

THE 86370
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

JANUARY AND APRIL,

1890.

VOL. XV.

NEW YORK :
LEONARD SCOTT PUBLICATION COMPANY,
AGENTS FOR THE AMERICAN CONTINENT.

ALEX. GARDNER, PAISLEY ; AND 12 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

MDCCKC.

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ART. I.—ECCLESIASTICAL MUSIC IN PRESBY-
TERIAN SCOTLAND.

IT is a common belief among Protestants that in the Roman Catholic Church before the Reformation no part whatever was assigned to the people in the musical services. We do not say that this is a totally erroneous belief; we say only that the point is one upon which there is considerable disagreement between Protestant and Catholic historians. The latter hold that the Church was in the habit of regularly allowing her congregations to join in the singing; the former maintain that they enjoyed no such liberty. A member of the ancient Church would probably argue that, in a matter which concerns his own religious practice, the Catholic historian is more likely to be correct than the historian of an opposing faith. It is curious, however, that many people attach more weight to information on Catholic matters, whether of doctrine or practice, given by Protestant writers, than to the explanations of those who are connected with the Church itself. This is the source of many of the misconceptions that prevail on the subject; and it is moreover, a method which Protestants resent—and not unnaturally resent—when applied to themselves.

So far as we can at present determine, there seems really to have been very little singing on the part of congregations prior to the Reformation. There may, however, have been other

reasons for this than the one which represents the laity as being actually forbidden to join in the praise. It appears to us, indeed, that, unless with certain reservations, this latter idea cannot be upheld. The evidence of her own historians goes to show that for centuries the Roman Catholic Church, so far from enjoining the people to remain silent, actually encouraged them to join in the service. 'Before the days of printing, the liturgical hymns were to a great extent known by heart, as well as the invariable parts of the Mass—the Gloria, Creed, etc.,—and in these the people certainly joined. The suppression of the Religious Orders, and the consequent ceasing of the public singing of the Office, unhappily broke through this tradition of centuries. In France, however, the congregational singing at Mass has always been kept up, and in almost every village church one may hear the laity joining in the same chants that have been sung for a thousand years.* 'The German songs sung by the people,' says another writer, 'did not belong then, (1450) any more than they do to-day, to the real Church liturgy, but they obtain, through having been long used for religious purposes in and out of church, a certain liturgical character. They were, as the outpourings of a devout heart, at the same time an effective means of awakening the vividness of faith among the people, and of making them have a share in the divine service and the Church solemnities in another way than prayer alone.† 'In some churches,' says Kurtz, 'German hymns were now [cent. xiv.-xv.] sung at the great festivals and at special ecclesiastical solemnities, while in isolated cases they were even used at the principal service and at Mass.‡ These extracts seem to imply that, in Germany at any rate, the people were not the mere listeners to the service that they are popularly supposed to have been. What they were in Scotland cannot be said with any degree of certainty; but from the fact that soon after the Reformation the General Assembly

* Rev. Father Blair, translator and editor of Bellesheim's *History of the Catholic Church of Scotland*.

† Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, edition 1887, p. 241. Janssen's History is a work of the highest authority and is recognised as such throughout Germany.

‡ *History of the Christian Church to the Reformation*, ed. 1880, i. 223.

complained that among other 'superstitious ceremonies' the singing of 'carrols' (or religious songs in the vernacular) was kept up in some parts of the country, it would seem as if the people had occasionally joined in the services there also. If the congregations really had the liberty to take part in the praises, and did not avail themselves of that liberty, the fact can easily be accounted for by the intricate character of the music employed at that time, and by the services being rendered in the Latin tongue.

A very good description of the style of the pre-Reformation music is given by Mason in his *Essay on Church Music*. 'Abstruse harmonical proportions,' says he, 'which had neither common sense, nor in this case a better judge, the approbation of the common ear for their support, were universally and diligently studied. Hence arose multifarious contexture of parts, a total disregard of simple melody, and in consequence a neglect even of syllabic distinction; insomuch that notes originally set to any words in any language, might readily be adapted to different words in that or any other; being also totally inexpressive of sentiment, they were as well, or rather as ill, calculated to answer the purpose of praise as of penitence, of sorrow as of joy. This intricate music had at the Reformation taken possession of the whole Church service; it not only was joined to the psalmical or supplicatory part, but even with those few fragments of Scripture which were selected from the New Testament, and admitted into the Liturgy under the title of Epistle and Gospel; they were all sung, not merely in simple intonation or chant, but in this mode of figurate descant, in which the various voices following one another, according to the rules of an elaborate canon, were perpetually repeating different words at the same time.' Erasmus, himself a member of the ancient church, thus speaks of the music in use in his day :

'We have brought into our churches a certain operose and theatrical music, such a confused, disorderly chattering of some words as I hardly think was ever heard in any of the Grecian or Roman theatres. The church rings with the noise of trumpets, pipes, and dulcimers; and human voices strive to bear their part with them. Men run to church as to a theatre to have their ears tickled, and for this end organ-makers are hired

with great salaries, and a company of boys who waste all their time in learning these whining tones.'

This was no doubt written chiefly of the Continental churches, but the practice would not be essentially different in the home country. Indeed, we find the Commissioners appointed by Edward VI. for the reformation of the Church service, speaking of 'a quavering operose music which is called figured,' and they recommend that it be 'wholly laid aside.' In Scotland, also, there appears to have been something of the same kind. Writing of King James I. of Scotland, Calderwood says: 'He brought into divine service a new kind of chaunting and musick, wherein he was expert himself. They placed a great part of religioun in curious singing in these days.'* From all this we see that the tendency of the time was distinctly in the direction of elaborate and showy music—music such as the people were not likely to be able to join in to any extent, even if the canons of their Church had expressly directed them to do so. Many Catholic congregations to-day take a part in the musical services of their Church, and not because the law has been changed, but because the music is within their capacities, and because also the words are not solely in a language they do not know.† If these conditions had obtained in the Pre-Reformation Church, we see no reason why the congregational song should have been different from what it now is in churches where the people are encouraged to join heartily in the services. The whole question of the practice of the ancient Church in regard to singing is, however, one which requires much investigation and elaborate treatment; and with this hurried glance at the subject we must at present be

* The term 'curious' was often used in these times to describe the more elaborate description of harmonized music.

† At several churches in England, notably the Brompton Oratory, London, S. Mary's, Sheffield, and S. Chad's, Birmingham, the congregations are encouraged, and with marked success, to join in the regular Church offices. In some German churches the laity often sing hymns while Low Mass is going on. This tends to raise their devotional feeling, while at certain points they are warned, by the bell, that they are now to forget their own special devotions, and attend to the priest.

content. Let us now proceed to the consideration of the topic with which our article is more particularly concerned.

The history of music in the Presbyterian Church really begins with the issue, in 1564, of the metrical version of the Psalms, founded upon that of Sternhold and Hopkins. The literary history of this, as well as of other versions of the Psalms, may at another time form the subject of a separate paper; here, it will be possible to deal only with the musical accompaniments of the early Psalter.* One or two metrical psalms—as, for example, those of Wedderburn—were in use by the Protestants before the definite triumph of the Reformation. What music was employed for these it is impossible now to say, but it is generally believed to have been partly drawn from the store of secular melodies then in existence. There had, of course, been no call for anything of the nature of the psalm-tune in the services of the old Church, and the earlier Protestants, if they were to sing their psalms at all, would be obliged, to a great extent, to adopt such ballad airs as they found ready to hand. And this is just what really happened. In the early Flemish books (the ‘*Souterliedikins*’) the words were sung to popular tunes of the day. When Marot wrote his first metrical psalms, the courtiers of Francis I. sung them to whatever tunes each liked best. In Germany many of the early tunes were secular or made out of fragments of strains pieced together—sometimes, indeed, of bits of the old ‘*plainchant*’ similarly used. In some cases, of course, the Reformers may have designedly drawn from secular sources—just as the Salvation Army of to-day—in order the better to popularize their psalms and hymns. In this connection, however, it is well to remember that in these days the difference in character between sacred and secular melody was only slightly marked. The changes were being continually rung on particular phrases, quite independently of the nature of the words with which the music was

* The official existence of the Psalter stretches over a period of eighty-six years, dating from 1564, when the complete edition was issued, to 1650, when the present version of the Psalms was adopted. During this period many editions were published, but our remarks are based chiefly on the editions of 1564 and 1635, these embracing all that is noteworthy in the others.

associated. Even the 'Old 100th' psalm-tune is, in its essence, of secular origin; and it is amusing to find that the melodies in the Genevan Psalter were condemned by the purists of the time as light and frivolous. The adaptation of secular music to sacred words did not, however, long continue in any of the churches; for as soon as sufficient leisure had been obtained, compositions in keeping with the true character of divine worship were freely introduced. By the time that the Scottish Psalter was completed (1564), a considerable number of psalm-tunes had been written for the Reformed Churches of England and the Continent. The Lutherans, it is true, had no complete metrical version of the Psalms, but what they lacked in this direction they made up for by their hymns, and the music of the one class would form quite a suitable accompaniment to the other. In 1559 the Calvinistic Psalter of Marot and Beza had reached the length of 83 psalms with tunes, and in 1562 the English Psalter was issued, also with tunes. In 1556, fifty-one psalms, each provided with a tune, were published by the Refugees at Geneva, and forty-two of these tunes were incorporated in the Scottish Psalter as completed in 1564. It is noteworthy that only two out of the forty-two are found in collections published before that date; the presumption therefore being that they were specially composed—more than likely by musicians on the Continent. In 1560 the number of psalms was increased to 65, with eighteen new tunes, six of which are from the French Psalter; and the novel feature now appears of some psalms being referred to the tunes of other psalms—an expedient which was retained in the complete Psalter. Other issues appeared down to the year 1564, but as their contents are mostly carried forward to the final edition we need not examine them separately.

As completed in 1564, the Psalter contained 105 tunes—forty-two more than the English edition of 1562. Several of these tunes have been traced to the Genevan Psalter, some to the English, and a very few to the Lutheran hymn-books. In no single case has the name of the composer been ascertained, and only the plausible conjecture can be offered that the tunes first found in the collections of any particular country were composed by musicians belonging to that country. A considerable number

of the tunes in the 1564 Psalter appear for the first time in that work, and twenty-four of the number have generally been regarded as indigenous. Of the twenty-four, 'French,' 'Stilt' (or 'York'), 'Martyrs,' and 'Elgin,' have always continued to be printed and more or less used in Scotland.

The musical materials exhibited in the Psalter divide into three distinct classes: 1, Those tunes designated 'Proper'; 2, Those known as 'Common' tunes; and 3, Those harmonized in 'Reports.' The 'Proper' tunes were those fixed to particular psalms, as peculiarly adapted thereto. 'It was doubtless considered an advantage also, in addition to that of special adaptation, that there should be an established and understood relation between psalm and tune. Evidently this idea was borrowed from the practice in the case of secular lyrics, and it is embodied in all the Protestant Psalters, British and Continental, of the Reformation era. It is not indeed fully carried out in all respects, inasmuch as the same tune is sometimes appropriated to two or more psalms, either by repetition or by reference from one psalm to another; but, as a general rule, no psalm is unprovided with a tune, and no psalm has more than one.* The 'Common' tunes were those which were not associated with any particular psalm. In modern times all psalm-tunes may be regarded as Common, but in the early history of the Scottish Psalter this was not the case; and it was not until 1615 that they were ranked in a separate class, and were specially designated as a class. It is easy to see how the Common tune arose. The great number of the Proper tunes would be felt as a burden, especially in country congregations labouring under the harassments of those troublous times; and the necessity of employing a class of tunes which could be adapted to several psalms would soon be keenly felt. The introduction of the Common tune naturally led to names being applied. Hitherto a tune had been known solely by the number of its psalm; but obviously this plan could no longer be employed if a tune was to be used

* Rev. Neil Livingston in the preface to the Reprint of the Scottish Psalter of 1635. Mr. Livingston's researches are such as to have laid all subsequent writers under the deepest obligation to him.

for several psalms. In the Scottish Psalter the practice first appears in the edition of 1615, and is afterwards extended, the names being chiefly taken from places. At the date 1615, when they are first classed by themselves, the number of Common tunes is found to be twelve; in the 1635 edition the number is increased to thirty. The third class of tunes consists of those harmonized in 'Reports.' The term 'Report' (French, *rapporter*, to carry back), is used to describe what musicians would now call a short fugal passage. 'It may have been understood,' says Livingston, 'to mean either a *carrying back*, that is, after a passage has been started by one harmonic part, taking it back to the same point and starting it anew by another; or *carrying again*, that is, repeating the passage by the parts in succession. Or if the term referred to echoing, answering, or what is now called imitation, the idea is still the same.' The first of the 'Report' tunes is found in an edition of the Psalter, supposed to be of date 1629, printed by Raban at Aberdeen; two of them are included in a 1633 edition, also printed by Raban; and eight appear in the harmonized edition of 1635. The editor of the latter work tells us in the preface that they are given 'for the further delight of qualified persons' in the art of music, and this would seem to imply that they were not expected to be much used in public worship. No doubt the simplest of them would be occasionally sung by the better trained congregations, but otherwise we do not think they would be much employed.

In several of its features the Psalter music is peculiar as compared with that of modern times. One great distinction is that the melodies of all the tunes are assigned to the tenor voice—not as with us to the treble. 'The custom,' says Mr. Havergal, 'arose, it seems, from the desire to render unisonous singing in the congregations more agreeable to all true lovers of harmony. In an age when psalms were sung with great energy by large masses of people, the men's voices predominating by their power would engross the ear, and clearly sustain the melody. The devout musician, leaving that melody to be sung with all simplicity and fulness, employed a few superior voices to encompass it with harmony. The process was analogous to that of an architect who substantiates and ornaments a plainly-built edifice by

making good the foundation to it, and then adding a new roof embellished in becoming style.' The tenor—so-called—while led by male voices, was also termed the 'Church Part,' implying that those who were unable to sing any of the other parts were expected to join in this. Probably the treble part under this old arrangement was sustained chiefly by boys, though of course it would be suitable also for females. The remaining parts, it may be added, were known as the 'Contra' and 'Bassus.'

The tunes themselves exemplify the great use that was then made of the old modes. Thus, while our modern music knows only two modes, of the 104 Proper tunes which the 1635 Psalter contains, 21 are in the Dorian (or mode on the second of the scale), 6 in the Phrygian (on the third), and six in the Mixolydian (on the fifth); in the ordinary major mode now in use there are 49 tunes, in the minor 22. The melodies are nearly all of the simplest sort, for the principle seems to have been kept steadily in view that the whole congregation should take part in the praise. Nothing elaborate or showy was permitted, and—if we except the few tunes in 'Reports'—nothing which the commonest ears and least cultivated voices could not master. The partition of the tunes was mostly syllabic, which would not only make them easier to learn and sing, but would help in securing distinct enunciation of the words. Their style was both grave and cheerful, dignified and chaste, so that they were eminently capable of meeting a great variety of language, and of fostering a calm and an earnest devotion. Looking at the harmonies, we find them characterised by the same simplicity as the airs themselves; by tunefulness of progression, so that each part might have as much of melody as possible; by fitness of distribution, and by fulness of combination. Discords were but sparingly employed; common chords were written mostly in fundamental positions; and the major third is invariably found at the close of minor tunes. The pitch at which the melodies were sung cannot be determined exactly by the notation. At most only four keys were used, the favourites being those of C, F, and B flat. Probably this was intentional, as the difficulty of reading the music would be considerably lessened by the limiting of the keys; but at anyrate it is evident that the singers adopted whatever pitch

suit their voices, quite independently of the notation. On this point Mr. Havergal remarks:—‘As to the pitch at which tunes were sung, some of the *Introductions to Singing* published in the last century leave us in no doubt. They disclose the fact that the keys, or scales in which the tunes were set, were no criterion as to the pitch in which they were sung. They were mostly set in only two or three keys, to suit the convenience of the printer, as to ledger lines, and accidental sharps or flats; but they were sung at any pitch which best suited the singers.’

The old rate of singing does not appear to have been slow as is popularly supposed. In the 1611 edition of the Psalter the longer psalms are divided into portions, evidently with the intention of being sung at one time, and the usual quantity is eight or ten verses. Again, in the *Treatise on Fasting* issued by the General Assembly in 1565, it is directed that after Sermon the 51st psalm, which consisted of nineteen long metre verses, ‘shall be sung whole.’ On this head the remarks of the author of *Old Church Psalmody* are interesting. ‘Singers,’ he says, ‘formerly sang with good speed. A dozen verses reduced to six by a double tune formed a very moderate portion for one occasion. The modern drawl which makes four single verses quite long enough, was most likely occasioned by innovations upon the syllabic style in the early part of last century.’ It is generally supposed that a second was about the average duration of the minim in these early days, but it is likely that the character of the tune or psalm would affect the speed then as it does now.

