway. When he went to see the Finn, the old man said—

'Weel, du did get a fish efter aa; but if it no been for dy sillok oil, du sud a lvin at da sea-boddim. I'm no able ta pay da waager, bit if du'll forgie me, da boat o' Taft sall nedder be hurtit bi sea or munster, an' dey sall never anidder boat fish abün her.'

Taft was lenient and would not press his claim, and the prophecy of the old Finn was amply fulfilled. The boat of Taft has never been hurt by sea or monster, and has, as I said at the outset, the highest reputation for success in fishing.

DA TROW'S BAIRN.

ONE night in the 'hümin' (twilight) the 'güdman' o Taft found a strange-looking thing in the yard beside his house. It was a little box-shaped contrivance of wattled straw. He thought it was a fiddle-case. In those days wood was very scarce in Shetland, for all the wood used in the Islands had to come from Norway. Many little articles now made of wood, including fiddle-cases, were then made of straw. Taft took the little box of straw into the house and flung it up on to the top of a 'box-bed.' 'Box-beds' were once very common in Shetland. They were large, closed-in, wooden beds with sliding doors in front. Then the 'güdman' went out and 'suppered da baess;' that is, went to his 'byre' or cow-house, and gave his animals their supper. When he came in again he heard strange noises outside in the yard beside the house. There was a loud tramping sound, and mingling with it a sound that seemed to him like 'Foodle-dee-doodle-dee-doo, foodle-dee-doodle-dee-dee.' Then a small voice from the straw-box on the bed said :—

'Lat me oot, maamie is cryin for Mülle.' Taft knew at once that there was a little 'trow' inside the case. He quickly put the case outside the door, and all was silent.

DA FERRIE'S BRESS PAN.

The 'trows' had been heard on several occasions milking the cows in the 'byre' at Taft. But some among 'Da Güd Folk' evidently did not think it right that the folk of Taft should be defrauded of their milk. One afternoon the 'güdman' o Taft was at a place called Urie with butter. He was riding upon a red horse, and leading behind him a grey one laden with the butter. As he was passing a hill called Stakkaberg he heard a voice saying :—

'Du' at rides da ridd an rins da grey
Geng haem, an inta da byre, an say :
Varna, vivla, tail a tivla
Is faain i da fire an brunt her,'

When Taft got home he went to the 'byre' and carefully repeated the words he had heard. As soon as he had done so the 'trow' that had been operating on the cows, flung down a little, curiously-shaped, brass pan on the 'brig-staens' (stones bridging drain at cottage door) and said :

'O care an dü! dat's my bairn at's faain i da fire an brunt her.' The 'hill-lady' apparently went home at once, and the 'trows' were never again heard milking the cows in the 'byre' of Taft. The 'güdman' took the little brass pan into the house and kept it for good luck. Every night it was carefully hung up on a nail with a piece of flesh or of some sort of food inside of it. It remained in the family for a long time. But one night it was somehow neglected. Next morning it had vanished, and it was never seen again.

DA MERMAID IN YUGLA MIRES.

POLITENESS was evidently one of the leading characteristics of the 'güdman o Taft.' The characteristic is undoubtedly hereditary, for Taft's descendant, to whom I have alluded above, is a man most careful to address all persons he may meet with very marked respect. The tale bears out the need there was for treating every being of the 'trowie' kin with due consideration. The 'güdman o Sutherhus' was a neighbour of the 'güdman o Taft,' and Sutherhus was the wealthiest man about. His crops were always good, his cows and sheep and ponies thrive, and altogether he seemed a Shetland miniature of Job before the patriarch fell on his evil days. Taft at that time was not quite so prosperous. One summer morning both the 'güdmen' went to the hill for peats. Sutherhus was first, and on arriving at the hill he suddenly saw a mermaid sitting in the sunlight, at the side of a peat-stack, combing her golden tresses. Sutherhus thought the sight uncanny, and he ejaculated :

'O, care an dü!' The mermaid looked at him and said :

'Care and dü attend you wherever you turn you.' Sutherhus passed by, and a little later the 'güdman o Taft' came up. As soon as Taft saw the mermaid he said :

Güd mornin, fair maid, sonce and sael attend you!' The mermaid looked at him and smiled, and said :

'Güd mornin, güdman, sonce and sael attend you wherever you turn you.' From that time Sutherhus began to dwindle. His crops were bad, his cows and sheep and ponies died, and all went wrong with him until he looked liked Job when he was in his evil plight ; but Taft began to prosper steadily, his crops were very heavy and his creatures thrive, and all went right with him until he occupied the place among the folk that Sutherhus had held, and was the wealthiest man in all the neighbourhood.

DA TROWS' DAEK.

THERE is still left a remnant of an ancient dyke, in the making of which the builders have evidently made use of very heavy blocks of stone. The dyke to all appearance must have run in a zig-zag direction, probably in order to shelter sheep and other creatures that would gather to it when a stiff north-easter or south-wester rendered this imperative. Once, of course, this dyke did not exist. The 'güdman o Taft,' when his substance had increased and his stock had grown extensive, often had disputes with some among his neighbours. This vexed the 'güdman' so much that one night in despair he wished aloud that, should it cost the best ox in his 'byre,' a dyke might be put up between the disputants ere morning. In the morning he rose early and went out as was his custom. He found a strong dyke built just in the place where he had wished that it should be. He suddenly recollected what he had said in his vexation on the previous night and went into the 'byre.'

'Cussa, cussa. Broonie, Broonie,' he said, and he felt about him for his favourite ox. He found it lying dead upon its 'bizzie' (bed for cattle), shot through with 'trowie' arrows.

DA TROWS' SHAERIN'.

THE habit of taking the 'güdman of Taft' at his word whenever he expressed a wish involving suitable conditions, seems to have been prevalent among the 'trows.' As the 'güdman' began to feel the comforts of prosperity he became most anxious about his crops, which were, as I have said, in virtue of the mermaid's blessing, unusually heavy. In Shetland, oats and barley are generally cut down with reaping-hooks. The folk consider that in this way they are able to handle the grain more carefully, and that it does not get shaken and dirtied by being thrown down as it would be if it were mowed with scythes. This is important in the case of grain intended for the mill. The native process has the disadvantage of being certainly the slower of the two, except when there are many hands. One autumn the 'güdman o Taft' was very solicitous about the safety of a barley 'rig' which would have been cut down, but which he had not managed to get at because of other work. As he sat by the fire one night after a hard 'hairst' day, he said suddenly in his anxiety :

'I wiss wir sooth rig wis bit staandin i da stooks, t' o I sud hae ta gie for dat wir boanie, muckle, fleckit coo, an I hae no anidder ean laek her ipo mi aacht' (in my possession).

Later on in that same night some folk passing Taft's 'bere rig' heard 'trows' at work upon it. They stopped and listened and distinctly heard one say :

'Hadd at dee, birkie ! A baand ! Anidder trave i da yarkin.'

In the morning the 'bere' was cut and standing on the 'rig' in 'stooks,' and Taft's 'muckle, fleckit coo,' was dead.

DA WITCH'S FEE.

IN the parish of Whiteness a man's wife was once lying very ill. Everything had been done to cure her, but she had got no better, and at last her husband thought that he would ask an old woman, who had a name for being able to do curious things with the assistance of the 'trows,' to come and see her. He went to the witch's cottage and explained his errand.

'Yae, my lamb, I'se come,' said the old woman, 'Gang du haem ; I'se no be lang ahint dee.' The man returned home. As he was going up the 'gaet' or footpath to his cottage door he looked behind him, but he could see nothing of the witch. Just as he was about to lift the latch he heard quick footsteps near him, and, turning round, he saw the old crone standing by his side. She laughed and said :

'Lift du da snek, an lat me look at Keetie.' They went into the house and the old woman walked up close to the bed in which the sick wife lay and looked at her. Then she turned to the man and said :

'Yae, I can set her ipo fit again, bit what haes du ta gie ?' There happened to be in the house at the time an old silly kind of man who used to wander about, begging, among the neighbours.

'I kno no,' replied the husband, 'excep du taks da auld man at's i da but-room yundru at da fire.'

'Keetie sall be able ta geng furt an mylk da kye afore da ouk (week) is oot,' said the old witch, and she went out. Next morning the old wandering man was found dead on the hillside not far from the cottage, and from that time the wife got quickly better.

DA TROW-SHOT COO.

A GOOD many years ago a crofter in the parish of Dunrossness had a cow that suddenly turned ill and seemed about to die. He at once sent for an old woman who was celebrated as a 'trowist,' and who was consequently the 'V. S.,' usually called in on such occasions. The old woman came, and the crofter took a 'collie' (Shetland lamp) and went with her into the 'byre.' Two or three members of the family accompanied them. The crofter held the 'collie' while the old woman carefully examined the extensive surface of the cow. At last she discovered a small dimple in its skin just opposite its heart. She then bade all the persons present come and feel the dimple so that they should be satisfied that it was there. This concluded her examination.

'My bairn,' she said, turning to the man, 'da trows is shot her. Haes du a Bible i da hoose at du cud bring me ?' The crofter sent his son into the cottage for the Bible. The old woman took it and slowly turned over several of its leaves. Suddenly she tore one out.

'I sall tak a verse,' she said, 'oot o dis laef, an whatin a verse dat is none knoos bit me, for it's a saecret, an dem at wid be weel sud never middle wi' things at dey ken no o'. She tore the efficacious verse off from the leaf and rolled the tiny scrap of paper hard up into a pellet which she

pressed into the dimple on the cow. After waiting for a little time she withdrew the pellet, and taking it, the torn leaf, and the mutilated Bible, she went into the cottage where she got her usual remuneration in the form of gifts. Then she went home. In a few days the cow was well again.

DA TROWIE LASS.

ONE evening after supper some folk in the island of Yell were sitting chatting round the fire for a little before going to bed. The door of the cottage was standing open, and, all at once, they heard a child crying outside. A few minutes later they saw a little girl enter at the door and come in across the floor towards the group beside the fire. The upper half of the child's dress was of a greyish green, the lower half was brown. The older people of the house had no difficulty in recognising that the child was of the kin of 'Da Gùd Folk,' and they resolved to treat it with all kindness in case that any harm should come to the house.

After sitting for a little longer at the fire, they took the child and put it to bed with their own children, and the whole family retired to rest.

Next day the child stayed, and at night the folk of the house heard someone calling outside as though it were a woman seeking for a child. As soon as the child heard the calling she disappeared. But no harm came afterwards to the house, and the children beside whom the little 'trow' had slept, grew up to be 'weel-hadden' (well-off) men and women.

DA PARK AT WINDHUS.

THERE was a man in the island of Yell to whom, it seems, the 'trows' stood in a relation somewhat similar to that in which they stood to the 'gùdman o' Taft' in Fetlar. This man had a field near Windhouse. The field was on high ground, and therefore in a situation very much exposed. The season was far advanced, and the weather had begun to get cold and wet. The farmer was afraid that the corn might get 'laid,' that is, flattened out and ruined, by the high winds and heavy rains, and one night he earnestly wished aloud that the field was 'in a baand' (cut down), even if it cost him the best ox in his possession. In this case it seems that nobody either saw or heard the 'trows' at work, but in the morning the field was 'shoarn,' and the ox was dead.

DA SAELKIE.

ONE night some people in the same island of Yell were sitting about the fire in the 'but-end' of the cottage, when a 'saelkie,' or seal, came suddenly in over the floor. The young man of the house got up at once and reached down his gun in order to shoot the creature, but the old man of the house, who was wise in 'trowie' lore and knew that this might be some visitant from that strange realm beneath the sea, prevented him. The old man made all the family go 'ben' to bed. When they were gone he shut the 'ben-room' door upon them so as to allow none of them to come out.

Then he turned to the apparition and said solemnly :

‘ He at crosses wir ooter door da nicht wid dü weel ta shut it efter him.’
After he had said this he went to bed, leaving the outer door of the cottage ‘ ta da back,’ that is, wide open.

In the morning the seal was gone, and the cottage door was shut.

DA DUG AN’ DA TROWS.

It has been said that pigs, or ‘ grices,’ as they are termed in Shetland, have the power to see the wind. From the following, it seems that dogs possess the faculty of seeing ‘ trows.’ The natural affinity between the ‘ trows’ and wind may help us to explain the curious circumstance.

One evening an old woman in the parish of Walls was going along a dark hillside accompanied by a dog, when all at once the dog ran on in front of her, as though he had become aware of something. The old woman could neither see nor hear anything unusual, and, thinking the dog’s conduct unaccountable, she hurried after him as fast as she was able. At last the dog stopped, and the old woman saw, suddenly, in the hillside, a doorway through which a bright light was streaming out. The dog was standing looking in, and, as she approached, he ran into the opening. She came up close, and, looking in through the doorway, saw the warm and comfortable interior of an apartment in a ‘ trowie’ house, on the floor of which apartment a great many ‘ trows’ were energetically dancing to some very lively music. Near the doorway she saw also a ‘ trowie wife’ standing washing a dish. This ‘ trowie wife’ suddenly caught sight of the dog and drove him out. Instantly the music ceased, the doorway was shut, and the light vanished.

DA TROW’S DART.

It was a current belief in Shetland that, if a person attacked by ‘ trows’ invoked the Divine assistance in a certain set form of speech, the ‘ trows’ would disappear. In some districts the doctrine was extended to include the statement that next time the person visited the spot where he or she had been attacked, he or she would there discover something valuable.

A man in the same parish of Walls was one night surrounded by ‘ trows’ while going along a lonely hillside. He tried at first, and tried in vain, to frighten them away with savage shouting and gesticulation. Then he recollected what he should have done, and said earnestly :

‘ Güd be aboot me an aa at I see.’ As soon as he had uttered the words the ‘ trows’ absconded, and he saw nothing more of them. He was about to resume his journey when the popular belief regarding the finding of something valuable occurred to him, and he made a careful observation of the spot where he had been attacked.

Next day he went back to the place and found lying on the ground and half-hidden among the heather, a beautifully-wrought ‘ trowie’ dart or arrow. He picked it up and took it home with him. After this the

weapon remained for a long time in the possession of his family and was very useful as a talisman against all kinds of evil spirits.

DA SHICKEN'S EGG.

A MAN belonging to the parish of Aithsting had heard it said by old folk who were skilled in 'trowie' lore that if he washed his face with the first egg of a chicken, he would at once possess the power of seeing 'trows.' He was entirely sceptical as to the very existence of the 'hill-folk,' but he resolved to give the matter a fair trial.

One dark night he washed his face as he had been directed, and sallied out upon the sombre hillside, keeping a sharp look-out about him for the first appearance of the 'trows.' He had got a good way up the hill, when, on skirting a peat-bank, he came suddenly upon a doorway in the hillside through which light was streaming out, as was the case in the story of the old woman and the dog. He looked in and saw a large company of 'trows' playing and dancing. They happened to perceive him, and the light was instantly extinguished. The 'trows' chased him down the hill, flapping and whisking about his ears with a noise like that made by the wings of birds. Sometimes he felt them scrubbing and rustling on his canvas jacket. They conducted him rapidly to his own yard-dyke, then vanished, leaving him to go into his cottage considerably the wiser for his trip.

DA TROW'S BUNDLE.

It was a common belief that the 'trows' were in the habit of surreptitiously carrying off men, women, and children, and leaving in their stead some imbecile or fearfully deformed creature. Sometimes, as in the following case, they left behind an effigy of the abducted person. Occasionally, too, they took a cow or other domestic animal of which they might have need, and left in place of it a lifeless mass of matter. At one time there were several folk in Shetland who did a very lucrative business in supplying charms to prevent and various contrivances to remedy such fell disaster. Now and then it did occur that a lay person took it upon himself to deal summarily with a case, without consulting a professional exorcist.

One winter night an old crofter in the parish of Walls was away from home on a short journey. When he was returning across the hills in the darkness and had got down close to his 'hill-grinn'd,' that is, the gate in the outer dyke of his croft, where the enclosed land borders on the hillside, he met a gang of 'trows' carrying a bundle between them. He felt a thrill of apprehension as he saw the bundle, but he allowed them to pass and hurried on down towards his cottage.

As soon as he had entered the cottage door he saw that his wife was gone, and that the 'trows' had left an effigy instead of her, in her accustomed chair. Quick as thought he seized the effigy and flung it into the fire. The fire in the 'but-end,' or living-room of a Shetland cottage, is usually in the

middle of the floor. The smoke, or at least a good deal of it, escapes through a round hole in the roof, which hole is called 'da lum.'

The effigy at once took fire, rose in the air, flaming, amid a cloud of smoke, and vanished through the 'lum.' As it disappeared, the wife walked in at the cottage door, safe and sound; and ever afterwards the 'Trows' took care to avoid molesting this man or his family.

DA STAKKA BAA.

ONE day late in the autumn of a year now distant a small war-vessel came into a 'voe,' in an island on the west coast of Shetland, and dropped anchor. The crew were seen cleaning guns and getting ready weapons, apparently for the purpose of attacking the inhabitants and plundering the island. In spite of the consternation this occasioned, a fat cow or 'mert' was being slaughtered at a place called Nort-hus.

An old woman who was known in the island as a 'wise wife' came to Nort-hus and offered to lift the Stakka Baa, a sunken rock out in the voe, and overturn the foreign ship, if the owner of the cow would only give her the piece of it named locally 'da stickin collop.' The man promised, and the 'wise wife' forthwith got to work. After some preliminary incantations she placed herself upon the lower step of a stair in Nort-hus and sat there, muttering for a little. Then she slowly raised herself to the second step. The 'Baa' out in the 'voe' rose up a bit. Step by step the 'wise wife' backed herself upstairs, and bit by bit the sunk rock neared the surface of the sea till, all at once it struck the bottom of the fated vessel. The foreigner capsized and all on board were drowned.

'ABONJINIT, ABONJINIT.'

ON another occasion a vessel of suspicious appearance was observed near-
ing the same island. She did not anchor, but when she had got close enough a boat's crew of armed men was sent on shore. The freebooters scoured the island, and seized all the fowls—ducks, hens, and geese—that they could come across. Some of the inhabitants ventured to remonstrate but the men replied:

'It's ducks and hens to-day; but it'll be oxen and cows to-morrow.' They then returned to their ship, and she stood off the shore.

The islanders knew they could make no resistance. In their despair they sent two of the most influential men to an old woman, who was known occasionally to do something in the black art, though she did not court the reputation of a witch. They told their tale, and she replied:

'Abonjinit, abonjinit! I canna dü ony güd, an I sanna dü muckle herm; bit ye can geng an tell da folk ta mak fast dir boats an tak weel aboot dir grains o corn.' The men departed and secured their boats, stacks of corn, and all loose property about the island. That night a wild storm burst on the Atlantic, and in the morning the islesmen saw the dreaded vessel founder in the offing.

J. J. HALDANE BURGESS, M.A.

ART. VI.—RURAL SCOTLAND IN THE FIRST HALF OF LAST CENTURY.

THE 18th century opened in Scotland with dark and dismal prospects. From one end of the country to the other of its population of 1,100,000 the poorer classes were in misery, hunger, and in the shadow of death. The seasons since August 1696 had been seasons of blight and famine; and memories of these 'dark years' or 'ill years'—as they were significantly called—lingered in the popular mind for generations after. During these disastrous times the crops were blighted by easterly 'haars' or mists, by sunless drenching summers, followed by early bitter frosts and snow in autumns. For seven years this calamitous weather continued—the corn never ripening, and the green withered grain being shorn in December amidst the pouring rain or storms of snow. Even in January and February, in some districts many of the starving people were still trying to reap some of their ruined crops of oats, and were bitten by the frosts, and perished of weakness, hunger, and cold. The sheep and oxen died in thousands; the prices of every thing amongst a people that had nothing rose rapidly to famine pitch, and a large proportion of the rural population was destroyed by want and disease. During these 'ill years,' as starvation stared the people in the face, the instincts of self-preservation at times mastered all other feelings, and even natural affection became extinct in men and women forced to prowl and fight for food like wild beasts. Some in the north sold their children to the Plantations for provisions; * men struggled with their sisters for a morsel of oat bannock; and many were so weak and dispirited that they had neither heart nor strength to bury their dead. A man is seen carrying the corpse of his father on his back half way to the church-yard, and then throwing it down at a farmer's door, exclaims, 'I can carry it no farther; for God's sake bury the body or put it if you like on the dyke of your kail-yard to keep out the sheep!' † On the road were seen dead men with

* *Stat. Acc. of Scot.*, 1796. Monquidder. Kilmuir Easter, vi., 190.

† *Stat. Acc. of Scot.*, Kilsyth, xviii., p. 302.

a morsel of raw flesh in their mouths, and dying mothers lying with starved infants which sucked at the cold dry breasts; while numbers dreading lest their bodies should lie exposed, crawled when they felt the approach of death, to the kirkyard that they might have a better chance of being buried when they died. In these very church-yards,—which from their too abundant replenishing, were the old fertile spots in the land,—might be seen old and young struggling together for the nettles, docks, and grass in spring, and in summer they gathered greedily the loathed snails and stored them for the winter's use. Even in the streets of towns, the starving fell down and died. 'Through the long continuance of these manifold judgments,'* says the most pious, credulous, ungrammatical but occasionally accurate historian, Patrick Walker, 'deaths and burials were so common that the living wearied of the burying of the dead. I have seen corpses drawn on sleds, many neither having coffins nor winding sheets. I was one of four who carried the corpse of a young woman a mile of way, and when we came to the grave an honest man came and said: "You must go and help me to bury my son; he is lie dead these two days, otherwise I will be obliged to bury him in my own yard." We went and there were 8 of us had two miles to carry the corpse of this young man, many neighbours looking on, but none to help. I was credibly informed that in the north two sisters on a Monday's morning were found carrying the corpse of their brother with bearing ropes, none offering to help. I have seen some walking about till the sun-setting, and to-morrow about 6 o'clock in the summer's morning found dead—their head lying on their hands, . . . and mice and rats having eaten a great part of their hands and arms.' The poor in the earlier part of the last century were not interred in coffins, but were merely carried in the parish coffin, and in those 'dark years' the bottom of the public 'kist' was on hinges to allow the bodies to be dropped more expeditiously into the shallow graves. A grim light is cast on those times by quaint contemporary Kirk-Session Records,

* *Biograph. Presbyter.*, II., 24.

such as those of Cullen : * '1699, 8th May, George Stevenson, offischer, for making poor folk's graves, 14s. 6d., [*i.e.* Scots = 2s. stg]. 10th July, given to the bedall for burying several poor who died of the famine and brought dead to the churchyard, 15s. 7th August: Given to the officer for burying some poor objects dyed through scarcity, 6s.' Of those who survived the horrors of starvation, many 'poor objects' died of diseases which hunger had engendered.

The scenes of continued misery roused the ever alert superstitious feelings of the people, who of course, discerned in the misty springs, the sunless summers, the disastrous autumns, and pitiless winters, with prolonged intense frosts and deep snows, tokens of divine wrath on a backsliding generation, and with vigilant piety they found special evidence of God's judgment in the miseries which overtook farmers in low-lying fertile districts who had raised the price of provisions and were therefore looked upon as carrion crows who had fattened on the poor. Imaginative memories could recall the prophetic utterances of great covenanting leaders, which were invested with those circumstantial details with which people adorn inspired words remembered after long years. Had not the godly Donald Cargill, as he stood upon the green braes of Upper Bankside in Clydesdale, in May 1661, not only foretold his own end, but also prophesied to his awe-struck audience: 'You shall see cleanness of teeth and many a blue pale face, which shall put thousands to their graves in Scotland with unheard-of natures of fluxes and fevers and otherwise,† and there shall be great distress in the land and wrath upon this people?' Did not the sainted Master Alexander Peden foretell like troubles when he proclaimed that 'so long as the lads are on the hills and in glens and caves (that is so long as the persecution lasted) you will have bannocks o'ernight, but if ever they are beneath the beild of the brae you will have clean teeth and many a black pale face in Scotland'; yea, 'you shall not have freedom to walk for dead corpses?'‡ None

* Cramond's *Hist. of Cullen*, p. 138.

† Walker's *Biog. Presby.*, II. 24.

‡ Wodrow's *Analecta*, II. 85.

dared to doubt the inspiration and authenticity of such portentous prophecies as these.

During the height of the scarcity, the Council allowed foreign grain free into the ports, while prohibition was given to any exportation of grain, which was surely a superfluous order. Officers searched out all stored supplies, and exposed them for sale at fixed prices. Every owner of grain was forced under penalty of forfeiture of his stock to thresh all the grain in his girnels—not to sell a stone as it was brought along the road. Fierce denunciations were uttered by the Church, and severe punishment was dealt by magistrates on all forestallers, whose conduct was regarded with horror by a generation possessed of erroneous notions of political economy, but with very shrewd notions of human nature. Commands were read from pulpits and proclaimed at market crosses stating the maximum cost at which grain was to be sold, on pain of prosecution as ‘occurrers’ or usurers. The people looked on those men with detestation, and stories were long after told of farmers who had kept grain rotting till it rose to famine price, and had sent to prison starving children for taking kail from their yards, who themselves by divine judgment were reduced to destitution, and forced to beg for meat at the doors of those they once had left to starve. To mitigate the distress the Church appointed days of solemn fast and humiliation because of Sabbath breaking, drunkenness and the general and particular iniquities which had brought this divine wrath on the land, and with more practical effect they recommended cheerful and liberal ‘collections for the indigent in each parish.’

Fletcher of Saltoun’s well known picture of the destitution of Scotland has usually been regarded as the overcharged description of a splenetic man; but it is usually ignored that at the time he wrote (1698) and for many years after, his description was only too accurate.* We may treat his suggestion of making slaves of the beggars as a sardonic whim; but we cannot treat as an exaggeration his account of the people—of ‘the 200,000 beggars “begging from door to door,” of the wild

* *Second Discourse Affairs of Scotland*, p. 106-8.

demoralised state in which poverty and houselessness had driven families to live, of "the thousands of our people who are at this day dying for want of food."

So disastrous were these 'ill years' to the rural population that we read of parishes in Mid-Lothian where 300 out of 900 persons died, of parishes in the North where out of 16 families on one farm no less than 13 perished,* and of an estate which gave work to 119 persons, where only 3 families (including the proprietor's) survived, of districts once thickly populated where 'not a smoke remained' and of villages which disappeared into ruins. Many parishes were reduced to a half or a third of its inhabitants, and large farms deprived of its workers were turned in after years into sheep walks. The consequences of these 'dark years' were far reaching and lasting. Great tracts of country which had been under cultivation were quickly covered with heather, as if they had never been under the plough, and much of this was unreclaimed 80 years after. As tenants had been driven to destitution and landlords to debt, there were no means of replenishing the farms, nor money to rent them, although landlords in despair offered a team of oxen or milk cows to induce men to take the land. In Aberdeenshire many persons who left the land entered into stocking factories, crowds left the country, especially from Ayrshire and Galloway, and settled in Ireland, while beggars swarmed in legions through village and town. †

In this country, whenever seasons were bad and crops blighted, the peasantry were always driven to extremity. Years of dearth came often, and, as in 1709, 1740, 1760, there was famine. Many were the causes of their miserable conditions, which are easy to indicate. But one of the most important was the barbarous mode of agriculture. When we consider the style of farming, the utter ignorance of and prejudice against every rational method of cultivation, we can easily understand how farmers were unable to bear up against bad sea-

* Walker's *Biog. Pres. Stat. Acct. Scot.* Duthill. Kilmuir Easter.

† Robertson's *Gen. View of Agric.*, p. 50. Coltness Coll. Fullarton's *Survey of Ayrshire*, p. 82.

sons, and even in good seasons could not produce sufficient food for the population. We feel also no surprise that Fletcher of Saltoun should say that these unproductive soils were rack-rented at 2s. 6d. to 1s. an acre.

The land attached to each farm was divided into 'infield' and 'outfield.' That nearest the house was the 'croft' or 'infield,' to which the tenant devoted all his care. Although manure from towns was so little valued that it was flung into the nearest river, whatever manure was used was put on the infield—to improve which the farmer would even unthatch his peat-smoked hut, and make the soil so rank that it was luxuriant in weeds. Here was sown a constant rotation of two years, one year being oats and the next year barley, while in some places, as in Galloway, the croft grew nothing but bere or barley without intermission—every third ridge receiving annually all the manure.

Six times larger than the 'infield' was the 'outfield,' which was either put perpetually into oats or for three years successively, when alternate parts of it lay for another three or four years fallow, acquiring a 'natural grass' of weeds, moss, nettles, and thistles, on which the cattle fed. Although some land was cultivated till it produced only two seeds for every one sown, the third year was called the 'wersh crop,' being wretched in quantity and quality.*

Still, however, people clung to their ancient system, and their faith was embalmed in one of those popular wise saws which preserve so much popular folly :

'If land be three years out and three years in,

'Twill keep in good heart till the deil grow blin'.'

As there were neither dykes nor hedges between field and field or farm and farm, when the harvest began and when the cereals were young, the cattle were tethered or herded, and when the harvest was past, the cattle wandered over all the place till the land became one dirty common. The outfield was thus left utterly unmanured, for the cattle were not confined to the fields after harvest, while before the harvest they

* Ure's *Agric. of Dumbartonshire*, p. 47.

were folded at nights to preserve the crops, and the sheep were folded all winter to preserve their lives. The grain grown was of the poorest kind, which had been abandoned everywhere but in Scotland. It was the grey oats, which, at its best, gave increase of only three seeds for one; and bere, which, although the least nutritious of barley, was believed the only sort that would flourish on the soil. The horses and oxen, fed in winter on straw, boiled chaff, or mashed whins, were so weak and emaciated that when yoked to the plough in spring they fell in the bogs and furrows, and neighbours were summoned to raise them on their legs; although to fit them thoroughly for their work, they had been previously bled by a skilful hand.* They were yoked to enormous unwieldy ploughs, which, being made of wood (except the coulter and share), could be made in a forenoon for a shilling. This plough was drawn by four meagre oxen and two horses, like shelties, or by eight oxen, two or three abreast. As they dragged it along, a band of men attended to keep them moving. One man held the plough, requiring to be strong enough to bear the shock of collision with 'sit-fast' stones; another (selected for his skill in stimulative whistling) as 'gad-man,' was armed with a long pole to clear the board; a third led the team, walking backwards in order to stop them when the plough banged against a frequent boulder; and yet a fourth advanced in front with a triangular spade to 'mend the land' and fill up the hollows. With this huge *cortége* a plough scratched half an acre per day. The harrows, made entirely of wood, were in some districts dragged by the tails of horses, until the barbarous custom was condemned by the Privy Council. These wooden harrows, made at the cost of 7d., were in high esteem, from its being thought the iron pins could not possibly produce a good crop. The harness consisted of collars and saddles of straw, and ropes either made of hair cut from horses' tails or made of rushes from which the pith was stripped. †

* *Agric. of Forfarshire*, by Dempster, p. 2. *Pratt's Buchan*, pp. 17, 75. *Parish of Carluke*, p. 239.

† Anderson's *Survey of Agric.*, p. 25. *Hist. Galloway*, II., chap. v. S. S. A. Gigha.

Perhaps the most serious obstacle to agriculture was the almost universal system of 'run-rig,' a relic of the mediaeval system nearly obsolete in England. Each field was divided into separate 'rigs,' which were farmed by different tenants. One small field might be divided into an occupancy of from 4 to 8 persons each, and a farm with a combined rental of £50 might have 18 tenants, amongst whom the land might be divided by lot each year or put up to auction. The farmers had their houses clustered together, so that each township resembled a little village. The ridges, each having a different tenant, were often about 40 feet wide, very crooked, and very high.* Only the crown of the ridge, which was full of stones, was ploughed, and half the width was taken up with 'baulks,' or open spaces, filled with briars, nettles, stones and water. The quarrels and misunderstandings which arose between the tenants, were incessant and violent. As no operation could commence without mutual help with horses and men, they required to be agreed as to the day and hour of beginning work, the times and mode of ploughing, sowing and reaping. But as each had his own obstinate opinion on each of these matters, the bickering might cause the delay of weeks before all consented to work together, and, if possible, to spite each other. So jealous were they, that each man made his own rig as high as possible, so that none of the soil should be carried by rain to his neighbour's ground, and consequently the furrows were left quite bare, and the soil accumulated on the top was never stirred deeper than the shallow ploughshare could scrape.† How could any waste land be reclaimed under this system? If one man dared to cultivate any neglected bit of ground, the others at once denounced him for infringing their right of grazing on the outfields. Having no lease he had no motive to improve the soil, for next year his land might pass to other hands. He could not store hay for his cattle, for the instant the harvest was over the whole land became open pasturage

* *History of Dumbartonshire*, p. 15. Fullarton's *Survey of Ayrshire*, p. 41. Robertson's *Survey of South Districts of Perth*, p. 118.

† *Stat. Acct. Scot. Kilwinning. Survey of Ross-shire*, p. 207.

for the whole township.* Yet in spite of its absurdity, so devoted were the people to the run-rig, or 'stuck-run-way' plan, that if 20 fields were offered to 20 farmers, they would prefer a twentieth share in each of 20 fields rather than have a field each to themselves.

Let us look at the customs regarding times and seasons for farming operations, and see how every practice conspired to damage agriculture. It was not permissible to begin ploughing operations till spring, as the undrained soil was too wet to allow it earlier. No farmer would yoke a plough till Candlemas, and many would not begin till the 10th of March—having a profound reverence for days and seasons in agriculture, though a perfect horror of them in religion.† In consequence the wretched oats were not sown till March or April up to the close of the century, and it was often May before the 'bigg' or four-rowed barley was put into the ground. In days when the soil and the minds of the farmers were equally barren and uncultivated, everything was ruled by ancient customs. Greatly they believed the tradition of the elders, which pronounced that 'it is not too late to sow when the leaves of the ash cover the pyot's (magpie's) rest'—which was in the month of June.‡ Some protested that if it were sown earlier, it would be smothered by the marigolds, wild mustard and thistles; and all believed that seed sown before February would be killed by frost. Indeed none was sown till the first of April. Consequently the grain—and the worst grain was reserved for seed—did not mature till the autumn gales set in.§ It is not surprising that often the ground produced only $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 2 bolls to the acre of outfield, which did not repay the labour. Even in 1750, in Ayrshire, when the infield had risen to 4s., or even 10s. an acre, the outfield let at 1s. 6d.

With a system so atrocious, which left the ground dirty, un-

* *Pennant's Tour*, II., 201. *Robertson's Southern Districts of Perthshire*, p. 118, 305.

† *Walker's Hebrides and Highlands*, I., 200. *Marshall's Agric. Central Highlands*, p. 46. *Ure's Rutherglen*, p. 180.

‡ *Marshall's Agric. of Central Highlands*, p. 40.

§ *Russell's Haigs of Bemersyde, etc.*, p. 484. *Ure's Dumbartonshire*.

drained and starved, it frequently happened that the yield could not supply the inhabitants of the district, and men renting from 40 to 100 acres needed to buy meal for their families in summer.* As little else was grown except oats, the people were in despair when meal failed them, which occurred whenever bad seasons came. In such straits they bled the half-starved cattle to mix the blood with a little meal, and this barbarous practice, which began in dire necessity, was retained by many from taste and choice.

It was the inveterate sluggishness of the farmers which was to blame for the sterility of the land, as well as their prejudice against every innovation and improvement; while their pious fatalism conveniently confirmed and consecrated their laziness. They believed that disease was due to the haud of God, instead of want of use of their own hands. They held that every season of famine was due to Providence rather than to their own improvidence. They held that weeds were a consequence of Adam's fall, and that to remove docks, wild mustard, and nettles was to undo God's curse. They threshed the corn with the flail, and winnowed it by throwing it up in the air, rather than use the new-fangled fanners Meikle had set up in 1720, because these were making 'devil's wind,' and contravened Scripture, which said 'the wind bloweth where it listeth.' Religious ordinances also ministered to idleness. When 'sacramental seasons' occurred, and set in with their usual severity, the people would attend six Communion in succession in surrounding parishes. They trudged over moor and hill, till a place with a population of 400 was swelled with a crowd of 2000, who slept at night in stables and barns, or in the open air, from Thursday till Tuesday while attending the 'preachings.' Farmers were obliged to kill sheep for the ministers; to supply oats for porridge and sowens to the worthy communicants; and to get straw to make beds for the strangers, and feed their horses—no light task when grain was barely enough for their own families, and straw was too scanty for their own cattle. Often

* Fullarton's *Survey of Ayrshire*, p. 8.

the Kirk Session met in prayer and perplexity as to how to supply this multitude when they had too little for themselves. These protracted holy days and 'holy fairs' induced men to desert their fields at the most critical periods of the year, leaving them to run risk from ill chances of weather. All these prolonged pious exercises, it is obvious, could not conduce to agricultural progress.

The rent of the land appears very small, being only 1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. an acre, and rarely reaching 3s., even in Ayrshire. But though small it was exacted in ingeniously vexatious ways, for it was paid chiefly in kind, as money was extremely scarce in Scotland amongst every rank. An estate of £300 yearly rental would have only £40 paid in silver, the rest being paid in so many bolls of meal, so many sheep, or hens, or eggs; or it might be given in so many days' shearing for the laird, so much butter and cheese. In Caithness* it was partly paid in straw 'cazzies,' or baskets for carrying food, hair ropes for drawing ploughs, and heather tithers for thatching. The result was that money was scarce with the lairds, while food was superabundant. This led to prodigality, waste, and debt. They required huge granaries to hold rents 'in kind,' and ministers had large girnels to contain their stipends. It is evident that the massive hospitality rife amongst landed gentry of olden time was greatly owing to these exuberant supplies of grain, of mutton, of poultry and fish. It was quite a relief to dispense them to the guests who filled their houses and emptied their larders. Stewart of Appin † was said to have received in rent an ox for every week, a goat or sheep for every day of the year, while he had fowls, cheeses, and eggs past all reckoning. Whatever the season might be, these 'kain' eggs and fowls must be sent to the 'big house,' and every egg was measured by the lady who guaged them with different sized rings—those that passed the first being reckoned 12 to the dozen; but it required 15 of the second size, and 18 of the third, to be equal to a dozen. ‡ The poor tenant was com-

* *Stat. Acc. Scot.* Bower, vii. 526.

† Stewart's *Sketches of Highlands*, I., 46.

‡ Wight's *Present State of Husbandry*, p. 53.

pelled, therefore, to keep a huge stock of midden fowls which ate up his scanty crops and grain. Even worse to endure were the demands on the time and labour of the tenants which were exacted as customs. They remind us of the oppressions borne by the peasantry of France under the *ancien régime*, which stirred the fury of the people against the *noblesse*. Indeed, the exactions and *corvées* under stay-at-home lairds were hardly less harassing than those under absentee nobles. One of the worst hardships was connected with multures. Almost all the land was 'thirled' or 'astricted' to particular mills. Every particle of grain must be taken to these mills, except the seed corn; * and for his due the miller exacted every 11th peck, and in some places (Dumfriesshire and Ross-shire) every 8th peck, whether it was ground or not, while the servants took as 'knaveship' a forpit ($\frac{1}{4}$ of peck) out of every boll. If the air was too calm for the windmill, too frosty or too wet, the grain was kept so long in the mill that it was destroyed by the vermin. Farmers were obliged to carry their grain on horseback over almost impassible roads to a mill several miles off, though there might be one a stone-throw from his door. Some of the old 'astricted' mills were placed on streams which constantly dried up in summer, and if the farmer could not wait till rain came to turn the wheel and sent his grain to another mill which was working, he paid two multures—one to the mill which ground his corn, and another to the 'thirled' mill that could *not* grind it. † And yet if the poor man ventured, in despair, to sell his oats unground, he was prosecuted for depriving the miller of his due. Worse to bear was the insolence and negligence of these men, of whom popular suspicion was inveterate. ‡ Had they not side sleeves to secrete furtive extracts of meal? Had they not small pokes hung to receive surreptitious snatches of grain from their compulsory customers? Had they not unstamped measures to receive

* *Agric. of Ross-shire*, p. 123; B. Johnstone's *Agric. of Dumfries.*, pp. 88-106.

† *Ure's Dumbartonshire*, p. 102; *Agric. of Ross-shire*, p. 121.

‡ *Parish of Shotts*, p. 221.

the dues which were of dubious veracity?*

The miller could demand by solemn oath an account of every pea or barley corn given to the horse or dropped to the hens. It might be thought that a system so iniquitous as this could not long survive, and yet it lasted till the end of the century. In some districts the terms became leniently interpreted, but generally farmers were required still to bring all grindable corn and even the wheat which the mills were unable to grind.† An authority,‡ writing in 1795, declares that ‘what with want of water at one time, and want of wind at another, I have known instances of these persons being forced to travel to a distance of 3 miles to a mill three or four times over, and to be employed nearly a whole week for grinding half-a-dozen bolls of meal. In short, there is not in this island such a complete remain of feudal despotism as in the practice respecting mills in Aberdeenshire. I have seen poor farmers, by vexation and despair reduced to tears to supplicate from the miller what they ought to have demanded from him.’ For the miller they were further bound to drive material for repairing the mill; to thatch it; to carry the mill-stones; and to clean the mill-lead half-a-mile long which the miller’s own cattle had broken down.

Not less oppressive proved the services which the farmers were bound to render directly to their landlord. They had to till, manure, sow, and reap his infield, to provide peat for his fires, to thatch part of his houses, and to supply ‘summons’ or straw and heather ropes for fastening the roofs and the stacks. Thus burdened, the farmer expected no profits from his husbandry, but just enough to exist upon. All his produce went according to the plaintive saying into three parts: ‘Ane to saw, ane to gnaw, and ane to pay the laird witha.’§

What delayed progress still further was the difficulty of communication and of conveyance. The produce was carried

* Robertson’s *Survey of Aberdeenshire*, p. 48; *Stat. Acc. Scot.*, Barrie, iv., 245.

† Johnstone’s *Dumfriess-shire*, App. 43; Webster’s *Agric. of Galloway*, p. 37.

‡ Robertson’s *Agric. in Aberdeenshire*, p. 48.

§ *Stat. Acc. Scot.*, Bendochy.

in sacks on horseback, or on sledges, or (later in century) on tumbrils, which were sledges on 'tumbling' wheels of solid wood, with wooden axle trees—all revolving together. These machines were often so small that in a narrow passage the carter could lift them bodily, for they held little more than a wheel barrow.* They had wheels a foot and a half in diameter, made of three pieces of wood pinned together like a butter firkin, and which quickly wore out, and became utterly shapeless, so that a load of 6 cwt. was enormous for the dwarfish animals to drag. Yet even such vehicles were triumphs of civilisation when they came into use when the century was young. Carts are a later invention still, and when one in 1723 first carried its tiny load of coals from East Kilbride to Cambuslang, 'crowds of people,' it is recorded, 'went to see the wonderful machine; they looked with surprise and returned with astonishment.'† In many parts of the lowlands they were not in ordinary use even till 1760, while in the northern districts sledges, or creels on the backs of women, were chiefly employed to the end of the century. The wretched condition of the roads was the chief cause of the reluctant adoption of carts.‡ In the driest weather they were unfit for carriages, and in wet weather almost impassable, even for horses—deep in ruts of mire, covered with stones, winding up heights and down hills to avoid swamps and bogs. It was this precarious state of the roads which obliged judges to 'ride' on circuit, and a practice began as a physical necessity was retained as a dignified habit, so that in 1744 Lord Dun resigned his judgeship because he was no longer able to 'ride on circuit.'§ It was really useless to introduce carts till the roads were fit for them, and even when first used the drivers had to carry spades to fill the ruts to allow the vehicles to advance. When Lord Cathcart, so late as 1753, offered carts in Ayrshire to his tenants, it was because the roads were execrable that few accepted them as a gift. It is true that by law, from 1719, able-bodied men in every district were enjoined to give 6 days labour

* Burt's *Letters*, 1-13; *Tour thro' Britain* (begun by Defoe), 413.

† Ure's *Rutherglen and East Kilbride*, p. 197.

‡ *Agric. of Forfarshire*, p. 26.

§ Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*, I., 86.

for improving the main roads—hence called ‘Statute Labour Roads,’—but this Act was quietly ignored, and one day’s grudging help was the utmost given. This occasion was called ‘Parish Road Day,’ when all the inhabitants turned out for their not too exhaustive labours.*

The efforts of General Wade begun in 1726, only affected 250 miles in the main Highland routes, but they enabled Capt. Burt to rejoice in 1739 that he travelled roads ‘smooth as Constitution Hill,’ which a few years before were dangerous from stones and deep ruts in dry weather, and became bogs and brawling water courses when rain fell. Far from feeling grateful the Highlanders only grumbled at the change, complaining that the gravel wore away the unshod horse’s hoofs, which had gone so lightly over the heather, while there was not a forge to make or mend a shoe within fifty miles. But these improvements affected little the country as a whole. Even in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, about 1750, farmers conveyed on horseback their trusses of hay and straw to town, and returned with their bags full of coals. In remote and rugged districts, farmers conveyed their few bolls of oats or bere to market at the rate of one boll a day; and in the lowlands, it was a hard day’s work for a horse to carry from a pit four miles off a load of two cwts. of coals in sacks.† Nothing was more efficacious in civilising the country than the ‘Turnpike Road Act’ of 1751. The result of it was that before many years passed by the public roads were smooth and easy, produce was brought to markets at a tenth of the former cost, and in a tenth of the former time, while a complete revolution was commenced in rural life, and over the whole economical and social condition of the country.

Every improvement was slow amongst an impecunious gentry and a lethargic people. Few things had for generations struck English travellers with more surprise than the open, unenclosed, hedgeless, landscape, with its immense expanses of bleak, waste land. There were in fact no enclosures, except round lairds’ gardens, in the early part of the century, and whole

* Campbell’s *Balmerino*.

† Hepburn’s *Agric. of East Lothian*, p. 50.

farms were left exposed, over which man and beast could wander at their will. It can well be imagined how dreary, dismal, and monotonous the scenery was—without wall or hedge, without a tree, and hardly a bush to diversify the view as far as the eye could reach, gazing over the bleak moors and marshes. The early attempts of enterprising landlords about 1715 to enclose the land, encountered determined opposition, for the people were angry at their right of pasturing their cattle in other men's ground being grossly infringed; the farmers were suspicious of their rents being raised; and the labourers were stirred at the prospect of their occupation as herds being gone. Meanwhile alarmists declared that hedges would harbour birds which would utterly devour the grain, and that 'they would prevent the circulation of the air necessary to winnow the grain for harvest.'* Selfish motives and fantastic theories of all sorts raised opposition to the building of a dyke or the planting of a hedge.† The rebellion of 1715 had left the people, especially in the south, unsettled and unruly, and that spirit showed itself against the landlords when they began to divide the land. In 1725 great bands of people attacked the hated enclosures in Kirkcudbrightshire and Wigtonshire. Armed with pitchforks and stakes, they set forth at night to spoil hedges and upturn walls, and when the leaders cried 'ower wi' it,' down went dykes amidst exulting shouts. The military were called out and the clergy were called in. The General Assembly ordered warnings to be given in every pulpit against the levelling tendencies of the time. Many were imprisoned, many were transported, but further improvement was delayed by this revolt for a whole generation.

While in England during the hardest winter the cattle survived unscathed, in Scotland they perished in thousands every winter, and in severe seasons one half or one third died. The reason of this extraordinary difference is that across the Border artificial grasses and turnips were sown which supplied pro-

* *Stat. Acco. Scot.*, Rhynd, iv., 181; *Stat. Acco. Scot.*, Kilspindie, iv., 286; *Morrer's Short Acct.*, p. 9.

† *Hist. of Galloway*, II., Chap. vii.; *Hereditary Sheriffs of Galloway*, p. 54; *Wodrow's Analecta*, III.

vender, while in Scotland there was little food except straw and mashed whins. In 1708 Lord Haddington had introduced rye grass and red clover, but these made little way till the middle of the century, being despised as 'English weeds' which no beast could eat. Potatoes, which had been cultivated in a few gardens when the century began, were not planted in fields before 1740, when they were planted broadcast. Extremely suspicious were the people of these articles of food, so that in 1740 two sacks on a market day supplied the demands of Paisley. Antipathy against them was perhaps keenest in the Highlands, and when Chief Clanranald took to South Uist a little quantity of potatoes to help a population literally starving, the crofters would not plant one till their obstinacy was chastened by imprisonment;* and, when autumn came, they brought the obnoxious tubers to the chieftain's door, protesting that the chief could force them to plant the vegetables, but he could not force them to eat them. It required a year of famine like 1740 to overcome this prejudice, and within twenty years, instead of depending on scanty stores of oatmeal, the people in the Hebrides lived for nine months in the year on potatoes and salt. Great excitement arose in 1747 near Melrose at the report of a new vegetable about to be sown.† One morning Dr. John Rutherford came to his field with mysterious bags, and the inhabitants watched the 'doctor's man' casting the seed in the wake of the plough, while another man behind dragged a whin bush after him. When the seeds sprang up, the inquisitive people pulled up the strange weeds to examine them, in spite of threats by tuck of drum of 'caltrops' and iron traps. When the bullocks were fed on the turnips the people accustomed to their wretched ill-thriven brutes looked on them as monsters and would not buy them. Though they had been introduced into England in 1716, turnips were nowhere cultivated in Scotland before 1739, and then being sown in little patches, broad cast and never hoed, they came

* Walker's *Econ. Hist. of Hebrides and Highlands*, i. 188.

† D. Ure's *Agric. of Roxburghshire*; Johnston's *Agric. of Selkirkshire*, p. 35.

to nothing. So late as 1780 farmers in Dumbartonshire would not sow them although stimulated by bribes. Topham found turnips in Edinburgh used as part of dessert at the principal houses, and in *Humphrey Clinker* while the English calumny is denied that the Scotch had no fruit except turnips, it is admitted that they were used as 'whets' at dinner parties.* Meanwhile the grey oats and bere still held the field; very little wheat was grown, and that was far too scarce and dear for popular consumption. Indeed the very word was a metaphor for whatever was delectable and unattainable, as we notice where Mr. Thomas Boston plaintively speaks in his *Memoirs* of 'the wheat-bread days of youth.'

If progress in cereals was slow, progress in cattle-breeding was still slower. The dwarfish black oxen which feebly drew the ploughs cost about 30s. and were of little use except for agriculture, seeing that in spite of beef being sold at 2d. a lb., the common people never ate it. The little black Highland cattle were brought to Trysts at Falkirk and Crieff, and sold to English dealers from £1 10s. to £3 a head. Sheep were considered unable to stand the exposure to winter's blasts and snow, and were therefore housed all winter and spring to preserve them alive. Only by accident was this delusion dissipated. A laird in Perthshire, reduced to be an innkeeper, let his sheep run wild because he was too poor to shelter them, and every one was amazed that in spite of all hardships they were in perfect condition in spring.† From that day the practice of stocking the ground spread, and in time revolutionised hill farming. By 1750 sheep-breeding was becoming a great business, and vast waste tracts were being turned into sheep walks, and in consequence the land rose to ten times its former value. Before then, and indeed long after, the breed was a wretched diminutive creature, with fleece like goat's hair, so meagre that while it takes now six fleeces to make a stone then it took twenty-seven.‡ From the month of

* Topham's *Letters from Edinburgh*, p. 229.

† Ramsay's *Scotland and Scotsmen*, ii. 551.

‡ *Agric. Survey of Argyllshire*, p. 240; *Argyll's Scotland as it was*, i., 204.

May the lambs were stunted and starved, separated from the mothers that the milk might be used in the house, and their little jaws guawed by sticks fixed in their mouths to keep them from sucking and thereby almost hindered from pasturing.

Let us turn from the land to the people. Their laziness and their lethargy, had passed into proverbs. What struck Ray, the naturalist, in 1660, as he observed the sluggish ploughmen put on their cloaks when they began to plough, because they never worked hard enough to get warm—also struck Pennant in 1772. Scottish ministers deplored and English travellers ridiculed the poverty-stricken aspect—the pinched faces, wrinkled features, tattered garments, and foul skin and habits of men and women. Smollett mildly puts in *Humphrey Clinker* his observations on his countrymen: ‘The boors of Northumberland are lusty fellows, fresh complexioned, cleanly, well-clothed; but the labourers in Scotland are generally lean, soiled, and shabby.’ When Dr. Johnson had defined oats as ‘a grain which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people,’ Lord Elibank triumphantly retorted: ‘But where will you find such horses and such men?’ We may admire the patriotism, but we must regret the loyal mendacity of his lordship, for he must have known how dirty, slow and slovenly his rural countrymen were. The food of the people was poor, for they had nothing to cook except oat and barley meal, and kail-greens from their yard, for no other vegetables were known; and beef or mutton they seldom saw, and pigs flesh they would not eat if they had it. Their drink was fermented whey, kept for a year in barrels, or ale made from oats and heather. Milk they rarely had, for the meagre cows provided only two or three pints a day, and that was kept sour from being kept in foul dishes. So averse were the people to cleanliness that the butter owed its consistency to the number of cow hairs in it, and was churned in kirns which were kept filthy because it was ‘uncanny’ to wash them. The men clad in their ragged, home-woven plaiding coat, with shirts changed twice a year—at Martinmas and Whitsunday—and feet without shoes, save on Sabbath and in winter snow, were miserably dirty, and their skin

hard and withered from exposure outside and peat reek indoors, and subject to the obnoxious diseases that dirt alone engenders.* One ailment to which they were liable was, however, not due to themselves, but to the undrained land, which retained wet like a sponge, and was full of swampy bogs. It is not surprising that ague was terribly prevalent and harassing amongst the rural classes. A great proportion of the people were so prostrated every year by it that it was difficult to get the necessary labour done.† In districts like the Carse of Gowrie there were morasses and pools, amongst whose rushes the lapwings had their haunts, and there the whole population was annually stricken more or less with the malady, till drainage dried the soil and ague vanished from the country.

If the condition of the Lowlands was deplorable, it was even worse in the Northern provinces—where the people, as Pennant said, ‘were torpid with idleness, and, amidst their wretchedness, only bestirred by famine.’ Crofters got their patch of land from tacksmen of the chief or laird, but were without tools, or cultivable soil or energy. There was not sufficient labour to employ the families that swarmed in islands and glens, and great numbers wandered about as beggars, or sorned on their friends, and idled out the winter scorching their feet at the peat fires. In the Western Islands destitution was chronic. Writing so late as 1776, Pennant describes the poor ‘that prowl like animals along the shore to pick up limpets or other shell fish. Hundreds only drag through the season a wretched life, and numbers unknown in all parts of the Western Islands fall beneath the pressure—some of hunger, some of putrid fever, the epidemic of the coast, originating in unwholesome food.’ The dismal tale of Pennant is only a repetition of that of Martin in his *Description of the Western Isles*, about 1700, where he tells how, in years of scarcity, many die of famine or are forced to emigrate. We find, alas, little basis for the sweetly idyllic pictures of crofter peace, prosperity, and, industry in

* *Stat. Acco. Scot.*, Fortingall, Craig. Robertson’s *Survey*. Pennant’s *Tour*.

† *Stat. Acco. Scot.*, 1793; Ayton, ii. 81; Crammond, i. 225; Kirkden, ii. 508. *Agric. in Carse of Gowrie*, p. 11.

glens and islands, which are sometimes presented for our admiration and remorse. Thriftless and dirty, the domestic surroundings were grimly harmonious with the disposition of the peasantry. The one-roomed hovels were built of stone and turf, without mortar, with the holes stuffed with moss or straw to keep out the blasts; the fire, in the middle of the room, in despair of exit by the smoke-clotted hole in the roof, filled the room with malodorous clouds, and the cattle at night were tethered at one end of the room while the family lay at the other on heather on the floor.* The light came from an opening at either gable, which, whenever the wind blew through the unglazed window, was filled with brackens to keep out the sleet. The roofs were so low that the inmates could not stand upright, but sat on the stones or three-legged stools that served for chairs. When night set in the peat fire was all the light, for the 'ruffies' or split roots of firs which served as candles were lit only for set purposes. Foul, dark, and fetid as the hovels were, the people liked them for their warmth. Nor were the houses of the tenantry much better than the huts of the labourers. Even in Ayrshire in 1750 they were hovels, with open hearths in the middle, with walls 7 feet high and 3 feet thick, built of stones and mud. Only the better class had two rooms, and in these the ceilings had rafters black with peat reek, while the house got meagre light by two miserable windows, having two panes of bottled glass.

It is a remarkable illustration of the total stagnation of trade and enterprise that the rent of land, the price of grain and articles of food and clothing, and the wages of men, remained little altered during the hundred years between 1640 and 1740. The wages of farm-servants varied, of course, considerably throughout the country, but taking Ayrshire in 1730 as a sample, farm-servants living with the farmer had £1 and a few 'bounties' a year, and female servants 13s. 4d., with an apron and pair of shoes. The highest wages seem to have amounted to £2 10s.

* *Stat. Acc. Scot.*, Tongland; *Hist. of Galloway*, ii., chap. 5; *Morrer*, p. 19.

for men and £1 10s. for women, and for married workmen the earnings might be equal to £7, only reaching £15 at the end of the century.

Nothing was more characteristic of Scotland than its bleak, dreary, treeless landscape. We are apt to treat the jeers of English travellers on this point as cockney libels, and to regard the jests of Dr. Johnson as ponderous pleasantries, as when he said 'a tree in Scotland is as rare as a horse in Venice.' Unfortunately in the first half of the 18th century they were painfully near the truth, and were accurate to the end of the century, of the east coast by which the Doctor travelled. The old woods had disappeared, and, indeed, as we read the accounts of travellers from Sir Anthony Weldon (who protests that 'Judas could not have got a tree to hang himself), to Brereton and Kirk of the 17th century, we become almost sceptical of their having ever existed. At any rate they were wasted by raids, or burnt for fuel, or destroyed by farmers as nuisances. Only around farm steadings and lairds' houses little clumps of sycamore or ash were to be found, and even these were planted shortly after the Union.* The ground was ploughed up to the very door of the mansions, while trees which are now the hardiest, were nursed like rare shrubs in gardens. In Ayrshire the country seemed a huge, naked, waste, and not a tree was to be seen in the open land, save by the banks of the Doon, the Girvan, and Stinchar, where little knots of oaks and birch took shelter. Those first planted, from 1730 to 1740, by Countess of Eglinton and Lord Loudon—oak, ash, elm—were but isolated patches when Dr. Johnson made his memorable visit to Auchinleck. In East Lothian there is not a tree older than the Revolution. It was in the early days of the century that Lord Haddington began his work of planting at Tynningham in spite of confident assurances that no tree could grow by the seaside on the sand and exposed to ceaseless salt winds. In a short while sprang up fine forests, and on the moorland rose the lovely Binning Woods, while fields once wasted by the blast became fertile when pro-

* Defoe's *Tour*, III., 15.

tected by the belts of trees. Throughout Roxburghshire there was the same bleakness and bareness, until round Fleurs Castle forest trees were planted, and then the anxiety was lest any of the twigs should be broken in the precious nursery woods, and solemn proclamation of Bailies of Regality* in 1717 warned offenders who plucked 'the haws from the thorns that defend the young plantations.' Of the once richly wooded Tweeddale, Pennycuik testifies† in 1715 that only around mansions and churchyards a row of planes or ash could be found, and these were still young. In Lanarkshire there is clearly a note of despair in a resolution of the Heritors of Lesmahagow‡ in 1705 'to apply to her grace, the Duchess of Hamilton, for one oak tree to support the bell, because they can get one nowhere else in the county.' In vain might the traveller look through Argyleshire, because all the old forests had been sold to English companies who set up their iron forges near Inveraray, and the county was dispoiled of its woodland beauty. In Perthshire it was the same case: the landlords destitute of money had sold their forests to speculators, and down went the ancient woods, sold at one plack ($\frac{1}{3}$ of a penny) each. Sir Walter Scott erroneously represents Osbaldistone in *Rob Roy* as impressed with the mountain scenery, which at that day no one admired, and as charmed with the woodland scenery in the Highland border which did not then exist. Even when Pennant, about 1770, passed through the Highlands there was waste moorland and deep morasses with a few solitary elders, birches, and hazels in the barren land. The finely wooded districts of Taymouth, Scone, and Lynedoch were utterly treeless till they were planted about 1750 or 1760. It is true that in 1723 the Society of Improvers was started in Edinburgh, including several noblemen whose residence in England had opened their eyes to the nakedness of the land, but the progress was slow and the results were few. Hope of Rankeillour in order to give a sample of what might be done, leased a miserable marsh in the suburb of Edinburgh, drained it, and 'raised beautiful hedges and trees where (in 1743) ladies and gentle-

* Jeffrey's *Roxburghshire*, III., 19.

† *Works*, 1818, p. 57.

‡ *Hist. of Lesmahagow*, p. 140.

men resort'—this place being now known as the 'Meadows.*' The most common trees had at first been introduced as exotics.† When the lime was first planted (at 'Taymouth) in 1664, the silver fir in 1682, the maple and walnut in 1690, the laburnum in 1704, and the larch in 1727—they were grown only in gardens, being considered far too delicate to live in the open laud. The plane and elder were the only 'barren' trees planted in Scotland at the middle of the previous century, beeches and chestnuts being found only in sheltered gardens.‡ In 1727, a gentleman brought in his portmanteau a few plants of larch from England, and gave three or four to the Duke of Athole. These were kept in delicate training, but at last being planted out as too big, it was found to vast surprise that they grew and lived, and indeed still stand as ornaments at Dunkeld. All along the sea coast and for miles backwards Buchan and Aberdeenshire § till the close of the century were quite destitute of trees; and the condition of these districts, had been the condition of most of Scotland. Can we not trace to the woodless aspect of the country the rarity of references to trees and birds in Scottish minstrelsy? We find songs that celebrate the birches by the river's side—the 'Birks of Tullibole,' the 'Birks of Aberfeldy,' 'the Birks of Invermay,'—but there were few other trees to incite a poet. If Tannahill had lived 30 years earlier it would have been impossible for him to immortalize 'Loudon's bonnie woods,' for they were but young when he sung their praises. It is significant that the treelessness of Perthshire should have evoked Burus's lines to the Duke of Athole—'A Humble Petition of Bruar Water,'

' Would that my noble master please
To grant my highest wishes,
He'll shade my banks with towering trees,
And bonny spreading bushes.'

If there is a lack of allusion to birds in Scottish poetry, we

* Arnot's *Hist. of Edin.*

† Walker's *Economic Hist. of Hebrides and Highlands*, II., 212.

‡ Hunter's *Woods of Perthshire*. *Scots Gard'ner* by John Reid, 1683.

§ Anderson's *Agric. in Aberdeenshire*, p. 30.

may explain it by an observation of Captain Burt's in 1730: * 'It has been remarked that here [Inverness] there are few birds except such as build their nests upon the ground, so scarce are trees and hedges.' The laverock's song and the curlew's shriek were familiar enough, but not the notes of the mavis and the blackbird; and the linnet would have sought as vainly as Noah's dove, for branch whereon to alight in a day's journey. It was the sight of crows being obliged to make their nests on the ground near his house that moved one Aberdeenshire land owner to rear woods on his estate.

The sudden awakening of the landlords to a sense of usefulness, if not to a feeling of the picturesqueness, and the new enthusiasm for planting, which filled their minds and occupied their time, belong chiefly to the second part of the century; for up till 1750 the efforts were hesitating, partial, and uncertain, because farmers looked on with disgust and suspicion. † Hedges and trees they regarded as their natural enemies, protesting that the roots took up the ground, the droppings and shade killed the grain, and the branches fostered birds that devoured the corn. After the Rebellion we find at last a remarkable change coming over the land—over its whole social, economical and physical aspects. It was being discovered how advantageous woods were—not merely to beautify the landscape, but to shelter the land from blasts and storms and drifting snows, to drain the soil of its bogs and swamps, to remove that persistent malady of ague from the people, and to modify and improve the rough climate of the once unprotected land. Lord Findlater plants in Nairnshire his millions of trees in a wilderness. Grant of Monymusk plants his 50 millions chiefly of spruce fir. Fifty years after the four tiny larch plants were given out of Menzies' portmanteau to the Duke of Atholl in 1727, Duke John, 'the planting Duke,' with a keen eye for business as well as for beauty, (knowing the worth of that wood for ship building), covers with 27 millions of plants about 16 thousand acres. Young lords and old law lords, lairds great

* *Letters of Scotland*, I., p. 7.

† Burt's *Letters from the North*, I., 242.

and small, took to planting and pruning as formerly they had taken to hunting and drinking as the engrossing occupation of their lives. So Lords of Session, like Kames and Dunsinane, when the Courts were up, would go out the moment they reached their country seat with a lantern in the dark, impatient to see how the saplings had grown in their absence. By 5 o'clock in the morning worthy Lord Auchinleck was out with his pruning knife amongst his beloved plantation. Every laird worth a £100 rental planted his thousands. On Saturday they planted, and on Sunday, during sermon, they planned the planting for the Monday. When a minister rebuked his laird for running after Whitfield, he got the answer: 'Sir, when I hear you preach I am planting trees all the time, but during the whole of Mr. Whitfield's sermon I have not time to plant one.'* All lairds shared the opinion, combining foresight and economy, which fell from the dying lips of the father of the Laird of Dumbiedykes: 'Jock, when ye ha'e naething else to dae, ye may be aye sticking in a tree. It will grow, Jock, when ye are sleeping.'

The condition of rural Scotland in the first half of the century was miserable in the extreme, as we have found, but the state of the country through the next fifty years presents a startling change. It shows the awakening of the Scottish people to new ways, new ideas, and new energies in agriculture, in commerce, and in trade. Their history in the future years of the century is virtually that of the resurrection of social life.

H. GREY GRAHAM.

ART. VII.—PAUPER LUNACY AND ORDINARY
PAUPERISM—A CONTRAST.

IT appears from the statistics contained in the Forty-eighth Annual Report of the Board of Supervision for Relief of the Poor, Scotland, that the number of persons in Scotland at present receiving parochial aid is no less than eighteen thousand fewer than the number of persons receiving such aid

* Tyerman's *Whitfield*, II., 525.

twenty years ago. This decrease has taken place notwithstanding a large increase of the population. In 1873, thirty-one persons in every thousand of the population were receiving parochial aid, while in 1893 only twenty-three persons in every thousand were receiving such aid. The decrease is not fitful. The statistics show an almost steady fall in the number of paupers in proportion to population throughout the twenty years. But it will be seen from the further statistics furnished by the Report that the figures quoted only imperfectly express what has actually taken place. These figures embrace the statistics of two classes of persons maintained out of the poor-rates, namely, Ordinary Paupers and Pauper Lunatics. An examination of the statistics in which the two classes are dealt with separately discloses the fact that during the past twenty years the number of Ordinary Paupers has been falling to a greater extent than is shown by the figures quoted, while on the other hand the number of Pauper Lunatics has been steadily rising throughout that period. In speaking of the different results disclosed by the statistics of the two classes of poor, the Board of Supervision say that 'a comparison of the statistics of 1868—the year of highest recorded pauperism—with those of 1893 . . . shows that the number of Ordinary Poor has been reduced from 130,441 to 81,002, being a decrease of 49,439, or at the rate of 38 per cent. The Lunatic Poor, on the other hand, have increased from 5,790 to 11,002, being an increase of 5,212, or 90 per cent.' They further point out that these results are still more striking when taken in relation to the population. 'In 1868,' they state, 'the ratio of Ordinary Poor to population was one in 25; in 1893 it is one in 50—which means that, taking the increase of population into account, there has been a relative decrease of Ordinary Poor of 50 per cent. In 1868 the ratio of Lunatic Poor to population was one in 565; in 1893 it is one in 371. In other words, the increase of population being allowed for, the Lunatic Poor have relatively increased 52 per cent. since 1868.'* The con-

* It is not within the scope of this paper to speak of the causes of the rise in the number of pauper lunatics. A statement of what seem to be the chief causes will be found on pages lvi-lxi of the 34th Annual Report of the General Board of Lunacy for Scotland.

trast as regards expenditure is even more marked, from the fact that the cost of providing for lunatics is necessarily much greater than the cost of providing for persons who are sane. In 1868 the expenditure on Ordinary Poor was £681,807; in 1893 it had fallen to £617,066, a decrease of 9 per cent. During the same period the expenditure on Lunatic Poor rose from £113,676 to £256,881, an increase of 126 per cent.

When, however, the statistics of the two classes are examined with regard to the question of the annual cost *per head* during the past twenty years, the results are found to be wholly different. The Report referred to states:—‘The cost per head for relief and management of ordinary poor has increased since 1868 from £5 4s. 6d. to £7 12s. 4d., or 46 per cent.; and the cost per head of lunatic poor has increased from £19 12s. 8d. to £23 7s. 0d., or at the rate of 19 per cent.’ In other words, during the period in question the cost per head of the ordinary poor has progressed at more than twice the rate of progress of the cost of the lunatic poor. And this statement still does not fully disclose how the matter stands, for on referring to the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the Board of Lunacy for Scotland, it will be seen that the cost of the lunatic poor has on the whole been falling during the past fourteen years. In speaking of the great increase of expenditure on the lunatic poor which has taken place since 1858, they say:—

‘This increase is to some extent due to the increased cost of maintenance per head which took place between the years 1858 and 1878, and was no doubt largely owing to more liberal views as to what is necessary for the proper care and treatment of lunatics, and to changes in the cost of articles of food and clothing. But while the cost per head gradually rose from 1858 till 1877-78, when it attained its maximum, it has since that year, on the whole, shown a tendency to fall.’

It is thus clear, as the Lunacy Commissioners point out, that the increased expenditure on the maintenance of pauper lunatics during the last fourteen years is due solely to the increased number of persons admitted to the pauper lunatic roll.

Ordinary pauperism and pauper lunacy are generally thought of and spoken of as though they were two branches

of one stem—pauperism—and therefore as rooted in and springing from a condition common to both, that is, a condition of poverty. If this were really the case, we should no doubt find differences in the progress of the statistics relating to each class, but we should expect to find the figures relating to each running on lines to some extent parallel, and we should not look for a greater divergence of these lines than might be accounted for by those new conditions which must necessarily arise when lunacy is added to pauperism already existing. But when we find the statistics of the two classes not merely diverging from each other, but taking absolutely contrary courses, and showing no apparent trace of interdependence, we are driven to the conclusion that there must be circumstances controlling the statistics of the two classes which cannot be explained either by differences of administration or by the mere fact that the paupers of one class are sane and those of the other insane. It may be assumed that the central authority in lunacy matters is no less anxious than the central authority in poor-law matters to save the country from a needless burden, and that parochial boards, with whom rests practically the power of giving or withholding relief to the ordinary and to the insane poor alike, have at least as great an inducement to free themselves from the burden of the insane poor as from that of the ordinary poor.

On turning to the Thirty-fifth Annual Report of the General Board of Lunacy we find a passage which throws light upon the causes of difference between the statistics of the ordinary poor and those of the insane poor. At pages l-li of that Report, in a section dealing with the case of persons who are registered pauper lunatics but the cost of whose maintenance is wholly repaid to the parishes nominally supporting them, the following remarks occur :—

‘ It will be seen, from what has been said on this subject, that in theory, and still more in practice, a wide gulf separates the position of the pauper lunatic from that of the ordinary pauper. The difference between the problem presented by ordinary pauperism and that presented by pauper lunacy is indeed so great as to be in some of its aspects radical. It is of importance that this should not be lost sight of in considering the question now under discussion, and indeed in treating of all questions bearing upon

the relation between ordinary pauperism and pauper lunacy. Asylum treatment for a patient not admitted as a pauper cannot at present be obtained in Scotland for an annual payment of much under £40, and even at that figure the amount of accommodation is limited. To maintain a man, therefore, during life as a private patient in an asylum at the lowest available rate, would require the interest of a sum of at least £1100 or £1200 ; or, to put it otherwise, in order to maintain an insane wife or child at the lowest asylum rate as a private patient, a sum would be required equal to the year's earnings of many an able-bodied labourer, or to more than half the year's earnings of a skilled workman. The area of the population from which pauper lunatics are drawn is thus greatly wider than that in which ordinary pauperism occurs. It includes not only the poorest class, but also the able-bodied labourer, the skilled mechanic, the small tradesman, the small farmer, and the small employer of labour.

'These considerations furnish a key to the difficulty of reconciling the statistics of pauper lunacy with those of ordinary pauperism, and they afford an explanation of the fact which has been frequently commented on, that while ordinary pauperism has of late been decreasing, pauper lunacy continues to show a steady increase. Before any material decrease of pauper lunacy could happen, it would be necessary that masses of the population, now possessed of incomes, such as are earned by the higher classes of skilled workmen, should become so prosperous as to be able to devote a sum as large as £40 a year to the support of a single unproductive member of the family. There is at present no prospect of this happening. The conditions necessary to bring about a reduction of pauper lunacy presuppose an increase of wealth so much greater than that needed to cause a reduction of ordinary pauperism, that a condition of prosperity might arise in a parish under which its ordinary pauperism would all but disappear, but which would leave its pauper lunacy practically untouched.'

It will be obvious from a consideration of these remarks that the area of the population from which pauper lunacy is drawn must be vastly wider than the area of the population which furnishes ordinary pauperism. The lowest fringe of social life which produces ordinary paupers, that is persons who may be described as disabled in body and destitute, when compared with the population as a whole, must be few in number. Those, on the other hand, among whom pauper lunatics arise, constitute a number which must certainly exceed 80 per cent. of the whole population.* And not only is pauper lunacy

* To prove that this estimate is under the mark, it is sufficient to state that the Census of Scotland for 1891 shows that of all the families in the country 85 per cent. were living in houses of not more than four rooms.

drawn from a vastly wider area than ordinary pauperism, but its attendant circumstances, when it comes in a form requiring asylum treatment * are such as to place it beyond the reach of the social and economic influences which are powerful factors in increasing and diminishing ordinary pauperism. Destitution does of course rank as one among the many causes of insanity; but it is true, speaking broadly, that pauper lunacy in forms needing asylum care, is not increased by increased destitution in the poorer classes of the community, and is not diminished by a growth in their prosperity.

From these considerations it may be inferred that there are no grounds for expecting that any such shrinkage will take place in the mass of pauper lunacy as has occurred in that of ordinary pauperism. Care in not too hastily admitting all classes to relief on the ground of lunacy, the removal from asylums of lunatics who though not recovered, have ceased to need asylum care, and the curative appliances of modern asylums, are all repressive influences which have been long at work, and some of them are doubtless capable of further development; but nothing has occurred which enables it to be said that they are capable of doing more than retarding the growth of pauper lunacy. Still less is there any prospect of this growth being stopped by such a great increase of wealth among the poorer classes of the community as will enable persons at present treated in asylums as pauper lunatics to be transferred in any considerable number to the class of the insane treated as private patients. There is thus no likelihood at present of any

* The cost of maintaining a pauper lunatic varies with the kind of care which his condition renders necessary. In Scotland it may be said to range from about £31 to £21 per annum in Asylums, from £25 to £15 in the lunatic wards of Poorhouses, and from £18 downwards in private dwellings. The views expressed in this paper touch in some aspect or other all pauper lunatics, but the greater the outlay on a lunatic the greater is the force with which they apply, and they are specially applicable to the case of lunatics requiring the most expensive form of care, that is care in Asylums. In other words, the views expressed become less applicable, the more nearly the cost of caring for a lunatic approaches to a sum which persons below the middle classes in point of wealth are able to pay.

diminution taking place of the burden of pauper lunacy, and no reason for thinking that the number of pauper lunatics will not go on increasing, at least in proportion to the increase of population.

The conditions producing ordinary pauperism being so radically different from those under which pauper lunacy arises, it follows that statistical statements which combine the results yielded by the two classes are of very limited practical value. They not only throw no light upon the progress from year to year of each class, but they obscure the facts in regard to each both as to numbers and cost per head. As the statistics of the two classes have been on the whole moving during the past twenty years in opposite directions, they necessarily when brought into contact tend to neutralize each other, and the combined statistics are thus of less than no value in indicating what is happening in each class, though it is of course necessary to combine the total expenditure on the two classes in order to show the total charge upon the poor rate.

Even as regards the statistics of pauper lunacy alone, what is said in the passage quoted cannot be lost sight of in comparisons of one area of the country with another. It will be seen that the condition laid down as necessary for the avoidance of pauperism is such as it is practically impossible for the lower middle and lower class of any county to fulfil, at any rate when a mental breakdown occurs among them to an extent which calls for asylum treatment. As regards these classes, therefore, which form the great bulk of the population, all counties, whatever differences exist among them in point of wealth, are reduced, as regards ability to provide asylum treatment, to one level. If in one county 5 per cent. of the population belongs to the class called, in regard to wealth, middle and upper, and in another county this class forms 15 per cent. of the population, the circumstance would require to be taken into consideration, along with other matters, before coming to any conclusion as to the relative amount of insanity in the two communities which is founded upon the proportion of pauper lunatics to population. If these counties each possessed a population of 100,000, in the former county 5000

would be of the class able to support patients in asylums as private patients, while in the latter this class would number 15,000. In order therefore to place the two counties on an equality as regards the population from which pauper lunatics in asylums are drawn, a reduction to 95,000 would require to be made in the first county and to 85,000 in the second. But that reduction having been made, it will be found that the 85,000 in the richer county are as powerless to provide asylum treatment for themselves or their relatives as the 95,000 in the poorer county.

It follows from what has been said that by the occurrence of lunacy, in a form requiring the confinement of the lunatic in an asylum, all the working and lower-middle class are of necessity reduced, in all parts of the country alike, to a condition which is called pauperism. The costliness of District or County Asylums is sometimes spoken of as being a waste of public money; and this description is correct whenever it can be said that the outlay on these buildings does not enable them better to fulfil their purpose. But when the idea of extravagance is made to rest upon the fact that they are intended for the accommodation of 'paupers,' it is forgotten that in reality these asylums exist for the care and cure of the insane belonging to certainly more than four-fifths of the population of the country.

The state described as 'pauper lunacy' can only be avoided among this population by the action of the charitable among the richer classes, including the charitable action of asylums which possess endowments, or by the use and speedy exhaustion of such limited means as the lunatic may have accumulated during sanity. Failing these, the most industrious and respectable workman must submit to have himself or his insane wife or daughter classed with those who have sunk, often through their own improvidence, to the lowest point of the social scale. He must even submit sometimes, and is always liable, to see his own, or his wife's, or child's name printed in parochial documents along with those of sane persons known to be disreputable, the only distinction made being the addition of the word 'lunatic.'

If the acceptance of public relief under these conditions does not always entail a feeling of loss of self-respect, as it certainly sometimes does, this can only be because the necessity for its acceptance is felt to be a misfortune which would have to be submitted to by the great mass of a man's fellow parishioners were they overtaken by the same calamity. It is fully recognised that there are many unfortunate and deserving persons among the ordinary poor, and nothing that is said here is intended in any way to disparage their claims to humane consideration; but it is nevertheless an unavoidable condition of successful poor-law administration that nothing shall be done to lessen the feeling that there is degradation and loss of self-respect in accepting parochial relief. In so far, therefore, as the acceptance of relief as a pauper, on account of lunacy, lessens the sense of independence, the effect of nominally pauperising the insane who need asylum care must be held to be adverse to good poor-law administration, because it presents a case in which the acceptance of relief as a pauper cannot by any exertion be avoided, and so accustoms the community to be placed, under certain circumstances, in a condition of pauperism which carries with it a tendency to suppress and deaden the feeling that to accept relief as a pauper involves loss of independence.

Under a strict reading of the Poor Law an able-bodied man in Scotland would not be entitled to have his insane wife cared for at the cost of the parish. But the Law Courts saw that this reading, in the special circumstances of a lunatic requiring asylum care, would defeat the object of the Lunacy Law by depriving all except the comparatively wealthy of the benefits of asylum treatment. The Law Courts further found that it would be an intolerable hardship to pauperise an industrious and well-to-do citizen because the public good made it necessary or expedient to confine a person dependent upon him in an asylum. Two, therefore, of the leading principles of the Scottish Poor Law, as applied to the Ordinary Poor, have been set aside as inapplicable to the case of the Lunatic Poor.

It may be thought that the occurrence of lunacy to a well-to-do working man is no greater a misfortune from a social and

pecuniary point of view than the occurrence of grave bodily illness or disease, requiring a kind of treatment which cannot be afforded at home. But this is not the case. To meet cases of illness or disease, other than mental, requiring special treatment, there exist charitable organisations which provide such treatment without subjecting the patient to the stigma of pauperism, and without encroaching on such savings as he may have accumulated in prospect of old age; and in the case of infectious disease the community provides hospitals by assessment, the inmates of which are not pauperised by entering them. But however industrious and respectable the man may be who becomes insane, the circumstances of his case condemn him to be classed with those whose position is regarded by the community as one of degradation, and any means which he may have laid up to meet the time of old age may be, and are in fact usually, applied in lessening the cost to the parish of his treatment.*

The great bulk of pauper lunatics are, as a matter of fact, not paupers at all in the true sense of the word, that is, they are not paupers by reason of destitution. They are called 'paupers' because the condition required of them in order to avoid being so classed is such as no person below what is called the middle class of society is able to fulfil. It may be said to be a state of pauperism artificially created, that is, created by a statutory definition. It is not of course to be understood that there are not among pauper lunatics persons who may be truly described as paupers. There are many such. Some of them are already ordinary paupers when they become insane; others, having no relatives liable or able to assist them, are reduced by lunacy to a condition of real pauperism whether they are in or out of asylums; others are dependants living at home with persons who, though not paupers, are in more or less necessitous circumstances, and

* It is recognised that in so applying the available means of persons treated as pauper lunatics, Parochial Boards are doing no more than that it is their duty to do under the existing law, and it is not doubted that this duty is, as a rule, performed humanely and with a due consideration of the special circumstances of each case.

who make the special claim to public aid which lunacy is recognised as giving. All these may be truly described as paupers, and the class first mentioned are obviously so in the fullest sense. But that the great majority of pauper lunatics in asylums are only poor in the sense that they are not rich is proved by the fact that on discharge from the institutions in which they are confined, much the greater number of them forthwith cease to need parochial aid. Such persons are termed paupers simply because they fall within the statutory definition, that 'pauper lunatic shall mean and include any lunatic towards the expense of whose maintenance any allowance is given or made by any Parochial Board.'

But while it is true that the insane poor are thus classed as paupers in virtue of a statutory definition, it would not be true to say that the acceptance of aid from funds levied on the ratepayers of a parish necessarily and in every case entails a condition which must be called pauperism. A man's family, for example, may be educated partly out of funds, which, though not administered by the Parochial Board, are nevertheless levied on the ratepayers of the parish along with the poor-rate, and the acceptance of such parochial aid does not pauperize the recipient.