With regard to the notation some peculiarities are to be observed. The notes used are six in number, beginning with what was called the ‘long,’ and ending with the quaver, their forms being the same as are found in the general music of the time. The sharp and flat were made use of as at present, but the natural was unknown, its place being filled by the flat, which thus did double service. Bar-lines throughout the tunes are not employed, but the semibreve rest is generally used to mark the end of lines. The slur is never found, but as the tunes were mostly syllabic, its absence could not have been felt. Ledger lines occur in only a few instances.

No harmonized edition of the Scottish Psalter was published

until 1635, and this fact suggests the interesting question whether before this there was anything like part-singing to be heard in the services of the church. It is notorious that Calvin objected to the addition of harmony to the tunes of his Psalter; and at first sight it would appear as if Knox and his followers had agreed with the Genevan Reformer in this particular. It is plain, however, from many ascertained facts, that harmony was really practised in Scotland from the first formation of the Protestant Church. So early as 1566 we find one Wood, who styles himself 'Vicar of St. Andrews,' employed in writing four different volumes, each containing a distinct part of the music for the psalms; and doubtless copies were multiplied in other instances, though the names of the harmonizers cannot now be learned. These harmonies must have been used to some extent in the churches,—indeed, we have evidence that they were. In the Preface to the 1635 Psalter, the editor speaks distinctly of various sets of harmony as being in use, and as occasioning inconvenience and confusion by their diversity. Again, in the Diary of James Melville, under 1574, we have the following entry:—

'Mairower in these yeiris I learned my music, wherein I tuk graitter deylt, of ane Alexander Smithe, servant to the Primarius of our Collage, wha had been treaned upe amangis the mounks in the Abbay. I lerned of him the gam [i.e. gamut=the scale], plean-song, and monie of the treables of the Psalmes, whereof sum I could weill sing in the Kirk.'

The 'treables,' be it noted, refers to one of the harmonic parts, the 'plean-song' evidently meaning the melody. The evidence afforded by a miscellaneous crowd of people marching up the High Street of Edinburgh singing the 'Old 124th' in four parts on the occasion of Durie's return to the city in 1582, is also of value in this connection, as showing that part-singing must have been quite common in the early history of the Church. How the people came to learn their parts does not so readily appear; for it is almost certain that the printing press was not employed in circulating the necessary materials. No doubt the professional musicians would do a good deal in this direction, and something might be expected of the 'Sang Schules' so long as the latter

existed.* Probably, too, a few of the ecclesiastics, who had been trained in the Catholic Church and became Protestants brought with them musical skill and experience, and devoted both to the service of the people. At any rate, it is quite evident that part-singing was neither discouraged by the Church nor neglected by the people; and it is not improbable that the reason for printing the melodies only of the psalms up to 1635 was simply to lessen the cost of producing copies of the Psalter.

The principle of Church action in psalmody was intimately connected with the early Psalter, the ecclesiastical authorities having from the first made it an object of special care. 'Instead of leaving the music to the chapter of accidents, they provided a full supply of good, substantial, workable material, gave it the full imprimatur of the Church, and printed it along with the psalms that it might never be allowed to go out of view.' In the First Book of Discipline, 1560, we have the following direction: 'Moreover, men, women, and children, should be exorted to exercise thameselves in the psalmes, that when the Churche conveyith and dois sing, thai may be the more abill togethir with commoun heart and voice to prayse God.' Besides this passage, there is another which draws a distinction between things 'so necessarie that without the same thair is no face of ane visible Kirk,' and other things less important. Amongst the latter is classed the singing of psalms,—'for in some churches the psalmes may be conveniently sung, in utheris perchance they can not.' In the Aberdeen Session Records of 1604, it is ordained that 'all men and women in this burgh quha can reid and ar of famous report and habilitie sall have bybles and psalme buiks of their awin, and sall bring the same with thame to thair parochie kirkis thairon to reid and praise God.' Even the Scottish Parliament is found making enactments in a similar direction. In 1579 it was 'statute and ordeaned that all gentlemen worth 300 merks of yearlie rent, and all substantial yeomen, etc. worth 500 pounds in lands or goods be holden to have ane bible and psalme booke under the paines conteaned in the said act'; and this law would appear to

* For an account of the 'Schules,' see our article on 'Music in Early Scotland' (*Scottish Review*, October, 1888).

have been enforced, in Edinburgh at any rate, where it was ordered that parties, 'for eschewing of all fraude bring their bybills and psalm buiks, to have their names writtin and subscrivit be the Clerk.' It will thus be seen that the Church at first did everything in her power to foster and encourage the practice of congregational singing: why she did not continue as she had begun is not so apparent.

The leader of the singing in the early Reformation Church was known by different names, and generally performed more than the one function. The designations most frequently met with are 'Uptaker'* and 'Raiser' of the Psalm; in addition to these we find 'he that takes up the line,' the 'Clerk,' and the 'Precentor,' though the latter term is not common. At first, and for a long time, it was customary for an official, called the 'Reader,' to repair to church some time before the minister, and read to the congregation two or three chapters from the Old and New Testaments. When the minister entered a psalm was sung, and when it was concluded the minister commenced his duties by offering up a prayer. In many cases the leader of the singing united with his office that of 'Reader,' and it is from this circumstance that the precentor's desk is still sometimes called the 'lectern,' or vulgarly the 'litter.' Early in the eighteenth century the functions of the precentor were curtailed; he was no longer required to read the Word or to prescribe the opening psalm. The service was not begun till the entry into the pulpit of the minister, who gave out the psalm himself, leaving the occupant of the 'lectern' simply to lead the music.† We have said that the early precentor generally performed more than the one function. He was frequently a schoolmaster, and he was perhaps as often session-clerk. Sometimes he was beadle, and in a very few cases he was gravedigger. In the Statistical Account of Heriot (1759) it is said of the schoolmaster: 'He is also precentor, session-clerk, beadle, and gravedigger, and yet his whole income does not exceed £8 per annum.' Where there was

* In the Second Book of Discipline the 'Takers up of the Psalmes' are twice mentioned as being entitled to a share of the revenues of the Kirk.

† See Cunningham's *Church History of Scotland*, edition 1882, ii. 426.

a 'Sang Schule' with a master, the latter was almost invariably the precentor. Defective supply in country places seems to have given rise to many expedients, as the following extract from the Diary of James Melvill, 1570, plainly shows :

'The Laird of Done, mentioned before, dwelt oft in the town [Montrose], and for his charitie entertained a blind man, wha had a singular guid voice, him he causit the doctor of our scholl [Sang Schule] to teetche the wholl Psalmes in miter, with the tone thereof, and sing tham in the Kirk, be heiring of whome I was sa delyted that I lerint mainie of the Psalmes and toones thereof in miter, quhilk I haiff thought ever sen syne a grait blessing and comfort.'

It is interesting to note that in some places the leader of the singing had special vestments provided for him. In the Council Registers of Aberdeen, for example, we find that in 1763 'the precentors in both churches were ordered to be provided with black gowns and bands.'

Of leading the psalmody by the aid of a choir there are very few instances to be met with in the early Reformation Church. The experience of the older Church had shown that such a method frequently led indirectly to the silencing of the congregational praise, and the possibility of a choir forming a help to the people in their singing does not seem to have been thought of. Nevertheless there are one or two references to something like a choir to be met with in the old records. In the year 1587 the Kirk Session of Glasgow 'ordean Mr. William Struthers, teacher of musick, shall sing in the High Kirk, from the ringing of the first bell to the minister's coming in; and appoint four men to sit beside him beneath the pulpit.' Again, in 1588, the Session 'ordean that the Sangsters in toun sing with Mr. William Struthers on Sunday.' It appears that in some cases the pupils of the 'Sang Schule' were seated beside the precentor to assist him in leading the singing. In the Session Records of Stirling, 1621, we read that 'the brethrein of the Kirk . . . thinkis meit that the pulpit and reederis letrun salbe taine doune and reede-feit [reconstructed] again;' and they therefore ordain that the same be done by certain individuals named, who are to 'mak commodious seattis about the fit thair of meit for the maister of the sang school and his bairnis to sit on, for singing of the

psalmes in the tyme of the holie service of the Kirk.' How many more instances of this kind may have existed it is impossible now to say. During the sway of Episcopacy, choirs would no doubt increase, but even so late as 1755 they were sufficiently few in number to be spoken of as an 'innovation.' In the *Scots Magazine* for the year just named there is an article headed 'Ill consequences of a late innovation in Church Music,' in the course of which the introduction of a choir into some of the city churches is animadverted upon. There is a second article on the same subject, the writer this time being in favour of the new custom. 'Another circumstance is,' says he, 'that a body of the singers sit together generally in the gallery or loft, by which means they mutually assist each other, and lead the voices of such as are scattered in the body of the church, and command them more effectually than it is in the power of any precentor to do. Thus, too, the music is mellowed, and the effect of the whole parts united is agreeably diffused through the audience. The manner in which the seats in the church of New Aberdeen had been set before the reformation of their music was in view, made it impracticable as yet to attend to this circumstance, the good effect of which is daily experienced in all the neighbouring congregations where it takes place.' The writer goes on to say that many objections have been raised against the 'singing by trained choristers,' it being looked upon as an introduction of the superstitious pomp of cathedral worship, and there can be little doubt that to this idea the original exclusion of choirs from the Church is to be mainly attributed.

The custom of reading the psalms line by line and afterwards by two lines before singing was not of Scottish origin, as is sometimes supposed. The practice came from England, where it had been introduced for the benefit of those who could not read, or who were unable to purchase a psalm-book. The Scottish Church adopted it chiefly, as it would appear, from the desire to obtain that uniformity of worship which was ultimately secured through the Westminster Directory. In the latter we read—'For the present, where many of the congregation cannot read, it is convenient that the minister or some other fit person appointed by him and the ruling officers do read the psalm line by line, before

the singing thereof.' It is in regard to this that Lightfoot speaks in his *Journal of the Westminster Assembly*: 'Then was our Directory read over to the Scots Commissioners, who were absent at the passing of it; and Mr. Henderson disliked our permission of any to read the psalm line by line, and this business held us in some debate.' It is almost certain from this alone that the reading of the line had not previously been practised in Scotland, but we have distinct proof of the fact in a passage in Stewart of Pardovan's *Collections*, where the author says: 'It was an ancient practice of the Church for the minister or precentor to read over as much of the psalm in metre together as was intended to be sung at once, and then the harmony and melody followed without interruption, and people did either learn to read or get most of the psalms by heart.' There is therefore ground for the conclusion that the people of Scotland not only possessed psalm-books but were able to use them—a point which we seek to emphasise because, as already indicated, it has frequently been stated that the practice of 'lining out' had its origin in Scotland, and was introduced for the benefit of the illiterate.

Though, however, resented at first by the Scottish people as a concession to unlettered England, the practice soon came to be looked upon as a vital principle of worship. In illustration of this point many curious stories have been told, one or two of which may here be given. In Peebles a wealthy lady was so concerned for the continuance of the custom that she offered to leave all she had to the Church if they would but 'read the line.' An old widow living by herself at Tarbolton was in the habit of going through the form of family prayers every day, and read aloud to herself each line of the psalm before she sang it. A 'Paisley body,' who went by the name of Janet, protested loudly to her minister against the abolition of the practice, adding that she liked to 'gust her gab' twice with the line. On a subsequent occasion a 'repeating' tune was sung at the church, when Janet appealed to her minister against this second innovation. 'Well, Janet,' said he, 'I thought you liked to gust your gab twice with the line.' How Janet escaped from this dilemma we are not told. Perhaps she was not so ready in resource as the old lady who,

being asked by Dr. Chalmers her reason for saying that the abolition of the custom of which we are speaking was anti-scriptural, replied by citing the text, 'Line upon line!'

As early as 1746, the General Assembly had recommended to 'private families that in their religious exercises singing the praises of God, they go on without the intermission of each line.' Up to the early part of the present century, however, the practice still survived in public worship, and great resentment arose in nearly every quarter where attempts were made to abolish it. Many people indeed left the Church of Scotland and joined the Seceders solely on account of the abolition of 'lining out.' 'A number of dissenting congregations,' says the Rev. G. W. Sprott, 'owed their origin not to patronage, not to unevangelical preaching in the Parish Church, but to the introduction of paraphrases and the omission of the reading of the line; and others were largely increased from these causes. These determined prejudices were carried to the ends of the earth. I remember old Scotsmen in the Colonies who never entered church because the line was not read out as they had been accustomed to hear it in the old country.*' Lining out has long ceased in all but the most remote districts of the country, and indeed the continuance of the practice when every one could afford to purchase a psalm book and could read it, would have been absurd.

In our article on 'Music in Early Scotland,' we have gone into some detail regarding the use of instrumental music in the pre-Reformation Church. In this place we need say little more than that it is very doubtful whether organs were at any time common in the country. The extreme poverty of the people and the turbulent course of the national history would almost certainly act effectually against their employment in all but the most influential congregations. Very little evidence is to be found of their existence except in the royal chapels, the cathedral

* 'The Towbuith [Tolbooth] Whigs were a set of rigid Calvinists who loved nothing but extempore sermons, and would have considered it sufficient to bring the house down about their ears if the preceptor had ceased for one verse the old hill-side fashion of reciting the lines of the psalm before singing them.'—Chambers' *Traditions of Edinburgh*.

churches, and a few of the abbeys and monasteries. Indeed, if they had been more widely used than this, it seems hardly likely that the Reformers would have found it so easy to set them aside, or that they would have refrained from making special enactments regarding them.

And here we are brought to the consideration of an interesting question—Was the non-employment of instrumental music in the Scottish Reformed Church due to principle, or was that course adopted simply from expediency? It has generally been supposed that the exclusion of the organ may have arisen partly from the conviction that it was in harmony with the teaching of the New Testament, and partly from the glaring abuses prevalent in the Catholic Church. That the former view ultimately came to be the one held by Scottish Presbyterians, we well know; but was it really the view which first led to the abjuring of the organ in worship? We think not altogether; otherwise, how can the absence of any distinct enactment on the question be satisfactorily explained? Both the First and Second Books of Discipline are silent on the matter; the General Assemblies, so far as we know (we speak of the early Church history), pronounced no decree upon it; in the old Scottish Confession of Faith it is not once noticed; and the Westminster Directory does not discourage it by a single line of disapproval. There is evidence also to show that, whatever may have been the feeling at first, some of the leading minds in the Church came to look upon the matter as being at anyrate not of vital importance. Except on this ground, it would hardly be possible, for example, to account for the circumstance that George Gillespie in his celebrated work entitled *A Dispute against English Popish Ceremonies obtruded upon the Church of Scotland*, published in 1637, never once makes mention of the question of instrumental music. Many years before this—in 1617—an organ had been introduced into the Chapel Royal in Edinburgh,* at which time it had given

* We do not know whether the point has ever engaged special attention, but it appears to us to be worthy of enquiry, whether, as has sometimes been dogmatically asserted, the Chapel Royal and the Abbey Church were about this date one and the same. Judging from various notices in

considerable offence to the people ; and it is quite inexplicable that Gillespie should not refer to this amongst his 'obtruded ceremonies,' unless we suppose him not to have considered it a question of principle. Even the famous Glasgow Assembly of 1638 took no notice of the matter, and yet the organ in the Chapel Royal was at that very time causing contention in the capital. In our opinion, a little too much has been deduced from the fact that the early Reformation Church had no instrumental music in its services. Even if its use had been expressly enjoined, we do not believe that more than a very few congregations would have been able to boast of an organ ; and this for the reasons already referred to as preventing the universal employment of the instrument in the ancient Church. For many years after the Reformation the people continued in a state of extreme poverty, and a large proportion of the clergy had scarcely the means of subsistence. A great many parishes had no minister at all ; and, if we except a few abbeys and cathedrals—some of which were in ruins—the places of worship were in a wretched state of disrepair—'without stoves, without pews, and open to all the winds of heaven.' So far on as 1713, a contemporary writer says that

Calderwood (see especially Vol. vii., Wodrow ed.) it would seem as if they were. Certainly the congregation worshipping in the building known as the Chapel Royal belonged at one time to the Church of Scotland. There can be little doubt that the Chapel to which Knox refers as 'the Chappell Royall of Holyrud-House,' and as 'the Chappell of the Palace of Holyrud-House' is, or rather was, quite a different Chapel from that now known as Holyrood Chapel. In Laing's Knox (i. 391) we find that the Queen's 'awin Chappell' is distinguished from the 'Abbey.' In Chambers' 'Traditions of Edinburgh' it is stated that in the lower part of the Church of St. Giles 'there was a small place of worship denominated the Chapel of Holyrood'; and in Rogers' 'History of the Chapel Royal' (Grampian Club), it is said that the former Chapel at Holyrood was not superseded as such by the Abbey Church, which had been used as a parish church until the reign of Charles II. In the Preface to the Chartulary of Holyrood (Bannatyne Club) we find a copy of the Privy Council Minute discharging the people of the Canongate from using the Abbey Church any longer, as it was henceforward (1672) to be the Chapel Royal. That entry would seem to imply that it had not been previously known or used as the Chapel Royal.

' a Pair of organs * are not in every one's hand ; which I believe will not be denied me, while so many Episcopal meeting houses in Scotland are obliged through plain poverty to want them.' Whether, however, from principle or expediency, the organ gradually disappeared, until at the close of the sixteenth century not a single specimen found even standing room in a Presbyterian Church.

Reference has incidentally been made to the introduction of an organ into the Chapel Royal, Edinburgh, in 1617. There seems to have been at various times different establishments bearing the designation of Royal Chapels, each of which has some interest for the musical antiquary. The oldest appears to have been at Stirling. According to Pitscottie, it was founded by James III. and included a 'Dean, Archdean, Treasurer, Sub-dean, Chantor, Sub-chantor, with all kinds of Alter offices.' There were two separate companies—'the one to pass with the king wherever he pleased that they might sing and play to him, and hold him merry; the other to remain in the said chapel, for to sing and pray for him and his successors.' At Stirling, James VI. was baptized in 1566, and we read that in the procession there were 'singers of the Chapel in their several habits and copes,' and that when the rites had been performed—'then did the musick begin, and after it had continued a good space, the Prince was again conveyed to his apartment.' In 1612 Maister William Birnie was appointed Dean, 'with special power to chuse ane sufficient number of prebendares, skeilful in musick, being apt and qualifiet for uthir divine service,' and to confer upon the benefices belonging to them according to the first institution,—the place of residence to be Holyroodhouse instead of Stirling. This latter step, as has been suggested, was doubtless in the line of James's measures for assimilating the Church of Scotland to that of Eng-

* The term 'pair of organs' is one which it may be well to explain, as it has frequently puzzled inquirers after mediæval remains. It meant simply an organ *with more pipes than one*. In the works of the older poets we often find the term 'pair,' and always as synonymous with *set*: thus we have 'a pair of cards' (Jonson), 'a pair of beads' (Fletcher), etc. The term must never be taken as implying two separate instruments.—See Hopkins and Rimbault on the Organ, p. 41.

land, the further progress of which appears from the history of the movement beginning with the introduction of the organ in 1617. As this history is of no little interest we shall now follow it out in some detail.

The setting up of the organ in the Chapel Royal is referred to by Calderwood: 'On the 17th of May, 1617,' says he, 'the service was begun in the Chapel Royal, with singing of choristers, surplices, and playing on organes,' and on two subsequent occasions in the same year he again reports the performance of the instrument. From this date on till 1631 very little seems to be known concerning the state of music in the Chapel, but in the latter year, according to Stevenson's *History*, 'the organs were set up in the Chapel Royal, and a company of singers, mostly young boys, were appointed to play that tune [kind of music ?] under the direction of Mr. Thomas Hanna, whose zeal was rewarded with the Deanery of Edinburgh.' In 1633, when Charles visited Scotland, the instrument was still in use in the Chapel. Before setting out the King had desired to be informed as to the order of service in the place where he was to worship, and a long programme was submitted to him from which we make the following quotation: 'In time of service within the Chappell, the organist and all the singing men are in black gownes, and the boyes in sadd coloured coats. The singing men doe sit in seats lately made before the noblemen, with their books lay'd. There is sung before sermon a full anthem, and after sermon an anthem alone in versus [*i.e.*, one singer to each part] with the organ.' It has been generally supposed that the Reformation in all parts of the country 'directly occasioned the suspension of every description of music except psalm-tunes;' but this idea scarcely accords either with the intimation just quoted, or with others connected with state occasions which might be adduced. It is more than probable that the parties employed in these instances were the regular officials of the chapel. 'It may be assumed,' says Livingston, 'that the secular branches would continue to be cultivated; and in regard to the sacred, though the religious services strictly so-called would be in accordance with the system prevalent over the kingdom, it does not follow that no higher class of compositions was maintained.' Still, as there were no choirs in the great

majority of the churches, it is unlikely that any other form of music than the psalm tune was largely employed.

Among Charles's instructions given in 1638 to his Commissioner, Hamilton, there is an injunction to the effect that the organ in the Chapel Royal might or might not be used according as should be deemed expedient. The injunction very soon proved to be unnecessary. The instrument had long been a bone of contention between the Government party and the Presbyterians; and in this same year something happened which caused its final removal. Spalding's words (*Memorialls*) suggest that the Chapel had suffered violence. 'The glorious organs of the Chappell Royall,' says he, are 'maisterfullie broken doune, nor no service usit thair, bot the hail Chaplains, choirstirs and musicians dischargeit, and the costlie organes altogidder distroyit and unuseful.' But that the instrument, if 'unuseful', was not 'altogidder distroyit' is evident from the following notice in Sir John Graham Dalzell's *Musical Memoirs of Scotland*:

'At a meeting of the Kirk-session of the parish of Holyrood in the year 1643 'the matter being motioned concerning that organe which was taken down and put into the yle, now lying idle, mothing and consuming; yea, moreover, the same being an unprofitable instrument, *scandalous* to our profession, whether the same might not be sold for a tollerable pryce, and the money given to the poor. The session agreed that this would be expedient, but postponed the subject.'*

The ultimate fate of the organ is not recorded; nor do we hear anything of instrumental music in any church in Scotland for many years afterwards. In 1747 an English Chapel, situated in Gray's Close, Edinburgh, introduced an organ into the service, and this, so far as we can learn, was the first occasion of its use in the capital since the Revolution. It was considered so great a novelty that, according to Chambers, (*Traditions of Edinburgh*) 'many people, even at the risk of excommunication, went out of curiosity to hear it.' In the west of Scotland the first

* The selling of organs and devoting the proceeds to charity seems to have been common. In 1674 the Kirk Session of Aberdeen gave orders that 'the organes be removit from the Kirk with all expedition and made forfeit of to the use and support of the puir.'

organ set up after the Reformation was in St. Andrew's 'English Chappel,' Glasgow, in 1775.* Not till the year 1806 was any serious attempt made to introduce an instrument into a Presbyterian Church. An organ had been talked of in Aberdeen some time before this, but nothing had come of the proposal. In the year first named Dr. Ritchie of St. Andrew's Parish Church, Glasgow, petitioned the Town Council, as patrons and heritors of St. Andrews for leave to clear away some pews behind the pulpit to make room for an organ. The Council refused the petition, unless with the Presbytery's sanction, but it was not intended to ask this sanction; and so a small instrument for which room could be found without any alteration, was introduced and was used for the first—and as it turned out the only—time, on Sunday, August 23rd, 1807.† The Presbytery at once took the matter up, with the result that the organ had to be immediately silenced. The Presbytery found that the use of instrumental music in public worship was not only *ultra vires* of individual congregations, but *ultra vires* of the Church herself; it was forbidden by the law of the land, specially by the Act of Security and the Treaty of Union; much more it was forbidden by the law of God! How matters have progressed since then need hardly be said. Liberty came to the Church of Scotland by a decision of the General Assembly of 1864; and not many years afterwards, as our readers know, the other Presbyterian Churches followed the example thus set them. Such are the strange transformations which time brings about!

It is not intended in this paper to carry down the history of Scottish Church music to our own day. Indeed, following on the

* So says the Rev. Dr. Gordon, incumbent of St. Andrews (see *Glasghu Facies*, p. 562). There is, however, a tradition that the 1775 organ was preceded by a barrel organ. Unfortunately the early records of the 'English Chappel' have disappeared so that it is impossible to test the tradition.—See an interesting article, entitled 'Some old Glasgow Organs,' in *Glasgow Herald*, March 13th, 1889.

† Principal Cunningham (*Church History of Scotland*, ii. 541) is thus inexact in saying that the harmonium introduced in 1862 into Old Greyfriars, Edinburgh, was the first musical instrument used in a Scotch Church since the Reformation.

period with which we have already dealt there is very little of interest to tell. The 'golden age' of psalmody in Scotland was emphatically the age of the Sternhold Psalter. With the introduction in 1650 of the present version of the psalms—at which time the Church left the musical element uncared for—there was inaugurated the 'dark age' of Church music in the country. Psalmody 'no longer enjoyed the protection of Church authority, but was turned adrift to seek refuge wherever a private individual might be found willing to afford it.' The result was just what might have been expected—deterioration in regard both to materials and performance. The country became chiefly dependent upon England for its supply of music; only about half a dozen of its old Psalter tunes being retained, and most of its precentors being probably ignorant that such a work was ever in existence. Of this discreditable state of matters, Dr. Mainzer, a foreigner, wrote :

'While the Protestants of Germany, Switzerland, Sweden, and Bohemia, cling with veneration and almost filial devotion to the psalm tunes of the Reformation, and consider them as a sacred trust, as a national legacy, to be transmitted from father to son, from generation to generation, the Presbyterians of Scotland have been taught melodies of other countries, of which many have not even borrowed their inspiration from the Church—their own national psalmody, one of the most beautiful musical remnants of the Reformation, being allowed to perish unnoticed, and fall into oblivion.'

Happily, we in modern times, have made some amends for this neglect, by a partial return to the tunes of the Reformation period. There is now a better acquaintance with, and a higher appreciation of the old Church music: and that is just as it should be. We have advanced in many things since the early days of the Reformation, but it is doubtful if we have produced better or heartier congregational singing, and it is certain we have not produced a body of tunes better suited as a medium of the people's praise.

J. CUTHBERT HADDEN.

ART. II.—THE PREHISTORIC LEVANT.

THE advance of learning concerning the ancient civilization of Asia, within the last two generations, has equalled the advance of physical science, of engineering skill, and of geographical research; and, like the latter, its rapid growth dates from the time when British power became consolidated after the fall of Napoleon. The necessity for studying Asiatic languages was felt by the statesman and the missionary alike, and the bold explorations of military and political agents together tended to provide for scholars a mass of material the very existence of which was unsuspected. Before the year 1822 not a symbol of the now familiar Egyptian system of hieroglyphic writing was understood, and the Rosetta bilingual was still unused. It was not till 1847 that the cuneiform writing was deciphered by a soldier, whose name now stands in the highest place among English scholars (Sir Henry Rawlinson), and ten years earlier Gesenius was only just publishing his collection of Phœnician texts, while in Aryan studies the basis of comparative grammar had then only begun to be laid.

Every discovery so made was met at first with sceptical and even derisive contradiction. Bopp was laughed at as an enthusiast when he first pointed out the kinship of Aryan languages, which is now the accepted basis of their study, just as in 1771 Anquetil Duperron had been denounced as an impostor when, after years of dangerous research and patient labour, he brought to Europe the sacred books of the Parsees, written in dialects then entirely unknown. Nor is this spirit of opposition dead even in our own times, when the labours of the last generation have become the glory of scholars. Here and there a voice is raised against Sir H. Rawlinson's latest and most astonishing discovery—that of the old Mongolic language of Mesopotamia. Here and there an enthusiast still breaks away from the results of comparative study, and confuses languages and civilizations of different stocks.

Nor is the work of studying the ancient history of Western

Asia—which is the history of the origin of civilization—by any means complete in our own times. New surprises were in store for scholars even within the last dozen years. New systems of writing, new languages, and unsuspected elements of ancient population, yet remained to be studied; and new pioneers were doomed to meet the same reception which their precursors endured. Hardly had the Egyptian and the Cuneiform come to be understood systems when a new and distinct hieroglyphic character was found to have been widely used throughout Asia Minor and Northern Syria; and hardly had the reading public become familiar with Rameses and Sargon, when races akin neither to the Egyptians nor to the Assyrians began to take their place on the canvas.

The result of this wide study of contemporary monuments has been to revolutionize many of our ideas of ancient history, and to substitute a comparative for an exegetical method. Yet, on the other hand, the evidence of the inscriptions, as a whole, has tended not to discredit but to confirm the historic statements of those great writers on whom we formerly depended for our knowledge of the ancient world, and to vindicate the faithfulness and honesty of Herodotus, and of yet earlier and more venerated chroniclers, even while illustrating from independent sources the widespread belief in the legends and folk-tales wherewith the father of history enlivens his charming pages. Exegetic study must always suffer from the disadvantage that the ingenuity of the critic is uncontrolled by facts outside the authority which he questions, until the independent results of monumental study furnish us with a means of forming an opinion which may control the frequently over-confident assumptions of the scholar, who claims to understand better than the ancient historian how history should be written. The critic appeals from antiquity to his own understanding. The antiquary appeals from the critic to the very letters penned by the contemporary scribe.

It is no doubt because of the very solid basis on which monumental research stands that its results are received by practical and intelligent readers with greater confidence than those of literary criticism. As in every other department of research, the conclusions of the antiquary and of the philologist are liable

to be overthrown by ampler and more exact knowledge. But his method is safe, because it depends on comparison, whether of historic statement, of language, or of art, and because personal opinion is reduced to a minimum, and errors of transmission practically annihilated. The materials on which the critic works are almost incapable of increase, but the antiquary lives in daily hope of further finds; and so long as he is content to keep his conclusions well within his facts, and to acknowledge his ignorance when facts fail him, he receives from his reader the confidence due to honest determination in the search of truth.

The general result of such study has been to prove clearly the early presence in Western Asia of the three well-known stocks now called Semitic, Turanian, and Aryan, side by side with the old Egyptian stock in the Delta. The Turanian or Mongolic race appears to have been the first in Asia to attain to civilization, but was gradually superseded and surpassed by the Semitic, while the Aryans, whose superiority has often been boasted both by themselves and by those scholars who have devoted their attention exclusively to Aryan antiquity, were not only the latest to appear on the scene, but may be justly said to have had no independent culture of their own before they came under the influence of the afore-mentioned races. The antiquity of the Egyptian civilization, however, surpasses any other, and it is astonishingly perfect in the very earliest times. Some scholars have supposed the pyramid age to be as early as 4000 B.C. (though Egyptian chronology, properly speaking, begins only about 1600 B.C.), and neither in Mesopotamia, in India, or in China, has civilization been carried back to such an early date. The early kings of Chaldea are not traced in their Canon earlier than 2600 B.C. (in spite of deductions from later records*), while in China the oldest known monuments belong to the ninth century B.C., and the eclipse observations are not recorded regularly before 776 B.C. The earliest date proposed by Max

* Some scholars still speak of the history of Mesopotamia as traceable to 4000 and even 6000 B.C., but these conjectures, however dogmatically urged, are very unsafe, and, like many other assertions of contemporary authorities, will in time be discarded, because they rest on foundations already shown to be unsafe.

Müller for an unwritten Veda is only 1500 B.C., and Indian civilization cannot be carried back much before 600 B.C., while that of Persia is even later.

The scepticism of the age of Voltaire which denied the existence of any literature in Western Asia before the age of Herodotus, has, however, proved to have been hasty and ignorant in face of the actual survival of alphabetic texts probably as old as 1000 B.C. at least, while the still existing papyri of Egypt carry us back another ten centuries, and these again are preceded by the early monumental texts of Chaldea, perhaps carved in 3000 B.C. and by the yet earlier monumental writing of Egypt, while the existence of cities, of trade, of art, of metallurgy, and of agriculture in Western Asia is now proved by the monuments as early as the date usually assigned to Abraham.

In the present paper it is proposed to give a general sketch of the growth of civilization in the very earliest ages in Egypt and in Western Asia, and to enlarge more especially on some of the newer and less generally known results of exploration in Asia Minor and in Syria, including the researches of Perrot in Armenia, and the outcome of the recovery of the Syrian hieroglyphic texts in 1870, with the subsequent discoveries of George Smith in Northern Syria. In this enquiry it will be most convenient to begin with Egypt, and to take in turn the results of Semitic, Turanian, and Aryan studies.