Possibly it cannot be said that these considerations were in view when the legislature decided to make a law relating to the lunatic poor separate from that relating to the ordinary poor, and to deprive parochial authorities, except under strong restrictions, of the power of providing for the accommodation and treatment of their insane poor. But it may nevertheless be held that many of those evils which the Lunacy Act of 1857 rectified in Scotland were due to a want of recognition of the essential difference between the circumstances of the two classes, and of the different nature of administration required by each, and there is reason to believe that any tendency towards breaking down the differences which distinguish the position and treatment of the insane poor from those of the ordinary poor would be contrary to the interests of the former class.

Not only is this believed to be the case, but it may be

asserted that if ever the charitable organisations of to-day cease to be charitable and are undertaken by the community, the position of the insane poor will have a claim to be considered even before that of the ordinary sick, not only because the nature of their illness is such as to render home treatment more completely impracticable than can be said to be the case in ordinary forms of disease, but because they are subjected to a special form of treatment for the public good, and are not permitted, because of incapacity, to exercise any choice as to whether they will submit to it or not.

The broad conclusions reached by these considerations are—

1. That Ordinary Pauperism and Pauper Lunacy are wholly different in their origin, growth, and conditions of existence, and that the statistics of the two classes must therefore be separately studied, if any useful lesson is to be derived from them.

2. That District or County Asylums, though technically institutions for the care and treatment of 'paupers,' are in fact institutions for the reception of the insane belonging to the great bulk of the community, who, when overtaken by insanity, have no choice between entering such establishments as 'paupers,' or doing without asylum care and treatment altogether.

3. That although most liberal provision is made for the care and treatment of the Insane Poor, there are circumstances in their position which often render their identification with the class to which ordinary paupers belong untrue in fact and harsh in application.

4. That it would be an injury to the Insane Poor to break down such differences as already distinguish their management from that of the Ordinary Poor.

5. That existing differences require rather to be made more emphatic than to be obliterated, and that if ever the time comes when work now undertaken by charitable bodies is undertaken by the community, the Insane Poor will have an undeniable claim to be placed in no worse a position in the public regard than those are at present placed who suffer from other forms of sickness.

These observations have reference to the statistics and the law of Scotland, but the views expressed are believed to be, *mutatis mutandis*, equally applicable to England. If they lead to clearer thought upon the points brought under notice, and to a more correct conception of the differences which distinguish the position of the Insane Poor from that of the Ordinary Poor, the purpose of this paper will have been served.

T. W. L. SPENCE.

ART. VIII.—THE FRANCO-ITALIAN QUESTION IN HISTORY.

La France et l'Italie devant l'histoire. Par JOSEPH REINACH.
Paris : F. Alcan. 1893.

IN an age of over-mighty monograph it is a pleasant surprise to find a short book upon a great subject. M. Reinach, as an experienced publicist, has learnt the art of proportion which the historian too often lacks. Within the limits of 250 suggestive pages he has contrived to sketch the story of the relations between France and Italy. Whether his work is in the main polemical, sentimental or historical, it is not easy to determine. Whatever be its *motif* it is eminently readable. At a moment, moreover, when the mutual aversion of the two Latin sisters has become too obvious to be disguised, it is welcome that a French politician should essay to explain, if not to excuse, the Italian point of view. The French reprove the Italians with ingratitude, the Italians retort that the French are overbearing. The misunderstanding, says the author in his preface, arises from the one nation looking solely at the obverse, and the other at the reverse of the self-same medal. He attempts, therefore, by a chronological survey of French intervention in Italy to show to his countrymen why their alleged benefits have not received their meed of gratitude, and to the Italians that such gratitude is, subject to deductions, reasonably due. The historical method having been thus adopted, it would seem that the conclusions must depend upon the soundness

of the history. Yet it might be possible to urge that the verdict is fair though against the weight of the evidence.

M. Reinach, in his survey, rightly hurries forward to the French invasion of 1494. Previous to this great dividing line it would be difficult to draw a debtor and creditor account. The Franks were less oppressive than the Lombards, yet it would be unsafe to assume with the author that the sway of the earlier Saxon Emperors was more burdensome than that of the later Frankish nobles. It has been held that a national Italian Kingdom was, by Charles of Anjou, swept from Benevento bridge down Tagliamento's waters; yet his grandson Robert was no unworthy champion of the 'dulcedo Italiæ' against the 'barbarica Germanorum feritas.' The Angevin dynasty was perhaps neither worse nor better than its Aragonese successor. Both became Italianised, as did indeed the Lorraine Hapsburgs, and one branch, at least, of the Spanish Bourbons. It will always, moreover, be doubtful whether Philippe le Bel's rape of the Papacy were not for Italy a blessing in disguise. The courageous attitude assumed by Boniface VIII. has been a direct challenge to foreign intervention. For the Papacy itself it was better to be brow-beaten in the privacy of Avignon, than to be publicly bullied in the Holy City.

With the invasion of Charles VIII., M. Reinach, having lightly skimmed the earlier reaches of his subject, plunges into its deep waters, which go nigh to drown him. Metaphors apart, it is in the ensuing years in which he appears to be least fortunate, both in his selection of facts and in the conclusions therefrom derived. Yet it is between the years 1494 and 1527 that the settlement of Italy became the great French difficulty for all succeeding time. The author is at fault in his preliminary study of the field. He draws no sufficient distinction between the anarchy, or process of fermentation, which accompanied the Papal schism, and the highly artificial balance of power which preceded the French invasion. He would do well to test his case by a comparison of the loss of life and property through civil discord in France and Italy during the ten first years of the reign of Charles VIII. It is even possible that the marching and countermarching of French *gendarmérie* in time of peace produced as much disturbance as

the petty wars of Italy. The error is fundamental, for political unity is confused with the consciousness of common nationality. The latter is difficult without the former, but the terms are no synonymes. Unity is but the means by which the end of nationality is realised, and according to Guicciardini not the best means. But the foreign occupation made the native balance of power, or an independent federation of Italian States impossible, and henceforth the political unity realised in the nineteenth century became the only means. Yet to the present day it may be doubted whether political unity was the ideal solution. Some form of federation and balance of power might have been more stimulating to the Italian genius. It would have given scope to the individualism of which Italy robbed herself to feed her intellectual children, the Western and Northern nations. It would have been better adapted to her climatic, geographical, and ethnical conditions, to the widely varying degrees of social and political development in the several provinces, and perhaps above all to her financial comfort. M. Reinach seems surprised that the Sicilians of 1715 regarded the Savoyard as *étranger*, but the Sicilians of 1860 rose against the Neapolitans as *forestieri*, as they would perhaps rise, if they dared, against the Italians of 1893.* Particularism grows rankly in the volcanic soil of Sicily, but it is a hardy perennial, though fortunately not a weed, in many an Italian garden.

Guicciardini and Machiavelli had both witnessed the French invasions, but, while the former was intent upon the past and present, the latter strained his eyes towards the future. He realised that henceforth there was no happiness for Italy but in unity, and this unity must contain the elements of possible hostility to France. The Florentine sub-secretary, with the experience of scarce a score of years, had solved the problem which baffled every French statesman, except perhaps Napoleon, and in this single point his little *livre de circonstance* has more permanent political value than the innumerable quartos of the *Documents Inédits*. A big-headed, six-toed boy, with two greedy courtiers,

* The Reviewer hardly expected that within three weeks of writing these lines this prediction would receive fulfilment.

had changed for ever the current of Italian life, and puzzled their country with a problem for all time. Individual peculiarities will, after all, frequently outweigh abstract principles, and the hare-brained may imprint his tracks on history as deeply as the hero.

M. Reinach believes with Michelet that the French were irresistibly attracted towards the land of the Renaissance, that their invasions were prompted by generous motives, that they were widely welcomed by the Italians, that the receding flood left a fructifying deposit, and that, above all, France saved Italy from the alternative of the Spanish Inquisition or a Turkish occupation. He, with other disciples of his imaginative master, shudders at the idea of Da Vinci and Michel Angelo led in *sarbenito* to the first Italian *auto-da-fé*. All evidence would, however, seem to prove that the invasions of Charles VIII. and his two successors were prompted by the wayward will of incompetent rulers, or the sordid greed of a handful of Court favourites. They were totally opposed to the convictions of the stronger heads, and to the interests and wishes of the bulk of the nation, bent upon reaping the harvest of its new material prosperity. It was felt to be unworthy of the nation to give ear to a would-be Duke of Milan, a would-be schismatic Pope, and a residuum of ragamuffin Neapolitan refugees. The alleged enthusiasm of the Italian people amounted to little more than passing curiosity, and even this was partial. The Neapolitans had proverbially welcomed each and every invader. In the large Venetian territory, however, such hostile critics as Bayard, Machiavelli, and the Tuscan envoy in the French camp, testify to the fanatical loyalty of the peasantry and the lower urban population to St. Mark; the discontented mainland nobles alone pandered to the invaders. After a very short experience, the Neapolitans welcomed their exiled king, the Milanese their despotic Duke. At Genoa the people rose against their nobles, who were brutally reinstated by their royal French ally. If Florence held by the French alliance, the motive was rather mercantile than moral, for the town had been forced to finance the French invasion, and by a curious conversion of custom the debtor held the creditor's securities. The dismemberment of Florentine territory, the partition of

Milan, the partition of Naples, the partition of Venice, the alternate exaltation and humiliation of the Papacy, the betrayal of faithful Bologna, and later of yet more faithful Ferrara, are crimes which Italians cannot readily forgive. If any love was left for the French, it was but because their behaviour was better than that of the Germans and Spaniards whom they had introduced. Excellent, moreover, were the elaborate regulations of Louis XII. for his Duchy of Milan, had they only been carried out!

Very far-fetched is M. Reinach's view that France saved Italy from Turk and Inquisitor. The Turks had occupied Otranto in 1480, and Alfonso of Naples had sufficed to cripple them; they were never again a serious inconvenience to Italy, until Francis I. launched their fleets against her shores. He himself supplies the arguments for rejecting the wild nightmare of Michelet; he proves that the introduction of the Spanish Inquisition was alien to the principles of the Italian Papacy, even when occupied by a Spaniard. The Spanish Inquisition, accepted for the nonce by a dominant party in France, was rejected successfully in the midst of Spanish domination by the least courageous town in Italy. But there is more than this; M. Reinach appears to forget that, but for the French invasions, the Spaniards would never have crossed the Straits, or had the legitimate line of Aragon enforced its claims to Naples, its power would not have passed the limits of the kingdom. But for the wanton aggression of the Valois, Charles V. might never have existed.

Italy had been brought into contact with France at a singularly unfortunate moment. Not only was she politically divided, and her neighbour in the young strength of her recently organized unity, but civilisation had debilitated Italian manhood, while France had added to a martial vigour, which was still barbaric, the most recent products of military art. Italy lay powerless, and France or her rulers had not the self-restraint to spare her. She destroyed the States, which were strong enough to be useful friends, and not so strong as to be dangerous enemies. She swept away Naples and Milan. She permanently crippled Venice, and drove Florence into the arms of Spain. Suffering and discontent there had been in plenty

under Ludovico Moro or Ferrante of Naples, but the most civilised and practical nation in Europe was surely capable of working out its own salvation. It is to France of the Valois that the annihilation of Italian nationality for three and a half centuries was due. How then can Italy be grateful ?

With the accession of the Bourbons it becomes easier to follow M. Reinach. The good intentions of Henri IV. towards Italy may be taken to balance the backslidings of Concini and de Luynes. But to M. Reinach, the hero of Franco-Italian history, is Richelieu. It is perhaps no undue depreciation of the Cardinal to assert that his Italian policy was his one conspicuous failure. His motives were perhaps unimpeachable. He was an admirable formulator of ideas, a master of phrases. Italy for the Italians is the refrain of his State papers, and thus he sketched a programme that others in their day might execute. Yet on Richelieu's death the hold of Spain on Italy was not a whit relaxed. The virtual emancipation of the Valtelline from the Grisons implied its practical subjection to Spanish influence. The French Duke of Mantua was forced to become a Spanish satellite. Richelieu's support of Venice did not counterbalance his destruction of the power of Savoy, the one vigorous military member of the paper confederation. France had no greed of territory, yet French garrisons mocked at Italian independence from the strongholds of the Montferrat.

Mazarin's ministry might naturally have had momentous consequences in Italy, for he was following the main lines of Richelieu's policy, and he had the knowledge of Italian character which Frenchmen of all ages have been singularly unable to appreciate. The chapter on the Italian Cardinal which M. Reinach has written from first hand knowledge of the documents is the most substantial and interesting of his book. He shows that Mazarin watched with close interest the revolt of Naples under Masaniello, and believes that had the French minister been a genius, and not merely a diplomatist of the first order, he might have fed the *feu de paille* into a conflagration. Again, after the troubles of the Fronde it was Mazarin who stimulated the Italian princes and republics in their resistance to Spain ; his hand copied the scheme of Italian federation drafted

by Henri IV. and Richelieu, to be hereafter remodelled by d'Argenson and the Convention. Mazarin, however, stopped half way, he sacrificed statesmanship to a diplomatic triumph when he substituted the Spanish Infanta for the Savoyard princess as the young king's bride. History had repeated itself within the century, the fresh insult to the house of Savoy recalled the rupture of the marriage engagements of the treaty of Brusol in 1610 in favour of the Spanish marriages of 1612. In both cases it is curious to observe that the action was doubly suicidal, for Mazarin, as Maria de' Medici and Concini, struck alike at the country of his birth and that of his adoption. This Spanish marriage M. Reinach believes to be the critical moment in his own theme, and the gravest of Mazarin's political mistakes.

' Au moment de couronner sa propre politique, qui jusque-là, avait été le développement logique et glorieux de celle de ses grands prédécesseurs, Mazarin, ébloui et désintéressé, en change l'orientation et la perd en voulant la consacrer . . . Les conséquences en seront désastreuses pour la France, elles ne seront pas moins tristes pour l'Italie . . . l'idée d'une Italie indépendante disparaît de la politique Française.'

To the results of the Spanish marriage, to the brutality of Louis XIV. towards Piedmont, Messina, and Genoa, is rightly attributed the most hopeless phase of Italian servitude, the most hopeless because it was rather morally degrading than materially oppressive. For Italy the war of Spanish succession was perhaps no unmixed evil. The discomfort of military occupation, the diplomatists' disregard for all Italian interests, the very change of masters, awakened Italian nationality, which was never again to slumber. The hour of dawn was indeed rather of pain than pleasure, for, as Foscarini in his *Storied Arcana* has admirably shown, the clumsy, heavy-footed Austrian rule, at once mannerless and mercenary, was peculiarly distressful to a nation which had half enjoyed the unwholesome siesta of Spanish decadence. If Alfieri was the psalmist of the new religion of Italian patriotism, Alberoni was its prophet; every other letter, official or private, that he wrote to Italy expresses his burning desire to chase the barbarians from his country. France ruined Alberoni, yet in France at length his aspirations found an echo. To M. Reinach's panegy-

ric of Chauvelin and d'Argenson it is not difficult for his critic, errors excepted, to subscribe. These two closely allied statesmen are of peculiar interest as illustrating the two sides of the problem of France in her relations to Italy. While to Chauvelin the independence of the peninsula is a means to the abasement of the Hapsburgs, to d'Argenson it was an end desirable in itself. The scheme of the latter for an Italian confederacy which, under the banner of Savoy, should rally the broken remnants of its valour, M. Reinach regards as the high-watermark of French statesmanship, and the *refrain* of his pages is the noble phrase which French publicists are never tired of quoting, and which French statesmen invariably forget: 'Ce qu'il faut c'est de concentrer les puissances Italiques elles-mêmes, c'est d'en chasser les étrangers, c'est de montrer exemple de n'y plus prétendre.' D'Argenson failed, yet the wars of Polish and Austrian succession, the introduction of two Spanish-Bourbon dynasties, and that of Hapsburg-Lorraine, and the extension of the Sardinian territories, did really alleviate the lot of Italy, and to this M. Reinach hardly attributes sufficient weight. The somersault, however, in French policy effected by the skill of Kaunitz neutralised the advantage gained, for the new dynasties, finding no independent support in France, were abandoned to Austrian influences, and ultimately fell with the fall of the Hapsburg rule.

The effect of the Revolution upon Italy is too vast a subject to be traced in detail either by author or critic. M. Reinach steps generally in the footprints of M. Sorel. He points out that the Revolution was responsible for no new departure in the relations of France to Italy; it reverted to the noble principles, and, it may be added, to the ignoble practice of the monarchy; the early enthusiasm of Italians could be read in a *cento* from Commines, the later disillusion in a *cento* from Guicciardini. The point at issue was once more misunderstood, once more the *malentendu* arose from an ambiguous word. When the Pisans prayed Charles VIII. for liberty, they begged for municipal autonomy; when Italy accepted the gift of liberty at the hands of the Revolution, she understood by it national independence: the French were unable to appreciate the former, unwilling to concede the latter. For the material Italian intellect the idyllic

cosmopolitanism of one section of the Convention had no meaning, whereas the growth of national feeling was early signalled by the diplomatists of the Revolution as the rock ahead. The Italians hoped, as they hoped in 1494, that the French, being a volatile nation, would clear the ground for new formations and then withdraw. But with full belief in the continuity of national feeling, it is easy to use too glibly the phrase 'Italians.' In the Revolution, as in the invasion of Charles VIII., M. Reinach assigns too wide an area to the enthusiasm for France. In the former case, if a certain *doctrinaire* element be excepted, it was confined to Northern Italy. In Piedmont especially the opposition, by a perversion of prophetic insight, welcomed the revolution, which was ultimately to make the fortune of its dynasty. The Central and Southern Italians, the revolutionists of the morrow, were the reactionists of the day. If M. Reinach overrates the immediate effect of the Revolution upon Italy, he underestimates or neglects its most permanent result. The Italian respect for titles, for crowned heads, for territorial domains of long standing, had indeed been rudely shaken by the Treaty of Utrecht, and the offspring Treaties which devoured their mother. This respect, already scotched, was killed by the Revolution and its sequel, and it was this that made the final fusion possible. All Italians had long realised that they belonged to a common '*provincia*,' but they could not sacrifice to this the separate '*stato*,' and the stronger the '*stato*' was, as in the case of Venice, the greater was the reluctance. Thus it fell about that the rending of Venice from Italy, which appeared to make her union impossible, was a step absolutely necessary to its fulfilment, for Venice, if left in independence, would never have surrendered her time-honoured governmental principle to the new born principle of nationality.

The work which was unconsciously begun by the Revolution was consciously executed by Napoleon. To outward appearance indeed, the dependent principalities and fiefs which he carved out of Italy for kinsmen and generals, were merely the translation into imperial language of the satellite republics of the Revolution, even as they were the transliteration of the federation of feeble states long schemed by the ministers of the Monarchy. Yet

Napoleon realised the full consequence of his creation, 'Les réunions à l'Empire des diverses parties de la péninsule n'étaient que temporaires; elles n'avaient pour but que de rompre les barrières qui séparaient les peuples et d'accélérer leur éducation pour opérer ensuite leur fusion.' Upon one actual boon which the conquerer conferred M. Reinach rightly lays much stress; Napoleon's military and financial systems were the solvents of particularism. Common suffering and brotherhood in arms broke down the provincial distinctions between Lombard and Piedmontese, Tuscan and Neapolitan. Napoleon inaugurated that system of military unification which is the best apology for the swollen Italian armaments of to-day. 'La proclamation,' writes M. Reinach, 'même passagère même menteuse, de l'unité géographique et politique suffit à fonder définitement l'unité morale.' Much was due to Napoleon's semi-Italian origin; he understood the national character, of which he confessed the French to be entirely ignorant. If Italy hated him, it hated him as a tyrant, as an Eccelino or a Visconti, rather than as a foreigner. In his conquest there was always a national idea which attached itself to the traditions of the past; at one moment he was the Ghibelline Emperor risen at length to restore order and unity to the *pomœrium* of the Empire, at another he was the brutal *condottiere* of the fourteenth century, whose only title lay in his own manhood.

The oppressive methods of French liberation left in Italy as in Germany and Spain a heritage of hate. The sins of the Valois had been re-enacted. Venice had been destroyed at Campo Formio, as she had been crippled at Cambrai. The house of Savoy had well nigh shared the fortunes of the house of Sforza. The Papacy once more had been alternately degraded and reinforced. This hatred for his country M. Reinach generously justifies. He dwells enthusiastically on the disjointed struggles against Austrian dominion, on the defiant rejection of French aid expressed in the 'Temo più i Francesi amici che i Tedeschi nemici' of Gioberti. Hatred of the foreigner overcame at length the particularism of the Italian States, and forced them to add the shield of Savoy to the tricolour. The field of Novara and the fall of Manin proved that Charles Albert's

boast, 'Italia farà da se' was as yet a prophecy. Once more Italy must have recourse to France. 'Qu'elle en éprouve ou non du regret, la liberté de l'Italie est née à Solferino; son acte de naissance, qu'elle ne peut supprimer, est signé de Napoléon III.' Yet Napoleon, as his royal and republican predecessors, belied his promise, this time, however, rather to the disadvantage of France than of Italy. 'La France, s'arrêtant dans sa victoire, en avait perdu le plus clair bénéfice; tout l'avantage fut pour l'Italie.' Napoleon III. had neither the imagination nor the Italian instincts of his kinsman. He wished at once to be true to France and generous to Italy, and he reverted to the best traditions of the Bourbons. But the later empire, as the later monarchy, failed to realise that the action of the Valois had made patronage impossible.

So far we have followed M. Reinach through the premises of his induction. From these his conclusion does not absolutely follow, and yet it is not necessarily false. The only apparent result of centuries of intercourse is national dislike. The responsibility for this he believes to rest partly with Italy and partly with France. Italy incited French intervention originally from lack of the consciousness of nationality, latterly from lack of a military leader to give practical expression to the new-born sentiment; the house of Savoy either sheathed or sold its sword, to its selfishness was long due the 'gran rifiuto.' The Italian reply to the former charge has been sufficiently considered. The house of Savoy might well retort that it mistrusted an offer thrust upon it not by Italy but by France. M. Reinach is generous towards united Italy, but he cannot forgive the dynasty which united it. Yet he is forced to confess with Prince Eugene 'que si les ducs de Savoie étaient infidèles de père en fils c'était surtout par le tort de la géographie.' Memories however make as strong a barrier as mountains, and this house at least had scant cause for gratitude towards France. No family could forget the humiliations inflicted by Louis XI., the wholesale robberies of Francis I. The bombardment of Nice, the Duke's last shelter by a Franco-Turkish fleet is perhaps the most disgraceful act in European history. If the Duke of Savoy reigns at Rome it was because France

constantly withheld the coveted capital, Geneva. If the house became a purely Italian power it was due to the terms, deservedly disadvantageous, imposed by Henri IV. at Lyons, and their discreditable corollary of Villa Franca. Charles Emmanuel I., one of the most gifted of his race, had at least a high conception of the duty of Savoy towards Italy. By tongue and pen, prose and poetry, he strove to fan the embers of national feeling into flame; he with his poets and pamphleteers stretches out his hand across a hundred years to the nationalists of the eighteenth century. He too, as Charles Albert, made the valiant attempt to form an Italian league for the expulsion of the foreign oppressor, from which the unstable ally should be excluded. This, therefore, is the test case, for both sword and sentiment were of the highest temper. Yet if Charles Emmanuel did not twice drive the Spaniards from the peninsula, it was due in 1612, to use his own phrase, to 'a miracle of French perfidy,' in 1625, to 'the prodigious treachery of France.' This was the pioneer of Italian unity, no dreamer but only too astute a statesman, whom Richelieu first drove into the arms of Spain, and then well-nigh annihilated. In the century which followed, the guilt, M. Reinach admits, lay rather with Louis XIV. and his ministers than with Savoy, but with most French writers he is unable to forgive the alleged defection of the King of Sardinia in the war of Austrian Succession. Charles Emmanuel III., however, remembered, as M. Reinach in high historical society forgets, that in the preceding war of Polish Succession the secret treaty of the Escorial deprived Sardinia of the advantages expressly guaranteed in the almost contemporaneous treaty of Turin, he remembered too the Austro-French negotiations conducted behind the backs of the allies of France, which compromised, as he believed, the safety of the Sardinian and Spanish forces. Charles Emmanuel III. rejected the overtures of d'Argenson partly indeed because, unlike his first namesake, he was no idealist, no genuine Italian, but chiefly because he with the general public knew that the French minister was riding his Rosinante for a fall, and that in his own stable he had no single backer. To the ordinary understanding the clear intention of the Franco-Spanish alliance was

to replace the Hapsburgs by the Bourbons, which entailed the strangulation of Sardinia, no longer a buffer kingdom. The determination of any king to resist the Revolution, or his hesitation to refuse its bribes, hardly requires an explanation, and, if it did, the subsequent treatment of its first royal allies by the Revolution would supply it. It is interesting, however, to notice that in the two great crises of Italian history, the invasions of the Valois, and the invasions of the Revolutionary period, the reigning members of the house of Savoy were exceptionally weak, and were personally and politically incapacitated from playing any leading part. It is strange that M. Reinach, with his great appreciation for the weight of personal character, should have missed this important point. On the other hand, he unintentionally furnishes the fullest justification for the house of Savoy in his formula, that the French always entered Italy from impulse and withdrew from *ennui*. Savoyard caution declined to be the surety for French caprice.

If M. Reinach is too severe in his judgment of the reigning dynasty of Italy, he is just enough to throw upon his countrymen a fair share of the responsibility for failure. 'La France,' he writes, 'arrêtant constamment son œuvre à moitié, ou la dénaturant elle-même, causera de nouveau d'un bout à l'autre de la péninsule des déceptions qui, à force de fermenter, tourneront, comme précédemment en haines violentes.' To this he would perhaps not decline to add that his forefathers could not perform a generous action generously; their gifts were never gratuitous; Quixotic principles were translated into Chauvinistic practice. 'It had to be taken for granted,' wrote Guiccardini, 'that their avarice, their fickleness, and their regard for their selfish interests were such that the worry and expense that was likely to be got from their alliance was incomparably greater than the gain.'* France had really been placed by the primal errors of the Valois in a predicament from which there was no escape. She had but

* 'Pure s'aveva a presupporre che la avarizia, la leggerezza loro, e il rispetto che hanno a sè medesimi era tanto, che di loro s'aveva a cavare più briga, più spesa senza comparazione, che utile.' Guicciardini, *Opere. Inedite*, III., 292.

two alternatives: 'ou l'iniquité de prétendre créer une nation qui fût éternellement dépendante; on la duperie de mettre au monde un état nouveau qui serait un jour un ennemi.' In attempting the first course, she unintentionally achieved the second, she is conscious that unwholesome curiosity has created a Frankenstein to her own discomfort.

It is one of the most fortunate characteristics of the French nation that it finds in every discouragement a consolation. If France, argues M. Reinach, has injured herself, she has benefitted all others. Why is it, he asks, that Imperial *reiters*, Spanish foot and Austrian hussars have left nothing but ruin, whereas wherever French troops have trod flowers have blossomed in their footprints? The *fallacia duplicum interrogationum* will frequently puzzle the unwary, and M. Reinach as publicist and politician well knows its value in polemics. It is, however, by no means certain that Italy did not owe directly or indirectly to the large feudal Teutonic element which she had absorbed the political vigour, the marvellous creative versatility which she displayed from the twelfth to the fourteenth century. With much reason also to the same cause may be attributed the imaginative character of her literature within that period. It is certain that as the Romanic element obtained the complete mastery of the Teutonic, these peculiar qualities, political and intellectual, disappeared. Little indeed can be said in favour of Spanish and Austrian domination. Spain was at too low a stage of civilisation to influence Italy for good. Under Spanish discipline the Italians recovered somewhat of their military qualities, though, employed as they were in foreign service, these have not received sufficient recognition. But perhaps the best feature of Spanish rule after the first half century of oppression was its indolence. The civil government was in great measure abandoned to Italians, the spur was never felt, the bit seldom. For direct Austrian sway there is even less to be said, for it was at once harassing, enervating and exhausting, and for the material benefits bestowed by the house of Hapsburg-Lorraine in Tuscany, a French advocate might fairly claim some share of credit. Yet, on the other hand, no civilised Teutonic power has in a cen-

tury of misrule left the ruins which a few years or months of modern French dominion piled up in Spain or the Palatinate. No German, no Spaniard absolutely ransacked the very shrine of art of every treasure which the past had consecrated, and that not in sack and storm of uncontrollable soldiery, but by the deliberate and continuous act of the governing authorities. It would be difficult indeed to show any conceivable benefit which French influence between 1494 and 1525 conferred upon Italian literature, art, or morals. Her armies in the eighteenth century, as French authors testify, left a scandalous record of wanton violence, indiscipline, and the grossest forms of vice. Magnificent is the stream of French literature when it flows within its banks, but when it floods the lands that lie beneath a hotter sun, its deposit is not the fertilising soil which M. Reinach pictures, but a strong production of coarse weeds stifling the finer flowers and grasses of indigenous growth, breeding in the fields of intellectual morals a feverish miasma. The difficulty which Spanish and Italian literature has to face is the removal of this unwholesome superstructure. It would be idle to deny the effects of the Revolution upon modern Italian politics. Yet they were rather mechanical than chemical. They effected the necessary *bouleversement*, and they cleared the ground, but they enter comparatively little into the form which institutions finally assumed. The statesmen who have made modern Italy, have looked rather to England than to France. Even to England the debt is scarcely appreciable. The positive result is due to qualities peculiarly Italian, the heritage of Rome, patience, self-restraint, common-sense, a materialism that is almost vulgar.

The historian is apt to magnify his office, but when he dwells upon the essential characteristics, good or evil, of the two sister nations, he begins to doubt whether the analysis of political intercourse were worth his while; he is disposed to solve with Napoleon his lengthy problem by a sentence, 'C'est un peuple,' wrote the Corsican of the Italians 'foncièrement ennemi des Français, par préjugé, par l'habitude des siècles, par caractère.' Dislike is but the outward expression of diversity of temperament. M. Reinach might well have

taken for his text or his conclusion the temperate judgment of Guicciardini. 'Although the behaviour of the French towards the Milanese had not been unseemly, and although they had not oppressed them, and although in fact there was no reason to complain of their rule, yet being of different character and different blood they had such a loathing for them that they could not bear them.' *

* Guicciardini, Op. Ined., III., 222, 'Contutto che i modi de' Franzesi non fussino stati dionesti inversso loro, e non gli avessino oppressati, e in effetto non si potessino dolere della signoria loro, nondimeno sendo di natura e sangui diversi . . . ne erano tanto infastiditi, che non gli potevano comportare.'

E. ARMSTRONG.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (October, November, December).—The first of these three numbers brings the opening chapters of a new serial by Theodor Fontane. It is entitled 'Effi Briest,' and promises not to fall short of the high standard which this popular writer has reached in his former works.—He is followed by Paul Heyse, who contributes a German version of a series of sonnets.—'Villa Gloria,' by the Italian poet Pascarella.—'Das römische Heer,' by Otto von Seeck, is only a fragment of a larger work which the author has on hand.—'The history of the downfall of the ancient world,'—but it is complete in itself, and gives a most interesting account of the manner in which, at various periods, the Roman army was levied, until Marius established the system of general military service, which was perfected by Augustus. In a paper of popular form but of most instructive contents, Herr M. Büsgen deals with plant-life in water, and shows how admirably aquatic vegetation is suited to the element from which it draws its nurture.—'Who is musical?' The question is put by the late Herr Theodor Billroth, amongst whose literary remains the paper was found; and in the answer which he gives to it, he enters into a most interesting examination of the power and effect of music on the human organism.—A communication of some literary and political importance is made by Herr Carl Georg Brandis, who publishes a series of letters written by Ernst Moritz Arndt in 1848, shortly after the revolution of February had overthrown the July monarchy in France, and revived in Germany the aspiration after unity.—Amongst the shorter papers may be indicated an obituary notice of Helmholtz, an account of the Corea, and a review of M. Monod's work on Renan, Taine, and Michelet.—In the November number Herr Bernhard Suphan has a paper dealing with the dramatic poem which Goethe at one time intended to write for the celebration of the anniversary of Schiller's death. Hitherto, only a few vague references to it were known. As the result of a new find, the writer is able to give a complete account of what Goethe had planned.—In honour of Hans Sachs, the four hundredth anniversary of whose birth

occurred on the 5th of November of last year, Herr Erich Schmidt contributes a short paper on the old master-singer. Readers will regret that the writer should have confined himself within such narrow limits, and contented himself with indicating, in a general way, the leading characteristics of the cobbler poet, instead of giving an adequate sketch of his life and works.—A paper found among the literary remains of the late Heinrich Brugsch, records his reminiscences of Auguste Mariette, whose acquaintance he made in Egypt, the scene of their common researches, and to whom an intimate friendship bound him to the last.—In a paper full of actualité, Herr von Brandt, the German Ambassador to China, deals with the struggle in the Far East, and indicates the causes which, in his opinion, are accountable for China's reverses.—A further instalment of Theodor von Bernhardt's diary takes the reader back to the eventful period of the Danish war.—The weightiest contribution to the December part is the full report of Herr du Bois-Reymond's address, delivered before the Academy of Sciences, in Berlin, on the 28th of June, in honour of Leibniz. It is entitled 'Ueber Neo-Vitalismus,' and is an attack on the recently revived theory of vital energy.—Herr Lehmann, with the help of the archæological material and of the cuneiform inscriptions discovered in Armenia, gives an account of a pre-Armenian empire, which he traces as far back as the ninth century before Christ.—Paul Heyse and Hermann Grimm contribute together a sketch, with well-chosen and admirably rendered specimens, of the Italian writer, Ada Negri.—Shorter papers deal with the death of Alexander III., with Madagascar, and with the beer-boycott in Berlin. Each of the three numbers also contains the usual literary, political, and dramatic reviews.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 2, 1895.)—We can only give the titles of the articles contained in this number, as it has just come to hand and too late for more elaborate notice. But these may be of service to our readers: 'Die Visioneri der Propheten,' by Herr Pfarrer Borchert; 'Paulinische Probleme; Die Chronologie der Paulinischen Briefe,' by Professor J. Weiss, now of Göttingen; 'Die Zusammensetzung von Apostelgeschichte i.-v.,' by Dr. Carl Clemen, of Halle; 'Die vornicänischen Kirchenväter in der ungedruckten Katene des Nicetas zum Evangelium Johannis,' by Professor Bratke, of Bonn; Dr. Haupt of Halle gives a careful and elaborate review of Dr. Adolf Julicher's 'Einleitung in das Neue Testament.'

RUSSIA.

VOPROSI PHILOSOPHII I PSYCHOLOGII (Questions, Philosophical and Psychological) begins its twenty-third number with an article by M. Th. A. Zelenogorski on the 'Philosophy of Gregoré S. Skovoroda,' a Ukraine philosopher of the 18th century. He mostly occupied himself with morals, indeed he records that from his earliest years a secret force and tendency drew him to books, whose contents dealt with moral subjects. When he advanced into the career of activity, which he felt to be his calling, it was to endeavour to influence the moral being of those with whom he was brought into contact. Not only was this his calling, but his life was an embodiment and an example of the moral doctrines which he taught. The writings of M. Skovoroda have been generally well preserved either in print or in MS., so that there is no difficulty in ascertaining what his views actually were. A great traveller, M. Skovoroda found neither at home nor abroad, neither in the life of his time nor its philosophy, the moral ideal of which he was in search. He turned therefore to the history of antiquity. A friend and pupil who wrote his biography has left us a record of his favourite authors. They were Plutarch, Philo-Judæus, Cicero, Horace, Lucian; Clement of Alexandria, Origen, and Dionysius the Areopagite. To these he added especially the study of the Hebrew Bible, and the writings of Plato and Aristotle, and he found especial satisfaction to his spirit in the philosophy and ideals of the ancient world. A brief biography of Skovoroda appeared in German somewhere about 1836. During his life, the work and life of Socrates was especially before him as an ideal for the benefit of the Russian people, in the spirit of whom he warred against ignorance and superstition. As a teacher of religion he made great use of the writings of the Apostles St. Paul and St. John, and generally of the Fathers. There is, however, to be a continuation of his biography in the following number of the journal.—The article which follows upon this is 'On Space and Time as Forms of Phenomena,' by Prince D. Tserteleff. After some preliminary observations our author finds in the *body* of man the mediation between the inner and the outer worlds, between our consciousness, our sensations, and the manifold objects round about us. The law of causality, moreover, gives us a connective thread between the world of our subjective presentations and sensations, and the world of objective or real phenomena. Changes in the surrounding objects lead to corresponding changes in our bodily organism, and these again are reflected in our consciousness. Thus change or move-

ment both from the philosophical and the natural science point of view, is a necessary link between our consciousness and the external world; but every movement presupposes Space and Time. But what are these conditions of external experience? Do they constitute external properties of the objects which appear to us, or are they, on the contrary, a necessary part or form of the apprehending consciousness? Or are they necessary only in given conditions, as an inevitable bond between the knower and the known? To illustrate this, suppose that a person born blind undergoes an operation by which his sight is restored, but not at the same time the faculty of perceiving colours. Suppose, moreover, that everything visible to him were of a green colour, then inevitably, he would suppose that the cause of his seeing things after such a fashion lay in himself, in his organs of sight. But, again, let us suppose that he receives with his sight the power of discerning colours, but at the same time the apartment in which he was and all the objects in it were of a green colour. What would happen? He would come to the same conclusion, although from very different reasons, the cause being in the first place in himself, in the second, in the colour of the apartment and its objects. Suppose, moreover, that instead of the room and its objects being coloured green, at the instant of receiving sight he is fitted with green spectacles, or the light is admitted through green glass, then he would obtain the same impression as in the former two cases, but for a different reason. We could admit something analogical in regard to space as well as colour. The objects seen would manifest themselves protensively, because protension is a property of the objects as they can relate themselves to us protensively, because space is a necessary form of the apprehending faculty or consciousness, or finally, protension may be only a condition of the passing over of the external world into the sphere of consciousness. In other words, the idea of space is inseparably bound up with the apprehension of the external world, and by our understanding, because protension is an inevitable property of all bodies, or because space is a form of the intellect itself, in which necessarily all external impressions ought to flow, or finally, because not being about to be bound necessarily with the external world, either in its inner essence or by our intellect, it is yet a necessary relation, or so to speak, the one angle of vision under which the material world can be apprehended by us.—Such is a portion of Prince Tserteleff's remarkably acute speculations on 'Space and Time as Forms of Phenomena.' It is impossible to follow him much further, the more so as he passes over all but the last as sufficiently illustrated

in the history of Philosophy, and continues to dwell only on the last point. Here, however, he does not arrive at any determinate conclusion, but throws out suggestions without any fixed result. Afterwards he touches upon Time as a more subtle and unseizable something than Space, which eludes our attention and does not mix itself up with our consciousness. 'All that we know and see, all phenomena of the external and inner worlds, lie either in the past or the future, they either *have been* or *will be*. The present is a mathematical point which divides into two halves, as cut by the endless line of Time, a point where there is no room for any material phenomenon.'—The paper which follows upon this by the editor, Professor Grot, is the beginning of a lengthened treatise on 'Time,' as it is dealt with in the Kantian Philosophy, as one of the forms of the Perceptive faculty, the misuse of which he holds to be the cardinal error in the Transcendental Philosophy. He holds that there has been a closing of their ranks by the thinkers of Germany with the view of fortifying the position of this the great central philosophical structure of German thought. Not only so, but he proceeds also to blame the later heroes of German thought in other fields than those of Metaphysics. Professor Grot then goes on to speak of the origin of the Transcendental Philosophy. It was an endeavour, he holds, to reconcile the problems of Empirical Science and Metaphysics in a mighty and imposing structure, but had not a sufficient ground in the Psychology of the time, and consisted of a mass of current phrases, false conceptions, artificial terms and classifications put together in part from previous Aristotelian scholastic conceptions and terms drawn from the Wolfian School, and supplemented by those of Kant's own manufacture. The result was complex and grandiose, an historical monument of German Philosophical Gothic, yet a lumbering and purely artificial structure of conceptions, which German thinkers naturally crowd around and strive to preserve, but which has become completely uninhabitable for contemporary philosophic thought. And the cardinal error of Kant lay in his doctrine as to Time, which Professor Grot proceeds to analyse in the lengthened treatise before us. Time is, metaphysically, either the formal, subjective condition of all phenomena of the realised experience of man, and is, as such, a presentation and creation of the human spirit itself, its measure, involved in the order of the phenomena of the externally active; or Time is the law of spiritual existence and life (as Kant also admitted), and as such cannot be a form and law of its order that it may serve as the object of spiritual activity, *i.e.*, as the content of outer experience. Out of this dilemma

there is no escape, and its final decision in the second of these senses will be for Psychology and Metaphysics, of enormous importance! Taken in the second point of view, as is to be shown farther on, it ought to be, it must produce a complete revolution in the foundations of Metaphysics, Psychology, Logic, Ethics, Æsthetics, Sociology, and the other sciences unfolding the laws of the spiritual existence of Humanity. This is certainly a very severe judgment, and as one who has been greatly indebted to Kant, we could have wished that it had been expressed in more measured terms; but let us now see some indication of the grounds on which it is based. Taking first the *formal* view of these *Anschaungen* or *perceptions* as Kant calls them, our author seeks to expound the doctrine of Kant on Space and Time, and to show the inner contradictions and invalidity of Kant's determination of Time, and gives an analysis of his doctrine of the question itself, as to the nature of Time in its essential element. While admitting as common elements in the two concepts, if we take them as such, they nevertheless do not hold together; Space is a condition only of external apprehension, while Time is a condition of both; *i.e.*, they are *co-subordinate* or both equal ingredients in the general concept, subjective forms of experience external and internal! But at the same time, they are *subordinate*, for Time is a universal form of the apprehension of all phenomena, while Space is only a partial form of the apprehension of a single group of these phenomena, the phenomena of external experience. Further, from this point of view they are already not opposed, but contradictory, for Space is in relation to Time in its application to inner phenomena, a *negative* concept, for it expresses itself in no sense (immediate or mediate) of a condition of the inner experience; then, it is not possible to say, as it ought to be said of opposed notions, that time is in a known sense a *negative* notion in relation to Space, for it is at once a form of both inner and external perception. Thus Time and Space are as regards each other both *opposite* and *contradictory*, notions which certainly will not stand criticism! But Kant holds that they are not concepts (*Begriffe*) but presentations (*Anschaungen*). Here again, Professor Grot shows that Kant runs into self-contradiction. Subsequently our critic gives no less than ten diverse assertions of our philosopher in regard to these entities. (1) They are not empirical notions, abstracted from experience and sensation. (2) They are necessary presentations *à priori*. (3) They are not generally discursive notions. (4) They are presented to us as infinite magnitudes. (5) Research as to Space and Time is *transcendental*, as fundamental conditions of the possibility of

synthetical judgments *à priori*. (6) Space and Time are not properties of things *in themselves*. (7) Space and Time are forms of Perception or subjective conditions of human sensation. (8) Space and Time, apart from human presentation, are nothing at all (*gar nichts*). (9) They are subjective conditions of human apprehension whenever we are affected by objects. (10) Nevertheless Space and Time are objective as conditions of experience. The article we have endeavoured so far to put before the reader is to be continued.—This concludes the general articles of the number, but there are a number of special articles of more or less importance, 'On the Association of Ideas, On the Philosophy of Laotze'—more especially on the ethical side of that very ancient monument of Chinese thought and morals—by M. Konissi. It is interesting to add that this is followed by a translation of the venerable tractate, entitled the 'Lao Te King' of Lao-tze or Lao-Si, by a Japanese scholar, for such is the nationality of M. D. Konissi, who attaches his name to the work done from a MS. of the original, preserved in the Romanoff Museum in Moscow, under No. 40 of the Chinese section. The translator has benefited by a Japanese translation of the treatise, and also by the text published by M. Stan. Julien in Paris, 1842. This translation comprises 28 royal octavo pages.—To this succeeds in the special part of the journal, the critique of a new book on the Philosophy of Kant, by M. J. Karinski, on 'Self-evident Truths.'—The last treatise of this special part is a very interesting one. It relates to the much agitated question of Spiritism or Occultism, and the present writer's knowledge of it, is drawn not only from the treatise before us written by the Russian philosopher Wladimir Solovieff, but from a parallel treatise, which recently appeared from the pen of Du Prel, the able editor of Sphinx, in a number of Reclame's Universal Library, 'On Spiritism,' which gives the history and origin of the work of M. Akcakoff. The article is here entitled, 'The Present Condition of the Question concerning Mediumism.'

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA.—(October 1st.)—F. Forraca gives an account of a poet and notary of the 13th century, Giacomo da Lentini.—'Around a throne,' is a review of Walesnorki's History of Catherine II., by E. Masi.—There is another review of Luisa Anzoletti's 'Life and Letters of Luigi Mussini,' and Pratesi's new novel, 'Dolcetta's World,' runs on.—O. Marruchi contributes a paper on the late Professor Rossi, the archæologist.—(Oct. 15.)—Following up a previous article on Cavour's

Intimate Acquaintance, XXX. now sends a paper on Count de Circourt, the husband of Cavour's most ardent correspondent.—G. R. Salenis writes on two Italian political economists, Agostini Paradiso, and Ludovici Ricci.—The papers on the Railway Question are concluded.—G. Melani describes the present condition of aeronautics; and F. Salazai the 'City of Pulman.'—(Nov. 1st.)—The Este Gallery is the subject of an interesting article by A. Venturi.—Signora Pigorini Beri commences a picturesque article on Italy's confines, from the Slavs to the Waldensians.—G. Sforza gives the story of Napoleon's second wife during her life at Parma.—E. Mallosevich describes the origin of the 'Vulgar Era.'—(Nov. 16.)—G. Finali continues his review of Riccarlio correspondence.—F. Forraca sends an instalment of a paper on the poetical school of Sicily.—'Animal Pantomime' is a pleasant paper by P. Liroy.—The traveller Bricchetti contributes observation on the commerce of the Harras in Africa.—E. Masi reviews Count Tolstoi's 'L'esprit chrétien et la patriotism.'—(December 1st.)—Prof. Barzelotti contributes the first part of a long and interesting review of Taine's work on the Origins of Contemporary France, which, while giving due praise to M. Taine's high moral sentiments and noble indignation as to wrong, points out some incertitudes and contradictions that perplex the reader.—Y. has a paper on the national army and economics; and Forraca gives another instalment of his paper on the Sicilian school of poetry.—Franchetti reviews two works on Contemporaneous Italy, one being an essay by Professor Massarani, and the other a romance by G. Rovetta.—Signora Beri's interesting chapters on 'The Confines of Italy,' contain this time a description of the Valdosta, with its solitary inhabitants, many of whom are *cretins*, but where the Salvation Army has already raised its flag.—A very graceful piece of poetry, *Minuetto doloroso*, in which a fan and the string of a violin speak, is contributed by Guido Mazzoni.—(Dec. 15th.)—The number commences with a criticism on Italian lyric poetry, by E. Panzacchi, who reproaches his countrymen with making too many words void of much meaning.—Ernico Cocchia has a learned article entitled 'The most ancient confines of Italy on the Tyrrhenian Sea.'—'Notes of Travel' on Monte Rosa and at Gressoney, by A. Baccelli, is interesting from its descriptions of the palaces belonging to the late Baron Peccoz, whose death so affected Queen Margaret of Italy. The writer touches on the flora, the fauna and the songs of that region, and describes an unexpected meeting with the Queen on a plateau above the Lys glacier. The Queen, in a gray felt hat, a blue cloth short

skirt and jacket, wearing gaiters and carrying a stick, easily and rapidly descended the steep path down to the glacier. The highest peak of Monte Rosa was reached for the first time in 1855 by a party of English tourists, and this year has been ascended by the Duke of Abruzzi who is a famous alpinist. The peak is called the Dufourspitze and is 4,635 metres above sea level. Refuges are frequent, and one of the last is the 'Margarita Refuge' a solid construction of three rooms, well protected against wind, cold and lightning. Scientific men stay there for days making observations, and Professor Mosso of Rome is preparing an interesting book on the subject.—Prof. Barzelotti's interesting review is ended, and Pratesi's novel 'Dolcetta' still runs on.—J. Valetta gives a general review of the 'Music' of 1894.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (Oct. 1st).—G. Grabinski concludes his papers on 'The Conclave,' the history of which he says is the history of the Catholic Church mirroring all the struggles which agitate the Holy See. All political men ought to read 'The Conclave,' and recognise their error in attempting to reduce the papacy to the narrow proportions of merely human effort.—Follow seven *odi barbari* by the poet Fortebracci.—M. Mazzei discourses on God in the idea of good, in the individual, in the family, and in civil life, concluding that the 'Supernatural' is necessary to all four.—G. Cassani gives an account of Francesco Borgatti, to whom a memorial tablet was lately erected as the first statesman of the constitutional majority under Pio Nono, and later on, after the cessation of the Papal dominion, as the Vice-President of the Italian Senate.—(Oct. 16.)—L. d'Isingaro tells us of an esteemed poetess, Armenian by race, Italian by birth.—C. Bassi writes on Cardinal Newman and the Catholic movement in England, and R. Mazzei on Christianity and Society.—(Nov. 1st.)—G. Marcotti describes pleasantly a journey from the Vistula to the Oder.—L. Grottanelli begins the story of the Duchess of Mantua, a little known Catherine de Medici, the same name as her famous relative. Her life is interesting because mixed up with important historical events. The article is continued in following numbers.—A. Galassini gives the first part of a learned paper on Dante's 'Heavens.'—B. Prina writes on the Catacombs; and A. V. Vecchi describes the naval battles of Lissa and Yalu.—(Nov. 16.)—P. Manassei discusses rural associations.—L. Paraggi describes the resuscitation of Gregorian music, and teaches a good method of pursuing it.—Grabinski reviews the memoirs of General Thiébanet.—(Dec. 1.)—Besides continuations of former articles this

number contains an account of the third International Catholic Congress at Brussels by P. G. Giovannozzi; an article on Polizeano, the 'humourist in the sacristy,' by J. del Lungo; a criticism by A. Rossi of the project for the restoration of the railway conventions of 1885, made by the Italian engineer Cottran, and notes.—(Dec. 16.)—'Zola and Bovro,' by G. F. Auoli, and 'The Ideas of an American Catholic Bishop,' by L. Vitali, are the only articles which are not continuations.

RIVISTA DELLA TRADIZIONE POPOLARE ITALIANE (November) contains: 'Popular traditions in Nuoro, Sardinia.'—'The *capisciotti* of San Romualdo.'—'The crucifix of Lascari.'—'The Legend of the Goose.'—'The beautiful Bilingherua,' a Treut fairy tale.—'The love of the three Naranza.'—'Beneventan Spinner,' a Trent lullaby.—'Witches as believed in at Pisa.'—'Funeral customs in Upper Lombardy.'—'Conjectural story of Calabrese vocables and phrases.'

IL PENSIERO ITALIANO (November.)—'Carlo Maria Maggi.'—'The earthquake at Benevento in 1702.'—'Method of preventing Italian emigration, Part II.'—'Medical assistance for labour accidents.'—'The didactic art in elementary schools,' etc.

IL GIORNALE STORICO DELLA LETTERATURA ITALIANO (No. 3, 1894), contains—'About the Frugones,' by E. Bertana.—'The Scandreide,' by L. Ottolenghi.—'Laura Batteferri,' by C. Carnegotta.—'The birth-year of Nicolo Franco,' by E. Sciardi, and reviews.

GIORNALE DEGLI ECONOMISTA (October) contains—'State of the money market.'—'Large and small industries in the Marchigiano Appennines.'—'F. Ferrara's politico-economical doctrines.'—'Free exchange, protection, and transformation in Sicily.'

IL PENSIERO ITALIANO (October).—'The Conciliation of Church and State in Italy.'—'Insufficiency of the historic method in modern sociology.'—'Didactic Art in elementary schools.'—'Historical Documents.'—'Religious and scientific morals as relating to the problem of population.'—'The forms of mathematics in nature.'—'The measure of values.'—'How to prevent the damage of Italian emigration to foreign countries.'

LA RIFORMA SOCIALE (October, November,) contains—'The working strength of the peoples,' by S. Nitti.—'Taxes in modern States,' by A. Naquet.—'The Agricultural condition of

Russia,' by Masé-Dari.—'The scientific spirit in social studies,' by Professor Martiis.—'The general structure of society,' by Professor de Greif.—(December 10th)—'The Taxes,' by Alfred Naquet.—'The present crisis in economical science,' by Prof. Rabbeno.—'The monopoly of spirits in Austria-Hungary,' by L. Albertini.—'The bread question,' by A. Contento, etc.

G R E E C E.

THE CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY (Under the Patronage of H.M. the Queen).—Deltion II. contains the proceedings of the Society from January, 1892, to August, 1894. This is a society, which to judge from the volume before us, is doing excellent work in protecting and restoring the ecclesiastical monuments of Christian Greece. We may point to the notices and correspondence on the mosaics of the monastery Daphni and that of S. Philothea.—Other communications deal with an ancient picture of our Lady of Athens, accompanied by a photolithograph; some epitaphs; the legend of the founding of Daphni; a note in the Menaion of the Monastery Asterion, dealing with the capture of Athens by the Venetians in 1681; the excavations at the monastery of S. Andrew, and notes on other subjects. In addition, the reports of the secretary, the k. G. Lampakes, contain valuable information on objects in the Society's Museum and on others which he has observed in his perigrinations.

F R A N C E.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1894).—M. E. Amelineau takes occasion here from a recently published Spanish translation of an Ethiopian manuscript, found in Lisbon, containing the biography of a Coptic monk, Samuel of Qualamoun, to furnish the readers of this *Revue* with another of his interesting and valuable studies of Coptic monastic life, and of the religious ideas prevalent in the Coptic monasteries. The series bears the title 'Les moines égyptiennes.' The space given to Samuel is not nearly so great as that given to Schnoudi, but several points had to be discussed in the previous study in order to clear the ground for those which were to follow. The same plan is, however, followed here as there, and the same object is kept in view. It is not the incidents in the personal history of the monk, tragic and pathetic as these not infrequently were, that interest M. Amelineau, and which he writes to chronicle. With him these are of very subordinate moment. But they are of importance as setting for us into relief what our author re-

gards, and rightly regards, as the true purpose of all biography and history, viz., the intellectual and religious development of the individual, or the intellectual and religious *milieu* in which he lived, and which conditioned so largely his conduct, and the strength or weakness of his character. As illustrating or exhibiting these the events of his life are detailed in so far as they contribute towards that end. This is a function of biography and history which all our best biographers and historians now-a-days keep in view, and M. Amelineau insists very strongly on the necessity of making it a prominent feature of all history if it is to serve any worthy end. Its purpose is not to merely register events as they occur, but to penetrate beneath them, and discover, if possible, and place before us the laws according to which they are brought about, the human ideas and passions, the emotions and motives of the men and women who are the principal factors in producing them; and all this that we, in our day, may learn what in us should be fostered, and what in us should be discouraged and repressed. Far more he thinks is to be learned from the men of thought than from the men of action; in the cell of the monk, far more than on the field of battle; so he sketches in these studies the determining ideas and thoughts of certain of the leading and moulding spirits of Coptic Christendom, and shows how they influenced the course of Christian history in Northern Africa, and from there in Southern Europe.—M. Jean Reville translates from the Dutch a critical notice, or review, of Professor Hubert Grimme's 'Life of Mohammed,'—'Mohammed: Das Leben nach den Quellen.' It is from the pen of Heer C. Schnouck Hurgronje. The reviewer gives first a list of the 'Lives' of Mohammed already published, and a critical appreciation of their respective merits, and then takes up several points of interest in regard to Mohammed's history and discusses them. Here he deals with Mohammed's sincerity as a reformer, whether he was at the outset a social rather than a religious reformer, and whence he acquired his knowledge, such as it was, of Judaism and of Christianity.—M. A. Audollent gives us the first instalment of his 'Bulletin archéologique de la religion romaine' for 1893. He briefly enumerates the discoveries made by the archæological societies through their excavations in various parts of Italy during that year, as gathered by him from their various reports and publications.—The book reviews in this number embrace, among others, MM. Perrot and Chipier's 'History of Art in Ancient Times,' Vol. IV.; Bonavia's 'Flora of the Assyrian Monuments,' and J. W. Fewkes' 'Journal of American Ethnology and Archæology.'—(No. 5, 1894.)—M. X. Koenig has the first place in this number with an 'Essai sur

l'évolution de l'idée de justice chez les prophètes hébreux.' The Hebrew prophets, he maintains, were 'les véritables facteurs du progrès qui mène Israël du Sinaï au Golgotha.' He regards it, therefore, as indispensable to our right understanding of the work they accomplished and the influence they exercised on their contemporaries and on the course of Israelite history, that we should examine carefully the leading ideas they cherished, and the ideals they pursued, and form as accurate conceptions of these as is possible for us now. One of these 'idées directrices,' and one of the most notable of them, is that expressed in the oft recurring terms, *tsadik tsedek ts'dakah*. M. Koenig here sets himself the task of examining very minutely the passages where these terms occur in the prophetic writings, in order to determine, if possible, the exact shade of meaning attached to them by those employing them. He regards it as a hopeless task now to endeavour to recover the original significance of the root. The most he hopes to gain by his researches is to fix precisely the sense, or senses, in which the words were popularly used and understood in the time when the prophets flourished whose works have been preserved to us. His examination has led him to the conviction that the terms were used throughout with a certain amount of vagueness or indefiniteness. They denoted in a general way the idea of accuracy, truthfulness, conformity to what was esteemed a rule or standard of equity, or a divine law. Now they are expressive of what we understand by the word, *truth*, accuracy of statement, and now they are expressive of what we understand by *virtue*, the fulfilment of duty, of what is required for us in our respective positions and relations in life. The 'just,' in the writings of the prophets, are those who obey the law, either that written in their hearts or that revealed by God through his priests and prophets; or, again, those who are now reconciled to him and are in the enjoyment of his favour. The idea of 'justice,' M. Koenig shows, passed through three distinct phases in the course of the prophetic period, corresponding to three different chapters of the national history. While the people retained their political independence, or at least occupied their own land, they were brought into contact with neighbours, and by commercial and political transactions with more distant races. They were naturally influenced by these different races, and not a few adopted some of their ideas, customs, and political and religious forms. Against this a strong and persistent opposition was manifested by a considerable party, headed for the most part by 'prophets,' who were staunch and ardent upholders of 'use and wont.' 'Justice' with them was the observance of the national usages and traditions. The 'just' were

those who adhered to custom and were true to what had been observed by their fathers. When Israel had fallen and Judah had been led captive into Babylon there was a strong effort made by a considerable section of the captives to reunite the exiles, and keep them faithful to the traditions and laws of their fatherland. 'Justice' with this section was identical with the observance of the code, or codes, carried with them into the land of their exile, and the 'just' were those who most faithfully obeyed the laws contained in these codes. When again the hope of restoration began to possess, and came to possess, the souls of those to whom the sacred soil of Judah was most dear,—when they came to regard themselves as once more the favourites of Jehovah, whom he had forgiven, and whom he was again to load with his favours, the idea of justice came to be tantamount to the enjoyment of this relationship with God; and the 'just' were those to whom God was extending this mercy, and on whom he was about to shower his benefits. M. Koenig works all this out in a very interesting manner, taking Amos, Hosea, and Isaiah, as representatives of the first of these conceptions of justice, Ezekiel as representative of the second, and the 'second Isaiah' as representative of the third.—The continuation and end of Heer Hurgronje's paper on Prof. Grimme's 'Life of Mohammed' follows, and then comes the sequel of M. Audollent's 'Bulletin archéologique de la religion romaine.'—A few pages are consecrated to recent losses which the Science of Religions has suffered in the lamented deaths of M. Jean Baptiste de Rosssi, and Professor James Darmesteter. M. Jean Reville pays a loving tribute to the memory of the latter, and gives eloquent expression to the feeling of sorrow which the tidings of his death created in every circle of the literary world.—A short account is given of the Tenth International Congress of Orientalists which met in Geneva in September of last year.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1894).—M. the Abbé Dessailly opens this number with an elaborate article on the chronology of Egypt. The nature or purpose of the article is explained in the heading given to it:—'La Chronologie Egyptienne. Sa concordance parfaite avec la chronologie biblique.' Egyptian chronology has proved a very perplexing subject to all students of Egyptian history. The ancient Egyptians were accustomed to date events in their annals or records by the year of the then reigning king, the year of his reign, not of his life or age. The list of dynasties that ruled in Egypt, as given by Manetho, proves not very helpful to us after all, owing to the

doubt that has arisen as to whether these dynasties were consecutive or not. Egyptologists as a whole have assumed that the dynasties followed each other in the order given by Manetho; but not a few have expressed doubts as to that point, and have argued that several of the dynasties were contemporary with others in the list. M. Dessailly is one of those who take this view, and he here endeavours to separate the two classes of dynasties, and to note those which followed in chronological order, and those which were contemporary with them. The principle that guides him in thus separating the dynasties, and assigning to some a contemporary place with the others, is this. It has been remarked that several of the dynasties have no historical events recorded regarding them. They are names and nothing more. It is impossible to believe that for centuries, and during the reign of several dynasties, not a single event took place which was looked upon as worthy of any notice whatever. Is it not reasonable to suppose that where such silence occurs as to this or that dynasty, the reason is that it was not the supreme dynasty in command over Egypt, Upper or Lower, or both, but was subordinate to the supreme authority,—that, in other words, the kings or rulers composing it were ‘kings’ or ‘rulers’ of provinces, holding their authority as delegates of the real sovereign of Egypt? The dynasties that held sovereign rule over the country would be the only ones with which historical events would be connected,—would, therefore, be the dynasties that followed in the order given by Manetho. This is the view adopted by M. Dessailly, and by adopting it he reduces the age of the Egyptian civilisation to a very modest figure, and so brings it easily enough within the space of time allowed to the history of the world by the Book of Genesis. The learned Abbe’s article is an extremely ingenious and able effort to reconcile the chronology of Egypt with the data of Genesis, and will well repay careful study, even where it does not carry conviction.—M. the Abbé Peisson continues here his interesting series of papers on ‘Confucianism.’ This section is taken up with the relative significance of the terms ‘Shang-Ti’ and ‘Tien,’—the names used for the chief object, or objects of worship with the Chinese. Several scholars have regarded the Chinese as originally monotheistic, and others, from the same data, have concluded that they were, in very much the same sense as the Buddhists, atheists. The opinions of Mgr. de Harlez on this point are here reviewed at length. The ‘Chronique’ of the two preceding months is, as usual, very minute, and keeps us *en rapport* with almost everything that is of interest to the student of the Science of Religions.

REVUE CELTIQUE (October, 1894).—This number opens with a note by M. Salomon Reinach on the bronze bust which was found in 1830 among the leaves of the forest of Beaumont-le-Roger, near Evreux, bearing the inscription *ESVMOPAS·CIVSTIGVS*. M. Reinach is of opinion that it is not of Gallo-Roman origin but of Gallic, though dating from the period of the Roman domination.—Dr. Whitley Stokes continues his translation of the prose tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas. The translation is, as usual, accompanied by the text and notes. The tales are very curious and are made to fit on to the names of places.—M. Kuno Meyer follows with the translation of an Old Irish Treatise on penitential commutations. The text is taken from the Rawlinson Codex B. 512, in the Bodleian. Here also text and notes accompany the translation. The rest of the number is taken up with indices, etc., which conclude a volume of more than usual variety and interest.

LE MONDE MODERNE (January, 1895).—This is the first number of a new French illustrated monthly which promises to become a very formidable competitor for public favour both here and on the continent. For variety of matter it has few equals, while the illustrations are equal to the best we have seen. In all it contains twenty-two papers, all of them brightly written and abundantly illustrated.—M. Jules Claretie contributes what in this country is the three volume novel under the title ‘Petite Cora,’ and occupies 20 out of 170 pages.—Over the name of M. Jean de Banal we have a poem charmingly illustrated, entitled ‘Le Mystère de Sainte Wilgeforte,’ and set to music by M. M. Cottenet.—Next follows an interesting paper by Captain Daurit on ‘The Effects of Infantry Fire,’ while in another paper an Officer de Marine answers the question ‘Why have we a navy?’—Papers follow on ‘The Production of, and Trade in Wheat,’ ‘Sarah Bernhardt,’ ‘Photography in Colours,’ ‘The Contest for Lake Tchad.’ A highly humorous paper is contributed by M. C. Uzanne entitled ‘La Locomotion future.’—We have also notes on Sporting-life, Fashions, Architecture, a set of *Menus*, Notices of Books, some words on Finance, and notices of new inventions. Altogether there seems to be reading in this first number for all manner of tastes. The publisher is M. A. Quantin, Paris.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (No. 3, 1894).—The last section of the late M. Loeb’s work in defence of his co-religionists—‘Reflexions sur les Juifs’—and which he happily left at the time of his death fully prepared for the press, appears in this number, and has the first place. Having dealt at considerable length, in the previous sections, with the specific charges made against

the Jews as a whole by Christian writers and statesmen for centuries, and even in the present day, and having shown either how unsupported they are by facts, nay, contradicted by them, or that, in so far as they contained, or contain, any measure of truth in them, the faults laid to the charge of the Jews were not produced by anything in their blood, or in their religion, but were the natural fruits of the cruel and unnatural conditions in which Jews were, or are, placed by the oppressive and inhuman laws enacted against them; having shewn that very fully, he here now enumerates a series of the more general accusations against them that are current in the public mouth, and shews how baseless *they* are. He shows how public opinion is divided on these very points, Christian writers and statesmen, and those most competent to know and most competent to judge—bearing their testimony to the social, domestic, patriotic, and humane virtues of the Jews, as against the ignorant and prejudiced assertions to the contrary of an irresponsible multitude. M. Loeb has not been content to rest his case on the evidence of individual opinion, however exalted and competent, but appeals also to well established statistics, and to the verified facts of national history. That there are bad Jews, just as there are bad Christians, he does not for a moment deny, but he pertinently asks why the bad should, in the case of the Jews, and in the case of the Jews only, be persistently singled out and held up as the typical specimens of the race, and the natural and necessary products of Jewish blood and of the Jewish faith? The inconsistency and injustice of such a method of reasoning lie on the very face of it, and are self-condemned. M. Loeb's defence is thorough. It is nowhere a case of special pleading, but rests on facts that cannot well be shaken; and his treatise deserves a wide circulation and, if it receives it, cannot but have a most beneficial effect on the public judgment.—M. Lieutenant Colonel Marmier follows up a recent paper of his, contributed to this *Revue*, on 'Recherches géographiques sur la Palestine,' by another which he describes here as 'Nouvelles recherches sur la géographie de la Palestine.' The data gathered from the sacred text, especially from the Book of Joshua, are compared with similar data gathered from the descriptions of the Assyrian Expeditions as disclosed in the Cuneiform Inscriptions.—M. Israel Levi gives an extremely interesting and learned essay on the 'Commémoration des âmes dans le Judaïsme.' He first traces the history of the usage in the period since the Crusades, and the changes it has undergone from time to time. It was seemingly at first a rite commemorative of those who had died as martyrs to the Jewish cause, or faith, and formed part of the service every Sabbath.

It was later made to embrace all the dead, and in some instances those only who had died during the week then ending. M. Marmier then traces back the ideas and ritual customs out of which this observance, in its more modern form, has seemingly arisen, or in which it finds its justification. This is an extremely important and instructive part of his essay.—M. Epstein continues, and brings to a close, his ‘Recherches sur le Sêfer Yeçira.’—M. W. Bacher comments at considerable length on some fragments from *midrashim* of the schools of Ismaël and Akiba, under the title of ‘Une ancienne list des noms grecs des pierres précieuses relatées dans Exode xxviii., 17-20.’—Other of the more notable articles are ‘Etudes Talmudiques,’ by M. L. Bank; the continuation of M. G. Sacerdote’s ‘Le livre d’algèbre et le problème des asymptotes de Simon Motot,’ and ‘Les Juifs de Prague pendant la guerre de Trente-Ans,’ by M. M. Popper.

REVUE SÉMITIQUE D’ÉPIGRAPHIE ET D’HISTOIRE ANCIENNE —(No. 4, 1894.)—M. J. Halévy’s ‘Recherches Bibliques’ are limited in this number to the continuation of the series of his ‘Notes pour l’interprétation des Psaumes.’ The psalms here subjected to examination extend from Psalm xxiii. to Psalm xxviii. M. Halévy suggests several corrections of the text where the Massoretic version offers difficult or obscure readings. These have most likely been caused by the mistakes of copyists, and occasionally also by the emendations of *redacteurs*, who had but an imperfect knowledge of the real thought before the mind of the original author. To restore the true text and correct these errors that have crept in in the course of transcription and editorial revision is a worthy consecration of talent, time, and literary gifts, and M. Halévy’s extensive and accurate knowledge of the Semitic languages fits him admirably for such a work as this, and renders his suggestions at least worthy of the most careful consideration. All the obscure passages in these psalms are noted by him, and the changes in the text which he favours certainly render the sense much clearer, and they are seemingly natural restorations. The errors which have been committed in the transcription of the text, when placed in the light of his corrections, appear simple and likely enough; and it is for Hebrew scholars to weigh these suggested changes and judge of their worth. As to Psalm xxiv., M. Halévy discusses the arguments offered in support of its probable date and purpose by different critics, but feels that the evidence of the psalm itself points to the period of the restoration of the temple after the Exile, and the inauguration ceremony in the second year of Darius I. He

assigns Psalm XXVI. to a contemporary of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, and regards him as having belonged to the Zadokite priestly family. Psalm XXVII. he considers as very probably by the same author.—M. Perruchon furnishes a very full index to all the proper names in the Tel-el-Amarna letters which have been transcribed and translated by M. Halévy, and which have appeared in the pages of this *Revue*.—M. Clement Huart continues his series of papers on the ‘Épigraphie arabe d’Asia Mineure,’ giving a transcription of the inscriptions, and bringing out their historical merits.—Dr. J. B. Chabot continues his translation from the Syriac text of the ‘Apocalypse of Esdras,’ and adds a few notes in regard to its origin and value. He regards it as ‘une bizzare composition, un amalgame de figures bibliques mal combinées, une compilation rédigée par un chrétien de la Syrie,’ and not anterior to the seventh century of our era.—M. S. Karppe enters a strong *caveat* against taking the royal annals and inscriptions recovered from the ruins of Assyrian and Babylonian cities as veritable history. His article bears the title, ‘Les documents historiques de la Chaldée et de l’Assyrie et la vérité.’ That these recovered records have a very great value to the historian of thought, religion, and civilization, is not disputed; but they must be used always with caution, he insists, if the story of the national life of Assyria and Babylonia is to be traced. Historic veracity was not a virtue of eastern (or western) monarchs then, nor of their official scribes. M. Karppe brings out the defects of many of those royal inscriptions and annals by comparing one with another, and with the facts of history derived from other sources, and shows with what precaution their statements on most points must be taken.—M. B. Carra de Vaux continues his ‘Notes pour servir à l’étude des inscriptions lihyanites,’ and concludes them. M. J. Halévy reviews several recent works bearing on Semitic epigraphy and literature, and among them Mr. J. Theodore Bent’s work on his explorations in Abyssinia, which has been translated into German by Professor D. H. Müller. He pays also an affectionate tribute to the memory of Professor Auguste Dillmann.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA—*Revista de España*—(November, 1894.)
—‘Legend and reality concerning Enrique de Villena,’ is a paper elucidatory of the literary life of this Spanish light of the 15th century, who died in 1434. It appears he was little and fat and fond of good living, and according to Senor de Batres ‘his indolent character and lack of personal worth (valour?)’

in times like these, were the cause of his being held in little respect by the Kings of his time, and in little reverence amongst the gentlemen.' His indolence can scarcely be sustained when we consider the amount of his work at the time of his death, 50 years old. His love of, and supposed skill in, necromancy and astrology were against him; but Cotarelo acknowledges, 'that it is undeniable that his influence was great, and in general beneficial for Spanish letters and sciences.' He maintained 'the Oriental Scientific tradition, gathering books that even then were rare, granting his friendships to the learned Jews and Moors, cultivating their language and meditating on their doctrines.'—In 'Under the Austrians Literary Academies of Originals and Gentlemen,' J. Perez. de Guzman seeks to trace the literary genesis of present day Spain.—Emilia Pardo Bazán, laying aside for a moment her inventive pen, deals with *Milton*, under 'The Christian Epic Poets.'—The study of 'Velasquez' is continued, to the point where Reynolds declared that the portrait of Innocent X., by Velasquez was the most beautiful picture in Rome.—'A Musical Review,' with reference to Spain, leads to Castelar's International Chronicle, in which the death of the Czar and all it leads up to is considered with this writer's invariable fullness of knowledge of the politics and leaders of his time. He declares a liberal government the only possible for the new Czar, who is a nervous Dane, and neither a Slav like his father, nor a German like his grandfather.—'The Literature of Castille and Portugal' is continued in this number, and an alphabetical list of new works concludes it.—(December).—In 'Contemporary History' we have 'The Sale of Cuba' by Antonio Pirala, a curious and evidently authentic record of an attempt by the late General Prim to sell Cuba to the Americans. It was in insurrection, and successfully so. It demanded more troops and money to control than the treasury could spare or the war office supply. The Americans were threatening to acknowledge the Cuban Republic. Prim sought to cut the knot and replenish the Spanish treasury by a sale. Only the patriotism of some of the leaders and the body of the insurgents themselves, who declined to be ought but Spaniards, prevented the realisation of this proposed transfer. At the time one of the Spanish ministers proposed, in the event of the United States acknowledging the belligerents, they should send a fleet to New York and bombard it! It was acknowledged by the U.S. Commodore that the States at that time (1869) had not vessels to prevent the bombardment of any of their ports? 'Topete said he would

direct the vessels, and Becerra that he would go with them. The latter did not fail to understand, that even were the bombardment effected in safety, a few months after not a single Spanish vessel could have navigated the Ocean.' The writer suggests that 'It appears the interest of the United States was to make of Cuba three states, in order to unite them to the nine of the South, and maintain slavery.'—'Velasquez' is completed, showing his honour with the King Philip IV., who made him an officer of the household, which post occupied so much of his time that it forced him to gallop through his numberless commissions and influenced his technique. It also left him in debt, of course! 'The study of his life, as that of his pictures, leave us the impression that we ought to retain of him; that of a complete gentleman, and a consummate artist.'—'The Critical Review' continues the consideration of the work of Farinelli on 'Grillparzer and Lope de Vega.' The former is said, like Theocritus or Apollonius, to have reached being a natural poet, by force of artifice! In Lope de Vega it was genial and spontaneous.—José Echegaray, the foremost Spanish dramatist, commences a series of 'Reminiscences' of the stage and the history of his own dramas. Some of these give a curious idea of the former state of autocratic control exercised by the authorities.—Emilia Pardo Bazán completes her study of 'Milton.'—The 'Scientific Chronicle' gives first place to the Antidiphtheric Antitoxine. It contains also a curious study of Columbus from his autograph.—The 'International Chronicle' of Castelar refers to the publication in Pisa of the works of Sylvio Piccolomini, a 15th century Pope. 'A great traveller, diligent historian, Cardinal, Pope under the title of Pius II., through times such as the time of the Œcumenical Council of Basle, and of the Mongol irruptions into Constantinople, Sylvio represented an historical part so important, and exercised such a decisive influence,' that the Chronicle considers it fully. He says that while all the 'Orientation' of Russian politics was directed towards France during the time of Alexander III., all the Orientation of Russian politics will be directed during the reign of Nicolas II. towards England; and he draws some quaint deductions therefrom, somewhat fanciful.—'Spanish and Portuguese Literature' is continued.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS.—The November number contains a review of Dr. Julius Jacob's book on Achin (Atjeh), in which the writer, L. W. C. Van Den Berg, discusses especially the problem 'What is to be done with Atjeh?' Their long desultory wars have left the

Dutch just where they were, and this writer comes to the conclusion that the Achinese are a people impossible to rule or to assimilate, the only feasible policy is to eliminate them and colonise their territory with some other tribe more amenable to civilisation. This is indeed a policy of despair and a confession of the impotency of Dutch rule in Achin.—Cort Van Den Linden contributes an admirable sociological study under the title 'The State and Society,' and Mr. Van Deventer gives the first of a series of papers on the erotic dialogues of Plato, the first taken up being the *Phaedrus*.—Pol de Mont under the heading 'From the Legend of Joshua-ben-Joseph' gives quaint and fascinating rhymed versions of apochryphal stories about Jesus, Joseph, and Mary, the figures being set as in old Dutch pictures in a purely northern setting of blossoming orchards, or in a winter of ice and snow.—About half the December number is occupied with an account of the University Festival at Lyons; with an article on the Behring-Roux cure, or supposed cure, for diphtheria, and with the third instalment of Nohuy's essay on Walt Whitman.—Of more specially Dutch interest is Professor Matthes' paper, 'Kuenen as Critic.' A collection of essays and studies contributed by Kuenen to various periodicals has been published in Germany by Prof. Budde of Strassburg. They all belong to the department of Biblical Criticism and give occasion to this general review of Kuenen's work and character as a critic. Since the time of Erasmus, or rather since Hugo Grotius, of whom as a Biblical critic Kuenen wrote an admirable appreciation, there had been no great critic in Holland. Kuenen's place as a great critic is unchallengeable. Not always agreeing with many critics of the more advanced school, as for example on the question of the possibility of miracles which he allowed, although not granting that any miracle had ever been sufficiently substantiated by evidence, nor of course in agreement with men of the more orthodox schools, Kuenen showed in all questions constant impartiality, reverence for religious feeling, as well as keen critical talent, and he never was led astray by his imagination, though he freely used his power of sympathetic insight in making out any theory.—Some interesting notes are contributed by Dyserinck on the subject of Bartholomaeus van der Helst's great picture, 'The Arquebusiers' Banquet.' Long and careful search has enabled him to make almost certain the conjecture that this picture has been irreparably damaged by mutilation, the upper half having been cut off. Spoilt as it is, it remains a masterpiece, even finer, he is bold to say, than Rembrandt's *Night Watch* and Govert Flinck's similar great picture.—The January number begins with a highly elaborate

study of a schoolboy's feelings on reading romances for the first time, and the boy's extremely silly and futile attempt at having a love affair.—This is followed up by 'The task of the School,' a very sensible and genial essay by A. J. Straatman on what a school may and ought to do for children.—The occasion of the opening of the Delagoa Bay Railway, giving access to Pretoria and Johannesburg, is naturally regarded with pride by Holland as the making of it was carried out by the Dutch and it is in the hands of a Dutch company. Hence a long article in *De Gids* by a Mr. Engelenburg, who has had all along the fullest acquaintance with the work in its inception and progress.—Charles Boissevain contributes a highly poetical and fervently patriotic article, 'Our Fatherland,' an appeal for a more energetic and earnest rallying round the old Dutch flag.—The same spirit is found in Cort Van Den Linden's 'Principles or formulas,' only it is the flag of the Liberal party that most concerns him.—'New flags and old trophies,' by Nolthenius, is an account of a ceremonial at Berlin in October, 1894, when 132 new flags were consecrated. He praises the Kaiser, and, speaking of the Hohenzollern Museum, says that one must go to Berlin to learn how a nation should honour its heroes.—'The Editor-in-chief of a Town Courant, 1847-48,' by Mr. Vissering, is an interesting account of the conduct of the Amsterdam Courant during that lively period.—Van Bemmelen reviews appreciatively the book of an Austrian Botanist, Prof. Haberland 'A botanical tour in the Tropics,' his researches in Java being of special interest. The book is not technical, and is full of charming description as well as of most striking details as to how, for example, tropical plants are peculiarly fitted for the climate, and so on.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—Our notices of this invaluable publication are somewhat in arrear. Two papers in the September issue are of general interest, one on the age of the Epistle of James, and one on the composition and date of the Johannine Apocalypse. The former is by Professor Van Manen, and discusses Feine's recent work on James. The German scholar holds that the writer of the epistle was James the Great, that he knew Paul's ideas not from the great epistles so much as by hearsay, that his letter had in view the circumstances of the Jewish Christians in Palestine, but was addressed, as the opening words indicate, to the Jews throughout the world. All of these conclusions the Dutch scholar traverses. He sees in James a piece of deliberate polemic against Pauline theology, which shows a knowledge of Paul's Epistles. The Church addressed has been in the world for a considerable period, and the writer is a man of

good education and culture, who cannot possibly be the same person with the brother of the Lord.—The article on the Apocalypse by Dr. M. A. N. Rovers, is a review of the course of the controversy, occasioned by a German prize essay on the subject, and is a very useful paper; for the discussion, though only twelve years old, has passed through many phases, and has already gathered a goodly amount of literature.—Dr. Oort welcomes Kautzsch's translation, now complete, of the Old Testament into German. 'A precious gift,' he calls it, 'to the theologians of all lands.' . . . 'The execution is all that could be desired.'—The November number opens with an important paper by Dr. A. Bruining on the place of the science of dogmatics in 'modern' theology. Where there is no dogma in the old sense, no truths, that is to say, of supernatural revelation, it might appear that the science which aims at connecting the truths of revelation in a system, must also disappear. Dr. Bruining does not admit this; he desires to see dogmatic retained, with the task of arranging in a system the truths of the religious consciousness, and of showing them to be consistent with the truths of science. The truths of the outer and those of the inner world must, he holds, be shown to be at one, if religion is to retain any authority; and dogmatic is to show that the belief of the religious man in the moral order of the world, in the being of God and in the life to come, contribute an essential element of human knowledge, and are necessary to the unity of our mental world. This article finds a reply in the January number of the *Tijdschrift*, where L. J. de Bussy, writing under the startling title of 'Mortuos plango,' declares that dogmatic is dead, and that what Dr. Bruining calls dogmatic has no right to the name. Dr. Bussy, be it said, is one of those who deny the possibility of any unity of knowledge in which the truths of religion and those of science are brought together. In Holland the school has long existed which claims to have religion without metaphysic, and regards the effort to reconcile religion and science with disdain.—In the January number a change in the editorship of the *Tijdschrift* is announced. Formerly there was a committee of eight editors; now there are but three, but a list of ten co-operators appears on the title-page. The character of the periodical is to be maintained; it is to be a magazine not of complete information as to what is published on theology, but of original work. The January number, after the 'Mortuos plango' has a long paper on Agobard of Lyons, a contemporary of Charlemagne. There is then a discussion on the title 'Son of Man' in the Gospels, especially on the light thrown on it by the book of Enoch. The writer, Dr. B. D. Erdmanns, holds that its

which, however, are not really separable, though for the sake of distinction we are obliged to give them separate names, but three faculties or functions of one individual, which interpenetrate each other, and are more or less united. In the lecture on the analysis of the conception of divine personality, the arguments for the existence of a personal Divine Being are reviewed. In the opinion of the author 'the argument from design has rather gained than lost through modern science,' since while correcting the evidence for it, it has also enriched and emphasized the evidence. As need hardly be said, the point to which the various lines of thought in the lectures lead is the Incarnation. This of course pre-supposes the existence of Divine Personality, and cannot be adduced as an independent argument in its favour. 'But,' as Mr. Illingworth observes, 'in the accumulation of probabilities, it has nevertheless an important place, as fulfilling the natural anticipation, to which belief in a personal God gives rise.' In the last lecture the author criticises and answers the various objections which have been brought against the doctrine of the Incarnation. The lecture is full of solid arguments, and will probably strike most readers as the freshest in the volume. As a thinker and theologian the author made his mark some time ago by his remarkably able contributions to that now almost forgotten volume *Lux Mundi*. Readers of those contributions will here meet with the same acuteness of thought and criticism, and the same lucidity of expression. The lectures, indeed, form one of the most valuable contributions to theological literature which has appeared for a number of years.

St. Paul's Conception of Christianity. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1894.

Dr. Bruce has won for himself a considerable name as a writer on Christian Apologetics. Few writers of the present have written so much in that department of Christian theological literature, and still fewer have written so well. On almost all that he has touched upon he has thrown light; and even admitting that his contributions to theology have not been of great or preponderating weight, sufficient, for instance, to start a new school or to break out new and important lines of thought, they have at all events been invariably scholarly and luminous. Dr. Bruce has a facile pen, considerable power of analysis, and the sympathy and enthusiasm requisite in a writer on Apologetics. The subject of his present volume is not an easy one, and we turned to its pages with considerable interest. It has been dealt with before, and in several instances by writers of conspicuous ability. The difference between these writers has not often been very vital or fundamental, and one often wonders why many of the works dealing with the writings of St. Paul have been written. As a rule they are cast on the same lines, and differ from each other on points of exegesis, often of only second or third rate importance. So far as our knowledge of these writings goes, the conception which their authors have formed of the Apostle's fundamental idea is the same, and few of them seem to have deemed it worth while to consider whether their conception of that idea is in need of revision. That conception, as is pretty well known, was formed during a period of violent controversy, when each party was in eager quest of texts to support its own theory. As to the rightness or wrongness of the conception we have nothing to say; but the fact that it was formed under the circumstances in which it was, suggests that it may not be altogether so reliable as is usually supposed, and that the idea from which the Apostle worked, the great principle from which all the rest of his teachings was derived, may have been something different. Dr. Bruce's work is cast on

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Personality Human and Divine: Being the Bampton Lectures for the year 1894. By J. R. ILLINGWORTH, M.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1894.

The least that can be said of these lectures is that they have the merit of treating a large, abstruse, and difficult subject in a lucid, and on the whole convincing way. Their main contention, to use the words of their author, is that whereas physical science has nowise weakened, critical philosophy has distinctly strengthened the claim—the immemorial claim—of human personality to be a spiritual thing; and, as such, the highest category under which we can conceive of God. The first two lectures are devoted to the consideration of the conception of human personality; the third and fourth to that of the conception of divine personality; the fifth deals with moral affinity as the necessary condition for the knowledge of a person; the sixth and seventh discuss the question of revelation in pre-historic and pre-Christian times; while the eighth or last is devoted to the revelation of the Divine Personality in the Incarnation. On a subject about which so much has been written, both in ancient and modern times, it is almost impossible to say anything original. Mr. Illingworth, if he has not said anything of this sort, has at least put the old arguments in new ways, and adapted them to the forms of modern thought. The lectures of greatest general interest are the first, third, fifth, and eighth. The first and third are mainly historical, the former being devoted to the history of the development of the idea of human personality, and the latter to the history of the personal conception of God. Starting from the very safe position that man lives first and thinks afterwards, Mr. Illingworth in the first of these lectures, after pointing out that thought is always in arrear of life, and that no intellectual explanation of things can be adequate or final, proceeds to trace the gradual development of the idea of human personality from its first beginnings down to the present, dwelling on the inadequacy of the conceptions prevalent in pre-Christian times, the light thrown upon the idea by the life of Christ and the influence which the writings of Augustine, Luther, and Kant, have had upon it. As we live first and think afterwards, so it is remarked in the third lecture, we are religious first and theological afterwards. And again, 'Man's only certain knowledge,' it is said, 'was of himself, and he was obliged to interpret the outside world, therefore, in terms of that self, while language in its earlier stages inevitably carried on the process.' Hence we have the further remark—'Personification was the beginning of philosophy and theology alike, and that by a psychological necessity, for in all thinking we work from the known to the unknown, and the "known" to primitive man was himself.' The part played in the development of the idea of a personal God by Greek philosophy and by the Hebrew prophets is next dwelt upon, and in the remaining part of the lecture the doctrine of the Trinity is treated mainly from the historical point of view. In his analysis of the conception of human personality, Mr. Illingworth follows, for the most part, the late Professor Green and Professor Lotze. 'Looked at analytically,' he says, 'the fundamental characteristic of personality is self-consciousness.' Self-consciousness again involves thought, desire, will,

which, however, are not really separable, though for the sake of distinction we are obliged to give them separate names, but three faculties or functions of one individual, which interpenetrate each other, and are more or less united. In the lecture on the analysis of the conception of divine personality, the arguments for the existence of a personal Divine Being are reviewed. In the opinion of the author 'the argument from design has rather gained than lost through modern science,' since while correcting the evidence for it, it has also enriched and emphasized the evidence. As need hardly be said, the point to which the various lines of thought in the lectures lead is the Incarnation. This of course pre-supposes the existence of Divine Personality, and cannot be adduced as an independent argument in its favour. 'But,' as Mr. Illingworth observes, 'in the accumulation of probabilities, it has nevertheless an important place, as fulfilling the natural anticipation, to which belief in a personal God gives rise.' In the last lecture the author criticises and answers the various objections which have been brought against the doctrine of the Incarnation. The lecture is full of solid arguments, and will probably strike most readers as the freshest in the volume. As a thinker and theologian the author made his mark some time ago by his remarkably able contributions to that now almost forgotten volume *Lux Mundi*. Readers of those contributions will here meet with the same acuteness of thought and criticism, and the same lucidity of expression. The lectures, indeed, form one of the most valuable contributions to theological literature which has appeared for a number of years.

St. Paul's Conception of Christianity. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1894.

Dr. Bruce has won for himself a considerable name as a writer on Christian Apologetics. Few writers of the present have written so much in that department of Christian theological literature, and still fewer have written so well. On almost all that he has touched upon he has thrown light; and even admitting that his contributions to theology have not been of great or preponderating weight, sufficient, for instance, to start a new school or to break out new and important lines of thought, they have at all events been invariably scholarly and luminous. Dr. Bruce has a facile pen, considerable power of analysis, and the sympathy and enthusiasm requisite in a writer on Apologetics. The subject of his present volume is not an easy one, and we turned to its pages with considerable interest. It has been dealt with before, and in several instances by writers of conspicuous ability. The difference between these writers has not often been very vital or fundamental, and one often wonders why many of the works dealing with the writings of St. Paul have been written. As a rule they are cast on the same lines, and differ from each other on points of exegesis, often of only second or third rate importance. So far as our knowledge of these writings goes, the conception which their authors have formed of the Apostle's fundamental idea is the same, and few of them seem to have deemed it worth while to consider whether their conception of that idea is in need of revision. That conception, as is pretty well known, was formed during a period of violent controversy, when each party was in eager quest of texts to support its own theory. As to the rightness or wrongness of the conception we have nothing to say; but the fact that it was formed under the circumstances in which it was, suggests that it may not be altogether so reliable as is usually supposed, and that the idea from which the Apostle worked, the great principle from which all the rest of his teachings was derived, may have been something different. Dr. Bruce's work is cast on

lines very similar to those of most of its predecessors. First of all we have a discussion of the sources whence what follows is derived. These Dr. Bruce accepts as the four great Epistles—those to the Church at Corinth, that to the Churches in Galatia, and that to the Christians in Rome. His attitude towards the other Epistles which bear the Apostle's name, is that with which we have become familiar with in the writings of Usteri and others. On the question as to whether there was any growth or expansion in St. Paul's system of Christian thought, he is disposed to lean to the opinion of Sabatier rather than to that of Pfleiderer. The analysis which follows the discussion of the sources is full, and is evidently intended, as it ought to be, to prepare the way for the exegetical part of the work. This consists of fifteen chapters, beginning with the doctrine of sin. Others, in their order, are headed 'The Righteousness of God,' 'The Death of Christ,' 'Adoption,' 'Without and Within'—the two sides of the Apostle's doctrine of soteriology, as set forth in Romans i.-v., and Romans vi.-viii., or the question as to the connection in the Apostle's thought between the objective and the subjective, the ideal and the real, the religious and the moral. Subsequent chapters are on 'The Moral Energy of Faith,' 'The Holy Spirit,' 'The Flesh as a hindrance to Holiness,' 'The Law,' 'Christ,' etc. All these chapters as we have said are exegetical. To go over them would require much more space than can be here given to them. But without committing ourselves to the opinions expressed as to the exegesis of many of the passages, and among these we should include some on which Dr. Bruce lays the greatest stress, we may freely admit that here and there are brilliant pieces of exegesis and many passages both of great beauty and rich in suggestion. At the same time we are free to confess that the question—What is St. Paul's conception of Christianity? has while reading the volume continually recurred to our mind. To that question we have been unable to find an answer within the covers of the book, unless it be that it is a series of doctrines. That, however, we submit is scarcely what the reader ought to expect or to be satisfied with, or even to be asked to be satisfied with. Christianity, it is usually supposed, is something more than a series of conceptions, however brilliant and inspiring. Most acknowledge that Christian conceptions, of which some of the richest and noblest are to be found in the four great Epistles, are the fruits of Christianity. But what is Christianity, and what is St. Paul's conception of it? The latter question, as it seems to us, Dr. Bruce has not answered, notwithstanding his four hundred and odd pages, though in his chapter on 'Without and Within' he comes very near it.

A Translation of the Four Gospels from the Syriac of the Sinaitic Palimpsest. By AGNES SMITH LEWIS, M.R.A.S. London and New York. Macmillan & Co. 1894.

In another volume Mrs. Lewis has told the story of how she discovered the now famous Sinaitic palimpsest containing a text of the Four Gospels, which competent critics set down at a date not later than the fifth century, and here in the present volume we have a translation of the text. In discharging this part of her task Mrs. Lewis has adhered as closely to the Authorised Version as the text would allow her. The advantage of this is obvious. It allows the reader to see at a glance the differences between them. At the end of the volume a list is given of the words and phrases in the Textus Receptus which are omitted in this version without a full equivalent, and also another which registers the interpolations. In the introduction to the volume we have a brief account of the discovery of the document, of the steps which were taken to procure a copy of it, a discus-

sion of the relation in which this new version stands to the other Syriac Versions, a description of the MS. itself, and notes on some of the leading characteristics of its text. The work is one of surpassing interest and will undoubtedly find favour with a very large class of readers.

The Book of Common Prayer in Manx Gaelic. By A. W. MOORE and JOHN RHYS. 2 vols. Douglas, Isle of Man : Printed for the Manx Society. 1893-4.

The services done to the philosophy of Scottish Gaelic of late by the transcripts from the Dean of Lismore's and the Fernaig MSS. published in the *Reliquiae Celticae*, are scarcely more important than those rendered by the volumes named above. They give in parallel columns the two extant versions of the Book of Common Prayer in Manx; that made by Bishop Phillips in 1610 and that of the Manx Clergy of 1765. So closely is Manx related to Scottish Gaelic that the work will be invaluable for all students of Gaelic phonology, especially as Professor Rhys has supplemented the two versions by an elaborate essay of some 200 pages on the phonology of Manx, written from studies made in the island itself. The essay is a model of what one may yet hope to see done in connection with the Scottish dialects, and any one who reads it will notice many points of contact between the two. The translation by Bishop Phillips, which has been transcribed by Mr. Moore from the only MS. now extant, has an interesting orthography, which compares very favourable with that now in use, and on which Professor Rhys has some very interesting speculations. Phonetic spelling of any Gaelic dialect is a sad stumbling-block at the outset, but continued perusal of Manx, even in its modern garb, tends to convince one that Gaelic would do well to adopt a sweeping spelling reform. The traditional spelling is of immense value to the philologist, but it is unpractical and detrimental to the prospects of the language. Not that phonetic spelling will save Manx, it is doomed already, as Professor Rhys tells us, but that is due to unavoidable causes, and it is well that the small Manx Society has had the enterprise to publish these volumes while there is still a chance of treating it as a living language. The short memoir of Bishop Phillips by Mr. Moore is of considerable historical interest, and at the foot of the pages is reprinted, for the first time, the English text of 1604 from which Phillips translated. The editors' labours of love on this work are certain to be highly appreciated by all Celtic scholars.

Caledonia: or a Historical or Topographical Account of North Britain from the ancient to the modern Times. By the late GEORGE CHALMERS, F.R.S., F.S.A., from the hitherto Unpublished MSS. in the Advocates' Library. Vol. VII. Paisley: Alex. Gardner. 1894.

In this volume we have printed the whole of the manuscript of his proposed fourth volume on Caledonia which Chalmers left in anything like a condition suitable for publication. All the preparations which at the time of his death he had made for the volume, it by no means represents. His preparations, indeed, appear to have been very considerable, but, unfortunately, as we learn from the Publisher's Note to the volume, most of them are of too fragmentary a nature to be put in print. Had Chalmers lived there can be little doubt that the MS. which is here printed would have received considerable additions. The method of treatment is the same, but the information given under the several sections is less, and we can scarcely

resist the conviction that we have here what, under the author's hand, would have swelled into a volume of the same size as those he had already published. All the same the public is much indebted to the Publisher for this valuable volume. It opens with an introductory chapter in which the main points dwelt upon in the introduction to the First Volume are briefly recapitulated and emphasised, and a fairly full account of the progress which the country had made during the author's life-time. Chalmers sets out with the intention of treating of eleven counties after the method he had adopted in the preceding volume. Unfortunately he was able to accomplish no more than ten. These are—Buteshire, Stirlingshire, Clackmannanshire, Kinross-shire, Fifeshire, Argyleshire, Perthshire, Aberdeenshire, Banffshire, and Elginshire. The Index Volume, which all students of Chalmers have long and so much desired is, we are glad to learn, in an advanced state of preparation, and may be looked for at no very distant date.

A Short History of the English People. By J. R. GREEN, M.A. Illustrated Edition, Edited by Mrs. J. R. GREEN and Miss KATE NORGATE. Vol. IV. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

This is the concluding volume of the illustrated edition of Mr. J. R. Green's well known *Short History of the English People*. It opens with the dismissal of Danby in 1679 and brings the story down to the close of the great war with Napoleon. Like the three volumes before it, it is profusely illustrated, some of the illustrations being of especial merit. At the beginning of the volume is a somewhat lengthy list of errata covering the four volumes, while at the end we have an excellent chronological table of English history, a number of genealogical tables, and an ample and carefully compiled index to the whole work. The editors are to be congratulated on the completion of their task. The manner in which they have performed it is deserving of the highest praise. They have succeeded in producing an illustrated history of England which is without a rival. The printers also deserve a word of commendation, and in fact all concerned in the production of the work. We know no work so well calculated to render the study of English history attractive, or in which so much has been effectively done to convey to the reader clear and intelligent conceptions of the great changes through which the social and political life of England has passed during the long period of its development.

Old Cartsburn: Being a History of the Estate from the year 1669 downwards, with notices of the families of Kilbirnie, Jordanhill, and Cartsburn, and excerpts from the Baron Court Book of Cartsburn, with Appendix and copious Index. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1894.

Mr. Williamson is already well known as the author of two excellent volumes on the history of Old Greenock. The present volume is designed as a supplement to the account given in the first of those volumes of the Barony of Cartsburn and Burgh of Barony of Crawforddyke. It contains an immense mass of minute local information, and not a few references to some of the leading events in the history of the country. The Crawford family have occupied a conspicuous place in the national annals from the twelfth century downwards, and have been worthily represented on the field, in the Peerage, and in the world of letters. Here, however,

Mr. Williamson confines himself to the branches of Easter Greenock, and Kilbirnie, and Jordanhill, from which the Cartsburn family are descended. The founder of this branch of the family was Thomas Crawford, merchant burgh of Glasgow, who, in 1669, obtained by purchase the lands of Cartsburn from Lady Margaret Lindsay. Mr. Williamson, however, carries the history of the estate back to an earlier period, and gives many interesting details in connection with it. Among other things he tells of the attempt on the part of the city of Glasgow to obtain possession of it for the purpose of forming a harbour, and of the jealousy with which the attempt was regarded by the Ardgowan family. Of the descendants of Thomas Crawford, the merchant buyers of Glasgow, a cadet of the Jordanhill branch of the Crawfords, he has much to tell, a great part of his volume being devoted to their doings. Among the names we meet with in his pages are those of Captain Thomas Crawford, sixth son of Laurence Crawford of Kilbirnie, famous for his daring exploit in surprising and carrying by escalade the almost impregnable fortress of Dumbarton during the minority of James VI. ; Laurence Crawford, son of Captain T. Crawford, who, after serving under Gustavus Adolphus, was present with Cromwell at Marston Moor, and was shot at the siege of Hereford ; Robert Ker, a noted Covenanter, who signed the Solemn League and Covenant of Ayrshire as 'Kersland,' and is mentioned by Woodrow ; George Crawford, the historian of Renfrewshire, and author of the well known *Scottish Peerage*, and several other important works ; and Dr. Macknight, the celebrated commentator. Probably, however, the more interesting part of Mr. Williamson's volume will, to most students of history, be the account it contains of the Baron Court of Cartsburn, and the numerous extracts from the records of that Court. Here much that is of the greatest interest will be found. Limitation of space will not allow us to extend our notice further. All we can say is that the volume is full of valuable information, a great part of which is of much more than local interest. Mr. Williamson writes clearly and forcibly, and deserves credit both for his painstaking researches and for the way in which he has presented the results of them to the reader.

The History of Greece from its Commencement to the Close of the Independence of the Greek Nation. By ADOLPH HOLM. Translated from the German. In four volumes. Vol. I. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Among the many excellent histories of Greece already accessible to the English reading public, this which the publishers have issued from the German will easily find a place, and while acceptable to the scholar, will prove itself, unless we are mistaken, of more use to the general reader than the more detailed and voluminous works. Less elaborate than Grote's, it is not less scholarly, and it has features which distinctly differentiate it from the histories of Curtius and Duncker. Its special feature is that it attempts to distinguish between what is ascertained in regard to Greek history and what is simply hypothesis, and to keep the two distinctly apart. The more important facts are treated in a comparatively narrow compass. Details are of course given and the general outlines emphasized. Many points which in other works are discussed at considerable length in the text, are here briefly dealt with in the notes, which follow the chapters. The chapters are brief and pointed and written with a view to each of them forming as far as possible a complete whole in itself. The advantage of this method of writing Greek history is obvious. The reader

who wishes to know what is really fact in regard to it and what is merely inference or conjecture is never at a loss with Dr. Holm as his guide, and is able to follow the general course of the history with ease. According to Dr. Holm Greek history falls into four periods. The first, which is the one here dealt with, ends with the year 500 B.C., and is consequently mainly concerned with the formation of the Greek race and the Greek character. As might be expected, therefore, many of the chapters are of a more or less critical character and discuss the various ethnographical questions involved, the value of the legends and of traditional history, the origin of religion and of art, and of civilisation in Greece. The Dorian invasion comes in for treatment as do also the Homeric poems and the state of civilisation in Asiatic Greece. From the fifteenth chapter onward Dr. Holm discusses the origin and constitution of Sparta and of Athens. These chapters together with those devoted to ethnography, to art, and to the social conditions of the primitive Greek people are of especial interest and will well repay perusal. Dr. Holm applies his method rigorously and the reader reaps the benefit. A single sentence may be cited as illustrating at once the method and spirit of the work. Dr. Holm is speaking of his views as to the Greek character and says: 'If I may be allowed to epitomize them here from one definite standpoint, I would say, that I do not, as many do, regard the Greeks as a people which in the most important phases of life always hit upon the best or nearly the best course of action, but I certainly consider them an exceptionally high type of humanity, as the great seekers after perfection among the nations, possessing all the qualities which necessarily belong to the indefatigable inquirer, animated, I may say, with the spirit which filled Lessing.' The anonymous translators deserve great credit for the clear, forcible, and idiomatic way in which they have rendered the original German.

Historical Sketches of the Reign of Queen Anne. By Mrs. OLIPHANT. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

These Sketches were written some years ago and appeared in a somewhat abbreviated form in the *Century Magazine*. They are here printed in their original form, the parts left out by their American editor being supplied. That they are worth reprinting we need hardly say. Anything from Mrs. Oliphant's pen is always acceptable, inasmuch as it is sure to be attractive if not entertaining. These essays—for such we may say they are—are characterised by all the literary skill one is now so well accustomed to see in the writings of their veteran authoress. They are in all seven. Two of them give an account of Queen Anne and her relations with the famous Duchess of Marlborough; other two of them deal with the life of William Penn the Quaker, and the remainder with Dean Swift, Daniel Defoe as a journalist, and Addison as a humourist. They abound in skillful narrative and skillful portraiture, and though there is probably nothing new in the essays, everything is put in the clearest and most interesting way. It is rather to be regretted that no references are given. In a work like this, even though it professes to be no more than a collection of Sketches, one likes to see whence the material is derived, and the grounds on which the various opinions expressed are based. It may be, however, that those for whom Mrs. Oliphant writes are the general reader or readers of the class who care for none of these things. All the same the value of the essays would be considerably enhanced in the eyes of others, if they were told whence the original materials are drawn. But even as it is the volume deserves a hearty welcome as one which is as instructive as it is entertaining.

The Meaning of History and other Historical Pieces. By FREDERIC HARRISON. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Most of the pieces which Mr. Harrison has here placed together have already seen the light in some other way. The title of the volume is taken from the first piece, the chapters of which seem to have formed a series of lectures. That these or any of the other pieces here associated with them contain any new historical fact, or any new reading of history, we do not suppose that Mr. Harrison claims. They indicate a wide and varied reading in historical literature, a clear apprehension of the broad outlines of universal history, and a genuine appreciation of the great master-pieces of historical writing. Their chief charm, however, and after all we imagine their chief value to most, will be in the style in which they are written. Mr. Harrison always writes well, and can always carry the reader along with him, however much he may differ from him in opinion. As an introduction to the study of history some of the pieces in the volume may be of admirable service. Such a paper, for instance, as that on Some Great Books of History, will be to many of greatest use. Mr. Harrison has no liking for the present method of writing history. Apparently he prefers generalisation to the painstaking accumulation of facts. At any rate he prefers Froude and Macaulay to Freeman and Gardiner, and rather smiles at the last taking, as it is said, though we know not with what truth, a year to write the history of a year. Both methods we should say are allowable, providing the aim of each is the presentation of the most accurate information that can be had. Certainly without the work of the minute historians, generalisation respecting the past would be nearly impossible, and far from reliable. Apart from this, Mr. Harrison's lectures and essays may be read with pleasure, they are always interesting, often eloquent, and always informing.

Adamnani Vita S. Columbae. Edited from Dr. Reeves's Text, with an Introduction on Early Irish Church History, Notes and Glossary, by J. T. FOWLER, M.A., D.C.L. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

A handy edition of Adannan's Life of St. Columba has for some time been wanting. For scholars, of course, Dr. Reeves's great work will always remain the standard, but for students something less bulky and less elaborate was desirable. Dr. Fowler has hit the exact medium, and produced an edition which, while less elaborate and more handy than that of Dr. Reeves, is quite full enough to meet the wants of students and of such as may simply desire to make themselves acquainted with this masterpiece of hagiography, without entering into the more recondite questions which its complete study involves. The text followed is, as the title-page indicates, that of the MS. written by Dorbhene, Abbot of Iona, who died in 713, and which was edited so elaborately by Dr. Reeves in 1857 for the Irish Celtic Society. The readings of the other MSS. are here given by Dr. Fowler more sparingly than in the edition just referred to. Those that are given, however, include most of the principal, and having Dr. Reeves's text before him, the reader is not likely to grumble as that leaves little, if anything, to be desired. The text is accompanied by a series of footnotes, some of them fairly elaborate, but most of them brief. All of them are to the point, and will be found of the greatest use. They deal with the topography of the Life, with its historical and biographical allusions, and with the peculiar meaning attached to some of the words used in the text.

Here and there, too, is a happy rendering of a difficult passage. Dr. Reeves has not left much for an annotator to do in the way of supplementing his notes, but what little he has left, Dr. Fowler, so far as we have examined his notes, has done it. Some points he has not settled. Perhaps no one ever will. The Introduction which Dr. Fowler has prefixed to the Life deserves special mention. Here, besides an account of the MSS. and a list of modern Lives of St. Columba, from which, however, we may observe in passing O'Hanlon's very elaborate Life of the Saint is absent, we have a rapid, but in some respects brilliant, sketch of the early history of the Irish Church, together with a Life of Columba and a narrative of Adamnan's. From beginning to end, Dr. Fowler's handsomely printed and handy volume exhibits the utmost care, and even those who are well versed in Dr. Reeves's edition, may profit from its perusal. With the exception of the Life above referred to, which is itself well worth reading, Dr. Fowler seems to be acquainted with everything of importance that has been written about the great Apostle of the Northern Picts.

Life and Letters of Dean Church. Edited by his daughter, MARY C. CHURCH, with a Preface by the Dean of Christ Church. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Of the making of biographies there is no end, and probably there will not be for a very long time to come; but of biographies like the one now before us there will always be abundant room and welcome. The subject of it was one of the principal figures in the Church of England during the half of the nineteenth century which is now so rapidly drawing to its close, and one whose influence within its fold is likely to continue. The biography itself has few equals. Severe compression and great skill in the art of selection have brought it within the compass of a single volume. Sufficient is told to place the subject of it before us in a vivid and life-like way, and the result is a volume of surpassing interest, not only because of the central figure but because of the many glimpses it affords into the inner life of the many religious, ecclesiastical and political movements with which it was the fortune of the Dean to be more or less intimately connected. Of the Dean's literary life not much is said. He was a Churchman first, and it is this aspect of his life, certainly the most important from a public point of view, that here receives the greatest attention. His life, from the time his boyhood ended, divides itself into three periods, each of which was curiously enough of about nineteen years duration. He was the son of John Dearman Church of Cork, and was born at Lisbon, April 25th, 1815, where the first year of his life was spent. The following year his father settled in Somersetshire, but afterwards removed to Florence, where the family resided until May, 1828, when, her husband being dead, Mrs. Church returned with her three children and settled at Bath. Five years later young Church went up to Oxford and went into residence at Wadham. At Oxford he made the acquaintance of Badham, Marriott, and Moberly, the last of whom had married one of his step-sisters, and became one of its most distinguished scholars. The part he took in the Oxford Movement and his connection with its leaders he has described himself. But little fresh light is thrown upon that now famous episode in Miss Church's pages. Much, however, is told about her father's movements during his vacations. These were usually spent abroad, and we have a series of letters which he wrote home during his travels full of exquisite pictures of foreign scenery and incident. After eighteen years at Oxford, Mr. Church spent nineteen at Whatley, discharging the duties of parish priest with zeal, kindness and judgment, and thoroughly win-

ning the hearts of his parishoners. While here, Mr. Gladstone offered him a Canonry at Worcester, which was declined. Afterwards, on the death of Dean Mansel, July, 1871, he was offered, and, though not without much hesitation, accepted the Deanery of St. Paul's. Of his work there Canon Scott Holland, who was intimately associated with the Dean during his later years, has written a graphic account, and to this we must refer the reader. All that need be said here is that in all the great changes which have come over St. Paul's during recent years Dr. Church was the leading spirit. He had no ambition to be a Bishop, and tells us that when Dr. Liddon was offered a Bishopric he found himself combatting the very arguments which he himself, when in a similar position, had advanced for declining the preferment. Scattered over almost every page of the volume, which is for the most part made up of extracts skilfully fitted together, are references to most of the principal names in the country during the last fifty or sixty years. Not a few of them are to Mr. Gladstone, through whose 'most earnest and urgent' request he had gone to St. Paul's. Writing about him to Dr. Asa Gray in 1868, Dr. Church says: 'There never was a man so genuinely admired for the qualities which deserve admiration—his earnestness, his deep popular sympathies, his unflinching courage—and there never was a man more deeply hated, both for his good points, and for his undeniable defects and failings. But they love him much less in the House than they do out of doors.' Two years later he writes, 'Gladstone's weak point is what is most amiable in him, his strong vein of sentiment. It is the spring of what is noblest about his impulses; but it is a perilous quality too.'

Lewis Morrison-Grant: His Life, Letters, and Last Poems.
 Edited by Jessie Annie Anderson. Paisley and London:
 Alex. Gardner. 1894.

Lewis Morrison-Grant was the son of Lewis and Isabella Grant, and was born December 9, 1872, in a small cottage, close by Loch Park, Banffshire. The place is lonely but lovely. Here he spent several years of his childhood, and then removed with his parents first to one place and then to another, till they finally settled at Newton Cottage, near the Mill of Towie. The cottage stood close to the Isla, by whose waters it was often submerged. It was a ruinous and unhealthy little house, and year by year became more unfit for human habitation. In the spring of 1890 Lewis Morrison-Grant wrote of it—'There is something oppressively dismal about this place, and for all its dampness and disrepair, it has not even the appearance of picturesqueness.' Here, however, he seems to have laid the seeds of the illness which finally carried him off in July, 1893. He was reared tenderly and carefully as the children of many Scottish peasants are, and after attending the public schools entered Aberdeen University. His childhood was peculiar—lonely, thoughtful, intensely sensitive, full of poetic fancies, self-conscious, and of a profoundly religious turn of mind. From his earliest days he took to verse making, and aspired to be a poet, and had life been spared to him, he would undoubtedly have done much better work than anything he published. He was full of promise, and from his peculiar constitution had certainly the making of a poet in him. Miss Anderson has here in the volume before us gathered together his letters and unpublished pieces, and so arranged and edited them as to make a volume of more than ordinary interest. Lewis Morrison-Grant was far from being a commonplace thinker or a commonplace character. And besides, the letters which Miss Anderson has published, and the setting she has given them, tell many things respecting the struggles and sacrifices, hopes and fears of the peasant and student life of Scotland, which as a

rule are carefully kept from view, and with which few, except those who have actual experience of them, are acquainted.

A New English Dictionary, on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, D.C.L., etc., with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. D—Deceit (Commencing Vol. III). Deceit—Deject (Vol. III). F—Fang (Commencing Vol. IV). By HENRY BRADLEY, Jun., M.A., Oxford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1894-1895.

Not the least welcome intelligence respecting this great undertaking is that, having completed the first four letters of the alphabet, the delegates of the Clarendon Press have, in response to the desire for the more frequent publication of the subsequent portions of the work, arranged to issue the letters D and F in Quarterly sections. The arrangement is one for which all students of the English language and literature cannot but be thankful, and one we should say, and hope, which will have the effect of bringing the Dictionary within the purchasing power of a larger circle. Multitudes can spare half-a-crown at a time who cannot afford their twelve-and-sixpence, and it is among these that we should like to see this greatest of our Dictionaries circulating. The two parts belonging to Volume III. are from the editorship of Dr. Murray, while the part belonging to Volume IV. has been edited by Mr. Bradley. The work goes on in the same way as before, and continues to be marked by all its former excellencies. The three parts contain many articles of interest, and the work still proves itself the fullest. In illustration of this we may mention that while the number of words recorded Deceit—Deject in the Century Dictionary is 854, and in Funk & Wagnall's 866, in Dr. Murray's it is no less than 1,340, or 474 more than in Funk and Wagnall's, and 486 more than in the Century. Again, the number of words illustrated by quotations in Dr. Murray's is 1300, or over a thousand more than in Funk & Wagnall's, and 850 more than in the Century. These features are not distinctive of any one particular part, but are applicable to the Dictionary as a whole.

The Burdens of Balaif and other Poems. By the DUKE OF ARGYLL, K.G., K.T. London: John Murray. 1894.

After achieving no inconsiderable amount of success in other lines of composition, the Duke of Argyll here appears as a writer of verse or poetry. Hitherto he has been known as an author dealing with subjects more or less connected with natural history, science, history, politics, political economy and socialism, and the volume before us is another proof of his wonderful activity and versatility of mind. Considerable interest attaches itself to it; not only because poetry lies so far out of the track which his Grace has hitherto followed, but because one is always curious to see the attitude which a statesman, or for that matter, one whose studies have lain chiefly in the direction of science, or among the facts of history and politics, is disposed to take up in regard to the subjects among which poetry is naturally at home. According to some, Science holds the field, and in proportion as it advances and brings its dry light to bear upon the facts of existence, the poetic aspects of nature and life will fade away. That may or may not be the case. Meantime, it seems to us that

those who hold this doctrine are chargeable with closing their eyes to a whole series of facts which for poetry and the poetic art can scarcely fail to have the highest significance. Science, as we venture to think, instead of acting with destructive effect upon poetry, or poetic feeling, is simply drawing aside the veil and revealing nature in unexpected and more wonderful aspects, and is thus preparing the way for a new and probably higher order of poetry than any we are as yet acquainted with. This would appear to be the opinion of the Duke of Argyll. In the admirable preface he has written for this volume he makes the extremely pertinent and valuable remark :—‘The progress of Science in recent times has been singularly full of what may be called transcendental elements—full, that is to say, of suggested thoughts which go to establish to our minds the most fertile, perhaps, of all poetic conceptions—that, namely, of the unity of nature, and therefore of its manifold and inexhaustible relations with the human spirit.’ And he goes on to add, ‘As imagery is the very soul of poetry, it follows that every discovery enlarging our conception of the universe in which we live, and of which we form an essential part, must, in the very nature of things, open out new vistas into those subtle and intimate analogies which give us the hidden meanings of the world.’ And these, he further adds, ‘are not only the province of the poet—they are his home. It is the highest function of his “vision and faculty divine” to see them, and to give to them some attractive and some melodious voice.’ The justness of these remarks, it seems to us, is beyond question. They are founded upon a deeper and broader philosophy than the theory referred to above. One of the poems in the volume, that, namely, on the funeral of Lord Tennyson, has already found its way into popular favour, and deservedly so. It is full of fine thought and feeling, and is built up with singular skill. Other pieces are deserving of almost equal favour. ‘A Cross of Flowers’ and ‘A Sunset Sky’ are full of tender and exquisite sympathy. ‘The King’s Cave,’ at Ugadale, Kintyre, takes the form of an old ballad, and has much of the old ring about it. The poem ‘To the Laureate’ is amongst the finest in the collection. The chief piece, however, and that which gives its title to the volume, is ‘The Burdens of Belief.’ Here the noble author has resuscitated a kind of poetry with which the present generation is but little acquainted, and is following in the steps of the metaphysical poets of the last century. It is an attempt to put into poetic form the facts and suggestions connected with modern science in its relations with religion and philosophy. At the outset the large amount of truth which belongs to what is called the Agnostic aspect of the world is acknowledged, and the absolute silence of nature described, together with the weary and bootless quest for—

‘Some voices speaking from on high,
Some help to draw us near
To Nature’s living soul,
And from her sealed lips to draw
The secret of her mystic scroll
Of Order and of Law.
Responding as she may
To him who, digging, deeply delves,
She leaves us, but at close of day,
Some shadow of ourselves.
A vaster shadow? Yes;
But still we seek some nobler thing,
For something that can raise and bless,
Some vision of the King.’



But while this is admitted, it is by no means admitted that the failures or successes of modern science have, in any way, seriously affected any of the great or ultimate problems of human life or thought. These remain much as they have always been, for the reason, as the Duke observes in his preface, that, with a single exception, no physical discovery of modern times 'has been really new in the ultimate principle or law upon which it depends, and which it alone can reveal'; no one of them 'has been anything more than some further application in detail of some principle or idea which, in the rough and in the large, had been long familiar to the human mind.' The one exception to this is the discovery or the series of discoveries due to the spectrum analysis of light, the result of which is, as it is further observed, 'to prove the scientific truth of the old conception of the microcosm and the macrocosm—the conception that we are in ourselves an epitome of all that nature contains, and therefore that in new senses, as well as in the higher sense in which we have been told it before, the Kingdom of Heaven is within us. This is the burden of the third, fourth, and fifth stanzas of the poem, while in the sixth stanza we have the higher thought:—

' Beside, and deep within—
 Within this living soul of ours
 Most veiled of all, yet next of kin
 To the everlasting Powers :
 Born of great Nature's blood,
 Flesh of its flesh, and bone of bone,
 Most nearly must it once have stood
 Close to the central Throne ;
 For still through time and space
 No voice there seems unknown on Earth,
 No meaning look on her vast face
 That is of alien birth.'

At the same time, through all these stanzas, emphasis is laid on the vanity of expecting to find elsewhere than near and within ourselves the truths which in reality lie within and around us. Next we hear of the formative power of mind—

' Making for ends unseen
 Beyond all summits we can climb.'

The doctrine of Design is illustrated with great skill, and among other conceptions set forth are such as—

' The highest things we know
 Are conscious faith, and trust, and love,'

the connection, between, and in their ultimate nature the identity of, that which is called Instinct and Inspiration, the reasonableness of the Incarnation and the consequent credibility of strictly predictive prophecy. But we have already overstepped our limits. We can only add that the poem is full of the profoundest thought, admirably expressed, though here and there the expression suffers from the too great compression of the thought. The poem is not one whose meaning can be caught up by merely skimming over its pages. It requires and deserves to be carefully studied, as containing, whatever may be said as to its form, some of the noblest and most inspiring thoughts of the present, and as touching upon some of those profounder questions of human life and existence, the solution of which is the burden of many a mind.

The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited from numerous MSS. by the REV. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt.D., etc., etc. Vol. V. Notes to the Canterbury Tales. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

Every student of Chaucer will hail this fifth volume of Dr. Skeat's monumental edition of Chaucer with pleasure. Its contents are—(1) An introduction on the canon of Chaucer's works; (2) Explanatory notes to the Canterbury Tales; and (3) An index to the words and subjects explained in the notes contained in this and the preceding volumes. The first may be said to be supplemental to the Introduction given in the fourth volume. It brings out some very curious things, and shows what extremely erroneous views have been prevalent as to what works are Chaucer's, and how these opinions have come to prevail. The writing of it, one would think, must have been an extremely pleasant piece of work, as Professor Skeat, like some others, rarely seems so happy, or so much at home, as when hunting down a false opinion. In the notes we have well nigh all that can be desired. Most of them are short, though some of them are of considerable length. They are always informing, and exhibit remarkably wide reading. So far as we have examined them, they grapple with all the difficulties that occur in the text. The author is seldom at a loss for a good, if not an entirely sufficient, explanation, and the student may always turn to them in the full assurance that here he will meet with the last word which the most accomplished student of Chaucer living has to say with regard to any difficulties he may be perplexed with. The Index is extremely handy. It serves almost as a glossary to nearly every important word used by Chaucer, as well as a key to where the explanations of every difficult passage and Chaucer's frequent allusions may be found. The public, quite as much as Professor Skeat, is to be congratulated on the near completion of so great a work.

The Poetical Works of Sir Walter Scott with the Author's Introduction and Notes. Edited by J. LOGIE ROBERTSON, M.A. London: Henry Frowde. 1894.

This volume may claim to contain the most complete and accurate edition of Sir Walter Scott's poetical works which has ever been published. The Editor, Mr. Logie Robertson, has spared no pains in collating the text and in correcting the proofs. He has been rewarded by the discovery of a number of errors which had crept into former editions, and with the satisfaction of being the first to give a thoroughly reliable text of the whole works. He has done his best too to discriminate between pieces which belong to his author and those which do not. This applies of course to the mottoes the Great Novelist was in the habit of affixing to his chapters in the *Waverley Novels*. The question as to the authorship of some of them is to say the least perplexing. In many instances 'Old Play,' 'New Play,' and even the names of individuals appended to them are known to be fictitious. Still it is not always easy to decide the question of their origin. Lockhart seems to have given up the task in despair; Mr. Robertson has done his best to solve the question, and with a very considerable measure of success. The edition is issued in two forms, one on India and the other on ordinary paper. The printing in both is clear and pleasant to read. The India paper edition is extremely handsome and altogether a beautiful piece of workmanship.

The Russian Jews : Extermination or Emancipation ? By LEO ERRERA, Professor at the University of Brussels. With a Prefatory Note by THEODORE MOMMSEN. Translated by BELLA LÖWY. London : David Nutt. 1894.

The treatment to which the Jews in Russia have been subjected has now for a considerable period attracted the attention of the public in Western Europe. Many opinions have been expressed about it, and some of them conflicting. Speaking for the Jews, M. Errera here puts their case before the public in a very calm, temperate, and forcible way. He adduces all manner of facts and proofs, and cites in support of his narrative of oppression and cruelty a great variety of testimony. His own statements and those of the witnesses he calls in to support them, make up a very dark picture—a picture, it may be said, which, if only partly true, is a disgrace to civilization. Into all the statements which are made, or into any examination respecting their truth, we cannot here of course enter. All that we can say is that Professor Errera cites an abundance of authorities in support of them, and betrays no desire to make things appear worse than the authorities he employs really make them out to be. Among the witnesses he calls into court are the Commissioners sent out in 1891 by the Government of the United States to inquire into the condition of the Jews in Russia, and a number of his paragraphs, some of them the most touching, are taken from the more or less violent organs of the Russian Anti-Semitic press. The first part of his volume is historical. Here he shows that the Jews are no strangers in Russia, their earliest settlements going back to the time of Alexander the Great. The career of the Jewish Kingdom of the Khazars is briefly sketched, the settlement of the Karaites in the Crimea, who, however, are not regarded as Jews by the Russian Government, is referred to, and the immigration of the Jews into Poland in the eleventh century and the immunities they enjoyed under Casimir the Great are briefly mentioned, as is also the massacre of the Jews and Catholics in the campaign of Chmielniki, the Hetman of the Cossacks, to wards the middle of the seventeenth century. After these preliminary statements, Professor Errera proceeds to speak of the attitude of the various sovereigns of Russia towards their Jewish subjects. As far back as the year 1110 the Jews seem to have been hardly entreated by the Russian Government. In that year all Jews resident in Russia were expelled. An imperial ukase again expelled them in the year 1742. Catherine II. seems to have desired that the Jews both in White Russia and in the rest of her dominions should enjoy the rights and privileges enjoyed by her other subjects, and, according to M. de Gradowski, actually granted these rights and privileges to them ; but unfortunately for the Jews, her intentions were, according to M. Errera, frustrated by the Senate, which, under the pretext of interpreting the intentions of the Empress, imposed upon them various restrictive measures, such as forbidding them to inhabit sea-ports, excluding them from corporations, and prohibiting their free circulation throughout the different parts of the Empire. Under Alexander I. the lot of the Russian Jews was considerably ameliorated, and the Popoff Commission was distinctly favourable to them. After the liberation of the serfs by Alexander II., it was expected that a similar measure would be passed in respect to the Jews. The expectation, however, was disappointed. In 1881 came the massacres. These were followed by the 'May Laws' of 1882, which were elaborated by General Ignatieff, 'whose rancorous hostility to the Jews,' says M. Errera, 'was well known.' These forbade the Jews, among other things, to settle outside certain towns and townlets,

the completion of instruments of purchase of real property mortgages in the name of Jews, the registration of Jews as lessees of landed estates situated outside the precincts of towns and townlets within the Jewish Pale, and the issue of powers of attorney to enable them to manage and dispose of such property. The want of any clear definition as to what a townlet is, opened the way for the most arbitrary application of these measures, and some of the authorities were not slow to avail themselves of the opening thus afforded, and the result was 'to fill to overflowing all towns of the Settlement, in which the population was already enormously overcrowded, in which labour was at a standstill, and where competition had reached such a deadly pitch that the hygienic conditions of life became daily more and more deplorable.' In 1883 the Pahlen Commission was appointed to draw up a general report on the subject. The conclusion arrived at by the Commission, which appears to have been supported by public opinion, was that the Jews should in a measure be emancipated and be granted some portion of the civil rights which had hitherto been denied them. One of the Commissioners, Prince Demidoff San Donato, went so far, in fact, as to demand their complete emancipation and the full concession to them of ordinary rights. These enlightened views, however, were overborne by the influence of M. Pobédonostsev, the Procurator of the Holy Synod, who took for his motto, 'One King, one Faith, one Law,' with the results which M. Errera here shows. We have already exceeded the limits assigned to us, and can only recommend to our readers the perusal of M. Errera's volume. It is not by any means pleasant reading. The details given are exceedingly painful, and reveal a state of affairs scarcely conceivable. As before said, amongst the chief witnesses whom M. Errera cites are Messrs. Weber and Kempster, the United States Commissioner, and some of the organs more or less violent of the Russian Anti-Semitic press. Amongst the incidents related by the latter, some of the most brutally cruel are to be found, and it would even appear that the very enemies of the unfortunate race are beginning to be touched with sympathy for them in their terrible sufferings. We ought not to omit to say that M. Errera states the accusations which are brought against the Jews, and appears to have no difficulty in disproving them. The translation, notwithstanding two or three misprints, has been well and faithfully done.

Woman's Share in Primitive Culture. By OTIS TUFTON MASON, A.M., PH.D. Illustrated. (The Anthropological Series, Edited by Professor Fr. Starr). London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

This is the first volume of a new series of Hand-books which are to be devoted to different departments of the comparatively new, but not the less interesting science of Anthropology. The Editor of the series is Professor Frederick Starr of the University of Chicago, who may be congratulated on having made so excellent a beginning. Mr. Mason has had the good fortune to seize upon one of the points in Anthropology, which, as far as we know, has not before been elaborated, and which in itself is one of the most attractive and interesting and important in the whole of the science. Notwithstanding a slight tendency to indulge in a somewhat inflated style of writing, Professor Mason's treatment of his subject may on the whole be commended. Of information he has an abundance, as well as the art of turning it to excellent use. His exposition is throughout clear and intelligent. His chapters, as need hardly be said, range over a wide field of topics, and deal with such things as the part which women

have played in the development of civilisation as preparers of food, weaving, skin dressing, manufacturers of pottery, artists, carriers, and as the founders of society and patrons of religion. In the course of his volume much curious and out of the way information is given, and it may be said, indeed, that in some respects the author has here written a new chapter in the history of the human race.

The Traditional Games of England, Scotland, and Ireland, with Tunes, Singing-Rhymes, and Methods of Playing, according to the Variants extant and recorded in different parts of the Kingdom. Collected and Annotated by ALICE BERTHA GOMME. Vol. I. Accroshay—Nuts in May. London: David Nutt. 1894.

Mrs. Gomme has here undertaken a great and important, and, in the opinion of many, we should say, an extremely interesting work. Her object is to form a dictionary of the vast multitude of games which are played at by children in all parts of the kingdom, and to note their variants in the different localities. That a work of this kind is worth compiling, there cannot, we should think, be the slightest doubt. So far as Mrs. Gomme has carried it in this volume, she has done it well. But to do it thoroughly seems to us too much for a single hand. Mrs. Gomme has had the assistance of books and of a few active correspondents, and the wonder is that with so little assistance she has done so well; but what is requisite in order that the work should be done in a way commensurate with its importance and with the interest attaching to it, is that her staff should have its representative in every locality, for every locality, so far as the present writer's observation goes, has its own games and its own variants. To enumerate all the points we have noted would carry us much beyond the space here allotted to us; but one or two may be referred to. Accroshay is not confined to Cornwall. It is played in Yorkshire under a different name. Ball and Bonnets is played in the North of England and South of Scotland, but in some respects differently from what it is in Nairn. The same may be said of Ball in the Decker. In Yorkshire and elsewhere bandy ball is played with short sticks bent at one end and a bung, instead of a small wooden ball, and under the name of Shinty, the sticks being called shinties. Beds has a variant in the Scotch game of Peevers. In the game of Bob-cherry an apple is in some parts substituted for a cherry, when the game is called Bob-apple or Grab-apple. Bung the Bucket has another rhyme in the North of England which begins 'Hi cockalorum, jig, jig, jig.' There is another game at buttons than those given here. The buttons are invariably brass. A place is chosen about a couple of yards from a wall. Several players then throw an equal number of buttons to the bottom of the wall, each throwing one at a time and in their turns. The one whose button lies nearest the wall wins the lot. A widely spread variant of Drop the Handkerchief is Parlour Tig. The article on Cherry-pit might be enlarged into an article on the different games in which cherry stones are used. There are several. Under the letter F we miss any reference to the game of Fives. In many parts the players at hop, step, and jump run before they hop. When hopping from where they stand, the game is distinguished as standing hop, step, etc. King o' the Castle is also known as King o' the Midden. The game of Cat is not described by Mrs. Gomme as it is played in the North. Some of her articles, however, seem to us almost if not quite exhaustive. It is to be hoped that so excellent a work will meet with the liberal encouragement and support it deserves.

From the Clyde to the Jordan : Narrative of a Bicycle Journey.
By HUGH CALLAN. London and Glasgow : Blackie & Sons. 1895.

Most, if not all, of the chapters of this volume appeared some time ago in the columns of the *Glasgow Herald*. Mr. Callan, however, has done well to print them in a more permanent form. That he is an enthusiast for 'cycling,' and advocates the use of the bicycle as a means of travelling on the Continent need hardly be said. His own adventurous journey from the Clyde to the Jordan as here described has not a little charm about it, and will probably have the effect of inducing others as adventurous as himself to follow in his track. The experiences he met with were on the whole not unpleasant, and are graphically described. All along his route, Mr. Callan kept his eyes about him, and was quick to note both the changing scenery and the characteristics of the people through whose lands he passed. Here and there he has a humorous story to tell. In many parts his 'Safety' was an absolute novelty, and had a queer effect both upon men and animals, the former scattering as readily on his sudden appearance as the latter, and the latter being in some instances so thoroughly overcome with fear as to be bereft of motion. Altogether the volume is pleasant reading, and Mr. Callan's track lying along other than the beaten paths of tourists and travellers, he has much to tell about the peoples and countries through which he passed that is new.

Modern Journalism : A Handbook of Instruction and Counsel for the Young Journalist. By JOHN B. MACKIE. London : Crosby Lockwood & Son. 1894.

In this modest little volume the young aspirant to employment or to a successful career in Journalism will find much valuable information, many useful hints, and some very wholesome and serviceable counsel. Mr. Mackie tells no secrets, but he tells clearly and succinctly what the duties are which are likely to fall to those who are seeking employment on the staff of a newspaper, how these duties require to be discharged, the qualifications requisite for a successful career, and what a successful career in journalism really means. In addition to this, he recounts many of the details of journalistic life ; and, taking the reader behind the scenes, gives him an insight into the ways and means adopted for providing the pages of a Daily or Weekly with their requisite supply of matter. The various members of the staff and their particular duties are described, and an account is given of the Press Fund and of the Institute of Journalists, the charter of which is printed as an appendix. Others than those meditating journalism as a profession will find much to inform them in Mr. Mackie's instructive pages.

The Leisure Hour, 1894. Religious Tract Society, London.

Sunday at Home, 1894. Same Publishers.

These two magazines do more than retain the excellent reputation they have so long enjoyed. Each of them contains a very great variety of attractive and instructive reading. As might be expected, the first of them is more secular in its tone. Considerable space is given to scientific and literary matters, historical and biographical pieces are numerous, travels and stories of adventure find a place, and in addition to these we have shorter and longer pieces from the foremost novelists of the day. In *Sun-*

day at Home there is a series of excellent chapters on 'Religious Life in Germany,' another series is devoted to 'The Sabbath in Edinburgh,' and others to 'Sunday in Birmingham,' and 'Sunday at Oxford.' Sermons and devotional pieces, as is fitting in a magazine primarily designed for Sunday reading, are numerous. There are also many chapters in biography. Two or three continued stories run in the volume, and many shorter stories are scattered through its pages. Altogether the variety of matter in the two volumes is remarkable, and few can fail to find something in them which is not both interesting and informing. The illustrations are as usual abundant and show an improvement on those of previous years.

SHORT NOTICES.

Judaistic Christianity (Macmillan) is a course of lectures delivered at Cambridge by the late Fenton John Anthony Hort, D.D. They are partly historical and partly controversial. They are historical inasmuch as one of the main objects of their author is to trace the Judaistic element as it manifested itself in the practices and literature of the Primitive Church; and they are controversial inasmuch as the views of the Tubingen School are more or less combatted on almost every page. Dr. Hort's principal aim, however, is constructive. While acknowledging the value of the work done by Baur in connection with the writings of the New Testament and the early history of the Christian Church, he examines the subject independently, with, of course, very different results. The lectures as we need hardly add are scholarly.

The volume of Sermons by the Rev. W. Leighton Grane, M.A., bearing the title, *The Word and the Way* (Macmillan), divides itself into four series. The subject of the first is 'The Word of Life'; of the second, 'The Way of Life'; of the third, 'Stones of Stumbling'; and of the fourth, 'Stones of Help.' All through the object of the author has been to restate the principles of the Christian Faith, and to enforce and illustrate them in the light of the life of our Lord and the revelations of Scripture. The Sermons are bright and fresh, and may bring help to many.

Christus Imperator (Macmillan) is a series of 'Lecture-Sermons' on the universal empire of Christianity delivered in St. Bridget's Church, Waverley, near Liverpool, by some of the leading preachers in the English Church. They deal with such topics as Christ in the Realm of History, in the Realm of Philosophy, in the Realm of Law, of Art, of Politics, of Science, and of Poetry. The introductory sermon which is by Dean Stubbs, the editor of the volume, is on the Supremacy of Christ in all Realms. The sermons are of much more than average ability, and will well repay perusal.

Last Words in the Temple Church (Macmillan) is another volume of sermons by Dr. Vaughan. The sermons of the Master of the Temple are so well known, and have been so long and deservedly popular, that it is unnecessary for us to do anything more than note the appearance of the present volume, the sermons in which are characterised by all the well known features of their venerable author's pious utterances.

In the *Principles of the Episcopate* (Macmillan), Mr. W. Davison addresses a discourse to 'Advanced religious thinkers on Christian Times.' By 'advanced religious thinkers' he means those who are not, or do not wish to be, moved by external presentments, who are free from every form of religious fanaticism, bigotry, and exclusiveness, who, though they may be worshippers in Churches, are not restricted by them, regarding them as means,

and not an end; not necessarily synonymous or identical with Divine Truth to the adherent at every stage of his religious development, but rather as a ship which takes us to the shore of our wishes, which may then be abandoned or dispensed with in the attainment of a larger freedom, in the development of the apprehension of an Inward Law which commands us with a stronger and more irresistible force than any external restrictions, as that of the "Kingdom of Heaven" which is within us.' Such may be advanced religious thinkers. Some may be disposed to apply to them another name. However, several parts of Mr. Davies' discourse to them may be commended. In theology or philosophy he is not strong. His practical remarks are often to the point.

In *The Use of Life* (Macmillan) Sir John Lubbock continues his wise and practical counsels. A man well versed in the experience and affairs of life, he has many useful and helpful things to say, and says them in that clear, cheerful, and attractive way to which we have become accustomed. His little volume is one to keep at hand, and may be dipped into at spare moments with advantage.

Mr. Henry Craik's third volume of *English Prose Selections* (Macmillan) is constituted on the same principle as the two volumes which have preceded it. The selections cover the seventeenth century, and are taken from some of the greatest prose writings in the English language. The editor's introduction to the volume is excellent. The same may be said of Mr. Courthope's introduction to the selections from Dryden, and of several others: but all are well done, and it would be difficult to find fault with any one of them.

Pushing to the Front (Houghton, Mifflin & Co.) is the result of a long cherished wish on the part of Mr. Orison Swett Marden, its author, to write a book to encourage, inspire, and stimulate boys and girls who long to be somebody and do something in the world, but feel they have no chance in life. If abundance of good counsel, illustrated by innumerable anecdotes will accomplish what Mr. Marden desires, his volume ought to succeed admirably. There is not a dull page in it, and boys and girls of all ages may gather incentives and hope from the stories he relates.

Among the WORKS OF FICTION which have reached us during the Quarter the first place is due to *In the Lion's Mouth* (Macmillan) by Eleanor C. Price. It is the story of two English orphans—a boy and a girl—who were sent to France, in order to be out of the way of a designing uncle, just before the outbreak of the Revolution, and describes their life in a French family, their many adventures and hairbreadth escapes when the tide of the Revolution reached the village in which they were living. The story is full of exciting scenes and is written with great power.

Maelcho (Smith, Elder) is an Irish tale of the sixteenth century by the Hon. Emily Lawless. In some respects it is the best piece of fiction writing its author has produced. Maelcho is a strange being, subject to strange moods and tempers, yet without not without a certain grandeur of character. The wild scenes of Irish life which abound in the volume are graphically depicted, and an intimate acquaintance with the more rugged scenery of Ireland and the life of which its recesses were three centuries ago the theatre is abundantly manifest. About many of its pages there is a strange fascination, though there are others which we venture to think are redundant.

Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush (Hodder & Stoughton) by Ian Maclaren, is on the whole satisfactory. It contains many interesting and life-like

passages, and is rich in promise ; but it can scarcely be called a great book. Its tone is not exhilarating, but that is due to the line which Mr. Maclaren has taken.

Mr. Crockett's story, *The Play Actress* (Hodder & Stoughton) is pathetic. The author knows more of country than of London life. Nevertheless, the scene in the London drawing-room is striking, even if improbable.

M. A. S. Robertson's *Provost o' Glendookie* (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier) contains a number of sketches of life in a Fifeshire town. They are photographic in their minuteness, and apparently true to the life.

Puddin (Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier) is a touching story of Edinburgh life, in which a cheery lad with a healthy conscience works his way up in the world, and ultimately succeeds in winning back his father to rational ways, and in making both him and others happy. Its author is Mr. W. Grant Stevenson.

Sir Hugh Gilzean-Reid's '*Tween Gloamin' and Mirk* (Alex. Gardner) is a collection of tales and sketches of Scottish life. Both the tales and sketches are varied in character, and are told with considerable literary skill. They afford a clear insight into the peculiarities of Scottish life and character among all ranks and classes, in town, in country, and at the university. Here and there a good story is told, and the book is both instructive and entertaining.

Of REPRINTS we have received from Messrs. Macmillan & Co. an excellent edition of *The Works of Alfred Lord Tennyson* in one volume, uniform with their seven-and-sixpenny editions of the poetical works of Wordsworth, Coleridge, and Matthew Arnold. It is clearly printed on good paper, is complete, and contains an excellent portrait. From the same publisher we have also a charming edition of Keble's *Christian Year*. The volume has found a place in the Golden Treasury Series, which contains so many other excellent volumes. From Mr. Fisher Unwin we have the third volume of the *Best Plays of Ben Jonson*. It contains Bartholomew's Fair, Cynthia's Revels, and Sejanus. Messrs. Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier have sent out a new edition of *My Ducats and My Daughter*, by P. Hay Hunter and Walter Whyte ; and of Mr. Hay Hunter's *Crime of Christmas Day* ; and Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton a handsome reprint of Mr. W. D. Latto's *Tammas Bodkin*.

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ART. I.—THE SONGS OF SCOTLAND BEFORE BURNS.

IN poetry and in song the Scottish people have but one idol. It is true that they can boast of a pair of really great poets, but it is none the less true that Scott is known chiefly by his prose only, while Burns in effect holds his place of honour without rival or competitor. As a song writer at any rate it would be impossible to praise Burns too much: in that capacity he is beyond all doubt the greatest of all truly popular poets. His contributions to the national stores would have been alone sufficient to make a song-literature for his country; and it is a mere truism that his lyrics have exercised a greater influence, and have enjoyed a greater measure of popular favour than those of any other writer before or since his day.

But the nation which claims Burns as a son is rich also in minor songsters, many of whom had set the people singing before Burns was born. These songsters sprang, as a rule, from the same class as Burns himself: they came from the people, and in their muse they belonged to the people. Away back in the sixteenth century Scotland had her poets, but those who then claimed the dignity of the poet's designation considered themselves above the writing of songs. William Dunbar, the darling of the early Scottish muse, must have read to the great public of his day—if indeed the great public read

him at all—as heavily as Chaucer would now read to a public fed upon the railway bookstalls. Gavin Douglas, the Bishop of Dunkeld, strove to get above the homely level by an abundant use of Latin, and so made himself intelligible only to the learned. Sir David Lyndsay of the Mount was poetically interested in nothing so much as the profligacy, the avarice, and the luxury of the ecclesiastical orders; while Drummond, Hume, and Wedderburn, all laboured more or less to turn out lines for the leisurely. The works of every one of these writers will be searched in vain for anything that can strictly be called a song—a lyrical composition to be sung to music by the people. The natural and familiar subjects in which the people were interested were entirely beneath their notice: at the best they only stalked about on the lofty stilts of rhyme, and masqueraded in the guise of poetry altogether beyond the popular appreciation. Nor were the later times of religious struggle at all favourable to song-writing. Songs built upon purely secular themes were looked upon as low and sinful, and the result was, as Chambers puts it, a long series of dull religious lyrics composed to vulgar ballad melodies of the day in the vain hope that they would supersede the ‘sin and harlotrie’ so much complained of by the fathers and brethren. After the Revolution, when the country began to free itself somewhat from ecclesiastical dissension, the popular song received attention; and the days of Anne and George I. saw a large fresh growth of the pure unadulterated article. In the present paper we intend to deal with some of the better known of these songs, taking them down to the time when Burns burst upon an astonished world, and almost buried out of sight the poetical mannikins who were his predecessors.

If we were to take the songs which Burns himself admired we should have a tolerably exhaustive list. First of all in point of date there would be ‘Maggie Lauder,’ a song which, for reasons perfectly obvious, is less popular now than it was in the days of our grandfathers. In the poet’s time he could truthfully declare that the Scottish naivete and energy of ‘Maggie Lauder’ caused it to be ‘much relished by all ranks,’ notwithstanding its broad and palpable allusions. ‘Its

language,' said he, 'is a precious model of imitation—sly, sprightly, and forcibly expressive. Maggie's tongue wags out the nicknames of Rob the piper with all the careless lightsomeness of unrestrained gaiety.'

The author of 'Maggie Lauder' is generally believed to be Francis Sempill of Belltrees, in Renfrewshire, who lived about the middle of the seventeenth century, and who is also the reputed author of the songs, 'The blythesome bridal,' and 'She rose and let me in.' The Sempills were among the earliest cultivators of Scottish song. Sir James, who was a favourite with James VI., by whom he was knighted, wrote a satire called 'The packman and the priest,' in which of course he sought to expose the absurdities of Popery; and his son Robert had the merit of using a form of stanza which Ramsay and Burns afterwards adopted and made popular. Some doubts have been thrown on the Sempill authorship of 'Maggie Lauder,' upon the grounds that the scene of the song belongs to Fifeshire, and that the song itself does not appear in Ramsay's 'Tea-Table Miscellany,' published many years after its reputed date.

To these objections it may be answered that, although 'Maggie Lauder' professedly belongs to Anstruther, in Fife, the scene of the song is not entirely laid there. 'A piper met her *gaun* to Fife' is, to be sure, not quite definite as to whether the piper or Maggie were on the way to the 'Kingdom'; but then there is the allusion to Habbie Simpson, who was a noted piper in Kilbarchan, a village in Renfrewshire contiguous to the estate of Belltrees. A statue of Habbie is, we believe, still to be seen in a niche of the village steeple; and the fact is beyond dispute that Robert Sempill, the father of Francis, wrote an elegy on 'Rob the Ranter.' As to the song not appearing in the 'Tea Table Miscellany,' that might easily arise from accident or oversight. Ramsay was not omniscient, and with a tolerably intimate acquaintance with the song production of his native land he could not be expected to know every song that had been written. Besides, the popularity of 'Maggie Lauder' might not have been established in his day. The tune of 'Maggie Lauder' can at anyrate be traced as far

back as the beginning of last century. Dr. Percy indeed states that it had its origin at the time of the Reformation, when one of the old church melodies was turned into the lively air. But there is no authentic information to support this assertion. In England the tune is said to have been known by the name of 'Mogie Louthier,' and even the Irish have claimed its paternity, alleging that the Scots stole it from their minstrelsy, and put it to the base use of employing it 'to celebrate a famous courtesan of Crail.' But there is no real proof that the air is not indigenous to Scotland. It seems to have been at one time popular in London, where it was sung in the Quakers' Opera, performed at Bartholomew Fair in 1728, and in 1733 was introduced into Gay's Opera of 'Achilles.'

The identity of Maggie Lauder has long been a question for contention among the antiquarians. There seems fairly good reason to believe that William de Anstruther, who occupied the Castle of Dreel in the little Fifeshire town in King Alexander's time, did bring home a wife named Lady Margaret Lauder from the opposite side of the Forth, but that this was the lady who shook her foot 'with richt gude will' to Rob the Ranter's piping is, to say the least, somewhat doubtful.* Professor Tennant in his 'Anster Fair' describes Maggie as a wealthy heiress; while Captain Charles Gray, who wrote a sequel to the song, locates her in 'a snug wee house in the East Green.' Sir Robert Lauder, of the Ross, the loyal Scottish cavalier, certainly had a sister who was celebrated as a dancer. More than that, she was celebrated for her bravery. Sir Robert's farm and buildings where he stored his corn being at the mainland at North Berwick, and his seed corn laid up in sacks in his granary, Cromwell sent a party of his Ironsides to seize it for the use of his troops, then encamped near Dunbar. Sir Robert's servants being too few in number to resist, came in great tribulation to tell Mistress Margaret, their master being away. Mistress Margaret, as the story goes, at once called for 'a sharp knife and a strong flail.' Having

* Cf. Mr. George Gourlay's *Anstruther*, where a good deal that is interesting on the subject will be found.

got these, she entered the granary, and after upbraiding the plundering Roundheads with their lawless proceedings, she ripped up all the sacks and scattered the corn, and then laid about her so lustily with the flail that the men took to flight and left their spoil! The character would perfectly agree with the Maggie Lauder of the song, and it is certainly a pity that the connection cannot be definitely established.

If Maggie Lauder's genealogy is somewhat doubtful, there is nothing obscure about the record of Annie Laurie, the heroine of a song which has proclaimed her charms over the length and breadth of the English-speaking world. Stephen Laurie was a flourishing Dumfries merchant before James VI. became king. Some time before 1611 he 'espoused' a daughter of Provost Corsane, proprietor of Meikleknock, receiving with her a handsome marriage portion. About the same time he obtained a charter from John, Lord Herries, of the ten merk land and barony of Redcastle, in the parish of Urr, and soon afterwards he purchased from Sir Robert Gordon of Lochinvar, the estates of Bethbought, Shawcastle, and Maxwelltown, for which he received a royal charter dated 1611.

Stephen Laurie, now a man of many acres, took the designation of Maxwelltown, leaving at his death the lands and title to his eldest son, John, who was married in 1630 to Agnes, daughter of Sir Robert Grierson of Lag. The next head of the house, Robert, was created a baronet in March 1685. He was twice married, and had by his second wife—a daughter of Riddle of Minto—three sons and four daughters. Here is what the family register tells us regarding the advent of one of the latter: 'At the pleasure of the Almighty God, my daughter, Anna Laurie, was borne upon the 16th day of December, 1682 years, about six o'clock in the morning, and was baptized by Mr. Geo.—*i.e.*, Mr. George Hunter, minister of Glencairn. This, then, was the little stranger who grew up to be the most beautiful Dumfriesian lady of her day and the heroine of the song which has rendered her name immortal.

We hear nothing further of the lady until an ardent lover lays at her feet the poetical tribute which forms the basis of

the well known song. The gentleman was William Douglas of Fingland, in Kirkcudbrightshire, said to have been the hero of the song 'Willie was a wanton wag.' He was one of the best swordsmen of his time, and his son Archibald rose to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel in the army. He fought a duel with Captain Menzies of Enoch, which very nearly proved fatal to himself. At the instigation of the Duke of Douglas he tackled a professional swordsman, wounded and disarmed him—less, as the other maintained, by skill in fence than by his 'fierce and squinting eyes!' There is a tradition in the family that when the said Duke of Douglas had, in a quarrel, stabbed his cousin, Captain Kerr, and was obliged to fly to the Continent, Fingland conveyed the Duke away under the guise of a servant.

Unfortunately, Douglas was unsuccessful in his wooing of Annie Laurie, for on the 29th of August 1709, the lady became the wife of Alexander Fergusson of Craigdarroch. Still, he did not pine away in the sorrows of celibacy: he made a run-away marriage with Miss Clerk of Glenboig, in Galloway, by whom he had four sons and two daughters. Of Annie Laurie's married life we have no record. Her husband was one of the county gentlemen who actively supported King William against Charles Stuart, and he also represented the Dumfries Burghs from 1715 to 1722. On an old tombstone in Dunscore churchyard there is an inscription, 'Here lyes entombit ane honest and verteous man, Alexander Fergusone.' This no doubt refers to the husband of Annie Laurie, and it is only reasonable to suppose that her remains rest in the same grave. Her 'last will and testament' was exhibited some years ago in an antiquarian collection at Dumfries, and as the document is interesting in the circumstances, we reproduce it here. It runs as follows:—

'I, Anna Laurie, spouse to Alexr. Fergusone off Craigdarroch, Forasmuch as I considering it a dewtie upon everie persone whyle they are in health and sound judgement so as to settle yr. worldly affairs that yrby all animosities betwixt friends and relatives may obviat, and also for the singular love and respect I have for the said Alex. Fergusone, in caise he survives me I do heirby make my letter will as follows: First, I recommend my soule to God, hoping by the meritorious righteousness of Jesus

Christ to be saved ; secondly, I recommend my body to be decently and orderly interred ; and in the third place nominate and appoynt the *sd.* Alexr. Fergusson, to be my sole and only executor, Legator, and universal intrometter with my hail goods, gear, debts, and soums off money that shall pertain and belong to me the tyme of my decease or shall be dew to me by bill, bond, or oyrway : with powr to him to obtain himself confirmed and decreed *exr.* to me and to do everything for fixing and establishing the right off my spouse in his person as law requires ; in witness whereoff thir pntts. [written?] be Johne Wilson off Chapell, wryter in Dumfries, are subd. by me at Craighdarroch the twenty eight day of Apryle, Jajvij and eleven [1711] years, befor the witnesses the said John Wilsone and John Nicholsons his servitor.

' ANN. LAURIE.

' JO. WILSONE, witness.

' JOHN HOAT, witness.'

From the date of the deed it will be seen that the original version of the song cannot be much less than two hundred years old. That version consisted of two stanzas only. The second stanza beginning 'She's backit like the peacock,' had evidently been borrowed, with modifications, from an unquotable old version of 'John Anderson, my Jo ;' but the style of Fingland's verses is wonderfully tender and chaste for the age. The modern version of 'Annie Laurie' was written in 1835 by Lady John Scott, sister-in-law of the late Duke of Buccleuch, who still lives, at an advanced age, at Kirkbank, near Jedburgh. The tune she had composed at an earlier date than the words for an old ballad, 'Kempye Kay,' and both were published in a collection she issued for the benefit of the widows and children of the soldiers killed in the Crimea.

Sir Walter Scott remarks somewhere on the large number of our best songs that have been written by Scottish women of 'rank and condition.' He names Lady Grisell Baillie's 'Werena my heart licht I wad dee,' Lady Wardlaw's 'glorious old ballad' of 'Hardyknute,' Lady Annie Barnard's 'Auld Robin Gray,' and Lady Nairne's 'The Land o' the Leal.' Place Miss Elliott's and Mrs. Cockburn's versions of the 'Flowers o' the Forest' at the head of the list, and one may join Sir Walter Scott in doubting whether 'we masculine wretches can claim five or six songs equal in elegance and pathos out of the long list of Scottish minstrelsy.' We can, at least, claim

no song that has been more of a popular favourite than the 'Flowers of the Forest,' which comes down to us in two versions, of almost equal success, from a foundation of nearly four hundred years old. The genius of Miss Elliott and Mrs. Cockburn was essentially different, and the circumstances of their having both adopted the old refrain of the lament for the fall of the flower of Selkirk on the field of Flodden is somewhat peculiar. Miss Elliott's version, beginning, 'I've heard them liltin' at the ewe milkin', shows us a dirge 'expressed in a strain of elegiac simplicity and tenderness' which has seldom been surpassed. It is true that Mrs. Cockburn's version, with the opening line, 'I've seen the smiling of Fortune beguiling,' is the more popular of the two; but this has probably arisen from the fact of Miss Elliott's verses being cast in a somewhat antiquated mould. With Mrs. Cockburn it is allegory throughout; with Miss Elliott the story is stated in plain terms. Both versions—the authorship being at first unrevealed—were indeed thought at one time to be the productions of antiquity. Miss Elliott's was described as the effort of 'some old and long-forgotten minstrel.' It did not, however, escape the eagle eye of Burns. 'This fine ballad,' he remarked, 'is even a more palpable imitation than Hardyknute. The *manners* are indeed old, but the *language* is of yesterday. Its author must very soon be discovered.' Scott, again, in printing the song in his *Border Minstrelsy* (1803) says: 'The following well known and beautiful stanzas were composed many years ago by a lady of family in Roxburghshire. The manner of the ancient minstrels is so happily imitated that it required the most positive evidence to convince the editor that the song was of modern date.'

The two ladies who were thus concerned in the remodelling of the ancient lament occupied a leading position in the Scottish society of last century. Jane Elliott was the second daughter of Sir Gilbert Elliott of Minto, one of the Lords of Session, and Lord Justice Clerk. The lady appears to have been no less remarkable for her strength of character than for her accomplishments; for at the time of the rebellion of 1745, her father being forced to get out of the way from a search-party of

Jacobites, she 'received and entertained the officers, and by her presence of mind and composure averted the danger.' A gentleman who knew her describes her as having 'a sensible face and a slender, well-shaped figure.' Her manner was grave and reserved to strangers, and she had high aristocratic notions which she took no pains to conceal. She read a great deal and had an excellent memory, both as to books and what came under her own observation. She resided in Brown's Square, Edinburgh, from 1782 to 1804—the house is now demolished—and the writer just mentioned says she was the only lady he remembers in the capital who kept her own sedan chair, which always stood in the lobby of her house. He goes on: 'Though a literary character, which in the female sex is sometimes productive of slovenliness as to dress, she was remarkably nice in that particular; neither did she affect the customs of her youth, which at that time made many old ladies look ridiculous.' Miss Elliott died at her brother's—Admiral Elliott's—seat at Mount Teviot, Roxburghshire, on 29th March, 1805. Her version of the 'Flowers of the Forest' is the solitary memorial of her genius.

Alison Rutherford, better known as Mrs. Cockburn, was the daughter of Robert Rutherford of Fairnalee in Selkirk, where she was born in October, 1712. She is said to have been a great beauty, and we hear of a youthful lover to whom she was deeply attached dying at the age of twenty-two. Lady Anne Barnard says she was 'so gay, enthusiastic, and ardent, her visions were for ever decked with such powers of fancy and such infinite goodness of heart, her manners to young people were so conciliatory and her tenets so mild.' Her letters certainly bear out this character. They are full of deep feeling and playfulness; every little circumstance and allusion sets her thinking on paper, quite unconsciously. She was an aunt of Sir Walter Scott, and he declares that even at an age advanced beyond the usual bounds of humanity she retained a play of imagination and an activity of intellect which must have been attractive in youth but were 'almost preternatural at her period of life. Her active benevolence keeping pace with her genius rendered her equally an object of love and admiration.'

In March, 1731, Miss Rutherford was married to Patrick Cockburn of Ormiston, a son of the Lord Justice Clerk of Scotland, who had been called to the Scotch bar a few years before. Mrs. Cockburn's name was thenceforward linked with all that was brilliant in Edinburgh society, and according to Sir Walter, she helped to mould and direct the social life of the old aristocratic parlours of that city as the De Rambouillets and the Dudevants had in those of Paris. Mrs. Cockburn lived for forty years after her husband, and died at her house in Crichton Street in November, 1794. She is buried in Buccleuch Churchyard, where also David Herd and Blacklock, the friend of Burns, lie. She was the author of several poems and parodies, and appears to have written an epitaph for herself, as in some directions about her funeral she adds 'Shorten or correct the epitaph to your taste.' Scott, when a youth, wrote a poem which drew from her the following prophetic lines :

If such the accents of thy early youth,
When playful fancy takes the place of truth—
If so divinely sweet thy numbers flow,
And thy young heart melts with such tender woe ;
What praise, what admiration shall be thine
When sense mature with science shall combine
To raise thy genius and thy taste refine !

Mrs. Cockburn's version of the 'Flowers of the Forest' was written about a quarter of a century before Miss Elliott's. It has always been the more popular version, partly, as we have already indicated, because it is free of the archaic forms of expression found in Miss Elliott's song, and partly also because the form of the old air to which it has been wedded is more melodiously pleasing to the ear than the other.

A curious mystery surrounds the authorship of more than one of our best Scottish lyrics, and this is peculiarly the case with 'There's nae luck about the house,' which Burns justly eulogises as one of the most beautiful songs in the Scots or any other language. The ballad seems to have been much sung on the streets about the year 1770 ; and Burns became acquainted with it from a sheet copy which fell into his hands in 1771. The song had not been printed in any collection at this date, and its first

publication in regular form was in Herd's *Ancient and Modern Songs* of 1776. No controversy seems to have arisen about the authorship until the year 1806, when the Rev. John Sim printed the song in his edition of the works of William Julius Mickle, the author of a fine translation of Camoens' 'Lusiad,' and otherwise well known from the association of Scott's 'Kenilworth' with his ballad of 'Cumnor Hall.' Four years later, that is, in 1810, Cromek in his *Select Scottish Songs* claimed the song for a certain Jean Adams; and since that date the question of the authorship as between Mickle and Adams has continued to be warmly debated, unfortunately without anything like a satisfactory result. Let us look for a little at the facts on both sides.

And first as to Mickle: it is significant that he did not himself claim the song. It is not included amongst any of his works published during his lifetime, nor has he written anything in any way resembling it. That an incorrect copy of it was found among his manuscripts after his death is no evidence that he was the author. About the year 1784 he was intimately connected with Thomas Evans in editing for the English press a selection of old ballads, 'now first collected and reprinted from rare copies,' and it is possible enough that he may have made a 'revised' version of 'There's nae luck' for this work—if indeed he had not 'taken down' the song from some street singer before it was printed by Herd. But, as a matter of fact, the song does not appear in Evans' Collection, which extended to four volumes, and this may be regarded as at least an indirect evidence that Mickle did not write it. It is true that Mrs. Mickle declared her husband to be the author—that he had presented her with a copy of it as his own composition, and had explained to her—she being an English lady—the Scottish words and phrases. But Mrs. Mickle had at this time been struck with paralysis; her memory, even if she were originally acquainted with the facts, was not to be trusted; and in addition, she was not, if we may put our faith in David Hume, the historian, a person whose evidence was of much consequence at any time. This is all that can be said in his favour, and it is in no way conclusive.

Unfortunately the case for Jean Adams has no better evidence

in its support, although what may be termed the 'local circumstances' of the song are more in her favour. The lady was a schoolmistress at Crawford's Dyke, near Greenock. She seems to have been a person of some education and literary taste, but she never rose above poverty, and when her end came in 1765 it was in the Town's Hospital of Glasgow.* In 1734 she published at Glasgow a little volume of 189 pages, called *Miscellany Poems*, by Mrs. Jane Adams, in Cartsideyke.' Her list of subscribers numbers 123 names, but the work does not seem to have had an enthusiastic reception from the public. The point, however, to be noted is this, that the song claimed for the schoolmistress is not in the volume, the only one she ever published; and although we are still left with the probability of her having written it during the intervening thirty-one years between this and her death, we have against that again the fact that, except on hearsay evidence, she is not known to have ever laid any claim to the song. When Cromek printed it as hers, he did so merely because a Mrs. Fullarton, a pupil of Jean Adams, and others declared that they had frequently heard her repeat the song as her own composition.

It is impossible to settle a question of this kind on such slender testimony; and indeed we should be inclined to cite the internal evidence of the song itself as being more in Jean's favour than irresponsible statements of second parties. Living near a seaport town the schoolmistress must often have witnessed such partings and meetings between sailors and their wives as are described in the ballad; the language of the song is exactly suited to the locality; and the subject, together with its minute domestic detail, is all in favour of it having been conceived by a woman. It has been objected that Jean Adams was an old maid, and that the probabilities are therefore against her being the authoress of a lyric which exhibits the most fervent expression of wifely affection in the Scottish dialect. But this objection can have little weight. We might as well deny the claim of Charles Dibdin to

* 'April 9, 1765—Jean Adams, the stranger, admitted on Tuesday the 2nd curt., died on the following day, and buried at the house expense.'—*Minutes of Glasgow Town's Hospital.*

the authorship of 'Tom Bowling,' because Dibdin had no extended acquaintance with the sea; or dispute Tennyson's authorship of 'Break, break,' because the verses were conceived in a Lincolnshire lane. Young, we know, wrote his 'Ode to Sunrise' by candle light; 'Barry Cornwall' had never seen the ocean when he wrote 'The Sea'; Moore was never in the East, yet he wrote 'Lallah Rookh'; Schiller had not seen Switzerland when he wrote 'William Tell'; and James Montgomery said he could best describe sylvan scenes when looking out of a back window upon gloomy courts. Just as likely that Jean Adams should write about the 'gudeman,' although she spent her own life in single blessedness!