In the vast and ever spreading field of Egyptian scholarship it may seem impossible to select facts of primary importance for notice. Yet it is extraordinary to note how many questions of the highest importance remain still unsettled even in this field. The origin of the Egyptians is still matter of dispute. The Egyptian language may be said to be still unclassified. The existence of numerous distinct elements of population, though recognised, is little studied, and the possible existing relationship of Egyptian to other hieroglyphic systems, though indicated by more than one scholar of eminence, is far from being generally accepted. The home of Egyptian civilization is in short as uncertain as is the chronology of the early dynasties, while the religion and mythology of the race are still not perfectly understood.

The racial type of the Egyptian mummies was called 'Caucasian' by Sir G. Wilkinson, resembling that of the European, and having nothing in it of the negro; but the aquiline profile of the 18th and 19th dynasties differs much from the older type of the wooden statues, and the broad faces of the Hyksos are now generally regarded as Mongolic. In the same way, too, traces of Semitic and yet more strongly of Mongolic influence are found in the vocabulary of the Egyptian language about the 14th century B.C., but the language itself is certainly neither Aryan nor Turanian, though remotely connected by its syntax and its pronouns and genders with the earliest Semitic speech. The folk-lore tales of the 19th Dynasty appear also to be closely connected with those of the Asiatic races, and the religious symbolism of Egypt in great measure coincides with that of Syria and Chaldea. It appears therefore, that the original stock, already to some extent civilised, divided off at a very remote period from its Asiatic relatives, and that about 2000 B.C. Tartar tribes—perhaps the Hyksos—and Semitic traders—Hebrew and Phoenician—gradually spread over the Delta, where apparently they became dominant, until the so-called Nubian Dynasties drove them back into Syria, and in turn invaded the plain of Philistia.

The latest and most interesting of Egyptian discoveries has been that of cuneiform tablets at Tell-el-Amarna in Upper Egypt, dating, probably, as early as the 16th century B.C., and shewing that the officials of the Kings of Mesopotamia, at that time, ruled even in Tyre and Sidon. The theory which has somewhat hastily been formed from this find—representing the cuneiform as a sort of diplomatic character used all over Western Asia at this period—does not however agree either with the contents of these tablets or with what we know of the history of writing in Syria; for the characters used in writing in Syria and in Egypt had no direct connection with the cuneiform. The Phoenician alphabet was derived from a perfectly distinct system, and the cuneiform character is not mentioned in the Bible. The contents of these newly found tablets have been supposed to shew that embassies were sent to the Kings of the 18th Dynasty, by Mesopotamian princes using the Babylonian characters, and it

appears that interpreters accompanied the letters, and no doubt read them or translated them. It seems however very unsafe to suppose that the governors of Tyre and Sidon and others of the writers, who address the 'King my Lord,' were Egyptian officials. The names of these writers are Semitic, and the official dockets added in Egypt are in the hieratic character. We still await the results of German study of these texts, the greater part of which are in Berlin, and the hasty estimates of their bearing on ancient history published in England, may perhaps be liable to considerable revision. Nothing is more dangerous in antiquarian research than to draw sweeping conclusions from fragmentary evidence, constructing what is little better than fiction, though claiming to be sober history.

The Egyptian monuments of Karnak are evidence that as early as 1600 B.C. there was a Semitic race (*i.e.*, one akin to the Hebrews and Assyrians) in Palestine, while Tyre is monumentally known to have been built before the 16th century B.C. About the same period also the Semitic history of Babylonia and of Assyria begins, the same race which was then strong in Syria and only just expelled from the Delta, being at the same time zealous in pushing its conquests northwards to Armenia, in countries previously held by the Turanians. The native seat of the Semitic races as a distinct stock was apparently in the south, probably near the mouth of the Euphrates. In a recent paper, M. Naville has suggested that the Hyksos themselves came from Mesopotamia, being probably Turanians expelled by the Semitic Babylonians, or by the Elamites, who were then invading Chaldea. Their royal names, however, do not suggest any clear Turanian derivation.

The Semitic race borrowed much of its civilization from the preceding Mongolians. This is shewn by the Mongol origin of many 'culture words' used in Hebrew and yet more often in Assyrian, denoting the metals and the arts, with words for king, temple, fortress, garden, &c. The Semitic race in Palestine adopted an alphabet which had no immediate connection with cuneiform, while in Mesopotamia, at least as early as 1600 B.C. they had learned from the Akkadians or Mongols a hieroglyphic system as complicated as the Egyptian. They had no native

system of writing of their own and in Arabia we find only very late texts in characters of Phoenician and Aramaic origin. Thus at the time of separation of the Hebrews and Phoenicians from the Babylonians there seems to have been no written system in use among the Semitic peoples, who were nomads invading settled countries just as in the later days, when the wild unlettered followers of Muhammad swept over the same regions and gradually learned the arts and sciences of the conquered Greeks and Persians.

Nevertheless it is perhaps from the Semitic peoples of Syria that, in the historic age, was derived the greatest and simplest of graphic inventions—the alphabet which has superseded all hieroglyphic systems; and the discoveries of the last twenty years shew us that at least as early as 1000 B.C., this alphabet was in use from the Greek islands on the north to the wilds of Moab on the south. In Palestine itself we at length possess a Hebrew inscription (the Siloam text) as old as 700 B.C.,* and a few of the Phoenician texts may be yet older. The question of the origin of this alphabet is one of the most interesting in archæology, and in consequence of recent discovery it can be pursued in a manner far more exhaustive than was possible before the early hieroglyphic texts of Syria had been recovered. To this question it will be more convenient to revert later, but the latest discoveries point to native invention in Phoenicia itself and not to the importation of a foreign system from Egypt where no alphabet strictly speaking was used.

From the list of towns conquered by Thothmes III. we know that long before the Exodus there was in Palestine a race speaking a language very like Hebrew, dwelling in cities, cultivating the soil and worshipping Baal and Ashtoreth. How early they began to write and to record their sacred traditions we do not yet know from the monuments, but there is some evidence that to this race at a very early period was due the more exact observation of the stars to which Semitic names were given. It was, however, during the period of decay in Egypt and in Assyria, while the Hittites held the passage of the Euphrates at

* *Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine, Jerusalem Volume.*

Carchemish and the Phoenicians ruled at sea, that it became possible for a strong and independent state to arise among the Hebrews, when David and Solomon founded the civilized kingdom which so soon fell in ruins. The efforts of German explorers have within the last year done much to elucidate the more obscure questions of Semitic antiquity, and the new Berlin Museum represents some of the most important additions made for many a year to the records of Western Asia. In addition to native work from Cappadocia a long Aramaic text of the 9th century B.C., in alphabetic characters, is there exhibited, and tablets on which Greek letters stand side by side with cuneiform emblems. It has been determined by recent discoveries that in the very early days of their establishment in northern Mesopotamia the Assyrians were in trade relation (in the 15th century B.C.) with the inhabitants of Cappadocia, and that languages other than those known previously to scholars, were there spoken at the time. Thus the desire expressed by George Smith to ascertain the relations of Assyria with Asia Minor is rapidly being fulfilled.*

Turning from the more familiar subject of the origin of Semitic civilization to that of the Turanians and of the Aryans, we enter upon a not less interesting though less studied subject, and on departments of antiquarian knowledge where much advance has of late years been made.

The existence of an ancient civilized Mongolic or Tartar stock in Mesopotamia was demonstrated by Sir H. Rawlinson nearly forty years ago, through the decipherment of bilingual inscriptions, which, though not historic, cast a broad light on the superstitions, the arts, and the rude inventive genius of the race.† Their language on the whole seems to have most resembled the pure Turkish spoken later in Central Asia, and the few sculptured figures as yet recovered in connection with this language present us with the round head, the broad cheek-bones, the hair-

* See Dr. Sayce's letter, *Academy*, 7th September, 1889.

† How little this discovery has been grasped even at the present day may be seen in the *Nineteenth Century*, August, 1889, where Mr. Gladstone regards the Akkadians as Semitic.

less chin of the Mongol. The invention of the cuneiform system of writing has long been attributed by scholars to this race, which is best known as Akkadian; but only in 1887 were the results of the researches of De Sarzec in lower Chaldea published in Paris, including statues covered with inscriptions which shew more fully than before the written characters used by this early race.

The student who gazes on the complicated arrow-headed forms used about 700 B.C. by the Assyrians, would be puzzled to account for their apparently arbitrary shapes, had not the careful comparative study of the earlier texts established the gradual growth of the conventional emblems from rude hieroglyphic sketches. The use of a wooden style pressed on the unbaked clay accounts for the arrow form of the strokes, but on the earliest Akkadian texts, which are engraved on stone, this 'cuneiform' appearance is absent, and the oldest known forms, though already conventionalised in a manner which suggests that the origin of the characters is to be traced earlier than 3000 B.C., yet in many cases preserve distinctly the hieroglyphic value—such as the foot for 'go,' the hand for 'take,' and emblems for 'reed,' 'ox,' 'house,' 'man,' 'star,' 'fish,' etc., etc., amounting to about 150 in all, and used in a manner closely similar to the system of the earliest Chinese characters. The Akkadians wrote from right to left in horizontal lines carefully ruled, but with the syllables of each word arranged vertically, and the words divided by vertical lines. This system distinguishes their inscriptions from those of the Assyrians, who wrote from left to right with consecutive syllables, and who turned the emblems through a right angle, so that they fell as it were on their backs. These points are clearly illustrated by De Sarzec's texts from Tell Lo, which are not yet published in English translation, but are known to be in a Mongolic language, and to record royal gifts to temples raised on the spot.

The origin of the cuneiform is therefore a picture-writing first used by a Mongolic race, which descended the valley of the Tigris from the highlands near the Caspian. They attained to considerable civilization before the Semitic invasion, not only dwelling in walled cities, building temples, carving statues of

high artistic value, using boats with sails, and writing hymns and codes of law, but also excelling in metallurgy, smelting gold, silver, copper, lead, and iron, and even, as we learn from the express wording of their hymns, making bronze from copper and tin. Bronze was of common use throughout Western Asia long before 1600 B.C. The Phoenicians used it as well as the Akkadians; and the old Akkadian name for tin (*anna* or *annag*) survives to our own times in the Hungarian *on* and in the Armenian *anag* for the same metal. It is not, however, certainly known whence this early supply of tin was derived. Tin is not known to exist in the Caucasus, though it is said to occur near Mesh-hed in Khorassan. The most probable derivation seems to be from the Altai mountains, and the early Chinese also appear to have got their tin from the North West. Neither Spain, India, nor the Scilly Isles can be supposed to have been then in communication with Mesopotamia, and the existence of tin at so early a period in Western Asia seems to suggest a very early communication with regions North East of the Caspian. The words used to denote tin by the Greeks, the Chinese, the Mongols, Hebrews and Arabs, and by the Aryans of India, are different from that above mentioned, but the Assyrians used the Akkadian word.

The Akkadians were allied to other tribes in Elam and in Media which preserved their language down to the time of Darius. Some of the Elamites conquered by the Assyrians in the 7th century B.C., appear to be represented with plaited pigtailed like Tartars, and the language of the early tribes over whom Cyrus ruled, was certainly of the same stock with the Akkadian, and closely connected with Turkish. The Medic language which appears on the inscriptions of Darius is the same, and the population south of the Caspian in the 5th century B.C. consisted of mingled Aryan and Mongolic tribes. Thus though conquered in the plains, these sturdy Turanians held on to the mountains, and an unbroken line of descent connects the Mongol, the Turk, the Hunn, and the Magyar, with the early conquerors of Chaldea, and as we are about to see with the earliest dominant race in Syria and in Asia Minor. The traditional home whence the

Mongols spread north and east, the Finns to the west, the Turks to the south-west, was in Central Asia, and in the Altai mountains, whence the Akkadians, perhaps, got their tin; and the Mongol folk-tales, to our own day, preserve relics of the legends of Chaldea recorded on the cuneiform tablets. Some scholars are of opinion—and there is much to justify such a view—that the Chinese characters sprang from the same early picture-writing, which developed into the cuneiform, and it is certain that the early Bak tribes, with whom the history of China begins, came from Central Asia, where were the Holy Land and Sacred Mountain of the Chinese.

The religious ideas of these Mongolic tribes were extremely primitive. Their beliefs resembled those of the Greeks but were perhaps less systematised. Every natural object had its indwelling spirit, the stone, the tree, the wind, the fire and the water not less than man or beast. They invoked the 'spirit above,' and 'the earth spirit,' the sacred mountain, the sun, the moon and the stars. Every evil thing was due to the malice of some demon, and cruel fiends stalked abroad in the storm, the lightning, the plague and the fever. There was a sunstroke devil, a drowning devil, a demon of the entrails or of the headache. The Akkadian system closely resembled that of the modern Chinese, and in China a deprecatory formula is still set up for 'his excellence the asthma,' or for any other disease. The Akkadians believed also in a Hades and an Elysium like that of the Greeks or of the Hebrews, and the monuments show us how mistaken is the critical assertion that ancient nations did not believe in future punishment or reward for earthly deeds. No ancient Asiatic race is known which did not hold such beliefs, and the Egyptians from the earliest age firmly expected a judgment after death.

It has then been long known that a civilised Mongolic race early existed in Mesopotamia, in Media, and in Susiana; but the newest discoveries extend the range of this population as early as 1600 B.C., or probably much earlier to Asia Minor and Northern Syria. This discovery, announced in 1887 as a result of special study of the Syrian hieroglyphics, has already been accepted by some of our leading scholars, while ethnologists have pronounced

that in their opinion the portraits of Kheta or Hittite chiefs from the Karnak bas-reliefs represent a Tartar or Mongolic people.*

It is not unnatural to suppose that a people with Mongolic features and represented on Egyptian monuments as wearing pig-tails would have spoken a Mongolic language; for although it has become a sort of catchword with philologists that 'language is no test of race,' it is very doubtful if such a maxim is really safe or represents a thorough grasp of the conditions under which certain languages replace others among mingled populations. At all events no language can be suggested more likely to have been spoken by an ancient race, now admitted to have been Mongolic, than an ancient dialect akin to those spoken by the Akkadians and the Medes, about the same period and in countries close to Syria geographically, and known historically to have had early intercourse with the Mediterranean coasts.

But this clue to the language of the Kheta is found to give important results when we study the geographical nomenclature of northern Syria, and the royal names of the Hittite princes. The former names are recorded among the conquests of Thothmes III., about 1600 B.C., and scholars very early discovered that this nomenclature was not Semitic. The latter are mentioned in an important papyrus of the reign of Rameses II., which records his treaty with the Hittite princes of Syria. This treaty papyrus was discussed twenty years ago by the French scholar Chabas, who pointed out that the names of the Kheta or Hittites were not Semitic. If we take one of these names (Torkon or Tarku) as an instance, we at once find that it is neither Aryan nor Semitic, but that it is an ancient and widespread Mongol word. It exists still in more than one Turkic dialect, and in the old

* See especially the papers by Major C. R. Conde, D.C.L., R.E., in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 1887 and 1889, in which is further developed the system first stated in 'Altaic Hieroglyphs and Hittite inscriptions,' by the same author (Bentley, 1887). Before the discovery of the Mongolic character of the Hittite language, vain attempts were made to read the texts as Hebrew, Georgian, or Armenian, but no scholar had attempted any exhaustive analysis of the sounds, positions, and picture values of the emblems, and most of those who attempted the problem were unacquainted with the leading principles of hieroglyphic decipherment.

Buriat dialect of Siberia, and means the 'chief of a tribe.' In Italy even, we find it among the Turanian Etruscans as Tarchu or Tarquin. This is a very striking instance of the results to be obtained by study of Hittite names, but though the distinctive character of the word was recognised, its Mongol origin does not appear to have been indicated before the publication of *Altaic Hieroglyphs* in 1887.

Tribes akin to the Kheta or Hittites existed further east it would seem, since this word Tarku, and other terms which are clearly Akkadian, are found among the names of princes conquered by the Assyrians; but the Kheta themselves were apparently found only in Syria at Carchemish, Aleppo, Hamath, and Kadesh on the Orontes [Tell Neby Mendeh]. These tribes were allied, at all events in time of danger, but there is no indication of any great central power. The 'Empire of the Hittites' is unnoticed by ancient writers, and exists only in the fancy of modern theorists; but the existence of Hittite princes holding the country north of Palestine from 1600 B.C. down to 717 B.C., is proved alike by the monumental records and by the Biblical account.