For Mickle the internal evidence of the song is less convincing: indeed he would seem to have totally lacked the command of Scottish phraseology which it shows. The version found among his papers, differing as it does in several particulars from the accepted version, is sufficient to prove this; while the 'Scotticised' ballads which he passed through his hands for Evans' collection, at least suggest that he had little of the knowledge of west country Scotch requisite in the writer of 'There's nae luck.' Mickle was a classical scholar, and every known composition of his is 'of the purest English, all compact.' It is of course just probable that Jean Adams and Mickle had each a hand in the composition of the song, the latter 'touching up' a version which the schoolmistress had set afloat. But another alternative must have suggested itself to investigators: what if the song were written neither by Mickle nor Adams, but by a third nameless personage of whom the world will never hear anything? That is, at anyrate, just as likely as that the song came from the hands of either of the parties who have been credited with it, and until we have further evidence of a perfectly conclusive character it will be best to regard the question of the authorship as unsolved. The present position of matters is much to be regretted, for the song is sufficient for anyone to have founded a reputation upon.*

* The case for Jean Adams is strongly put in a pamphlet by Alexander Rodger, entitled 'Jean Adam of Cartdyke: her authorship of the ballad "There's nae luck about the house" vindicated.' Greenock, 1866.

A song which Burns classed as being nearly equal to 'There's nae luck,' is 'The Boatie Rows' of John Ewen :

' O weel may the boatie row,
And better may she speed !
And weel may the boatie row
That wins the bairnies' bread !'

The entire song, as our national poet puts it, is a charming display of womanly affection, mingling with the concerns and occupations of daily life. Unfortunately a somewhat curious commentary on its prevailing sentiment is afforded by certain actions of the author himself. John Ewen was a self-made man, and had evidently a very good opinion of his maker. He was a native of Montrose, where he was born on October 21, 1741. It is said that his father was a tinker; and John himself certainly began life as a packman, for Bannerman, in his *Aberdeen Worthies*, states that many citizens remembered him 'going about the country selling buckles, sleeve buttons, penknives, etc.'

By the year 1760 the worthy packman had got together a little money, went to Aberdeen and started business as a hardware merchant, bettered himself considerably by marriage, and died in 1821 possessed of something like £15,000. The obituary writer in the *Scots Magazine* commends him for 'his exertions in favour of charitable institutions,' and tells us that 'every individual case of distress that came under his notice received zealous and unremitting attention.' And yet this was the man who willed his fortune past an only child, a daughter, because she had not married exactly as he desired! The magistrates and clergy were to get everything for the founding of an hospital for the education and maintenance of poor boys. The bequest was, of course, challenged by the daughter, and after protracted litigation, in the course of which Ewen appeared in anything but an enviable light, it was finally set aside by the House of Lords on the clear legal ground that the deed was void in consequence of its uncertainty and want of precision, both as to the sum to be accumulated by the trustees before they were to begin building the hospital, and as to the number of boys to be educated in it when it had been built.* Thus was John Ewen's churlish spitefulness defeated.

* See Wilson and Shaw's *Cases decided in the House of Lords on appeal from the Courts of Scotland*, iv., 346-361.

So far as we know, Ewen's poetical efforts were confined solely to 'The Boatie Rows,' and even his authorship of this has been questioned. The song was first printed in the *Aberdeen Magazine* for August 1788, where it was headed: 'The favourite song of "The Boatie Rows." The words by a gentleman of Aberdeen. Adapted to music by Mr. Wilson.' In 1841 Patrick Buchan, a son of the indefatigable Peter, edited a collection of Scottish songs in which he declared that 'The Boatie Rows' was written, 'at least one hundred years before honest John ever drew breath, and was called "The Fisher's Rant of Fittie."' He goes on to say that the old ballad was abridged by Ewen for the purpose of being sung by a Mr. Wilson in the Aberdeen theatre. There is nothing to be made of this statement since Buchan does not print the ballad said to have been abridged by Ewen, and no one has ever seen it or heard of it, though diligent search has been made. It is rather a curious circumstance, too, as has been pointed out before, that Buchan not only gives an imperfect copy of the song, but appends to it what he calls a stanza of the old ballad, but which is in reality one of the stanzas of the song as first published in 1788! Ewen was a man of some musical and artistic talent, and the probabilities of his being the original author of 'The Boatie Rows' are entirely in his favour. He was clerk and treasurer of the Aberdeen Musical Society, founded in 1748; and his shop—'with the bowed windows looking up Castle Street'—was for many years the resort of literary and artistic Aberdeen.

In its earliest form that tender little song, familiarly known as 'The Broom o' the Cowdenknowes,' seems to have existed for close upon three centuries, if not for a longer period. Scott prints what professes to be a very ancient ballad bearing the same title, but his version is without the refrain which is generally accepted as the burden or chorus of the earliest form of the song:—

' O the broom, the bonnie bonnie broom,
The broom o' the Cowdenknowes ;
I wish I were at hame again,
Milking my daddie's yowes.'

In an ancient English black-letter ballad, printed during the

reign of Charles II., or earlier, reference is made to 'the lovely northern lass' who milked 'her daddy's ewes,' and the ballad is headed: 'To a pleasant Scotch tune called The Broom of Cowdenknows.' Chambers also tells us that he once met with a Jacobite song printed on a sheet about 1715, the burden of which ran:—

' O the broom, the bonny bonny broom,
The broom of the Coldingknowes,
O had I back my king again
Then would my heart rejoice.'

The tune, too, appears to be of some antiquity. In the Pepys' collection of a very early date there is a song from the press of Francis Cowles called 'The New Broome,' which is set to a tune not unlike the present Scottish air. Again, in Playford's 'Dancing Master,' of date 1650, there is a tune called 'Broom, the bonny, bonny broom,' while reference is also made to it in Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, published in 1621. It is found with slight alteration in the Crockat MS. (1709), and Gay selected it for one of his songs in the *Beggar's Opera* (1728), beginning, 'The miser thus a shilling sees.' From all this, it is perfectly evident that the melody and the song are not only of considerable antiquity, but that both were at one time highly popular, and in England, too, as well as in Scotland.

The number of versions of the ballad which have been reared upon the old foundation is perfectly perplexing. In Herd's collection of 1772 there is a ballad entitled 'Bonnie May,' which is nearly identical with 'The Broom o' the Cowdenknowes;' Peter Buchan prints a version somewhat like Scott's copy; and Kinloch gives two ballads, 'The Laird of Ochiltrie' and 'The Laird of Lochnee,' both of which are very much like Scott's version.* Robert Crawford, the author of 'The bush aboon Traquair,' and 'Leader Haughs and Yarrow,' wrote a version beginning 'When summer comes the swains on Tweed,' which is altogether charming, and shows that Crawford had what Allan Cunningham calls 'the true muse of native pastoral.' Crawford is indeed entitled

* See *The Minstrelsy of the Merse*, by W. S. Crockett, where five versions are printed.

to some celebration as one of our pre-Burnsian song-writers. He assisted Allan Ramsay in his *Tea Table Miscellany*, and contributed a number of beautiful lyrics to it, several of which attained a wide popularity. But Crawford did not succeed in getting the people to adopt his 'Broom of the Cowdenknowes.' That honour was given to another of Ramsay's contributors, whose name has never emerged from the obscurity of the initials—'S. R.'—with which he signed the song in Allan's collection. His version begins as follows:—

' How blythe ilk morn was I to see
 My swain come owre the hill !
 He skipt the burn and flew to me,
 I met him wi' good will.'

The scene of the song is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Leader, near Earlston, where Thomas the Rhymer sang and prophesied many centuries ago. In his day the broom was probably plentiful enough, but the golden glory has long since gone before the plough of the farmer.

It would be curious if the author of perhaps the most virulent of all the Jacobite ballads, 'Wherry, Whigs, awa', were also the author of that charming little song, 'O Logie o' Buchan, O Logie the laird.' Both the ballad and the song have been all but universally attributed to George Halket—or 'Hacket,' as he sometimes called himself; and although attempts have certainly been made to upset his claim, especially with regard to 'Logie o' Buchan,' none of these can be said to have been successful. Halket, according to Peter Buchan's *Gleanings of Scotch, English and Irish Old Ballads*, was an Aberdeenshire man, and became parochial schoolmaster, precentor, and session clerk in the parish of Rathen in 1714. He seems to have lived in the same room in which he taught, for in 1718, when he took to himself a wife, the severely economical heritors, 'taking into consideration the dilapidated state of the bed, which formed part of the school furniture, resolved not to give him a new one, but to repair the old one, and set it up as a partition dividing the school chamber.' Here, in the 'ben' end of the schoolhouse, Halket and his family lived till 1725, when certain circumstances led to his expulsion

from the various offices he then held. Buchan tells us that the reason for his removal was a scuffle with the minister in church on a Sunday; but the session records of Rathen bear evidence of something more serious than this having been the cause.

It seems that Halket was cited by the Session various times without effect; and at length the worthy elders, no longer able to wink at his 'faults and gross miscarriages,' brought him to book in September 1725. The Minutes of Session bear that 'notwithstanding many warnings,' he had 'come to that height of impudence as to deny all the faults he stands guilty of, and will not be convinced or made sensible of his miscarriages; and he having relapsed again and again, and no reformation of heart or of ways to be found in him, it is the judgment of the minister and Session of Rathen that the said George Halket be laid aside from officiating as schoolmaster or precentor.' This made an end of Halket's connection with the district celebrated as the scene of his well-known song. He now moved to Cairnbulg, where—again relying on Buchan—he soon had a 'full school,' and where he remained for a quarter of a century. His last engagement was as tutor in the families of Colonel Fraser and Sir James Innes. He passed away in 1756, and is said to have been buried in the old churchyard of Fraserburgh.

While resident at Cairnbulg Halket produced a tiny volume of verse—published at Aberdeen in 1727, under the title of *Occasional Poems upon several subjects*—the existence of which seems to have been unknown to Buchan. It is now so extremely rare that the author of *The Bards of Bon-Accord* has been able to trace but one copy—that which belonged to Andrew Jervise, and which is now in the Mitchell Library, Glasgow. The crude style of these 1707 poems has been held as somewhat militating against Halket's claim to the authorship of 'Logie o' Buchan.' But this is an argument that must not be pushed too far. There are several instances of an author having produced but one song of merit, while at the same time putting his name to a great deal of rubbish. There is certainly no specific evidence against the usually accepted authorship of 'Logie o' Buchan,' and so far as we are aware the name of another claimant has never been suggested. Something has been made of Buchan's errors as to

dates. He says that the song was written by Halket in 1736-7, while teaching at Rathen and residing in the adjoining parish of Crimond. The Session Records prove clearly that Halket's engagement at Rathen was from 1714 to 1725; and if the song was written by Halket in 1736 it must have been at Cairnbulg, and not at Crimond, in which parish he never resided. This is, of course, a trifling objection to set against a persistent tradition, supported by the weighty surmise of Peter Buchan and the definite assertion of early writers; and as there is no other verse-writer of the period to whom the song can be assigned, it may pretty safely be left to the credit of the schoolmaster.

The lyric has been warmly praised for its romantic tenderness, its cheerful and resolute self-dependence, and its graceful expression. It has all these qualities in full measure; but something of its popularity must undoubtedly be set down to the sweet melody with which it is associated. Halket, it should be added, was a devoted Jacobite, and wrote some things which, while delighting the peasantry who desired to see the 'rightfu' lawful king' on the throne, brought no little danger to the poet's own head. He is credited with the composition of 'A Dialogue between the Devil and George II.,' a copy of which having fallen into the hands of the Duke of Cumberland on his march to Culloden, led to a reward of one hundred pounds being offered for the author dead or alive. It is another tribute to the devotion of the Jacobites that the reward was never claimed.

And speaking of the Jacobites, it is curious that while the contemporary song literature of the Prince Charlie period is both abundant and varied, nearly all that is best of Jacobite song was produced when the cause was forlorn, by persons who did not in the least desire to see it triumph—who took in it only a sentimental interest. Perhaps this is true of all poetry. 'Not when a man's passions are engaged, not when he is in wrath, or in love, or in poignant grief, can he express himself in verse, but later, when the passion has become a thing for contemplation and conscious study.' In the history of a people the same holds true: it was not the Cavaliers who were exiled with James, nor the clansmen who 'fought for their Charlie,' but their sons and grandsons who wrote the songs of loyalty and despair. The real poetry of

Jacobitism all stands on this side of the Burns advent. It is the work of, among others, Lady Nairne, Allan Cunningham, Sir Walter Scott, and above all, James Hogg; and although the older store is occasionally drawn upon by the antiquary and the Jacobite lecturer, it is the later store that keeps its charm. The earlier verse was no doubt moving at the moment: it served its purpose, but its day was done when the hour of action was past.

It is usual to date the rise of the modern naturalistic school of poetry from the appearance of Burns; but while the movement no doubt culminated in the songs of the Ayrshire poet, it certainly received its impetus before his day. 'The Gentle Shepherd' has been called the greatest pastoral poem since the time of Theocritus, and whether or not we agree in the estimate we must admit that with 'The Gentle Shepherd' Allan Ramsay inaugurated a new epoch in Scottish poetry—the epoch, to wit, of natural feeling and rustic simplicity. Here he shows us real men and women such as he found in the Scotland of his day, moving, as some one has said, in the midst of real scenes which are painted with so much fidelity that they can be readily identified. His Patie and Roger, his Peggy and Jenny, have nothing in common with the Corydons and Delias and Chloes of the artificial school; and although he exhibits streaks of coarseness here and there, they are rare considering the age, and may be excused as unavoidable.

It is well for Ramsay's fame that so much can be said in praise of 'The Gentle Shepherd,' for upon that work his fame almost entirely depends. His songs, with which alone we are concerned here, are not better than other Scottish songs, and there is not one of them that enjoys the distinction of constant use among the people. Many of them are excellent, some for quiet humour and clever character-sketching; others for manly pathos and tender-feeling. More of them are poor and affected, and deserve the oblivion into which they have sunk. His best effort is 'The wauking o' the fauld,' which forms the opening song of 'The Gentle Shepherd,' and alludes to the old pastoral practice of watching the sheepfolds during the weaning of the lambs, and as a picture of rural life it is practically perfect. 'Lochaber no

more' is also a fine song, and the pathos of the air to which it has been set has always had a powerful influence on the Highlander absent from home. There is a story constantly told to the effect that it was found necessary for the officers of a Highland regiment in the West Indies to order the playing of the air by the band to be discontinued, on account of its fatal consequences in creating home-sickness among the men. An Edinburgh lady once played the air to Burns, who listened rapturously, and then exclaimed with tears in his eyes, 'Oh! that's a fine tune for a broken heart.' Another of Ramsay's better known songs is 'The lass o' Patie's mill,' but the air is much superior to the song, which was thus, no doubt, helped into a short-lived popularity.

In the author of 'Tullochgorum' we have actually a contemporary of Burns; but 'Tullochgorum' was already popular while as yet Burns was almost unknown to his countrymen. Had John Skinner been told that he would be famed by posterity as the author of a song—perhaps of two songs—written carelessly for the amusement of his family or the pleasure of his friends, he would assuredly have declared that a false estimate had been formed of his genius. Had he not given to the world a valuable and voluminous *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, and had Bishop Sherlock not commended him for his *Dissertation on Jacob's Prophecy*? Had he not proved himself a master of theological controversy, a learned theologian, and an excellent classic scholar? Had he not fought, struggled and suffered, almost to the extent of becoming a martyr for the faith? And what was more than all to some, had he not sent out from among his sons a Bishop to the Church of his early choice? Even so; these all stand to his credit. Yet they must be accounted as of the things that perish. John Skinner's controversies are forgotten; his prelections on prophecy are no longer studied, either for approbation or for censure; even his personal trials are all but unknown to his countrymen; and the great *Ecclesiastical History* has, it is to be feared, found its way to the top shelves among the dust and the cobwebs.

For all this, the real life-work of John Skinner would be very worthy of study if we were here concerned with such life-studies.

It would bring before us a man of piety and scholarship, who was, in his own way, a hero. It would remind us of a notable period of ecclesiastical history in the country, when the State refused all toleration to religion, and the Church refused all toleration to politics. It would picture for us a career of usefulness in the midst of the humblest surroundings and under the difficulties of making ends meet ; and it would show how all but unalloyed happiness may be purchased by perseverance in well-doing and by the contented mind which is the continual feast. As Leigh Hunt has remarked, the real man was, in a very great degree, the 'man for a' that,' before Burns arose to glorify him ; nor did there perhaps exist a man to whom all descriptions of people took off their hats and caps with a more zealous respect than to the Reverend John Skinner, master of the 'but' and the 'ben,' with no floor to it, but with wit and will in his head and wisdom in his heart. A life like his is full of interest from first to last ; but here we may not dwell upon its details.

As a matter of fact, it is by his songs that John Skinner lives and probably will continue to live. These, although very limited in number, place him in some respects almost on a level with Burns himself, who indeed described 'Tullochgorum' as 'the best Scotch song Scotland ever saw.' If he could have chosen the tender passion for his theme, as Burns has done, he would undoubtedly have excelled ; but the love-song was then as little to be thought of from the pen of a Scottish parson as was a comedy for representation on the boards. By far the finest and most finished, as they are the best known, of Skinner's muse are 'Tullochgorum' and 'The ewie wi' the crookit horn.' Both were written by special request, which may account in some measure for their superiority to the general run of their author's verse ; for Skinner wrote, as a rule, far too hurriedly, and seldom gave himself the trouble of polishing.

'Tullochgorum' was suggested by a certain Mrs. Montgomery, the wife of an excise officer in the little Aberdeenshire village of Ellon. Mr. Skinner and some of his clerical brethren had gone to spend a day with the lady ; and after dinner the company began to discuss the political questions of the hour with the

usual issue of high words and lost tempers. At this juncture the hostess, with feminine tact, changed the subject by remarking on the want of suitable words for certain national airs, adding that she wished Mr. Skinner would try his hand on something for the tune of 'Tullochgorum.' Skinner agreed, and the result was at once, as Burns puts it, 'to gratify the lady's wishes and the wishes of every lover of Scottish song.' Burns always spoke of 'Tullochgorum' with great enthusiasm; and if one cannot quite agree with him in describing it as 'the first of songs,' one may at least claim for it a national as well as a patriotic character. The words have almost a magical effect—at anyrate to Scottish ears accustomed to reels and strathspeys and vigorous vowels and gutturals. Some lines may almost be said to dance of themselves. The song at once established Skinner's reputation, and carried his name to quarters where the heroes of Episcopal persecution had been altogether unheard of.

'The ewie wi' the crookit horn' is less popular than 'Tullochgorum,' but there is in it both pathos and humour, and some of the stanzas exhibit a felicity of expression remarkable in one who, while writing so much, wrote so little that is now remembered. The song was suggested, and in fact begun, by Dr. Beattie, the author of 'The Minstrel,' who was one of Skinner's most intimate friends. Beattie, it appears, had been asked to write a pastoral, but he succeeded in turning out only the following lines:—

'The ewie wi' the crookit horn,
Sic a ewe was never born,
Here aboot, nor far awa'.'

These lines he sent to Skinner as 'the best qualified person in Scotland,' with a request that he would complete the song, which Skinner immediately did. The similarity between some portions of 'The Ewie' and Burns' 'Elegy to Poor Mailie,' suggests the remark that Skinner's song may have been the direct cause of the Elegy. There is no evidence that this was really the case, unless, as has been pointed out, a complimentary phrase addressed by Burns to Skinner's son may be taken as an admission; but it is at least probable, considering the high opinion the greater poet has expressed concerning the song. When Burns was in Aber-

deen in 1787 he was introduced to Bishop Skinner at the printing office of Mr. Chalmers, and an agreeable hour seems to have been spent with the worthy son of 'Tullochgorum.' 'Did not your father write "The ewie wi' the crookit horn?"' said Burns. 'He did,' was the reply. 'Oh! an' I had the loon that did it,' continued the poet; 'but tell him how I love and esteem and venerate his truly Scottish muse.' Burns and Skinner never met, but they corresponded a good deal with each other—Burns in 'plain dull prose,' and Skinner, once at least, in 'rhyming ware,' which Burns characterises as the best poetical compliment he ever received.

J. CUTHBERT HADDEN.

ART. II.—THE PERSISTENCE OF RATIONALITY.

The Foundations of Belief, being Notes Introductory to the Study of Theology. By the Right Hon. ARTHUR JAMES BALFOUR. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1895.

A CURIOUS feature of English speculation, and one to which its prevailing character may in no small measure be traced, is the relatively large contributions it has received from men who were not specialists in the strict sense. As compared with Germany, or with Scotland, professed teachers of philosophy can boast no record of names at all comparable with those outside their ranks. Bacon, Hobbes, Locke, Berkeley, Bentham, James Mill, John Mill, Grote, Buckle, and Mr. Herbert Spencer are the English philosophers *par excellence*. And, strangely enough, all of them favour opinions that incline to be similar on several essential points. Why this should be so, it is not to the present purpose to inquire. But, as has been hinted, amongst Scottish thinkers positions are reversed. The lawyers, private tutors civil servants, and men of independent means do not vie with the teachers. They cannot show a company who bear comparison with Hutcheson, Adam Smith, Reid, Stewart, Brown, Ferrier, Hamilton, Dr. John Caird, and Professors Bain, Edward Caird, and Wallace. Hume is the single great name; after him, at an

interval of about a century, comes Dr. Hutchison Stirling. To this select few Mr. Balfour must now be added. If, unlike their English brethren, they present features of profound difference from one another, they are, at all events, agreed in attacking fundamental problems. Indeed, on the whole, one might say that they attack fundamental problems only. Mr. Balfour's new work demands and merits attention, because the questions which he raises involve in the issue the nature, meaning and value of human experience as a whole. It is a highly characteristic product of the situation which the evolution of thought, more especially during the past century and a quarter, has created.

While numerous influences, many of which are probably beyond the reach of even the most subtle analysis, have contributed to the shaping of the greater speculative problems of modern thought, two stand out as conspicuously formative. On the one hand, as Mr. Balfour himself writes, 'I doubt, indeed, whether any metaphysical philosopher before Kant can be said to have made contributions' to an epistemology of Nature, 'which at the present day need be taken into serious account.'* A main factor must unquestionably be sought in the work of Kant and of the metaphysicians who, with due allowance for individual differences, may be regarded as his pupils. On the other side stands the ubiquitous power of the positive sciences. Those who know not Kant usually pass him by because they study nature; those who choose to know him only in part select such of his doctrines as seem to tally with the unrelatedness of mind and matter. When scientific nomenclature, which none can escape, does not hedge every prospect in, an amalgam of half-critical idealism and uncritical realism emerges; or, perhaps, Hume's *reductio ad absurdum* of sensationalism might as well never have been promulgated; or, yet again, a new scholasticism, more terrible than its prototype only in jargon, takes the place of rational philosophy. But, in all cases equally, the principal influence is that of Kant, or of the scientific movement, or of a suspicious mixture of the two. It may therefore be well to look at both of these factors for a little, in order to set *The Foundations of Belief* in perspective—relatively at least.

* p. 94.

It is often said that ordinary experience, the information of the fabled 'man in the street,' is unorganised knowledge. In contrast to this, science may be called partially organised knowledge, while as compared with both, philosophy may be termed completely organised knowledge. No doubt, such statements embody a certain truth, but they cannot be taken absolutely. For, to be plain, no knowledge would be worthy of the name were it unorganised. The day-labourer would be unable to take his meals, such as they are, were his experience unorganised—void of principles. So too the mathematician, the physicist, the chemist, the botanist, the biologist would fall into many errors now avoided were their knowledge partially organised. The truth seems to be that for all men equally the question is, not so much one of greater or lesser organisation, but rather of more adequate or inadequate consciousness of all that organisation implies. The day-labourer assumes more than the scientific man. He takes for granted, not merely his knowledge of bread and bacon, but also the nature of bread and bacon in themselves. For the most part, the devotees of science do nothing to eliminate the former assumption, but their life-work implies the rejection of the latter. Knowledge or experience, in other words, whether it be characteristically that of peasant or philistine, of astronomer or physiologist, of metaphysician or moral philosopher, differs in degree, never in kind. As a whole, it presupposes the same unifying principles in every case. The ordinary consciousness never need appreciate this; the scientific consciousness busies itself with a portion of its truth; the philosophical consciousness has no other office than to state the fact clearly and show what it implies. Science may boast itself that the empire of experience is one on which the sun never sets; philosophy, being anxious about the implications of empire, would probably reply, 'Yea, verily, but also one in which the tax-gatherer never sleeps.'

If, then, it be a misnomer to speak of different kinds of experience, the contrasts of outlook, so familiar to all, must be explained otherwise. The scientific movement is so far like ordinary irreflective knowledge that it attempts to treat experience as if it were composed of sections. Ere science is possible, it appears that certain assumptions require to be made. These

can be stated in a single sentence. It is held that experience has an 'outside' and an 'inside.' Science deals with the former alone. For the successful, or undisturbed, pursuit of empirical investigation, certain presuppositions would seem to be indispensable. For example. There is an 'external' world, which exists and goes on the even tenour of its way apart from the action and influence of mind, perhaps even despite them. Nevertheless—for such is a condition of knowledge—mind, in some mysterious manner, comes to grasp this foreign order, and finds itself in possession of a power whereby it is enabled to reflect upon its own great opposite. This is not to be taken as implying the superiority of mind. For of this science, by its very nature, can say nothing. It is no more than a statement that the 'inside' of experience has a faculty of comprehending the 'outside.' This must be so, otherwise science would not exist, and science *is*. But, even with these sufficiently liberal asseverations, it is impossible to rest content. Mind does not stand possessed of mere existential knowledge concerning this external sphere. Ere science can take a single step, the judgment of existence must be elaborated modally. Mind is aware that this 'outer' reality subsists, or persists, in certain ways. For instance, the manifestation of an unaltering force makes itself apparent. For, were this removed, many of the most fundamental data of science would disappear. Above all, it is necessary that mind should perceive the uniformity of 'reality.' Things are such and such things, because they find setting in a series. But were the series continually changing, were it capable of indefinite rearrangement, the science of to-day would become the mythology of to-morrow. Accordingly, mind must apprehend the world as a scheme governed by uniform sequence. On these conditions, and on them alone, can science stake off a kingdom within the borders of which investigation may be pursued without fear of disturbance. Further, granted these conditions, science proceeds to christen its kingdom Reality, as opposed to the subjectivity of the 'inner' mind, which is not to be viewed as real, at least in the same sense. For all its talk about Certainty and the like, science finds it necessary to presuppose a Gilbertian world—one in which the presence and activity of the principle of

reality in thought must be denied, yet one in which the results of thinking are unique, because only to them can value and validity be ascribed.*

Many, who can hardly be termed unbiassed, would curtly dismiss science on account of the assumptions which it finds itself compelled to make. But they fail to perceive that their own thought is in still more perilous case. So long as science keeps to its last, its necessary presuppositions must be granted. Were it inevitable that the so-called 'natural philosopher' should, as a prelude to his physics, furnish forth a theory of the universe and of experience, heat, light, electricity and magnetism would have to bide long ere their turn for attention arrived. The glory of science lies partly in the very data which it chooses to adopt, and, for the rest, in the results which it has attained and is attaining, but which, in the absence of the general principles just indicated, would never have been gleaned. Scientific faith, scientific imagination, and the like, are no pleasing fictions of the empiricist in his moments of unbending. To his theory they are bone of its bone and flesh of its flesh. Without them it would not have been. And so long as this is borne in mind one can find no fault. Rather, indeed, the reverse; for science ceases to be science, and becomes either clumsy poetry or bad metaphysics, when it forgets its own province. The observer who sweeps the heavens and finds no God, the true sceptic for whom God is an unnecessary hypothesis, the biologist who avers that he has been able to make some few judgments without logic, are one and all justified, if they continually call to remembrance the definite extent of the range in which they have deliberately chosen to toil. By dividing they conquer; but they are not thereby gifted with a right to suppose that the division was never made. Science scores its most brilliant triumphs by devoting assiduous attention to the 'outside' of experience, or to a portion of it. The failures which, as we too often forget at present, need to be placed alongside the successes, are traceable, for the most part, to a desire to repudiate the conditions of the compact, by observance of which the major victories of discovery have been won.

* Cf. *The Philosophy of Lotze*, H. Jones, p. 81.

When the partial experience, which science necessarily sets aside for the exercise of its special methods, comes to be treated as if it were the sum-total of the universe, certain sufficiently startling conclusions are not unlikely to follow. Now this is in great measure the phenomenon that has presented itself to an admiring, a timorous, or an astonished crowd, during the last generation. So mighty had been the conquests within the 'outer' world, so tangible some of their consequences, that not a few were willing to accept readily the proclamation of the discoverers, 'no other world exists.' Human experience, having arrived at the strange pass of possessing an outside and an inside, was, even more remarkably, found able to acquiesce with the wife—when her husband told her that he would keep the inside of the house while she might have the outside. The empirical theory of *external things* thus came to take its place as the theory of the *universe*, and the delusion was that the same theory could fulfil both functions with equal success. Men came to alarm themselves over the perilous position into which religion, morals, and the other so-called spiritual realities had fallen. And the more loudly it was asseverated that the abstract sphere of science is co-extensive with the universe, the deeper became the heart-searchings. Signs are not wanting that this phase is now passing away. The misconceptions out of which it originally sprang are being brought to light. Some select spirits begin to perceive that the essential presuppositions of science *are* presuppositions. Nay, a very few candidly confess that they are not to be reproached overmuch for their experiments in metaphysic; for, as they rightly aver, it is impossible to write good metaphysics with a bad pen.

While, then, positive inquiry has thus been progressing by confining itself strictly within a certain range, and has been making considerable drafts on the credulity of the irreflective, by implicitly denying the restriction, philosophical speculation has not been altogether idle. In this century—since Kant, as Mr. Balfour says—one chief advance may be attributed to it. At length it has come to recognise its own proper problem. Thanks to Hume, men do not trouble longer with the unthinkable and unanswerable. He who declares that thought and extension are mutually exclusive, and spends his life in trying to get out

from the one to the other, had better go to school with the Scotch sceptic. There he may achieve an insight into the moral of 'Humpty Dumpty.' Kant in one sense made philosophy possible by asking *the* philosophical question. Experience has neither inside nor outside, it is an organic whole, and the first business of speculation is to set forth the immanent principle of the unity. The abstract view of science gives place to a more concrete, a more adequately real, doctrine. Objects, as the sciences believe, may have a nature of their own, but to possess this, in man's experience at least—and we may presume that this alone is interesting—they must be capable of rational treatment. It is no part of the discipline of philosophy to assume that objects exist and can be known by mind. Its task rather is to inquire into the meaning of existence for mind. In a human life any 'thing' is a thing for a 'person.' That is to say, rationality is not read into it, a foreign being, but rationality is read out of it, a blood relation. The 'person' is not only the excluding individuality, but is also the including principle. The reality of which it boasts itself it has a right to boast about; for to it the 'thing' belongs. Wherever mind ranges it comes upon itself. The spiritual, so far from being a derivative, is that in the light of which alone a derivative can be an effective component of knowledge. It may be possible to speak as if reality occupied a kingdom denied to spirit, but the moment these words cease to represent a fiction, which is a convenient addition to the apparatus necessary for investigating, say, the behaviour of forces, they lead to serious, if not fatal error. Externality, as it is quaintly called, cannot but be for man one part of a rational order yielding itself to the persuasion of another, a more essentially real. Bearing this in mind, it has become possible to view the wildest flights of modern 'naturalism' with an equanimity which some, less percipient than their neighbours, have chosen to confound with dogmatism, or more probably, with ignorance. The pity expended on the poor 'transcendentalist' is another excellent example of the topsy-turvydom of our vaunted modern thought. The transcendentalist, whose certainty is that man's experience is limited only by the rational, finds himself expected to eat the fragments from the table of the realist, who openly extols him-

self for dogmatising about meats whose nature is unknowable. He who knows to know is a dreamer ; he who knows only what he avers cannot be known, walks the solid earth. Slowly but surely, however, philosophy is teaching that the empirical remedy for ignorance may work more harm than the disease.

The term, religious reaction, which has been applied to the movement whereout Mr. Balfour's book has precipitated itself, is probably a misnomer. So far as the man in the wood is able to see the trees, the new tendency partakes scarcely at all of the character of reaction, nor can it claim to be religious in any special sense. Rather it is a first result of the steadily growing recognition that man's spiritual nature has no more been destroyed by Darwin than by Lyall or Copernicus. The mechanical conception of design that dominated the eighteenth century, and the resultant ideal of God as a high class master-mason tend to disappear. They linger still in some few pulpits, and the sooner they are eschewed there the better for religion. Wider and less inadequate conceptions have supplanted them ; and the so-called reaction is but an evidence of the growing tendency to recognise this more frankly, or at least with less pharisaical hesitancy. The truth is that latter day science and philosophy have long been engaged upon a joint labour, and the larger confidence of many at present is a product of the equating of results.

The doctrine of evolution now wields the authority, not of a theory, but of a fact. Yet some of the deductions from it, which have been masquerading as facts for a few brief years, begin to shrink to their true proportions. God *quâ* Mind or Matter or Motion, that is, God, according to a set of limited categories, has vanished into the inane of unknowability ; freedom, viewed as a capacity for originating muscular movements, has taken its proper place among a crowd of superannuated dogmas ; even to ask the question, does death end all, is to make dangerous concessions in the direction of foreclosing the reply. The introduction of the evolution conception, alike in metaphysics and in science, has led to a revival of former doctrines. God cannot now be regarded as an extra-mundane artificer who made the world, and then sent it off to spin through space for a season. But this is a very different doctrine from that involved in the

categorical statement, there is no God. A new question, on the contrary, has been raised with respect to God's relationship to the world. So, in spite of all the forcible scepticism of the age, Mr. Balfour can make a declaration like the following with every prospect of commanding assent. 'Compare, for example, the central truth of theology—"there is a God"—with one of the fundamental presuppositions of science (itself a generalised statement of what is given in ordinary judgments of perception)—"there is an independent natural world." I am myself disposed to doubt whether so good a case can be made out for accepting the second of these propositions as can be made out for accepting the first.* Even the lay mind is coming to observe that a world full of natural processes is not to be explained by the simple declaration that there are no such processes; and, moreover, that it is not sufficient to say, on the other side, that natural processes account for everything. They too are ever accompanied by conditions. Teleology may be in bad odour as a doctrine, it is more than likely to vindicate itself as a fact, if the evolution process is to yield up further secrets. The commonplace of philosophy, that there is a new issue and a way out of it, seems to be filtering into the general mind. Either God is unnecessary; or He is far more immediately necessary to this universe than any, save a small group of vapouring mystics, had previously supposed. The former alternative may be dismissed as being irrelevant from the scientific, and impossible from the philosophic standpoint. While, no 'plain man' would be likely to make the confession—

'And thrice I ha' patted my God on the head that men might call me brave.'

The chief doctrines that go by the name of modern thought, then, can hardly be said to destroy the spiritual. In fact, they seem to bless rather than to ban. Spiritual life appears to overflow the strictly natural, for the world of dead matter wanes, while the categories of organism and life and mind wax. 'The materialists,' as Schopenhauer said, 'endeavour to show that all, even mental phenomena, are physical; and rightly; only they do

* Pp. 236-7.

not see that, on the other hand, everything physical is at the same time metaphysical.' But materialism can scarcely be said to represent an estimable force to-day, and the perception grows stronger and stronger, affecting an ever widening circle of thoughtful men, that 'everything physical is at the same time metaphysical.' Mr. Balfour's book is one of the most significant products—perhaps the most significant hitherto—of this tendency. For, it is not a mere pronouncement by an accomplished writer. It appeals to the general, and, so far, the appeal has not been in vain. Conclusions which were at one time the exclusive property of a few who were scouted as fanatics, which more recently became commonplaces of philosophy, are now proclaimed to the world with an authority and persuasiveness that cannot fail to carry widespread influence.

Mr. Balfour is by no means unconscious of the relation in which his work stands to the movement just outlined. Indeed, in his preliminary chapter, he makes a very distinct utterance on the subject. 'Although what follows might thus be fitly described as "Considerations preliminary to a study of Theology," I do not think the subjects dealt with are less important on this account. For, in truth, the decisive battles of Theology are fought beyond its frontiers. It is not over purely religious controversies that the cause of Religion is lost or won. The judgments we shall form on its special problems are commonly settled for us by our general mode of looking at the universe; and this again, in so far as it is determined by arguments at all, is determined by arguments of so wide a scope that they can seldom be claimed as more nearly concerned with Theology than with the philosophy of Science or of Ethics. My object, then, is to recommend a particular way of looking at the world-problems which, whether we like it or not, we are compelled to face. I wish, if I can, to lead the reader up to a point of view whence the small fragments of the Infinite Whole, of which we are able to obtain a glimpse, may appear to us in their true relative proportions.*' In carrying out this aim, Mr. Balfour, accordingly, follows a well considered and easily understood plan.

* Pp. 2-3.

At the outset he discloses, in a series of most brilliant, and, for the greater part, conclusive discussions, the consequences that must inevitably follow from an uncritical adoption of scientific assumptions. Given an outer world, which is exclusive of mind; given that mind can understand this foreign universe; given that this understanding results in the conclusion that mind, and all its accompaniments, are products of the external—given, in other words, that the supposititious outer world is the only world, then certain consequences cannot be avoided. The assumption, it must be noted, is the important point, just as in the famous prescription—apply spirits externally till the hair grows, then take them internally to fix the roots. ‘If naturalism be true, or rather if it be the whole truth, then is morality but a bare catalogue of utilitarian precepts; beauty but the chance occasion of a passing pleasure; reason but the dim passage from one set of unthinking habits to another. All that gives dignity to life, all that gives value to effort, shrinks and fades under the pitiless glare of a creed like this; and even curiosity, the hardest among the nobler passions of the soul, must languish under the conviction that neither for this generation nor for any that shall come after it, neither in this life nor in another, will the tie be wholly loosened by which reason, not less than appetite, is held in hereditary bondage to the service of our material needs.’*

Having thus cleared the ground, as it were, Mr. Balfour next proceeds to examine the supposition on which these conclusions rest. This criticism is one of the best pronouncements ever penned on the philosophical basis of naturalism. Not merely that it is to be regarded as essentially unanswerable, but the style of the entire attack commands the warmest admiration. No set of assumptions, applicable in a certain sphere, but employed by partisans in another, where they happen to be meaningless, has ever been more scathingly exposed. ‘The whole theory, it may be said, on which we have been proceeding is untenable, the undigested product of crude common-sense. . . . The baseless fabric of the sciences, like the great globe itself, dissolves at the touch of theories like these, leaving not a wrack behind.’† The

* Pp. 77-8.

† Pp. 113, 127.

presentations of Mill's and Mr. Spencer's positions, incidental to this inquiry, are not only acute and witty, but conclusive. The perilous state of science as a quasi-philosophical system furnishes the first main reason for belief. But Mr. Balfour is by no means content with this. He next proceeds to examine what, within the circle of professed thinkers at least, must be regarded as the chief system that competes with naturalism. 'Transcendental Idealism,'* as Mr. Balfour terms it, proposes a 'theory of experience very remote indeed from ordinary modes of expression,' and so is a formidable subject. And for reasons, to which some reference will be made below, he rejects it. Because 'the old questions come upon us in a new form, clothed, I will not say shrouded, in a new terminology, they come upon us with all the old insistence. They are restated, but they are not solved; and I am unable, therefore, to find in idealism any escape from the difficulties which, in the region of theology, ethics, and science, empiricism leaves upon our hands.† A second, and probably a more powerful, reason for belief is to be sought in the failure of idealism, in the 'solipsism' of Hegel and Green, of Edward Caird and F. H. Bradley. Once more, Rationalism also fails us, for 'Certitude is found to be the child, not of Reason, but of Custom.'‡ So, yet again, rationalist orthodoxy lends no aid, because its plan of connecting Science and Religion 'into one single scheme of interconnected propositions' is attained 'by making Theology in form a mere annex or appendix to Science; a mere footnote to history; a series of conclusions inferred from data which have been arrived at by precisely the same methods as those which enable us to pronounce upon the probability of any other events in the past history of man, or of the world in which he lives.'§ Viewed as a rational being, man is left naked, and, with his engrained habit of effrontery, he is unashamed enough to find grounds in these circumstances for believing himself clothed. In other words, an examination of the varied stock-in-trade of reason leads to unusual depreciation—all of it must be written off.

In the third division of the work, Mr. Balfour develops this

* Cf. pp. 139 *seq.*

† P. 155.

‡ P. 164.

§ P. 178.

conclusion more positively. 'Classes of belief, relating to the present and the absent, cover the whole ground of what is commonly called experience, and something more. . . But they neither provide, nor by any merely logical extension can be made to provide, the apparatus of beliefs which we find actually connected with the higher scientific, social, and spiritual life of the race. . . The appropriate environment has also to be provided.* This is supplied by Authority, and by all that Authority bears in its train. 'It is Authority rather than Reason to which, in the main, we owe, not religion only, but ethics and politics. . . And though it may seem to savour of paradox, it is yet no exaggeration to say that if we would find the quality in which we most notably excel the brute creation, we should look for it, not so much in our faculty of convincing and being convinced by the exercise of reasoning, as in our capacity for influencing and being influenced through the action of Authority.'† Finally, Mr. Balfour builds up a series of 'Suggestions towards a provisional philosophy.' Even the most famous philosophers have been fain to accommodate in their systems conceptions which are, at the last, based upon authority.‡ Religious formulæ are not formulæ only. 'They are both a statement of theological conclusions and the symbols of a corporate unity.'§ There are certain immutable doctrines in theology, as in science and ethics, 'which ought to be preserved unchanged through all revolutions. . . They are not Explanatory. . . It is because they can be charged with a richer and richer content as our knowledge slowly grows to a fuller harmony with the Infinite Reality, that they may be counted among the most precious of our inalienable possessions.'|| And all this implies a system, even although we may wot little of it. 'We cannot frame our advice to mankind on the hypothesis that to defy Omnipotence is the beginning of wisdom.'¶ Thus, the authoritative system of our beliefs comes to be far more satisfactory if viewed from a Theistic standpoint.** Among the elements organic to this system, the Incarnation stands forth conspicu-

* Pp. 192-3. † Pp. 229-30. ‡ Cf. Pp. 243 *seq.* § P. 261.
 -|| Pp. 277-8. ¶ P. 318. ** Cf. pp. 334 *seq.*

ous. For, 'Among the needs ministered to by Christianity are some which increase rather than diminish with the growth of knowledge and the progress of science. . . Religion is therefore no mere reform, appropriate only to a vanished epoch in the history of culture and civilisation, but a development of theism now more necessary to us than ever.'* Such, in brief outline, is Mr. Balfour's contention. It is remarkable for many reasons. It trenches, obviously, upon nearly all the problems that are most hotly disputed at the present moment. Further, it touches upon many others that have held perennial charms for the human race ever since it began to attempt to comprehend itself and its dwelling-place. Moreover, the manner in which the discussions are presented is such as to arrest and to rivet attention. Keen dialectic, pungent wit, flashes of humour, and a wealth of apposite illustration garnered from things new and old, combine to render the work at once stimulating and fascinating. Abstract inquiries, involving deepest and most serious issues, were never set forth with greater charm; and the spell loses none of its magic by its evident ease. There is little straining, and no affectation. These exceptional qualities of form, indeed, enhance the value of the treatise highly. For, mainly by their influence, it is likely to reach readers who seldom concern themselves with these high matters, and to spread certain doctrines which, although they have long been commonplaces in the schools, have hitherto passed for amiable follies in the market-place.

But, despite the proverb about looking a gift-horse in the mouth, it seems necessary to suggest that these unusual and conspicuous excellencies may to some extent have been achieved at the expense of certain corresponding defects. It may be possible to find that one is in substantial agreement with the spirit in which Mr. Balfour writes as a whole, and yet to doubt the premises whereon he bases his principal conclusions. One may be able to accept the inferences, even the most dogmatic of them—that concerning the Incarnation—and yet feel bound to challenge the grounds on which they are professedly set forth. In short,

* P. 343.

it may be possible to go the length of declaring that one is more solicitous for Mr. Balfour's constructive appeal than he is himself. Regarded in this way, the problem presents itself in some such guise as the following. Are not the wonderful felicities of statement gained at the cost of suppressing certain aspects of the entire truth? Not, of course, of the truth as it appears to our author, but of the ultimate guarantee of experience as it actually is. Or, to put it otherwise, is the strictly philosophic standpoint preserved intact throughout? Taking into account the movement represented by the book, it might be said that scarcely sufficient stress has been laid upon the principles implied. Indeed, at two crucial stages, they are explicitly criticised. The review of idealism traverses presuppositions on which the validity of the attack upon naturalism largely depends. While the sharp contrast instituted between what are termed Authority and Reason hardly admits even a suggestion of the other side which every distinction embodies. Surely, if it be possible to set Authority over against Reason, they must in some way or other be inter-related. This, as one ought to acknowledge, is a general point; but it affects the entire issue of Mr. Balfour's argument.

Into some of the details of the critique of 'Transcendental Idealism' it is impossible to enter here. Rigid idealists would, no doubt, have much to say about the representation of the 'quasi-causal activity of the self *'; about the "manifold" of relations *on the one side*, and a bare self-conscious principle of unity *on the other*'; † about a freedom which 'is metaphysical, not moral,' and a man who 'lacks freedom in the sense in which freedom is necessary in order to constitute responsibility.' ‡ And on such points the 'young lions' of idealism, whose number is legion, may probably be left to take care of themselves. The departures from the philosophic standpoint involved in Mr. Balfour's successful attack upon naturalism are rather connected with his argument that idealism necessarily leads to 'solipsism'; 'by this kind of reasoning must each one of us severally be driven to the conclusion that in the infinite variety of the universe there is room for but one knowing subject, and that this subject is "him-

* Pp. 144 *seq.*

† P. 145.

‡ Pp. 146, 147 (note).

self.”* They also condition the opposition between Authority and Reason.

These lapses embody a failure to recognise the substantial service that idealism has rendered to modern inquiry. And they are sufficiently excusable when one remembers that idealism has its fanaticisms, and that these, very naturally, have tended to obscure its most essential merits. We need not exclaim ‘Lord, Lord,’ to Hegel, yet we cannot but acknowledge the reasons for his sway. The absolutism, out of which so many fashion a convenient bogey, has after all little to do with man’s making himself in God’s image. Rather, it relates to certain contributions to the conditions of philosophic progress, in the absence of which a theory of things would be incoherent or impossible. Experience must be its own judge. This, in a word, is Hegel’s epoch-making discovery. But it requires to be extricated from the tangle of formal apparatus in which it was originally presented. Two elements co-exist in the bibles of idealism. The one furnishes a summary statement of the nature of the universe as it cannot but be for man, the other details a method whereby the principle, alleged to be immanent in this nature, has characteristically manifested itself from generation to generation. Mr. Balfour tends to identify these two. Or, at all events, his reasoning so operates that the condemnation which he pours out upon the latter, overflows the former. And the contention to be urged is, that while the latter constitutes the Achilles’ heel of much contemporary idealism, the former furnishes all idealists with an inexhaustible source of speculative strength. Rationalism, not in the peddling eighteenth century sense, but in the guise of a socialised reason, wherein all men are partakers, and whereby alone they can execute valid judgment upon the deep things of life, constitutes the ægis of a satisfactory philosophy. Only within the charmed, yet supremely natural, circle of self-consciousness can men hope ever to obtain a glimpse of the infinities to which in common they yearn. This is a theory the flank of which cannot be turned by any experience-damning agnosticism, for the simple reason that it has no

* P. 151.

flank. So far as a human being, at least, can judge, nothing irrational, un-rational, non-rational—the name matters little, so long as it is understood to imply what indeed can only be *said*, for it is no-sense, that what lies out of self-consciousness is as good as nothing for it—is able to occupy an organic place in experience. Only from what has been envisaged by self-consciousness in others or in me can judgments, philosophically speaking, emanate with regard to reality, truth, validity, and the like. Experience, as conditioned by self-consciousness, cannot but be absolute in this sense. Whether the Absolute and this experience are one is a totally different matter. And Mr. Balfour, in his anxiety to repudiate the latter inference, has unfortunately forgotten the former fact. The limits of personality, it may very well be, cannot circumscribe God. But man must fit his infinity to the finite. That is to say, within *his own* self-consciousness, if he is to be a man in any full sense, he cannot but include the self-consciousness of his neighbours. A purely personal experience is as inconceivable, and as inept, as the Unknowable. Yet this is not to say that a man ever can get beyond the realm of ideas. Idealist he is by nature, and idealist he, therefore, must remain. And it is possible for him to be so far satisfied with this state of nature, because he shares it with all his fellows. What they accomplish can be transferred to him, what he achieves he gains with them. In short, so far from idealism leading to solipsism, its main presupposition turns out to be that solipsism is a word representing a theory—which cannot by any rational possibility be thought. And one hardly sees sufficient reason for giving up the priceless treasure of idealism, the rehabilitation of experience, because some idealists seek to show that Deity is no more than the process of ideas.

No doubt both extremes are traceable to the same causes. Idealism of the contemporary sort has scarcely reached its centenary yet. The swaddling clothes of system with which it was first presented to a half-delighted, half-astounded world, still tend to obscure its outlines, and perhaps to warp its growth. But the central life itself grows stronger meantime. When it has come to be more fully understood, fewer will be afraid of it, fewer too will be so eager to descant on its seeming accompani-

ments. Meanwhile, it is enough to recognise that the self-consciousness of men, the experience of the race as a coöperation of these self-conscious beings, and the knowledge which, with a modesty that veils truth too much, this experience alleges itself to have of 'other things' are conditions of the approval or disapproval of every possible conception. To-day we present these truths to ourselves mainly under biological categories. We say, for example, that 'Society is an organism.' Yet, do we not know full well that this is untrue? Society never was, is not, and cannot be an organism. So too we tend to regard experience in the same way, and no small portion of the errors into which we fall, all unwittingly, flow from this tendency. For an organism has an inside and an outside. The central doctrine of idealism, the citadel of the possibility of philosophising, lies precisely in an explicit denial of this. Nevertheless, one is not compelled to suppose that a tower has been founded on or fashioned out of omniscience. Rather, looking the reality in the face, one exclaims with the poet:—

'How inexhaustibly the spirit grows!
One object, she seemed erewhile born to reach
With her whole energies and die content,—
So like a wall at the world's edge it stood,
With naught beyond to live for,—is that reached?—
Already are new undream'd energies
Outgrowing under and extending farther
To a new object;—there's another world!'

Human experience, unlike any organism, can be traced to nothing but itself, can be projected into nothing but itself. And the great law which thus decrees is perhaps best expressed as the law of sociality. For in thought as in action, which indeed are but different sides of one being, the ultimate principle must be conception of the true, and effort to realise it in a life which, at every turn, implies contact, companionship and their opposites.

If then, experience be a closed circle, the sides of which ever recede as man approaches; if it be, that is, a circle containing ideas, bounded, if *bounded* it be, by ideals, then what of the opposition between Authority and Reason? One may agree, first, that 'always and everywhere an Imaginary Observer, con-

templating from some external coign of vantage the course of human history, would note the immense, the inevitable, and on the whole the beneficent, part which Authority plays in the production of belief.* But, it must be pointed out, further, that the limitation of the Observer's view is not surprising. Being outside experience, in fact, the wonder is that he perceives so much. But Mr. Balfour, being himself within experience, cannot so limit his own vision. 'To Reason is largely due the growth of new and the sifting of old knowledge; the ordering, and in part the discovery, of that vast body of systematised conclusions which constitute so large a portion of scientific, philosophical, ethical, political, and theological learning. . . . When we turn, however, from the conscious work of Reason to that which is unconsciously performed for us by Authority, a very different spectacle arrests our attention. The effects of the first, prominent as they are through the dignity of their origin, are trifling as compared with the all-pervading influences which flow from the second.† There is an 'antinomy between the equities of Reason and the expediencies of Authority,' ‡ yet 'it is from Authority that Reason itself draws its most important premises.'§ To all of which it is possible, if not necessary, to say Yea and Amen; but only on the condition implied in the last statement. If experience be of the nature for which we have contended, then Reason may draw its premises from Authority. Yet, it is able to do so only because Authority is its very self under another name. To what indeed do we attach the term, except to 'that vast body of systematised conclusions which constitute so large a portion of scientific, philosophical, ethical, political and theological learning?' What, for instance, are the Laws of Motion, but rational conclusions which the physicists take, on authority, as the basis of further investigation? Why does Mr. Balfour hold, with Kant, 'that without matter categories are empty,' unless he accepts a rational authority? What is the institution of marriage but a rational recognition of the necessity of the family for the safety of the commonwealth authoritatively enacted? What is the 'ostentatious futility of

* P. 200.

† Pp. 226-7-8.

‡ P. 215.

§ P. 228.

the rights of man,' but a rational condemnation of a brief authority rationally originated? What are creeds but rational pronouncements, by those reasonably, or unreasonably, assumed to be experts, authoritatively put forward in place of thoughts on behalf of the multitude assumed unable to think on difficult problems? In other words, the antinomy between Reason and Authority is possible only on the ground of an implicit identity. And it is the business of the philosopher, not so much to emphasise the difference, as to show wherein the oneness consists. To insist that belief is wise or necessary or expedient, because authority plays so large a part in human history is, in the circumstances which we have tried to set forth, very much like saying that a Quaker loves the ocean for its broad brim. No doubt he does; but, with equal certainty, he does not. And so, the last state of the philosopher, thus hemmed in, is worse than the first. His conclusion would really be an apostrophe to the unchangeable:—Would I were not a man—or a Quaker!

But Mr. Balfour is better than his bare word. The arguments which he employs, with the aid of the Imaginary Observer, carry him beyond a merely transcendental idealism. 'The Incarnation,' he says, 'throws the whole scheme of things, as we are too easily apt to represent it to ourselves, into a different and far truer proportion. It absolutely changes the whole scale on which we might be disposed to measure the magnitudes of the universe.* Most certainly: but why? Because man inhabits a city whose builder and maker is God. In this stupendous fact—the most authoritative of all facts—his reason, especially on its ethical side, finds one relatively complete manifestation of humanness. The persistence of rationality is, even here, the ultimate cause of the operative power of the Incarnator. We bow our heads before the Cross, it is often said, in presence of a fathomless mystery. But the mystery centres chiefly in man's surprise that his own most essential qualities, which seem so temporal, should in truest verity be eternal. His holiest and highest ideals *are* here. So his beliefs cease to be mere otiose acquiescences. 'For,' as Mr. Balfour says, in a passage which admits all that we have

* Pp. 346-7.

been urging, 'they minister, or rather the Reality behind them ministers, to one of our deepest ethical needs; to a need which, far from showing signs of diminution, seems to grow with the growth of civilisation, and to touch us ever more keenly as the hardness of an earlier time dissolves away.' *

R. M. WENLEY.

ART. III.—THE GAY GORDONS.

The Records of Aboyne. By the MARQUIS OF HUNTLY. (New Spalding Club). Aberdeen: 1894.

The Gordon Letters. (Spalding Club Miscellany.) Aberdeen: 1846.

Papers from the Charter Room at Gordon Castle. (Spalding Club Miscellany). Aberdeen: 1849.

The Straloch Papers. (Spalding Club Miscellany). Aberdeen: 1841.

A Concise History of the Ancient and Illustrious House of Gordon. By C. A. GORDON. 1754. Republished 1890.

The History of the Family of Gordon. By WILLIAM GORDON. Edinburgh: 1726-27.

Memories of Four Old Families. . . . Gordon of Lesmoir. by Capt. DOUGLAS WIMBERLEY. Inverness: 1894.

IN none of the British Islands, and probably in no European country, does family history form so alluring a department of study as it does in Scotland. The mixed blood of the Scottish race, the chequered character of Scotland's stormy annals, and the remarkable manner in which the interlacing of the feudal polity of Western Europe with the clan system of the Caledonian Celts favoured the growth of family power, even on a comparatively small basis of property, made it inevitable that the fates of the State should be closely connected with those of the great houses. Scotland was a small country, and

* P. 354.

her inhabitants consisted to a large extent of great families. Name and kinship always count for more on a small than a large stage, and a mountainous country, where 'strangers in the glen' are looked upon with some suspicion, even though hospitality be a cardinal virtue, is the most favourable for the development of clans. The true Scot is neither a pure individualist nor a universalist collectivist. His kin and his clan always have a claim upon him and a place in his heart that is yielded to none of another name. 'Scotch cousinship' has long been the marvel of the English mind; 'Maugre all thy kin and thee' was the bold defiance of the Rhymer of Ercildoun; 'a when kinless loons' was the native Lord of Session's characterisation of Cromwell's foreign judges. The Scot's knowledge of Scotsmen, his keen eye for family peculiarities, and his response to the claims of connection constantly crop out in the narratives that recount his fortunes abroad, and in the ancient annals and ballad literature of his own country. The adjectives associated with the names of famous families alone give to Scottish annals a touch of romantic and graphic colouring that is wanting to those of more prosaic peoples. The 'bauld Frasers,' the 'handsome Hays,' the 'proud Setons,' the 'licht Lindsays,' the 'gallant Grahames,' the 'gentle Johnstons,' and not least, the 'gay Gordons,' each contribute a trait of their own to the national canvas.

Interesting as all Scottish family annals are, there stand out pre-eminent certain great houses whose story exercises a special fascination. Many elements contribute to give this peculiar charm which some names assert over the sympathetic student of our Scottish past. Width of territory and magnitude of power, spreading branches and gallant cadets, heroic deeds in the English wars, an ancestor who charged at Bannockburn, a 'grave on Brankston Moor,' an heir's release from his feudal casualties after Pinkie Cleuch, a tragedy of 'the Troubles' and sacrifices made in the romantic cause of the White Rose, but most of all an indefinable aroma of family character, and an atmosphere of great deeds and heroic ventures unite to forge the interest which certain good Scots surnames always possess for every kindly Scot. 'Even a Glas-

gow Radical,' wrote Hannay, in days when political predominance in Glasgow was more absolute than to-day 'warms at the name of Douglas;' and Aberdeen, which, in defiance of all its past traditions, has temporarily succeeded to the office of indicating the low water mark of Scottish Conservatism, has never lost its goodwill for a Gordon. Local sympathy and a personal historical taste will in different places and minds cause different names to present themselves as illustrations of this special charm, and he would be a bold man who should set himself to prepare a roll of the thirty leading Scottish families. Yet are we inclined to dare further, and while nothing would induce us to 'call spirits from the vasty deep' by selecting the thirty Captains, we boldly venture to name 'the three mightiest.' In the romantic interest of their history, in their influence on the nation's fate, and in the personal charm of their annals, the three Scottish houses which stand foremost are 'Douglas, dreaded name' in the South, the Macdonalds, 'race of mighty Somerled,' in the Highlands and Islands, and the noble House of Huntly in the North.

Of all the Norman families that settled in Scotland, none has afforded a brighter example of the chivalrous virtues, the courtly grace, and the capacity for affairs that distinguished the Norman blood, than has 'the gentle Gordon clan.' The gay Gordons have ever been famed for gallantry in the field no less than for grace in the hall, and alike in Aberdeenshire and Galloway, the romantic valour and the chivalrous character of the race reveals itself in the story of young Lochinvar, in the ballad of young Glenlogie, and in the stirring strains of 'Kenmure's on and awa,' and 'O send Lewie Gordon hame.' The race has been rich in fair women and brave men, and the 'Cock of the North' and his valiant kinsmen have borne their parts in those darker but heroic tragedies that stud the story of our Scottish past. But the dominating note of the Gordon annals is the combination of steadfast loyalty to the King with a personal gallantry and grace that have always exercised a fascination of their own in the North of Scotland. 'For keeping the Crown upon our head,' in the time of the great Douglas treason, was the proud narrative of a comprehensive charter.

granted to the House of Huntly; the Gordon baronage was the mainstay of the Queen's men in Queen Mary's troubled day, and the backbone of the Cavalier strength in the Civil Wars of the seventeenth century. The principles and sentiment of the race shine out as distinctly in Lord Arbuthnot's quaint protest when about to espouse Straloch's daughter, that 'the gentlewoman fears God though a Gordon,' and Claverhouse's aspiration, that the Galloway Gordons were all transplanted and replaced by their kinsmen from the north, 'who are as loyal there as they are disaffected here,' as in the vindictive proscription of the name by the Scots Estates during the campaigns of Montrose, and the declaration of the family chronicler, that 'there was not one gentleman of note of the name of Gordon in the north of Scotland (Sutherland excepted), that did not now, with their chief, put on their helmet in the King's quarrel.'

A curious fate originally settled the Gordon stock in one corner of Scotland, from which they departed to found great houses in regions far apart from each other and from their original seat. Gordon and Huntly, Earlston and Greenlaw, are all Berwickshire names, but the Gordons carried them north and west with them. Bleak Bog of Gicht in Banffshire became Gordon Castle: the stately towers of Huntly Castle arose to overlook the burgh of Huntly which superseded the Raws of Strathbogie, and Earlston and Greenlaw were reproduced in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright. The eminence attained in the North has made the Gordons pre-eminently an Aberdeenshire family, but the original connection with Berwickshire was long maintained, Sticheil being sold by Gordon of Lochinvar in 1628, and the transplanted names shew that its associations were cherished, both in Strathbogie and Enzie, and in Galloway. Apart from the various MS. annals, two histories of the Ducal family of Gordon exist, written by clansmen of the name; an old history was compiled by John Ferrerius, Abbot of Kinloss; many details about various branches of the race are scattered throughout the valuable works on local history and antiquities of which the North-East of Scotland has been so prolific; the charter chests of Gordon

Castle and Parkhill yielded much of interest in response to the investigation of the old Spalding Club; and now, under the auspices of its successor, the Records of Aboyne have been made accessible, and the memoirs of his gallant race compiled in a manner which is none the less critical because it is sympathetic by their chief the Marquis of Huntly.

The connection between the name of Gordon and the city of Gordonia, in Macedonia, which commended itself to the old family historians may be discarded, but it is certain that the name was a distinguished one in France, while Scotland was still in the dark period of her history. A Duke de Gordoun was Constable of France and General of Brittany in the time of Charlemagne, another Gordoun was Constable under Louis le Debonair (A.D. 820), and Richard the First of England was slain by Bertrand de Gordoun at Chalons in Aquitaine, where there is still a picturesquely situated town called Gourdon. The first Scottish Gordon was a Captain in the army of King Malcolm III., and received from him the lands of Stichel and others, in the Merse, which are said to have remained in his family for over 500 years. 'This Sir Adam,' writes a family historian, 'in his own time was remarkable for killing a fierce boar that much wasted the country near the forest or wood of Huntly,' in consequence of which King Malcolm gave him as arms the three boars heads or in an azure field, since associated with the Gordon name. He is said to have fallen with his King at Alnwick. Another Laird of Gordon fell at the battle of the Standard in 1138, and the estates were divided between his sons Richard and Adam. Richard's son, Sir Thomas of Gordon, saw his sovereign William the Lion taken prisoner, and was one of his most constant supporters in suppressing the revolts within the Scottish realm. His son, another Sir Thomas, dying in 1258, left an only daughter, Alicia, by whose marriage the estates were reunited. Adam, the younger son of the Gordon who fell at the battle of the Standard, was succeeded by Alexander of Huntly, whose son, Sir William de Huntly, sailed with the first Scottish contingent of 1000 men for the Crusades and died in Africa. He was succeeded by his brother Adam, and he, by his son Adam, who joined in

the Civil War waged with their sovereign Henry III. by the English barons. He is said to have engaged in a single combat with Prince Edward, in which the issue was a drawn one. At all events he returned to Scotland, having won his spurs and married his cousin Alicia. After some years of prosperity he too sailed for the Holy Land to aid St. Louis of France, but, like his uncle, fell a victim to disease before setting foot on the sacred soil. His son, another Sir Adam, joined the army raised by King John Baliol in 1295, under the leadership of Comyn Earl of Buchan and William Earl of Mar, and fell in the following year at Dunbar, that first of a long series of stricken fields in the strife of centuries with the 'auld enemies of England.'

His son, Sir Adam, had a chequered career, and became in a sense the second founder of the family fortunes. He distinguished himself along with Sir William Wallace, and seems to have adhered to the national cause until the betrayal of the patriotic Guardian. In 1305, however, he gave in his allegiance to King Edward, and for long faithfully maintained that position. At the same time he was able to render service to the Bruce by securing the release of Bishop Lamberton, and saving the life of Thomas Randolph when captured after the rout of Methven. He is found endeavouring to negotiate a truce, and ultimately in 1313 was sent with the Earl of March by the Scots nobles and barons who still adhered to the English party, to Edward II., to 'lay their miserable state before him, and to request his advice and assistance.' No assistance was forthcoming; the Commissioners returned to Scotland, and advised a reconciliation with the Bruce. Sir Adam Gordon sought an interview with King Robert; his services were accepted, and with the friendly aid of Sir Thomas Randolph, his estates were restored, and he was allowed to retain the barony of Stichel, which had been anew conferred upon him by the English King. He fought by the side of Randolph at Bannockburn, and was employed by King Robert in State affairs of the highest importance. He was one of the two bearers of the famous letter of 1320, addressed to the Pope, by the Scots Parliament, which met at Arbroath, and was

largely instrumental in the reconciliation between the Holy See and the Scottish Monarch. His services on the field of Bannockburn and in Council were rewarded in 1319 by a charter of the barony of Strathbogie, which had been forfeited by David Strathbogy Earl of Athole. Thus did the Gordons obtain their first foothold in the district with which their fortunes have since been so closely associated, while Sir Adam's second son, William, became the progenitor of the barons of Lochinvar, Viscounts of Kenmure, and other Galloway Gordons.

The next of the line, another Sir Adam, led a foray into England and endeavoured to drive off the cattle that pastured under the walls of Norham. But Sir Thomas Gray, seeing his countrymen at a disadvantage, vowed 'he would drink of the same cup,' let loose the large mastiffs of the castle, and drove the Scottish force across the Tweed. In the disastrous fight on Halidon Hill, Sir Adam Gordon commanded the first line, and his son, John Gordon, with three other knights, sallied forth from Berwick to help their countrymen. Adam Gordon was, however, destined to share the laurels of a more successful day. When Sir Andrew Moray, the Regent, rode north in 1335 to succour his good lady besieged in Kildrummy by the revolted Earl of Athole, he was accompanied by Sir Adam and other Border knights. In the 'stark and stern' tussle in the forest of Culbleen it is said that Earl David fell by the hand of Adam Gordon, and it seems certain that he pursued Sir Robert Menzies to the Peel of Kinnord, constructed rafts, transported his men to the island, and put the garrison to the sword.

His son, Sir John Gordon, was taken prisoner with King David II. at the battle of Durham in 1346, and shared his Sovereign's captivity in the Tower. His son, another Sir John, was a distinguished warrior who preferred hard fighting on the borders to ease in Strathbogie. He led the storm of Roxburgh Castle; defeated Sir John Lilburne at the pass of Carham with a far inferior force, led the left wing in the pitched battle at Melrose, and gave stout support to the dead Douglas who won the field on the moonlit night of Otterburn. Wytoun says of his victory at Carham :—

‘And of his dede that he had dune
There rays a welle grete renoune,
And greatly prysyd was gude Gordoune.’

And the ballad narrator of Otterburn depicts the Douglas when warned of the approach of the English force, selecting Gordon for the post of danger:—

‘He stepped out at his pavilion door,
To look an it were less ;
Away ye lordings one and all,
For here begins no peace.
The Earl of Menteith thou art my eme
The forward I give to thee :
The Earl of Huntly cawte and keen
He shall with thee be.’

Sir John Gordon survived till 1394, and was succeeded by his brother, Sir Adam, who married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir William Keith, Great Marischal of Scotland, and of Lady Margaret Fraser, heiress of Cowie, Durris, Aboyne, and other lands in Aberdeenshire and Kincardineshire. In August, 1402, he stood with the Scottish army on Homildon Hill, while the clothyard shafts of the English archery rained death on its solid ranks. There too was Sir John Swinton, between whose family and the Gordons a deadly feud had raged. The episode dramatised by Sir Walter Scott is thus described by Lord Huntly:—

‘The shattered remains of their families and followers were around them, the greater part lying dead at their feet. “My friends,” exclaimed Sir John Swinton, “why stand we here to be slain like deer, and marked down by the enemy? Where is our wonted courage? Are we to be still and have our hands nailed to our lances? Follow me, and let us at least sell our lives as dearly as we can.” These gallant words won the admiration of Sir Adam Gordon, and throwing himself from his horse, he knelt at his feet and begged Swinton’s forgiveness and the honour of knighthood at his hands. “For of hand more noble,” said Gordon, “can I never receive that honour.” Swinton instantly granted the request, gave him the accolade, and tenderly embraced him. Both knights then remounted, and side by side, at the head of a hundred of their followers, made a desperate charge upon the English host, from which not one of them returned.’

Besides Sir Adam, Alexander and Roger Gordon, his uncles, and many of his kin, perished on that blood-stained field. He

was survived for six years by his son John, but he dying without issue was succeeded by his sister, Elizabeth, who married Alexander, son of Sir William Seton of that Ilk.

Lord Huntly has now solved the great Aberdeenshire question as to the status, and claims to the true chiefship, of the 'Seton Gordons,' and the 'Jock and Tam Gordons.' According to tradition John Gordon of Scurdargue or Essie, and Tam of Ruthven, were either the sons of Adam Gordon, father of Elizabeth, by a previous connection of the nature of 'hand fasting' with Elizabeth Cruickshank, heiress of Asswanly, or were younger sons of his father, and uncles to Elizabeth. The high position held by the house of Straloch and Pitlurg, the senior representative of John of Scurdargue, and the fact that the many descendants of both Jock and Tam bore the Gordon arms without any mark of bastardy were appealed to in favour of the contention that Jock and Tam were legitimate. It was repeated in the North that the last of the old Dukes of Gordon had made General Gordon of Pitlurg and Parkhill leave the room before him as the heir-male and true chief by blood of the Gordon clan. But Lord Huntly has now established that Jock and Tam were neither the half-brothers nor the uncles of the heiress, but her cousins, being sons of Sir John Gordon who fought at Otterburn. 'This is proved by a Charter of Ardlay, recovered from the rubbish at Aberdour.' The fact that their uncle succeeded to his brother is proof positive that the union of their father and mother, however consonant to old Celtic usages then still retaining vitality in the North, was not recognised by the Church. C. A. Gordon, the historian of 1754, deals with this problem of that time in a characteristic and most judicious manner:—

'As for John and Thomas, commonly called Jock and Thom, whether they were natural brothers to the heiress of Huntly, or her legitimate uncles, I cannot, being a stranger in this country, take upon me to decide. I shall only take notice that most part of the gentlemen in the north of Scotland are descended of these two brothers, and that many worthy gentlemen and distinguished families are sprung from that stock, who for their antiquity, their great matches, and their loyalty to their King and country, are not inferior to any family in Britain.'

Three years after his marriage, Alexander Seton, now known

as Lord of Gordon, led the Gordon fighting men on the left wing of the Earl of Mar's army in the fierce struggle with Donald of the Isles, on 'the red Harlaw.' In 1421 he went to France to the assistance of the Dauphin, taking with him at his own charges 40 lancers and 100 horse. He made frequent journeys to England on public affairs, and about 1436 was created a Peer of Parliament as Lord Gordon. From 1437 he held the lands of Aboyne and Cluny, which on the death of Elizabeth Keith after three marriages, passed through Elizabeth Gordon, the third heiress—'a judicious wiffie and a prudent woman,'—into the hands of the Seton Gordons. In the person of her son Alexander—the second, William, taking the name of Seton and becoming ancestor of the family of Meldrum—the Gordon fortunes made another great advance. In 1438 he received from his divorced wife, Egidia Hay, Lady of Tullibody, a charter in liferent of her lands, including the lands of the forest of Enzie and Boyne in Banffshire. Prior to July, 1445, he was created Earl of Huntly, and in the following January he found himself involved, by the canons of hospitality, accepted when returning from Court, in the bloody fight between the Lindsays and the Ogilvies at Arbroath. His next battle on the soil of Angus had a more successful termination. The dagger of James II. had indeed struck a fierce blow at the Great League between the Earls of Douglas, Crawford, and Ross, but there were ranged against the Crown the Douglas following under the Earls of Moray and Ormond, the Earl of Ross's Highlanders, and the Lindsays, flushed with their triumphs over the Ogilvies, under the 'Tiger Earl.' Crawford resolved to prevent the Earl of Huntly joining the King, and the loyal force from Aberdeenshire came face to face with the Angus rebels near Brechin on 18th May, 1452. After a fierce struggle, in which two brothers and many vassals of the Earl of Huntly fell, the Lindsays were defeated, and the Royal cause was saved. In the light of Lord Huntly's investigations the picturesque story must be discarded, which made the Laird of Pitlurg step forward when Huntly placed his second son at the head of the Gordons, and waving his bonnet exclaim, 'A' that's come o' me, follow me,' when the

whole clan rallied round him, and Huntly at once conceded to him the leadership of the name in the battle. But there seems no reason to surrender the still more romantic episode in which young Calder of Asswanly, following the chase too hotly, found himself in the midst of Crawford's retainers, kept his counsel and went with them to the Castle of Finhaven, heard the Tiger Earl declare that 'he would willingly pass seven years in Hell to gain the honour of such a victory as had that day fallen to Huntly,' and escaped in the confusion which followed a sudden alarm, bringing as evidence of where he had been the silver cup with the Lindsay arms out of which they had been drinking, a duplicate of which presented by Huntly was long preserved in his family. For some time the contest was sustained by the Douglasses in Moray, and a success obtained by them was commemorated in the rhyme:—

'Where did you leave your men,
Thou Gordon so gay?
In the bog of Dunkinty
Mowing the hay.'

But Huntly soon compelled the Earls of Moray and Ormond to quit the North, and the hour of final doom came for the Black Douglasses at Arkinholme.

In 1451 the lordship of Badenoch and the Castle of Ruthven had been granted to the Earl of Huntly, and in 1457 he received a renewed charter of the lands and Earldom of Huntly, comprising Strathbogie, Aboyne, Glentanner, Glenmuick, with the pertinents in Aberdeenshire, the lordship of Badenoch in Inverness, the forest of Enzie, with the pertinents in Banff, and the lands of the lordship of Gordon and Huntly in Berwick. Three years later, at the siege of Roxburgh, the bursting of a cannon at the salute of welcome fired to him by King James's orders, deprived that gallant monarch of his life.

The second Earl of Huntly married as his second wife the Princess Annabella of Scotland, captured the Castle of Dingwall, and broke the power of the Earl of Ross; was keeper of the castles of Redcastle and Inverness, and Justiciary north of the Forth. He was an actor in "the famous scene at the

Church of Lauder,' when the upstart Cochrane and the other Royal favourites were so summarily dealt with by Archibald 'Bell-the-Cat,' and he in vain drew the sword at Sauchie for his unfortunate Royal Master. Indeed, along with his northern neighbours, the Earl Marischal and Lord Forbes, he seems at first to have endeavoured to avenge the King's murder, but the insurrection was soon suppressed, and young James IV. did not deal hardly with those who had proved loyal to his father. Huntly was appointed Lieutenant of the North, a proud office held by every chief of the name to the Revolution, and became High Chancellor of Scotland. His daughter, the beautiful Catherine Gordon, 'the White Rose,' was married to the English pretender, Perkin Warbeck. The second Earl died in 1500, having founded the Castle of Bog of Gicht, and repaired Strathbogie and Aboyne. His second son, Sir Adam, married the heiress of the ancient house of Sutherland, and was the first of the Gordon Earls of Sutherland.

The third Earl of Huntly received grants of extensive lands in Lochaber, of the Castle of Inverlochy and of the forest of the Cabrach, had leases of lands in Mar, Garioch, and elsewhere, was made keeper of the Castles of Kildrummy and Inverness, and hereditary Sheriff of Inverness. In his time 'the family of Gordon could, and yet can go,' writes a family historian of last century, 'upon lands belonging to themselves from the mouth of the river of Spey, which falls into the East Sea, to the Frith of Lochy, which runs into the West Sea.' He was Chamberlain of Moray and Ross, lessee of the Lordships of Brechin and Navar, and Receiver of the Lordships of Strathdee and Cromar. With his brother, Adam Gordon of Aboyne, he escaped from the fatal field of Flodden, where his other brother, the Laird of Gicht, and many of the Gordon clan were slain. He was succeeded by his grandson George, the fourth Earl, who was brought up with King James V., and who added the Sheriffship of Aberdeen to the offices held by his house, and defeated the English raid upon Teviotdale at Haddon Rig. The Douglasses, whose schemes he baffled, described him as the 'wyldest lad that lyled,' and in his time

his family probably attained the zenith of their power. The collection of over 100 bands of maurent preserved at Gordon Castle, including those of nearly all the great Highland chiefs and many a Lowland baron, from Strathardle to the Laigh of Moray, attest the far-reaching character of the influence swayed from his principal messuage near the mouth of the Spey. His house in Strathbogie, Huntly Castle, excited the admiration of the English ambassador as the largest and best furnished he had seen in Scotland, and the French advisers of the Queen Regent who experienced his princely hospitality and enjoyed the produce of his moors and forests, declared in the true spirit of the School of the Guises that such a subject was too powerful to be allowed long to flourish in a kingdom, and that his wings should be clipped. He was nicknamed 'The Terror of England,' and his devotion to the old religion in the first blush of the Reformation rendered him obnoxious to Knox and Buchanan. At Pinkie Cleuch his challenge to Somerset to decide the issue in single combat, or twenty Scots against twenty English, was declined, and fighting on foot, clad in gilt and enamelled armour, he was taken prisoner, while among the dead lay Adam Gordon, uncle to the Earl of Sutherland, Sir Alexander of Lochinvar, Sir William of Gicht, the Lairds of Craig and Cairnburrow, two sons of the Laird of Prony, and several other Gordons. While in captivity he was induced by the English authorities to sign some compromising documents, but he ultimately made his escape from Morpeth, and arrived in Edinburgh on Christmas Eve, to the great joy of his friends. But a few years later, Mary of Guise deprived him of his tacks of the Earldoms of Ross, Moray and Mar, and threw him into prison. In 1557 he was again in favour and appointed Lieutenant-General of the kingdom. His conduct during the latter years of the Regency is difficult to appreciate, but after the return of the young Queen Mary he again appears as the champion of the old faith. The train of events, and the peculiar policy which led to his downfall at Corrichie in 1562, are involved and mysterious. But the breaking of prison by the Earl's son, the handsome Sir John Gordon of Findlater, incarcerated on account of a feud with

the Ogilvies, precipitated the catastrophe engineered by the intrigues of Lord James Stewart, now Earl of Moray. The Queen on her northern progress refused to visit the Earl of Huntly at Strathbogie; the delay of Captain Gordon to open the gates of Inverness was punished with death, and rumours, apparently baseless, were circulated of Huntly's intention to attack the royal *cortége*. The Earl's communications were most dutiful in tone, but on an attempt being made to seize him in his own house, he escaped and levied a force for his protection. He advanced to Corrichie on the Hill of Fare, where he was met by the Earls of Moray and Athole with a superior force, and the Forbeses and other feudal enemies of his name. His little force was surrounded, and after—

‘The bonny burn o’ Corrichie
Had rin that day wi’ bluid,’

he surrendered, along with his two sons, Sir John and Sir Adam. Immediately afterwards ‘the Earl suddenly fell from his horse stark dead;’ his son, Sir John, was executed with four other gallant Gordons, before the eyes of the Queen in Aberdeen, and Lady Forbes, as she gazed on the body of her father, mused on the instability of human greatness, with the words, ‘there lies the man who yesterday was esteemed the wisest, the richest, and the powerfulest in Scotland.’ The dead body of ‘the great Earl’ was carried to Edinburgh and arraigned for treason in the presence of his eldest son, who was forfeited along with many other gentlemen of the name. Indeed, it is said that Moray, by craft, obtained the Queen's signature to a warrant for the instant execution of the young Earl, which was only defeated by the resolution of his custodian, the Laird of Craigmillar, to ‘learn the Queen's will from her own mouth.’ Ere long Huntly was restored to his father's honours, and when he summoned his vassals in the north to the Queen's aid, upwards of 6000 men obeyed the call. When the unfortunate Queen took her fatal resolution of seeking refuge in England, Huntly was in arms in the north, and though closely guarded, she wrote two letters to him, which have been preserved. A letter of his to her was intercepted, in which he assured her that Aberdeen and the north were at

her devotion. When the strife broke out again between Queen's men and King's men, Huntly moved southwards, joined Chatelherault, and carried on for some time a fairly balanced contest with the forces under Lennox, Mar, and Morton. But the chief honours were won by his chivalrous brother, Sir Adam of Auchindoun, who, finding himself confronted by the Forbeses when on the way to join his chief, defeated them at Tilliangus, and again at the Craibstane, reduced the whole of the north, carried his victorious arms into the Mearns, surprised the forces of the Regent at Brechin, and when a pacification, which reflected no credit on the Earl of Huntly, was brought about, had asserted the supremacy of the 'Queen's Men' north of the Tay. The fifth Earl died suddenly at Strathbogie in 1576, having spent the morning in shooting and the afternoon in playing football, at which he seems to have burst a bloodvessel. He was succeeded by his son, the sixth Earl and first Marquis, whose affairs were wisely guided, during his minority, by his uncle, Sir Adam Gordon, and his Galloway kinsman the Laird of Lochinvar.

The fierce feud of his kinsmen with the Forbeses broke out again and was ultimately composed in the time of the sixth Earl. He early took a part in public affairs, but the vicissitudes of the Scottish politics in which he was concerned, and his own actions are difficult to understand. He enjoyed the personal favour of his Sovereign, even, it would seem, when that Sovereign's troops were in arms against him. 'Ye are,' wrote King James on one occasion, 'the only man in Scotland that doubtis thair of, sen all your enemies will needis binde it on my bake.' But he was an object of constant suspicion to the ministers of the Kirk, and of envy to other noblemen. In the year of the Armada he 'submitted to the Kirk,' but the following year there was a great alarm, and being accused of Popish plots and threatened with personal danger, he took refuge in the north, indeed appearing in arms with the Earls of Erroll and Angus at the Brig of Dee. As soon however as the King moved north, they disbanded, and James, while vowing he would proceed against their favourers 'as well as ever his hounds hunted a hare,' proved by his letters

and his actions that his severity was assumed to meet political exigencies, of which not the least pressing was the hectoring of the English Queen. The Chancellor Maitland is credited with the astute device of sending Huntly to apprehend his family enemy, the 'bonnie Earl of Moray,' which resulted in the tragedy of Doubristle, and a commotion in the north of which his descendant says—

'The heather was on fire : Cameron of Lochiel, Keppoch, Clanranald, the Macphersons and Lairds of Morayshire sided with Huntly ; they attacked the Mackintoshes in Badenoch, and the Grants in Strathspey ; blood was shed like water, and the tide of war rolled from Lochaber and Badenoch to the Braes of Glenlivet, Strathdee, and Glenmuick.'

Then came the mysterious affair of 'the Spanish Blanks,' the qualified restoration to favour, and the forfeiture which was followed by Argyll's invasion of the north, and the brilliant victory obtained at Glenlivet over his Highland host by the gentlemen of Aberdeen and Banff under the gallant leadership of Huntly and Erroll. The King is said to have remarked when the great MacCailean Mor returned, 'Fair fa ye Geordie Gordon for sending him back sae like a subject,' but his other observation, 'I kent it would gang that gate, I will fight him myself,' was changed into earnest, by the unfortunate expression in an intercepted letter that the Royal coming would prove but 'a gowk's storm.' The Castle of Strathbogie was 'hocked' to the ground, and Erroll's house of Slains destroyed by fire. Huntly, who had betaken himself to France and Germany, returned in 1596, and in the following year, with much ceremony and popular rejoicing, he and Lord Erroll were solemnly reconciled to the Kirk at Aberdeen. Two years later he was created a Marquis, and when James succeeded to the English throne, it was to Huntly he wrote to convey the Queen to London in his 'comeliest manner,' and before the King died, he 'desired the Prince of Wales to take him by the hand as the most faithful servant that ever served a Prince, assuring Charles that so long as he would cherish and keep Huntly on his side, he needed not be very apprehensive of great danger from seditious or turbulent heads in Scotland.' The hostility of the Kirk, and the consequences of the tragedy

of the burning of Fren draught, in which his fifth son, Lord Aboyne, met so terrible a death, darkened his later years, and he died in 1635, shortly before a new scene was to open fruitful of stirring episodes and tragical events for his name and kin.

George, the Second Marquis of Huntly, destined to be in one sense the most unfortunate of his race, began life under happy auspices. As Earl of Enzie he led a band of gallant gentlemen to serve in France, and was Captain of the famous Scots Body-guard of the French King. He had been the favourite companion of Prince Henry, whose untimely death was so mourned by three kingdoms; and at one time was 'esteemed the ablest man of body in the kingdom, and would familiarly go in the mountains after the deer 80 miles a day.' But under the shadow of 'the Troubles' he seems a different man. There are few finer things in our Scottish annals than his proud and steadfast reply when the emissary of the Southern Covenanters offered him the leadership of their army and the payment of his heavy family debts, 'that his family had risen and stood by the Kings of Scotland, and for his part if the event proved the ruin of this King he was resolved to lay his life, honours, and estates under the rubbish of the ruins of the King.' His loyalty was pure and unstained, but his conduct was too often vacillating and weak. His hesitating leadership and reluctance to strike a damaging blow, contrast strangely with the chivalrous valour of his sons, and with the remarkable results achieved by the genius of Montrose. Repeatedly did Huntly raise the Royal Standard and assemble his gallant kin and the other northern cavaliers, but never under his generalship was any victory achieved that advanced the royal cause. He had at his disposal the best cavalry in Scotland in the numerous gentlemen of his name from the lowland districts of Aberdeen and Banff; he could support them with the sturdy Strathbogie foot, who at Alford charged hanging on to the stirrups of the horsemen, as did the Gordon Highlanders with the Scots Greys at Waterloo; and he could summon to the field a large array of Highland clansmen—Farquharsons from Strath-dee, the 'Gordon' Forbeses from Upper Strath Don, and others from Strathaven, Glenlivet, and Badenoch. The

‘onfall at Aberdeen,’ too late to be of real service, was the only victorious field in which he personally commanded; and it was left to his brave sons, Lord Gordon at Auldearn and Alford, Lord Aboyne in the barons’ war and the campaigns of Montrose, and Lord Lewis Gordon in many a stirring incident, to give full scope to the energies of their followers. When at Auldearn they first fought under the leadership of Lord Gordon, and under a commander who was a master of war, the impetuosity of their charge drew from that stout Celtic swordsman, Allister Macdonald, the admiring words, ‘Now indeed are these the valiant Gordons, and worthy of that name which fame has carried abroad of them.’ Many a stricken field during the long civil war illustrated the lines of the old ballad—

‘The Gordons cam’ and the Gordons ran,
And they were stark and steady;
And aye the word among them a’
Was, Gordons keep you ready.’

Nor were they less distinguished by their behaviour on the scaffold. Proscribed at one time by the Estates, the name was pursued with special animosity. The Marquis himself was dragged to the block from his sick-bed, lest nature should release him too soon; Sir John of Haddo, the gallant Colonel Nathaniel, and the brave young laird of Newton, all died by the headsman’s axe. The castles of Gicht and Kelly were destroyed comparatively early in the strife; Strathbogie, Auchindoun, Lesmoir, and Kinnord were taken and shattered in its later stages.

Lord Gordon, the eldest son of the second Marquis, fell in the arms of victory at Alford; his next brother, Lord Aboyne, died of grief in exile on hearing of the execution of the King, and the family was continued in the lines of Lord Lewis Gordon, who became Marquis of Huntly and progenitor of the Dukes of Gordon, and of his brother Charles, who was created Earl of Aboyne, and subsequently held the Deeside estates previously united with those in Strathbogie and Enzie. Lord Lewis married a daughter of the Laird of Grant, who it is said had brought him his food when at one time he had to lie concealed in a cave two miles from Castle Grant. His son was created

Duke of Gordon in 1684, and gallantly held the Castle of Edinburgh for King James at the Revolution. The title flourished for five generations, till the last Duke died without issue in 1836, when the Dukedom became extinct and the Marquisate of Huntly passed to the Earl of Aboyne, the heir male of the Marquis who was executed in 1649. In 1876 the Dukedom was of new created in the person of the Duke of Richmond, the heir-of-line and owner of the Banffshire and Strathbogie estates.

The Marquis of Huntly of that day took part in the rising of 1715, but the ballads of the time indicate that the Gordons did not acquit themselves with their accustomed energy in that mis-managed business—

‘ From Bogie side to Bog o’ Gicht
 The Gordons did convene man ;
 For battle fight wi’ a’ their might,
 Wi’ courage stout and keen man ;
 To set their King upon the throne,
 And to protect the Church man :
 But fie for shame, they soon turned hame,
 And left him in the lurch man.’

Another ballad, however, gives a more flattering description of their action at Sheriffmuir :—

‘ And Gordons the bright
 So boldly did fight,
 That the red coats took flight
 And awa man.’

In the ‘Forty Five’ the influence of the Duke was exerted to keep his people at home, but another Lord Lewis Gordon emulated the fame of his predecessor, and Gordon of Glenbuckets’ activity, was such that his name disturbed the sleep of George II. Gordon of Avochie commanded another Jacobite battalion, and among the sufferers on the scaffold was the Laird of Terpersie, discovered to his doubtful captors by his children’s cry of ‘Daddie.’ The military qualities of the gallant northern clan have since been illustrated on many a foreign battlefield by the distinguished regiment raised a century ago by ‘the Duchess Jean.’

Many and distinguished have been the other branches of the Gordon name. The Remission for the field of Glasgow in 1552,

those for Corrichie and Aldquheynachan, or Glenlivat, granted in 1567 and 1603, and the Band for the Queen's service entered into in 1568, preserve the names of many of the leading cadets of the great northern house. Among its many branches none reflects more honour on the name, than the ancient line of Pitlurg and Straloch, whose representative is the senior male descendant of the old Gordons of that Ilk. It produced two men of high distinction and sound judgment, whose correspondence, printed by the old Spalding Club from the charter-chest at Parkhill, contains most interesting letters from their Sovereigns and from the family of their chief. Sir John of Pitlurg, who flourished in the time of James VI., was a valued intermediary between the King and his chief in the troubled transactions of their age, and to his keeping was assigned the 'house, place, and fortalice of Strathbogie,' when forfeited by its Lord. It is interesting to find the Scottish Solomon writing to him for 'ane fyne haiknay' on the occasion of the Royal marriage, and for 'ane tersell of falcon' from his English throne. His son, the distinguished antiquary and cartographer, Robert Gordon, 'the Great Straloch,' was on more than one occasion an ambassador between his Cavalier kinsmen and the Covenanting commanders, and his counsel was highly appreciated by the Huntly of 'the troubles,' by the gallant Lord Gordon, who addresses him in a pleasant vein of banter, and by Lord Lewis and the Earl of Aboyne in the family difficulties which followed their father's execution, as well as by men of letters like Burnet of Crimond, Scot of Scotstarvet, and Drummond of Hawthornden. 'Straloch' refused a baronetcy, because 'he would rather be the oldest baron of his name than the youngest baronet,' but the race of 'Jock and Tam' is not unrepresented both in the baronetage and peerage. The eldest son of Jock, John of Auchleuchry, was the great-grandfather of the laird of Auchleuchry, Kinmundy and Pitlurg, but he was also ancestor of Cairnburrow, Rothiemay, Glenbucket, Park, and others. The second son of Jock was the progenitor of the ancient stock of Craig, and of the house of Lesmoir, enrolled among the baronets in 1325. The third son was the first Gordon of Haddo and Methlick, whose descendant, the son of the celebrated Sir John who gave his name to 'Haddo's Hole,' was Chancellor of

Scotland and first Earl of Aberdeen, while a later generation attained the Premiership of the United Kingdom. Many other honourable houses in Strathbogy, Buchan, and Mar, traced their descent to John of Essie, while from the eighteen sons of Tam of Ruthven came the families of Hallhead and Tilliangus, of Braichly, Knock, and Toldow on Deeside, and many o'hers 'who inhabited Morthleck, Glenmuick and the neighbouring parts.' Not less distinguished were the cadets of the Seton Gordons. From Sir Alexander of Midmar, second son of the first Earl, came the Gordons of Abergeldie, one of whom fell at Pinkie, and whose tower still stands upon the Dee, where for long they swayed wide influence in Braemar, and from his brother Adam, Dean of Caithness, the house of Embo, whose representative was created a Baronet in 1631. From the second son of the second Earl came the Gordon Earls of Sutherland, one of whom married Lady Jean Gordon, daughter of the 4th Earl of Huntly. Their second son, Sir Robert Gordon of Gordonstoun, 'a man of extraordinary parts,' and the historian of the Earldom of Sutherland, enjoyed the favour of James VI. and Charles I., and was created the Premier Baronet of Scotland. Upon the failure of his male issue in 1795, the estates passed to the Gordon-Cummings of Altyre, but the baronetcy descended to Gordon of Letterfourie, the descendant of James, the fourth son of the second Earl of Huntly, who in 1513 was Admiral of Scotland. From his brother, the third son, killed at Flodden, came the family of Gicht, which ended with the mother of Lord Byron. From the second son of the third Earl sprang the house of the old Gordons of Cluny, one of whom was concerned in the burning of Donibristle. The third Earl's eldest son, Lord Gordon, had a second son, who became Bishop of Galloway, and was created Lord of Glenluce, while his descendant was raised to the Peerage of France as Comte de Gordon. When the heritors of Aberdeenshire met, in 1659, to consider General Monk's letter, addressed to them when he started on his march for London, there sat among them not less than thirty-four Gordons. From the day of the battle of Brechin onwards the head of the house of Huntly has been recognised as 'Cock of the North,' and very true was the old rhyme—

‘By Bogie, Deveron, Don and Dee,
The Gordon’s ha’e the guidin’ o’t.’

It is interesting also to glance at the fortunes of the race in a widely distant and different part of Scotland. In 1297 Sir Adam Gordon had acquired the lands of Glenkens in Kirkcudbright, composing Lochinvar and Kenmure. They passed to his son, William of Stitchill, whose descendant, William Gordon of Stitchell and Lochinvar, who died in 1450, was ‘the first to settle in Galloway. From his eldest son descended the house of Lochinvar, whose head was created a baronet in 1626, and his son Viscount Kenmure in 1633. The second son was the ancestor of the family of Airds and Earlstou, now represented by Sir William Gordon of Earlstou, who rode in the charge of the Light Brigade at Balaclava. From the house of Lochinvar sprang the families of Craig, Craichlaw, Penninghame, Greenlaw, and others. Its chiefs fell at Homildon Hill, Flodden, and Pinkie. One suffered much for Queen Mary, and Kenmure Castle was burned after Langside. Another was an energetic Loyalist, and commanded a troop of horse in the Civil Wars, at the head of which it was his custom to have a cask of brandy conveyed, which was known as ‘Kenmure’s Drum.’ The next Viscount, a Gordon of Penninghame who had succeeded on failure of nearer heirs male, had his house garrisoned by Claverhouse, and raised a troop for the Prince of Orange at the Revolution which he commanded at Killiecrankie. His son, the sixth Viscount, led the South country Jacobites in 1715, and was beheaded on Tower Hill, when the title was forfeited. The first Gordon of Airds was a man of great height and strength. When in England as a young man, he obtained a copy of Wickliffe’s New Testament, and brought the first of the Reformers to Scotland, where he and his large family were the first Protestants. It is said that when beasts of burden were liable to forfeiture if used on Christmas Day, Gordon yoked ten of his stalwart sons to the plough, and drove it in astute violation of the spirit, though not of the letter of the law. He died surrounded by great-grandsons at the age of 101, and his son succeeded to the estate of Earlstou in Dalry parish. His descendant, a zealous Covenanter, was nicknamed the Earl of Earlstou

by Charles I. on account of the vehemence with which he pressed the case against Montrose at the time of 'The Incident.' His son was killed in the flight from Bothwell Bridge, and his eldest son, who then barely escaped, underwent the torture for his share in the 'Ryehouse Plot.' He was succeeded by his brother, a soldier, who came over with William of Orange, and was created a baronet in 1706. The original Galloway Earlstoun was sold in 1816, and the name transferred to the property of Carletoun, in Borgue, to which the family had succeeded.

If the family historian betrays a pardonable forgetfulness of Corrichie and Glenlivat, and somewhat overstates his case when he declares that 'no remarkable person of the name of Gordon is mentioned in our history to have borne arms in any faction or party opposite to the supreme authority, whether swayed by the Kings themselves, or managed by regents during their minority,' it still remains true that no Scottish family can show a more honourable record of general, devoted, and important service to the King and the Constitution than can the Gordon clan. As a historical figure King James VI. has been the destroyer of his own reputation, but the more that the hard facts, stern character, and tortuous complexion of Scottish politics in his time are realized, the more it is felt that his must have been no despicable or resourceless mind, who coming after the tragedy of his mother, and preceding the catastrophe of his son, in many ways so much the grander character, not only managed to die in his bed, to keep the Crown upon his head, and to add to it the sceptre of England and Ireland, but also to advance the peace and the civilisation of Scotland to an extent unknown since the death of Alexander III., and to witness an amount of progress that was not equalled till after the Revolution of 1688. Perhaps the most interesting problem of the Scotland of their generation is the King's and Huntly's attitude towards each other, and the great questions of their time. There seems some ground for the opinion that Huntly was repelled from the Reformed doctrines more than once, and driven back into the position of Catholic champion by the violence of those who had made a bug-bear of him, and by the intrigues of interested men. Most significant is it to find King James addressing to him the emphatic assertion:

‘I protest before God in extremitie I love the religion they outwardly profess, and hate their presumptuous and seditious behaviour.’ It is remarkable that the King who has been treated by historians as a fool, should have had the address alike to curb the power of the mightiest peer in his realm, to save him from the vengeance of those who were clamouring for his blood, and to win him back to be in his person and house the support of a Protestant Monarchy. On the other hand, in the policy of the house of Huntly there is always to be seen a certain breadth of view and moderation, which in certain circumstances degenerated into hesitancy and irresolution, but in the main, and in all ordinary conditions, was advantageous to the country and beneficial to the fortunes of the family. The liberal management of the Gordon estates is the practical survival of a wise and large minded policy of State acted upon when the Cock of the North was to all intents and purposes the Deputy Sovereign of the North of Scotland. The tradition of the Bow o’ Meal Gordons and the bonds, of which an example exists, given by some M’Gregors, by which they bound themselves, ‘and all that shall come of us and our families whatsumever, to call ourselves, and to be Gordons from this present tyme furth and for ever,’ indicate a policy which could only be successful if it was made worth men’s while to call themselves and to be Gordons. The glimpses we get of the districts of the North where the Huntly influence was supreme, show that in troubled times feudal protection was given for feudal service, and that those who lived there were under the wise administration—according to the conditions of the time—of a strong Government. Till Civil War, with religious and political principles at the bottom of it arose, the North was more advanced and in a higher state of civilisation than other parts of Scotland, and this was in no small degree owing to the power, sagacity, and moderation of the house of Huntly. That this was so is illustrated by the readiness with which their summonses to arms were responded to, by the awe that fell on the popular mind when disaster overtook that noble house, and not least by that engrained tradition, the effects of which are evidenced by the magic power residing till recently in Aberdeenshire in the mere name of Gordon, and the respect which it still commands in the North-East of Scotland.

ART. IV.—THE MALCONTENT WOMAN.

‘πιθανὸς ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ὄρος ἐπινέμεται ταχύπορος.’

Too credulous woman advances with swift pace.—*Aeschyl-Agam*, 469.

WITHIN the past few years we have heard a good deal of the Modern Progressive woman. The rage to proclaim or give ear to some new thing seems to the full as rampant to-day as it was at Athenæ in the Pauline age. Flaunted before our eyes, in turn, we have a motley array of strange banners inscribed ‘The New Democracy,’ the ‘New Labour Movement,’ the ‘New Hedonism,’ the ‘New Isocracy,’ the ‘New Collectivism,’ the ‘New Anarchism;’ together with a revised version of the Decalogue, and I wot not how many more neo-gospels in sociology, ethics, and religion. In short, a reign of empiricism has set in, forcing up a mushroom-crop of quasi-reforming nostrums, like a medley of variegated fungi, the growth of a night, in the dark by-corners of a forest. Nor, amidst this jumble of novel theories for setting up a new heaven and a new earth, was woman likely to escape attention. Under the various titles of ‘Revolt of the Daughters,’ ‘The Coming Sex,’ ‘The New Woman,’ ‘Female Evolution,’ and the like, that section of the fairest of creation, which by means of a social cataclysm would fain cut themselves adrift from the moorings of the past, have been allowed, through the medium of the public prints, plenty of rope for the discussion of their alleged disabilities, and of the glorious millennial era which is to sweep all these disabilities away. It is, however, principally from the female standpoint and by female advocates that the case has hitherto been presented to the public. Men so far have taken but little part in the controversy. They have been content to watch the ladies of the pen fight it out among themselves. The disputation has waxed hot, and in the war of words contumelious epithets, doubly deplorable when coming from women, have been bandied about with a far too lavish hand. Hence, it may not be misbeseeming in a representative of the other sex to endeavour to get a word in upon those aspects of the Woman question

which may be supposed to impress most forcibly the ordinary *male* understanding.

The so-called 'evolution,' or 'revolution,' of a certain knot of modern women resolves itself into two main subdivisions of what is commonly known as the Woman's Rights movement. First, there is her political claim to the electoral franchise on exactly equal terms with men ; and, secondly, comes her insurrectionary attitude in social and professional matters towards everything savouring of distinction between herself and the opposite sex. In the present paper I propose to confine myself to the latter of these two branches of the subject.

Politics apart, then, it is also in the domain of morals, manners, modes of thought, professional pursuits, social independence, and so on, that we find the female Progressist of to-day laying claim to absolute parity of position with the male sex. But, again, this type of New Woman subdivides itself into two sub-groups which may be termed (1), she who desires to run alongside man in every industrial avocation of life without let or hindrance according to her fancy ; (2), the masculine or manlike woman in respect of dress, deportment, recreations, and personal licence. It is important not to confound these two groups, because their respective proclivities, though very commonly combined in the same individual, are not invariably so. But both have at all events this feature in common ; they perceive no unseemliness in breaking, each in her particular way, with the prescriptive usages and traditional limitations of their sex.

In the following remarks I shall first endeavour to show the inherent fallacy of the position thus sought to be set up in respect of identity of pursuits for man and woman.

To begin with, let us glance at the professional walks of life. Take the technical avocation of medicine and surgery. The woman-doctor is already an accomplished fact, but as yet she has apparently made no considerable way in public favour. It may be contended that there is something in the art of healing in accord with the primary instincts of a woman's nature. But if we look closer into the subject, it will be seen that there is more than mere prejudice and long-established cus-

tom to account for the exclusion of the feminine sex in the past from the practice of this calling. Have women the calmness of nerve,—the *aplomb*, so to say,—the steadiness of hand and pulse for the work of the surgeon? Is it possible to suppose that a non-abnormal woman, with her more highly-strung constitutional sensibility could amputate a limb with the same imperturbability that we should look for in the male operator? To this it may be replied that, granting a certain drawback to women by reason of sex in the matter of surgical expertness, the case is different with the ‘*métier*’ of the physician, and that here at least the sexes can compete on terms of perfect equality. Yet, again, as a matter of plain fact, are the services of lady doctors much in request with their own sex: nay, even in those branches of the therapeutic art dealing with specifically feminine ailments? Moreover, if the advanced woman’s theory of exact professional equality and indifference as to sex is to be maintained, why should any barrier suggest itself to the consultation of medical women by men, any more than now exists to the calling in by women of the male practitioner? But is there no such barrier? Surely the mere statement of the case disposes of the parity argument. We have heard of a man here and there resorting to lady-experts in massage, but that men should go to women-doctors and lay bare their bodily symptoms in the same way as women have done from time immemorial to their male medical advisers, would be a procedure repugnant on both sides, and ‘not convenient’ for obvious reasons. Here, then, while admitting that a sprinkling of females may perhaps usefully find their mission in obtaining employment as doctors among a limited number of their own sex, we are brought face to face with the eternal and immutable *disparity* of sex.

Next, what are we to say of the legal profession? In America—the country which is the ‘*fons et origo*’ of the whole woman’s movement, and where the habitat of the female doctor is mainly to be found—a few women have been admitted to the bar.* It is true, these have for the most part

* According to an article on ‘University Opportunities for Women’ in the *Educational Review* of December last, the latest figures would seem to

devoted themselves to the Attorney's branch of the work, rather than to practice in the Courts*: and herein may perhaps be traced a sound feminine intuition of the fitness of things. For so long as women confined themselves to the study of jurisprudence in their private bureaus, and avoided the publicity of the open court, the objection to this avocation for the sex would no doubt be diminished. But, in any case, one would expect the clientele to be mainly female, and the woman would be sorely handicapped by the side of her legal brother. And, wherever pleading in the public tribunals came in, she would be essentially out of place. Even though, like Portia, she were a prodigy of wit and wisdom—'A Daniel come to judgment'—her proper self would have to put on a disguise. Her personal good looks, if she possessed them, might indeed—as they have done before in the world's history—tend to disturb the equanimity of the male judge, counsel, and jury, and so scarcely conduce to the better administration of justice.

But if the rôle of barrister be unsuitable for women, what shall we say of the judicial Bench? If a female is to appear as counsel for a litigant 'in curia,' is there aught to block her way to the magistracy, the presidency of our county courts; nay, to the apogee of the advocate's aspirations, the wearing of the ermine? It was but the other day we read of the appointment of a lady in New Zealand to the position of Mayor and Justice of the Peace, and without doubt there are not a few of the 'New Woman' species with similar aims in this country. Yet, if there be one quality essential in those who 'bear the balance and the sword,' it is dispassionate impartiality, the faculty of dividing evenly between suitor and suitor. Now, this is just the quality of all others which is commonly lacking in the female mind and temperament. Indeed, woman's

stand thus. In the United States 2438 women are practising medicine; while in Russia, where there are more female doctors than in any other European country, their number is below 800. Of the Trans-Atlantic lady lawyers, 120 are members of the American bar.—[*Review of Reviews*, Jan. 1895, p. 58.]

* See *The American Commonwealth*, by the Rt. Hon. J. Bryce, M.P., Vol. II., Chap. 104. 1889.

habitual disregard of justness was one of Schopenhauer's chief allegations against the sex. Compassion, generosity, a lofty moral standard, discernment, quickness of apprehension, these attributes woman may have to the full. But her most jealous apologists will hardly claim for her strong point that impersonal habit of mind—that aloofness, so to say—which makes for a strict equipoise of the scales of justice. To this it may be rejoined that neither is the male magistracy as now constituted always a pattern of rigid impartiality. Nevertheless, it will be generally admitted, even by women themselves, that, as a rule, the sense of fairplay is more developed, and less likely to be coloured by impulse or prejudice, in men than it is in women.

For a like reason, expediency would be against women serving as jurors. They have so acted in one or two of the American Territories, but Mr. Bryce leads us to believe 'that the presence of women on juries was deemed a grave evil; and that in prosecutions for gambling or the sale of intoxicants a defendant had no chance before them.' Surely, a single fact of this kind gives more food for reflection than a hundred suppositional theories as to what work woman should or should not undertake.

From the professions of medicine and the law, let us now turn to the Church. In time coming, is the emancipated woman to invade the pulpits of our land? A year or two ago there was a convocation of the so-called 'World's Parliament of Religions' at Chicago, whereat two female ministers spoke, the Revd. Augusta J. Chopin, D.D., and the Revd. Antoinette Brown Blackwell. The latter of these ladies informed the meeting that since 1853, in which year a Congregational Church ordained a woman pastor, more than 200 women had received ordination from various denominations.* Of course, on the theory of an equal platform for the sexes, this is as it should be. Why, it might be urged, are men to retain the monopoly of expounding the Word, of warning, exhorting, admonishing; of pointing the ethical moral to their fellow-

* *Dundee Advertiser*, 15th Feb., 1894.

creatures? The 'Society of Friends'—that highly estimable body with so noble a record of work done—is an example of a religious sect, which ever since the days of its founder, George Fox, has permitted its women to preach when the impulse (conceived to emanate directly from the Divine Spirit) moved them to do so. And we have heard women, and even immature girls, of the Salvation Army preaching or lecturing in the public streets. Why not then, it may be said, extend the principle to all denominations, and ordain women indifferently with men to the Christian ministry?

The answer to this, again, is: The Quakers notwithstanding, would such an innovation be either seemly or expedient? Would it be profitable to the character of the woman-ministrant herself, or edifying to the general body of hearers. 'Let a woman learn in silence with all subjection,' wrote a profound researcher of human character, 'but I suffer not a woman to teach, nor to usurp authority over the man, but to be in silence.' And again: 'Let your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak . . . for it is a shame for women to speak in the church.' The wisdom of Ecclesiasticus more laconically commends to the sex a like restraint of the tongue. 'A silent and loving woman is a gift of the Lord.' . . . 'A loud crying woman and a scold shall be sought out to drive away the enemies.' The utilisation of these last female-kind in the way suggested might perhaps pass muster, but I suppose the modern woman of 'Rights' would object to the subjection and the silence: like the German professor, she would not agree with the great epistolizer. None the less, in the mission of spiritual healing there comes in a feeling akin to what we have noted of the science curative of men's bodies. And surely there is in most of us an inwardness of instinct against setting up a female in the prominence of the pulpit to lecture upon their sins to a mixed congregation of men and women. Moreover,—and this applies equally to pleading or judging in the courts of law as it does to almost any public-speaking function—Is the female voice, sweet and persuasive in the *salon* or by the fireside, and oft-times so thrilling in song, is this voice designed by nature

either in pitch or power for the addressing of large assemblies? Surely nay, for are not its typical tones, like Cordelia's, 'ever soft, gentle and low, an excellent thing in woman.'

In the United States, and some of our colonies, a movement has begun to obtain places for women in the Municipalities and in various civic posts. But these efforts have apparently been sporadic and comparatively ineffectual. Nowhere does the advanced lady appear as yet to have agitated directly for her sex's admission to the army, navy, or police forces of the State. But latterly in Great Britain there have not been wanting signs that the out and out modern woman is beginning to turn an eye to the enrolment of her sisters in Volunteer Corps. She has no doubt made a study of that theoretic Republic adumbrated by Plato, and also of certain customs of the Greek women under the iron rule of Lycurgus. Indeed, it is probable that much of the revolt of the 'fin-de-siècle' evolutionary woman against the fetters of custom, and her insistent complaint that the sex had a freer hand among some of the ancient peoples than they have to-day, may be traced on the one hand to Lacedaemonian history, and on the other to the interesting colloquies of Socrates with Glaucon and his companions.

But the new woman who draws her inspiration from the latter source might be somewhat staggered if it were suggested to follow out the scheme of the famed logician in its entirety. For, if the education of the sexes is to be exactly alike, if their occupations and positions in the ordering of the State are to be alike, if it be meet to train women as gymnasts for the purposes of war side by side with men, and to make them equally with men guardians of the Commonwealth—then what about the further conclusions of the Socratic dialogue? Let us see. A certain selection of emancipated and exalted women were to be prepared to appear naked in the gymnasium, and perform their athletic exercises in presence of the men. Marriage was to be conducted on the strictest Communistic principles. No man was to have a wife he could call his own. The offspring were to be owned in common, so that the parent should not know his child, nor the child his parent. That studied nature-selection among the sexes which certain

theorists in human biology are so fond of eulogising, was to be covertly encouraged by the State. Best were to be sorted with best, inferiors in physique to be kept apart as far as might be; the issue of the one to be reared with care, those of the other to be concealed out of sight or made away with. The number of the unions was to be controlled, and the population restricted to a uniform measure. The young and distinguished braves of the nation were to be accorded special facilities and privileges in wiving. The State was to take in hand the nursing and rearing of the babies, so as to spare the healthiest citizen mothers as far as possible, and reserve their energies unimpaired for their civic and military duties. And, finally, the illustrious ideologist insists on the desirability of the women carrying the young ones of this ideal Community with them into battle, for the inculcation of martial practices, but prudently recommends that this should be done when success to their side in the combats was pretty well assured.

Such, then, was the working out by a master in dialectics of the social problem of advanced woman, on the impossible lines of absolute identity of her pursuits with those of men. It of course results in a 'reductio ad absurdum,' and so also do the attempts of the 'forwards,' among modern womankind, to revolutionise the position of their sex, and put themselves into situations fitting only for men. That it was not altogether a visionary thesis of the renowned Athenian, we can assure ourselves by a reference to the actual history of the Peloponnesian States some three or four centuries before the birth of Plato. 'The Spartan women,' says an eminent classic authority (Dr. Smith), 'in their earlier years were subjected to a course of training almost as rigorous as that of the men.* They were *not viewed as a part of the family*, but as part of the State. Their great duty was to give Sparta a vigorous race of citizens, and *not to discharge domestic and household duties.*' (The italics are mine.) . . . 'Every child after birth was

* Mitford's account is to like effect, and he adds that the young women had to appear in public at certain festivals *nude*, and to dance and sing before the young men.

exhibited to public view, and if deemed deformed and weakly, and unfit for a future life of labour and fatigue, was exposed to perish on Mount Taygetus.' Assuredly, from these Greek ideas of aforetime as to the place of women, something may be learned by the latest exponents of scientific conjugal selection, and by the disciples also of the new cult of the manly woman. The truth is, these endeavours on the part of a few of the sex to be even with malekind in the matter of professional and civic avocations no less than in politics, are, I suppose, analogous to the rage for manlike pastimes and costumes, which started up a few years ago, and is still prevalent principally among a certain smart sort of women.

But, indeed, the New Woman needs not to go so far back as ancient Hellenic times for her precedents. Her precursors started up a hundred years ago in the dawn of 'the Terror,' and put themselves in evidence with a vengeance in the general overturn of all sane and restraining prescription which then set in. The '*tricoteuse*' was one phase of her. The '*female grenadiers*,' as they were contemptuously styled by a compatriot, were another: 'eager listeners, talkers, or demonstrationists at the Sections, at the Clubs, at the Convention itself.' Even Anaxagoras Chaumette, 'philosophe humanitaire,' associate of Desmoulins and Robespierre, was driven to ask, 'How long has it become decent for women to abandon the pious cares of their homes, the cradles of their infants, to appear in public squares, in tribunes, and at the bar of the Senate?'

It is unnecessary, in relation to their suitability for females, to dwell further on the various professional walks of life hitherto by use and wont confined to the male sex, save to add that such occupations as those of the Civil Engineer, the architect,* the accountant, and others, where public contact with all sorts and conditions of men is not indispensable, are not open to quite the same objections that I have pointed out above. In the comparative privacy of a desk in an office,

* We are told that in America the number of woman-doctors and woman-architects are on the increase.

where she could use her brains and knowledge on the subject-matter in hand, it might be urged that a female principal or assistant would be no more obtrusive or out of place than she now is as superintendent of a millinery establishment, or as cashier, or forewoman, say in a large drapery business. The question of women's employment widens when we come to banks and Government departments, such as the Home and Foreign Offices, Customs, Revenue, Excise, etc., (War and Admiralty may be excluded).^{*} Still, in this connection, it may be noted that the Post Office, at all events, has set the example of admitting females to its service without apparent disadvantage.

Then there are the skilled handicraft trades. Why, it may be asked, should we not have women-carpenters, bricklayers, masons, plumbers, *et hoc genus omne*. As to some, of course—*e.g.*, the crafts of the smith and the fitter—requiring the use of heavy tools and much muscular force, the answer is ready: she is the 'weaker vessel;' she has not the bodily strength. But it is astonishing, so say some of the advocates of the new movement, to what extent you can develop women's physical powers by training! But suppose we were to put females in charge of the main motor machinery in workshops, or make them engine-drivers on railways—we should have to dress them in practically male attire for safety, and when that was done how many of us, men or women, would care to avail ourselves of their guidance, any more than we now go to a lady-doctor for advice. Educate the female sex, it is said, in the technical industries, and many of them will make as good artisans as men, or even better. Doubtless, there are many single women who could be trained to do much of this class of work. But then we open up complex economic questions of competition and female labour, which are agitating the Trades Unions, and which are outside the purview of this article. This much may be said, however, that any considerable influx

^{*} Since writing the above, I have been informed that certain young ladies of high mathematical attainments from Girton and Newnham Colleges have been recently appointed by the Admiralty to the staff of the Greenwich Observatory. Thus, some of us may yet live to see a female Astronomer-Royal!

of women into the trades and avocations hitherto monopolised by men, must, it would seem, disturb the balance of the working power of the country. And the corollary of this is: that in whatever measure women should come to take the places now occupied in the world's work by men, in an equal measure would the gap thus left in the whilom occupations of women have to be filled by men. Which again brings us face to face with another serious problem lying at the root of the whole question under consideration. But the advanced woman-claimant from her standpoint might probably say: 'This is no business of ours. Give us a fair field and free competition, and let the men take care of themselves.'

When all is said and done, it should not be difficult to settle upon common sense lines the broad limitations of woman's work, on the basis that such work shall be at once befitting to the sex, and yet give the widest practicable choice to those women of all classes, who may be desirous of independent occupation outside the duties of the home. If we say, in brief, that women should eschew such employments as involve (1) much public association or juxtaposition with men on common terms, (2) the addressing of large mixed public audiences, (3) an attitude of effrontery or undue self-assertiveness, (4) a *métier* ignoring in any way the essential distinctions of sex, (5) the exercise of much muscular strength or nerve—we shall not, I think, be very wide of the mark.

Turning from the questionable to the unexceptionable employments of woman, we have not far to seek. Such avocations as literature and journalism, art, music and (with certain reservations) the stage, the education and superintendence of girls in schools and colleges, professional sick-nursing, the district-visiting of the poor, personal aid in the various charitable institutions of the country, attendance in shops, with all the domestic service, and many others, at once suggest themselves. In the time of day it is useless to question the inevitable: especially since everyone knows that this class of

* We are told that domestic service is becoming more and more

distasteful. But surely it is not without serious misgiving that we learn from the recent discussions of the Sanitary Congress (Sept. 1894) how prejudicially the employment of women in industrial occupations re-acts upon the physical well-being of their off-spring. The mortality statistics of the Registrar-General are ample proof of this. The mothers can seldom themselves nurse their children, and these latter are thus neglected or inadequately cared for, so that medical experts are now recommending the adoption of *crèches* or infant asylums where such children can be systematically looked after. These have been already tried, but apparently not with much success; for Mr. Asquith told a deputation (14th Nov. 1894) that there is a feeling almost of repugnance among the working classes to these institutions. He added that he hoped to see the time when the employment of married women in factories would cease.

Type-writing, again, a comparatively new industry, is largely and admirably executed by women, many of them ladies.

With respect to school-teaching of the young of both sexes, Mr. Bryce bears sympathetic testimony to the widely extended utilisation of women in this direction in America. 'They form,' he says, 'an overwhelming majority of teachers in public schools for boys as well as for girls, and are thought to be better teachers at least for the younger sort, than men are.' He adds that the provision for female education is ampler and better in the United States than in England, which would doubtless tend to encourage the sex to enter the profession of school-tuition more freely. And, I am sure, those who (like the present writer) have had any experience in the inspection of British schools, must often have been struck with the patience, conscientious care, and attention to details, apart from instructional capacity, which so many female teachers in elementary schools bring to bear upon their work.

In past ages, spinning and needlework were, *par excellence* the pursuits of women. In the Homeric era, even the labour of the laundry was undertaken by ladies of rank, as witness Phœacian Nausicaa and her attendants washing the linen of

the royal mausions. Nor, are these useful and time-honoured vocations less the 'métier' of the sex to-day: though, alas, the terrible 'sweating' of the poor sempstress in our great cities is a standing disgrace to modern civilisation.

If need were, the list of suitable employments for women might be indefinitely enlarged. Enough, however, has been said on this head to indicate the wide range of woman's duties: duties which she can do well, and in which she can engage without fear of question. And, in these days when there is so great a demand for work *among* women, it were well to take note of the apposite words addressed at the recent Church Congress (Oct. 1894) by Mrs. Temple, wife of the Lord Bishop of London, to a women's meeting. 'Efforts for women were best made by women, for each required that individual sympathy and tact which specially characterised women's work, and made their influence of the highest value, even in cases where, perhaps, the judgment was not of the wisest. Moreover, woman's sympathy was almost always promptly transposed into active self-sacrifice.' I fear self-sacrifice is hardly the dominant note in the 'new' woman: self-development and self-advertisement too often take its place.

There is, then, ample field for the energies of women of all grades without transgressing the canons which I have indicated, and to which the general sense of the human race has hitherto given its adhesion. No convulsion in the social, political, or economic relations of the sexes is wanted. No drastic upturn or 'new order' in their respective lines of labour is called for. No need to try the impossible problem, which, according to a late eminent statesman, even the Mother of parliaments was unable to compass:—the problem of turning women into men. We are asked, indeed, by some to believe that our blooming, bright-faced, wholesome, sensible, domesticated countrywomen have hitherto been little more than a collection of downtrodden thralls, the victims of an ignominious social bondage, from which it is the mission of the 'New' Sisterhood to release them. But, when everything conceivable that the modern malcontent woman can urge against existing society has been said, the primary employments and pre-

occupations of the female sex will, as long as the world goes round, continue to be those which appertain to wives and mothers, to domestic economy and the home.

Having now discussed the platform of the new woman with respect to her employments, I proceed to consider the other branch of the subject we started with:—the masculine representative of the sex who desires to approximate herself, as far as possible, in garb, manner, recreations, modes of thought and speech, to the ways of the male. Can we not call to the mind's eye in an instant this peculiar type? She is to be found among those who class themselves *du monde*, and also in that section of the middle class of society who follow most closely at the heels of the next above. We can hear her voice, high, shrill, hard, not to say strident, as of one desirous to impress her identity and independence upon all. She has neither reserve nor reticence. She resorts much to the smoking-room and to the stable. If she is rich, she very likely shoots in knicker-bockers with her husband, brother, or man-comrade over moor or stubble. If her means be less, she rides a bicycle in 'rational' or irrational costume. You may see her careering about among the men at hockey on the ice, and in the ballroom affecting the romps of the kitchen dancer, or swinging down the room with a partner, regardless of time and space, in gyrations more like the hops of a kangaroo than the rhythmical circling of the metrical waltz. However rough and hoydenish a diversion may be, it is enough for the mannish girl or woman of this type that it should be a masculine pastime, and for the nonce she will make it hers. Like Mrs. Selwyn in Madame D'Arblay's 'Evelina,' she may possess in some cases a masculine understanding, 'but unfortunately her manners deserve the same epithet: for in studying to acquire the knowledge of the other sex, she has lost all the softness of her own.' With the man-copying female, too, a brusque bluntness of manner, which scarce condescends to a nod in recognition of an acquaintance, has very much taken the place of the former courtesy and good breeding which subsisted between ladies and gentlemen. In this connection, the excellent remarks made at the Church Congress (already referred

to) by the Lady Principal of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, are well worth attention. Addressing an assembly of her sex, Miss Wordsworth insisted upon 'the ideal of womanliness in women never being lost sight of, and spoke very severely of those Women's Rights Advocates who were apish of man's dress, demeanour, and habits. . . . Their education should not disregard the minor graces.'

It has been truly said that the attitude of woman has a great deal to do with the prevalent lack of good manners, and that her claim to absolute equality with men makes them apt to forget that she is the gentler sex. But the modern manlike woman would probably resent the appellation of 'gentler,' for the instincts which merit that designation she is careful to keep out of sight. 'The gentleness and elegance of women,' wrote Sydney Smith, 'is the natural consequence of that desire to please, which is productive of the greatest part of civilisation and refinement.' And again, 'another difference of the sexes is that women are attended to, and men attend. All acts of courtesy and politeness originate from the one sex, and are received by the other.' How hopelessly behind the times would the great essayist be, uttering such sentiments to the cricketing, racketing, bicycling, hockeying, jockeying, self-assertive, wide-awake, unromantic young woman of to-day. As much so, as would Princess Constance pleading to Salisbury for herself as 'a woman naturally born to fears.' As much so, as would the great dramatist, Aeschylus, who in one of his fine tragedies lauds 'the spirit in women that is not daring.'* The advanced woman acknowledges no fears, and affects a spirit which *is* daring. Her disposition is to deprecate that attitude from man which implies her dependence in any way upon him. Even in marriage, under the new evangel, the most rigid equality is to be insisted upon. What has she to do with such old-fashioned admissions of wifely subjection as those addressed to Bassanio by one of Shakspeare's finest female characters, who yet could personate a man for a noble purpose?

* 'γυναικεῖαν ἀτολμον αἰχμάν'—otherwise, 'the retiring spirit in woman.' Choephoroi, 619.

‘Happiest of all is that her gentle spirit
Commits itself to yours to be directed,
As from her lord, her governor, her king.’

Rank heresy. The immortal playwright no better than the apostle of the Gentiles! Both must give way to the new-pattern Woman, who cannot abide what one of her kind has called ‘the old stupid obedient servile faith, which men have delighted to see in their women.’

And then her dress. This may seem a minor matter, but it is part and parcel of the rivalry with man, the overweening desire to be ‘in line’ with him, that has so taken hold of some women in these latter days. Surely, the keynote to female costume should be a suggestion of softness and roundness in its lines, compatible with the wearer’s comfort. A woman’s shape is, or should be, all curves and undulations, to which her garments should adapt themselves, covering but not concealing. Now, a man’s stiff, starched shirt-front fits well enough the comparatively flat squareness of his chest; but it is eminently unsuited to the ampler swell of the feminine bust. Thus, in place of contours, the most artistically beautiful of all that Nature has bestowed upon woman’s figure, we derive from the latter, as now so often clad, an impression of flatness and hardness, which is both uncomely and untrue. The man’s collar and necktie follow suit with the shirt, the jacket is cut as near the male pattern as may be, with the addition sometimes of a buttoning waistcoat. Occasionally the fair ‘stalwart’ will crop her hair short, parting it on one side, man-fashion, and then perhaps cover her head with a male cap or ‘bowler.’ Thus, it only remains to substitute for the skirt knickerbockers or pantaloons to convert the modern smart young woman into the effigy of those females one sees on the stage accoutred *in toto* to represent men. Where, indeed, we may satisfy ourselves once for all how far it answers to attempt to obliterate in woman’s dress the distinctions of her sex. No. In imitating men’s manners, license, garb, and occupations, the woman of to-day breaks the law of *contrast*, and will lose much of her peculiar charm for the best and manliest of the other sex. As says Patroclus in the play—

‘ A woman impudent and mannish grown,
Is not more loathed than an effeminate man.’

and the converse is equally true.

I have no wish, however, to imply that all women who adopt the mannish attire are of the disagreeable masculine sort we have been considering. By no means. Many ladies, young, and even more matured, with no leanings that way, have simply accepted the style from their dressmakers as being the fashion. And, of course, when once the tyranny of the *vogue* has been set up, the unfortunate woman is no longer a free agent, but has to resign herself into the hands of the ‘*couturière*.’ As witness the unsightly excrescences resembling horns or dromedaries’ humps, which for two or three seasons past she has been coerced into wearing upon her shoulders, to the disfigurement of their shapely curvature, and in defiance of the first principles of beauty in the feminine form.

I have spoken of literature as one of the pursuits obviously open to women. But this brings us to yet another aspect of the modern woman, which demands a word of comment. The attitude of certain woman-writers within the last few years towards ‘*risqué*’ subjects has become one of the common-places of literary criticism. From whatever standpoint this is viewed, it is altogether deplorable. The flimsy attempts which are made in some of the sensational periodicals of the day to palliate this mephitic tendency—and to vindicate it on the ground that to photograph an Augean ecurie for the public, and particularly for the female eye, is the best way to set about cleansing it—deceive nobody. The euphemism of the day is to call this class of writing *realism*: one might perhaps more correctly call it a phase of *Zolaism*. Themes that would a generation back have put male writers out of the pale of decent society are now handled in the most barefaced and unblushing manner by women, some of them little more than girls. It is a kind of race in fiction to see who shall give the circulating library something to outbid in unsavouriness its predecessor: like the ‘going one better’ (only it is going one worse) of the well-known card game. The substance of these productions is divided between extravagant philippics

against men, and microscopic presentments of the blots and plague-spots which beset one of the most masterful of the deadly sins, but over which the general sense of civilised Christendom has hitherto united to draw the veil. As the moth flutters around the flame which is to destroy it, so these persons with nauseous and wearisome iteration keep on hovering about certain unruly instincts of the race, 'sans peur,' undeniably, but very far from 'sans reproche.' It is pretended that this description of literature is to serve a lofty moral purpose: that it is to point the inequalities between the sexes, and help to raise aloft the standard of woman's revolt against her direst of foes, man. In reality, a much more conspicuous note in such writing is its pervading tone of womanish petulance: a mixture of feverish self-consciousness and offended vanity. It is as though the 'new woman' were always feeling her pulse; and, like a sensitive child who has developed a sore in its body, continually touching the place to see if it aches.

One might suppose from all this stirring and raking up of social garbage by these self-constituted woman-seers, that the mystery and moral significance of the relations of sex were only a discovery of yesterday. No. The true reason of the multiplying of this kind of writing is not far to seek. It pays. We all know the attraction of the bizarre, the startling, the forbidden. Given even a mediocre measure of story-telling ability and imagination, with plenty of audacity; spice these with a novel flavour of naughtiness, and, such is the composition of humankind, the production is pretty sure to sell well. Advertise its naughtiness and it will sell better. And so we see books which nearly everyone at heart reprobates, going through many editions, and wafting the seedlings of evil knowledge into the minds of thousands of the reading community, a large proportion of whom are undoubtedly female, and youthful. It would seem, in truth, as though nothing could restrain some of these literary Maenads from blurting out whatever comes uppermost in their thoughts. All the sanctities of domestic life, wifehood, maternity, conjugal amenities, are dragged out into print, along with divorce made

easy, and the sayings and doings of the modern Hetaira:— a nice *olla podrida* to serve as vehicle for the crude and absurd theorising of these evolutionary crusaders. Such writers can never see that upon some things silence may be more precious than speech, nor realise the value of the pithy apothegm: ‘Hast thou a thought, have it to thyself; it will not burst thee.’

‘When Nature,’ said a great modern thinker, ‘divided the human species into male and female, her section was not exactly a bi-section.’ Whether we give the benefit of this dictum to the one or to the other sex, the divergence, non-identity, or contrast, between them is the main point I have sought to emphasise. One may perhaps liken the spheres of man and woman to two equal circles placed in the same plane touching but never crossing one another. But, as to rivalry between them, the notion is absurd on the face of it. To keep the world going in its normal course, the one sex is not an antagonist, but a necessary complement, of the other. Upon any other system, the peoples of the earth would become the denizens of an ‘Inferno.’ Disturb the axiomatic ratio between the two sexes, and the motive power of love,—which Renan has called the most extraordinary and suggestive fact of the universe, the most profound secret of the world,—would be sore-smitten, and, if it did not largely die out on the part of man, would be pretty sure to degenerate, and pass into something we do not care to characterize. In this connection, too, when young and inexperienced women lay down an identical law of morals for both sexes, they might do well to remember the sentiment of a pre-eminently pure and lofty poet, addressed to her who is the ‘lesser man’:—

‘ And all thy passions matched with mine
Are as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine.’

Nor should they forget that the paths, whereby man and woman attain ‘Nirvana’ and the beatitudes, may not be precisely alike.

The more woman tries to approximate to man, the less will he be drawn to her. The law of sexual contrast is a funda-

mental one following an analogy of physical science. As with the poles of the magnet, so in sex. Like *repels* like, while the unlike *attract* one another. Are we to suppose, then, that this dual principle which has operated through the aeons of the life of the human race is to be upset in the last years of this particular century at the bidding of a few woman-enthusiasts and male visionaries. The idea is, out of all question, ridiculous. It seems to be left out of sight by the Modern Woman that there is as much sex in mind as in body. Mental texture, modes of thought, ways of viewing things, receptivity of impression, even moral qualities, are all more or less tinctured with sex, as much so in the average woman as are the glory of her tresses, the round and softness of her limbs, the stature of her frame. Woman she was called into being, woman she is, and woman she will remain, physically, mentally, psychically. Physiology pins her down within certain bounds, and the combined efforts of all the disciples of modernism from now to the crack of Doom will never materially alter the correlations and root-distinctions of the sexes. Men will never comport themselves to women exactly as they do to other men: it is a fond dream of the advanced woman to suppose that this can ever be. A certain something, the 'sensuousness, quite healthy,' to quote a recent writer, 'merely the elementary feeling of every man for every woman' blocks the way. No man, I contend, that is a real man, can ever entirely eliminate this feeling of magnetism, attraction, call it what you will. It is this which tinges all his relations with women; gentles his bearing, sweetens his speech, enlarges his sympathies, towards them. But just as certainly as the feeling is there in the man, so is it certain that every woman does not feel its counterpart towards every man. Which, after all, is merely the kernel and sum of the whole matter of the disparity of the sexes. No. The platform of the New Woman is a vain chimera; a transparent, non-consistent bubble, blown out into large proportions, lit up with the rainbow tints of sentiment, and kept afloat for a while, by the efforts of a few clever women; but which must in time burst, and become a thing of nought.

‘Sè per sè stessa, a guisa d’una bulla
Cui manca l’acqua sotto qual si feo.’

As a last word, then, is it too much to suggest to the Advanced Sisterhood of masculine proclivities that, after all, the views *men* take of women may be worth considering, and cannot wholly be ignored. For, happily, the majority of womankind are wives and mothers, and the affected aversion to the ‘horrid male’ is not as yet shared by more than a sprinkling of the unmarried of the sex. Let women, then, lay great store by the gifts of their womanhood, and give no heed to the preposterous doctrine that ‘in society, as at present constituted, woman has the worst of it,’ and that the sex for being born female owes Nature a grudge! Contrariwise, woman has every right to be proud of her specific shape, her specific feminine costume, her womanly weakness, her gentleness, her shame-facedness, her dependence, the deference and consideration all true men pay to her, the omnipotent influence she wields over them all. To put on the ill-fitting livery of man would be but a poor exchange for these endowments. Above all, never let her risk the loss of her jewel of jewels, what a forcible lady-writer has most felicitously called ‘that distinguishing quality of *pure femininity*, which is what men seek for and worship in a good woman.’ Since the world was, the beauty and sweetness and graces of the sex have reigned supreme in the hearts of men, and spurred them on to do the heaviest share of the world’s work, mainly through the operation of the virtues and refinements, the loves and affections of the home. These potent spells needed no ‘Social Evolution’ to enlarge them, no ‘New Woman’s’ charter to advertise them. And if women will but be wise, and continue to rely on them in the future, then to the eyes of mankind they may still hope to shine on ‘as the brightness of the firmament,’ and ‘as the stars for ever and ever.’

T. PILKINGTON WHITE.

ART. V.—THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SCOTTISH HIGHLANDS—FUTURE PROSPECTS.

THE Western Highlands and Islands possess attractions for the ordinary visitor, not less because of the grandeur of the scenery, than on account of the character of the inhabitants. The traveller, who would know something of the people of the country which he visits, must give up the hauteur and reserve so often met with amongst British tourists in different countries, and go direct to the best sources of information, the people themselves, rather than be content with the second-hand and often misleading information obtained either on steamer, in railway carriage, or in hotel. If he can speak the native language and is sympathetic, he will be better able to understand the character of the people and appreciate the problems of their life. He will, moreover, be able with more intelligence to grasp the meaning and significance of the attempts made for the bettering of their condition.

The Scottish Highlander has much in common with the Norwegian and Swiss Highlanders, and the likeness in some aspects of the character of all three is more than the casual visitor perceives. The rugged mountain, the deep valley with its loch or lake, the severe climate of winter, and the isolation of the family home and its comparative inaccessibility, call forth certain traits of character, not the least noticeable of which is the genius for entertaining strangers. A Burns might still sing the praises of highland hospitality. The innate politeness of the Highlander has done much to give him a place of esteem in the hearts of many, and it was only a strong feeling of a sense of injustice that induced townships here and there in recent years to transgress the law. But the feeling of lawlessness was ephemeral, as it is quite foreign to the highland nature. The fine considerateness and generosity is best seen where the population is scattered and the means of locomotion primitive.

The student of the Highlands and Highlanders must notice that great changes are silently at work in the Highlands and Islands, but although the old order changeth, latent sentiment

still continues the same, even if ideas and aims differ. The two chief forces which have revolutionised the aims of the Highlander are education and the possession and exercise of the electoral franchise. When we view the social state of the people, we recognise that the advance has been immense since patriarchal times, when a common bond knit chief and clansmen into what, to all intents and purposes, was a gigantic family. During the times when this tribal system held sway, the chief was practically the head of the family, and, in certain localities in the Highlands, old men and women are to be met who still foster the ancient tradition and whose feelings towards the chief that is gone can only be described as love towards a father. The clansmen were the dependents of the head of the clan, rendering service without exhibiting any servile cringing, and their interests were his interests. The clergyman might be regarded as the successor of the chief, and in many parishes the succession was quite as much hereditary as in the case of the head of the clan or sept. Each in his turn was guide, philosopher and friend, and in all important steps in the life of the family, the clergyman of this century, like the chiefs of former centuries, was consulted. But such relationships could hardly be expected to withstand the exigencies of modern times, and the spread of education and, much more, the possession and exercise of the electoral franchise, have destroyed the feeling of entire dependence which formerly universally prevailed. Whatever the causes may have been, the intelligent observer must note, that instead of dependence on chief or clergyman, there is now self-dependence or mutual dependence on one another. Like other mortals the Highlander has discovered that union is strength, and he seeks to better his condition, his worldly condition as the clergyman would phrase it; and it is my present purpose, while pointing out what has been done, to indicate how the object aimed at may be advanced to the mutual advantage of the Highlander himself and the nation of which he is a part.

The sources from which the Highlander can obtain the first necessities of life,—food, clothing, shelter,—are extremely limited, and even these at best yield him little more than a bare subsistence. In many instances, in various localities he, simply



exists, the wherewithal for comfortable living being absent. When bad seasons come, poverty is accentuated, and destitution becomes widespread. With the democratic advance of recent times, his condition has been enormously improved, though destitution, which seems to be chronic at places, calls attention to the fact that much yet remains to be done. Thus far all are agreed, but when remedies are suggested, the outside world ranges itself into two camps, the advocates of emigration, and those opposed to emigration but in favour of migration. When, however, the Highlander, whom it is proposed to benefit, is consulted, he exhibits a repugnance to emigration, due in some cases at least to the memories of eviction and compulsory transportation. His love of birth-place is well known—a feeling common to the Celtic race—and this affection is exhibited in the most remarkable degree by those in foreign countries. The continuous stream to highland homes at such seasons as the New Year and during the workmen's summer holiday season in a city like Glasgow, is evidence of the same commendable love of country, if such indeed were wanted. At any rate no one now advocates a renewal of the forcible deportation of crofter or cottar of a bye-gone time, and the tendency of modern legislation has made it impossible for any landlord, even if willing, to clear away the inhabitants of glen or township, although 'old folks' have often to be kept in the paternal croft by the aid of the earnings of sons or daughters in the South.

Anyone who desires to get to the root of the periodic destitution and consequent discontent in the Highlands, and who would ascertain the causes for the chronic poverty, might with advantage begin his study in a far gone period, before man was a resident in the Highlands. Written history does much to elucidate complex national problems, but rock-history will perhaps do even more to help us in arriving at a just estimate of the present condition of highland land, and the future prospects of such a region as the Western Highlands and Islands of Scotland. It has been said that the character of a people is roughly estimated by the scenic features of their country, and by the climatal conditions of the region they inhabit. This is true in a marked degree of Scotland, and especially of that portion of it

inhabited by the Celtic race. Geology will aid us in determining not only character and religion but material prosperity. This may be illustrated by the influence of geology on the religion of a people. Just as a high mountain range forms an impassable barrier to the migration of most animals, so the dissemination of ideas is likewise hindered by mountains. If we view the distribution of native Protestants and Catholics, we find a belt of Catholic country from the Highlands of Aberdeenshire across Scotland to the Wilds of Arisaig, the Small Isles—Eigg, Canna, Muck, and Rum—and thence to the neighbouring islands of Barra, South Uist, and Benbecula. Two or three decades ago, communication between the most southerly islands of the Long Island and the Island of Skye was difficult, and the most natural line of communication of Barra with the outside world was by means of the Small Isles to Arisaig. Communication with the belt of Catholic country in recent times was not easy, but how much more difficult must it have been in Reformation times, when railways were not dreamt of, and roads were only of the most primitive description. This high belt of land would be the last portion to receive the new ideas, which had overrun the more densely inhabited southern and eastern parts, and gradually advanced along the east coast to the most northerly limit of the mainland. The new religion seems to have spread westwards through the long straths towards Skye, and North Uist, Harris, and the Lews would in time receive it. Even Tiree and Coll could be reached from Mull, as hardy mariners had not to encounter the 'race' off Ardnamurchan Point. In this way one can understand why isolated districts with a scanty population did not receive the new faith or did not accept it. Nature had so shaped the land that while some heard and were influenced by reformed doctrines, these did not spread to other places which were, geographically, more inaccessible.

The physical features of a district have also a direct bearing on the prosperity or reverse of its people. The oldest race in Britain occupies the most ancient land, and when we learn the kind of soil which this land yields, we shall know something of the poverty of its tillers. While one need not enter in detail into ethnographic questions, we may recognise that the Celts

Highlands and Islands are admittedly the oldest inhabitants of Britain. These hardy mountaineers were driven northwards and westwards into highland fastnesses by a succession of forces. Whether the Gael was driven by a second lot of Celts, or whether indeed the Highlanders are of two distinct Celtic tribes or not, we know that the Romans forced them beyond Strathclyde into Caledonia, and that Teutons, Angles, Normans, successively invaded Ancient Britain, and made the line of demarcation of the settlements of the old inhabitants sharp and distinct. Unlike the Romans, the others came to stay, and Scandinavian incursions also contributed to a mixture of races. To this day two kinds of Highlanders may be distinguished, the red and the black, and the fair Scandanavian is also represented amongst highland peoples. With increased means of communication, the spread of new ideas, and the commingling of Highlanders and Lowlanders leading to mixed marriages, the hard and fast line between the Highlands and the rest of the kingdom is breaking down. But there is still a large population of pure resident Highlanders left, who exhibit a natural affection for the land of their birth, and it is on behalf of these that recent highland legislation has been passed.

The material prosperity of the highland crofter is very intimately dependent on the geological history of Scotland. The oldest known land in Britain, possibly of an equal age with the ancient Huronian land of Canada and Labrador, is the Long Island and a strip of land from Cape Wrath to Loch Torridon. A line drawn from Loch Erribol through the Sound of Sleat, embracing the islands of Tiree, Coll, Rona, part of Raasay, and the Cuchullin Hills of Skye, divides off ancient Scotland from the newer formations. When all the rest of Scotland was under water, the ancient land which lay to the westward of that line formed the eastern limit of what may have been an Atlantic continent of greater extent. This Atlantic land afforded material for the making of the rest of Scotland, and whatever may be said as to the origin of the latter, it cannot be alleged that the Outer Hebrides were made from the material left over after the making of Scotland. The greater portion of this north-west strip belongs to the Laurentian formation, and

with the Cambrian and Silurian rocks it forms almost the whole of the Highlands, with the exception of certain portions of Mull and Skye, which exhibit formations of secondary times.

It is important to keep this in mind when questions arise as to the suitability of the soil for rearing crops, and men who declaim on the laziness of the Highland crofter do so generally in ignorance of the geological conditions under which he has to carry on the operations of husbandry.

Soils depend chiefly on the nature of the formations on which they lie, and we may as well expect grapes of thorns or figs of thistles, as look for abundant cereal crops from Laurentian land. Nature has given the Long Island and the other localities mentioned granite and gneiss, metamorphic rocks on which in many places no soil lies, and even when soil overlies the granitic and gneissose rocks it does so only to a very moderate depth. The great rainfall of the Western Highlands tends to wash away the soil and deposit it in the valleys or carry it to the sea. This is the great drawback of the Highlands from an agricultural point of view, and is felt quite as keenly where the newer Silurian schists are present. In many cases the soil at the best is only pastoral, but by the industry of the inhabitants, crops have been reared in the most unpromising places. Where fertile valleys are met with in the Highlands, this is so because of the alluvium which has been washed down from the higher ground and deposited in the more level straths alongside of the rivers and burns, and advantage has been taken in its cultivation to the fullest extent. Sometimes the Ice Sheet which carved out our Western Lochs during the Glacial Period brought down morainic material from the higher lands, and thus gave cultivable ground to the highland crofter. But the hard, gritty, slaty materials present in many places, as well as the granite and gneiss, are difficult to decompose and afford at best only a poor soil on which to rear cereal crops. The Lowlands of Scotland are fertile because the soil is composed of mixed material which can be converted into soluble pabulum for plants to take up by their roots. It is as unfair to compare the Hebrides to the Lothians, as the Lammermoors, the Moorfoot and the Carrick Hills of the Southern Uplands to the Carse of Gowrie. In the latter the material is of a

mixed kind and is younger in age than the former: it possesses a soil that can nourish rich crops while the intractable and insoluble nature of the soil of the Outer Hebrides and Southern Uplands is more fitted for pasture than arable land. If comparison is to be made, the standard must be a fair one and capable of application to both classes. It is because it is so dissimilar that exceptional measures are necessary to relieve the hard lot of the hardy Highlander who strives to obtain a livelihood from most unpromising land subject, as it is, to a severity of climate that would daunt even braver spirits.

In dealing with the future of the Highlands and Islands we may notice the industries which at present yield the inhabitants a means of subsistence. Besides what may be properly classed under the head of the two Highland industries, farming and fishing, and the small trades and arts necessary to these, there are subsidiary sources from which an increase to the earning of Highlanders is derived. The large number of tourists that annually visit a district like the island of Skye leave a goodly sum in the Highlands, but only a small proportion of their expenditure finds its way directly to crofters or cottars. In certain coast resorts the summer visitors are a mine of wealth to the locality, but as my purpose here is to deal only with crofting parishes as scheduled by the Crofters Commission these localities are not taken into account. In other districts employment is given to the inhabitants, it may be, in slate or granite quarries, but this is local and restricted. The Highlands are devoid of iron ore and coal and of any of the valuable minerals which make a country rich and keep its people busy. Fortunately the fuel question is solved by the abundant supply of peat, but districts like Tiree lack even this kind of fuel.

The industry connected with the gathering of wrack and kelp-burning was a great help to the Western islander and added to his slender earnings, but the revolution in the trade of extracts obtainable from seaware has caused the income obtained from this source to dwindle. The distilleries only give a limited and strictly local form of employment, and sheep farming and sport help only a small fraction of the population, so far as employment is concerned. While these two last give employment to

shepherds, gamekeepers and ghillies, yet they have deprived many more of the means of living, and it is questionable whether the number engaged in game watching, protection, and during the shooting season, compensates for the ultimate effect on those so engaged.

As mentioned there are two great industries in the Highlands, and industrial problems group themselves around these, viz., agriculture and fishing. Generally near the coast, crofting and fishing are carried on by the same individual, who devotes most of his time to the land, which is the least promising of future benefit. It is difficult to state accurately the proportion of men who are crofters, or crofters and fishermen, or fishermen alone, but I see no reason to doubt the truth of the approximation which the Highlands and Islands Commission has formed on the subject. The Commissioners state (Report 1890, Sect. 6) 'that about three-fourths of the whole number (of the population) may be regarded as being directly or indirectly dependent on fishing or fishing combined with crofting.' It would be interesting to ascertain how many landless cottars are engaged in fishing, but the materials are not at hand for a statement with any degree of exactness of the number of professional fishermen.

Something has been attempted and something has been done to improve the condition of the crofter *quâ* crofter. Public attention was drawn to the wretchedness of the crofter's condition by *emeutes* in Skye and the Lews. Commissions have received evidence and reported on different phases of the highland question. Following on the report of the Napier Commission of 1884, which, with the evidence that accompanied it, dispelled ignorance in many quarters, the crofter of several counties has, by legislation, been placed in a much more favourable position than he occupied ten years ago. Before the Crofters Act of 1886, he was simply a tenant at will, and no matter how he might labour to improve his holding he had no security that the value of his improvements might not be transferred to the pocket of another. The crofter is in the main a hard worker, and the reclamations he has made, often with most primitive tools (which like others I have watched during the past three decades) are a refutation of the unjust aspersions of habitual laziness. The patchy crops,

one sees in such a district as Barra are due to the restricted area capable of cultivation, and these very patches, met with all over the Western Highlands, are a tribute to the industry and perseverance of the crofter. The highland crofter is better educated and more intelligent than the small farmer and labourer in the same station of life in the South. He reads his weekly newspaper and is more in touch with the world than many with a larger share of the comforts of life.

The Crofters Act has been in operation nearly nine years, and the crofter has become, as it were, joint-proprietor with his landlord, for he enjoys practically fixity of tenure, and he reaps the benefits of his improvements in the shape of a fixed fair rent. He cannot part with his interest in his croft, but he has obtained two of the three F's which his brother Celt in Ireland enjoys. His condition, therefore, has been immensely improved, although it must be confessed that often he cannot derive more than a bare subsistence from the produce of his croft. Indeed, in most cases, the croft is so small and the soil so unkindly, that it is only with difficulty that the necessaries of life can be obtained.

The question of over-population, especially in the Lews and some parts of Skye, is a pressing one. Attempts have been made to relieve the congestion and ameliorate the condition alike of those who go forth and those who remain, but as yet the settlements at Killarney and Saltcoats in Canada made by the Crofters Colonisation Board, can scarcely be called a success. More lately the Deer Forest Commission has been engaged in trying to find one method of solution for relieving the congestion of Highland districts, and the public awaits the publication of their report to obtain an authoritative pronouncement on what extent of land (and the *locus*) is available for crofter settlements in the glens and straths of our own country.

The congestion in certain districts is being relieved to a small extent by the enlargement of holdings. Amongst the many and varied duties performed by the Crofters Commission, the extension of the crofter's holding by addition of pastoral land, is not the least important. This Commission has to perform some of the most difficult duties that can fall to any body administering highland affairs, and anyone intimately acquainted with crofter

life, and knowing something of the disputes not only between landlord and tenant, but between crofters themselves, must hail with satisfaction the amount of success which the Commission has achieved. The mention of a few of the subjects that they have to deal with in a judicial capacity will indicate the varied character of their work. In addition to the ordinary hearing of applications and visiting of land to fix a fair rent, they have to adjudicate on questions of succession and removal, fix compensation for improvements, draw up or approve of regulations as to peat mosses, division of sea-ware, erection and maintenance of fences. They have also to determine a multitude of questions under the Commons Grazing Act, and settle the 'souming' to which each crofter is entitled. In the past the methods of apportionment of hill grazings amongst crofters of a township were very varied, and too often afforded a means of dispute. The number of ways in which the crofters of a township shared in the common pasture makes it difficult to bring order out of chaos. If all the hill grazings had been held under the club-farm system, with the cattle and sheep in fixed proportion, owned on the co-operative principle and managed under the same system, it would have been easy to maintain just rights and divide the profits in an equitable manner, but when each crofter owned and tended on the common hill-ground individual cattle and sheep, either in ratio to the value of his arable land or to the number of whole lots originally in the township, it was too often the case that the weaker members—widows and old men—succumbed to their strong and more prosperous neighbours. Such a system of common pasturage is difficult to regulate, but it can only be done with advantage to the stock by adherence to fixed rules designed to prevent disturbance by individual crofter's dogs, and by settling dates for gathering the stock for purposes of shearing, smearing, dipping, spending and selling. The club-farm system has this additional advantage that good sires can be obtained and maintained for the improvement of the stock.

Under the crofting system not only have the possessors of the land had to combat with the greatest difficulty that any tiller of the soil may meet, viz., poor land, but they have also in many cases lacked a knowledge of the advantages to be obtained from

a rotation of crops, and they were too poor to obtain a supply of artificial manures to recoup the soil and return some of the chemical ingredients of which it had been deprived. With an increase of knowledge, we may confidently anticipate an improvement in this respect in the future.

In connection with the land, the lines along which further developments may take place are defined. The amount of land capable of cultivation is limited, but the present area under crop may be considerably enlarged from the pasture land, especially in those glens and straths where there are rich deposits of alluvial material. Some land at present under deer and sheep can furnish cropping land, but we must wait the publication of the Report of the Deer Forests Commission* to ascertain approximately the amount. If it be possible to keep the farmer and fisherman in the Highlands to distinct spheres, this will only be done by giving the crofter-farmer additional land, for he requires in most cases a greatly increased holding in order to maintain himself and family. Consolidation rather than subdivision should be aimed at. The standard of living in this country is rising, and it is but natural that the highland crofter should participate in the advancing stream. It is easy to fix an arbitrary standard as to what the minimum size of a holding should be, but as localities differ, it is not possible to have a uniform size of holding. Congestion is an evil to be striven against, and this can only be done by a rigorous adherence to regulations preventing subdivision.

The general movement in support of the afforestation of lands fitted to rear timber should also be of material benefit to the Highlands, as it will give employment both during its initiation and maintenance. While the blast and sea-spray will prevent much land bordering the Western Ocean being brought under

* Since this was in type the Report has been issued. The total area available for crofting, which at present is either deer forest or sheep grazing land, is 1,782,785 acres, made up as follows:—For the extension of existing holdings, 4,528 acres old arable and 434,660 acres pasture: for new holdings, 50,102 acres old arable and 744,648 acres pasture: for moderately sized farms, 6,392 acres old arable and 542,455 acres pasture.

forest cultivation, still there are vast tracts of land in Highland glens where hard-wood can be grown to advantage.

The only other industry which furnishes a source of income for resident Highlanders is that of fishing, and when questions as to the development of the natural resources of the Highlands arise, fishing seems to be the most likely to yield an increased revenue. It is interesting to compare the West with the East coast as regards men, ground for fishing, and annual catch. The East coast man is a fisherman pure and simple, while the West coast fisherman of the Outer Hebrides and the north-west of Scotland is generally fisherman and crofter at the same time. The East coast fisherman follows his vocation throughout the whole year, but the West coast man too often devotes only a part of the year to fishing. While this is true for some places, in other districts large numbers of Highlanders are engaged fishing from January to December, and many during the great herring fishery are employed as hired hands on East coast boats. The standard of living is higher amongst East coast than amongst West coast men. During the busy herring season it is not unusual for the East coast man to have five square meals per day (and he needs them too), while the West coast men, fishing alongside, are thankful for three, and not so substantial either. The East coast men, from their superior feeding, are much better able to prosecute continuous fishing during the different seasons of the year.

As elsewhere, the chief fishing is the herring fishing, and it is conducted principally during the summer months. Fishermen on the West coast, as well as fishermen of the East coast, could not make a living but for the earnings which they receive for their herring catch. The herring-fishing begins in the Outer Hebrides, in the Atlantic and in the Minch, in the month of May. It is prosecuted from Castlebay, Lochboisdal, and Stornoway during May and June, and the centre of catch gradually works round to Stromness and Wick, and afterwards the fishing becomes general from the Moray Firth to Montrose in July. As the season advances the fishing-fleet follows the herrings as far south as Yarmouth and Lowestoft, returning from these places late in the year. In addition to this great summer fishing

there is a fishing for herrings during the autumn and winter months in Islay and Jura, in Canna, and in Lochs Slapin, Eishort, Hourn, and Carron.

The herrings obtained at Castlebay and Stornoway are the finest herrings in the world, and those of Castlebay command the highest price of any herrings caught in Scotland. The annual revenue from East coast herrings exceeds half-a-million sterling, while the produce from the West coast herring fishery is nearly a quarter of a million. Of the other white fish, haddocks yield £350,000 on the East, and only £13,500 on the West coast, or about one-twenty-sixth of the East coast revenue from these fish. Cod brings to the East coast men, £120,000, while on the West the revenue from the same fish is only £18,000. Twice the quantity of ling are caught in the West as compared with the East coast, but the higher price obtained for fresh ling on the East Coast increases their value, so that £18,000 is received by the East coast fishermen from this source, while only £25,000 is received for double the quantity of cured ling in the West.

Some explain this difference between the yield of East and West waters by alleging it is because the West waters are not fished, or if fished, are only spasmodically fished. This is an easy method of cutting the Gordian knot, but it will hardly explain satisfactorily why on the East coast twenty-six times the value of haddocks and only half the quantity of ling are landed as contrasted with the value and quantity on the West coast. The reason lies deeper and can only be accurately determined when the geological conditions and the nature of the sea-bottom are known. The character of bottom both on the East and West coast has a large share in fixing the kinds of round and flat fish obtainable in each, and the bottom again depends on the geology of the neighbouring land and on the past physical geography of Scotland. The deposits on the floor of any sea may be predicted from the character of the land from which they have been worn away. The climatal conditions of ages that are past will also assist in explaining the great variety of depths found in close proximity to the west and north-west coasts of Scotland. The sea-bottom on both coasts is very like the land in its configuration, and on the West we have a repetition of deep-sea ravines

corresponding to high mountains, and on the East flattened bottom corresponding to the comparatively level land of the shore. Roughly classified, the bottom is sandy in the East and rocky in the West, but though this is the prevailing nature in each, the eastern sea-bottom is rocky at places just as there are stretches of sand off our western shores. The ice sheets carved out the harder rocks of the West into deep valleys, partly above and partly below the present sea-level, while the denudation of the newer eastern formations was more regular. The detritus in the West was muddy and scanty, the materials worn away from the land and deposited in the North Sea were in the main sandy. The nature of the bottom and the depth determine the kind of food obtainable by the bottom fauna, and the fish supply from that area depends on the lower forms present on the bottom to serve as food for the fish. The sandy bottom of the North Sea supplies an unlimited amount of ground over which trawlers can work, but the ground suitable for trawlers is very limited and defined on the West coast outside of the Clyde area. Flat fish and haddocks are, therefore, present in abundance on the East coast, but on the West coast are confined to a few localities, where they can be obtained in payable quantities.

Gregarious fish, like herrings and mackerel, are less dependent on the character of bottom, as they obtain their food from free-swimming organisms which live in zones more or less near the surface. The fishing for these are quite independent of any artificial stimulus, whether prompted by log-rolling or a simulated enthusiasm begot of ignorance, although if one were to put faith in the nostrums that are written to tickle the fancy of the public, new herring and mackerel fisheries might be discovered. Fortunately, however, the splendid enterprise of our fishermen is equal to any possible discovery of payable herring or mackerel fisheries in the seas around our coast.

In the Highlands, especially in the Long Island, the ling and lobster fisheries occupy a position second only to the herring fishery. Both of these classes of animals delight in rocky ground which is found everywhere around our western shores. The lobster fishing is a most important branch of the highland fisheries, and it yields a fair return to the older men and boys who are not

so fitted to prosecute the herring or the great line fisheries. Comparing the West with the East coast, the former furnishes nearly half-a-million lobsters every year, or slightly more than three times that of the East coast. Most of the lobsters are caught in highland districts, and the total received by highland fishermen amounts to about £18,000 per annum. Of this sum, £10,000 is obtained by the fishermen of the Long Island. Each lobster caught means tenpence to the fisherman. Owing to the constant fishing of recent years, the size and quality of the lobsters are deteriorating, and the fishermen have to set their creels or pots further from the shore. The enhanced value of lobsters makes the capture of these crustaceans a matter of great importance, but the small value of crabs will not yield a return sufficient to induce fishermen to send them to market in any great quantity. On the East coast 'partans' are sent to market, but the returns obtained from the South are generally very poor.


Shell-fish, like cockles and whelks, add to the income of the Highlanders something like £6000, or about three-fourths of the total value caught on the West coast. Over 300 tons of cockles have been obtained in one year from the sands of Barra alone. During the winter months these afford a means of subsistence to the people on the west and north of Barra, so that though the total income from this source is not great, yet it makes all the difference between starvation and a small income to the inhabitants in the neighbourhood of Eoligary.

Salmon-fishing gives employment to many crofters for several months of the year, and a competent authority informs me that at least £10,000 are paid in wages every year. The firm of J. Johnston & Sons, Montrose, pay in wages to about one hundred crofters in Skye between £2000 and £3000 every season.

Much has been done to foster the fishings of the outlying islands, and many efforts, due to praiseworthy motives, have been put forth on behalf of West Highland fishermen. The history of the past century ought to have taught us as to the direction in which help should now be given, but we are slow to learn. Bounties were paid from the middle of last century, and various societies were at work seeking to stimulate and develop the

fisheries of the West. From the British Fisheries Society of 1786 to the great West of Scotland Fishery Company of 1858, and the Highland Fisheries Company of ten years ago, assistance was given in founding curing-stations and in supplying boats and gear. Within the last decade, the Treasury, in accordance with provisions of the Crofters Holdings (Scotland) Act and Public Works Loans Act, authorised advances to be made by the Fishery Board, and these were made to the extent of upwards of £30,000 for the purchase of boats and gear. While these loans have not been without advantage to the Highland crofter, a mistake was made in advancing much too large a proportion—nine-tenths—of the total value of boat and gear. In many instances an accumulation of arrears has been the consequence, and the stone placed on the crofter-fisherman's neck was too heavy for him, with the result that the system was discredited. Had a limited amount—say not exceeding two-thirds—been lent, the incentive to repay principal and pay interest would have been very great, and the story of the working of the loans might have formed a brighter chapter.

One of the great natural drawbacks to the development of the line fishing was the want of facilities for a rapid and cheap method of transport to the markets of the South. The Highlands and Islands Commission did much to improve this, but much still remains to be done. Steamboat services have been increased, and districts have now regular steam communication which was formerly lacking. The West and South of Mull, the Small Isles, the West and North of Skye, and the South of Harris, are now served in a manner that was never known before, but the railway extensions to Kyleakin and Mallaig will probably be the least helpful of the different lines projected or advocated. The coast between East Loch Tarbert in Harris and the Butt of Lewis remains unserved, and Stornoway is the only—but the most important—port between the Butt of Lewis and West Loch Tarbert that has steamboat accommodation. There is no regular service along that long stretch of coast from Cape Wrath to Loch Carron, except such as is given about once a week to Gairloch, Loch Ewe, and a few smaller places. Those districts which have not a regular service are just the portions most



likely to receive an impetus in their fishing from a railway to the neighbourhood of Loch Inver or some other point in the north-west.

The West coast is in a favourable position as compared with the East in respect of shelter, and the grants made for harbours, piers, and boatslips will do much to render this shelter more available, and so meet a want long felt. The small lights and beacons will also be of assistance not only to the fisheries but to navigation in general.

Whether we agree with the Highlands and Islands Commission that fishing is the *only* industry capable of development in the Western Highlands, we must admit that it is the chief industry from which successful results may be looked for. In the letter of instructions to that Commission, the Secretary for Scotland desiderated information as to the initiation or development of an industry which would be self-supporting, but which could not be established for want of capital. Friends of the Highlands do not wish for any purely charitable expenditure, and whatever measures are adopted to benefit the population should satisfy economic expectations, and not be merely 'will o' the wisps.' It has been proposed to help fishermen in other quarters by hatching sea fish by artificial methods, and some have asked for like measures to be extended to the West Highlands. Now one must distinguish between fish and fish. There are certain fish and certain animals classed in the popular mind as fish which it is possible for the operations of men practically to fish out, and hatching of the eggs of such animals may take place on a sound economic basis. There are other fish which no methods of fishing yet known will exterminate, whose numbers in fact are not appreciably altered, and which do not seem to decrease. Fish-hatching has only a limited usefulness, and is quite unnecessary in the case, for example, of the herring, the haddock, or the cod. Attempts to hatch the eggs of these means, first the catching of fish to lay the eggs, and second, the fertilisation and incubation of the eggs up to a certain point. If left in the sea, nature will manage the same process in a much better and more satisfactory manner. Till a young fish is fit to obtain food for itself it is protected by the absence or comparative absence of pigment in

its body, so that we may say that the destruction of young fish is mostly post-infantile. The other alternative is to rear the young fish in a nursery till they are fit for the market. The cost of such a process would be prohibitive, but it would set fishermen free to seek other occupations, and the public would pay not 2d. or 3d. per lb., but as many shillings. We can hardly therefore expect that the hatching of sea-fish like these mentioned will benefit the highland fishermen. There are other fisheries, however, which man can deplete and has depleted to such an extent that they may have reached the vanishing point. This is the case with the oyster fishery of the Highlands. Formerly oysters were to be obtained in quantity in many highland lochs, now the difficulty is to get any except in one or two localities. West Loch Tarbert in Kintyre is one of the only two oyster fisheries in Scotland which yield a return. It has been proved that one branch of oyster culture, viz., growth and fattening, can be conducted with success, and there is no reason why certain West Highland lochs, wisely selected, should not fatten millions of oysters for sale, and bring in a revenue to the large number of persons whom oyster culture would support. The French fishers obtain every year upwards of half a million sterling from the oyster fisheries on the coast, and though we cannot expect such a large return, yet there are the elements of commercial success in the branch of industry known as growth and fattening. Plenty of oyster spat can be obtained from France and Holland at a cheap rate, and with a due observance of the laws of nature, these small imported oysters can be fattened and made ready for the table.