The very name of the Kheta, Khatti, or Beni Kheth, as the Hebrews called them, connects this people with Central Asia. Less famous than the Hunns or the Mongols, because they never spread towards Europe, the Khitai of Central Asia were a mighty race in the middle ages, whose rule extended all over Central Asia. From them was derived the name Cathay applied to their Chinese conquests. Their language was Mongolian, and their civilization and religion resembled that of the older Akkadians. It is not unreasonable to suppose that some connection exists between the names of the Kheta and the Khitai, and that the latter may have been an offshoot of the powerful tribe which so long held the chief passage of the Euphrates.

The same great stock is found to have existed also among the early Lydians and Carians on the western shores of Asia Minor. Of the very few Lydian and Carian words which have come down to us, the majority bear no resemblance to Aryan words of the same meaning, but in many cases they are easily explained by the aid of the Turkic and Ugric languages. A single

example will suffice. The Carian word for 'sheep' was *Kos*, which is neither Semitic or Aryan; but in Turkish *Kozi* means 'lamb,' in Mongolian *Kozi* is 'ram,' and in Hungarian we meet the same word as *Kos* for 'ram.' The same comparisons are possible in about a dozen other cases, and we have thus linguistic evidence of the early existence of the Mongolian stock on the shores of the *Ægean*.

According to the ancients the Etruscans in Italy were of Lydian origin, and in 1874 Dr. Isaac Taylor succeeded in shewing that the Etruscan numerals, and many other words of their language, which had hitherto been unintelligible to scholars, were clearly Mongolian or Turanian in character. This result has been confirmed by further researches, and many Etruscan words are closely similar to Akkadian words of the same meaning. This discovery was made without any reference to the existence of similar languages in Western Asia, such as the Akkadian or Hittite above noticed, and it serves to confirm the results of independent research, and to shew how widely spread in the ancient world was the great stock which first civilised Chaldea.

The existence of Mongolian tribes in Syria and Asia Minor about 2000 B.C. may therefore be regarded as an accepted fact, and it becomes of great value in studying the system of hieroglyphic writing peculiar to this region, which has recently been discovered to have existed very early, and to have been quite distinct from either the Egyptian or the Cuneiform, though not impossibly of common origin with both. The celebrated Burckhardt in 1812 was the first to discover monuments in this script, at Hamath in Syria, and these stones were rediscovered in 1870, and are now in the Museum at Constantinople. At Carchemish George Smith afterwards found other examples now in the British Museum. They have been discovered also near Ephesus, and at Pteria and Eyük in Cappadocia; and every year is now adding to our store. North of Syria Sir Charles Wilson and Prof. Ramsay discovered fresh examples, and Dr. Gollob made the important discovery of the cartouche of Rameses II. on the field of the so-called 'Niobe' of Mount Sipylus which has a few of these new hieroglyphics in relief—thus shewing that the system was used as early as (and probably

long before) the 14th century B.C. Seals, cylinders, and other small objects with the same characters now begin to be gathered in increasing number, and the system is found to have been in use throughout Asia Minor and Northern Syria. In most cases the bas reliefs are of basalt, and the emblems have been carved with great labour in relief—though in later specimens they are cut in. The inscriptions in some cases accompany very rude and archaic figures, which when first found, were considered most to resemble Babylonian sculpture.

At first (no doubt because of the very imperfect copies sent home) these emblems were said to be merely ornamental. The Rev. Dunbar Heath was the first to point out how the lines of the texts should be read, but the early attempts of those who regarded the language as probably Semitic were not in accordance with scientific rules. Professor Sayce made two important contributions to the study—namely, the elucidation of the short bilingual of Tarkutimme, and the comparison of the emblems with the later syllabic forms of Cyprus. He was among the first to recognize that the language was probably that of the Hittites, but though many of his remarks as to individual emblems are valuable, he has never made an exhaustive analysis of the system, and never given any grounds for his supposition that the language might be akin to Georgian or to the Vannic dialect—conjectures which are the less probable because these latter languages are inflexional, whereas the very fact that the Syrian emblems are hieroglyphic makes it practically impossible to suppose that they belong to an inflexional language. For this reason the probabilities have always been in favour of a comparison with the old non-inflexional dialects of Western Asia which have been mentioned above.

The inscriptions in question are written in lines which read (like early Greek inscriptions) alternately from right to left, and from left to right. The syllables of the words are arranged vertically in the line as in Akkadian, and the number of emblems used (as far as at present known) appears not to have exceeded about 130. But these primary observations do not suffice to give any key to the language. The probable meaning of some of the commoner emblems might be judged by comparing them

with like emblems in other systems, but this though indicating meaning, would not give any clue to the sounds of the language.

Two scholars famous for their painstaking labours in such subjects died while just beginning to study the question—George Smith who had succeeded in reading the Cypriote texts, which many other scholars had vainly attempted, and F. Lenormant who first discovered the Tarkutimme bilingual boss, and whose labours in Akkadian were of high value. Neither of these scholars appears to have thought of making use of the sounds which are recoverable for the commoner emblems, nor did Dr. Sayce succeed in making use of them, being hampered apparently by his Georgian theory.

The way in which the sounds of the commoner emblems (representing the pronouns, the case endings, the plural, etc.) may be recovered is merely an adaptation of previous experience in similar researches. It is necessary to spell before we can read, and from the days of Champollion downwards scholars have failed by trying to reach their results at a single bound, and by assuming arbitrary postulates instead of analysing in painful detail. The advocates of a comparison between the Syrian texts and the Hebrew, Georgian, or Armenian languages, have never taken the trouble to inform us as to the foundation of their systems, and in every case their proposals would have been found by themselves inadmissible if they had studied the emblems in detail and if they had made use of the sounds.

The foundation of a study of these sounds lies in the decipherment by George Smith of the Cypriote syllabary. This system of 54 syllables was used before and side by side with the Phoenician alphabet by the Greeks of Cyprus and of Asia Minor, and the Cypriote texts are all written in Greek. But these syllabic emblems are recognised to be late forms of the Syrian hieroglyphs and in the majority of cases can be compared with the forms found at Hamath and at Carchemish. It is not possible, however, to suppose that the old hieroglyphic language of Syria and Asia Minor was Greek; and just as the Assyrians borrowed the Akkadian system so did the Greeks borrow the syllabic signs used originally in another tongue.

In order to discover what this older tongue might be it was

necessary to make an analysis of the positions of the signs with respect to one another, and to compare them, in the case of such emblems as the foot, the hand, the hand raised to the mouth, the pair of legs, etc., etc., with similar emblems in other systems. The verbs 'to go,' 'to take,' 'to speak,' 'to run,' are thus recognised, and other emblems are seen to be pronouns and grammatical terminations. The sounds being then applied it becomes evident that they belong to a Mongolic language similar to Akkadian, and the riddle of the language is thus solved, though much labour must remain to be undertaken before the reading of the texts becomes complete. It has also been shewn that the short bilingual can be read with great ease by aid of the Akkadian language, and this, though not the basis of the system, is an important confirmation of the correctness of the main result. Nor is further confirmation of this view wanting, for in December 1888 Dr. Winckler read to the Royal Academy of Berlin a paper concerning a letter from the Hittite Prince of Rezepth to Amenophis III., King of Egypt. It is written in cuneiform characters, and the language proves to be a dialect of Akkadian, thus confirming in a manner which has convinced specialists the previous discovery made by Major Conder in 1887.

The connection which exists between the four hieroglyphic systems, Egyptian, Syrian, Cuneiform, and Chinese, is very interesting and instructive. The use of pictorial signs for actions is very naturally the same in all, and plants and animals are represented in all; but, in addition to this, some more abstract ideas are also represented by the same emblem, as, for instance, a kind of arch representing the firmament. On the other hand, the grammatical signs are quite distinct in each system; and it would seem probable that when the various stocks separated, they possessed nothing beyond a very primitive picture writing, which in their new homes they developed independently into systems which at first sight seem quite independent productions. Of the four we possess the Syrian, or so called 'Hittite,' system in the most archaic condition, though the advance to an alphabet was more rapid in this region than in any other part of the ancient world.

As regards the subject matter of the Syrian texts as yet dis-

covered, it is very improbable that they are historical inscriptions, and all attempts so to render them have been purely arbitrary. We have seen already that the Akkadian texts are religious, and in Egypt the majority of inscriptions are so also. Several of the so-called 'Hittite' texts of Asia Minor accompany statues of the gods, and are therefore probably invocations of some sort, and even in other cases where there is nothing found in connection with the inscribed stone, there are such frequent recurrences of the symbol generally supposed to denote deity as to suggest a charm or hymn. We have in Akkadian long litanies and magic texts, which recall the incantations of the Mongol Shamans. At Merash, in Syria, was found a lion carved in basalt, and covered with Syrian hieroglyphics, and in the British Museum a large stone lion from Assyria is inscribed all over its back with a hymn in honour of the goddess Istar. Generally speaking, the use of monumental writing for historic records belongs to a comparatively late period, and there is thus sufficient reason for supposing that the Hittite monuments are religious and not historic.

Such briefly stated are the recent discoveries which affect the earlier condition of the Turanian or Altaic stock in Western Asia in times which may be called prehistoric, since the only approach to historic description consists in the papyri which deal with the relations of the Egyptians and Hittites after 1600 B.C. The remains of sculpture and hieroglyphic writing which we have considered are probably earlier, since they are more archaic in character than even the Akkadian texts of Tell Lo, which can hardly be dated later than 3000 B.C. We are, in short, considering the condition of Western Asia in that early age when the Hebrew patriarchs were wandering as nomads among the settled Canaanites, and we find that long before the Semitic and Aryan races attained to power a widespread Mongolic race was dominant as far West as the shores of the Mediterranean and the Ægean as well as in Media and Chaldea, and that these hardy warriors and mechanics found their way later to Italy, whence also they appear to have spread to the South of France, to the Biscay Coast, and to Spain, carrying with them their syllabic writing, their knowledge of metallurgy, and their artistic love of sculpture and of color. The black hair, dark eyes, and low

stature of the Italian and the Spaniard, differing so much from the type of the blue-eyed flaxen-haired giants of the North, seems to be due to admixture of the Turanian blood of Etruscans and Iberians, while even in Europe the Hungarian, the Osmanli-Turkish, and the Basque languages present us with living specimens, no less distinctly Turanian than the Finnish and Etruscan, of the old languages once perhaps spoken in all parts of Europe. That Turanians should be found in these regions will no longer appear difficult to understand when we reflect how Scotland and even Ireland as late as the 3rd century A.D. contained, according to Dr. Skene and other antiquaries, a Finnic population. The Finns, the Cruithné, and the Picts came from the Baltic, as also apparently did the early race of the Fenians; and the skulls of these round-headed and dwarfish peoples as well as their dwellings are familiar in many western counties to the modern archæologist.

But we may turn our attention to the early prehistoric Aryans who have left us so many relics of their speech in Asia Minor, in the Greek Islands, and in Italy, but who seem to have only advanced in civilization when under the influence of the races already noticed. It may seem bold to express an opinion as to the original home of the race, in presence of the conflicting theories which point to various localities from Central Asia on the east, to Finland on the west; but the shifting opinions of the day are not apparently shared by those who have longest and most patiently studied this question, and scholars like Max Müller and Benfey are safer guides than some of the new lights, like Penka, who, while immersed in philology, have apparently neglected to obtain scientific opinions on questions outside their own special subject. Scholars have attempted, following Benfey and Fick, to define the 'Aryan home' by aid of the fauna and flora, which seem to have been known to the undivided stock; but their ideas concerning the range of such natural objects appear to be founded only on popular impressions. Fauna and flora depend on latitude rather than on longitude, and the beech, if it was really known to the first Aryans, ranges as far east as the Caucasus, and is said to occur on Olympos, while the salmon

may be found in the Volga, the seal in the Caspian, the elk in Asia, the bear and the wolf even in Palestine. There is, indeed, no member of this list of names the presence of which forbids us to accept Benfey's theory that the home of the Aryans was in the great plains of the Volga, north-west of the Caspian—where, as Max Müller has shewn, it is only necessary to suppose the existence of two or three isolated families living about 3000 B.C. to enable us to account for all the languages of Europe which have differentiated from the early speech of the Western migrants, and for the smaller group of Aryan tongues spoken by those who wandered eastwards.

But the question of more immediate interest to our present enquiry is that of the first appearance of the Aryans in Asia Minor and in the regions south of the Caucasus, which might be reached either directly from the Volga or from Greece through Armenia. It is very commonly believed that there were no Aryans in these regions till a comparatively late period, and unfortunately the researches of Dr. Schliemann, valuable as they are, have thrown no light on the languages spoken by the early Trojans, who were apparently illiterate, although a few Cypriote syllables were found at Troy. On the other hand it seems probable—if we may trust the coloring of the monuments—that a light-haired, blue-eyed people were very early known to the Egyptians as coming from the north, and we may not unnaturally suspect that these figures represent early Aryans. The remains of the Phrygian, Lycian, and Lemnian inscriptions also indicate clearly the presence of Aryan languages in the Levant, which were neither Greek, Latin, nor Persian, and which may have been spoken by races preceding the historic stocks in Asia Minor.

One of the most important observations made in this connection is that of Dr. Mordtmann in 1877 which, in spite of the objections made to it by other scholars who have not shewn themselves to be more familiar than he was with the question, will probably in the end meet with general acceptance. Dr. Mordtmann believes that the language of the cuneiform inscriptions of the region round Lake Van in Armenia, represents the ancient Armenian language, in which case it must be classed as

one of the oldest known Aryan dialects.* The kings of this region were at war with the Assyrians on the south and with the Hittites on the west; but they had accepted Assyrian civilization so far as to use the cuneiform character, just as somewhat later we find the Medes also to have done, while the Persians simplified the same class of characters into an almost alphabetical system. Vannic Kings are traced back to 833 B.C. and down to 743 B.C., during which lapse of ninety years they were apparently independent, using their own language and adoring national gods. It has been noticed that the names of their kings have an Aryan cast, in some cases approaching early names of Persian monarchs, in other cases recalling Armenian words; and nothing would appear less improbable than the discovery of an early Armenian language in Armenia.

As regards this language, it is known that it was inflectional, but the sounds have only been recovered with any certainty in a small number of words. About forty of these words, however, appear to bear out Dr. Mordtmann's contention, being common and early Aryan terms which may be compared with monumental Persian, Zend, and Armenian.† Among these are pronouns, numerals, terminations, and prefixes, (all of which are very important philological guides) as well as nouns and verbs. There is nothing in the grammar which forbids us to regard the language as Aryan, and though some slighter resemblances to Georgian have been detected, this by no means interferes with the theory of Dr. Mordtmann, for Georgian in several important particulars compares with the earliest Persian.

From such evidence it would therefore appear that there were Aryans, or a race speaking an Aryan language, in Armenia as early as the 9th century B.C., or about the time of Ahab in Israel. How much earlier they may hereafter be traced is as yet

* As early as the 8th century B.C., the inhabitants of this region used the word *Bag* for 'deity,' a well known Aryan word in Persian, in Phrygian, and in Slavonic dialects.

† As examples the following nouns may be cited. Vannic *are*, 'men,' Armen. *ayr*; Vannic *alkhe*, 'inhabitant,' Armen. *elk*, 'people'; Vannic *a*, 'sacrifice,' Old Persian *aya*; Vannic *asis*, Sansk. *vasas*, 'house'; Vannic *curie*, Old Persian *aura*, 'Lord'; Vannic *esi*, Sansk. *yos*, 'law,' etc., etc.

unknown, but the theory which supposes the Aryans to have only appeared in Western Asia after the fall of Babylon, will in all probability prove unsound. According to Herodotus, the Armenians of his day were of Phrygian origin, and there is evidence that the Phrygians were Aryans, or at least that they spoke an Aryan tongue. The very word *Bekos* for 'bread,' which according to the story related by Herodotus, shewed Phrygian to be the most ancient of languages, is evidence of Aryan origin, being comparable to a widespread Aryan root for 'food.*' The words used in Phrygian for fire, water, dog, gold, chamber, king, and for God, were all Aryan, and the Phrygians, according to the Father of history, came from Europe, where they were known as Briges.†

Armenian has perhaps hardly attracted its fair share of attention among Aryan languages, but the researches of Hübschmann appear to shew that it is a link between the Slavonic and the Iranian languages, between the West and the East, the Persians and the dwellers in South Russia and the Balkan peninsula. Its relationship to Phrygian is also recognized, through the words above mentioned, and modern philology attests the correctness of the opinion of Herodotus.