The lobster fishery is also capable of improvement, and ought to be conserved, as it would afford a steady income to old men and boys. The lobster is not so prolific as the oyster on the one hand or the herring on the other, but is one of the 'shore fishes' whose destruction is threatened. By a judicious and cheap system of hatching the thousands of lobster eggs which at present find their way as dressing to dishes of the dinner table, not a little would be done to stop an unnecessary waste of valuable crustacean life.

There are other shellfish like mussels and cockles which might

be made to yield an increased revenue to Highlanders as well as the rest of the fishery population of Scotland.

The French have given us an example of what can be done in fostering and developing a new industry, viz., oyster culture, but they had to offer inducements to retain the seamen of the Maritime Inscription on the Biscay coast. We might with advantage help the seamen of our Royal Naval Reserve and follow the lead that has been given us in developing those fisheries that are capable of extension. The claims of our Highland countrymen are great, and a wise expenditure on behalf of a hardy and generous race, not as doles to meet temporary destitution, but as a national investment to develop the natural resources of the Highland seas along sound economic lines will be amply justified.

J. H. FULLARTON.

ART. VI.—HENRI BEYLE AND HIS CRITICS.

‘**M.** DE STENDHAL’ had no romance or sentimental attractiveness, either as a man or as a writer, and this may be one of the reasons why he and his writings are so little known out of France, even among people who are generally well read. But in France, in recent years, a certain group of literary men have set him up as their model of perfection; and there was a time, not so very long ago, when a young man of this group felt himself unworthy if he could not at once cap a quotation from Stendhal.

His novel *Le Rouge et le Noir*, the favourite of his modern admirers, was written in 1830. It is curiously both in accord and in disaccord with its time: but the latter must have been the strongest element, for the book, sharing the fate of its author’s other writings, was then anything but popular. Stendhal consoled himself for the lack of present fame by prophesying that he would be read in 1880: and this prophecy was fulfilled to the letter, for not only was he read in 1880, but that year may be said to have been the zenith of his fame.

He is now gradually finding his right place in French literature, a place quite his own, above 1830 and its want of understanding, below 1880 and its idolatry, in the fair and independent hands of such critics as M. Charles Morice, M. Emile Faguet, and M. Edouard Rod. He is a singular and original, if not a supremely interesting figure, in the literary history of the nineteenth century. It could not be written without him, though in it he stands isolated and alone. He has been an influence, and a very strong one, in modern French literature, and *Le Rouge et le Noir*, though disagreeable and even repulsive to many people, is a book that will not easily die.

All the tendencies of modern writers in France, except of M. Brunetière and the strictly classical school, and of men like M. de Vogüé with his romantic and moralist reaction—all the influences that made realism, and still more those that made the psychological school, Stendhal's chief devotees, are more or less to be found, variously developed, in his writings and his character. It seems that these influences began to be felt in France about 1854, though Stendhal had already made a deep impression on such men as Balzac and Mérimée, the latter being a personal friend of his. A new edition of his works was published in 1854, twelve years after his death, and on this occasion Sainte-Beuve wrote of him in terms of admiration which seemed to his later admirers, to M. Taine for instance, quite absurdly inadequate, but which strike one now as fair and just. After Sainte-Beuve the tide went on rising. The naturalist school seized on Stendhal, and M. Zola openly claimed him as a fore-runner, but did not very well succeed in proving his claim. He could not find all he wanted in a writer who dealt more with mind than body, and managed his most striking scenes with so little physical detail, so much independence of *milieux*. At the same time, in spite of defects and difficulties, Stendhal is 'notre père à tous' to M. Zola.

From M. Zola to M. Bourget is not so long a step as it seems, but it is easy to see which had most right to claim descent from Stendhal. In M. Bourget's hands he reached his highest fame, and perhaps, as M. Edouard Rod suggests, he would have been himself astonished at the place he holds in the *Essais*

de Psychologie Contemporaine. He could not have failed to recognise, with many strange differences, and perhaps on the whole in a less odious form, his own Julien Sorel in M. Bourget's Robert Greslou. 'Imitation is the sincerest flattery.' Appreciation higher than this Stendhal has never had, and is never likely to have again. Other less famous writers, such as Chapron, Stryienski, Hervieu, made up Stendhal's court somewhere about 1880. Even now, though his star has paled a little, his outspoken admirers are many: and remembering Sainte-Beuve, whose criticism one sometimes feels will last when all these are forgotten, they have some right to hold their own even against the classic scorn of M. Brunetière and the moral severity of M. de Vogüé.

Even a slight knowledge of Stendhal's life and character, and of the mind expressed in his works, goes far to explain the merits and defects of these, and consequently to justify in some measure both his admirers and his enemies, his neglect and his popularity. Marie-Henri Beyle was lonely, *isolé*, from his earliest childhood. He was born at Grenoble in 1783; his father belonged to the higher *bourgeoisie*, and was an advocate in the parliament of Dauphiné; his mother's family was of Italian origin, and from her race he inherited the most striking features of his character, the sensibility which co-existed well with selfishness, the correct taste, the passion for art, and that violence which he called 'energy,' *l'énergie du moyen âge*, which to him, as to the *condottieri* his ancestors, meant something very like the unlimited indulgence of a human nature unchecked by civilisation. His mother died when he was very young; there was no love between him and his father, a stern, silent Dauphinois; and the house henceforth was ruled by a sister of his mother's, an odious woman, if we are to believe Henri Beyle on the subject, who treated him and his little sisters with cruel tyranny. Thus from seven years old his life became one of hatred and resistance, and he grew up a strange, solitary boy, suspicious, self-contained, subjected at home to endless vexations and humiliations, which he bore with rage in his heart and wild longings for revenge. It was not his opinion to be popular

at Grenoble or to be adopted by his father, to set all the keen strength of Henri's intelligent mind in furious if silent opposition. The principles of his family were Catholic and Royalist: the boy therefore was a Jacobin, 'trouvait la Terreur très douce,' rejoiced at the death of Louis XVI., and later became one of the earliest and most devoted admirers of General Buonaparte. This admiration for Napoleon lasted through all Stendhal's life. There was no political principle involved in it—indeed his loves and hatreds, political, artistic or literary, were never very consistent—but Napoleon's character had all the 'energy' which was his highest ideal; and it was Stendhal who first saw a resemblance in Napoleon to the early Italian tyrants—an idea so remarkably worked out by M. Taine in his *Régime Moderne*.

The only relations with whom Henri Beyle had any sympathy were his lazy, selfish grandfather M. Gagnon, with powdered wig and Voltairean opinions—from whom he borrowed such books as Helvétius' *De l'Esprit*, which exactly suited his turn of mind, and made a complete atheist of him in spite of Tante Séraphie and his Jesuit teachers—and his great-aunt Mlle. Elizabeth Gagnon, a foolish, romantic old woman, who filled his head with 'sentiments espagnols.' Thus one cannot see that any good influence whatever found its way into his education: and it is not surprising that his mind should have developed itself at the expense of his character, that hypocrisy for the sake of peace should have been added to his early vices, and that the boy, possessing brilliant talents to which his father and his native town were completely blind, should have grown up *isolé* in both mind and character, acknowledging no law but his own will, with the morals of Helvétius, deifying selfishness under the name of energy, vain, passionate, a living resistance to all that claimed authority, cold-hearted as such a self-centred nature must be, not loveable, though full of what he called sensibility, and capable, a strange contradiction, of real and earnest friendship.

At sixteen Henri Beyle was sent to Paris to find employment, and was taken in hand by M. Daru, a relative of his father's, who finally found him a place in the War Office,

where his own son Pierre, afterwards Comte Daru, was secretary. The boy was not of a character to make himself happy among strange relations, or in a subordinate post which meant hard work. The elder M. Daru treated him severely, the younger snubbed him and laughed at him. The impressions of those early years are to be found in *Le Rouge et le Noir*, and Julien Sorel's mistake in writing *cella* for *cela* was committed by Henri Beyle himself and never forgotten. This kind of life only drove him further into himself. In a spirit of resistance to all around him, he retired more and more completely behind his 'masque d'ironie, d'âpreté, d'égoïsme.' The hatred of France and of civilised society with all its rules and limits, first felt in his *bourgeois* home at Grenoble, seems to have advanced in Paris to the level of a principle. He despised a world ruled by reason and moderation. He found no individual energy among his countrymen: they went in flocks, they followed fashion and public opinion, they were no better than parrots and monkeys. His doctrine, on the contrary, was to obey no law but 'la bonne loi naturelle.' Such a rebel against civilisation and all its ways could not expect to find himself anything but an *isolé*.

His first experience of Paris life was not a long one. He went with the two brothers Daru to Italy, and soon afterwards, to his intense, almost inexpressible joy, became a soldier in the First Consul's army and fought at Marengo. This early experience of Italy and of war was probably the happiest part of his life. His ideal worship of Napoleon became now a practical force, and he learned to know the country which he always loved better than any other, and gave his heart at eighteen to Milan above all cities, the city where his early dreams of life found some sort of realisation. These dreams, one must in justice remember, were not all of fighting and of commonplace pleasure. The regions of art and music and literature all lay ready, in the Italy of those days, to be explored and conquered by an ambitious mind, and Beyle threw himself into such interests as these with all the energy that belonged to him. Anything that we know of his studies gives the same impression with his whole life and character—that of

extreme independence. From this comes the amateur touch which his critics have pointed out. He obeys no school and no authority: his views on every subject are original and his own. This gives him interest, if not value, as a writer and a critic, and also accounts for the singular narrowness, even ignorance, which he shows now and then, and which makes it impossible even for his devotees, one would think, to regard him as a safe and consistent guide. He stands alone here as elsewhere: and yet literary history cannot afford to neglect him.

To return to the story of his early life:—we find him again in Paris, filled with the idea of writing for the stage—at this time he was in love with an actress, Mélanie Guilbert, one of the earliest of his many adorations. He had arranged to write comedies like Molière—‘pour cela, savoir: le grec, le latin, l’italien, l’anglais.’ Acquaintance with Shakespeare, however, brought him to the pleasant conclusion that ‘il faut sentir et non savoir;’ and in fact we do not hear much more of writing plays. He struggled through the next few years by the help of various small occupations, often out at elbows, sometimes miserable, sometimes happy, reading and studying hard at intervals. In 1806 the Daru family came once more to his aid, —‘par esprit de famille plutôt que par sympathie personnelle,’ says his latest biographer; and one can understand that these respectable people did not much approve of the Paris life of their unconventional cousin. They found him a post in the commissariat, and he was with Napoleon’s army from the Prussian campaign of 1806 to the retreat from Moscow. This was the worthiest part of his life. He did his duty thoroughly well in the ‘intendance,’ showed himself a cool and energetic officer, and was openly commended by Napoleon. There was a time in the Russian retreat when the army depended on Beyle for its only regular food. No demoralisation reached him. Comte Daru, his patron, had the pleasure of seeing him shaved and well dressed on the most hopeless and desperate days. M. Edouard Rod gives Beyle full credit for his finest qualities, which on occasions like this are certainly worth a good deal;—‘bravoure naturelle, énergie instinctive, amour

de la lutte et du péril.' Here the spirit of the old *condottieri* is displayed in its proper field. Such a nature is made for the rough places of life, and even the coldness and inhumanity which belong to it are not without a certain use, when they enable an officer in such a retreat to make himself happy at odd times with a book, and on the first opportunity to forget all troubles at the Opera.

Henri Beyle was a great observer. His mind was what he said a novel ought to be, 'un miroir qui se promène sur une grande route;' and thus the interest of these campaigns, as of any other kind of stirring life, was for him unailing. But he constantly looked back with regret to his early days in Italy, and he was very ready to retire, his health having failed after the Russian experiences, and to lead a life of selfish and frivolous idleness at Como, afterwards at Milan, the city of his first love. Music and the theatre absorbed all the time and thoughts which were not occupied by a new love-affair. Napoleon fell, the state of Europe was changed: Henri Beyle did not care at all for these things. After the Hundred Days, he was offered an appointment in Paris by M. Beugnot: but the Restoration meant for him, says M. Rod, the triumph of Jesuits and *bourgeois*, of all that reminded him hatefully of Grenoble and his early life. He decided to remain at Milan, and there he lived till 1821, when the Austrian police expelled him as a Liberal. He lived in Paris, at first very lonely and unhappy, till after 1830, when Louis Philippe made him Consul at Trieste first, where he was miserable, then at Civita Vecchia, where he was not much happier, though next to Milan he loved Rome better than any place in the world. This appointment lasted till his death in 1842. Always Italian at heart, the epitaph he wrote for himself is worth preserving: it is characteristic of the man.

' Qui giace
Arrigo Beyle Milanese.
Visse, scrisse, amò.'

The later years of his life were melancholy, for the approach of old age was as painful as death itself to a nature like his, and though his literary fame was by this time considerable

among those who knew, his books were in a wider sense anything but popular. He consoled himself by looking forward to 1880, it is true, but the tone of his letters shows that this comfort was of a cold kind; and in truth the follower of Helvétius, with his doctrines of energy and pleasure, found life little worth living in illness, solitude, and advancing years.

Yet he had friends. One of the blessed inconsistencies of human nature gave this Epicurean a faculty for sincere affection. His letters to his sister Pauline, lately published, throw some light on this side of his character, though they do not increase one's respect for his ideas and aims generally. One of the most characteristic of his friends was Mérimée, who, though twenty years younger, and though their intercourse consisted chiefly of disputes and arguments, wrote of him—
'Peu d'hommes m'ont plu davantage; il n'y en a point dont l'amitié m'ait été plus précieuse.' Though Mérimée professed to like Stendhal himself much better than his works, no writer was more influenced by those works. This might result from a certain likeness in the natures and talents of the men: both somewhat cold, hard, suspicious; both, in the peculiarities of their thought and style, deriving more from the eighteenth century than from their own. It was 'l'amitié à base de méfiance,' says M. Rod. It was also that they felt for each other that kind of admiration which is 'un brevet de ressemblance.'

In spite, however, of this and other friendships and of the various successes of his life, it does not seem that Stendhal found much satisfaction in studying the only art that he considered worth study, 'l'art d'être heureux.' Man's first duty was to enjoy life, according to him and his master Helvétius. And as man's one valuable quality was energy, force, self-will, it followed that life became a violent chase after happiness, a struggle without any ideal, any spiritual end,—indeed 'of the earth, earthy,' for he was an absolute materialist, believing in nothing beyond his experience.

In a most interesting study of Stendhal which appeared not long ago in the *Revue des deux Mondes*, M. Emile Faguet makes us realise his true place both as to character and literary style. He calls him a *déplacé*, belonging more to the year

1770 than to that earlier half of the nineteenth century in which all his work was done. Hence, partly, his dislike and scorn for all those writers, Chateaubriand, De Vigny, Lamartine, who expressed the reaction from the spirit of Voltaire. A great observer, yet limited by his prejudices, Stendhal's mind, that walking mirror, only reflected the images that pleased it: hence the peculiarities of his writings to be mentioned presently. He was a man of the eighteenth century, without its optimism, without that generous ideal which existed in the Revolution itself. The eighteenth century in him, says M. Faguet, had lost its refinement; was brutalised by the Revolution and the Empire. With a mind fed on Voltaire and Helvétius, Stendhal had all the ambition, the idea of 'arriver à tout, arriver vite,' which was almost universal among the young men of Napoleon's France. This ambition had its different forms, warlike, literary, political, and each of these attracted Stendhal in turn, though he cared less for politics than for war or literature. He was a Republican, but the Liberalism of 1830 did not attract him. It was too dull, too reasonable; it had 'rien de folâtre.' In many ways the spirit of the *ancien régime* suited Stendhal better: not so much question then of reason and self-restraint, of muzzling that *bête humaine* which according to him should be guided by nothing but the laws of its own nature. The truth is that Stendhal was a strange, ill-balanced being, full of contradictions and anachronisms, a character more difficult than most to explain consistently. Even in the hands of clear-sighted, moderate men like M. Faguet and M. Rod, his portraits, full, careful and fair as they are, seem to leave something to be desired.

As to Stendhal's works, M. Rod quotes La Bruyère's deep saying: 'Ils sont d'un homme plus que d'un auteur.' He wrote and studied to please himself, with little thought of his readers, except as people to be shocked now and then. He had no doubt a genius for observing human nature; yet this observation was a good deal more limited than his modern admirers care to allow. He thought of himself, studied himself, most successfully, but worked as an amateur, and certainly

never thought of founding any school, either of realism or psychology. M. Rod finds this amateur method of writing in most of his works which have anything to do with history. Stendhal is always, he says, 'discovering America.' He is constantly bringing forward well-known facts as new discoveries of his own, simply from laziness, from a want of conscientious study of his subject. His best historical work is his unfinished *Life of Napoleon*. As a traveller, his impressions are brilliant and remarkable, and his art criticisms, as a rule, unfailingly good, in such books as *Promenades dans Rome*, *Mémoires d'un touriste*, etc. His moral observations, on the contrary, when made, are generally repulsive. He seldom troubles himself to describe nature: M. Rod contrasts his method of seeing with that of Chateaubriand, Lamartine or Byron. Here again we see the man of the 18th century. Natural beauty is never enough for him: the landscape must also have a human interest. And after all, is it not true that with a more delicate method of expression, such as modern men know, travels like these touch a higher level of interest than any string of mere descriptions, however vivid and poetical? Who can say that M. Bourget, for instance, does not think more, in Stendhal fashion, of Italy's human, artistic, historical interest than of her natural beauty? And yet is there any recent book that brings with it a deeper knowledge and feeling of Italy's natural beauty than his *Sensations d'Italie*?

M. Rod says that in Stendhal's book, *L'Amour*, are to be found the germs of all his work that followed it. The book itself has a celebrity, but those who are not among the author's great admirers have concluded from it that his 'energy' went along with shallowness, and that 'le monde des grands sentiments' is in truth unknown to him. This thought comes back strongly in reading *Le Rouge et le Noir*; though one is again shaken by that less repelling book *La Chartreuse de Parme*, in which, if I may venture to express my agreement with Balzac, Stendhal appears at his best. M. Rod prefers *Armançe*, his first novel, which was published in 1827, and speaks in high terms of its tenderness, freshness, grace, sincerity, simplicity. All these qualities, except perhaps the

fourth, seem strange attributes of a work by Stendhal, and add to the complications which beset any fair study of his character. It is certainly an instance of warring elements in intellect and taste, if not in moral tendencies, that the same man who wrote *Armance* should have written *Le Rouge et le Noir*.

This last is one of those books which cannot fail to make a strong impression of some kind, whether we regard it with M. de Vogüé merely as 'livre haineux et triste,' and its hero Julien Sorel as 'une âme méchante, très inférieure à la moyenne;' or with M. Faguet as a simple work of art, wonderful in clearness and precision of detail, 'merveille d'analyse psychologique et dissection morale,' a picture of the mind of the century, full of ambition and intrigue, at thirty years old; or with M. Edouard Rod as before all things a personal confession, Julien Sorel representing Stendhal himself, a character without moral sense, moved by 'energy,' ready to trample without compunction on any obstacle, even in the shape of a benefactor, that stood between him and what he called success, or to make his way through any tortuous paths of intrigue and hypocrisy to the objects of his ambition. According to M. Rod, Stendhal's picture of France at this period is an unfair one, being painted from too selfish a point of view. His society is drawn in a spirit of caricature, always excepting the few figures that interested him personally. 'Son miroir était, d'avance, rempli d'images que ses préjugés et ses partis pris avaient dessinées . . . *La Rouge et le Noir* n'est donc pas un tableau complet de la France de la Restauration: il n'en est pas moins un document des plus précieux sur l'état d'esprit des jeunes gens pendant cette période.'

It is worth while, in comparison with these varying judgments, to read the remarks on *Le Rouge et le Noir* made by M. Bourget, Stendhal's great disciple, in his *Essais de Psychologie Contemporaine*. The whole essay is very striking, being the work of a genius of Stendhal's kind, but with the far wider outlook gained by a standpoint of fifty or sixty years later, as well as with the advantage of a far more amiable temperament.

'Quand ce roman ne révolte pas, il ensorcelle,' says M. Bourget . . . 'C'est une eau-forte, mais d'un détail infini, et dans la courte dimension de cette eau-forte un univers tient tout entier.'

'Quand ce roman ne révolte pas, il ensorcelle.' M. Bourget is liberal enough, and clear enough of vision, to see that a great many minds must be revolted by *Le Rouge et le Noir*. In admitting this he probably feels that he is making a concession to human weakness and the prejudices of education. He would not perhaps allow that the very fact of Stendhal's repulsiveness in *Le Rouge et le Noir*, of the dryness, the absolute lack of romance or of beauty, which makes us turn away in weary disgust from this very clever novel, is simply the result of one enormous defect in Stendhal's mind, as well as in his character; the absolute lack of any moral sense, of any instinctive knowledge of the laws of right and wrong. For Stendhal good and evil, in our sense of the words, do not exist: the beauty of goodness, the horror of evil, are alike unknown to him. This should be taken into account, for, joined with a cold and inhuman materialism, it goes some way towards explaining the limit of his fame and of his influence. He never can or will be popular, never much read or highly honoured, except by a literary *coterie*; because, with all his psychological knowledge, with all his study of human nature, he never takes into account the great ruling laws, the instincts of right and wrong. Here is the wide difference between him and Balzac, who so honestly, though with no claim to be a critic, admired *La Chartreuse de Parme*. The *Comédie Humaine* is a tremendous series of moral lessons. Balzac knew far too much to paint for our admiration a character like Julien Sorel, or even like Fabrice del Dongo. However gloomy his pictures of life, his doctrine is not Stendhal's—'Chacun pour soi dans ce désert d'égoïsme qu'on appelle la vie.'

This moral blindness, this absolute selfishness and egotism, cold, hard, dry, and—a worse fault still—uninteresting, is the characteristic of all Stendhal's books, in spite of their atmosphere of energy and so-called passion. There is not a breath of the really heroic in them; their heroism is of the mediæval

Italian sort, with daggers and daring adventures. There is no real love in them—not certainly in *Le Rouge et le Noir*, where Madame de Rênal's infatuation hardly deserves that name. When Miss Martineau wrote 'Sentimental passion is but cold selfishness in a flame-coloured disguise,' she might have been thinking of Stendhal.

La Chartreuse de Parme, with its odd English dedication 'to the Happy Few,' though equally unfettered by moral laws, is a milder and more human book; it has also a wider interest, and is on the whole pleasanter to read, than *Le Rouge et le Noir*. The description of the battle of Waterloo shows Stendhal at his best, and there is wonderful cleverness in his picture of the Court of Parma with all its small intrigues and petty politics. The Duchess Sanseverina is one of his best characters; and a certain melancholy romance hangs about Clélia Conti; her love for Fabrice is of a deeper kind than Stendhal could often imagine. This novel, Balzac's favourite, though somewhat neglected by Stendhal's latest admirers—even M. Faguet calls it 'seconde épreuve d'une planche fatiguée'—received the highest praise and admiration from M. Taine, for whom Stendhal is 'le plus grand psychologue du siècle.'

To return for a moment to Sainte-Beuve:—Stendhal as a novelist is by him, says M. Rod, 'tout-à-fait maltraité.' And yet it seems that the great critic saw in Stendhal's work a suggestiveness, a faculty of giving new ideas, of opening new paths—an estimate not so very far removed, in tendency at least, from that of M. Bourget, who sees in *Le Rouge et le Noir* 'l'aube tragique du pessimisme.' I am not at all sure that the judgment of posterity, if it troubles itself to consider Stendhal at all, will not in the end place his novels where Sainte-Beuve places them. They are not great. Certain peculiarities may keep them alive for a long time, but they will not live for a thousand years among the great books of the world, or even of the 19th century, if only because of the narrow limit in which they move, knowing only the material side of human nature, and regarding everything beyond that limit as fancy and superstition.

But Sainte-Beuve had more to say about this amateur novelist, this 'franc-tireur de l'armée des lettres.' He regarded Stendhal as an original and distinguished writer, and especially admired his critical power. 'Il a été un critique, non pour le public, mais pour les artistes, mais pour les critiques eux-mêmes.' Certainly no one was better fitted than Sainte-Beuve to judge of a critic. In this line Stendhal was nothing if not original. His ideas on literature, his loves and his hatreds, were entirely his own. Sometimes they seem illogical, just as his admiration for Napoleon and also for the Terror may seem so, till we realise that these were two incarnations of his favourite virtue, energy. He has been said to belong to the Romantic school, because he admired Shakespeare and disliked Racine. But the Romantics would hardly have owned him; for though despising Boileau and asking, 'Who shall deliver us from Louis XIV.?' he seemed to be on their side, yet he hated Chateaubriand, found Lamartine hollow and empty, Victor Hugo exaggerated and ridiculous, Alfred de Vigny 'lugubre et niais.' It may be a bold and heretical saying, especially in the face of the present reaction, but I am not so sure that posterity will not confirm some at least of these original judgments of Stendhal's. I do not think M. Faguet is quite fair in referring them to religious hatred, or to Stendhal's jealousy of the talent of these writers. Neither is he justified, it seems to me, in saying that Stendhal disliked Racine because he was too clever for him, or in the sweeping assertion that Stendhal did not care for eloquence or high poetry. His appreciation of Shakespeare will always cover a multitude of sins. His mind was not made on the same pattern as the minds that are even now reviving the cult of Lamartine and Chateaubriand. I know that from a moral, and perhaps from an imaginative point of view, these writers are on a much higher level than Stendhal. In originality, in a knowledge, however one-sided, of human nature, in satirical brilliancy, in all that made literary merit in the eighteenth century, in clever detail, in analysis, in a certain logical clearness of language and ideas, he stands apart and distinguished.

His remarks on Sir Walter Scott's novels are an instance of

the kind of criticism in which he excelled, and in which he will be justified by posterity. Doing full justice to Scott's genius and to his poetic creations, he points out the dangers of his method. He foresees consequences, and foretells imitation—the works of all those who will find it easier to describe the dress of the Middle Ages than the workings of the human heart. For himself, he would never attempt the impossible task of representing the Middle Ages. Contemporary manners were for him the novelist's true field; and they were to be described with all the simplicity, with all the exactness of which he was master. This is a great argument, and one of many branches, which must not occupy us now. Romance is again in fashion: the Middle Ages are now again brought on the stage by distinguished writers: but I am not sure that in this matter Stendhal's taste is not the purest, and that his idea of the right limits of the *roman* is not true. 'Un critique pour les artistes, pour les critiques eux-mêmes.'

When all is said, Stendhal was, is, and will remain an *isolé*, a writer and thinker standing alone. In spite of M. Brunetière and M. de Vogüé, and with all his defects and his immorality, he is a writer and thinker of original genius, of brilliant if unequal talents, of singularly powerful influence on modern minds analogous with his own; a figure that the literary world of the nineteenth century cannot easily or rightly ignore.

E. C. PRICE.

ART. VII.—HISTORY OF THE COMMONWEALTH
AND PROTECTORATE.

History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate. By S. R.
GARDINER. Vol. I. Longmans: 1894.

MR. GARDINER'S place among eminent writers of English history has been marked out long ago. He has not the gift of imaginative power; he cannot describe great scenes and

passages with the brilliancy and the effect of the late Mr. Froude. He cannot generalise luminously from masses of details; unlike Hume or Mr. Green, he cannot illustrate a whole period with philosophic thought. He is wholly deficient in Macaulay's rhetoric; he does not possess, in a high degree, the art of orderly, rapid, and fine composition. But his industry and research are admirable; he has sound sense and excellent judgment; he can present the stores of his knowledge clearly before us, in a well digested and vigorous narrative. His history of the great Civil War is a standard work, and the volume before us, the first instalment of a history of the Cromwellian Commonwealth, unquestionably is of the same high quality. Mr. Gardiner has described very well the chief external events of the period, between the death of Charles I. and the Battle of Worcester; his account of Cromwell's campaigns in Ireland and Scotland, and of the last 'crowning mercy' which finally sheathed his sword, is full, learned, and now and then graphic. As usually, however, is the case with him, his chief merit consists in his care and skill in interpreting and explaining the political movements, and social phenomena of the times. He has described very ably, and with real success, the aims of the rulers of the English Commonwealth, and their policy and conduct abroad and at home; he has brought out distinctly the strange conflicts of the factions that divided Ireland and Scotland, and especially he has thrown much fresh light on the course of Scottish history during these troubled years. As regards the chief figures in the drama, he has, to a certain extent, done justice to the great faculties of its master spirit; but we think he has hardly placed in sufficient relief the military and civil genius of Cromwell. His portrait of Montrose—a hero, but a Don Quixote—is well conceived and very attractive; and he has clearly shown that Charles II., even in boyhood, had most of the worst faults of his race, and very few of their redeeming qualities.

This volume opens at the time when the death of Charles I. had brought the monarchy of the three kingdoms, for the present, to an end. That tremendous event caused a less shock to opinion in Europe, and to its ruling Powers, and did not produce such a convulsion in these islands, as, judging from what

had already happened, might have been supposed. The Regicide Commonwealth, which became the Government of the State, was indeed exposed to many perils at home and abroad, and it may be confidently asserted that the execution of the King was not only generally condemned on the Continent, but was resented by an immense majority of the people of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Yet there was no coalition of foreign Sovereigns, as in the case of the Revolution of France, to take up arms for the safety of Kings; there was no general rising in Great Britain and Ireland, against those who had overthrown the monarchy. There was hardly a strong exhibition of royalist feeling, as was seen in the outbreaks of La Vendée. This was doubtless due to many and various causes, to the divisions between the Continental Powers, and the terror inspired by the Cromwellian army; but that the Commonwealth was established with little difficulty is to be ascribed largely, we believe, to the fact that its leaders were prudent and wise men, and that its policy was, on the whole, moderate. Kingship and the House of Lords were indeed abolished, and the mutilated House of Commons became little more than an instrument of the dominant Council of State. But the atrocity and the recklessness which have characterised most great Revolutions were not commonly seen: there was not much blood-shedding, confiscation, or harsh violence; the change of government left the structure of society, for the most part, intact; the laws followed their accustomed course; the nation, as a whole, was not wronged or oppressed. Unlike the French Republic, its English fore-runner respected usage, custom, and even tradition; showed a marked tendency to practical reforms, especially to measures of good for the poor; and rejected wild and visionary ideas in politics. That this was the case was due, in a great measure at least, to the conservative instincts, and the strong sense of Cromwell.

The clouds, however, that gathered by degrees around the nascent Commonwealth were sufficiently dark. Mr. Gardiner's research has stood him in good stead in his account of the state of England at this period; he has easily surpassed every other historian. The risings of the defeated Cavaliers were trifling, and were put down without a serious effort; the awe inspired by

the New Model preserved the public peace. The large Presbyterian party in England, too, made but a weak response to their fellows in Scotland; they preferred the existing state of affairs to Monarchy, even under a covenanted King, in the person of the boyish Charles II. The chief dangers to the State, as Cromwell pointed out, with his superior insight, arose from the side of the Revolution and of those who had caused its triumph. The Fifth Monarchy men were a crazy faction, born of the extreme fanaticisms of the time, one, indeed, powerless, and of no importance; they were scarcely able to lift their heads. But the domination of the Council of State, and, above all, the rule of the sword were hateful to hundreds of thousands of Englishmen who had stood by the Houses in the Civil War, but were devotedly attached to English law and liberty, and believed Parliament the only guarantee for their rights, in fact the only security for good government. The most prominent leader of this party, having regard to its extreme side, was Lilburne, who soon became the head of the political Levellers as they were called. Mr. Gardiner describes the objects and aims of these men:—

‘Advocating direct government by a democratic Parliament, and the fullest development of individual liberty, the Levellers looked with suspicion on the Council of State, as a body which might possibly be converted into an executive authority independent of Parliament, and thoroughly distrusted Cromwell as aiming at military despotism. Well intentioned and patriotic as they were, they were absolutely destitute of political tact, and had no sense of the real difficulties of the situation, and, above all, of the absolute impossibility of rousing the popular sympathy on behalf of abstract reasonings.’ (P. 33.)

The Revolution too, as has often been seen in similar crises, produced a communistic movement: the True or Social Levellers gave some trouble:—

‘All landlords, Everard declared, were thieves and murderers. It was now time for the English, the true Israel, to free themselves from the landowners, the descendants and representatives of the Norman conquerors. Labourers were exhorted to work for hire no longer, but to dig the waste places for their own benefit. To the rulers, the Pharaohs of the day, was added a word of warning. “Therefore, if thou wilt find mercy, let Israel go free. Break in pieces quickly the band of particular property, disown this oppressing murder, oppression and thievery of buying and

selling of land, owning of landlords and paying of rents, and give thy free consent to make the earth a common treasury, without grumbling ; that the younger brethren may live comfortably upon earth as well as the elder, that all men may enjoy the benefit of the creation.” (P. 48.)

We seem to look back, as we read these words, to the figures of Jack Cade in the fifteenth century, and of Davitt and Henry George in the nineteenth.

Cromwell, as was to be expected, was the stern enemy of Levellers of every sort and kind :—

“ I tell you, sir,” said Cromwell, thumping on the table as he spoke, “ you have no other way to deal with these men but to break them, or they will break you ; yea, and bring all the guilt of the blood and treasure shed and spent in this kingdom upon your heads and shoulders.” (P. 39.)

The attitude of London, the strong centre of resistance to the King in the Civil War, was significant, too, of the state of opinion :—

‘ At the first meeting of the Common Council, which took place on January 13th, the Lord Mayor refused to put to the vote, or even to listen to a petition to the House of Commons, in support of the proceedings against the King, and for some hours maintained his position amidst a storm of outcries and abuse. At last he and the two aldermen who alone were present left the room, and thus, according to precedent, condemned the Council to impotence for want of a qualified chairman.’ (P. 43.)

Thousands of the citizens attended the funeral of a soldier shot for stirring up a mutiny against military law and rule :—

‘ The thousands of law-abiding citizens who took part in the procession were assuredly not moved by any sympathy with mutineers. Their protest was against military interference with political affairs. “ England,” Lilburne had said, when he was brought before the Council of State, “ is a nation, governed, bounded and limited by laws and liberties.” Lockyer was held to be a martyr because it was suspected that those who condemned him to death were of a contrary opinion.’ (P. 53.)

Part of the army, too, the real support of the Commonwealth, took the side of the Levellers and broke out in revolt, though these soldiers had peculiar grievances of their own. The rising was sternly repressed by Fairfax and Cromwell :—

‘ Fairfax had started early in pursuit, and after a splendid march, in which some of his cavalry covered forty-five miles, he drew near to Burford, at midnight. By his order Cromwell at once attacked the mutineers.

Roused from their sleep, and unprepared for a surprise, they made but short resistance. After a few shots nearly four thousand of them surrendered at discretion. The remainder were either quartered in the surrounding villages, or escaped under cover of the night.' (P. 59).

The defeat of the mutineers was made the occasion for rejoicings in the Oxford of the new era :—

'The now Puritan University gave to the successful soldiers the highest honours it could bestow. Fairfax and Cromwell donned the scarlet gowns of Doctors of Civil Law, whilst Harrison, Hewson, Okey, and other martial figures, were decked in the soberer costume which designates a Master of Arts.' (P. 61).

Beyond England the Commonwealth seemed most in danger, for the moment, from the side of Ireland. Ever since Strafford had been Lord Lieutenant, and especially since the Glamorgan Treaty, there had been fears that Protestant England would be invaded by an army of Popish Irish Celts; an attempt of this kind had, indeed, been made. And notwithstanding the weakness of Ireland, caused by the divisions of her races and faiths, and by the furious discords of recent years, the power of the Commonwealth in the island had almost disappeared in the Spring of 1649; a Royalist counter-revolution was thought imminent. The Confederate Catholics, the Catholics of the Pale, the loyalist settlers under Inchiquin were apparently combined to restore the Monarchy; Londonderry and Dublin were almost the only places that acknowledged the rule of the English Council of State, and these were either besieged or threatened. Ormond, the Lord Lieutenant, was sanguine that Ireland would soon be completely in his young master's hands; Charles II., with the advice of most of his counsellors, was making preparations for a royal entry to Dublin. The danger was so great that Monk, the Parliamentary general in the North, entered into negotiations with Owen Roe O'Neill, the leader of the Catholic Celts of Ulster, but the implacable foe of the Confederate Catholics; and O'Neill actually made overtures for an alliance with the chief men of the Commonwealth. Mr. Gardiner's research has largely increased our knowledge respecting these strange dealings—a proposed arrangement between the men stained with the guilt of the massacre of 1641, and the

rulers of Revolutionary England, who ere long avenged that crime by the Cromwellian conquest :—

‘The negotiations resulted in a cessation of hostilities, ending on July 3, in order that time might be given for the presentation to Parliament of certain propositions in O’Neill’s favour. . . . Father Crelley, the abbot of a Cistercian monastery at Newry, betook himself to England, where he was received by a small committee of five members of the Council of State. To them he propounded a plan for an alliance with Spain, in which Antrim and O’Neill should be included.’ (Pp. 87, 92).

Whether Cromwell even acquiesced in this policy—a discreditable makeshift, conceivable only from the circumstance of grave impending danger—has been disputed, and is not known; but it is impossible to suppose that he ever thought of making a lasting peace with the Irish Celtic rebels. Mr. Gardiner has little doubts on the subject :—

‘It is almost certain that till Monk’s letter reached him, Cromwell knew nothing of the actual terms of the agreement with O’Neill, and that he was absolutely opposed to any permanent alliance with the Ulster Celts.’ (P. 93).

The conduct of Cromwell, in fact, belies the notion that he could approve of, still less adopt this policy. He had denounced the massacre of 1641 in the Long Parliament; he believed that right lay wholly on the side of England in the protracted and envenomed quarrel with Ireland; he had the sternest Puritan hatred of Popery; he felt that England, for her own safety, must subdue Ireland. At this very time he was preparing the army which was to crush Irish rebellion to atoms; he was only delayed in beginning his Irish campaign by murmurs of his soldiery due to various causes. The first turn of the tide against Charles II. appeared in the great defeat of Ormond at Rathmines, which saved Dublin for the hardly pressed Commonwealth. How near the capital was falling appears from the following :—

‘In the city wagers were freely offered that Dublin had already surrendered at the enormous odds of £100 to 5s.’

Cromwell landed in Dublin, in August 1649, at the head of from 10,000 to 12,000 men, veteran soldiers of his unrivalled army. The island was conquered in about seven months

as it had never been before ; all resistance was, for the time, quelled. Mr. Gardiner hardly points out with sufficient clearness how admirable Cromwell's operations were ; he turned to the best account his command of the sea, and did not penetrate into a country, of which the climate was then fatal to English troops, until he had made the full weight of his sword felt. The account in these pages of the massacre of Drogheda is impartial and graphic, but it is perhaps useless to refer to any 'laws of war,' whether in the seventeenth or the nineteenth centuries, as an explanation of Cromwell's deeds. He doubtless wished to make a tremendous example ; he probably abhorred Aston and the English garrison, as being adherents of Popish rebels, even more than he abhorred Irish Celts themselves. We quote this description of the first scene of blood :—

'The deed of horror was all Cromwell's own. Till he spoke the words of fate, the soldiers above were breaking down the defences of the Mount, and some of them were offering quarter to its defenders. Cromwell's order put an end to those proffers of mercy, and with few exceptions the Royalists on the Mill Mount were butchered as they stood. Aston's head, it is said, was beaten in with his own wooden leg, which the soldiers had torn away in the belief that he had concealed treasure in it. Still Cromwell's wrath was not satiated. In the heat of action there stood out in his mind, through the blood and haze of war, thoughts of vengeance to be taken for the Ulster massacre confusedly mingled with visions of peace more easily secured by instant severity. Save at the storming of Basing House, he had never yet exercised the rights which the stern law of war placed in his hands ; but he had one measure for Protestants and another for "Papists," and especially for Irish "Papists." The stern command to put all to the sword who "were in arms in the town," leapt lightly from his lips.' (Pp. 132-3).

The massacre of Wexford followed that of Drogheda, and is carefully described by Mr. Gardiner ; his account differs from those of other historians who have attributed it, to some degree, to accident. It is probable, however, that the acts of piracy committed by the seamen of Wexford urged the English on ; the massacre at all events was bloody and complete. We cannot agree with Mr. Gardiner that these deeds of vengeance had little effect in terrifying the Irish into submission ; no doubt other Irish cities and towns held out, one the *urbs intacta* of Waterford, with success ; but Ireland was soon at the feet of Cromwell.

Unquestionably, however, this result was due to other causes besides military force and severity. The deep divisions of race and faith in Ireland soon made an end of the superficial union caused by the Royalist movement in favour of Charles. Protestant Ireland felt that the arms of Cromwell were the true means to support its ascendancy; Catholic Ireland was, as usual, split into factions, and in a short time was reduced to impotence. Broghill, Inchiquin, and the Anglo-Saxon colonists had ere long declared for the English Commonwealth; O'Neill had died—a forgotten hero—and the Confederate Catholics, and the Catholic Ulster Celts remained parted by angry hate. The victory of Cromwell, which, after all, was that of England, was easy and complete. History cannot say that it was matter for regret. We cannot approve of Cromwell's subsequent Irish policy, especially of his confiscations, huge and unjust; but England had been placed in danger by Irish rebellion; Ireland, through her weakness, almost invited a conqueror; and if the great champion of England was stern and pitiless, it is difficult to blame him for what he did in open war. The following is, on the whole, just:—

‘In the weakness of Ireland lies, in some sort, the justification of the Cromwellian Conquest. A nation politically ripe and strong with the consciousness of its unity, can be treated with respect as a friend or as a foe. A people divided internally, and without the elements of political organisation, invites the sword of the conqueror. . . . From the days of Strafford to the days of Ormond the apprehension of an irruption of an Irish army had weighed like a nightmare on the breasts of Englishmen, and what wonder was it that Englishmen roused themselves at last to bring the danger to an end.’ (Pp. 176-7).

England in a word, the ‘predominant partner,’ regarded an Irish armed invasion, in 1641-50, with much the same feelings of contempt and dislike, as she regards, at this moment, an Irish attack on her Parliamentary system by Irish Home Rulers.

Meanwhile, the death of Charles I. had provoked Scottish opinion against the English Commonwealth. Mr. Gardiner's account of the curious phases of the politics of Scotland, at this period, and generally of this passage of Scottish history, if com-

posed, in the main, from an English point of view, is, perhaps, the most instructive part of this volume. Scotland had begun the quarrel with Charles I.; a Scotch army had supported the Houses; Scotchmen had handed over the King to the English Parliament. But Scotland had still reverence for its ancient Monarchy, and a strong traditional dislike of the Southron; and the fate of the King was fiercely resented by the great body of the men north of the Tweed. Charles II. was proclaimed King at Edinburgh, under conditions; and even the leaders of the Kirk hoped that, unlike his father, he might sincerely accept the Covenant:—

‘On the 5th of February, Prince Charles was proclaimed his father’s undoubted heir, as “King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland.” The young King, however, before he could be admitted to the exercise of his royal dignity, was to give satisfaction concerning religion, the union of the Kingdoms, and the good and peace of Scotland, according to the National Covenant, and the Solemn League and Covenant.’ (P. 20).

Scotland, however, like Ireland, was rent into factions, though obstinacy and fierceness was the characteristic of these, not passionate hatred and essential weakness. Four parties divided Scottish opinion, each with conflicting aims and opposite views, if in some degree and in some points in agreement. Montrose was the chief of the extreme Loyalists; he had many of the aristocracy of Scotland on his side; and he had the sympathies of the English Cavaliers, and certainly of Charles II. and of his little Court in exile. He was also, not without support on the Continent; the rulers and ministers of more than one foreign Power regarded him with favour, as the one true friend of the Stuarts. In the eyes of the enthusiastic soldier of genius, the execution of Charles I. was a parricidal murder; and there was but one course to take, to seek aid from abroad, and to combine all that was loyal in the Three Kingdoms against the Regicides and their abhorred rule:—

‘The reception of the news of the execution of the late King had thrown Montrose into a frenzy of indignation. When he heard the bitter tidings he swooned away. As soon as he recovered, he vowed to dedicate the remainder of his life to the task of “avenging” the death of the royal martyr, and of re-establishing his son upon the throne which was his due. Then returning to his chamber, he refused for two days to admit even his

nearest friends. The fruit of this seclusion was the characteristic outburst :—

“ Great Good, and Just, could I but rate
My grief with thy too rigid fate,
I'd weep the world in such a strain,
As it should deluge once again.
But since thy loud-tongued blood demands replies
More from Briareus' hands than Argus' eyes,
I'll sing thine obsequies with trumpet sounds,
And write thine epitaph with blood and wounds.”

—(Pp. 21-2.)

The second party was that of Argyll, decidedly the strongest during the Civil War, but now losing credit because Argyll sought to temporise with the English Government, disliked the movement in favour of the House of Stuart, and looked mainly to his own interests. The Engagers formed the third party; that is the body of politicians who, with Hamilton, had dealt with Charles I. in the Presbyterian interest, and whose cause had been overthrown at Preston; but these were of little account for the moment. The fourth party was composed of the sincere followers of the Kirk; and unquestionably was the great mass of the people of Scotland in the lowlands, and a large minority beyond the Grampians. This powerful section of the Scottish nation was deeply attached to the Presbyterian faith, and strongly under the influence of the Presbyterian clergy; it wished to see Charles II. on the throne of the Stuarts; but it had not forgotten that it had stood up against four generations of the House; and it sought to place the young King under strict conditions, with reference not to Scotland alone, but to the government of the Three Kingdoms. We justly condemn the extreme views and narrow mindedness of many of its chiefs, especially of its clerical zealots; but it represented what was most vigorous and independent in the Scottish people, and it rightly distrusted the House of Stuart. For the moment it was on the side of Charles II. :—

‘The clergy, who were Argyll's chief supporters, were now thundering from the pulpit against his alliance with a sectarian English army. As the drama of the King's trial unfolded itself, the hostile feeling increased, and Charles's execution rendered it uncontrollable. Not only was it unendurable that a King of Scotland should be done to death by a purely English tribunal, but it was taken for granted that the causes which had

hindered a popular declaration in his favour, were buried in his grave. It was thought impossible that a second Charles should share in that inexplicable repugnance to the Covenant which had stood in the way of the first.' (P. 16).

Mr. Gardiner has dwelt in all their details on the negotiations which went on for months between Charles II. and the Commissioners sent by the Scottish Parliament at different times to him. Charles was usually at the Hague with the Prince of Orange; he held a little Court of which Hyde was probably the most trusted counsellor, with a few English and Scotch Cavaliers. His policy and inclinations alike led him to support the Royalist party in England, devoted, above all things, to their proscribed Church; to uphold Ormond and the Irish loyalists; to deal tenderly with the Confederate Irish Catholics, and to accept the Covenant for Presbyterian Scotland alone. But the extreme partisans of the Kirk had the upper hand; they would not listen to this kind of compromise, and ultimately they insisted on demands which must be pronounced outrageous:—

'They asked him to swear to the two Covenants, to assent to Acts establishing the Presbyterian system in England and Ireland, to share the Presbyterian discipline in his own person and household, and to engage men to make opposition thereto. Secondly, he was to acknowledge the legality of the late Sessions of the Scottish Parliament, and to agree that all Civil matters in Scotland should be determined by the Parliaments of that kingdom, and matters ecclesiastical by the General Assemblies of the Kirk. Finally he was to put in operation all Acts made "against the liberty or toleration of the Popish religion" in any of his dominions, and to make void all treaties contrary to these Acts, besides recalling all declarations issued in his name, and making void all commissions issued by himself, in case that such declarations or commissions were prejudicial to the Covenant. In other words he was to abandon both Ormond and Montrose. Even if Charles bowed himself under the yoke he was to receive no promise of armed assistance, all that the Commissioners had to say under this head was, that they were confident that if these proposals were accepted, "God would shine upon his counsels and affairs."' (Pp. 219-20).

These conditions would have made it impossible for Charles ever to reign in England and Ireland, and would have reduced him to a mere puppet in Scotland; they were accompanied too by humiliations and affronts. Cavaliers were banished from the young King's presence, and Scotch ministers lectured him on his

ungodly ways, and on his evident taste for the prelatial Church of England :—

‘ The ministers at least who had been deputed by the Kirk to wait upon Charles, could not close their eyes to his deficiencies as a Covenanting King. On one occasion he denied that the Scriptures were a perfect rule to settle all controverted questions, and even asked “ how people knew that it was the Word of God, but by the testimony of the Church.” As long as he remained at Breda he continued the use of the service book and his chaplains, and many nights he was “ balling and dancing till near day.” At last, on May 25th, the Commissioners of the Kirk were horrified by the news that he meant to communicate on his knees on the following morning.’ (P. 262).

Charles, with the meanness of a low and selfish nature, contented with faint protests to the Scottish terms, resolved when the occasion should come to set them at naught. The result was mutual distrust and dislike :—

‘ It is easy to see,’ continues the reporter of this scene, ‘ that the Scots’ edge is much taken off from him. They say they find nothing but vanity and lightness in him, and that he never will prove a strenuous defender of their faith ; and it is evident still that he perfectly hates them, and neither of them can endisemble, but each other knows it, and it is a matter of pleasant observation to see how they endeavour to cozen and cheat each other.’

It may be hardly fair to condemn the young king for playing a double game with his Scottish tyrants, though a true man would not have played it even for a crown. But the conduct of Charles to Montrose admits of no excuse : he had made him his lieutenant in Scotland ; while he was parleying with the Scottish Commissioners he was egging on Montrose to draw the sword in his behalf. Charles II. is more to blame for the fall of Montrose than his father was for the fate of Strafford ; the epitaph on both these great men may well be ‘ put not your trust in princes.’ Mr. Gardiner has described extremely well the last disastrous campaign of Montrose, but we can do no more than refer to his narrative. The bearing of the victim as he passed through Edinburgh, on his way to certain death, was what was to be expected of him :

‘ His hands were tied to the sides of the cart, in order, as it was said, that he might not be able to protect his face against stones or dirt thrown at him by the crowd which lined the street. It was also said that, with

the object of provoking the people to violence, many widows of men slain by his followers had been hired to appear in the throng. If this tale be true, those who had organised this cruel plot were grievously disappointed. So calm and majestic was the aspect of the captive that hands prepared to strike hung down, and hostile eyes were bedewed with tears. The Countess of Haddington, venturing to laugh, was silenced by a rude voice telling her that it would be better become her to ride in the cart as an adulteress. Argyle, too, had not thought it shame to seat himself in a balcony, together with his son, Lord Lorne, and Lorne's newly-married wife, to gloat over the misfortunes of the great enemy of their house, but they dared not meet the eye of Montrose. As they caught his unabashed gaze, they stealthily crept back into the house. "No wonder," cried an Englishman, who witnessed their retreat, "they start aside at his look, for they durst not look him in the face these seven years bygone." (P. 248).

This is Mr. Gardiner's picture of the last scene of the tragedy :

'After a few more words and an interval of silent prayer, Montrose submitted to have his hands bound ; and, protesting that he counted this more honourable than the jewel of the Garter, he bent his neck to receive the book and the declaration. Then stepping up the ladder, he met his death as calmly as he had been accustomed to watch the wavering fortunes of the battle-field. The remainder of the grim sentence was duly carried out. A hero had passed to his rest. For him it was better that a veil should be cast over the future of his beloved country, and of his idolised sovereign. A few more weeks of life would have revealed to him a Charles who was neither great, good, nor just, veiling his honour before the Covenanting crew, and seeking to gain his ends by walking in the crooked paths of deceit.' (P. 254).

Charles was made to feel the bitterness of shame as, his hands tied and bound, he made his way into Scotland. One of the first spectacles that met his eyes was a fragment of the corpse of Montrose on the gates of Aberdeen ; and the followers who had left Holland in his train, were with the exception of nine, forced to quit his kingdom. He was, however, basely as he had played for it, a recognised covenanted King of Scotland, and this meant war with the English Commonwealth. Fairfax resigned his nominal supreme command and Cromwell was placed at the head of the Parliamentary army ; nor is the reason difficult to ascertain. Fairfax had strong Presbyterian sympathies, and Cromwell was fresh from his Irish triumphs. The contest that followed has

been often described; we can only cite a few points in Mr. Gardiner's narrative which shews marks of no ordinary research. Cromwell advanced rapidly into the heart of the Lowlands, covered on his right flank by the English fleet; and his success for a time seemed certain, for the Scottish army, greatly inferior in numbers, was largely an assemblage of raw levies; and its best elements had been 'purged' away by the practices of the Kirk party who drove 'malignants' and 'engagers' out of the ranks. Cromwell, however, was confronted by David Leslie, a very able and experienced soldier, who, like Wallenstein before Gustavus, opposed to a bold offensive a stubborn defence, taking strong positions along the hills near Edinburgh; and Cromwell certainly temporised for a while, for he wished to make terms with the Presbyterian Scotch. His army was weakened by disease and want; he was baffled for the first and the last time in the field:

'Cromwell, in fact, had been thoroughly outgeneralled. Partly perhaps through the difficulty of carrying provisions so far from his ships, partly through his desire to avoid bringing his conflict with his brother Protestants to the arbitrament of battle, he had shown himself, for once in his career, halting and irresolute, whilst Leslie had on every occasion known his own mind, and had carried out his designs with promptness and resolution.' (P. 314).

In these circumstances Cromwell fell back on Dunbar; he probably was not in grave danger, for his army could have embarked in his ships; but an ignominious retreat appeared imminent. Leslie took a position on his adversary's flank and sent a detachment to occupy the defile that led to the main road to Berwick; he perhaps thought the Puritan army in the toils. Mr. Gardiner's account of the decisive fight that ensued in part differs from that of other historians; it probably is the most accurate. It has generally been supposed that the Scotch ministers urged Leslie to take the rash step of descending from the vantage ground of Doon, and throwing himself across Cromwell's front; but Leslie, it seems, made the movement himself under a false impression of his enemy's strength or his purpose. Cromwell, confident in the superiority of his veteran troops, in anything like a fair fight, seized the occasion and prepared to attack in full force:

' All through that day the eye of Cromwell had been on the Scottish army. It was not until four in the afternoon that Leslie's intention was revealed beyond dispute. By that time, horse, foot, and artillery were drawing down towards the right and taking up a position on the lower ground. Fixing his eye on the movements of the enemy, he turned to Lambert. "He thought," he told his Major-General, "it did give us an opportunity or advantage to attempt an attack upon the enemy." "I had thought," replied Lambert, "to have said the same thing to you." Monk was then called, and agreed with his superior officers.' (P. 322).

Yet faint hearted counsellors at this moment still advised a retreat :

' It was difficult for Cromwell to make all his officers share this confidence of his. At a last council of war in the evening, some at least of the colonels proposed to ship the foot, and let the horse cut their way through the enemy, thus insisting a repetition of the disaster which had befallen Essex at Lostwithiel. Against this poltroonery, Lambert—surely at Cromwell's instigation—protested, bidding the officers to be of better cheer, and predicting a victory for the morrow. At the prayer of one of the officers, Cromwell entrusted to Lambert the command of the line which was to make the attack.' (P. 323).

The battle of Dunbar was a second Flodden; the rout of Leslie's army was complete and decisive. Cromwell's tactical arrangements were, as always, excellent; he perfectly understood the importance of attacks in flank.

' With the rush of Lambert's cavalry the battle opened. Gallantly did the Scottish horse—though all unprepared, and, in some parts of the field at least, deserted by its officers—withstand their onset. Swords flashed and cannon roared, whilst the tide of battle swayed backward and forward across the pass. Before the issue was decided, the infantry regiments which had advanced round Broxmouth House appeared on the flank of the Scots. Cromwell himself was there in person to urge the advancing infantry to sweep well round to the left, thereby enclosing the whole body of the enemy in the net. Attacked in front and flank, the Scottish horse gave way, whilst so much of the infantry as had advanced in support of their countrymen, was broken up by combined charges of horse and foot. The retreat soon became a rout, and, at the moment that the sun rose out of the sea, Cromwell, crying, as his rough face lighted up with the joy of victory, "Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered," remorselessly pushed on "the flying horsemen over the ranks of their own infantry, scarcely roused from sleep, as they lay above the stream.'" (Pp. 325-7).

This disaster, as Cromwell at once perceived, was a heavy blow to the extreme Kirk party which had been, hitherto, in the

ascendant, and, in fact, had directed affairs in Scotland. A reaction set in, in favour of Charles; and though his conduct, if not devoid of cunning, was marked by characteristic baseness and weakness, the tide of Scottish opinion turned to him. It was in vain that ministers prayed and fasted; that the defeated army was again purged; that more humiliating duties were imposed on the King; that his levity and duplicity were more than ever manifest. The national feeling of Scotland prevailed indignant at the success of the Southron; the Scottish Parliament went over to the King; Argyle and his shuffling policy were set aside; and Royalists and Engagers became leaders of a people chafing at its late defeat. In the summer of 1651 Charles was really King of Scotland; he found himself at the head of an army, which though still under Leslie's command, and composed for the most part of Presbyterian Lowlanders, was recruited by thousands of the armed retainers of the northern nobles and the chiefs of the Highlands. The King owed his triumph to the force of circumstance; if it be true that he had shown adroitness in turning to account the course of opinion—the adroitness of an unscrupulous schemer:

‘Charles had in a few months gained a position in Scotland to which his father could never have attained. With no scruples to hold him back, he had lied his way into the commanding position which was now his. By temperament as well as by intelligence averse to any course which might arouse avoidable hostility, he was prompt to seize each opportunity as it offered, and to bear with steady but not violent pressure on the line of least resistance. It was Cromwell, indeed, who had discomfited the fanatics at Dunbar, but it was Charles who availed himself of the resulting growth of national feeling to disembarrass himself of all rivals.’ (P. 393).

The campaign that followed was the last and the most brilliant of Cromwell's career; but it opened under untoward auspices. The great Englishman was ill for many weeks; he was again opposed by Leslie, now doubly cautious in consequence of the lesson of Dunbar; and until the summer of 1651 he had achieved no success. Leslie, in fact, had kept the English army at bay, as he had kept it the year before; he held a central position between Linlithgow and Stirling; Cromwell had endeavoured in vain to compel him to fight; and the Scottish chief might have won but for rash counsels prevailing in the Royalist camp.

Charles and his nobles insisted upon an advance into England, where a Cavalier rising was deemed imminent; the way was open, for Cromwell was in Fife, perhaps in order to encourage his enemy's movement, and to lure him on to certain destruction, perhaps in order to drive Highland levies back; and the King set out southwards like Charles Edward in 1745. Cromwell, hurrying Lambert onward in pursuit, directed Harrison to hold the Scots in check, in front; and he followed rapidly with the main English army. The young King found few adherents on his way; the Scottish invasion, in fact, was regarded with dislike, even by the Royalist party in England; and at Worcester he was brought to bay by Cromwell, who had pressed forward with the energy of a great captain. In the battle that followed the English commander had an overwhelming superiority of force, perhaps 35,000 to 15,000 men; but Leslie held Worcester and both banks of the Severn; the Scotch fought with the stern heroism of their race; and it was not until Cromwell had crossed the Teme and the Severn, an operation that took some hours, had stormed the defences of Fort Royal, and had forced his way into the heart of the city that the Scottish army gave way and fled. The victory, however, was then the 'crowning mercy' referred to by Cromwell in his despatch; few of the routed Scots got over the Border; the military strength of Scotland was utterly broken.

Mr. Gardiner has thus described the decisive events of the battle:—

'At last, between two and three in the afternoon, the work was done. One bridge of boats was then flung across the Severn, just above its junction with the Teme, and another over the Teme itself. Fleetwood's division first crossed the Teme. Cromwell in person came to his assistance, and hurried regiment after regiment across the Severn. The enemy, strongly posted behind hedges, resisted stoutly. Hopeless as their position was, it was not in Scottish nature to give way without a struggle, and it was only after severe fighting that the Scots were driven from their cover, and retreated sullenly across the bridge into Worcester. Scarcely was this advantage gained when the battle was rekindled on the eastern side of the river. Charles and his advisers, watching the battle from the height of the cathedral tower, took advantage of the central position of the city to pour out of the Sidbury Gate against the forces now depleted by the absence of so many of their comrades who had gone to Fleetwood's

1p. Charles, descending from the tower, placed himself at the head of the troops, and with conspicuous gallantry fell upon the ranks of the enemy. For a moment the skilful movement proved successful, and the English ranks gave way, but Cromwell, perceiving the danger, hurried back over the bridge of boats with reinforcements, and compelled the Scots to give way in turn. Fort Royal, a strong, advanced work at the south-eastern angle of the city walls, was stormed, and its guns turned on the now disorganised masses of the Scottish army pressed back into the streets of the city. Great was the slaughter, though Cromwell, at the risk of his own life, rode up to the Scots to offer quarter. Save a few fugitives, all the survivors of the foot laid down their arms. The horse made its way out of the gates to force, if possible, a road to Scotland, but not a man succeeded in reaching home.' (Pp. 442-4.)

The conduct of the leaders of Scotland, at this juncture, has been described from the Puritan English point of view, by the most brilliant intellect of the time. The following is almost certainly from the pen of Milton; he had been made 'Latin Secretary' of the Council of State and perhaps wrote for the Government fugitive pieces :

'Now, when God hath opened the eyes of the Scots so far as to consider that they have an Ishbosheth among them, heir of a family of the very same complexion and condition, against whom destruction hath been written in broad characters by the special hand of Providence; that no party whatsoever that joins with it doth prosper; that by bringing him in they have undone themselves, their armies defeated, themselves cheated, and their country reduced even to the utmost extremity. And further, when they consider how they suffer all these miseries for one that mortally hates them and detests both their Kirk and Covenant . . . when they observe and remember what an attempt he made to run away to the Royalists in the north of Scotland, how he rejoiced at the defeat of Dunbar, and took occasion thereby to overtop all his tutors both of Kirk and State; the principal whereof he hath outed from command, and either discontented or debarred them from his counsels to make room for Cavaliers and malignants of all sorts and sizes, who now are the only courtiers. If they please likewise to consider that from such beginnings as these nothing but revenge will follow in the end; revenge for his father, revenge for his darling Montrose, that acted by his special commissions—and truly it must needs be justice on God's part if He permit him to revenge the deed upon the Scottish ringleaders, because they were so blindly and basely imparted as to bequeath the servant to a death of highest infamy on the gallows, and yet, at the same time take his master, that set him on work, into their bosoms—I say once again, if it please God to open the Scots' eyes and hearts to consider all these things . . . they cannot be ignorant which

way to make use and application of the former text for the saving of their nation.'

Worcester placed Scotland in the power of England; nearly the whole country had, before long submitted. Dundee was cruelly treated by Monk; but there was no massacre like that of Drogheda and Wexford; Scotland, unlike Ireland, knows not 'the curse of Cromwell.' The structure of her society was not broken up; there were no wholesale confiscations and deeds of rapine; there was no Scottish 'Cromwellian Settlement.' The distinction was largely due to the fact that Scotland was Protestant, Ireland Catholic; but other and special causes concurred; Cromwell had no mercy for Irish Celts stained, he firmly believed, with the most hideous crimes; he looked at Ireland as a barbarous rebellious province to be mastered and kept down by the sword of England. The subsequent history of the two countries unhappily shows what have been the results; Scotland has long ago forgotten Dunbar and Worcester; Ireland has never forgiven the Cromwellian conquest. The triumph of the arms of Cromwell completely ensured, in England, the rule of the already established Commonwealth. A few petty Cavalier troubles ceased; a few severe examples were made; but the Council of State acted, as before, with clemency. The attention, indeed, of the Regicide statesmen was chiefly directed to social arrangements, to a variety of measures for the relief of the poor, to the simplification of legal procedure, in the interest of the people, a subject Cromwell had always had at heart. One or two acts of vandalism were, indeed, done; the expenditure to maintain the army was immense; and treasures of art were sacrificed to add to the revenue, and the cathedrals of England narrowly escaped destruction.

'The old cathedrals of England were within a little of going the same way as the masterpieces of the painter's art. On February 18, a Parliamentary Committee advised that "all cathedral churches where there are other churches or chapels sufficient for the people to meet in for the worship of God be surveyed, pulled down and sold, and be employed for a stock for the poor." On April 4, Parliament resolved to make a beginning with Lichfield Cathedral, which, since the siege in 1643, had remained in a ruinous condition. In October the order was so far carried out that the lead was stripped off the roof. The great bell was broken up two years

Here, however, the forces of destruction were stayed. A cathedral in ruins might be sold and given to the poor; a cathedral not in ruins might still serve their spiritual needs. On August 15 it was resolved that "the minster of Peterborough should be employed for the public worship of God," if the inhabitants would bear the expense of maintaining the services. For a few months no more was heard of the demolition of cathedrals.' (P. 418.)

Mr. Gardiner has given us a graphic account, containing a good deal of new matter, of the adventures of Charles in his flight from Worcester and of his hairbreadth and lucky escapes. He has also written an important chapter on what he calls the sea Power of England—an expression borrowed from Captain Mahan; and has told us how Blake ruled in the Mediterranean, and how Ayscue compelled Royalist colonies in the Far West to bow before the flag of Puritan England. After Worcester most of the Powers of the Continent were ready to acquiesce in accomplished facts and to recognise the Revolution which had overthrown the Stuarts; Croullé, who had remained in England after the death of Charles I., advised Mazarin to treat with the Council of State, and gave emphatic testimony to the power and the merits of the men who directed affairs at Westminster.

'Not only are they powerful by sea and land, but they live without ostentation, without pomp, without emulation of one another. They are economical in their private expenses, and prodigal in their devotion to public affairs, for which each one toils as if for his private interests. They handle large sums of money, which they administer honestly, showing a severe discipline. They reward well, and punish severely.' (P. 346.)

The Civil War and the events that followed, as Mr. Gardiner truly remarks, had placed England in a most commanding position. The contest, which had been one between King and Parliament, had become one for English supremacy, and all that this implies in the three kingdoms. Drogheda, Wexford, Dunbar, Dundee, Worcester, were bloody passages that marked the triumph of England over Separatist Irish and Scotch movements sustained by the name of the House of Stuart. And it was because Cromwell represented England more ably and grandly than any other Englishman, when England asserted herself with effect, that his influence in the Commonwealth became all-powerful. Many of his acts in Ireland cannot be justified; but like

Bismarck in the present age, he crushed particularist interests in these islands; and he made England dominant within her natural borders. Like all the greatest of English rulers he saw that the Union of England, Scotland and Ireland, was essential to our existence as a leading power; he shaped the structure of our Empire in the still distant future.

WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS.

ART. VIII.—THE REPRESENTATIVE PEERS OF SCOTLAND.

WHEN the late Lord Drumlanrig, then eldest son and heir of the Marquis of Queensberry, formerly a Representative Peer of Scotland, was in 1893 created Barou Kelhead in the Peerage of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and thus elevated over his father's head, and, as it were, in his father's stead, into the Second Chamber of the Imperial Parliament, a good deal of surprise was expressed by the general public, and it was hinted in some quarters that Lord Queensberry had been unfairly treated. But, whatever may be the claims of the present Lord Queensberry to a seat in the House of Lords, Her Majesty's advisers in adopting, for reasons which doubtless appeared to them good and sufficient, this method of bestowing an United Kingdom peerage upon the Queensberry family, only fell back on a precedent which, having regard to its application, may be termed ancient. During the seventy odd years of the last century which elapsed between 1712 and 1786, this was the customary method by which Peers of Scotland, not elected to represent their fellows, obtained admission to the Upper House of the common Parliament of Scotland and England, united as Great Britain. To understand fully the nature and reason of the proceeding it is necessary to take a brief look back at antecedent facts of history.

The Union effected between the two kingdoms in 1707 is usually termed a corporate or incorporating Union, and it certainly cannot be called federal. But although in many

respects, as for example with regard to the maintenance of Scots Law, and the provisions as to the two Established Churches, it partook in reality of a federal rather than an incorporating character, and although as regards the representation of the English and Scottish Commons in the Lower House of Parliament it was very distinctly corporate, in its treatment of the Scottish Peerage relatively to the Peers of England it was neither incorporating nor yet federal. Had the Union been an incorporating one as regards the Peers of Scotland, they would of course have taken their seats in a body in the Great British House of Lords. Had the Union, on the other hand, been federal, the English Peerage, like the Peers of Scotland, would for the future have been represented in the Upper House by their elected deputies. It may be that an equality of representation, having each kingdom for a unit, would have been adopted, as is the case with the States represented in the Senate of the American Union. Or it may be that other considerations would have been allowed to carry weight, and that England through her Peerage would have received such a preponderance of representation compared with Scotland, as Prussia now enjoys in relation, say, to Bavaria or Saxony, in the Bundesrath or Federal Council of the German Empire. But in either case the Peers of England would no longer have sat in person, but, like the Peers of Scotland at the present time, by deputy.

The relative importance of the two Peerages, the exaggerated numbers of the Scottish Peers in proportion to the wealth and population of their country, as compared with the numbers of the Peers of England, international jealousy, suspicion, and distrust, but most of all the unbending arrogance and overwhelming pride of the English Peers, forbade both a federal and an incorporating settlement, and as a result we have the Scottish Representative Peers system as we know it. But it is not to criticise or animadvert upon the terms of the Union, unjust, invidious, and derogatory as these may have been, that these remarks are offered, but to supply the key to the course of subsequent events.

Not satisfied with confining the representation of the Scot-

tish Peers in Parliament to their sixteen deputies, the English Whig Peers went a step further, and, moved by the instigation of party feeling and national jealousy, attempted, for a time with only too much success, to impose upon the Peers of Scotland a permanent disqualification for membership of the post-Union Peerage of Great Britain. Under the Stuarts, before the Parliamentary Union, Scotsmen, both Peers and Commoners, had been freely created Peers of England. Centuries before even the Union of the Crowns, scions of Scottish royalty had held English Earldoms. David I., before his accession to the throne, had acquired the Earldoms of Huntingdon and Northampton, in right of his wife Maud, heiress of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland. Henry, his son, was created Earl of Huntingdon in 1136, and Earl of Northumberland in 1139.* Malcolm IV. was Earl of Huntingdon in 1157, and William the Lion Earl of Northumberland in 1152. David, the younger brother of Malcolm and William, was created Earl of Huntingdon, 'and probably of Cambridge,' in 1185, and 'Elected Chief and Leader of the revolted English nobles' in 1174, he was 'deprived of all English honours' in the same year. Restored in 1185, and 'recognized as Earl of Cambridge and Huntingdon in 1205;' he was again deprived in 1216, and again restored two years later.† John Le Scot succeeded his father David as Earl of Huntingdon and Cambridge in 1219, and succeeded, in right of his mother, to the Earldom of Chester in 1232. Gratifying as such honours, and the appendant lands, may have been to individual members of the royal family, they eventually came to be regarded by the Scottish nation as but a poor satisfaction for their reluctantly abandoned hopes of permanently extending their southern frontier to the Tyne or Tees.

Under the early Stuart Kings of England the Peerages of three kingdoms were employed as a means of confirming and cementing the union of all their subjects. A cadet branch of their own royal house held the Scottish Dukedom of Lennox in conjunction with the English Dukedom of Richmond, and

* James Doyle. *Official Baronage of England.*

† Doyle.

the English Earldoms of Lichfield and March. The second Marquis of Hamilton was created Earl of Cambridge in 1619, a title which became extinct in 1651. James, Lord Hay in the Peerage of Scotland, was created Earl of Carlisle in England; and George, Lord Hume of Berwick in the Peerage of England, was created Earl of Dunbar in Scotland. John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington in Scotland, was created Earl of Holderness in England; and the unhappily notorious Robert Kerr was created Viscount Rochester and Earl of Somerset. Patrick Ruthven, a Royalist and Swedish general, was created Earl of Forth in 1642, and Earl of Brentford in 1644. The first Earl of Elgin was created Lord Bruce of Whorlton in 1641, and the second Earl, after the Restoration, was created Earl of Ailesbury. Under Charles II. the Duke of Lauderdale was created Earl of Guilford, and so late as the reign of Queen Anne, but before the Union,

‘Argyll, the State’s whole thunder born to wield,
And shake alike the Senate and the field,’

had been created Earl of Greenwich.

Englishmen, in like manner, had in the seventeenth century been raised to Scottish Peerages. Edward Barret, an English Chancellor, of the Exchequer, was created Baron Newburgh* in 1627. Sir Henry Cary, an English Viceroy of Ireland, was created Viscount Falkland in 1620. The first Lord Fairfax, father of the Parliamentary commander, came of a Yorkshire family, and the first Viscount Osborne of Dunblane was a younger son of the first Duke of Leeds. An English Baronet, Sir Richard Graham, was created Viscount Preston in 1681, and the future Duke of Marlborough first entered the Peerage of the British Isles, in 1682, as Lord Churchill of Eymouth in Scotland. Monmouth had been created Duke of Buccleugh on his marriage with the heiress of the Scotts, and the first Lord Dingwall was an Irishman, Richard Preston, Earl of Desmond.

The Parliamentary Union put an end to this reciprocity of honours so far as Scotland and England were concerned,

* *Masso Milton I., 5.*

though the practice of conferring Irish peerages on Englishmen and Scotsmen was continued, and, from the accession of the House of Hanover, greatly extended and grossly abused. Thenceforth no more Peers of Scotland or England were to be created, but the rights and privileges belonging to the English peerage were to be inherited by the new and common peerage of Great Britain.

No words had been introduced into the Treaty, or the Acts, of Union debarring the Crown from recruiting the ranks of this new Peerage of Great Britain, as from among any of its other subjects, so also from among the members of the ancient Baronage of Scotland. Not a hint of any such intention had been given at the time. Nevertheless, when the fourth Duke of Hamilton was created Duke of Brandon in 1712,* the English Whig majority in the House of Lords refused to allow him to take his seat. Without even condescending to go through the form of taking the opinion of the judges, which would undoubtedly have been given against them, they resolved by a majority of five votes that, while the Crown had an undoubted right of bestowing peerages of Great Britain upon Peers of Scotland, such peerages carried with them no right of sitting or voting in the House of Lords. Excluded by their own prudent determination and sagacious foresight from eligibility to the House of Commons, since, had their pre-Union eligibility been maintained, their enemies would beyond question have asserted, perhaps not unsuccessfully, that they were Commoners, those Peers of Scotland who failed to secure election as the representatives of their order, were now, by the action of the Whig party, under the guidance of Cowper and Somers, to be constituted a class of political pariahs, for ever incapable of acquiring the right of sitting in person in the House of Lords.

Nor was this all that the Whigs had in store for them, for by the Peerage Bill introduced seven years later, even that which they had was to be taken away from them, and the representation of the corpus of the Scottish Peerage was to be

* Sir Harris Nicholas, *Historic Peerage of England*.

abolished in order that twenty-five hereditary seats in the Upper House might be allotted to as many members of their order arbitrarily selected by a Whig ministry. Of the other provisions of the Bill it is unnecessary to say more than that by their operation the numbers of the Peerage then existing could never have been raised by more than six, except in the case of members of the royal family. Introduced into the House of Lords by 'the proud Duke of Somerset,'*—a descendant of that upstart Pretender who styled himself in semi-royal fashion, 'Edward, by the grace of God, Duke of Somerset,'†—'it was in truth,' says Macaulay, 'devised by the Prime Minister.' That Prime Minister was the third Earl of Sunderland, and of him the great historian says again, 'To curtail, for the benefit of a small privileged class, prerogatives which the Sovereign possesses, and ought to possess, for the benefit of the whole nation, was an object on which Spencer's heart was set.'‡

Passed without difficulty through the House of Lords, where it received the interested support of the Dukes of Montrose and Roxburgh, it was strenuously opposed in the Commons by Sir Robert Walpole, who was at that time in opposition, and also by Steele—on whom the Ministers took a base and cowardly revenge, 'reducing him,' says Mr. Lecky, 'to complete ruin,'§—and was thrown out by a majority of nearly a hundred votes.

But, while this yet more serious danger in 1719 was thus happily averted, the earlier resolution, flagrantly unjust though it was, and, as the event showed, flagrantly illegal, continued to operate to the disadvantage of the Scottish Peerage. For the seventy years during which it remained in force, it was impossible to directly contravene it. Nevertheless, a commendable and pious ingenuity discovered more than one way of circumventing it. One method, which, as the less important, may be considered first, is pointed out in a passage

* Macaulay, *Addison*.

† Froude. *History of England*, Vol. V., ch. 24.

‡ Macaulay. *History of England*, ch. 23.

§ *History of England*, Vol. I., ch. 2.

of Horace Walpole's Letters. Mary (born Wortley Montagu), wife of George III.'s minister, the (third) Earl of Bute, had been created Baroness Mount-Stuart, with remainder to her issue male by that husband. 'This,' says Walpole, writing on March 17, 1761, to Sir Horace Mann, 'is a sensible way of giving an English [*i.e.*, Great British] peerage to her family regularly, and approved by all the world, both from her vast property and particular merit.' However sensible, it was, as we shall presently see, by no means a certain and secure way of establishing a Great British peerage in the Bute family, for its ultimate success, so far as regards a seat and vote in the House of Lords, was contingent on the decease of the Baroness before her husband. 'It was held' in 1776, says Sir Harris Nicholas in attempting to explain the curious limitations of the Mansfield titles, 'that a Peer of Scotland was disqualified from taking an English [or Great British] peerage even in remainder.' That is to say, speaking with complete accuracy, he might take it, but he could not take advantage of it. He got the title, but not the seat and vote. Thus, for example, the second Duke of Queensberry had in 1708 been created Duke of Dover. 'This,' notes Sir Harris Nicholas, 'was the first peerage of the United Kingdom'; he had, by an anticipatory defiance of the resolution of 1712, actually sat in Parliament as a Peer of the Union, a fact which is sufficiently explained by his membership of the Whig party. But to the second Duke of Dover, as to the first Duke of Brandon, a writ of summons was refused. Nevertheless, in spite of the dictum of Sir Harris Nicholas, Elizabeth Gunning, widow of the sixth Duke of Hamilton, and wife of the fifth Duke of Argyll, was in 1776 created Baroness Hamilton, with remainder to her issue male. The practical effect of this, as regards a seat in Parliament, never came to be determined, for her eldest son died in his mother's lifetime, and her second son, the eighth Duke of Hamilton, did not succeed her in the Barony till 1790, eight years after the resolution of 1712 had ceased to be in force.

The Mount-Stuart peerage was open to no such objection, for the eldest son of Lord and Lady Bute being a Commoner

at the time of its creation, had he remained a Commoner, and had the Countess predeceased the Earl, would have had the benefit of the system which we are about to consider. As a matter of fact, however, he was himself created Baron Cardiff in her lifetime, and the Mount-Stuart Barony, so far as it affected him only, was thereby made of none effect.

But besides this circuitous and insecure method of seating a Peer of Scotland in the House of Lords, there was another means, at once more simple and more efficacious, of bringing about the same result. This was, in the lifetime of a Peer of Scotland, to create his son and heir a Peer of the United Kingdom. At the time of his creation the son and heir was a Commoner, and therefore as fully entitled to take advantage of his Union peerage as anybody else. It could not be pretended that his subsequent misfortune of inheriting a Scottish peerage ought to exclude him from a Chamber in which he already occupied a seat. Such a doctrine would have had too wide an application, for, so many Scottish peerages descending through females, the inheritance of one was a calamity which might in the course of time befall even the proudest of 'proud Dukes of Somerset.' In 1711, among the twelve Peers whose creation by the Tory Ministry formed afterwards one of the charges in the Whig impeachment of Lord Oxford, was the eldest son of the sixth Earl of Kinnoull, who was created Baron Hay of Pedwardine. After the resolution of 1712 this precedent was extensively followed. The heir-apparent of the first Duke of Roxburgh was created Earl Ker in 1722, and though the Earldom, like other peerages of this nature, is now extinct, among those which survive are the 1722 Earldom of Graham held by the Duke of Montrose, and the 1766 Baronies of Sundridge and Cardiff held by the Duke of Argyll and the Marquess of Bute. It was this practice which was revived in 1893 by the Gladstone-Rosebery Administration in creating Lord Drumlanrig a Peer of the United Kingdom.

At length, in 1782, the unanimous opinion of the judges pronounced that the resolution of 1712 was thoroughly illegal, and this disgraceful outcome of national prejudice and party hatred was thereupon rescinded. In 1786 the Earl of Aber-

corn was created Viscount Hamilton in the peerage of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, and from that time the creation of Scottish Peers as Peers of the Union has gone on unimpeded. Thirty-six members of the peerage of Scotland, being of age and not otherwise disqualified, are now entitled to sit in person in the House of Lords as Peers of the United Kingdom. The steadily progressive increase in later years of such creations strongly emphasises two patent facts, viz. : (1) that the distinction instituted at the Parliamentary Union between Peers of Scotland and Peers of England or the Union is now as absurd and antiquated as it has always been invidious, and that it ought to become equally obsolete; and (2) that the Scottish Representative Peers system, owing largely to these creations, has become a farce which ought to be abolished.

Let us take the first point first. The Union Roll as originally framed contained 10 Dukes, 3 Marquesses, 75 Earls, 17 Viscounts, and 49 Barons. To these have been subsequently added 1 Duke (Rothesay), 2 Marquesses, 3 Earls, and 6 Barons, bringing the total to 166. Of these, nineteen peerages have since the Union become extinct (2 Dukes, 9 Earls, 4 Viscounts, and 4 Barons). Eighteen peerages have been merged in higher, or conjoined with equal dignities (1 Duke, 10 Earls, 2 Viscounts, and 5 Barons). Fourteen peerages, whose holders after 1715 or 1745 suffered for their loyalty to the Stuarts, are still under an honourable attainder which has not been reversed (9 Earls, 12 Viscounts, and 3 Barons). Twenty-eight peerages are dormant (1 Marquis, 6 Earls, 4 Viscounts, and 17 Barons). Thus there are now actually extant eighty-seven Scottish peerages (8 Dukes, 4 Marquesses, 44 Earls, 5 Viscounts, 24 Barons, and 2 Baronesses in their own right). Out of these eighty-seven, forty-nine (8 Dukes, 3 Marquesses, 25 Earls, 2 Viscounts, and 11 Barons) are held in combination with peerages of England, of Great Britain, or of Great Britain and Ireland.

Thirty-six Peers of Scotland, as we have seen, have been created Peers of the Union; of whom, however, one, the sixth Earl of Wemyss, was not at the time a *de facto* Peer of Scot-

land, the 1746 attainder of his ancestor not having been reversed till 1826, while his Union Barony dates from 1821. Two Peers of Scotland (the Duke of Buccleugh and the Duke of Lennox) were Peers of England at the time of their creation. The Dukedom of Monmouth is still under attainder, but the Earldom of Doncaster (of 1663) was restored to the Scotts in 1743. Seven Scottish peerages have been inherited by Peers of the Union—the Earldom of Kinnoul by Lord Hay in 1714, the Dukedom of Montrose by Earl Graham in 1742, the Dukedom of Argyll by Lord Sundridge in 1770, the Earldom of Bute by Lord Cardiff in 1792, the Barony of Forrester by Lord Verulam in 1808, the Earldom of Sutherland by the Duke of Sutherland in 1839, and the Barony of Dingwall by Earl Cowper in 1871. Three Peers of Scotland have inherited peerages of England or the Union—Viscount Dunblane the Dukedom of Leeds in 1712, Viscount Stormont the two Earldoms of Mansfield in 1793 and 1843, and the Earl of Loudoun the Barony of Botreaux in 1871. And one Scottish peerage, the Dukedom of Rothesay, is inseparably united with the English Dukedom of Cornwall.

At the time of the Union the Peerage of Scotland, estimated by an English standard, was disproportionately large. There were more than a hundred and fifty Peers of Scotland, and not more than a hundred and seventy Peers of England. Had the Peers of Scotland been admitted into the House of Lords in a body, Scotland would have obtained a representation to which, if we have regard alone to her wealth and population, she could not in fairness be said to be entitled. Now there are, or in January, 1894, there were, five hundred and eleven Peers and Peeresses in their own right of England or the Union. Deducting from these the forty-nine Scottish Peers who are also Peers of England and the Union, four hundred and sixty-two remain. It is manifest, therefore, that the proportion between the Peerages has wholly changed. At the time of the Union the two Peerages were nearly equal, now those Peers of England and the Union who are not also Peers of Scotland are more than five times as numerous as the whole Scottish Peerage. At the time of the Union there were

important English interests to be conserved by the exclusion of the Peers of Scotland. Now, there is no danger whatever to be anticipated to the Church of England, or anything else peculiarly English, from the admission *en bloc* of the twenty Peers of Scotland, who, notwithstanding the Representative Peers system, are still left outside.

If the inclusion of some Peers of Scotland in the rights and privileges of the Union Peers, and the exclusion of others from the same, were based on any intelligible principle, it could be comprehended. But it is to a very great extent a mere matter of chance, almost purely arbitrary and capricious. Thus out of the thirty-eight Scottish peerages which do not find direct representation in the House of Lords, more than a fourth were formerly united with peerages of the United Kingdom. The Earldoms of Glasgow, Lauderdale, and Caithness, were directly represented until the other day. The next Lord Nairne will in all human probability sit in person in the House of Lords, but the next Lord Herries, the next Lord Dingwall, and the next Lord Reay, will probably be devoid of the direct representation enjoyed by their immediate predecessors. It may be a matter of indifference to a Peer who can secure election, whether he sits as a Representative Peer or as a Peer of the United Kingdom, but his non-inclusion in the Union Peerage is a practical injustice to the Peer who might otherwise sit to represent his fellows, and who is now disqualified for both Houses. The Irish Peer without a seat in his own right in the House of Lords, if he cannot secure election as a Representative, can woo the suffrages of a more popular constituency, but the Scottish Peer who cannot force his way into the Second Chamber, is altogether left out in the cold. Neither for love nor money can he obtain a seat in the Imperial Parliament. He is in the position of Mohammed's coffin, or Bailie Nicol Jarvie—dangling between heaven and earth.

Furthermore, there has sprung up what may be called a post-Union Peerage of Scotland. Not only have men of Scottish family, with estates wholly, or principally, situated elsewhere, such as the Marquess of Zetland, the Earl of Wharn-

cliffe, Lord Derwent, Lord Erskine, Lord Penrhyn, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, been embodied in the Union Peerage, but Peers of the Union have been created from men whose origin and *habitat* were alike Scottish, such as the Duke of Fife, the Earls of Minto, Rosslyn, Camperdown, Lord Melville, Lords Abercromby, Tweedmouth, Moncrieff, Lamington, Stratheden, Blythswood, and Hamilton of Dalzell. Thus the whole point of the distinction between Peers of Scotland and Union Peers has been destroyed. These Scottish Peers of the Union are Scotsmen equally with Peers of Scotland. But for the Union, they would have been created Peers of Scotland. An artificial and unnatural privilege has therefore been established in favour of those Peers, being Scotsmen, whose ancestors at the time of the Union were Scottish Commoners. On what principle, even of 'the representation of localities,'* can the possession of the rights and privileges of an Union Peer by Lord Hamilton of Dalzell be justified, which does not condemn their non-extension to the Earl of Haddington? And if we adopt a worthier and higher line of argument, and look upon the Peers of Scotland and the Scottish Peers of the Union alike as representatives of the historic and indestructible nationality of Scotland, is it not absurd that the holders of such dignities as the Earldom of Buchan, the Earldom of Morton, and the Earldom of Dundonald, should have to rely upon election for their chance of a seat in the House of Lords, whilst the heads of junior branches of their families sit there in their own right in Lord Erskine, Lord Penrhyn, and Lord Lamington?

Not only have Scottish Commoners been created Peers of the Union, but Scottish peerages have passed into English families. The Earldom of Sutherland is now held, not by a Sutherland or Gordon but by a Gower; the Earldom of Loudoun, not by a Campbell, but by an Abney-Hastings (Clifton). And among the holders of those peerages of Scotland which are not associated with a Union or English peerage, the Earl of Mar is not an Erskine, but a Goodeve, the Earl of Rothes, not a Leslie, but a Haworth. The Earl of Orkney, by descent,

* *Edinburgh Review*, October, 1893.

and the Baroness Nairne, by marriage, belong to the Irish family of Fitzmaurice. The Baroness Kinloss is by birth a Grenville, by marriage a Morgan; the Earl of Dysart is a Manners, and Lord Ruthven is a Hore. Seventeen out of the eighty-seven Scottish peerages are held by those who, previous to the Union of the Crowns, would have been foreigners. And of these, two are scarcely to be counted among even our present fellow-subjects, for the Earl of Newburgh, although technically naturalized, is to all intents and purposes an Italian, the Roman Prince Giustiniani; and Lord Fairfax of Cameron is, in law as well as fact, a citizen of the United States. The next heir to Lord Reay is a Dutch Baron. So that not only has a post-Union Scottish Peerage of the Union sprung up, but the original Peerage of Scotland has been to a considerable extent denationalized. It is in a territorial, rather than a national sense, that the Representative Peers system can now be said to represent 'locality.'

The extension to more than one-half of the Peers of Scotland of seats, as of right, in the Upper House of the Imperial Parliament, puts in a stronger light the absurdity of the Representative Peers system. The forty-nine Peers of Scotland who represent themselves in person in the House of Lords are represented over again by the sixteen deputies of the whole Scottish Peerage. They are not deprived of their votes for the Representatives. When the present Marquis of Queensberry lost his seat as a Representative, he lost it through the votes of Peers who were members in their own right of the Second Chamber. Whether his exclusion was desirable or not, it ought not to have been effected in this manner. This was only an extreme example of the way in which the votes of those Peers of Scotland who are not also Peers of England or the Union may be neutralized, and their representation nullified, by the action of those Peers of Scotland *and* the Union, who have no moral right to interfere in the election of Representatives at all. The sufficient absurdity of their dual representation is aggravated by the gross unfairness it involves to their less favoured fellows.

A comprehensive survey of the situation points, then, to the

unavoidable conclusion that the distinction, always invidious, and now preposterous, between Peers of Scotland and Peers of England or the Union, ought to be abolished, and the Peerage of Scotland placed in all respects on an equal footing with the Peerage of England, Great Britain, and the United Kingdom.

The late Sir Thomas Erskine May, created just before his death Lord Farnborough, was of opinion that this would naturally take place through the gradual extension of Union peerages to all the remaining members of the Peerage of Scotland. But in this view he was entirely mistaken. We have seen already that a large number of Scottish peerages were formerly, but are no longer, associated with Union or English peerages. To quote a few instances only, the ninth Earl of Haddington was created Baron Melros in the Union Peerage in 1827, but on his death in 1858, this Barony became extinct. The 1791 Barony of Douglas of Lochleven, created for the eighteenth Earl of Morton, expired with him in 1827. The tenth Earl of Strathmore was created Lord Bowes in 1815, but it was only the other day when this Barony was revived in favour of the present Earl. The fifth Marquis of Queensberry was created Baron Solway in 1833, but the present Marquis has no seat in the House of Lords, either as Union Peer or Representative. The 1806 Barony of Lauderdale, the 1815 Glasgow Barony of Ross, and the 1832 Falkland Barony of Hunsdon, are all numbered with the past. The usual limitation of an Union peerage is to the first Peer and the heirs of his body male. A Peer of Scotland, therefore, may have no heir to an Union peerage which he has acquired or inherited, and hundreds of heirs to his Scottish peerage. By natural consequence, Union and Scottish peerages, at one time united, are perpetually dissociated.

In the same way many Scottish peerages descend to and through females, and passing for a time through an heiress into a family with an Union peerage, pass out of it again in like manner. The only solution of the difficulty is to deal with it by legislation.

It has been said that all Peers of Scotland should be placed

on a footing with the Peers of England and the Union. But this is not to imply that either the one or the other should sit in the House of Lords for all time on precisely the same terms as the latter do at present. Rather it is intended to convey that Peers of England and the Union should, like the Scottish Peers, be represented in the Upper House by their elected deputies returned to each Parliament. A reform of the House of Lords ere many years have passed is a certainty. Its necessity has been urged by such Conservative Peers as Lord Pembroke and Lord Dunraven, and (in the direction of Life Peers) has been attempted by Lord Salisbury. Lord Rosebery has committed himself to a policy of renovation rather than destruction, and the most fiery advocates of the latter course have never yet been able to point out by what constitutional means it could, in sober reality, be carried out. Assuming, therefore, a reform in the tenure of their seats by the Peers by inheritance, and perhaps those Peers by creation, who are not, like the Lords and ex-Lords of Appeal, legally Life Peers, they might well be divided into two classes. In the first would be placed all those Peers who were or had been Secretaries or under-Secretaries of State, heads of great Government departments, Judges, Ambassadors, Ministers Plenipotentiary, Colonial and Indian Governors, Admirals and Generals. To these a writ of summons would issue as of right. The residue of the Peers, devoid of such qualifications, would have to rest content with representation by deputy. The whole five Peerages of Scotland, England, Ireland, Great Britain, and Great Britain and Ireland would be placed on the same footing.

Such a reform may, after all, be still a long way off, but in the meantime there is another way of dealing with the Peers of Scotland, which is to confer on them at once, by legislation, the rights of Union and English Peers, abolishing the Representative Peers system. Only eighteen new members would by this measure be brought into the House of Lords in the immediate present, since of the twenty-two peerages of Scotland which now find no place there, two are held by ladies, one by a legal, and one by an actual foreigner. It may be said that a similar claim would be put forward on behalf of the ninety Irish Peers who

are not now Peers of England and the Union. But although it might be put forward, it could not carry equal weight. These Irish Peers, with perhaps twenty exceptions, are nearly all of eighteenth century creation, and constitute the greatest blemish of the Peerage of the British Isles. They form, in fact, the sole extenuation of the malicious charge advanced against the Peerage, of deficiency in distinction and nobility of origin. Sometimes, indeed, they happen to be Englishmen or Scotsmen wholly unconnected with Ireland, to whom the previous and following remarks could have no application. But the remainder, for the most part, are the lineal descendants of Elizabethan and Cromwellian 'adventurers,' not of distinguished race in the country of their ancestors, and with no acquired right to veneration or attachment in the land of their adoption. The Scotland that the Scottish Peerage represents is the Scotland of Bannockburn. Their ancestors led the ancestors of the Scottish people to the great triumph of national freedom. But the Ireland that these Irish Peers represent is the Ireland of Orange ascendancy and Penal Laws. Politically, the sudden admission of so many Irish Peers into the House of Lords would be in the last degree unwise and inadvisable, and historically and socially it would be without justification. Neither through popular sentiment, nor through their own wealth, are they any longer a power in the land. But it is enough to rest the case for a distinction on the difference in numbers, the difference between eighteen and sixty-two. The population of Scotland has increased in proportion to her Peerage; that of Ireland in the same proportion has diminished, and Ireland is already over-represented in the Upper House almost as much as in the Lower.

In one or other of the ways indicated, the absurdities and inequalities which now exist in the Scottish Representative Peers system ought to be corrected, and the Peers of Scotland put on a footing of absolute equality with the Peers of England and the Union.

WM. C. MACPHERSON.

ART. IX.—LOCAL TAXATION IN SCOTLAND.

IT is the fate of most Blue Books to appear, be summarised, and then be forgotten, leaving as sole permanent record an entry in the accounts of disbursements of Her Majesty's Stationery Office. But at times appears a volume, which, despite its cerulean cover, has an enduring interest and value—something altogether superior to the interminable answers of voluble witnesses and the contradictory opinions of irreconcilable Royal Commissioners. Those who, for their sins, have to consult and analyse the Parliamentary publications as they appear, know best how to appreciate the recent 'Report on Local Taxation in Scotland,' of the ex-Vice-Chairman of the extinct Board of Supervision, and present Vice-President of the new Local Government Board for Scotland. This publication is timely in that it synchronises with the beginning of a new era in Scotch Local Government, and with a proposal for a new branch of local taxation in connection with the fisheries. It is not exactly the kind of book with which to spend a happy day by some burn-side in the leafy month of June, but it is the kind of book without which no Scotch politician's library will be complete—if he has one. As in the terms of Mr. Dalziel's motion, the House of Commons has declared that 'it is desirable to devolve upon Legislatures in Ireland, Scotland, Wales and England respectively, the management and control of their domestic affairs,'—it is surely not less desirable that each of these 'kingdoms' should have a thorough knowledge of its own Finance. National existence implies the leaguering together of communities for some positive end, which may either be the exaltation of the national name and fame, or the promotion of the national health, or the extension of the national wealth by the development of trade. The modern national spirit takes the form of municipal enterprise, the leading idea of which, according to Mr. Chamberlain, is that of a joint stock or co-operative enterprise in which every citizen is a shareholder, and of which the dividends are receivable in the comfort and happiness of the community. Regarded in

this light, and looking upon each rural area as a municipality in the rough—not to say the raw—local taxes are equivalent to the calling up of shares by instalments; only that the liability is unlimited and the shares never rank as fully paid up.

Now, what are the special functions of Local Government as distinct from National Government? They have been thus enumerated:—The enactment of bye-laws, and appointment, payment and dismissal of all necessary public officers and servants; making, naming, maintaining, cleansing, lighting, watering, and general regulation of roads and streets; provision for an efficient system of drainage, and removal and disposal of sewage and house refuse; maintaining lunatic asylums, hospitals, prisons, industrial schools and court-houses; the care of the public health, including the inspection and regulation of lodging-houses, the removal of nuisances, the enforcement of the Adulteration Acts, and the provision of special hospitals for infectious cases, and of the means of disinfecting unclean-houses; provision of means of cleanliness and recreation, such as baths, wash-houses, and parks; maintenance and control of markets and fairs, and regulation of weights and measures; establishment and maintenance of free libraries, museums, art and technical schools, and public buildings for local administrative purposes; control and management of the municipal estate and the assessment and collection of rates; the execution of powers under the Public Health and Workmen's Dwellings Acts; the maintenance and supervision of police and fire brigades; the enforcement of educational requirements; the provision of facilities for and regulation of traffic; and generally 'in the management of all those things which locally affect the community.'*

These are functions which fall with varying weight upon burghal and upon rural communities, and Dr. Skelton's report has especial reference to the proportion of local burdens borne by urban and rural ratepayers, and by the different classes of real property in Scotland. The report covers ground which has been hitherto little known, and throws light where, until now, all

* O'Meara: *Municipal Taxation at Home and Abroad* (Cassell).

has been, if not dark, certainly dubious. For instance, in 1843, the Poor Law Commissioners reported that, 'with respect to Scotland scarcely anything appears to be known of its public revenues and expenditure.' In 1874, Mr. M'N. Caird wrote: 'The amount of local taxation in Scotland is a problem which has been hitherto unsolved; there are no published data for ascertaining it.'* And still later, in 1880, Messrs Goudy and Smith wrote: 'The want of local taxation returns in this country has made impossible any complete statistical view of the subject.' And again, 'A return of parochial rates other than poor rates was obtained in 1865, but it is so defective as to be worthless,' and 'as regards the incidence of several of the assessments, it is impossible to state even approximately, in what proportions they are payable by owners and occupiers respectively.' † And now Dr. Skelton to the rescue!

The lines of inquiry followed are, as far as possible, those on which were conducted the inquiries by Mr. Goschen and Mr. Fowler into the increase and incidence of local taxation in England. But whereas the English statistics for the first half of the century were found to be ample, the Scotch statistics for the same period are extremely meagre. Not only is there little material on which to base a comparison, but during the last fifty years the whole system of local taxation in Scotland has been revolutionised. It was not, for instance, until 1854, that the Valuation Act established a uniform mode of ascertaining the annual value of lands and heritages—previous to which most of the assessments on land were levied on the 'valued rent' fixed in the seventeenth century. Then, while the Poor Law Act of 1845 was called an amending, it was really a creating, Act, for it introduced an entirely novel system. Any attempt, therefore, Dr. Skelton points out, to contrast the total amount expended on poor relief in any year prior to 1845, with that of any subsequent year, would serve no good end, and only tend to mislead:—

* *Local Government and Taxation in Scotland.* Cobden Club Essay. (Cassell).

† *Local Government in Scotland.* By Henry Goudy and W. C. Smith. (Blackwood).

'Outside the principal centres of population, the old Scottish poor law system may best be described as a regulated and legalised scheme of begging, supplemented by voluntary assessments and the charities of the Church. In the northern and western counties constituting the Highland district, the allowances awarded to the poor were illusory—so small, the Commissioners appointed to inquire into the subject reported, as to be of no real assistance in providing for their support. In these districts the allowance was given, indeed, not in the light of relief, but as an 'acknowledgment of poverty,' so that the recipient could not be prosecuted as a 'sturdy beggar.' In many rural parishes throughout the country the smallest amount of relief was refused, but the poor received a badge and were licensed to beg within the limits of the parish in conformity with the Act of 1672. Even without receiving such badges, the Commissioners found that in many of the burghs and smaller towns the paupers were allowed to beg—on one or more days of the week—as in Inveraray, Dingwall, Thurso, Perth, Kirkcaldy, and Peterhead. In Shetland, again, the poor were relieved by being quartered in rotation upon (in other words, lodged and fed by) the inhabitants of each district.'

Therefore, even if complete returns were now obtainable, they could not afford a comparison of the past burden on land, or on 'the means and substance' of the community, with the new system of taxation. The power of assessment for the relief of the poor, given by the Act of 1579, was in 1600 entrusted to the Kirk-Session of the parish who, until then, had administered the church-door collections and such other sums as were allocated for the good of the poor. Later on, funds legally destined to the relief of the poor were transferred to the management of the heritors and Kirk-Session jointly.* This power of assessment possessed by the Kirk-Sessions was applicable to both owners and occupiers in equal proportions—or rather, leviable as far as the owner was concerned upon the 'valued rent,' and as far as the occupier was concerned according to his 'means and substance.' This was a vague qualification—so vague that it is on record that an English judge was once assessed on the full amount of his English salary in relief of the poor of a Scotch parish, merely because he happened to have a summer residence there. The practice of assessment on 'means and substance' was abolished in 1861, and with regard to poor-relief generally, Dr. Skelton says that

* Goudy and Smith.

'prior to 1845 assessments had been imposed and levied in a comparatively limited number of parishes.' In 1817, for instance, there were only 192 assessed parishes, the gross rental of which was £2,661,241, the amount of assessment £49,719, and the rate per £, 4½d. In 1841 the number of assessed parishes was 238, the amount of assessment £128,258; while in 1848 the assessed parishes numbered 600, and the amount of assessment was £464,867. The gross rental of these parishes was not ascertained in 1848, but in 1856, 716 assessed parishes had a gross rental of £10,767,766, assessed for £588,066, or at 1s. 1d. in the £. Compare these figures with 839 parishes in 1893, of a gross rental of £23,918,897, assessed for £750,696, or at the rate of 7½d. per £. Very soon after the passing of the Act of 1845, indeed, assessment became general, and the funds required for the maintenance and management of the poor greatly and rapidly increased, yet since 1856 there has been a continuous decline in the rate per pound. This reduction, however, is not due solely to improved administration and material condition, but also to State aid from the Imperial Exchequer. The following table shows how the funds expended on relief of the poor in four selected periods were obtained:—

	Imp. Grants.	Local Assessments.	Other sources.	Total.
1848	—	£476,125	£68,210	£544,335
1867	£10,011	743,840	61,775	815,626
1881	83,798	823,670	82,033	989,501
1893	138,507	747,788	142,422	1,028,717

With regard to the local incidence of general taxes, it is worth while recalling the opinion of John Major, who, in 1520, thus wrote of the tax on moveables for the ransom of James I.:—'This tax ought to have been imposed upon the noblemen and gentry of the kingdom and upon ecclesiastics, and also upon the common people, but on this wise: from the nobles should have been asked, as a favour, a sixth part, or a fifth part, of their annual revenues; from each ecclesiastic a contribution should have been levied in proportion to the ability of each; while every peasant who had eight oxen to his plough should have paid two shillings.' And as to the

taxation of 'ecclesiastics' he said:—'The funds of the Church, outside the supply of the necessities of churchmen, ought to be devoted to the relief of the poor, and to the ransom of those captives who may not otherwise be easily ransomed, as was the case in this of the king; and ecclesiastics ought to do this gladly, inasmuch as taxation shall thus be made to fall less heavily upon the poorest folk.' Major was of opinion that though kings should not have the power of levying taxes, they ought to keep the incomes of confiscated lands for the State, and not give them away to courtiers and others 'when there is no regular taxation of the people.'*

Not only are statistics of any value not available for the earlier part of the century, but the amount of local taxation then levied was inconsiderable. For this reason Dr. Skelton takes 1848—the year when the Poor Law Act came first into operation—as a starting-point, and for all practical purposes a comparison of that year with three representative years like 1867, 1881, and 1893, is quite sufficient. But 'even for such a limited comparison the materials, unfortunately, are not complete. The old Statute Labour Road Trusts, for instance, having been wound up, the books and accounts are in many instances no longer accessible; and I have had to estimate the receipt and expenditure on the basis of the information appearing in the Report of the Royal Commission on Scottish Roads issued in 1859. The same remark applies to various other assessments—an estimate only can be given; and of the total revenue and disbursements during the earlier years of the period under review the estimate must be regarded as approximate only.'

In the matter of County rates, one of the duties of the Commissioners of Supply prior to 1868 was the levying of 'Rogue Money' on the lands in the County 'for defraying the charges of apprehending criminals and of subsisting them in prison until prosecution, and of prosecuting such criminals for their several offences by due course of law.' But in 1868 Rogue Money was abolished, and the Commissioners were authorised

* Major's *Greater Britain* (Scottish History Society).

to levy instead a County General Assessment on all lands and heritages previously liable for Rogue Money.* Out of this assessment fell to be paid the salaries of County officials, and of the Procurators of the Sheriff Court and Justice of Peace Court, and the expense of prosecuting, maintaining, and punishing criminals; the expenses connected with striking fiars prices; any damages caused by riotous assemblies; and all other expenses previously payable out of Rogue Money. The Commissioners had the power to relieve from assessment lands not exceeding £4 in annual value; and yet, curiously enough, they had no powers of assessment at common law. As the Commissioners of Supply practically assessed themselves, and adjusted their backs to the burden, as well as the burden to their backs, it is difficult to find a basis of comparison with the present system. But Dr. Skelton shows that, omitting expenditure on roads, the rural expenditure falling upon the rates has increased in greater ratio than the rural valuation, and was in 1893 about 2½d. in the £ on the average greater than in 1848.

For the purposes of our inquiry, assessments are classified under three heads—those common to counties and burghs (such as Poor Rate and School Rate, usually imposed and collected by the Parochial Boards), which fall equally upon owners and occupiers; those peculiar to counties and rural areas, which fall chiefly upon owners; and those peculiar to burghs, which fall chiefly on occupiers. Before showing the incidence and growth of each, we may take another glance or two backward to see the growth of taxation in other directions than the Poor Rate.

In the matter of a school rate, for instance, we learn that although an educational system of some form has existed in Scotland for at least 600 years, no legal provision was made for the erection and maintenance of parish schools until 1696. The Schools Act of that year ordered that the heritors in every parish should meet and provide a commodious house for a school, and that an annual salary 'not under 100 merks or over 200 merks for the schoolmaster, and stent themselves and

* Goudy and Smith.

lay on the said salary, conform to every heritor's valued rent, allowing each heritor relief from his tenants of the half of his proportion for settling and maintaining of a school and payment of the schoolmaster's salary.' By an Act of 1803, a scale of salaries for schoolmasters and of school-fees was established, and the burden of building and maintaining proper school-houses was placed upon the heritors. In 1832 was made the first grant of public money, £20,000, in aid of education in Great Britain; and in 1838, an Act was passed authorising the Treasury to provide for the endowment of additional schools in Scotland, owing to the inadequacy of the parish schools and other means of education in the Highlands and Islands. The Act of 1861 raised the scale of schoolmasters' salaries, allowed the provision of retiring allowances, and empowered the heritors to establish girls' schools. Then came the Act of 1872 with its compulsory regulations. Compare next the amounts raised by assessment for education. In 1848 it is estimated that the heritors paid £50,000, and in 1867 £75,000. The actual amounts raised by the new assessment were, in 1874, £204,837; in 1881, £414,513; in 1887, £486,467; and in 1893, £615,265. The average rate for all Scotland was, in 1848 and 1867, 1·2d. per £ of valuation; in 1874, 2·6d.; in 1881, 4·5d.; in 1887, 5d.; and in 1893, 6·1d. School fees, curiously enough, yielded just about the same in 1893 as in 1848, viz., £35,000, though they were as high as £259,790 in 1887. The grants-in-aid of education in Scotland from Imperial sources have thus increased:—1874, £34,518; 1881, £317,852; 1887, £390,903; 1893, £835,925. The total public expenditure on education in Scotland has been as follows, with the proportion for every £1 so expended in 1848:—

1848,	-	£94,000	-	_____
1867,	-	209,000	-	£2 4 6
1874,	-	327,916	-	3 9 9
1881,	-	974,225	-	10 7 3
1887,	-	1,320,090	-	14 0 10
1893,	-	1,691,071	-	17 19 10

These figures, of course, refer only to the cost of schools under the School Boards.

The burden of providing and maintaining the parish church, manse, and glebe, still rests, as it has done from an early period, on the heritors, who were wont to 'stent' themselves for the purpose according to the old 'valued rentals.' Even now, though assessments are usually imposed on the real rent, in some landward parishes the old valued rent is still taken for certain rates from the old cess-books. The tendency of the church rate seems to be to decrease. In 1881 it amounted to £43,160, and in 1893 to only £31,632. The heritors, too, were bound to provide sufficient 'churchyard accommodation' for the parishioners, and had to assess themselves for the purpose when necessary. But by the Act of 1852, the Parochial Boards and Town Councils were made Burial Authorities, rural and urban, and under that Act the expenses of burial-grounds are met out of interment fees, while if any deficiency arises it is paid by assessment levied in the same manner as the Poor Rate. Nevertheless, in some parishes the heritors prefer to keep up the old churchyards, and to provide the necessary funds by assessment on themselves.

The history of the Road Rates is curious. Dr. Skelton divides the old roads of Scotland into four classes—Statute Labour Roads, Turnpike Roads, Military and Parliamentary Roads, and Roads maintained under Private Acts. By an Act of 1617, which seems to be the earliest Road Act on record, the Justices of the Peace were empowered to repair the public highways and to prosecute those who refused to mend them. In 1669 the system of direct labour was introduced, under which all occupiers, both rural and burghal, were liable to be called upon for highway service. When this was insufficient a tax was levied upon the heritors, not exceeding ten shillings Scots for every pound sterling of valued rent. If there were any deficiency after this 'stent,' it had to be made good out of tolls and ferries. This queer old statute actually remained in force until the passing of the Roads and Bridges Act of 1878. By the growth of industrial occupation, liability to direct service on the highways became a heavy burden on the labouring classes, and under Local Acts it was here and there gradually commuted to an annual money payment. The Con-

version Act of 1845 rendered commutation general, inasmuch as it gave Road Trustees the option of abolishing direct labour and levying a tax in lieu of it. Bute and Shetland seem to have been the only exceptions to the general rule, and in these counties 'Statute Labour,' (*i.e.*, the direct labour of occupiers on the roads), was maintained until the Act of 1878 came into operation.

The Act of 1669 which introduced the system of direct (or statute) labour, also gave the power to impose 'customs' or tolls on the highways. Dr. Skelton says that although there are no available statistics to show how far the power was exercised, there is ample evidence that before the end of the 18th century the great increase of traffic, and the development of the country generally, had necessitated the construction of many new and improved roads. Thus, between 1713 and 1800 a number of local Turnpike Acts were obtained, under which tolls were established, and borrowing powers were granted on the security of the tolls after payment of the cost of maintenance of the roads. The General Act of 1831 brought in all the turnpike roads, except the Glasgow and Carlisle turnpike, and some roads in the Highlands. From 1848 to 1878 Acts were obtained by several counties for the abolition of Statute Labour on roads and turnpikes, and for the adoption of an assessment on rental instead; and by the Act of 1878 the turnpike system was abolished from 1st June, 1883, though burghs were authorised to continue the existing mode of assessment, if they thought fit.

The third class, Military and Parliamentary roads, owe their inception to the disturbed condition of the Highlands after the '45. As communication with the disaffected districts was so difficult, owing to the few and imperfect highways, some 250 miles of so-called military roads were constructed by the Government. No need to recall the name of General Wade in this connexion! In 1803, and following years, some 94 miles of so-called Parliamentary roads were constructed, but only one half the cost was defrayed by Parliament, the counties defraying the other half. All these roads were confined to the Highlands, were managed by special Commissioners, and were

subsidised under Acts of Parliament, until a fixed grant of £5000 per annum was voted for their maintenance. This grant ceased in 1863, and then the roads became the charge of the counties in which they are situated.

The fourth class of roads specified by Dr. Skelton are those which were maintained under Private Acts. Turnpike tolls and Statute Labour assessments were abolished, as we have said, prior to the Act of 1878, by certain counties which obtained special Acts. These counties numbered fourteen, and they defrayed the cost of road maintenance and management out of a direct assessment. All these special Acts were repealed by the Local Government (Scotland) Act, 1889, under which all county roads have to be managed in terms of the Roads and Bridges Act of 1878.

The Statute Labour assessment was levied in a different manner from all other rates. For instance, in the Middle Ward of Lanarkshire it was levied on:—‘Land: for each ploughgate six days’ labour of two men, horses and carts, equal to from £2 10s. to £3 12s., according to proved rate of labour. Horses: other than for husbandry, for each horse three days’ labour of a man, horse and cart, equal to from 8s. to 12s. Householders: not less than two nor more than four days’ labour.’ And in Kirkcudbrightshire the assessment was thus levied:—‘Thirty shillings per £100 Scots valuation from 26 parishes, and twenty shillings per £100 Scots valuation from two parishes.’*

In burghs the streets are maintained out of assessment either under the Roads and Bridges Act of 1868, or under Local Acts, or from other burgh funds. The following shows the progress of taxation in respect of roads both in counties and burghs:—

	County Road Rates.	Burgh Road Expenditure.
1848,	- £102,092	- £26,143
1867,	- 167,026	- 57,582
1881,	- 256,464	- 148,953
1893,	- 362,909	- 219,457

* *Parliamentary Paper*, No. 244, 1858.

These figures, however, need qualification. The burgh totals do not cover the cost of paving, nor of interest on loans and the annual instalments thereof. Nor is the expenditure on turnpike trusts, incurred in 1848 to 1867, included in the amounts. In 1882 a grant-in-aid of disturnpiked roads was voted, of which £20,487 went to Scotch authorities, viz., £16,874 to counties and £3,613 to burghs. In 1884 a separate grant of £35,000 was made to Scotland, in lieu of which an annual contribution of the same amount is now paid out of the Local Taxation Account.

That Statute Labour as enjoined by the Act was only perfunctorily performed, and often quietly ignored; has been lately shown in this *Review* by Mr. H. Grey Graham. Although the law called for six days' labour per annum, the parishioners often only grudgingly gave one day, and that of not very exhausting work. 'The efforts of General Wade, begun in 1726, only affected 250 miles in the main Highland routes, but they enabled Captain Burt to rejoice in 1739 that he travelled roads as smooth as Constitution Hill, which a few years before were dangerous from stones and deep ruts in dry weather, and became bogs and brawling water-courses when rain fell.'*

Another County Assessment—the Police Rate—has taken the place of Rogue Money, the origin of which was this. Under the feudal system the jurisdiction of the Scottish Barons was very extensive; and many of them maintained prison-houses at their own charges, while the general prisons, called 'Castels,' were kept up by the Crown. By Acts passed in 1487 and 1528, persons arrested had to be lodged in the 'Kingis Castel,' or where there was none, committed to the custody of the Sheriff of the County at the expense of the Crown. Dr. Skelton, however, points out that the Scottish Act of 1579 was something more than a simple Poor Law enactment, inasmuch as in addition to providing for the deserving poor, it authorised the apprehension and confinement to the common prison of 'vagabonds and strang and

* 'Rural Scotland in the First Half of Last Century' (*The Scottish Review*, Vol. XXV., No. XLIX.).

idle beggars.' It was, therefore, a combination of Poor and Police Law. Parliament, at the close of the sixteenth century, placed the burden of erecting and upholding the prisons on the burghs, to be met out of the Common Good or otherwise, as an equivalent for privileges enjoyed by the burgesses; but, nevertheless, many of the Scotch nobility continued to maintain private prisons in their own territory. It would be interesting to have the statistics and secret histories of these private prisons.

The Rogue Money Act of 1724 contained a provision making counties liable for a portion of the expenses of criminal proceedings, and authorised an assessment for expenses incurred before conviction. The cost of maintenance after trial and conviction remained entirely on the burghs. Then when heritable jurisdictions were abolished in the reign of George II., and the Barons ceased to keep up prisons of their own, the additional cost involved was also thrown on the burghs. As in many of the burghs the revenues from the Common Good and other sources were inadequate to the demands upon them, the prisons fell into disrepair, and became neither healthy nor secure. In 1839 an Act was passed which inaugurated a wholly new system. Prisons and prison discipline were placed under a General Board, with local County Boards, a regular police force was established for the first time, and a General Prison was erected at Perth. The cost of construction of this prison was defrayed partly out of Imperial funds and partly from assessment, which was apportioned between counties and burghs according to population, and in landward parts on owners either on the real rental or the old valued rent, as the County Authorities determined. A further step was taken in 1857, when the police administration was brought under Government control and subsidy, and when the basis of assessment was fixed in every case on the real rental in the Valuation Roll. This Act also provided that the Commissioners of Supply in each County should establish a sufficient police force; and in burghs, local authorities were empowered to combine with the counties in police matters, if they saw fit. The Prisons (Scotland) Act of 1877, however, abolished all Local Prisons Boards, and vested

all prisons in the Government, making the whole cost in connection with them chargeable to the Exchequer. By the Local Government Act of 1889, a fixed rate for the upkeep of the constabulary, based on the average of the preceding ten years, is included in the Consolidated Rate, now payable by owners only; any excess in expenses over the yield of this rate being met by a general assessment, leviable half on owners and half on occupiers.

As we have seen, the burden of providing and maintaining the prisons was laid on the burghs towards the close of the sixteenth century, but from an even earlier period the burghs were charged with the duty of maintaining a police force out of the revenue of the Common Good. Until comparatively recent times the burghs still retained the heavier part of this burden, and adjustment with counties was according to population, not rental. When the revenue of the Common Good proved insufficient, assessment was resorted to, and in time became general. This assessment was in 1860 allocated as between burghs and counties according to gross rental, for the first time. Two years later the General Police Act superseded all previous Acts, and gave the burghs powers of assessment for lighting, cleaning, paving, improving, draining, etc., as well as for the maintenance of a separate police force. But many of the burghs constituted under this Act only exercised their powers as far as lighting, cleaning, draining and paving were concerned, and for police, roads and general purposes are treated as part of the County. In these cases the Burgh Commissioners assess for lighting, cleaning, etc., and the County Councils for roads, constabulary, etc.

Owing to these complications, it is impossible to compare the rate per £ for exclusively constabulary purposes as between burghs and counties, but Dr. Skelton has compiled a comparison of the County Police administration, at the four different periods, in burghs and counties combined. The total comes out at £106,758 in 1848, £223,636 in 1867, £310,724 in 1881, and £454,374 in 1893; but these figures do not include the Imperial grant-in-aid, the present amount of which is £155,000 per annum towards pay and clothing, with £40,000 per annum

towards the cost of police superannuation. With reference to the Imperial contribution, Dr. Skelton says :—‘ A share of the cost of criminal proceedings appears to have been first assumed by the Government in 1776, when the Scottish Exchequer began to defray out of the hereditary revenues of the Crown the expenses of criminal prosecutions conducted under the authority of the Lord Advocate. These hereditary revenues having been surrendered to the Exchequer by William IV. on his succession to the throne, the charges have, since 1831, been met by votes from Parliament. As a part of Sir Robert Peel’s scheme in aid of rates, the expense of the General Prison at Perth was in 1846, for the first time, met out of a Parliamentary vote, and a contribution was made to Local Boards towards the cost of maintenance of prisoners tried by jury. In 1851 further sums from the Imperial funds were given to Local Prison Boards for the upkeep of prisoners convicted by Sheriffs without a jury, a payment not exceeding 4s. per head per week in respect of each prisoner being allowed.’ But the whole cost of prisons was transferred to the Imperial funds by the Prisons Act of 1877, while Sheriff Court buildings were erected and kept up under other Acts, the Treasury paying one-half, and the County Councils the rest out of assessment.

Although sanitary rates are of modern creation, sanitary regulations are older than is supposed. Thus an Act of 1427 prohibited lepers from coming into burghs to purchase food, except at certain hours on three days in each week. It also prohibited them from dwelling at any place ‘ other than their own hospitals and at the port or gate of the town and other places outwith the burghs.’ Dr. Skelton calls this the first Scottish sanitary provision of which there is record, but points out that there is no mention in the Act of the funds out of which the leper hospitals were maintained. Probably they formed a charge on the Common Good. Then as to epidemics, special precautions seem to have been taken quite as early as this enactment, and so far back as 1456, ‘ a kind of rude quarantine was enforced in burghs, persons infected with the plague or pestilence being required to remain shut up in their houses, and forbidden to mix with the people or go into

the country.' A general system of sanitation, however, is no older than the present century. The foundation of it for burghs, indeed, was not laid until 1833, when power was given to Burgh Commissioners, under the first of a series of Burgh Acts, to construct drains and sewers, to light, clean, and pave the streets, and to provide a supply of drinking-water. Limited borrowing powers for these purposes were given by the same Act, and also powers of assessment, which powers were extended by the Acts of 1850 and 1862. In 1846, 1848, and 1849, Nuisances Acts were applied to the whole country, and placed the general supervision of sanitary matters under the Board of Health in London. In Scotland the Board of Supervision became the nominal central authority, but it had little power, and was practically confined to the directions and regulations of the London Board of Health. Expenses incurred under these Acts were defrayed out of the Poor Rate, or where there was no Poor Rate, out of a special rate levied in the same manner; but the Act of 1856, which superseded the previous Nuisances Acts, gave larger extended powers of rating and borrowing to the Local Authorities. The Public Health Act of 1867, which is the law now in force, gave further facilities both to urban and rural authorities, and larger powers to the Central Board. In burghs the rate is levied in the same way as the Police Rate or Poor Rate, and in rural districts it is now levied by the County Council on net rental, one-half on owners and one-half on occupiers.

No particulars are forthcoming of the expenditure on sanitary purposes defrayed out of the Poor Rate prior to 1868, but the following are the amounts in later years of Public Health assessments in Counties since the Act of 1867: in 1869, £6,647; 1875, £19,207; 1881, £48,182; 1887, £62,070; 1893, £69,148. But these amounts do not represent the total expenditure for public health purposes, as the Counties receive money from other sources than assessment—as much as £48,000 in 1893. The burghal expenditure on sanitation thus compares: 1848, £28,861; 1867, £181,771; 1881, £412,010; 1893, £454,706. Here is seen a sevenfold increase between 1848 and 1867, while between 1867 and 1881 the expenditure is more than doubled, and between 1881 and 1893 it increases 10 per cent.

So far as to the history and growth of local taxes. It is now necessary to show something of the volume and incidence of local finance. As we have seen, prior to 1845 many of the rates were levied on the old 'valued rental' of 1677, by which means taxation fell almost entirely on land, but without regard to its present value. The Poor Law Amendment Act directed assessment according to the annual value of land and heritages—annual value being defined as 'the rent at which, one year with another, the subject would let, under certain deductions in respect of the probable average cost of upkeep and taxation.' The Valuation Act of 1854, however, called for an annual roll of the gross rental of all lands and heritages in counties and burghs, and this roll now forms the basis on which all assessments on rent are levied. Naturally an enormous difference was revealed between the old valued rent and the real rental. Thus the old valued rent of Scotland, as fixed in 1677,* was only £3,598,272 Scots, or under £300,000 sterling, while the total valuation in the roll as made up in 1855 was £12,000,000 sterling! The real rental, however, is ascertainable in other ways, and taking Dr. Skelton's figures, we find the following growth in the valuation of Scotland during the present century:—

In 1815 the real rental was	-	£6,652,000
„ 1841	„	- 9,300,000
„ 1848	„	- 10,236,000
„ 1856	„	- 11,745,000
„ 1867	„	- 16,260,000
„ 1874	„	- 18,921,000
„ 1881	„	- 22,276,000
„ 1892	„	- 23,980,000
„ 1893	„	- 24,180,000

If the valued rent of 1677 was a fair rent at the time, the annual value of real property in Scotland has increased by £23,880,000 in 216 years; and if the figures for 1815 are accurate, upwards of 17½ millions in 78 years. The relative increase in urban and rural districts is thus shown:—

* *Parliamentary Paper*, No. 207, 1856.

	All Burghs.	Landward Valuation.
1848 -	£3,000,000	- £7,236,000
1867 -	5,399,000	- 10,865,000
1881 -	10,566,000	- 11,710,000
1885 -	11,446,000	- 12,104,000
1890 -	12,205,000	- 11,379,000
1893 -	13,078,000	- 11,102,000

The rental of land was £5,080,000 in 1814-15, and increased annually until 1879-80, when it reached a maximum of £7,769,000. Since then it has steadily declined, the fall in agricultural rent between 1880 and 1893 being not less than £1,478,000. In the same time, however, the rental of buildings has risen from £1,369,000 to £13,643,000, and of other property from £203,000 to £4,247,000 (railways, mines, gas works, etc.)

Parish rates are the only burdens which affect the whole area of the country, burghal and rural; and they include poor rate, school rate, valuation rate, registration rate, and burial-ground rate. Speaking generally, it may be said that while in some counties heavy increases are shown in the tables prepared by Dr. Skelton, 'the average increase of rural rates may be regarded as being balanced by the reduction of indirect county assessment following the abolition of tolls on turnpike roads, and the increase may be looked upon more as a change in the mode of rating them as an increase of rates.'

In 1856 the most heavily burdened counties for Poor Law purposes were Zetland, Orkney, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Argyll and Inverness, all of which were rated at over 1s. 7d. per £.; in 1893 these counties (except Argyll) were still the most heavily rated, and the rate in each case was over 1s. 3d. per £. In the interim Argyll had come down to 11½d., but Caithness had gone up from 1s. 5¾d. to 1s. 9¼d. In Zetland the poor rate was 2s. 4½d. in 1856, or more than double the average of all Scotland (1s. 1·1d.); and in 1893 it had risen to 2s. 11½d., while the average for Scotland had decreased to 7½d. Coming to the combined poor and county rates we find the same results, and Zetland is still by far the most heavily rated area in Scotland, having in 1893 a burden of 1s. 5d. in the £., heavier than that of any other county, and about 2s. 10d. above

the average of rural Scotland. Of the eighteen counties in which the ratepayers were over the average rate in 1856, twelve were still over the average in 1874, 1881, and 1893; and the counties which have uniformly had the highest parish rates are Zetland, Caithness, Orkney, Ross and Cromarty, Sutherland, Inverness, Banff, and Argyll. Of exceptionally high parish rates in 1893 we have the following examples:—18 parishes above 3s. and under 4s. per £.; 9 between 4s. and 5s.; 5 between 5s. and 6s.; 3 between 6s. and 7s.; 6 between 7s. and 8s.; 1 between 8s. and 9s.; and 1 between 9s. and 10s. In 1848 the average rate in the £. of all rates for the whole of Scotland, calculated on the gross valuation, was 1s. 9¼d.; in 1867, 2s. 2½d.; in 1881, 2s. 7¾d.; in 1893, 3s. 1½d.

In comparing the growth of taxation it is necessary to bear in mind the tremendous development in urban areas during the last half century. Between 1848 and 1892 no fewer than 96 'popular places' were formed into burghs, with an assessable rental of £1,816,723. In 1848 there were 100 burghs, and in 1892 196. In 1855 the burgh rental was £3,598,917, and in 1893 £13,078,015. Here are some of the general results contrasted:—

	1848.	1893.
Expenditure of Local Authorities,	£1,684,000	£7,593,090
Total receipts of do., -	1,623,000	7,743,000
Receipts from rates, - -	903,000	3,780,000
Gross Valuation, - -	10,236,000	24,180,000
Imperial Subvention, - -	15,000	1,357,000
Local Indebtedness, - -	4,683,000	28,296,000
Direct Taxation on Land, -	463,000	674,000
Do. Houses and other Property,	440,000	3,106,000
Average of all Rates in all Scotland,	1s 9¼d.	3s 1½d.
Do. Urban (prop.) -	1s 2½d.	2s 7½d.
Do. Rural „ - -	6d.	11½d.
Do. Parochial „ - -	1s 0¾d.	1s 2¼d.
Remunerative Taxation (Urban)	10¼d.	2s 10d.
Do. do. (Rural)	6¾d.	1s 3¾d.
Non-remunerative Taxation (Urban)	1s 6¾d.	2s 10d.
Do. do. (Rural)	11¼d.	1s 3¾d.

These columns present in the most concise form possible the net results of Dr. Skelton's inquiry, and the net products of his numerous tables. By remunerative taxation is meant payment for benefits received in the shape of water supply, gas lighting, paving and drainage; and by non-remunerative taxation is meant that to sustain the dead burdens of the Poor Law and the Police system.

The conclusion of the whole matter seems to be that while local taxation burdens undoubtedly press very heavily on certain Highland and Island counties, the major portion of the increase in rating is in the urban districts. Therefore, as the bulk of urban rates fall upon the occupier, the greatest 'relative increase' of local rating falls upon the occupiers of urban property, who have the consolation of reflecting that the most of the new rates belong to the remunerative class. But as the increase in local expenditure since 1848 has been so rapid it seems probable that the expenditure in counties, parishes, and burghs will continue to grow. Indeed, for 'probable' the patient rate-payer may read 'certain.'

BENJ. TAYLOR.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (January, February, March).—The three numbers for this quarter bring the concluding instalments of 'Effi Briest,' by Theodor Fontane, a novel of exceptional interest and vigour, which lovers of lighter literature will welcome as one of the best things the popular writer has produced.—Running through both the January and February numbers there is an excellent historical essay by Herr Hartwig, who, taking us back to the days of the Renaissance, calls up before us the engrossing figure of Caterina Sforza, whose heroism in the defence of her children is described in scenes which will almost bear comparison with the thrilling episodes of sensational fiction.—Professor Hermann Grimm contributes what is intended to appear as the introduction to a new edition of the popular tales by his father and his uncle. It is as interesting for the reminiscences which it contains of the two remarkable men whose names are no less familiar to children than to scholars, as it is valuable for the history which it gives of the origin of their delightful stories.—Herr Rudolf Krauss's 'Eduard Mörike; Briefe aus seiner Sturm und Drang Periode,' is an important contribution to the history of German literature. The letters which he has gathered all date from the years which the Suabian poet himself called his 'Sturm und Drang period,' that is from 1826 to 1834, when Mörike made an energetic but not successful effort to abandon theology for the purpose of devoting himself exclusively to literature.—Herr Heinrich Albrecht devotes a paper to the discussion of an important social question, the necessity for providing suitable dwellings for the working population of large towns; and indicates as a first step towards a reform, the restriction of what he calls 'usury in land,' that is of the speculation which increases at least ten-fold, if not fifty-fold, the original price of land, before it gets into the intending builder's hands.—Herr Edward Strasburger's botanical excursions in the Riviera have supplied him with materials for two papers which appear in the February and March parts respectively, and which are not so technical but that they may be read and enjoyed by the general public.—To the February number, the editor himself, Herr Julius Rodenberg, contributes one of the most interesting papers. It contains his personal reminiscences of Rubinstein.

with whom he was frequently associated as literary partner. The value of the paper is enhanced by a considerable number of letters from Rubinstein.—The unsigned article, 'Kleine Religionen unserer Tage'—'Minor Religions of the Present Day'—is simply the summary of a French volume enumerating, with a few details, a number of small sects which exist in Paris. With regard to the Swedenborgians, the Theosophists, the Comtists, and several others, the article contains nothing new. It is more interesting when it comes to treat of the Essenes, the Gnostics, and Servants of Isis, who, it appears, form small bodies in the capital.—The most noteworthy article in the March number is that which is signed by Professor Max Müller, and is entitled, 'Das Religions-Parliament in Chicago.' Its interest does not lie in the report, most readable though it be, of the proceedings of the Congress, but rather in the expression of the writer's opinion—it is not too much to say hopes—with regard to the establishment of a universal religion, based on a belief in God.—Continuing his elucidation of the Iliad, Professor Hermann Grimm deals, in the present instalment, with the 16th and 17th books of the poem, and particularly with the death of Patroclus.—Herr Albrecht Wirth gives an able sketch of the rise and progress of South Africa; whilst Herr Wilhelm Lang contributes new material for an appreciation of the Court of Westphalia under Jerome.—In the continuation of his 'Botanical Excursions in the Riviera,' Herr Strasburger gives a most interesting account of the manufacture of perfumes in that district.—The three numbers further contain the usual political, literary, and other letters.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (No. 3, 1895).—*'Die Stellung des Apostels Paulus zu seinem Volke,'* is the title of the first article in this number. It is the first part of a posthumous paper, found among the literary remains of the late professor A. H. Franke. His friend Dr. Carl Clemen has prepared it for the press, and publishes it here. This part enables us to see how carefully Prof. Franke had followed the course of the recent critical speculations as to the genesis and early developments of the Christian movement, and with what judicious acumen he had weighed them in the light of what is now known as to the trend of Jew'sh ideas, aspirations, and parties in the birth hours of Christianity. He recognises Paul as the true successor to Jesus, and the executor, so to speak, of that legacy of reform which His teaching had bequeathed, and sets himself to mark out, as clearly as the data at hand will permit, the varied influences that co-operated to make St. Paul take that large catholic view of God in relation to all

paces and ranks which occupies so large a place in his Epistles, and moulded so powerfully his missionary labours.—The third edition of Lipsius' 'Dogmatik' was published in 1893, and was enriched by several important additions. Dr. Lipsius had also in some particulars modified his earlier views. The whole work in its latest form is elaborately reviewed here by Herr Pfarrer Friedrich Traub, of Leonberg. He takes up each section in turn, and gives an excellent synopsis of their contents, and a critical appreciation of their merits, and sometimes of their defects. In a closing paragraph he sums up the results of his study of the work, and this is valuable because of the elaborate nature of the review, and the minuteness of many of its details.—A third lengthy but interesting and instructive paper, 'Die erkenntnistheoretischen und religionsphilosophischen Grundgedanken G. Teichmüllers,' is furnished by Herr Pfenningsdorf, of Dessau; and 'Mikolaos von Methone als Bestreiter des Proklos,' forms the subject of the fourth article. It is by Dr. J. Dräseke.

R U S S I A .

VOPROSI, PHILOSOFII I PSYCHOLOGII (Questions, Philosophical and Psychological).—begins No. (4) 24, with an article by M. O. A. Zelenogarsky on the philosophy of G. C. Ckovopoda, a Ukraine philosopher of the 18th century. The present article is a continuation and concluding part, dealing mainly with the practical philosophy of the author. This presents a simple homely aspect; at the same time it is marked by great acuteness and mother wit. His practical philosophy came near those of the ancients. It was to conform one's self to the will of God: to be in accordance with the will of God: this is to be peaceful and fortunate. It is an approximation to the Stoic system of antiquity, namely, to live *secundum naturam*. The happiness of man, in accordance with the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle, takes the position that happiness consists in a quiet spirit, a joyful heart and a strong mind. He loved also to quote from the Apostle Paul. It was thus that he sought to live in accordance with Nature, and be submissive to the Will of God.—The second article by M. V. Wagner is on the 'Psychological Nature of Instinct.' This is the end of the paper continued from No. 20, November, 1893, and is an attempt to account for the psychological nature of instinct, according to the new data of experimental physiology. This final article deals with insects, and it deals first of all with the female of the *Chenille*, researches as to which have been made by the author of the article. Placed

on a table, it only moved forwards, and never backwards. The author has made enquiry about the eyesight of these insects, and finds that their eyes serve them to a greater extent than simply to discern light from darkness, though they are, after all, not very efficient as organs of vision. Another experiment was the comparison of the action of the chenille when decapitated with that of other polypods. The key to this question depends on the form taken by the life of these insects, whose instincts present a strictly determined group of actions in part independent, answering to the received impressions imparted by the determined form of their coordinations in relation to itself, taking into consideration that this insect, in normal conditions, on being stimulated by touch and otherwise, does not walk, but rather rolls, or moves by turning itself in a spiral-like movement; and secondly, when not disturbed, it guides itself by the eyes and antennae. —On this article follows another by the Russian thinker, Vladimir Solovieff, on 'The Primitive Data of Morality.' He tells us that every moral doctrine, whatever may be its internal persuasive force or external authority, will be powerless and fruitless, if it does not find a powerful *point d'appui* in the moral nature of man himself. Whatever may be the different degrees of development in the past and present of humanity, whatever may be the individual deviations in one as compared with another, whatever may be the greater or lesser influence of race, climate, and historical conditions, there remains an ineradicable ground of universal morality or Ethics; and by this ought to be confirmed every important advance in the circle of ethics. The difference, says Charles Darwin, between man and all other creatures is vast without doubt, even if we compare, on the one side, the spirit of the very lowest savage, not able to count more than four, and not making use of abstract names even for the commonest objects and affections, with the spirit of the very highest organised apes, and also comparing the case of the more highly-trained dogs, with the animal types belonging to the lower forms of the same species, such as the wolf or the jackal. The natives of Tierra del Fuego belong to the very lowest race of humanity, nevertheless, we continually wonder at two or three of these savages found by the steamer *Beagle*, on which having lived some years, and having learnt some English, acquired a considerable stock of civilised ideas, as they are described by Darwin himself. Yet Darwin allows that he fully agreed with the judgment of writers affirming that out of all the differences between man and the lower animals, the most remarkable consists of moral

feeling, which he, from his point of view, counted not acquired but innate to man. Still in his well known tendency to fill up the huge gulf between man and the lower animals, Darwin falls into one fundamental error. To all the original morality of the human being he ascribes an exclusively social character, approximating to the social instincts of the animal. Personal or individual morality, according to Darwin, has only a derivative signification as the latest result of historical development. M. Solovieff proceeds, however, to give an instance of a feeling which serves to no social advantage, which is completely absent in the very highest of the animals, and yet is clearly present with the lowest races of man! This is the feeling of *shame*. This moral peculiarity singularly distinguishes man from the lower animals. Darwin, while he talks of the religiousness of the dog, does not attempt to find the least trace within him of his *shamefacedness*! As the Darwinists could not find *shame* in the lower animals, they proceed to deny it to man. Darwin speaks of the *shameless savages*. M. Solovieff vindicates, however, his thesis that shame is everywhere found with man, and never with the lower animals! Another such feeling peculiar to man, claimed by M. Solovieff, is *sympathy*, compassion for the helpless. A third such feeling he finds in *reverence*. Sympathy or pity he believes may be found in some measure with the lower creatures, reverence in some slight degree, but shame only with man. But though the beginnings of moral feeling of the second or third order is observed in animals, between them and the corresponding feelings with man, there is nevertheless a formal difference. The animal feelings occur in good and evil, but the difference of good and evil as such does not lie in their consciousness. With man, this knowledge of good and evil is not only given to him immediately in the feeling of shame peculiar to himself, but out of this original it gradually broadens and extends its concrete feelings and forms until it passes over into the element of conscience on the broad territory of human ethics! We saw that in the limits of man's ethical relations of man to himself or in his proper nature; the feeling of shame (possessing originally a specifically sexual character) yet preserves its formal identity independent of this and opposed to the instinct of individual animal self-preservation, or that of the species, the inglorious bond to this mortal life, as shame, or as giving itself a sexual abstraction. Passing over into another circle of relations, not to itself alone, but to its neighbour or God, the incomparably more complex circle of relations, objective, imaginative, and subject to change, its moral self-appreciation.

cannot remain in the three simple views of concrete emotions; it unavoidably passes through the middle of the abstract consciousness, whence it issues and passes into the new form of *consciousness*. Shame and conscience speak in different tongues and on different pretexts, but the sense of what it says is the same, 'This is not good, it is not permitted.' M. Solovieff holds that the highest moral teaching in regard to conscience may be a simple development from these original data of shame, sympathy and veneration.—The article succeeding to this ingenious dissertation is the continuation by the Editor of his article on 'Time metaphysically considered,' a criticism on the philosophy of Kant. Truth compels us to state that it seems easier to assail Kant's position on Space and Time than to state the new theory in a simple and clear form. Space and Time are the conditions of the perceiving faculty. Space seems involved in the action of light upon the field of vision; while Time, no doubt evolved by the constant reference of the civilized man to the flight of time as measured by his horological instruments, seems to awaken a sense of the continual passage of protensive moments. Professor Grot thus sums up, however, the result of his second article on the subject:—(1) Sensuous experience is the accompaniment of the subjective conditions of consciousness named *sensations* and of the presentations of different forms of the liberation of potential mental energy, as a result of the discharge of nervous energy from its various centres. (2) In these subjective conditions of the consciousness, there is one side *passive*, depending wholly on the specific action of the apparatus of the nervous system, the discharge of energy of which calls forth a certain external physical irritation. There is another side *active*, internal, which leads to efforts of the consciousness itself in view of its appropriation to the independence of its conditions of action, of medium and organism. (3) The passive and more objective conditions are as named specific sensations of different organs of feeling external and organic. (4) Of the active efforts of consciousness accompanying all these passive conditions there occur two sorts, being directed in adaptation to the periphery or the centres they are accepted by us in the general form of sensations, in the form of extensions and contiguities, continuations and successions. (5) Space and time are in such fashion two orders or two different forms of receptivity, of subjective efforts accompanying sensuous reception of activity and hence they are 'general subjective forms of receptivity' *par excellence*. (6) Space and time are concrete presentations and abstract conceptions embracing in themselves

these two orders of subjective sensations of efforts of consciousness in the process of sensuous experience. (7) Space and Time, nevertheless, are *objective* in so far that in these subjective sensations are reflected objective conditions of a resisting medium and organism calling forth indications of effort; such are Professor Grot's conclusions. This concludes the general part of the number, though there are some interesting articles also in the special part. The first article of which is on 'On Consciousness and Will' by M. Tokarskie. The second article of the special part is particularly interesting, as containing a paper on the life and works of Prof. Gustavus Teichmüller, Professor of Philosophy in the University of Dorpat, a very able thinker, who was snatched away by death, just as he was beginning to be known. Born in 1832, in Brunswick, Germany, and educated in the gymnasium there, he advanced to the University, where he came under the instruction of the well known Aristotelian Frenkelburg. Being promoted to be Doctor of Philosophy in Hallé University, he entered into the service of the German Ambassador in Russia, where he taught the Greek language for some time in St. Petersburg. In 1860 he became Professor in Göttingen, then in Basle, and finally in the Dorpat University, where he spent 19 years, and indeed began to work out a very original philosophical system, when he was summoned away by death in 1889. He has left a very considerable number of writings, several especially of great importance on ancient literary history and especially on Plato, on whom he successfully combated the theories of Zellers. In the philosophy which he developed and in which he took very original views, he held that there were only four possible consequent and independent philosophical directions, Positivism, Idealism and Materialism; while the fourth which he considered himself to belong to, was founded by Leibnitz, and in which a position could be taken up and occupied between the psychical and materialistic tendencies, a kind of spiritual materialism or higher substance, which we believe was also the position of Franz Bauder. Teichmüller held Leibnitz to be after Plato, the greatest and most original of all European philosophers. As the notices of his life are continued in the following number, there may be an opportunity of returning to this interesting subject.—The number concludes with the usual reviews and biographical notices.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (January 1st.)—This new year's number begins with a political article by Signor Bonghi, in

which he expresses his opinion that Crispi has a clear idea of the State reforms needed, but not of what kind of reform is necessary.—G. Carducci gives a very interesting story of Tasso's 'Aminta,' coming opportunely for the third centenary of the death of the great poet.—G. Goiran writes five chapters on the solution of the military problem, showing that since the year 1870 the Italian military government has pursued a straight path, never deviating from its purpose, and that, when the reforms begun are completed, the Italian army will have reached a degree of solidity never experienced before, and at a relatively much smaller cost than that incurred by the other European armies.—Carlo de Stefani commences the history of the popular struggles in the Balkan; and Professor Mariano a history of the origin of Christianity, both continued in later numbers.—Signor Bricchetti, the African traveller, contributes a description of the Abyssinians and Somalis under Italian protection.—G. Monaldi writes briefly on the influence of popular songs on operatic compositions.—(January 15th).—R. de Cesare, who is an authority worth reading, writes on 'A Programme of Ecclesiastical Policy,' indicating the symptoms of better relations between the Vatican and Quirinal, and asking whether the moment has not come in which the Church should re-enter social and political life, with a programme based on the real freedom of religious worship. He recommends that the government should relinquish its right to interfere with the appointment of bishops, that the seminarists should be exempt from military service, that the stipends of the lower clergy should be increased, and the religious orders allowed to hold property.—F. Torraca contributes an interesting and pleasant paper on 'Frederick II. and Provençal Poetry.'—F. Nobilli-Vitalleschi has something to say on the much-troubled question of Socialism and Anarchy.—C. de Stefani closes his paper on the 'Struggle in the Balkan Peninsula.'—Paolo Lioy discusses flies, midges, and other small insects known to the ancients and moderns, and not seldom noticed in poetical effusions.—(February 15th).—A. Chiapelli writes on Darwinism and Socialism; opining that the doctrine of evolution is a product of the English mind, a mind admirably adapted for the analytical observation of facts, and nourished by experimental examination. Without this large scientific preparation, the doctrine of Malthus would never have suggested to Darwin the biological law of natural selection, nor would this law have been raised to the natural law of evolution in the mind of Spencer. The very form taken by the idea of evolution as a continual adaptation of the proper conditions of any individual to exterior conditions, is a reflection of the manner

of feeling and understanding, reality and life, proper to the English mind. On the contrary, the theory of socialism, although prepared for by the French and English socialism of the first half of the nineteenth century, received its seal and indelible character from the German mind, and is the legitimate and dearest child of idealism, especially of Hegelian thought. The theory of socialism does not speak in the name of the natural sciences, but is founded on its own conception of history, philosophical interpretation of the State, and positive law, to which it opposes human and primitive right; thus paving the way to a reform of moral conceptions, and perhaps even of life and the religious conscience.—L. Mariani discourses on modern European civilizations; and G. Ricca-Salerno, on the Agrarian question in Sicily.—The bibliographical bulletin notices Henry Balfour's 'The evolution of Decorative Art,' saying that the small volume contains the historic alphabet of that art.—(March 1st.)—The diplomatic records of 1870, by Count di Nigra, which have been freely noticed in English papers, are commenced in this number.—A. Medin writes 'the true story of Jacopo Ortis,' founded on letters published by G. A. Martinetti and C. Antona-Traversa.—C. T. de Quarenghi commences a paper on Russia and the union of the churches.—A. Venturi writes on *Ave Maria* in representative art, and A. Bertoldi on the friendship of Pietro Giordani with Antonio Cesare.—The bibliographical bulletin notices C. Lloyd Morgan's 'Introduction to comparative psychology' with praise.—(March 15th.)—After a political article by Signor Bonghi on deputies and guarantees, P. Lioz writes an interesting article on the old rhymed riddles of Italy, now gone out of fashion except in the country far from the great cities, where they may be found at the eastern border of Italy, from Istria to Sicily. These riddles are called *indovinelli*, and in the Venetian province are of great ethnological interest, as they show the brotherly connection prevailing in regions which are politically separate. The writer quotes some fifty or sixty riddles.—D. Zanichelli contributes a study on the presidential power in France.—Ugo Flores writes interestingly on the physiognomy of the arts.—Prateri's novel, 'Dolcetta's World' is ended, and is worth a more careful review than is possible in a few words.—L. Nocentini gives an account of the legends and popular tales of the Korea.—Matilde Gioli writes pleasantly on the female woodcutters in the forest of San Rossore, near Pisa.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (January 1).—P. R. writes on 'Religious instruction in Schools.'—G. Frainigo describes socialism in Italy.—A. Conti writes an essay, in letter-form, on

love as the only educator of the people.—G. Fortibracci contributes four short poems.—G. Grabinski continues his researches into the history of the French Revolution.—(January 15).—Besides the continuations of former articles, the most interesting contribution to the present number is an account of the poetical effusions addressed to Bianca Capello by Don Francesco de Medici, of which the various allusions and expressions are explained by the writer of the article.—In the bibliographical review of Stoppani's 'Early years of Alexander Manzoni' (the author of the *Promessi Sposi*), there is the following anecdote: Manzoni, as a very young man, was fond of gambling. One evening, while playing hazard, he felt himself touched on the shoulder. Turning, he saw the poet, Vincenzo Monti, who sarcastically and gravely said, 'If we go on like this, we shall make fine verses in future!' The warning was taken, and Manzoni never played again.—(February 1).—Under the title of 'The philosophy of a romance,' G. Morando reviews Zola's *Jourdes*, of course with disapprobation.—An article by D. di Giovanni on the teaching of science with regard to Christianity; one by A. Marchionni on the campaigns of Eugene of Savoy; and by E. A. Foperti on religion and patriotism, end the number.—(February 16).—Most of the papers here are continuations, but there are some original poems on science and faith by F. Massino, the first of which was written on the death of Father Denza, the astronomer.—(March 1).—After a political article by R. Corniani, a review of English literature occupies many pages of this number. Recent books on China and Japan, and on social questions, are chosen for comment. The greatest space is given to Sala's 'Things I have seen, etc.,' many passages being quoted, and the book praised.—A. Contento writes a statistical paper on Venice as a port, and there is a monograph on the late Father Denza.—(March 16).—E. Monzini describes the clerical programme.—C. del Lungo gives a detailed description of his explorations of Etna after the six months' eruption of 1892, the longest that has occurred since 1852, and the nineteenth eruption of Etna in this nineteenth century. The lava cast out of the crater during this eruption had a volume of 160 million cubic metres, filling two valleys. If it could be piled up on a base of 100 square metres, it would form a column more than ten miles high, weighing 400 million tons. Professor Bartoli, during the flow of the lava, put a piece of platina in an iron stick, and immersing it at the depth of a metre, melted it and withdrew it, measuring its temperature, which marked more than 1,000 degrees of heat. If all the heat contained in the lava erupted from Etna in 1892 could have been used as a motive force, it would have set in motion for a term of

three years all the machines, railway-engines, and steamers of Italy. Besides this heat contained in the lava, an immense quantity was dispersed in the steam and gas emitted from the crater. Catania is the city most exposed to destruction from Etna, and the writer of the article advocates the erection of fortifications and ditches to the north of the city, where it is most easily invaded by the lava.—Eufrazio writes on Galileo and the Biblical question.—L. Scolari discusses proportional political representation, and Luisa Anzoletti says a few words on the last hours of the late Italian man of letters, Cesare Cantù.

LA RIFORMA SOCIALE (Jan. 25 to March 1) contains the following articles: 'The Social Politics of Communes,' by Dr. Mataga.—'Studies on Anarchy,' by Professor A. Posada.—'The Last Reply to Naquet,' by Professor Coniglianni.—'The Suppression of the Superior Schools of Agriculture at Milan and Portici,' by F. S. Nitti.—'The Unemployed of the United States,' by Professor Coniglianni.—'Minor Delinquents,' by Signor Colajanni, Deputy of the Italian Parliament.—'The Labour Movement in Austria,' by A. Contento.—'Liberal Professions and Manual Labour,' by Professor Gide.—'The Endowment of German and Italian Universities,' by C. F. Ferraris, rector of the Padua University.—'Some Criticisms by Eugres,' by Professor Loria.—'The Social Defects in the Commercial Code,' by Professor Pipia.—'Will the Germans become French in the Conversion of their Debts?' by L. Luzzatti.—'The end of our Colonial Policy,' by A. di San Giuliano.—'After the Victory,' by Captain Casati.—'The Native Tribes in Erythrea,' by Galre-Negus.—'Swiss Experiences in Social Reform,' by Professor Wuarin.—'Social Finance in Italy,' by P. Lacava.—'American Strikes,' by Professor Salvioli.—'Births, Deaths and Marriages in Italy in 1892,' by G. Fiammingo.—The number for March 10 contains: 'Social Legislation in Austria,' by the Duke of Avarna.—'Montesquieu,' by Professor Gumpłowicz.—'The Social Policy of the Communes,' by Professor Mataja.—'How Balances are made in France,' by L. Luzzatti.—'The Law of Amnesty and Parliaments,' by Professor Mortara.—'Bimetalism,' by G. Boffa.—'Secondary and Primary Instruction in Italy in 1891-92,' by A. Contento.

RIVISTA DI FILOSOFIA ITALIANA (March-April) contains: 'Rudolph Seydel and his posthumous work on the Philosophy of Religion,' by S. Ferrari.—'Benzoni's Views of the Doctrine of Induction,' by F. Cichetti.—'The Conception of the Infinite and the Cosmological Problem,' by M. Novaro.

IL CONVITO is a new periodical publication edited by Signor De Basis, the translator of Shelley. Twelve numbers are to be

issued during the year, and the illustrations are good. Some are by the celebrated artists Michetti, Boggiani and Sartorio. Among the writers of articles are the editor, Pascoli and D'Aunnuzio, all good names. We have not yet closely examined a number.

LA VITA ITALIANO (March 10) contains: 'Our Babies,' by De Gubernatis.—'The First Nest.'—'Giovanni Lauzi,' by Berzezio.—'Diego Verioli.'—'The MSS. of Tasso in the Ferrara Library.'—'Ancient Poets.'—'Lacaita at Rome.'—'Leo XIII. and the New Constitution of the Oriental Churches.'—'Two Patriotic Books.'—(Number 13).—A novel by Salvatore Farina.—'The Magdalena.'—'The Countess Guiccioli.'—'At Villa Borghese.'—'Among our Flowers: the Amarillidae.'—'Cardinal Parocchi.'

RIVISTA MUSICALE ITALIANA (Turin).—'The musical history of the Provence troubadours.'—'Autographs of Rossini.'—'The comic melodramas of Casti.'—'Contemporaneous Art.'—Reviews.

LA VITA ITALIANA (Rome, January, February).—'The school of pleasure and the school of duty.'—'Italy abroad.'—'Saloons and types in Rome.'—'The journey of Charles Albert in Sardinia in the year 1843.'—'Novels and Sketches.'—'Scenery in Sardinia.'—'The pacification of the Oriental Churches initiated by Leo XIII.'—'Charity in Rome.'—'After three months' travel.'—'Literary profiles.'—'The two judges.'—'Profiles of artists; Cessare Maccari.'—'Italian travellers abroad.'—'Queen of Italy judged abroad.'—'The elegant life of the eighteenth century.'—'A triumph of Italian fencing.'—'A memory of Monsignor Carini,' etc.

IL PENSIERO ITALIANO (January) contains:—'Four words in private.'—'Intellectual overwork and the re-arrangement of Secondary Schools.'—'On the complexity of the atoms of decayed bodies.'—'Proverbs.'—'The theatre and religion.'

RIVISTA ITALIANA DE FILOSOFIA (January and February) contains:—'The teaching of Philosophy and the public education.'—'The last criticisms of Ansonio Franchi.'—'On the psychological interpretation of gambling.'—'The doctrine of the imagination in Saint Ambrose.'—'The personality of Hamlet.'

REVIEW OF POPULAR ITALIAN TRADITIONS (January).—'The popular traditions of Camponchiaro Molise.'—'The Madonna of Lendinara.'—'The winged Lion of St. Mark.'—'The giants and Antichrist.'—'The prehistoric origin of Alghero.'—'John without fear.'—'Examples of Sicilian Songs,' etc.

GIORNALE DANTECO (Year II., No. X.)—'Pride and envy in the first cantos of the Divine comedy,' by A. Dobelli.—'The ruin of the mind among the luxurious,' by G. del Noce.—'The Second Death,' by C. Carboni.—'Comment on verses 82-87 of Canto I. in the *Inferno*,' by G. Trenta.—'The Conception of Political Unity in Dante,' by M. Mandalari.

LA CULTURA (January 7th to February 11th) contains:—'Benjamin Constant.'—'Leo XIII.'—'The return of the Christian Church to Catholic unity.'—'The inauguration of the Hall of St. Cecilia,' by Signor Bonghi.—'The letters of Torquato Tasso.'

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1894).—Under the heading, 'A new Philosophy of Religion,' M. L. Marillier gives an elaborate summary of Professor Edward Caird's Gifford Lectures on *The Evolution of Religion*. The summary extends to close on seventy pages of this *Revue*, and furnishes an admirable outline of the argument running through the now Master of Balliol's two volumes. A few pages (about five in number) are devoted to a warm appreciation of the value of Dr. Caird's contribution to the philosophy of religion, to the lucidity and charm of its style, and the logical sequence of its reasoning; and to the pointing out of certain defects in the work as a whole. These latter are, however, only briefly indicated here, as M. Marillier intends in a second article to deal with them fully, and to justify his objections or criticisms. One of the defects specially mentioned by the reviewer is that whole groups of religions, and of religions of great importance, are left by the lecturer entirely out of account; those, for example, of China and Japan, the Semitic religions other than Judaism, and the religions of America, etc. From the selected religions dealt with in these lectures, M. Marillier thinks that Dr. Caird should have titled his lectures 'The Evolution of Christianity' and not 'The Evolution of Religion.' But on this and other points our reviewer promises to treat more fully in his next article.—The only other paper, apart from the book reviews, (and this is partly a book review, too) is on 'L'Art bouddhique dans l'Inde, d'après un livre récent.' The book in question is Dr. Grünwedel's *Buddhistic Kunst in Indien*, one of the 'Handbücher' of the Royal Museum at Berlin. It is contributed by M. A. Foucher. His paper is not, however, a mere *resumé* of Dr. Grünwedel's treatise, but should be described rather as an original or independent essay on the remains of Buddhistic sculpture, etc., which

have been unearthed recently from Indian soil. M. Foucher discusses the dependence of Buddhist artists on Greece, and endeavours to shed light on the origin and history of Buddhist art as a whole. His paper reveals a wide, as well as an exact knowledge of the subject with which he here deals, and of the inter-communication between East and West in the post-Alexandrian centuries.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1, 1895).—M. Pierre Paris' 'Bulletin archéologique de la Religion Grecque, Decembre 1893,—Decembre 1894,' receives the first place here. In it he gives a summary review of the results of the excavations conducted by several Archæological Societies in Greece, in so far as these results bear on the elucidation and illustration of the religious ideas and life of ancient Greece. The largest amount of attention is naturally enough given to the work that has been carried on by the French Society in and around Delphi. That Society's Reports and the special articles devoted by those engaged in the work, or chiefly interested in it, and which have appeared in archæological and other journals, are laid under tribute by M. Paris, and the views of such writers, constructive or critical, are noticed and estimated. The work carried on by the same Society at Delos, and elsewhere, is also detailed, as is the work of the German Institute, etc. These 'Bulletins' keep the readers of this *Revue en rapport* with all that is being done by these Societies, and form excellent memoranda, in small compass, of all the discoveries that are made from year to year so far as their religious interest is concerned.—The second article is entitled 'Histoire de Sanamkumara ; Conte Maharastri,' and in it M. G. de Blonay gives a free rendering of the story in French.—M. Esmein in the third article gives a summary of M. Imbart de la Tour's work on 'Les elections episcopales dans l'eglise de France, du IX^e au XII^e siècle.' While M. Esmein accords no little praise to the scientific character of the work, its lucid arrangement, and literary style, he points out in some detail its shortcomings and faults, and seeks to correct these where they affect matters of historic importance.—Among the minor reviews we may mention one by M. Amélineau of M. W. Flinders Petrie's book on 'Tell el Amarna,' and another by the same reviewer of Mr. E. Wallis Budge's 'Saint Michael, the Archangel.' Mr. John O'Neil's 'The Night of the Gods,' receives also favourable mention.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1, 1895).—The second part of M. the Abbé de Moor's elaborate and spirited defence of the historical character and value of the Book of Judith comes

first here. He identifies, it may be remembered, the Nabuchodonossar of the Book of Judith with Assurbanipal, and Arphaxad with Phraortes II. His examination of the data of the Book and the Assyrian annals of the period to establish their harmony, brought him in the first part of this treatise to the siege of Bethulia. Here the geographical position of this city is discussed, and M. the Abbé G. Khalel Marta's suggestion is adopted and defended, that it occupied what is now the site of Khirbet Haraiek el Mallah. The details of the siege are gone over, and Judith's venturesome expedition and its results described. A suitable gap in the history of that period, as given in the Book of Kings, is sought for and found, and the author's arguments here and his constructive proof are extremely ingenious, and well merit careful consideration. He has still a part of his essay to devote to the consequences of the defeat and rout of Holofernes' army.—The second paper here is on the worship of ancestors among the Chinese. It is by M. Than-Trong-Hué, who has been a student in l'École coloniale. He first gives a brief sketch of its history, and describes the rites connected with it, and the differences that exist between the rites and the importance attached to them in different provinces, according as the population has become of a mixed character or is racially distinct.—A third article is the paper read at the recent *Congres scientifique* at Brussels. It was prepared by M. de Broglie, the Professor of Apologetics at the Catholic Institute of Paris. Its title is 'Les Prophetes et la Prophétie d'après les Travaux de Kuenen.' The work of the late Professor Kuenen which M. de Broglie chiefly keeps in view is his 'Prophets and Prophecy in Israel' (Longmans & Co., London, 1877). The reviewer here takes Professor Kuenen on his own ground—the critico-historical, and sets himself to examine and to test the results to which Dr. Kuenen's study led him by the canons of criticism and history. He chooses, however, to separate for clearness' sake the critical part of Kuenen's work from the dogmatic, and promises in a future number of this *Revue* to study the rôle of the Prophets as precursors of the Gospel.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (No 4, 1894).—The first place is given here to the continuation and conclusion of M. Lieutenant-Colonel Gaston Marmier's 'Nouvelles Recherches géographiques sur la Palestine.' He deals here still with the territory of the Benjamites, and first with the towns of the Gibeonites mentioned in Joshua ix. 17. He seeks to shed what light can be gathered from the researches of ancient and recent investigators on the sites of the towns there named. Mizpah, or

Maspha, is dealt with at great length. There were four towns so named, and considerable confusion has arisen as to which of the four is in certain passages meant. There was a Mizpah in Gilead, two in Judæa, and one in Benjamin. That in Benjamin and the Mizpah in Judæa, on the way from Eleutheropoli (now Tell-es-Safy) to Jerusalem, have been often confounded, and M. Marmier examines the various passages where Mizpah is mentioned so as to clear up the distinction between them. Other towns in the territory of Benjamin, mentioned in the Old Testament, are also dealt with, and their sites determined or discussed.—M. Friedländer of Vienna contributes an interesting paper on 'La Sibylle Juive et les partis religieux de la Dispersion.' That Jews outside of Palestine, as well as those born and bred within its geographical limits and under its patriotic and religious influences, were anything but of one mind as to the future of Judaism, and as to the value of its characteristic rites and institutions, is well known from many extant sources. M. Friedländer shows very clearly here, from the Jewish Sibylline oracles, that in Egyptian, or Alexandrian, Judaism two parties existed which were poles asunder from each other in their conceptions of the essentials of their religion, and in their hopes regarding their national and religious destiny. He gives a *resumé* of the teaching of the fourth and fifth books of these Sibylline oracles on these points, and shows how utterly at variance the two writers were, though living and writing about the same time. The author of the fourth book held temples, animal sacrifices, and mere ritual observances in no esteem, and regarded Judaism as embracing all those who loved God, cherished pure sentiments, and lived noble lives. The author of the fifth book was, like the author of the third book, a rigid conservative, a staunch upholder of the national sanctuaries, and a zealous advocate of the obligatory nature of the Mosaic ritual. He was by no means blind, however, to the deep spiritual meaning which all that ritual was intended to express, nor was he indifferent to the importance of high moral ideals and blameless conduct. But as the inseparable basis and indispensable stay of those moral ideas and of all righteous actions, was, to his thought, the restoration of the temple and the due celebration of its sacrificial ritual. The ideas of these two Jewish writers regarding the conversion of non-Jews and their admission into the true Israel of God, are also placed by M. Friedländer here in contrast, and the relations of the author of Book V. to the Essenes are discussed.—Under the title 'La nativité de Ben Sira,' M. Israel Lévi deals with a passage in one of the works of Peter the Venerable, abbot of Clugui, written against the

Jews, in which he attributes the parentage of Jesus ben Sira to the daughter of Jeremiah the prophet. M. Lévi traces the probable origin of the fable, or calumny.—‘Notes sur les Juifs dans l’Islam,’ is the title of a short paper by M. Martin Schreiner, the first part of which is described as ‘a contribution to the study of the Jewish sects at the period of the Geonim,’ and the second deals with the ‘law of succession among the Jews in Mahomedan countries.’—M. Kaufmann prints two letters of Simon ben Joseph (En Duran de Lunel) with prefatory remarks.—The other important articles are, ‘Les Juif d’ Angers et du pays Angevin;’ ‘Inscriptions tumulaires de la Basse-Autriche;’ ‘Les Juifs de Bedarrides;’ ‘Une confiscation de livres hebreux a Prague;’ ‘Documents sur les Juifs de Wiener-Neustadt;’ and ‘Texte de la lettre adressée par les Frankistes aux commuautés juives de Bohême.’