The Phrygians have moreover left us a few written texts, which have recently been recopied with greater exactitude by Professor Ramsay, including those on the reputed tomb of King Midas, whose name is still legible on his monument. These inscriptions are as yet unread, though clearly written in a Greek alphabet with divisions between the words. The words are as a rule very long, and their sounds are much like those of the Armenian language, which is also remarkable for its long words. The texts must apparently be archaic, not only because the letters are similar to those of the oldest Greek texts, but because two letters peculiar to Asia Minor are used in addition to those

* See Skeat on the root *Bhag*, 'to eat,' whence Sanskrit *bhaksh*, Greek *phagein*, 'to eat,' Persian *baj*, 'food.'

† Prof. W. M. Ramsay ('Phrygian Art') accepts this derivation of the Phrygians, and dates their inscriptions as of the ninth and eighth century B.C., which agrees with what has been said of the Vannic language.

of the Ionian alphabet. In all probability, therefore, the modern Armenians present the survival of the early Vannic and Phrygian colonists of pre-historic times.

Phrygian, however, was not the only Aryan language in Asia Minor, for even as late as Persian times a peculiar and very liquid speech, apparently akin to the early Persian was spoken in Lycia. Its recovery we owe to Sir Charles Fellows in 1840, and although no great progress has been made in its interpretation, a certain number of words have been determined and shewn to be Aryan, though not apparently of the same dialect with the Phrygian. The celebrated monument from Xanthus has no less than 259 lines of Lycian characters, each letter about $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches in height, together with a short Greek text, referring to the well-known Harpagus, also mentioned in the Lycian part of the inscription. The people speaking this liquid language were apparently the 'modern Lycians' of Herodotus, who superseded older tribes, which were perhaps Turanian like the Lydians and early Carians. A comparative study of the Lycian language shews that it belonged to the group of Iranian languages, including those of Persia with the Sanskrit. That the Lycian texts are not purely Persian is clear, since the letter *L*, absent from the old contemporary Persian of the Behistun monuments and from the Avesta language, which is of equal antiquity, is very freely used in Lycian. In this connection it is interesting to note that even as late as the time of Pausanias (2nd century A.D.) Magian priests whose religion was apparently that of the worshippers of Ormuzd, were found as far West as the shores of Lydia. The religion of Persians thus seems to have found acceptance among their Iranian kinsmen in Asia Minor, being probably introduced at the time when Harpagus conquered these regions. The Lycian alphabet is of very high interest since it includes not only the majority of the Ionian letters (with four or five exceptions) but also five additional vowels and consonants, being the largest known alphabet of the early Aryans. This alphabet also indicates a linguistic connection with the East, since the vowel and guttural distinctions of the Eastern Aryan languages have always apparently required large alphabets for their correct representation.

The key to the Lycian language was found in a bilingual

Greek and Lycian inscription on a tomb which gave several important words, and it is remarkable that with such materials so little progress seems to have been made since Grotefende and Sharpe discovered the character of the language.* The antiquary, however, requires to be a very accomplished philologist if he would attempt scientifically to deal with an unknown tongue—a problem far more difficult than that of special study of languages already fairly familiar. As at present understood, however, Lycian presents a separate Aryan language of the 5th century B.C., a time when the population of Asia Minor seems to have been very mixed, since in addition to the Greeks, the Persians, the Phrygians, and the Lycians, there were probably yet surviving tribes of Lydian and Carian origin speaking Mongol languages as well as Phoenicians and other Semitic traders in the sea-side towns.

A very interesting discovery has also been recently made in the island of Lemnos. It is only a short inscription connected with a bas-relief and apparently giving the name of the person represented and perhaps that of the sculptor, but the interest lies in the language which is not Greek but some dialect like the Phrygian and apparently Aryan and inflexional. Even as far South as Abu Simbel on the giant statues of the Pharaohs are scrawled the names of the mercenaries who in the 6th century B.C. accompanied Psammetichus. The longest of these important texts is Greek, but side by side with it and apparently of the same age, appear writings in another alphabet, and in another language supposed to have been that of the Carian mercenaries. This also appears to be Aryan, but the date is much later than that of the old Lydio-Carian kingdom which preceded Aryan times. In Italy again side by side with the Etruscans there were early Aryan tribes (Oscans and Umbrians) whose language has survived in inscriptions on metal.

These various discoveries shew us therefore that there were

* Moriz Schmidt (*Neue Lykische Studien* 1869) twenty years after Sharpe still speaks of the Lycian texts as 'mysterious,' and nothing further has apparently been attempted since his careful list of Lycoian words was published.

many early Aryan tribes besides Latins and Hellenes, in Italy and in Greece, before the history of the classic races begins.* As Herodotus himself says, the Greeks invented nothing. The origin of Greek Art must be sought in Asia Minor, as that of Rome is to be found in Etruria. It used to be supposed that Egypt and Assyria presented us with the true prototypes, yet it can only have been at a comparatively late period that such influences came to act on the Hellenes. The safest indications are to be found in the written characters which they adopted, and these were neither the Cuneiform—which their Persian cousins learned, nor the Egyptian hieroglyphs. The syllabary used by the Greeks in Cyprus and their later alphabets were derived alike from their immediate neighbours—the civilized inhabitants of Asia Minor and of Syria, and the real prototypes of their statuary are found in the primitive bas-reliefs of Cappadocia, Ionia and Cilicia and in the Hittite figures of Carchemish. The connection with Chaldea was an indirect connection due to the identity of the Mongolic race in various parts of the Levant, and it is for this reason that we find the labours of Hercules, the story of Actæon and many other Greek myths recurring in the Akkadian legends and represented on the seal cylinders of Babylon.

The influence of the Phoenicians was widely and early felt in Greece. Sidonian colonies existed in the Greek islands and even as far north as Sinope, on the south shores of the Black Sea,

The colonization of these regions by the Syrian traders is thought to have begun as early as 1200 B.C. The tombs of Sidonian merchants have been found even in Athens. But ancient trade was not carried on solely by sea. Overland communication between India and the West is traced back to at least 850 B.C., and the route by which Xerxes advanced had been known to merchants from a very early age. Many familiar features of Greek art—as for instance the figure of Pegasus, the

*The Pelasgi and the Scythians are not noticed in this enumeration because in both cases there is difference of opinion as to the race to which they belonged. That some Scythians were Aryans is indisputable, but there is much to indicate that other tribes in Scythia must have been Mongolian. As to the Pelasgi we hardly know enough to lead to any decision.

winged horse, are traceable through Asia Minor to Assyria, and the names of the letters of the Greeks are Aramaic or North Semitic rather than Phœnician.

It is by language and by the written character that the history of a civilization may best be traced, and the history of writing in Greece is highly instructive. Scholars are at the present time disposed to accept the theory of De Rougé which derives the alphabet from the Egyptian hieratic character, and all agree that the letter is born of the syllable, and the syllable of the picture emblem. But it is dangerous to attempt such problems on imperfect information, and when De Rougé's theory was proposed, the existence of the Syrian hieroglyphs and of the syllabary thence derived and used in Cyprus and in Asia Minor was unsuspected. Great difficulties were seen to attend the derivation of the Phœnician alphabet from the Egyptian system, but the true origin in the Cypriote syllabary is even now only imperfectly perceived. De Rougé attempted only to account for the 22 letters used by the Phœnicians and found in the Greek Islands, where Phœnician influence was paramount; but our knowledge of Ionian, Phrygian, and Lycian inscriptions shews us that the alphabets of Asia Minor included altogether no less than 33 letters; so that only two thirds of the alphabet are traced (and that in a very problematical manner) by De Rougé. It has since been perceived that the Cypriote system accounts for the origin of the non-Phœnician letters, and the position now held gives a double origin for the alphabet as a whole, which is supposed to have added half as many letters in Asia Minor as it derived from Egypt. This theory evidently marks a transition of opinion, for all antiquity agrees in shewing us that there was nothing really arbitrary in the progress of ancient civilization. Written systems grew insensibly, and attained among the advanced races to simplicity, and among the conservatives of the East to complexity. The alphabet of Western Asia therefore had probably a single natural and indigenous origin, and was not the result of the arbitrary adoption of foreign emblems mixed with, and superseding, those previously known. The system which accounts for all the thirty three letters must clearly be preferred to that which only accounts for twenty two, nor—

considering that an alphabet represents not only a simplification, but also a reduction in the number, of signs used, as compared with a syllabary—is it to be assumed that the alphabet with fewest letters is the oldest.

It is curious that scholars do not seem to have remarked that the Phoenician, no less than the additional Ionian letters, are easily accounted for as a rule by the Cypriote syllables. They have recognized these syllables as surviving in the Lycian alphabet, and one writer even goes so far as to say that he doubts if certain signs are Phoenician letters or Cypriote syllables. The reason clearly is that the Cypriote is the parent of the alphabets of the same regions. The Cypriote *Ke* has exactly the form of the Greek *K*, and the Cypriote *Mi* is the letter *M*. These resemblances are easily traced in the large majority of cases, and when our knowledge of the Cypriote (or Asianic) syllabary becomes complete, they will no doubt become yet more evident. In Cypriote texts found only two years ago, a new emblem was discovered, which proved to be simply the Greek *Eta*, the parent of our own *H*, and the sister of the Phoenician *Kheth*. It is impossible, from what we now know, to assume that the Phoenician forms are the oldest. They represent a parallel development with the Aramaic and Greek; and the legend of Kadmus, who brought Phoenician letters to Greece, refers only to the Greek Islands, where the Phoenician forms were used, and not to Ionia. Another very interesting point in this connection is the fact that the early *boustrophedon* writing of the Greeks, with lines running alternately from right to left and from left to right, reproduces exactly the usual arrangement of the Syrian (or Altaic) hieroglyphic writing, and is peculiar to that system, being unknown in Cuneiform, in Egyptian, or in Phoenician. This arrangement is found in the early texts of Lemnos, above mentioned, and in Phrygian, as well as in the old texts of Chares from near Miletus. It is safe then in all appearance to predict that the alphabets of Greece and of Phoenicia will finally be recognized as derived from the Hittite hieroglyphics, through the intermediary stage of a syllabary which survived in Cyprus, side by side with alphabets, down almost to the time of Alexander the Great.

In the present paper an attempt has thus been made to trace

the civilization of the pre-historic Levant by the aid of monumental evidence alone ; by language, by writing, by religious texts, by the character of ancient art, so strangely similar in Babylonia, in Syria, in Asia Minor, and in Etruria, and by the racial types represented on ancient bas-reliefs and pictures. Literary evidence—the history of Herodotus, not less than the poetry of Homer or of Hesiod, or the conflicting and ill-informed statements of the later Greek and Roman writers, who knew less and assumed more than we need now do in the presence of the results of exploration and excavation, have been excluded from consideration, although there is much—as incidentally noted in previous pages—which confirms alike the statements of the Old Testament and of Herodotus, but which rests on an entirely independent basis.

In conclusion, however, we may glance for a moment at the ethnology of Genesis, as compared with our study of early races ; and those who believe this ancient record to have been penned by Moses in the 16th century B.C., as well as those who regard the 10th chapter of Genesis as written in Jerusalem in the days of the Hebrew Monarchy, (perhaps as late as 800 B.C., as proposed by Schrader) will alike find that modern discovery presents us with a division of races exactly parallel with the Biblical scheme : for ethnological conditions are slow to change, and eight centuries makes little difference in the history of a race.

In Genesis three Asiatic stocks are distinguished, though attributed to a common origin. Shem, Ham, and Japhet, are names which, by aid of Assyrian, we now know to signify ‘brown,’ ‘dark,’ and fair.’ The family of Shem includes 13 tribes, of which the majority are recognised as Arab, dwelling from Yemen to the Persian Gulf. It also includes tribes in Elam, in Assyria, and in Chaldea, and thus presents us with the geographical region inhabited from at least 1800 B.C. by what is now known as the Semitic race, whose languages belong to the same group with the Hebrew. Under the name of Ham we find grouped together the Canaanites, the inhabitants of Cush (in Persia) and seven Egyptian tribes including the Philistines. If the name Ham signify a black progenitor, it is possible that the old dark race to which the Dravidians of India belong is intended,

but of the civilization of the Æthiops of Asia (mentioned by Herodotus) we as yet know nothing. Perhaps however we should rather regard Ham as indicating the black-eyed black haired Mongolian race to which, as we have seen, the dwellers in Cush (the Akkadians, Cosseans and Susians) belonged on the one hand, and the Canaanites (as represented by the Hittites) on the other,* as well as the Hyksos population in Egypt, and probably from their portraits the Philistines also—a racial group traced as we have seen to this very earliest known period 3000 B.C.,

The third family was that of Japhet the 'fair race' which includes 14 names, all of which have been shewn by geographers to belong to Asia Minor, Armenia, and the region near the Caucasus. In this region we have shewn the existence from an early period of Aryan tribes, which are historically traced to the 9th century B.C. and which may very probably have dwelt there many centuries earlier. The Phrygians and the Vannic tribes were emigrants from Europe, yet the oldest home of the Aryans was on the borders of Asia.

That these three stocks originated in a few families, each more or less isolated, will readily be allowed. As far as we can trace the original seats of the three stocks, we find them within a radius of less than 1000 miles from a centre near Ararat in Armenia. The Turanians occupy the central position, while the Aryans on the north—divided off by the rugged Caucasus—were isolated in the plains of the Volga, and on the south the Semitic people first appear in history near the mouth of the Euphrates. The older maps which colour Central Asia as 'Hamitic,' Europe as peopled by 'Japhet', and Syria and Arabia as 'Shemitic' are then not so unscientific after all as later critics scornfully represented them to be.

But the study of antiquity has still no doubt surprises in store which are as yet unsuspected. A few years ago it would have been considered highly unscientific to suggest a radical connection

* Modern philologists recognize that not only are the Finnic and Hungarian races of common origin with the Turks, Mongols and Chinese, but that the Dravidian languages of India have also a remote common origin with the preceding, forming together what is usually called the "Turanian" family. See *Journal Rl. Asiatic Socy.*, July 1889, p. 584.

between the Aryan and the Turanian languages, but in 1887 Dr. Isaac Taylor was able to shew that the ultimate roots of Aryan speech are (at least in a large number of cases) the same as the ultimate roots of the Turanian. Akkadian which, excepting Egyptian, is perhaps the oldest known language in the world, seems to present us with a link between those two linguistic stocks. It is not inflected like the Aryan languages, but its vocabulary sometimes bears more resemblance to Aryan than to Turanian speech. This theory which is beginning already to be accepted in Germany finds therefore for the large majority of the languages of Western Asia—though probably at a very remote period—a common origin. The 40 Aryan and the 100 Altaic languages were originally developed from one very primitive and simple speech. The Semitic languages at present are not shewn to have any connection with either—save in the use of loan words—but this little group (only eight tongues in all) is perhaps the youngest of the three. A remote connection with Egyptian is believed by many scholars to exist, and it seems hardly probable that a small group, in West Asia, of languages which have developed so rapidly as to reach far greater perfection, just because they have suffered far more decay, than any Turanian languages, will prove in the end to have no connection with the large majority of Asiatic dialects.

The study of monumental evidence is even now, in spite of the patient labours of so many great scholars, still in its infancy. It presents us with the safest and most practical mode of searching for the origin of civilization which we can hope to possess. It demands of the student the greatest caution, combined with the highest education, and boldest research. It every day brings forth new and un hoped-for results, and it has secrets still awaiting us in the future as astonishing as those which have been revealed in the past, among which not the least important will be (perhaps in the immediate future) the reading of the Lycian inscriptions, and the publication of bilinguals in the Hittite and in another language which, it is said, are now being studied by German scholars, as well as the translation of the important Aramaic inscription of Panammu, which will throw new light on the early history of the Alphabet of Syria.

ART. III.—THE VIKINGS.

1. *The Viking Age : The Early History, Manners, and Customs of the Ancestors of the English-Speaking Nations.* By PAUL B. DU CHAILLU. 2 Vols. Illustrations and Map. London. 1889.
2. *Teutonic Mythology.* By VIKTOR RYDBERG, Ph.D. Translated from the Swedish by RASMUS B. ANDERSON, LL.D. London. 1889.

THE hardy Norseman whose 'house of yore,' as the old English song says, 'was on the foaming wave,' has gathered around him a kind of poetic haze. It is long since he went down upon the great sea of human existence, but like the sun he so often saw setting upon strange lands and unknown seas, he has left behind him an afterglow which still plays along the horizon, and often flashes up with a bright recrudescence that attracts again the attention of the world and keeps alive the memory of his deeds.

His character, that at least which he is now supposed to have had, was such as wins upon men, more especially upon those who are born and reared beneath the same Northern skies. He was bold, frank, adventurous. There was much about him to remind one of Esau, and much also that was not unlike some of the finer qualities of Isaac's more favoured son. He had the rough hand of the one, and if he had not the voice of the other, he had at least much of his resoluteness of purpose, with less of his earlier cunning and more of his later candour. No doubt he was a hard fighter and a hard drinker, capable of great cruelty and often perpetrating enormous atrocities, as reckless of his own life as he was of that of others, and always hungering and thirsting after adventure, battle, and spoil; yet there were elements in his character which were thoroughly wholesome. Free himself—free as the winds and waves with which he loved to battle—though often depriving others of their freedom and sometimes surrendering his own to the charms of a captive mistress, he was

in the main a vigorous preacher of freedom, and inculcated it in effective ways. Brave and enterprising in the last degree, he instilled his own spirit into the minds of his children, and his descendants have long been the foremost among the nations and the chief agents in the secular progress of the world. Nor has he been without his influence on literature, philosophy, and religion. Less under the dominion of sentiment and emotion than the Celt or Semite, more self-reliant and daring, living more in his intellect, and having a firmer hold on the realities of life, his effect on religion has been to make devotion less ardent and impassioned, and to deepen the consciousness of those questionings of sense and outward things, those fallings from us, vanishings, and strange misgivings of which the poet speaks. At all events, among his descendants and those who belong to the same family as himself, devotion is less warm and impassioned than among the Celts and the nations of the South, and there is a stronger tendency to brood over the mysteries and enigmas of existence, and to demand their solution, sometimes in a defiant and usually in a spirit more or less imperative. In literature, the Norseman has marked out a course which to a large extent is his own. Endowed with a rich and powerful imagination, he has conjured up a wonderful ideal world and peopled it with the singular creations of his teeming fancy. The Saga he has made his own; and the writings, both in prose and verse, to which he has given birth, are almost unrivalled in modern Europe for originality, richness, artistic and historical worth. That modern society is the better for his existence, is unquestionable. He has contributed to it some of the better elements of its life.

For a long time very little was known about him. The only written sources of information about him that were available, were the English and Frankish Chronicles. They are not the best, nor the fullest authorities. There was much about him which they leave untold. As usually interpreted, they reflect but one side of his character, and tell mainly of his raids, cruelties, and oppressions. True, their authors, as Mr. Du Chaillu observes, 'were ignorant and bigotted men when judged by the standard of our time,' and 'wrote the history of their own period with the bigotry, passions, and hatreds of their times.'

Future generations will probably say the same of ourselves. But so far as they go, these old English and Frankish chroniclers are in the main at least reliable. Some of them wrote down what they had seen with their own eyes of the Northmen, and most of them what they were informed others had seen. Beyond this they probably knew nothing about them. And if, as Mr. Du Chaillu says, they were 'the worst enemies of the Northmen,' a number of them had good reason to be. They knew the Northmen only as fierce and cruel marauders, carrying fire and sword wherever they went, harrying homesteads, profaning and destroying churches, carrying men and women away into captivity, tossing children about on their pike points, and sometimes murdering their captives as a drunken pastime. Had they written of them in other terms than they have, they would have been less than human. Writers who see these ancient corsairs only through a haze of poetry may be disposed to prophecy smooth things about them, and to denounce those who are not; but many of the old chroniclers had the grim facts before them, while some of them had been the victims of their unprovoked cruelty, and nothing, so far as we are aware, has ever been adduced to show that the picture they give, grim and blood-stained as it is, is not, so far as it goes, correct. Even Mr. Du Chaillu, who is by no means disposed to think well either of them or their chronicles, calls them into court to corroborate the testimony of witnesses he approves.

In Iceland and the Scandinavian Kingdoms the information as to the Vikings was, of course, much fuller and more complete. But here, it existed for a long series of years only in the shape of oral tradition. When Ari Frode—'the first man' in Iceland 'who wrote down in the Norse language narratives of events both old and new'—began, the Vikingtide had been a thing of the past for about a century. After its traditions had been collected and recorded, they fell into the hands of commentators, and were mixed up with much that was extraneous and incongruous. Nor was this all. After a brief period of intelligence and activity, there set in times of ignorance. 'By the year 1500,' or three hundred and fifty years after Ari's death, 'there was neither interest in' says Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson, 'nor remembrance of the old life

and literature.' 'This ignorance even went so far,' he continues, 'that the very constitution of the Commonwealth was forgotten.' 'To the Icelander of the sixteenth century,' he further remarks, 'even the fifteenth century was a mythical semi-fabulous age; Lady Olof, Biorn her husband (*d.* 1467), the feuds with the English traders, were as legendary to them as Nial had once been to the twelfth century Icelander: The pedigrees go no higher up. The Saga tide is not even seen looming behind.* And when this was the case in Iceland, when the Norseman of the Vikingtide was so completely forgotten in his own home and among his own immediate descendants, it is not to be wondered at that in the rest of Europe he was known for centuries only as represented in those same monkish chronicles for which Mr. Du Chaillu has so little respect. The only sources whence a fuller account of him could possibly be obtained were lying neglected and unknown amid the damp and smoke and rot of a remote island, which to almost the whole of Europe was a *terra incognita*.

A better day for the knowledge of the Norseman, or to use Mr. Du Chaillu's phrase, of 'the Norse ancestors of the English-speaking peoples,' did not dawn till about the beginning of the seventeenth century. It was then that Arngrim Johnson, Biorn of Skardsa, Magnus Olafson, Bishop Bryniolf, and others, began to turn their attention to the old literature, and to collect and copy its remains. In 1664 the first saga was printed. Others slowly followed. In 1816 Rask founded the Icelandic Literary Society, and two years later issued his edition of the two Eddas. In 1825, the Société des Antiquités du Nord was instituted by Rafn. Since then, the old Norse literature has attracted the attention of many scholars whose publications in connection with it have been almost continuous. The spade of the antiquary has also been called into requisition, and from the two sources, literary and archæological, such a body of information has been gathered together respecting the old Norsemen, that Mr. Du Chaillu is almost, if not altogether justified in saying, 'we can

* *Corpus Poet. Bor.*, I. xix.

now form a satisfactory idea of their religious, social, political, and warlike life.'

In England the re-discovery of the Northmen began in the year 1770, when Bishop Percy published his translation of Mallet's *Northern Antiquities*. Seven years later, Mr. A. T. Cottle attempted a translation of the Elder Edda. In 1814, Jamieson, Weber, and Sir Walter Scott issued their *Illustrations of Northern Antiquities*. In 1840 Mr. Cleasby settled in Copenhagen for the purpose of compiling an Icelandic-English Dictionary, a work which his untimely death interrupted. Four years later, in 1844, appeared the first edition of Mr. Laing's translation of the *Heimskringla*, to which he prefixed a learned dissertation on the literature, religion, manners, and customs of the Norsemen.* Since then, several other Sagas have been edited or translated, as the *Sturlunga*, *Orkneyinga*, *Nial*, *Viga Glum*, *Gisli*, *Hakonar*, and the *Magnus Sagas*; while among the announcements of the present season is a translation of the famous and invaluable *Landnamabók* of Ari the Historian. Translations from the Eddic poems have been fairly numerous; among them may be mentioned Mr. Aytoun's version of *Krako-mál*. The Eddic poems have also furnished subjects for several of the English poets, Mr. Swinburne, Mr. Matthew Arnold, and Lord Tennyson among the rest. In Dryden's *Miscellany* is the *Waking of Angantheow*, text and translation, 'possibly the first English rendering of an Old Norse poem.'

But the writers who have probably done most towards spreading among us a better knowledge of the Norseman and his literature are Sir George Dasent and Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson. As far back as 1842, the first issued at Stockholm an English translation of the *Younger Edda*. Since then he has published various writings in connection with the Old Norse literature, among which the best known are probably the *Oxford Essay*, the

* This work, which had become exceedingly scarce, has recently been issued in an improved form under the editorship of Mr. Rasmus R. Anderson, sometime Representative of the United States at the Court of Copenhagen. Mr. Anderson is the translator of the second work we have placed at the head of this paper, and the author also of several other translations and works connected with the Norsemen.

Norse Tales, and the translations of the Nial and Gisli Sagas. Two volumes of his translations from the Icelandic Saga literature, the Icelandic text of which is already issued, are still awaiting publication in the Rolls' Series. How long we may yet have to wait for them, it is impossible to tell. It is to be hoped, however, that the date of their publication is not far distant. Dr. Gudbrand Vigfusson's works are, if anything, still more valuable. Among them it is only necessary to name the Icelandic-English Dictionary begun by Mr. Cleasby in 1840 and issued by Dr. Vigfusson in 1874, his edition of the Sturlunga Saga, with its valuable Prolegomena, and the Corpus Poeticum Boreale. These works constitute an almost inexhaustible treasury of information respecting the Norseman, his language, literature, ideas, and life. Dr. Vigfusson's death is still fresh in the memory of his adopted country, and a heavy blow to Icelandic scholarship.

Mr. Du Chaillu's work is, according to the title-page, an account of the 'early history, manners, and customs of the ancestors of the English-speaking peoples.' Its two handsome and profusely illustrated volumes contain close on twelve hundred pages, and may be divided into two parts. The first consists of Chapters I.-III.; and the second of the remainder. In the first of these parts, Mr. Du Chaillu endeavours to prove that the ancestors of the English-speaking peoples were not the 'so-called Saxons,' but the Norsemen of Scandinavia and of the Viking Age. Further on in the volumes, when he has simply to describe or illustrate, Mr. Du Chaillu writes with great perspicuity; but here in the chapters on the civilisation and antiquities of the North, on the Roman and Greek accounts of the Northmen, and on the settlement of Britain, where he endeavours to prove his point, which, by the way, is not wholly new, he is, to say the least, extremely perplexing. The chapters are full of misapprehensions, and the argument, if there be any, is so confused as to render it impossible to give any coherent account of it. Great part of this confusion is due to a singularly loose use of terms, as when in one sentence we are told 'Britain itself is called Bretland,' and in the next this same word 'Bretland' is restricted in its meaning to Wales, which in the Sagas is its usual meaning. A family of nations and its different branches

seem to be all one to Mr. Du Chaillu, and he reasons away as if there were no differences of locality or dialect among them. Similarly with time. The thousand years he assigns to the Viking Age are swept over as if they were but a single moment, and no allowance is made for the great movements which occurred during the period either among the various Teutonic tribes or in the rest of Europe. The impression which the book leaves upon the mind is that during the whole of these thousand years the civilization of Scandinavia was stationary. History, in the proper sense of the term, Mr. Du Chaillu does not write. His work is simply a description of the Norseman as he is represented in the Icelandic Sagas, with a few additional and useless chapters thrown in. These chapters mar the excellence of an otherwise praiseworthy work. As far as the authorities used will allow, the picture which Mr. Du Chaillu gives of the Norseman is as full and complete as it is possible to make it, and as he has gathered together a large body of citations from these authorities, his work is in this respect of very considerable value. Mr. Du Chaillu's faith, however, in the absolute veracity of the Sagas and Eddic poems on all matters concerning the Viking, is, in our opinion, a little too implicit, but to this and to other matters we shall have to refer further on.

The other work we have placed on our list is of an entirely different stamp. It is critical and argumentative throughout, scholarly and luminous. Its object is, first, to distinguish between the older and younger elements in the Teutonic mythology, and then, on the basis thus obtained, to investigate its further developments. Remarkable for its keen analyses as well as for its scholarship and erudition, it throws a wonderful light on the older Teutonic mythology, and also on that of the poets and sagamen of the twelfth and following centuries. As a contribution to the history of the thought and religion of the ancient Norsemen and of the development of the Troy migration theory during the Middle Ages it is extremely valuable, and ought to go far towards dispelling the fabulous accounts given by Mediæval writers of the origin of the Northern peoples. In the following pages we shall have occasion to recur to it again and again, but we may here remark that Mr. Anderson has executed his work of

translating the volume with great skill, and that he deserves the thanks of the English reading public for introducing them to a work as replete with interest as it is with instruction.

Neither the Norsemen nor their progenitors were in all probability the earliest inhabitants of the Scandinavian peninsula. Mr. Du Chaillu seems to be of opinion that they were, but the probability is that they were preceded by the Lapps or Finns or some other Turanian tribe. Nilsson argues that they were preceded by the Finns. This he does from the shape of the skulls found in the earlier graves, from a number of local names still existing in Norway and Sweden, and from the testimony of folklore and the sagas.* Worsaae, on the other hand, while admitting the existence of an earlier race, relegates the Lapps and Finns to the remote northern highlands of Scandinavia, and holds that the original inhabitants of the lowlands and of Denmark were of a different race. The question of to what race they belonged he leaves unanswered. 'What people it was,' he remarks, 'which showed the road for more highly developed races, and thus laid the foundation for the settlement of Denmark in particular, and subsequently of the rest of the north, is just as unknown as the time of their arrival, extension, and final expulsion or absorption by a dominant race of higher standing.† The conclusion is safe, but it is difficult to get over the arguments of Nilsson, or in the face of the opinion of a number of scholars to resist the conviction that the Norsemen were preceded in Scandinavia by one or other of the Turanian tribes whom the Aryans are said to have found already settled in Europe, and whom in their onward march they drove before them.

The Northmen themselves, according to their older mythology, believed that they were autochthones; but so also have many other ancient peoples. As evidence the belief is practically worthless. On the question of the locality of their original home various opinions are held. Following the *Heimskringla*, Mr. Du Chaillu places it in the south of Central Europe between the Don and the Dneiper. By others it is placed further to the

* *Stone Age*, ch. vi.

† *Pre-History of the North*, p. 17.

North and West, and still in Europe; while by others it is placed in Asia. The question is one of considerable interest, and is of course bound up with that of the original home of the Aryan race. This latter question is still undecided, but its present position is well described by Dr. Rydberg, who also gives a full account of the various opinions on the subject, in the following words: 'On *one* point—and that is for our purpose the most important one—the advocates of both hypotheses [the Asiatic and the European] have approached each other. The leaders of the defenders of the Asiatic hypothesis have ceased to regard Asia as the cradle of all the dialects into which the ancient Aryan tongue has been divided. Whilst they cling to the theory that the Aryan inhabitants of Europe have immigrated from Asia, they have well-nigh entirely ceased to claim that these peoples, already before their departure from their Eastern home, were so distinctly divided linguistically that it is necessary to imagine certain branches of the race speaking Celtic, others Teutonic, others, again, Greco-Italian, even before they came to Europe. The prevailing opinion among the advocates of the Asiatic hypothesis now doubtless is, that the Aryans who immigrated to Europe formed one homogeneous mass which gradually, on our continent, divided itself definitely into Celts, Teutons, Slavs, and Greco-Italians. The adherents of both hypotheses have thus been able to agree that there has been a *European-Aryan country*,' (p. 14). This modification of the hypotheses is of importance. It avoids many difficulties which stood in the way of their acceptance in their original form.