REVUE SÉMITIQUE D’EPIGRAPHIE ET D’HISTOIRE ANCIENNE (No. 1, 1895).—M. J. Halévy’s ‘Recherches Bibliques’ in this number embrace two more of his studies in Genesis, and then the continuation of his ‘Notes pour l’interprétation des Psaumes.’ The chapters of Genesis here dealt with are chapters xv. and xvi. These chapters have been apportioned by the higher critics to several different authors, and though there has not been absolute unanimity as to the source of this verse or that, there has been a general consensus among them, as to the patchwork character of the narratives as they now lie before us. M. Halévy vigorously defends the unity of the narratives, and examines minutely the grounds on which that unity has been denied, in order to show how the critics in question have fallen into error as to them. Every phrase which has proved a stumbling-block to the critical school is specially analysed, but the whole text is carefully investigated, and commented on. Its intimate relations with the context of Genesis, in which it stands, are pointed out in detail, and the question is discussed as to the date of the composition of the narrative. Resting chiefly on the *data* as to the delimitation of the country and the tribes inhabiting it, in xv. 18-21, he assigns the narrative to the time of Solomon.—In M. Halévy’s ‘Notes on the Psalms,’ he examines, with the same critical and exegetical minuteness as always characterizes his ‘Recherches,’ the series of Psalms in their order from Psalm xxix. to xxxv. Wherever obscurity appears and is traceable to the transcription of the text or to the massoretic pointing, M. Halévy suggests the reading which he regards as having stood in the original, and his extensive and ripe scholarship, his critical acumen and conservative instincts, render these

suggestions always worthy of attentive consideration; and they invariably, at least, give a likely sense and a meaning in harmony with the line of thought pursued by the Psalmist. It is impossible in these brief summaries to give even illustrative examples, for much of their force depends on technical details adduced, too numerous and intricate to be given here; but we might point our readers to an instance of what we refer to on p. 39, and in regard to Psalm xxxii., v. 1. M. Halévy does not think that the participle passive Kal. of *nasa*, 'to take away,' 'to forgive,' suits the idea in the singer's mind there, and proposes to read the participle passive Kal. of *nashah*, 'to forget,' instead. Hebrew scholars will see how trifling the change on the massoretic text is, but the figure suggested is entirely altered. We would now read, 'Blessed is the man whose iniquity is forgotten (by himself), whose sin is covered, hidden (from his own eyes),' or, in other words, whose conscience does not reproach him with the least fault or transgression. This puts v. 1 in perfect harmony with v. 2. M. Halévy gives a full translation of each psalm, according to his amended text, and endeavours to assign it to its age and the circumstances that occasioned its being written, when that is possible.—The other articles here are continuations of papers begun in former numbers, or sequels to them, as is M. Perruchen's 'Index of Ideogrammes and Words contained in the Tel-el-Amarna Correspondence.' M. C. Huart continues his series of papers on the 'Epigraphie arabe d'Asia Mineure,' and M. Halévy his 'Notes sumeriennes.' He also contributes a short note on 'une Inscription palmyrenienne,' published by Professor Nöldeke in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, Vol. ix.; and a series of reviews of recent works on subjects to which this *Revue* is devoted.

REVUE CELTIQUE (Janvier, 1895).—This number opens with an interesting archaeological article by M. D'Arbois Jubainville on Fort Navan, the ancient Emain Macha, the capital of King Conchobar, who reigned in Ulster about the beginning of the Christian era. It was destroyed about the commencement of the fourth century by the three Colla, and has since remained in ruins. The paper is accompanied by plans and sections.—Dr. Ludw.-Chr. Stern follows with a description of an Irish MS. in the library of the University at Giessen. The MS. in question is on paper in quarto, and contains 66 leaves. It was formerly the property of Jean Schilter, a celebrated lawyer and antiquary of Strasburg, who appears to have acquired it in 1695 from an Irishman, who was probably the scribe. It is in good preservation, and contains a collection of histories and poems, of which Dr. Stern gives a careful description.—Dr. Whitley Stokes con-

tinues his papers on the 'Prose Tales in the Rennes Dindsenchas.'—M. J. Loth contributes a paper on Loth, King of Orcania, and father of Gawain, who figures in the French romance of the Round Table.—Professor Kuno Meyer treats of the derivation of *tibre*, *rith*, and *urgartiugud*.—The 'Chronique' and 'Périodiques' with which the number concludes are unusually full and interesting.

LE MONDE MODERNE (Février, Mars, Avril) quite fulfils the promise of its first number, and judging from the variety and character of its papers and illustrations, is likely to take a place among the most popular of the monthlies. Fiction is represented by 'Le Dame de Git-le-Cœur,' by M. J. Ricard; 'Deux Voisins,' by M. H. Chantavoine; 'Preuve d'amour,' by M. Paul Dys; and a somewhat exciting story entitled 'Le Sacrifice,' by M. P. Labarrière.—Among the more serious articles may be mentioned 'Coins de Normandie,' dealing for the most part with the remains of ecclesiastical architecture at Caudebec-en-Caux. The author of the paper, which contains several excellent illustrations, is M. Jules Adeline.—Socialism is handled by M. A. Claveau in the February number, and is preceded by a series of illustrations showing the attitudes of workmen while in the actual prosecution of their work.—Dr. M. Baudouin contributes a paper on 'Medicine and the Bicycle.'—One paper in the first of the numbers will be read with considerable interest. It has for its title 'L'Esprit Contemporain en Allemagne,' and bears the signature of M. Edm. Bailly.—In the second or March number Captain Dawrit continues his paper on the 'Effect of Infantry fire.'—M. C. Lallemand gives an account of his travels in Algeria.—Under the title 'Le travail de nuit des femmes dans l'industrie,' we have an interesting paper by M. L. Boquet.—Equally interesting is M. E. Neukomm's with the title 'Au pays des Vendes,' the illustrations to which are particularly attractive.—The April number has a number of excellent papers. Among these may be mentioned a very brief one on 'Alexandre Struys' by M. E. Neukomm, another on the 'Japanese Army' by Motoyosi Saizau, M. A. d'Albéca's on 'The Black Woman,' and 'Stigmates professionnels' by Dr. B.—'Chansons de France,' by M. M. Bouchor, begins well, and promises to be of more than ordinary attractiveness.—All the numbers contain humorous papers and sketches, the usual chapters on the fashions, inventions, and menus.

SWITZERLAND.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (January, February, March).—America indirectly supplies a notable pro-

portion of matter to these three numbers. The first of them opens with a review and summary of an American work on Switzerland, Mr. MacCrackan's 'What is the Referendum? Swiss Solutions of American Problems.' It is interesting to note that the writer, who is M. Numa Droz, takes some exception to the optimistic view expressed by Mr. MacCrackan of the essentially Swiss institution about which so much has been lately said and written. 'Assuredly,' these are his words, 'the referendum must be considered as a useful corrective of the representative system; but it cannot replace it completely, any more than it is the equivalent of a *landsgemeinde* or of a municipal assembly, in which discussions are held, and where the authority which presides over the deliberation is able to defend its work. Very far from having done away with professional politicians, the referendum has rather called them forth. It has favoured the development of a systematically negative school, the *neinsager*, having at their head unappreciated geniuses, who think of nothing but of sowing amongst others the discontent with which their own hearts are overflowing. Its influence, it is true, has been exercised in a conservative, and not in a revolutionary sense, except when some of the larger cantons found themselves, one fine day, without a budget, the popular majority having refused to ratify it; and, as the government had not the resource of the provisional twelfths, it was necessary to remedy this serious inconvenience by withdrawing from the people the right of pronouncing upon the budget. It is also true that the referendum contributes to the diffusion of civic knowledge, but it is necessary to guard against illusions on this point. When the people is called to pronounce upon such complex matters as a law relating to proceedings for debt and bankruptcy, or bank-notes, or diplomatic and consular representation, the number of those electors who grasp the subject in its entirety, and who are consequently competent to decide with a thorough knowledge of it, is certainly limited. In the Chambers themselves, a few dozen representatives, at most, are fully conversant with the matter; the elector consequently votes, in the majority of cases, on party lines, or in accordance with his temper at the time—a temper which will be good if, for example, the harvest has been satisfactory, fractious if anything unpleasant has occurred in public life. The art of the politician consists in knowing how to avail himself of circumstances to influence the great currents of opinion, favourable or unfavourable to a measure. As for the masses, they follow those currents, or remain indifferent.'—It is also America which supplies the long article, running through all the three numbers, entitled 'Recollections of a Portraitist.' The portraitist is George P. A.

Healy, who died in June, 1894. His reminiscences have been published in Chicago; and the article here given is a translation of such parts of them as seem likely to be of interest in Europe.—‘*La Photographie Scientifique*,’ by M. Ch. Ed. Guillaume is a very instructive sketch, setting forth the most recent developments in the application of photography, as, for example, to astronomy.—In ‘*Quatre Générations de Tsars de Russie*,’ M. A. de Verdilhac gives a rapid, but able and appreciative summary of the history of Russia under Alexander I., Nicholas I., Alexander II., and Alexander III.—In the February and March parts, Socialism figures with some prominence. In the first place it supplies a careful and detailed study, in two instalments, entitled ‘*The Evolution of German Socialism*.’—In addition to this it appears again in a long critical article on Mrs. Humphrey Ward’s ‘*Marcella*.’—In continuation of the series of studies which he is devoting to the armies of Europe, and in the course of which he has already dealt with Germany, France, Russia, and England, M. Abel Veuglaire turns his attention to the Austrian army. The writer is of opinion that it is greatly to be imitated, if not greatly to be feared, that alone it would assuredly not be an invincible adversary; but joined to its northern ally it would bring him a very considerable reinforcement. And his conclusion is that, if Austria does not hold the first rank, it very honourably occupies the second.—Not mentioning the several contributions to lighter literature, and the usual excellent ‘*Chroniques*,’ the only contribution that remains to be indicated is that which heads the table of contents for March, the interesting diplomatic reminiscences of Count Nigra, who was the Italian ambassador in Paris in 1870, the period with which he here deals.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA (January, 1895.) commences with half of a clever novelette by Emilia Pardo Bazan, in which the youth educated above his surroundings starts out to make the most of his education, and gets a good lead as a Ducal secretary. It has all the firm and delicate handling of this foremost of Spanish novelists, and is entitled ‘*The Three Arches (Triumphal) of Cyril*.’—In ‘*Goya*,’ Feferino Arango Sanchez seeks to give a complete account of this famous Spanish artist and his works, and to remove the fancies that have gathered around his personality. As he was born in the province of Zaragoza in 1746 the sketch is largely of Spanish art, as well as a notable biography.—Echegaray continues his ‘*Reminiscences of the Drama*,’ as well as his training as an engineer.—Some unedited letters of

the famous Colonel D. Jose Cadalso are given. He was instrumental in resuscitating Spanish letters during the last third of last century. As he was also a sincere patriot who gave his life for his country, these letters possess a wider interest.—A study of the 'Historical Poems on Chili,' by Menendez y Pelago, is a narrower study than the last, but with many suggestions of a larger nature contained in it.—Castilar's 'International Chronicle' touches on the deaths of two former journalists, Macé and Burdean. The former the author of 'History of a Mouthful of Bread,' and both distinguished Democrats. He touches sympathetically on De Lessep's death, giving a sketch of his career, and asking sadly why he had not concluded fifteen years earlier!—The death of the ex-King of Naples supplies a text for a little progressive sermon. He considers Manchuria readily divisible from China. He considers China in evil case, as America drives the Chinese away, France hates it for protecting Tonquin pirates, England loves not their invasion of the Indies, Russia drives them from Siberia, and humanity condemns them as opponents and obstructors of human progress! He blames the three religions of China, on one footing, for its decay.—The admirable *resumé* of Portuguese and Castilian literature by Fernando Wolff is continued.—The paper on 'The International Press' gives the Spanish reader a glance at the outer world, and a valuable indexed list of New Works with the pages and the price, if last, is not least in importance.—(February, 1895).—Besides the continuation of various papers, such as the study of the artist Goza; the reminiscences of Echegaray; the Literature of Castille and Portugal; and the completion of the tale of 'The Three Arches of Cyril,' we have separate papers of value. The first in point of interest is on 'Japan and the Philippines.' It acknowledges the sudden emergence of Japan into the first rank of nations. It shows that for some years Spain has been attracting Japs to their islands, where they are valued as 'family' colonists; and that a trade with Japan has been stimulated. It hopes that the rejuvenescence of Japan, and her victorious progress, will cause a great demand for the rich products of the Philippines, which are already in favour. The writer hopes that Japan—a *Saki* drinking people at present—will take the five millions of hectolitres of wine now sent from the Philippines to France. The Spanish government has already taken steps in the direction indicated.—A paper termed 'Entorno al Casticismo,' 'Round about Castepurity of Language,' (Spanish) deals with the advantages of, as well as the disadvantages of an unadulterated and unmixed Spanish, free from the river of the European invasion. It is brightly and suggestively written.—() ar e: nes the con-

dition of France and its Socialist and Federalist parties, and examines the European situation from the death of Lord Churchill to the struggle in Bulgaria.—The 'International Press' promises to be a most valuable part of this magazine, as it contains summaries of great interest.—We have in this number a useful list of the leaders in the 'Literary Movement in Belgium,' with accounts of interviews; and a curious account of the progress of 'Female Suffrage in England and America.'—(March, 1895)—The first part of 'The Last Waltz,' by José Alcalá Galiano, commences this number. It is dramatically written.—Gabriel Rodríguez deals vigorously with 'The Protectionist Reaction in Spain,' when Canvass del Castillo, the Conservative leader, re-arranged the customs duties.—'About Caste' deals with the 'Historic Caste—Castille!'—Other papers are continued, including 'Echegaray's Reminiscences,' 'Goza,' and 'Castillian and Portuguese Literature.'—Castelar is anxious about Cuba rebelling against reforms, a trouble apparently now removed, hardly in time to save Spanish finance. He deals, further, with the political reaction in Germany, and the struggle between Norway and Sweden, those two ill-matched nations of the North.—'The International Press' treats of Heine's letters, and 'weakness' (*la enfermedad*).—'Contemporary Literature' takes up several notable works dealing with frail heroes, and otherwise discusses moral and physical degeneration.—The list of New Works at the end of each month's number is of great use to the student.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS.—The February number begins with a brightly written paper on the famous Leiden philologist De Vries, whose scattered contributions to various magazines have just been collected and published by his son. Students of philology will find them full of instruction and interest though some are now a little out of date.—Socialism and the Flemish peasantry by Cyriel Buysse describes the spread of socialism among the Flemish country people who are utterly ignorant and superstitious, but whose antique faith is now quite undermined. So great is the success of the socialist propaganda that the writer sees little hope of averting some final bloody crisis like that of the Septembrists in the French Revolution. In his opinion the most hopeful sign is the rise of a Christian democratic party that has already succeeded in returning a representative to the Belgian Second Chamber. But this is little. The outlook is gloomy. While the number of avowed socialists is great, there are enormous numbers of unavowed too timid even to

trust the ballot box with their secret, although scarcely five years ago socialists were stoned and their brochures religiously burnt unread.—Belgian Poets, by A. G. van Hamel, is an account of the Belgic Parnassus. Pre-eminent are Albert Geraud and Iwan Gilkin, whose poems are cast in correct and classical form; next comes the wild but genial Verhaeren, a truer representative of the Belgian genius, as are likewise George Rodenbach and Maurice Maeterlinck. Their poetry, though written in French, for the Belgian *patois* is impossible, are not French. The uncertain haze that hovers about their dunes, is reflected in their work. They delight in the mysterious, the strange, the terrible, and in the emphasis of repetition peculiar to the Belgian peasant.—Francis of Asissi, by Van Toornbergen is a review of Sabatier's life of the Saint and covers very fully the whole subject.—'Experimental Sugar Cane Stations in Java' is a very practical report of the work done on these stations, such as selecting the best varieties of cane, combating disease, and so on.—Ibsen's 'Little Eyolf' is reviewed, and likewise a collection of poems by Pol de Mont.—(March.)—The history of Hend Hut a Dutch peasant woman of the lowest class is told by Zegers de Beÿl. Horribly tragic, even revolting, it is yet full of the most pathetic touches, and throws a lurid light upon the lower stratum of country life though nothing is represented that could not find a parallel in the same class in agricultural England.—'Wu Wei' is a study by Henri Borel after the philosophy of Lao Tse. It does not profess to be a translation, but only to give the essence of the Chinese sage's teaching and its results, indeed it is written in a comparatively modern style.—G. A. E. Oort contributes a readable paper on the Norwegian novelist Jonas Lie.—Van Deventer continues his series of papers on the Erotic dialogues of Plato, taking up here the *Lysias*.—'Juridical Ethnology' is the subject of a rather dull paper by Serrurier, and is partly a review of Steinmetz' ethnological studies.—The April number contains the first part of an exciting story or rather psychological study by Cyriel Buysse entitled 'Mea Culpa.' This is followed by a paper on the 'Song of Solomon,' by J. C. Matthes, who of course looks at it from a strictly literary point of view, and sees in it a fresh and vivid reflection of the popular life of the day. It is truly a national song. A most interesting paper is 'The Application of the Bertillon System of Identification in the Netherlands,' by Lignian, a prison official at Roermond, who in that place carried the system into practice, and in this paper gives his experiences of its success. He is an ardent advocate of the anthropometric system, and would like it universally introduced. He

considers it both simple and inexpensive.—Byvanck contributes 'Our Relations to Lombok,' the unsatisfactory nature of which has been a long-standing subject of discussion, and to other than Dutchmen uninteresting.—Dr. Enklaar's article, 'Being and Becoming,' is, as the title indicates, a metaphysical study.

DENMARK.

YEAR-BOOK FOR NORTHERN ARCHÆOLOGY AND HISTORY (Vol. 9. Part 3. 1894).—This part, of over 100 pages, is entirely taken up with an article by Lieutenant F. Uldall on 'The Windows in the Granite Churches of Jutland.' The author gives a very minute account of the windows in these churches which have been left in their original state, the greater number having been enlarged and altered after the Reformation. Some of the illustrations are of architectural interest, but the article itself is hardly for the general reader, and is made still drier by the use of numbers to denote the different churches, which amount to over 700. The author also omits drawing any general conclusions as to date, etc., from the mass of details which he presents.

ICELAND.

TÍMARIT HINS ÍSLENSKA BÓKMENNTAFJELAGS (The Icelandic Literary Society's Annual, 1894).—This issue contains some excellent articles, which do credit to Icelandic scholarship. Dr. Björn Olsen's long criticism on the latest theory with regard to the origin of the Eddaic poems is a sound and interesting piece of work, and shows clearly how little reason there is to assign them mainly to Norway as Dr. Finnur Jónsson has tried to do.—'Odin in recent folk-lore,' by Saemund Eyjólfsson, is hardly conclusive enough, but brings up many interesting points.—The review of books relating to Iceland, by Thorsteinn Erlingsson, is well written, and deals mainly with recent works on Northern mythology (Jónsson, Meyer, Storm, etc.) and Taranger's book 'The Anglo-Saxon Church's influence on the Noree.'—There are also some interesting notes on life in Iceland half a century ago.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Thoughts on Religion. By the late GEORGE JOHN ROMANES, M.A., LL.D., F.R.S. Edited by CHARLES GORE, M.A., Canon of Westminster. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1895.

It is no exaggeration to say that, small as is its compass, this is one of the most significant books of the day. When the Evolution Theory first made its appearance, materialism seemed likely to sweep the board; and Prof. Romanes—perhaps Darwin's most intimate friend—soon took part with the materialists. His striking work, *A Candid Examination of Theism*, is the typical product of this stage. Outside the circle of a few intimate friends, among whom was the present writer, the authorship of this work was unknown. Nevertheless, such were its merits that it attracted much attention, and has since been republished, though against its author's express stipulation. Romanes' next stage was one chiefly of practical work, and its results are embodied in his classical researches upon the *Medusae*, and upon the development of Intelligence in the Animals and in Man. The latter part of this work led him to ponder seriously problems of philosophical rather than of strictly scientific interest. But for the paper on the Evidences for Design in Nature, contributed to the Transactions of the Aristotelian Society, and for his privately-printed Poems, the general public knew little of the direction in which his thought was tending. This now stands revealed in the *Thoughts on Religion*. The work is remarkable for its contribution to what the iconoclastic Prof. Karl Pearson has termed the 'religious re-action.' As a matter of fact, however, the movement which it represents is not a reactionary one, but, on the contrary, a natural evolution. Men are now beginning to find out that the new scientific ideas which, in the first flush of successful application, came to be over-rated, do not explain everything. Darwin has no more overturned religion than Copernicus and Lyell. Two notes may be quoted, which illustrate how candidly and fundamentally Romanes had come to recognise this. 'Being, considered in the abstract, is logically equivalent to Not-Being or Nothing. . . . The failure to perceive this fact constitutes a ground fallacy in my *Candid Examination of Theism*, where I represent Being as being a sufficient explanation of the Order of Nature or the law of Causation' (p. 69). Once more: 'The result (of philosophical inquiry) has been that in his intellectual contemplation and experience *man* *has attained certainty with regard to certain aspects of the world problem, no less secure than that which he has gained in the domain of physical science, e.g., Logical priority of mind over matter. Consequent untenability of materialism*' (p. 31). All Romanes' friends owe Canon Gore a debt for the judicious manner in which he has performed his editorial duties. The little work ought to be in the hands of every seeker after truth.

Morality and Religion. Being the Kerr Lectures for 1893-94. By JAMES KIDD, B.D., Minister of Erskine U.P. Church, Glasgow. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1895.

The Trustees of the Kerr Lectureship, recently founded in the United Presbyterian Church, did well in . . . Prof. James Orr, of

Edinburgh, as first lecturer under the scheme. But they placed later lecturers in a difficult position. It was no easy matter to produce a work fit to stand in the same rank with Dr. Orr's *Christian View of God and the World*; probably Mr. Kidd would seek no higher praise than the admission, which must emphatically be made, that *Morality and Religion* is in every sense a worthy companion volume. Indeed, it affords the most complete and competent pronouncement on the subject that we have. The book falls into four distinct parts: I. *Morality*; II. *Religion*; III. *The Relation between Morality and Religion*; IV. *the Testimony of Christ*. Of these, the second is the best, its criticism of Prof. Max Müller, and very specially of Dr. Edward Caird, being at once acute and important. The fourth section is also well done, although here and there it lapses into that religious sentimentality which seems to beset ministers outside the Church of Scotland when they come to treat religious problems systematically. This, together with the rather external view of the non-Christian religions, marks the main defects of the book. As a whole it is an admirable contribution. There are abundant evidences of philosophical insight, and of theological culture, while the general conception of the entire subject is at once firm and, for the most part, just.

Studies in the History of Christian Apologetics: New Testament and Post-Apostolic. By the Rev. JAMES MACGREGOR, D.D., Oamaru. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1894.

With this volume Dr. Macgregor completed what he evidently considered his *opus magnum*, and apparently his life; for immediately on the publication of the volume came, if we rightly remember, the news of his death. Few men in his own denomination are able to take his place. He was known throughout it and considerably beyond its circle as scholar of wide reading and great mental ability. Nowhere in his writings are these more conspicuous than in the series of volumes to which the one whose title we have placed above forms the conclusion. His aim all through the three volumes has been to show that 'the proof of Christianity is constituted by the whole historical phenomenon of this religion in the world.' The present volume deals with the indications of Apologetics in the New Testament writings and with the Apologetic writings of the entire period of Christendom. Before entering upon his subject Dr. Macgregor defends the apologetic spirit and seeks to justify its existence and activity. Among other things also he enters the lists against Professor Huxley and deals somewhat sharply with that noted scientist's statements and opinions. According to our author much of our Lord's teaching and much of that of the Apostles was apologetic, a fact which he often illustrates in a most happy way. His study on subsequent apologetic literature divides itself into two parts: the first dealing with that of the two first centuries, and the other with modern apologetics. This he brings down to the present day. Dr. Macgregor is, to say the least, a discursive writer; his asides are extremely numerous. They are often, however, extremely effective, and at times not without a large measure of humour.

Via, Veritas, Vita: Lectures on 'Christianity in its most Simple and Intelligible Form.' (Hibbert Lectures, 1894). By JAMES DRUMMOND, M.A., LL.D., etc. London and Edinburgh: Williams & Norgate. 1894.

Some regret may be expressed that the Hibbert Lectureship is now a thing of the past, and that we have here in Dr. Drummond's *Lectures*

the last volume of a series which is in some respects notable. Each of the authors who have contributed to the series has had a free hand, and though here and there divergent views may have been expressed, they have all been working for the same end, the elucidation of one of the main factors in human life. The science on which they have been engaged is comparatively new, and doubtless many things they have said will, as knowledge in this department advances, need to be revised; still they have certainly done much to place a large body of information before the public, and to quicken its interest both in the history of religion and the relation in which one religion stands to another. The institution of the Lectureship was one of the signs of the times. Whether its conversion into a Professorship at one of the Colleges at Oxford is a right or prudent step it is not for us to say. Some notable books have been produced by it, and an impetus has been given to the study of one of the most recent of the sciences, both of which are public gains. In the lectures before us Dr. Drummond undertakes to tell us what Christianity is in its most simple and intelligible form, or as he puts it in his preface, 'to give a general description of the spiritual teaching of Christianity, avoiding as far as possible the purely doctrinal controversies which have so often called off men's attention from more fundamental matters.' All depends of course on what is included under 'the spiritual teaching of Christianity.' To very many much of the most spiritual teaching of the Christian faith will appear to be left out of Dr. Drummond's book. But after all, what he undertakes to describe, and he is careful to inform us of the fact, is his own view of what the simplest and most intelligible form of Christianity is. His book therefore partakes very much of the nature of a confession, and in that respect is of considerable value for the history of Socinian or Unitarian opinion. From what may be termed the Theological part of his lectures many will differ, but in the Ethical part they will find much that is deserving of attention. As might be expected in a work from the hands of the author of *Philo* and the Principal of Manchester College, Oxford, the lectures bear ample evidence of extensive scholarship, and of a refined devotional and religious feeling.

Analytical Concordance to the Bible. By ROBERT YOUNG, LL.D.
Sixth Edition. Revised. Edinburgh: George Adam
Young & Co.

Dr. Young has earned the gratitude of all students of the Bible, whether learned or simple. His concordance is a monument of industry and indefatigable scholarly care. As a concordance it is considerably the fullest we know. But it is much more than a concordance. It is at the same time, as far as a work of its kind can be, a dictionary of the Bible, a Hebrew lexicon and a Greek lexicon, in which every word used in the original text is transliterated and explained in its literal sense, and also a commentary upon the text of the Bible, which, as it is based upon the literal significance of the words, is incomparably more suggestive and instructive than Commentaries usually are. As far as possible, indeed, the most unlearned reader is here placed on a footing of equality with the most learned. He is told where every particular passage occurs, what is the exact meaning of its words, and where passages of a similar significance are to be found. He is also told what the words are in the original, their literal meaning, and how they are to be pronounced. But even this does not exhaust the contents of this truly remarkable volume. As every one knows, the same word in the Hebrew or Greek of the Bible is in numerous instances rendered into English by a variety of words, and the

same English word is often made to do duty for different words in Hebrew and in Greek, as the case may be. Here, however, the reader is shown almost at a glance what other Hebrew or Greek words have been rendered by the same English word, what the original word is for the English equivalent in the passage he is looking for, what its literal meaning is, and in what other passages it has the same significance. The advantage of this, a little practice soon makes obvious. The result is that many passages assume a new and striking significance as compared with what we have been in the habit of attaching to them. For instance, the original word for *chasten* in 2 Sam. vii. 14 means to convict, for the same word in Prov. xix. 18 to instruct, and for the same again in Heb. xii. 6 to instruct, train up. Or again, in 2 Sam. xvii. 9, Ps. xlv. 14, and Ps. xxiii. 6, we have the verb *follow*; but the original in the first two instances simply means to follow after, while in the third, as Prov. xii. 11, it has the much more intense meaning of to follow eagerly, to pursue. The value of a work that brings distinctions of this kind from different parts of the Bible together and presents them on the same page and in the same column hardly needs to be pointed out. As an instance of the exhaustive way in which the words and passages are registered, we may mention that on a rough calculation there are upwards of a thousand under *word* and *words*. The proper names of the Bible, we should also say, are not relegated to the end, but occur in their proper alphabetical places in the body of the work. These, too, have their Hebrew and Greek equivalents given, which are also explained. At the end of the volume there are several valuable appendices. The first is a sketch of recent explorations in Bible lands, by the Rev. Dr. Nicol, who gives the latest results. Next we have facsimiles of various ancient MSS. of the Old and New Testaments. These are followed by a series of fourteen excellent maps, after which comes a Hebrew and English lexicon to the Old Testament, and then a Greek and English one for the New, to each of which is supplied a Romanized index, so that the reader, if he knows neither Greek nor Hebrew, or the one and not the other, may, if he chooses, make himself acquainted with the pronunciation of every Hebrew or Greek word used in the Bible. A more admirable aid to the study of the Bible, at least for those who are not scholars, can with difficulty be conceived.

Comte, Mill, and Spencer: An Outline of Philosophy. By JOHN WATSON, LL.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Queen's College, Canada. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1895.

Professor Watson, who has already laid teachers of philosophy under obligations by his admirable text-book of illustrative selections from Kant, has here done them a further favour. As he says in his Preface, 'No apology seems needed for the publication at the present time of an *Outline of Philosophy*. There is no lack of Introductions to Psychology and Ethics, but, so far as I know, there is not in English any book which seeks to give in moderate compass a statement of Philosophy as a whole.' Professor Watson must be perfectly well aware that there are two books, at least, in English, which address themselves especially to this task. Both, too, come from the great Western World. The *Introductions to Philosophy* of Dr. Stuckenberg and Professor Ladd do attempt a view of the entire subject, unlike the little work of Dr. Carus, which is confined mainly to method. Their compass, however, can hardly be called moderate, and they are so arranged as to be of probable hindrance rather than help to the beginner. In short, they are not organic. Professor Watson's work

is distinguished by the presence of operative principles which enable him to present the entire subject in outline as a closely welded unity. Whatever the objections to the standpoint adopted by him may be, there can be no question that it is admirably adapted for the present purpose. Even the most violent critics of 'Intellectual Idealism,' as it is here termed, will admit that the theory which derives from Hegel has no superior as an instrument for ploughing the mind. The view of philosophy which Professor Watson develops in the body of his book, partly by criticism upon Comte, Mill, and Spencer, partly by direct elaboration of his own conceptions, is succinctly stated as follows. 'Philosophy bears the same general relation to the other sciences which it bears to mathematics, and we may now sum up the results to which we have been brought in three propositions. Firstly, science deals with objects as such, philosophy with the knowledge of objects. Secondly, science assumes that real knowledge is possible, philosophy inquires into the truth of that assumption. Thirdly, science deals with the relations of objects to one another, philosophy with their relations to existence as a whole. More shortly, science treats of modes of existence, philosophy of existence in its completeness.' With this general statement we are in entire agreement. So far as experts are concerned, the most valuable part of the consequent development of this view is that entitled 'Philosophy of Nature.' Nowhere have the members of the school to which Professor Watson belongs been more unfortunate hitherto. His chapters will do not a little to remove this reproach. They are full of knowledge, and are marked by an insight at once convincing and suggestive. To beginners, especially when they are under the direct supervision of a teacher, the work will be of immense assistance; and the aid which it will afford may be easily increased if care be taken to follow Professor Watson's own advice about reading the *ipsissima verba* of the great thinkers. It is significant that this friendly hint should have been given. For nothing has marked Scottish students brought up on 'intellectual idealism' more than their knowledge of formulæ and their ignorance of fact. Professor Watson is to be congratulated on the production of a book both valuable in itself and most useful as an introductory treatise.

The Theory of Inference. By the Rev. HENRY HUGHES, M.A.
London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co. 1894.

This is an interesting and, in some respects, even a remarkable book. Like the works of Drs. F. H. Bradley and Bosanquet, it shows that the English mind is in movement as regards logical theory, though, unlike the neo-Hegelian books, it hardly evinces sufficient appreciation of the direction in which further development may be sought. At the same time, there is provision and to spare of food for reflection. Mr. Hughes states his pivoting ideas in chapter viii., where he emphasizes the distinction between 'natural law' and 'history' as fields of inferential investigation. 'Induction, together with deduction, belongs to one field; and illation, together with delation (a kind of inference not concerned with the discovery of causes and effects) belongs to the other. . . . It seems, then, to be sufficiently clear that, if we are to draw inferences and conclusions in the field of history, we must have some other mode of proceeding than by means of induction.' Mr. Hughes elaborates this thesis by considering the difference between 'uniformity of nature' and 'continuity in nature.' In this connection, he takes occasion to review Mill's position, and he certainly passes criticisms which are of the utmost value. Nevertheless, it might have been better to omit these negative considerations for the pur-

pose of elaborating his own doctrine at greater length. To a certain extent, however, this is done in chapters ix., x., and xi., where Mr. Hughes unquestionably renders important service to logical theory. The whole presentation, though not invariably new, is fresh, and is marked by distinct individuality of thought. Nevertheless, we cannot help thinking that further attention to the principle of metaphysical logic—which, after all, is the only theory even relatively complete—would have thrown such light upon the contrast between natural law and history, as to show that the hard and fast separation here contemplated forms no more than the other side of an inner unity. The nature of inference itself, when viewed as the mediate reference of ideal content to reality, embodies a theory which, if intelligently applied, proves the essential connection between kinds of reasoning as manifestations of one transcendental principle. Science and human life, law and history, are but aspects under which the one reality reveals itself: and the question for logic is, in what manner does the revelation take place? Mr. Hughes' work is of great importance, because it raises problems which can be answered only by a metaphysical logic. His belief, expressed in the Preface, that the book 'may prove to be of use, not only to the theologian, but also to the general student of logic and philosophy,' has every justification.

Tractatus de Intellectus Emendatione et de via, qua optime in veram rerum cognitionem dirigitur. Translated from the Latin of Benedict Spinoza by W. HALE WHITE. Translation revised by AMELIA H. HUTCHISON STIRLING, M.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1895.

Mr. Hale White has already produced an excellent translation of Spinoza's principal work the *Ethica* and here follows it up with a translation of the *De Intellectus Emendatione*—a work less known, but of importance to the understanding of the development of Spinoza's philosophy. As is known from the author's correspondence with Oldenburg the work was written at an early period of Spinoza's philosophical career, though it was not published during his lifetime and saw the light only among his posthumous works. From the same correspondence and indeed from evidence internal to itself the treatise is evidently incomplete. How this has come about is not known. Mr. White and others have made conjectures which are more or less plausible, but the fact remains that as it now stands the work fails to answer completely either to the description Spinoza gave of it to Oldenburg or to the promise which it here and there gives of what it will contain. Moreover it ends in a quite abrupt fashion as if it had never been completed. The aim of the tractate may be gathered from the first sentence—'After experience had taught me that all things which are ordinarily encountered in common life are vain and futile, and when I saw that all things which occasioned me any anxiety or fear had in themselves nothing of good or evil, except in so far as the mind was moved by them, I at length determined to inquire if there were anything which was a true good capable of imparting itself, by which the mind could be solely affected to the exclusion of all else; whether, indeed, anything existed by whose discovery and acquisition I might be put in possession of a joy continuous and supreme to all eternity.' The translation is Mr. White's. The work is not an easy one to render into readable and intelligible English, but so far as we have examined Mr. White's version, the translation seems to us to be on the whole well done. Here and there greater clearness would in

all probability have been obtained and the requirements of idiomatic English have been more clearly complied with if the tenses of the text had been adhered to. It may be doubted whether anything is gained by translating *felicitas* by 'happiness' and not as in the first sentence by 'joy.' Words now, however, are getting somewhat mixed in their significance and probably to most minds 'happiness' and 'joy' suggest no difference. Mr. White's introduction, like his introduction to the *Ethica*, is excellent reading and sets the main drift and argument of the work in the clearest light.

The Great Problem of Substance and its Attributes. Involving the relationship and laws of Matter and Mind as the Phenomena of the World, derived from the Absolute. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co. 1895.

The title, the unpretentious size, and the anonymity of this work, may create a certain amount of prejudice against it in the minds of some even who affect to be philosophically inclined. The problem proposed to be treated within its modest compass has been so long debated, and the solutions already given of it have been so numerous, and are all so conflicting and so faulty, that we are apt to turn impatiently away from those who promise us another and final solution of it, and more especially if the voice that addresses us speaks from behind a veil, and offers us no credentials of the competency of the speaker. But if these things prevail with us in this case, we shall deprive ourselves of not a little pleasure, and not a little profit. The author of this little work is well equipped for the task he undertakes. He is evidently widely read in philosophic lore; has pondered this great problem long and deeply; and has brought a vigorous mind and a cool judgment to his study of it. The literary quality of his work is, for a philosopher, worthy of almost unstinted praise. He never leaves his reader in doubt as to what he means. His thought is invariably clear to himself, and he consequently makes it always clear to others. He never indulges in rhetorical verbiage. Every sentence is as concise as it almost well can be, but, at the same time, is so simple and so lucid that we nowhere require to linger over it to spell, so to speak, its sense. That he succeeds in clearing up the mystery that has hitherto enshrouded substance and attribute, and the relationships and laws of matter and of mind, need not be affirmed; but that our author carries us some way further towards the comprehension of these points, may with confidence be asserted. After a brief notice of the conclusions come to by preceding investigators, he lays down, in almost aphoristic form, 'a programme of principles' that lie at the root of such a study as this. Then he deals with the problem of existence—the outside world of matter and the inside world of mind, and how these are related to and affect each other. Next he describes the intellectual and emotional, including of course the moral, powers. This part of his work is specially interesting and effective, and hardly leaves anything to be desired in the fulness of its enumeration of these powers, or its characterization of them, and description of their evolution. The concluding part of his work will be generally felt, we think, to be its weakest part. Theology is evidently not a field where our author is at home. His conceptions of the authoritative value of the Bible in the province of history are likely to prove unsatisfactory to the higher critics of to-day, while his presentations of the relationship of God and Christ, of the nature of sin, and the basis of eternal life, will prove equally displeasing to others. The book however as a whole will well repay a careful study, and prove helpful as a guide in the intricacies of the great and puzzling problems with which it deals.

A Critical Account of the Philosophy of Lotze: The Doctrine of Thought. By HENRY JONES, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Glasgow. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons. 1895.

Professor Jones has already made a name for himself as an expositor of philosophic and religious doctrine by his widely read volume on Browning. Here he essays what we must own seems to us an easier task and performs it with equal skill. Perhaps no German philosopher of any standing and of recent date is in less need of an expositor than Lotze. He has done the work for himself and always even in his more scientific works writes with a clearness which until comparatively recently has been rare among German philosophers. All the same Mr. Jones's work is not without its justification. Notwithstanding his own popular exposition of his system, Lotze stands in need of an interpreter, of an interpreter, that is, who will put his system into a smaller compass, shows its relations to previous systems and exhibit its general tendency. And this Professor Jones has done. He has done it with rare skill and with considerable felicity of style. Nothing can be clearer than his exposition of the position Lotze occupies in the world of thinkers or of the doctrines with which his name is identified. Here he mainly confines himself to Lotze's doctrine of thought, but with Lotze this is fundamental—and the key to his system. For the mastering of that we can conceive of no better help than Mr. Jones' volume. Many we suspect will prefer Mr. Jones to Lotze. At any rate whoever cares to understand the latter will find this brightly written little volume a most enlightened guide. After its perusal Lotze's more diffuse and hesitating statements will appear more luminous and attractive even to the non-philosophic reader. Students will find it of the greatest service.

Ancient Lives of Scottish Saints. Translated by W. M. METCALFE, D.D. Paisley: Alexander Gardner. 1895.

Whatever opinions one may have on the value or interest of Saints' lives in general, there can be no question as to those translated by Dr. Metcalfe, which have for Scotsmen an interest independent of their ecclesiastical connections. The work embraces nearly the whole of the Latin lives originally published by Pinkerton in 1789, and re-edited in a greatly improved form by the translator in 1889 in two volumes. The only omissions in the present volume are the various offices, of which a translation would be both difficult and of no great interest, and some smaller lives of minor value. It thus includes the lives of six famous Scottish Saints,—Ninian, Columba, Kentigern, Servanus or Serf, Queen Margaret, and Earl Magnus of the Orkneys; and although several of these were already accessible in English versions, it is of great advantage to have them all translated side by side, and by the same hand in so correct and readable a version as Dr. Metcalfe's. While the student will find it impossible to dispense with either the text or the notes of the Latin edition, the translation is sure to be welcomed by the general reader who is interested in the history of Scotland, whether from a social or ecclesiastical point of view. In the former connection Dr. Metcalfe has in his introduction given a useful summary of everything in the Legends which throws light on the stage of civilization reflected in them, in which a great deal of their historic value consists. The Lives, as is natural, differ widely in style and in value. Of particular interest is the Life of Columba by Cuimide, here translated for the first time in its original shape, although it is practically

incorporated in the better known work of Adamnan. It is scarcely a life of the saint in the usual sense, but rather a collection of miracles performed by him, and this, indeed, is also the real character of Adamnan's work, a great part of which (especially Book I.) is made up of what in a more secular person would have been alleged as instances of second-sight. In strong contrast to the precision with which these lives give names and places for their miracles are the short and rather vague life of Ninian by Ailred of Rievaulx, and the more ambitious one of Kentigern by Jocelin. In both of these the authors have overlaid their somewhat scanty material by a studied exuberance of rhetoric, which the translation has carefully and successfully preserved. These two writers are not a little proud of the way in which they have improved on their barbarous originals, but one cannot help wishing for the older source used by Jocelin in his life of St. Mungo. This, he says, was written *stilo Scottico*, which Dr. Metcalfe takes to mean Celtic, but the description of it as 'abounding in solecisms' would rather suggest its being in Irish Latin, as Jocelin could hardly be a critic of Gaelic style. The anonymous fragment, which gives a very different account of the circumstances attending the Saint's birth, has been omitted, perhaps wisely. The life of St. Serf, an addition made to Pinkerton by Dr. Metcalfe, is also here translated for the first time, and though mainly fictitious is of interest from his connection with Loch Leven. Andrew of Wyntoun, as in duty bound, was acquainted with it, and relates the curious argument between the Saint and the Devil, which is told in the 8th chapter. Of much more historic value, being written by one who knew her, is the life of St. Margaret, Malcolm Canmore's Queen, though it is rather an account of her character and death than of her life. The interesting recovery by the Bodleian Library of the book of the Gospels belonging to her [p. 315] might have found a place in the introduction or in a foot-note. The life of St. Magnus, which closes the volume, has been translated from the Icelandic original, of which the Latin Text [Vol. II., p. 213] is only a last century rendering adopted by Pinkerton. It is a curious compound of history, legend, and homily, the latter being the foundation on which the writer of the Saga worked. The miracles were no doubt put together in the Orkneys, as the more striking ones happen in the case of Shetlanders, and the most marvellous is put as far away as Norway. As Sir George Dasent's translation of the Saga has also just appeared in the Rolls publications, St. Magnus has a fair chance of regaining some of his lost reputation. It would have been an advantage to the reader of this volume had the notes to the Latin texts been reproduced in part, as the want of them involves constant reference to the earlier volumes. The index too omits some items of interest, but the translator has done faithfully all that he has undertaken in giving good correct versions of the lives as they stand, and his work will be very acceptable to all who are interested in the subject.

The American Commonwealth. By JAMES BRYCE, M.P. Vol. II. Third Edition. London & New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Unlike the original edition of this well-known work by Mr. Bryce this new and third edition is printed in two volumes. In the one before us we have the sections containing the chapters on the Party System of the United States, Public Opinion, Illustrations and Reflections and Social Institutions. The whole of them have undergone a very careful and thorough revision, and several chapters have been added. One chapter in the original issue—that by [redacted] on the Tweed Ring in New York

City—has been omitted. In its place we have one entitled the Tammany Ring in New York City from the hand of Mr. Bryce, which we prefer. The other new chapters are on the Home of the Nation, the South since the War, the Present and Future of the Negro, Foreign Policy and Territorial Extension. The first of these treats of the physical conditions of the country and the influence they are likely to have upon the nation. As might be expected the treatment is somewhat speculative. The settlement of the country is so comparatively recent that there is an absence of sufficient data on which to form anything like a permanent opinion. Some interesting facts, however, are brought out, and Mr. Bryce is of opinion that notwithstanding the vast extent of the country the nation is likely to remain united. As for the negro, Mr. Bryce is of opinion that he will stay in North America, but that while locally intermixed with the white population, he will remain socially distinct, as an alien element, unabsorbed and unabsorbable. He is further of opinion that he will in all probability draw more and more southwards into the lower and hotter regions along the coasts of the Atlantic and the Gulf of Mexico. He is doubtful, however, whether he will decrease in the more northerly states. Though substantially the same, the alterations and additions which have been made in this new edition have to some extent made it a new work, or, at least, one with which the original edition will require to be read in order to arrive at its distinguished author's final opinions.

A Little Scottish World as revealed in the Annals of an Ancient Ayrshire Parish. By the Rev. KIRKWOOD HEWAT, M.A. Kilmarnock: D. Brown & Co.

The 'little Scottish world' referred to is the Parish and Ancient Burgh of Prestwick. Few who visit its links, we imagine, ever dream that the quiet little village lying along the roadside has so ancient a history or so much interest attaching to it, both from an historical and from an antiquarian point of view. How far back its history goes, it is almost, if not quite, impossible at the present date to tell exactly. At one time it appears to have been able to boast of being in possession of a charter which must have been among the most ancient in Scotland. Unfortunately, however, even as early as the year 1600, the document in question seems to have been lost. At any rate, in the year named, James VI. renewed to the Burgh its rights and privileges, and declared that it had already been in existence as a Free Burgh of Barony for a period of six hundred and sixteen years—an interval of time which would carry back the erection of Prestwick into a Burgh as far back as the year A. D. 983. His Majesty may not have been quite correct, but whether he was or not, there can be no doubt that as early as the beginning of the fifteenth century the place was already of some note, and that as early as between the year 1165-1173, Prestwick is mentioned as a Burgh in one of the Charters connected with the foundation and endowment of the Abbey of Paisley, by which Walter Fitz-Alan, the Great Steward, bestowed the Church of the Burgh along with the neighbouring Church of Monkton and other gifts to the house he was then founding and equipping. Whether Walter Fitz-Alan was the founder of the Burgh of Prestwick is not known. The Stewart family were early connected with the district in which it stands; but it may be, probably it was the case, that when Walter Fitz-Alan came down from Somersetshire and made a place for himself in Scotland, the town of Prestwick was already in existence. As Earl of Carrick, King Robert the Bruce was particularly interested in the place, and is entitled

to rank as one of its principal benefactors. It is to him that Prestwick owes its freedoms, or 'baronies'—grants of land bestowed upon the men of Prestwick for assistance in the War of Independence, which have been in the hands of their successors ever since, and in consequence of the possession of which the freemen of the burgh have sometimes been styled 'barons.' For nearly six hundred years these have formed a sort of oligarchy, and had, and still have, their Chancellor, Owrisman or Provost, Bailies, Councillors, Treasurer, Fiscal, and Liner, and their Common Seal, with the figure of St. Nicholas upon it, mitred and habited as a bishop, with his crozier adorned with the balls. But the most precious of their possessions is their *Liber Communitatis*—a record of the Burgh going back to the year 1470, and fortunately complete, with the exception of a hiatus between the years 1616 and 1729. All things considered, the volume is in a wonderful state of preservation and was printed some time ago for the Maitland Club. Prestwick has been fortunate in its historian. Mr. Hewat has done excellent service in preparing his volume and has written one of the most interesting local histories we have met with. Of the ancient volume we have just referred to, as well as of numerous other sources of information, he has made ample and skilful use, and by the simple and genial manner in which he has recorded his story he has invested his pages with an attractiveness which gives them a more than local interest. The variety of information he has contrived to put into his volume is surprising. We can only add that it contains about as vivid a picture of the past social life of the county as we have met with, and that it will amply repay the most careful perusal.

The History of Civilisation in Scotland. By JOHN MACINTOSH, LL.D. New Edition. Vol. III. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1895.

The marked improvements which have characterized the earlier volumes of this edition of Dr. Mackintosh's work are here continued. What these improvements are a very cursory examination of the two editions will show, and the author is to be congratulated upon the fact that he is now able to present the work on which he has spent so much labour, in something of a workmanlike guise. It may not yet be all that the most fastidious may desire, still under the process of revision and rewriting it is assuming a form less repellent and more attractive. The present volume covers the period between the Revolution and the Union of the Crowns. For the historical part Dr. Macintosh has mainly depended upon his former authorities, but here and there he has availed himself of materials which have been brought to light and printed since his first edition was issued. As in previous volumes the chapters which are here of most importance are those dealing with the social condition of the people, with the songs and ballads and with the literature of the period. On all these topics the author has collected a vast number of facts and has restricted himself for the most part to stating them. In a final chapter he gives an outline of European philosophy in the course of which he analyses at some length the systems of Descartes, Spinoza, Hobbes and Berkeley. The chapter is somewhat wanting in perspective and one does not altogether see the reason either for its length or presence. Still as the analyses consist for the most part of extracts from the writings of the different philosophers we have no doubt that many will be glad to have it. It at least illustrates to a certain extent the doctrine that ideas and philosophers govern the world.

The Constitutional History of the House of Lords from original Sources. By LUKE OWEN PIKE, M.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Mr. Pike's volume has appeared at an opportune moment, not because it is written with a political bias, which it is not, but because at the present moment when the question of 'mending or ending' the House of Lords has reached such a crisis, there is need for a handy and capably written volume containing a judicious statement of the history and constitution of that illustrious Estate of the realm. Unlike Mr. Freeman's notable essay on the House of Lords, Mr. Pike's is purely unpolitical. It is written from beginning to end from a strictly historical point of view. Political partisans would probably have desired a different narrative: Mr. Pike has chosen the part of the scientific historian, and while providing the politician with abundant food for reflection, has calmly followed his own path irrespective of politics. While brought within the moderate compass of a single octavo volume, Mr. Pike's history is neither slight nor sketchy, but full, elaborate, and eminently scholarly. He has gone for his materials to the original sources, and worked out the narrative for himself. Controverted questions, though not ignored, are not treated in a controversial spirit. Mr. Pike has contented himself with simply stating the conclusions he has arrived at after a careful study of the original evidence still remaining. The work, therefore, has an independent value of its own, and will require to be consulted by all who wish to arrive at a just conclusion on many of the incidents or topics with which it deals, or on any points in connection with the history and constitution of the Upper House of Parliament. That his statements are frequently different from those of previous writers there can be no doubt, but in these cases Mr. Pike is always prepared with his authorities. As might be expected the references are numerous. The value of the book is enhanced by the calm and judicial spirit in which it is written.

Abstracts of Protocols of the Town Clerks of Glasgow. Vol. I. First Protocol Book of William Hegait, 1547-55. Glasgow: Carson & Nicol. 1894.

For topographical and genealogical investigations in connection with the City of Glasgow and the adjacent shires the series of volumes of which the one before us, though complete in itself, is the first, cannot fail to prove of the very utmost importance, and the City of Glasgow is to be congratulated upon having so well-qualified and indefatigable a worker in this field as Mr. Renwick, the editor of the series. Hegait, whose first protocol book is here dealt with, was created a notary by apostolic authority in the year 1544, and was admitted and authorised to continue his practice as such by the Lords of the Council in 1563-4. Subsequently he was appointed Town Clerk of Glasgow, but at what date has not been ascertained. Most of the protocols of which abstracts are here given relate to proprietors and properties in the city of Glasgow, but a number of them relate to estates and landowners in the western shires. Mr. Renwick has prefaced the abstracts with an interesting and informing introduction in which he treats of the history of the notarial office, the forms which had to be complied with in the transfer of properties, and the symbols used, besides giving some notes as to the extent of the city of Glasgow in the 16th century and pointing out the value which the Books have for its topography. A map of the city at the period to which the protocols belong has been added to the volume on which the documents here pre-

sented have made it possible to mark one or two corrections. The volume is handsomely printed and it is proposed to continue the abstracts down at least to the year 1600. It is to be hoped that the editor will meet with the encouragement so useful and interesting a work deserves.

Memories and Thoughts of a Life. By WILLIAM O'CONNOR MORRIS. Portrait. London: George Allen. 1895.

Readers of this *Review* are already acquainted with the name of Mr. O'Connor Morris, and with at least some of his writings. Anything in the way of introduction therefore we have here no need to say. Mr. Morris scarcely does himself justice when he says that his life has been uneventful. Most readers of this entertaining volume of reminiscences will agree with us, we think, that his life has been as eventful as that of most men, and that if he has nothing startling or romantic to tell, and no striking personal incidents to relate, his experience has been larger and more varied than that which falls to the lot of most men, and that comparatively few have had anything like it, have mixed in so many things or had so many opportunities of studying and knowing the world as it is to be met with in the sister island. Mr. Morris belongs to an old and honourable family, and can count among his ancestors some of the Staffordshire freeholders who settled in Ireland in the reign of Charles I. His own reminiscences go back to the Brighton of William IV., to the great world of London in the first days of Victoria, to the Oxford of the Tractarian movement, and to the England of coaches and the old poor law. He was born in the city of Kilkenny in the shadow of the castle of the Ormondes, who, during his childhood, were still regarded as the suzerains of the town, and held feudal state at its municipal gatherings. Kilkenny was a garrison town, and in his father's house, where a good deal of company was kept, he saw a number of officers who had fought at Waterloo, and heard much about that famous campaign. For his education he was sent to Bromley in Kent. At Brighton he and his cousin Desart were invited to some of the parties which were given by William IV. and his Queen to children. 'We were, I think, at two or three of these parties,' he says. 'These were rather white days in our youthful calendar, but all conceit was taken out of me, at least, when many years afterwards, I read, I think, in the *Greville Memoirs*—pages quite equal to those of St. Simon—how the King and Queen had a kind of craze to assemble "the children of the riffraff of Brighton" to gatherings at the Pavilion at night.' From Bromley Mr. Morris went to a school at Epsom, and from thence to Oxford. After leaving Oxford he studied law and joined the Irish Bar, and is now Judge of the County Court for Roscommon and Sligo, an office which, as he reminds us, is of much older origin than that of the County Court in England, of greater importance, and higher dignity. Through his family relationships he has been brought into close connection with a number of the noble houses of Ireland. His profession as a lawyer has made him acquainted with other phases of Irish life as well as with the Irish Bar and Bench. In 1869 he contributed a series of Letters to *The Times* on the Irish land question. In order to procure material for these he travelled over the greater part of Ireland and came into contact with proprietors, tenants and peasants in almost every one of the Irish counties, and added immensely to a knowledge of the country he had already gained as the legal member of the Commission appointed in 1863 to investigate the rights of owners of fixed nets for salmon in Ireland, and still earlier as a landowner and an earnest worker during the Potato Famine in 1845-47. Few men we should say, have a profounder know-

ledge of the country or are so capable of speaking with authority as to its faults and requirements. Mr. Morris's memories are for the most part of a pleasant kind. They detail his experiences at School, at Oxford, at the Irish Bar, as a County Court Judge, as a proprietor, and as a writer. They are written freely, but with no touch of bitterness. There is much criticism, but it is always kindly, and so far as we can venture to form an opinion, judicious. Mr. Morris has contributed to many *Quarterlies* and *Journals*, and has published a *Life of Napoleon*, another of *Moltke*, and a volume containing the lives of certain great commanders. Many besides ourselves must have wondered how he a County Court Judge should have so large a knowledge of military affairs, and have been able to prove himself so capable a critic of them as he is acknowledged to have done. In the pages of the *Memories* the secret is let out: but we shall not here divulge it. Mr. Morris's thoughts are for the most part on Ireland, its Land Laws, and the reforms needed in that distracted country. In politics he is a staunch Unionist, with strong convictions. He has his own views as to what should be done for Ireland, and sets them forth with great precision. They deserve careful consideration. Few men from their position and knowledge are entitled to speak with equal authority. Altogether at the present juncture the volume is one of great value. There is not an uninteresting page in it, where it does not entertain it instructs, and will well repay the most careful perusal.

Memoir of Sir Andrew Crombie Ramsay. By Sir ARCHIBALD GEIKIE, F.R.S., etc. Portraits. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

While an excellent memoir, this volume has something more than a merely personal interest. For the greater part of his life Sir Andrew Ramsay, the subject of it, was the guiding spirit of the geological survey of Great Britain and Ireland, and Sir Archibald Geikie, while recording the life of his friend and fellow-labourer, has so interwoven with it, as indeed was almost necessary, the history of that survey, that in one and the same volume we have both a biography of the late Director-General of the Survey and a history of the work on which he spent the greater part of his life, down to the date of his death. Sir Andrew Ramsay was born at Glasgow in 1814, was educated at the Parish School of Saltcoats and afterwards at the Grammar School of Glasgow, and was destined for the mercantile profession. The Ramsays were originally a Haddington family. In 1765 William Ramsay removed to Glasgow, where he became junior partner in the firm of Arthur and Turnbull, manufacturers of wood-spirit and pyroligneous acid, and soon made a name for himself as a practical chemist. In 1809 he married Elizabeth Crombie, daughter of Andrew Crombie, writer in Edinburgh, whose family like the Ramsays had for many generations been connected with the trade of dyers. Of this William Ramsay and Elizabeth Crombie, Sir Andrew Crombie Ramsay was the third child. About the year 1837, when he was between 23 and 25 years of age, he entered into partnership with a Mr. Anderson as dealers in cloth and calico. The firm was not a success and after about three years was broken up, leaving Ramsay poorer in purse, enfeebled in health and depressed in spirit. From calicoes to geology is a far cry, but while still in his twenties Ramsay had for some time taken the greatest interest in it, and it was while recruiting his health in Arran that he first seriously turned his attention to it, not, however, as a subject to which he was afterwards to devote the remainder of his life, but rather as a delightful recreation. His first impulse towards it he probably owed to David

Landsborough of Saltcoats, who was long known as the Gilbert White of the West of Scotland, and to Mr. Nicol the Professor of Astronomy at Glasgow, who though not a professed Geologist, had read widely and critically in geological literature, and whose geological rambles in Arran were frequently shared by Ramsay. When the British Association for the advancement of Science resolved to hold its meeting in Glasgow in 1840 Ramsay was appointed secretary to a local sub-committee organised to prepare a model of the island of Arran together with specimens of its geological formations, and single-handed did almost the whole of its work, surveying the island afresh, preparing maps, etc., and constructing the model on the scale of two inches to a mile with all the geological formations of the island clearly marked in distinct colours. When the Association met he read his first scientific paper before it entitled 'Notes taken during the Surveys for the construction of the Geological Model, Maps and Sections of the Island of Arran.' The work involved had been a pleasure to him and secured for him lasting and influential friendships. Sir Roderick Murchison was especially impressed with his capacity and geological ardour, and soon after proposed to Ramsay that he should accompany him on his projected geological tour in North America. Ramsay left Glasgow on the 15th of March 1841 for London, but instead of accompanying Sir Roderick, who had given up the idea of crossing the Atlantic and went to Russia, he was appointed assistant geologist to De la Beche, who was then at the head of the Ordnance Geological Survey. Ramsay had now found his career. The work was exactly that which he had desired and his delight was unbounded. He at once set off to South Wales where the Survey was then at work. He was warmly welcomed by his chief and soon became his right hand man. Their friendship grew and no one had a greater idea of Ramsay's ability and worth than Sir H. De la Beche. From this point Sir Archibald Geikie's work becomes in a large measure a history of the Survey in which Ramsay was employed, and to the success of which he contributed so much. The incidents in Ramsay's life are of course noted and the pages of the volume are here and there enlivened with his correspondence and with narratives of his experiences, but he himself was so closely identified with the Survey that with few exceptions they are all more or less connected with the history of its progress. Honour came to him slowly. He was Professor of Geology at University College, London, and afterwards at the School of Mines in Jermyn Street. On the rearrangement of the staff of the Survey in 1854 he was appointed Local Director for Great Britain, Beete Jukes holding the same post for Ireland, and Sir H. de la Beche still remaining Director-General. His greatest disappointment was in the following year, when he was passed over for the Director-Generalship. He received the appointment, however, on the death of Sir Roderick Murchison, in 1872, and when he retired in 1881, after upwards of forty years service, he received the honour of knighthood. The volume is of exceptional interest both to the general reader and the geologist, and has been executed with rare tact and skill by the present Director-General of the Geological Survey of Great Britain and Ireland.

Life of Adam Smith. By JOHN RAE. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

The author of the *Wealth of Nations* was undoubtedly one of the greatest men that Scotland, the Scotland at least of the two last centuries, has produced. It is singular, therefore, that until the appearance of Mr. Rae's volume, nothing in the shape of a regular biography of him existed. The

fullest account of him was to be found in a couple of papers which the philosopher Dugald Stewart read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh as far back as the year 1793, and which were not published until the year 1810, with the addition of a number of illustrative notes. In Mr. Rae's volume, however, justice, if tardy, has at last been done to Smith. Apparently he has found no lack of materials. Many of them, too, are all the more valuable because hitherto, if not unknown, have been unpublished. Smith seems to have been a somewhat frequent correspondent, and to have corresponded with many of the most conspicuous and eminent men of his time—chiefly, however, with Hume, the historian. From the letters which passed between Smith and his correspondents, as well as from other sources, such as the records of the University of Glasgow, Mr. Rae has compiled a Life which is at once instructive and attractive. With respect to the doctrines of the famous political economist, whether as expressed in the *Theory of the Moral Sentiments* or in *The Wealth of Nations*, he is almost silent, and has restricted himself almost entirely to narrating the leading incidents in their author's life. That he has acted wisely in so doing there can be no doubt. Discussions as to the validity of Smith's doctrines exist in abundance. What was wanted was a picture of the man and accurate information as to the incidents of his career, and these Mr. Rae has unquestionably furnished in the pages of his handsome and admirably written volume. Some of the things he has to tell will strike many as strange. For instance, when Smith went up to Oxford, he found himself and the few Scotsmen, who were then residing at Balliol, almost ostracised. They appear to have been regarded as strangers, and had frequently to complain of the treatment they received at the hands of the authorities. The state of teaching in the University was at the time deplorable. What little there was, was done in the most perfunctory style. Not a little surprising to many will the information be that Smith resigned his professorship for a tutorship. It was a fashion of the times, and pecuniarily, was promotion. A professorship in those days did not carry with it a pension, and the Professor of Moral Philosophy's salary in the University of Glasgow did not amount to more than £150 a year. The tutorship of the young Duke of Buccleuch brought Smith an income of £300 a year, with his travelling expenses while abroad, and a pension of the same amount *per annum* for life afterwards. Mr. Rae disposes successfully of the idea that the man who wrote so well about the affairs of nations, could not manage his own. He shows, on the contrary, that Smith was well known and trusted as a man of unusual capacity for business, and refers to the fact that for some time he practically managed the business of the University and was entrusted with some of its most delicate affairs. Professor Roger's idea that the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* was delayed because of Pulteney's negotiations for getting Smith appointed to a post under the East India Company, and that but for the failure of those negotiations it would never have seen the light, Mr. Rae easily disposes of, and has no difficulty in showing that so far from lying 'unrevised and unaltered' in the author's desk from 1772 to 1776, during a part of which the negotiations were going on, it underwent many changes and received many additions. Smith's tendency to absent-mindedness is admitted, but Mr. Rae is by no means disposed to believe all the stories about it which have found their way into print. Many of them he is disposed to regard as purely fictitious, or as chiefly so. Altogether the volume is of surpassing interest, not only on account of its subject and the fresh information it brings together about him, but also as containing a vivid picture of the social and literary life of a period which we are still compelled to regard as one of the very greatest in English and Scottish history.

A Memoir of George Higinbotham, an Australian Politician and Chief Justice of Victoria. By EDWARD E. MORRIS. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

If excellence in political and social virtues, a high sense of duty and patriotism and effective discharge of some of the most important offices in the state are a sufficient reason for a man having his biography written, Mr. Morris has had ample reason for writing the biography of his father-in-law. The late Chief Justice of Victoria was a man of whom any country might be proud. He filled the offices of Attorney-General and Chief Justice with credit; he has left his mark on the Statute-book of the colony and is remembered with esteem and affection by its inhabitants. His family it would seem is of Dutch extraction and came over with William of Orange. George Higinbotham, the future Chief Justice was born in Dublin in 1826. After passing through Trinity College, Dublin, with distinction, he migrated to London, took to journalism and ate his dinners at Lincoln's Inn where he was subsequently admitted to the Bar. In March 1854 he landed at Melbourne. The times were propitious. At first he divided his time between journalism and law. Subsequently he entered Parliament and soon after was appointed Attorney General. Thenceforward he was looked upon as one of the leading men in the colony. His great work was the consolidation of the Statutory law of the colony. In 1880 he accepted much to the surprise of his professional brethren a puisne judgeship. Six years later he was appointed Chief Justice of the colony, a post which he occupied during the remaining years of his life. Mr. Morris' account of him is not without interest. Indeed it is of more than usual interest, and may be said to contain a graphic picture of Victorian society and to relate no small part of the history of the colony.

Prince Henry the Navigator, the Hero of Portugal and of Modern Discovery, 1394-1460, A.D. By C. RAYMOND BEAZLEY, M.A., F.R.G.S. New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1895.

This volume promises to take its place as a valuable and standard work on the history of modern discovery and geography. Mr. Beazley has not been contented with simply writing the life of Prince Henry and giving a narrative of his remarkable voyages; he has written a history of travel and discovery from the earliest times down to the close of the sixteenth century. The volume, therefore, as we need hardly say, is full of information, and bears abundant evidence of careful and scholarly research. All through it is based upon original sources, and supplies in a fairly popular form a want which has long been felt by students in this department of knowledge. The first chapter deals with the voyages and discoveries of the Greeks and Arabians, and with the attempts of their geographers to construct a map of the earth. In the second chapter we have an account of the travels of the early Christian pilgrims and their contributions to our knowledge of the earth's surface. Here Cosmas Indicopleustes and his speculations concerning the earth and the universe come in for a large share of attention, as also do the travels and guide-books of Arculf and Willibald, Fidelis and the French Monk Bernard the Wise of Mount St. Michael. Mr. Beazley's chapter on the Vikings is perhaps a little too brief, but is nevertheless full of information in regard to the contributions which these sea rovers made to the existing stock of geographical knowledge. The original discovery of America is assigned to them, as on the testimony of their own literature

it is bound to be, the claim of the Welsh notwithstanding; but on the question whether that Continent was visited by the Venetians, Arabs or Welsh after Thorfinn and before Columbus, Mr. Beazley enters a verdict of Not Proven. In the three chapters which follow a very fair estimate is given of the indebtedness of geographical science to the Crusaders, and Marco Polo and his successors, and to the Italian, Catalan, French and English voyagers during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. As a preparation for dealing with the main subject of the volume Mr. Beazley gives a brief sketch of the history and condition of Portugal down to the end of the fourteenth century, and of the position of geographical science when Prince Henry set out on his voyages of discovery. The motives by which this Prince was animated, his equipment, voyages and discoveries are all given in great detail. Nor does Mr. Beazley overlook the political side of his life. If any fault may be found with the volume it is that it is too condensed—a fault which is here and there reflected in the style, which in places may almost be called crabbed. All the same, the volume is packed full of information, much of which has hitherto been of a most inaccessible kind, and will not fail to be read with profit by all who take an interest in the subject.

Greek Studies: A Series of Essays. By WALTER PATER.
Prepared for the Press by CHARLES L. SHADWELL.
London & New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Few men in modern times have had so large a sympathy with the ancient Greek spirit or so deep an insight into its character as the author of these essays. Mr. Pater was not a voluminous writer; but what he did write was of a most thoughtful and finished kind. The notion that he was merely a stylist is quite erroneous. The essays before us are a proof that he was a vigorous and patient thinker and that whatever excellences may be attributed to his style were due to the clearness and delicacy of his thought as much as to anything else. Both as to matter and style these papers which Mr. Shadwell has prepared for the press are equal to anything Mr. Pater has done. All of them have appeared before, but in giving them to the world in a collected form Mr. Shadwell has only been carrying out the intentions of their author. Part of them deal with subjects of Greek mythology and Greek poetry and the rest of them with the history of Greek sculpture and Greek architecture. Each of them, however, illustrates the other and enforces Mr. Pater's underlying conception of the essential unity of the Greek character in all its many-sidedness. In the charming essay entitled 'A Study of Dionysus' as well as in 'Demeter and Persephone' the keynote is the god understood as the 'spiritual form' of the things of nature. The same thought reappears in the essays dealing with the growth of Greek sculpture and is used for its interpretation. The quality of these essays is such that one can only wish that Mr. Pater had been able to write more. They are all of exceptional value, the work of a mind admirably endowed and admirably trained.

The Complete Works of Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited from numerous MSS. by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt. D., LL.D., etc. Vol. 6. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1894.

This volume completes Professor Skeats' monumental edition of what in his opinion are the genuine works of Chaucer. Its contents are varied. All of them are marked by that wide reading and sound judgment which

distinguish the previous volumes, and will prove exceedingly helpful to the students of Chaucer and to those as well who without professing to be students desire to form an intelligent acquaintance with this 'well of English undefiled.' In the first place we have an introduction to the whole works, supplementary to that given at the beginning of the first volume. Here Professor Skeat explains more fully the chief objects he has had in view in bringing out this edition, and then proceeds to make a number of interesting and important remarks on a variety of other topics, such as the method he has adopted, in numbering the lines, on the text of the Minor Poems as well as upon those of the *Astrolabe* and the *Canterbury Tales*, and on previous editions of Chaucer. The sections of this introduction, however, which will have the greatest interest, we should say, both for the student and the general reader, will be those in which he deals with the phonetics, dialect, and pronunciation of Chaucer. Considerable space is devoted to Chaucer's use of rhymes, and there is an excellent outline of his grammar. As to the versification, it is treated with great fulness and precision. Mr. Skeat has invented a new method for marking the metre, and has thrown not a little light on the way in which Chaucer ought to be read. The glossary which follows is, it is safe to say, the most detailed and useful that has yet been made for the poet's works: every word of importance is registered, and the etymology of the more difficult explained. In addition to the general glossary we have one to the fragments printed of the 'The Romaunt of the Rose,' and another to the 'Tale of Gamelyn.' These are followed by indices of the Proper Names, of the authors quoted or referred to by Chaucer, whether at first or second hand, a list of the authors and works Mr. Skeat has himself used, and a general index. In short, everything has been done to complete a work which has already, and justly, taken its place as by far the best edition of Chaucer in existence, and the public as well as the editor is to be congratulated. A supplementary volume is promised. This is to contain 'The Testament of Love,' and the poems which have at various times been attributed to Chaucer, and published with his genuine works in the old editions. It will be complete in itself with introduction, glossary, and notes.

Essays and Studies. By JOHN CHURTON COLLINS. London & New York. Macmillan & Co. 1895.

The essays which Mr. Collins has here put together have all appeared before. They are not, however, mere reproductions. All of them have been revised and enlarged, and two of them have been almost re-written. The public has no reason to complain of their publication in their present form. They were worth publishing, and contain very elaborate and scholarly studies of the subjects with which they respectively deal. The first of them is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of Dryden and his works. It originally appeared in the pages of the *Quarterly Review*, but is here enlarged to about twice its former size. By extending it Mr. Collins has improved it and made it all the more worthy of preservation and careful perusal. The second is the author's well known criticism of the late Mr. Symonds' *Predecessors of Shakespeare*. The strictures on Mr. Symonds' style have been allowed to stand; at the same time Mr. Collins' admiration of the ability and of the work which Mr. Symonds did in connection with literature is in no way abated. The remaining essays are on Menander, Lord Chesterfield's Letters, and Theobald, whom Mr. Collins terms 'the Porson of Shakespearian criticism.' A good case is made out for Theobald and for the ability with which he interpreted Shakespeare, but it is doubtful whether, notwithstanding the excellence of his work in this connection, he is entitled to rank so high as Mr. Collins places him.

The Student's English Dictionary: Literary, Scientific, Etymological, and Pronouncing. By JOHN OGILVIE, LL.D. New Edition. Revised and Augmented. Edited by CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A., LL.D. Illustrated. London, Glasgow, and Dublin: Blackie & Sons. 1895.

Although styled a new edition, this is practically a new work. Most of the articles have been re-written, and many new ones have been added. It occupies the place between the school dictionary and the more bulky lexicon, and in a measure supplies the place of the latter, since it is almost as full, and is much more handy for reference. The vocabulary is of the most exhaustive kind. All the words in the English language it does not profess to give; but those which the ordinary reader is likely to meet with, whether literary, scientific, or philosophical, it both professes to give, and, so far as we have been able to examine it, gives. Great care has apparently been taken with the etymologies, and, as far as our examination has gone, they are brought up to the present state of learning. The explanations of technical and scientific terms are specially deserving of praise. They are concise and clear, and are often assisted by illustrations. Among the special features of the work may be mentioned a series of excellent appendices. These include a list of the principal names occurring in fiction and mythology, which is calculated to serve as a valuable guide to the reader in making out the allusions to the classical and other personages he is likely to meet with in modern literature as well as in ancient. This is followed by a list of English, Scottish, and American writers, with the dates of their birth and death. After this comes a list of classical, Scripture, and other names, with the pronunciation marked. Then we have a list of foreign phrases, both ancient and modern, with translations, and another of foreign words which enter into the formation of geographical names, and several others quite as useful. In the body of the work, we should remark, the pronunciation of each word is given on a clear and simple plan. Dr. Annandale, in short, has done all that apparently can be done to make his work completely correspond to its title. Within little more than 800 pages we have almost all that we have in his great work, *The Imperial Dictionary*, except the literary examples. The type is, as might be expected, somewhat small, but it is clear; and the work itself is a marvel of cheapness. For seven and sixpence the reader is provided with a manual which is at once a dictionary and an encyclopædia.

Summer Studies of Birds and Books. By W. WARDE FOWLER. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Most, if not all, of the chapters in this volume have appeared before in various Magazines, but they are written in so genial and pleasant a manner and contain so much that is of sterling value both in the way of information and reflection that the author has done well to collect them and put them together and issue them in a permanent form. Part of them are about birds, and part of them are about books, but the interest attaching to each of them is so nearly equal that we are unable to decide which to prefer. Some time ago we had the pleasure of noticing Mr. Fowler's delightful *Tales of the Birds*. His chapters here about birds, though cast in a different style, are equally enjoyable reading. His sympathy with bird life is remarkable, and not less is his acquaintance with it, while his acuteness of observation makes him quite a delightful companion. Indoors one can enjoy his book and then go out with one's faculties of observation sharpened by what one has read in his.

pages, and find new pleasures in Nature. It is in the fact that his chapters teach us what to look for, how to distinguish one thing from another, and how to observe for one's self that, as it seems to us, their principal charms lies. No one for instance can read the chapter on the Engstlen Alp or that on Wagtails without watching the Chiffchaff and the Redstart and the Nutcracker, and the Marsh Warbler and the Wagtail, and all the other birds mentioned, with a more intelligent and affectionate interest. Or take again the chapter on the Songs of Birds, it is just one of those chapters which engages one's whole attention and sends one into the fields with every sense wide awake for enjoyment. Mr. Fowler's chapters on Books are mainly about Gilbert White of Selborne and Aristotle's discourse on Birds. Altogether the volume is thoroughly enjoyable and just the one for the season.

The Melancholy of Stephen Allard: A Private Diary. Edited by GARNET SMITH. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

Stephen Allard was evidently a widely read man, well nursed in the philosophies, both ancient and modern, who from some cause or other fell into a profound melancholy and whose mind was 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.' Apparently he found pleasure in recording his thoughts and Mr. Garnet Smith has here taken the liberty of publishing them. Whether the thoughts are Mr. Smith's or his alleged friend's is unnecessary to inquire. They are at any rate excellent reading. If they be Mr. Smith's, he has well kept up the semblance of melancholy. At the same time he has produced a book which, besides betraying a large acquaintance with the more sombre thoughts of the past and present, is full of original reflections and eminently suggestive. Like most melancholy individuals Stephen Allard is in quest of happiness and is saddened because he has failed to find it. His melancholy, however, is by no means of the sentimental kind. Nor is it due to any dissatisfaction with his external lot. It has its origin in doubt and mental unrest, and his chief desire is to find some satisfactory solution to the great riddle of the universe, some intellectual theory of human life and existence in which his mind can find rest. After setting forth his plaint, therefore, he proceeds to discuss the various methods of consolation which have been proposed and tried such as the remedy of metaphysics, ethics, action, art, love, Stoicism and Epicurianism, and dismisses them as insufficient. The discussion of these topics is admirably managed, and while reading them one comes across many fine thoughts and much delicate analysis. The volume is not one to be read in a hurry. There is matter for reflection on every page. Nor is it a book to be read continuously. It is one of those volumes which one prefers to keep by one to dip into now and again when in a pensive mood. The themes it handles are high and they are handled in a devout and reverent spirit.

Hero-Tales of Ireland. Collected by JEREMIAH CURTIN. London: Macmillan & Co. 1894.

This is a volume which will be warmly welcomed by all students of folklore. Mr. Curtin has travelled about Ireland tarrying and gossiping with the people and taken down the twenty-four tales he has here printed, from their lips. That he deserves the thanks of all folk-lorists and all who take pleasure in the reading of this sort of literature need hardly be said. They are all, as the title bears, stories of heroes. They remind one

forcibly of some of the old tales which are still preserved in the Gaelic tongue. Mr. Curtin, in an introduction of more than ordinary interest gives an account of some of the myths he has met with among the Indians of North America and supplies to them an extremely ingenious yet remarkably simple explanation. According to him they are all myths of Creation, and these Irish hero-tales he believes are of the same kind. The notes he has appended to the volume are tantalizingly short. Their value is such that one feels that their author could help us a long way to the right interpretation of these curious tales. It is to be hoped that this is not the only volume of Irish Hero-Tales we shall have from him; and that when he next puts his hand to them he will compare these oral tales for us with the old written stories and give his volumes yet more of a scientific character and value.

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The Student's English Dictionary: Literary, Scientific, Etymological, and Pronouncing. By JOHN OGILVIE, LL.D. New Edition, Revised and Augmented. Edited by CHARLES ANNANDALE, M.A., LL.D. Illustrated. London, Glasgow, and Dublin: Blackie & Sons. 1895.

Although styled a new edition, this is practically a new work. Most of the articles have been re-written, and many new ones have been added. It occupies the place between the school dictionary and the more bulky lexicon, and in a measure supplies the place of the latter, since it is almost as full, and is much more handy for reference. The vocabulary is of the most exhaustive kind. All the words in the English language it does not profess to give; but those which the ordinary reader is likely to meet with, whether literary, scientific, or philosophical, it both professes to give, and, so far as we have been able to examine it, gives. Great care has apparently been taken with the etymologies, and, as far as our examination has gone, they are brought up to the present state of learning. The explanations of technical and scientific terms are specially deserving of praise. They are concise and clear, and are often assisted by illustrations. Among the special features of the work may be mentioned a series of excellent appendices. These include a list of the principal names occurring in fiction and mythology, which is calculated to serve as a valuable guide to the reader in making out the allusions to the classical and other personages he is likely to meet with in modern literature as well as in ancient. This is followed by a list of English, Scottish, and American writers, with the dates of their birth and death. After this comes a list of classical, Scripture, and other names, with the pronunciation marked. Then we have a list of foreign phrases, both ancient and modern, with translations, and another of foreign words which enter into the formation of geographical names, and several others quite as useful. In the body of the work, we should remark, the pronunciation of each word is given on a clear and simple plan. Dr. Annandale, in short, has done all that apparently can be done to make his work completely correspond to its title. Within little more than 800 pages we have almost all that we have in his great work, *The Imperial Dictionary*, except the literary examples. The type is, as might be expected, somewhat small, but it is clear; and the work itself is a marvel of cheapness. For seven and sixpence the reader is provided with a manual which is at once a dictionary and an encyclopædia.

Summer Studies of Birds and Books. By W. WARDE FOWLER. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1895.

Most, if not all, of the chapters in this volume have appeared before in various Magazines, but they are written in so genial and pleasant a manner and contain so much that is of sterling value both in the way of information and reflection that the author has done well to collect them and put them together and issue them in a permanent form. Part of them are about birds, and part of them are about books, but the interest attaching to each of them is so nearly equal that we are unable to decide which to prefer. Some time ago we had the pleasure of noticing Mr. Fowler's delightful *Tales of the Birds*. His chapters here about birds, though cast in a different style, are equally enjoyable reading. His sympathy with bird life is remarkable, and not less is his acquaintance with it, while his acuteness of observation makes him quite a delightful companion. Indoors one can enjoy his book and then go out with one's faculties of observation sharpened by what one has read in his

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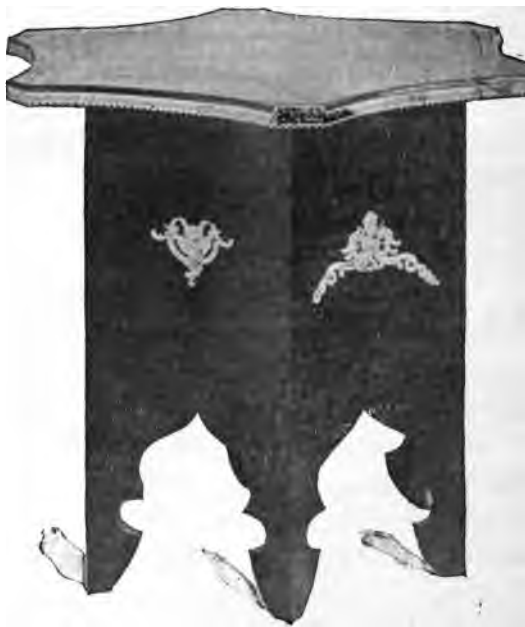
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