For the definition of the original home of the Teutons, or of the locality in which the wave of Aryan population which is now known as the Teutonic race, originally settled, and whence, after a longer or shorter period of development, during which it differentiated itself both from the parent stock and from the other European branches, it again spread, it is of the utmost importance. In the hands of Dr. Rydberg it has yielded considerable results. Taking it as his starting point, and availing himself of the aid afforded by philology, he is able to fix with a degree of probability amounting almost to certainty the original Teutonic home. His

own account of the matter is too long for reproduction here, but it may be briefly put as follows :

A comparison of the ancient words which to-day are common to all or several of the Aryan-European languages, which, as Schrader observes, are presumably a mere remnant of the ancient European-Aryan vocabulary, leads to the following conclusions respecting the Aryan country in Europe. It was situated in latitudes where snow and ice are common phenomena. Only three seasons of the year—winter, spring, summer—were recognised, the Teutons having no word for autumn. It was a land of mountains, valleys, streams and brooks. It was a land also of trees. The trees known were the fir, birch, willow, elm, hazel, elder, and a beech called *bhaga*, which means a tree with eatable fruit. From this word comes the Greek *φρυβίς*, the Latin *fagus* the German *buche*, and the Swedish *bok*. But by the Greeks the oak was called *φρυβίς*, while among the Romans *fagus* was the name not for the oak but for the beech. Hence the word *bhaga* was applied by the European Aryans both to the beech and the oak since both bear similar fruit, but in some parts it was applied particularly to the beech and in others to the oak. On the continent of Europe the beech is not found east of a line drawn from Königsberg across Poland and Podolia to the Crimea. ‘This leads to the conclusion that the Aryan country of Europe must to a great extent have been situated west of this line, and that the regions inhabited by the ancestors of the Romans, and north of them by the progenitors of the Teutons, must be looked for west of this botanical line, and between the Alps and the North Sea.’ Further, the Aryan territory of Europe was situated near an ocean or large body of water. Scandinavians, Germans, Celts and Romans, having preserved a common name for the ocean—Old Norse *mar*, O. H. German *mari*, Latin *mare*. The names of certain sea animals were also common. The Swedish *hummer*, a lobster, corresponds to the Greek *καμάρος* and the Swedish *säl*, a seal, to the Greek *σελαχος*. The ass which belongs to the plains of Central Asia was not known ; the cow, sheep, goat and horse were. So also were the bear, wolf, otter, and beaver. One at least, if not two kinds of grain must have been cultivated. Flax also was. The art of brewing

mead from honey was known, and that the art of drinking it to excess was may be taken for granted. It is not probable that the European Aryans knew bronze or iron, or if they did know any of the metals, that they had any large quantity or made daily use of them so long as they linguistically formed one homogeneous body or lived together in that part of Europe which is here called the Aryan domain. The only common name for metal is the Latin *aes*, Gothic *aiz*, Hindooic *áyas*, which originally meant copper, and is used both for copper and bronze. A common word for tin is wanting. All the Aryan-European languages, even those most akin, lack a common word for the tools of a smith and the inventory of a forge and also for the various kinds of weapons of defence and attack. The names for weapons in the Greek and Roman tongues are very dissimilar. Still the ancient Aryan used the club, hammer, axe, knife, spear and crossbow—all of which could be made of stone, wood, and horn. It is probable therefore that the European Aryans were in the Stone Age and at best were acquainted with copper before and during the period when their language was divided into several dialects (pp. 14-17).

Where, then, on our continent, asks our author, was the home of this Aryan European people in the Stone Age? We must give his answer in his own words: 'Southern Europe, with its peninsulas,' he replies, 'extending into the Mediterranean, must doubtless have been outside the boundaries of the Aryan land of Europe.* The Greek Aryans have immigrated to Hellas, and the Italian Aryans are immigrants to the Italian peninsula. Spain has even within historical times been inhabited by Iberians and Basques, and Basques dwell there at present. If, as the linguistic monuments seem to prove, the European Aryans lived near an ocean, this cannot have been the Mediterranean Sea. There remain the Black and Caspian Seas on the one hand, the Baltic and the North Sea on the other. But if, as the linguistic monuments likewise seem to prove, the European Aryans for a great part, at least, lived west of a botanical line indicated by the

* For evidence confirmatory of this, see M. D'Arbois de Jubainville's *Les Premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, t. i.

beech in a country producing fir, oak, elm, and elder, then they could not have been limited to the treeless plains which extend along the Black Sea from the mouth of the Danube, through the Dobrudscha, Bessarabia, and Cherson, past the Crimea. Students of early Greek history do not any longer assume that the Hellenic immigrants found their way through these countries to Greece, but they came from the north-west and followed the Adriatic down to Epirus; in other words, they came the same way as the Visigoths under Alarik, and the Eastgoths under Theodoric in later times. The migrations of the Celts, so far as history sheds any light on the subject, were from the north and west toward the south and east. The movements of the Teutonic races were from north to south, and they migrated both eastward and westward. Both prehistoric and historic facts thus tend to establish the theory that the Aryan domain of Europe within undefinable limits comprised the central and north part of Europe; and as one or more seas were known to these Aryans, we cannot exclude from the limits of this knowledge the ocean penetrating the north of Europe from the west.' (Pp. 17-18.) The territory occupied by these European Aryans, Dr. Rydberg observes, must have been extensive, owing to the undeveloped state of their agriculture, which compelled them to depend for subsistence chiefly on cattle. As to the mutual position and movements of the various tribes within this territory, nothing, he maintains, can be stated, except that sooner or later, but already away back in prehistoric times, they must have occupied precisely the position in which they are found at the dawn of history, and which they now hold. 'The Aryan tribes,' he remarks, 'which first entered Gaul must have lived west of those tribes which became the progenitors of the Teutons, and the latter must have lived west of those who spread an Aryan language over Russia. South of this line, but still in Central Europe, there must have dwelt another body of Aryans, the ancestors of the Greeks and Romans, the latter west of the former. Farthest to the north of all these tribes, must have dwelt those people who afterwards produced the Teutonic tongue.' (P. 18.)

If now we ask in what particular part of Aryan Europe the ancestors of the Teutons dwelt when they developed the Aryan

tongue into the Teutonic? Dr. Rydberg replies that the area must have included the coast of the Baltic and of the North Sea. The answer is founded on a suggestion thrown out as far back as 1854 by Dr. Latham, who maintained that when there are no historical facts to the contrary the cradle of a race or language-type must be looked for where the type is most abundant and least changed. The Teutonic type which, as Dr. Rydberg observes, was doubtless also the Aryan type in general before much spreading, and consequent mixing with other races had taken place, has been described as tall, white skin, blue eyes, fair hair, dolicocephalous, and it is, as we need hardly say, precisely in the areas indicated by Dr. Rydberg, and among those whose ancestors had their homes there, *i.e.*, among the modern Swedes, Norwegians, Danes, and the inhabitants of those parts of Great Britain which were most densely settled by Saxon and Scandinavian emigrants, that this type appears most pure and least changed. Assuming, therefore, that Dr. Latham's hypothesis is correct, there can be no doubt as to the geographical position of ancient Teutondom. It included the coast of the Baltic and of the North Sea. 'This theory,' Dr. Rydberg remarks, 'is certainly not contradicted, but, on the other hand, is supported by the facts so far as we have any knowledge of them. Roman history supplies evidence that the same parts of Europe in which the Teutonic type predominates at the present time, were Teutonic already at the beginning of our era, and that then already the Scandinavian peninsula was inhabited by a North Teutonic people which, among their kinsmen on the Continent, were celebrated for their wealth in ships and warriors. Centuries must have passed ere the Teutonic colonisation of the peninsula could have developed into so much strength—centuries during which, judging from all indications, the transition from the bronze to the iron age in Scandinavia must have taken place. The painstaking investigations of Montelius, conducted on the principle of methodology, have led him to the conclusion that Scandinavia and North Germany formed during the bronze age one common domain of culture in regard to weapons and implements. The manner in which the other domains of culture group themselves in Europe leaves no other place for the

Teutonic race than Scandinavia and North Germany, and possibly Austro-Hungary, which the Teutonic domain resembles most. Back of the bronze age lies the stone age. The examinations by v. Düben, Gustaf Retzius, and Virchow, of skeletons found in northern graves from the stone age, prove the existence at that time of a race in the North which, so far as the characteristics of the skulls are concerned, cannot be distinguished from the race now dwelling there. Here it is necessary to take into consideration the results of the probability reached by comparative philology, showing that the European Aryans were still in the stone age when they divided themselves into Celts, Teutons, etc., and occupied separate territories, and the fact that the Teutons, so far back as conclusions may be drawn from historical knowledge, have occupied a more northern domain than their kinsmen. Thus all tends to show that when the Scandinavian peninsula was first settled by Aryans—doubtless coming from the South by way of Denmark—these Aryans belonged to the same race, which, later in history, appear with a Teutonic physiognomy and with Teutonic speech, and that their immigration to and occupation of the southern parts of the peninsula took place in the time of the Aryan stone age,' (pp., 20-21).

Other writers also have arrived at the conclusion that the ancestors of the Northmen reached Scandinavia during their stone age, and by way of Denmark. Among them we may mention Worsaae, who names as the date of their arrival at least 3000 B.C. But Dr. Rydberg, we believe, is the first to point to Scandinavia as the original home of the Teutons, or as the place where the Teutonic elements of the Aryan family were developed. Whatever may be thought of his arguments—and we must own that to us they seem fairly conclusive—they also receive at least some show of confirmation from the myths and legends of the race. The *Heinskringla* and *Prose Edda*, which Mr. Du Chaillu has followed, do, it is true, as we have already remarked, claim for the Northmen a southern and Asiatic origin, but these, as we shall show further on, are altogether untrustworthy and misleading. The older and genuine myths and traditions never mention a migration northward; they always speak of migrations towards the south, and of the Scandinavian lands as

the home of the race. This is the case with such of them as have been preserved by Tacitus, Saxo Grammaticus, Paulus Diaconus, Widukind, Jornandes, Rabanus Maurus, William of Malmesbury, Simeon of Durham, the author of Beowulf, &c. In an appendix to his second volume, Mr. Du Chaillu has printed a number of extracts from the Frankish Chronicles in support of facts and conclusions which nobody disputes; had he printed and discussed some of these older myths and traditions, his appendix would have served a very useful end. To cite them here is impossible, but the reader who is interested in them will find them printed and discussed in Dr. Rydberg's volume. They belong to the Longobards, Saxons, Swabians, Franks, Herulians, Burgundians and Alemanni, and may be found in the works of the writers we have just mentioned. Of course, it is not pretended that they furnish any historical evidence in confirmation of the theory we are referring to. Allusion is made to them simply to show what the native traditions were. They may contain, however, a genuine reminiscence, and have an important bearing on the Northern mythology.

When they first appear in history, the progenitors of the Norsemen are known as the Suiones. It is Tacitus who tells us about them. His information seems to have been gathered from men who had seen and heard what they reported, and whose knowledge of the Teutons extended to their traditions and heroic songs. The country of the Suiones, he tells us, lies in the midst of the ocean. He describes them as stronger and better organised than the rest of the Teutons, and says that they are rich not only in men and arms, but also in fleets (*praeter viros armaque classibus valent*).

According to Mr. Du Chaillu, these Suiones were the genuine Vikings not only of what is usually known as the Vikingtide, but also of a period extending from the second to the twelfth century of our era. During the whole of that period, their mighty fleets, he tells us, swarmed on every sea. It was they, we are assured, and not the 'so-called Saxons,' who settled on the Saxon shore of Britain; and they, again, and not the 'so-called Saxons,' who, after the Romans had vacated that country, conquered and settled in it. The Veneti, whom Caesar describes as inhabiting

Brittany, it is said, were 'in all probability their advanced-guard'; and the similarity of their name 'to that of the Venedi, who are conjecturally placed by Tacitus on the shores of the Baltic, and to the Vends, so frequently mentioned in the Sagas, can scarcely be regarded as an accident.'

These are some of the opinions we have already referred to as occurring in Mr. Du Chaillu's first three chapters. They are scarcely credible, and are not supported. For the last opinion—that the Veneti were in all probability the advanced guard of the Suiones—Mr. Du Chaillu adduces no evidence. There is none to adduce. The similarity of the name does not help matters. There were Veneti also on the shores of the Adriatic; and, unfortunately for Mr. Du Chaillu's conjecture, the Venedi of Tacitus and the Vends of the Sagas were not of Teutonic origin at all, but of Slavonic. When he argues that the Suiones, Saxons, and Franks, must have been one people, Mr. Du Chaillu is on solid ground, but when he tells us that it was not the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes, who conquered South-East Britain after the withdrawal of the Roman legions, he is off it. Originally the Suiones, Saxons, and Franks, doubtless, were one people, but centuries of separation had developed considerable differences, and at the time referred to these were sufficiently marked to constitute the Scandinavians, Saxons, and Franks, distinct tribes or nations. Mr. Du Chaillu's complaint against the authors of the English and Frankish Chronicles for calling the people who conquered what is now England after the Romans, Saxons, and not Suiones or Scandinavians, is in fact badly founded. They were simply using language and writing history more correctly than himself. But let us see how he deals with at least one of these 'monkish writers.'

We take the following passage from his Third Chapter: 'That the history of the people called Saxons was by no means certain is seen in the fact that Witikind [Widukind], a monk of the tenth century, gives the following account of what was then considered to be their origin: "On this there are various opinions, some thinking that the Saxons had their origin from the Danes and Northmen; others, as I heard some one maintain when a young man, that they are derived from the Greeks, because they

themselves used to say the Saxons were the remnant of the Macedonian army, which, having followed Alexander the Great, were by his premature death dispersed all over the world.”* It chanced that Dr. Rydberg has to comment on this same passage of Widukind's, and as we are as much concerned with the one work as with the other, we may as well quote his words. They are somewhat numerous, but the interest attaching to them is a sufficient excuse for citing them. ‘I now pass,’ he says, ‘to that great Teutonic people’—he is dealing, we should say, with the native migration sagas—‘I now turn to that great Teutonic group of peoples comprised in the term *Saxons*. Their historian, Widukind, who wrote his Chronicle in the tenth century, begins by telling what he has learned about the origin of the Saxons. Here, he says, different opinions are opposed to each other. According to one opinion held by those who knew the Greeks and Romans, the Saxons are descended from the remnants of Alexander the Great's Macedonian army; according to the other, which is based on native traditions, the Saxons are descended from Danes and Northmen. Widukind so far takes his position between these opinions that he considers it certain that the Saxons had come in ships to the country they inhabited on the lower Elbe and the North Sea, and that they landed in Hadolaun. that is to say, in the district of Hadeln, near the mouth of the Elbe, which, we may say in passing, is still distinguished for its remarkably vigorous population; consisting of peasants whose ancestors, throughout the middle ages, preserved the communal liberty in successful conflict with the feudal nobility. Widukind's statement that the Saxons crossed the sea to Hadeln is found in an older Saxon Chronicle written about 860, with the addition

* Widukind's words are : ‘Nam super hac re varia opinio est, aliis arbitrantibus de Danis Northmanisque originem duxisse Saxones, aliis autem æstimantibus, ut ipse adolescentulus audivi quendam prædicantem, de Graecis, quia ipsi dicerent Saxones reliquias fuisse Macedonici exercitus qui secutus magnum Alexandrum immatura morte ipsius per totum orbem sit dispersus.’ So far Mr. Du Chailu. But Widukind adds immediately after the very important statement : ‘Pro certo autem novimus Saxones his regionibus navibus advectos et loco primum applicuisse qui usque hodie nuncupatur Hadolaun.’ *Res Gestae Saxonicae*, I. ii.iii., Ed. Waitz.

that the leader of the Saxons in their emigration was a chief by name Hadugoto,' (pp. 71-2).

The difference of treatment is obvious. An essential statement of Widukind's is omitted by Mr. Du Chaillu. But what we are anxious to point out is that, so far from their being any dubiety in the native tradition as to the origin or 'history' of the Saxons, there is, on the contrary, absolute certainty. Widukind has no doubt about it. He considers it certain that they came originally from the North; and cites the Eastern theory as a novelty he had heard, when he was a young man, probably by some one who wished to find a classical origin for the Teutonic peoples. His own statement, as it is scarcely necessary to point out, and that of the earlier Chronicle, support the theory we have dwelt on above, but afford no countenance to Mr. Du Chaillu's. It is doubtful, moreover, whether they contain the slightest proof as to the existence of any doubt on the matter at all. Widukind expressly says that the story of the Greek or Macedonian origin was a thing he had heard when he was a young man.

But to proceed. The Vikingtide—not the Viking Age of Mr. Du Chaillu, but the movement which is generally designated by that term, the movement, in fact, to which the Viking described by Mr. Du Chaillu may be said to belong—set in during the second half of the eighth century. A.D. 770 is the date given for it by Worsaae. In the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle the first appearance of the Northmen in England is given at the year 787. They are mentioned in Eastern history as early as 774.

The causes which led to this extraordinary movement are still obscure; but among them may, with a large degree of probability, be mentioned over-population, a series of bad seasons, the advance of society and the resulting conflicts between the rulers and the people, and not least, the love of freedom and the desire for adventure and booty. Viking expeditions, however, were by no means new. To go upon them was an old and established custom in Scandinavia even at that early period. In the oldest Sagas, for a chief or man of means not to go upon them even for a single summer is deemed of sufficient importance to be noted. On the other hand, the fact that he goes upon

one is mentioned as a matter of course. But between the earlier and later Viking expeditions there was a great difference. At first they were under the command of single chieftains, and were undertaken with the direct object of returning home at the beginning of winter, laden with glory and plunder. For a time, too, they were confined to the coasts of Norway, Denmark, and the Baltic, chief fighting with chief, and marauding his neighbour's or his enemy's lands. 'King Agne,' we are told, 'went with his army to Finland, and landed and marauded.' 'Hake and Hagbard were two brothers, very celebrated sea-kings, who had a great force of men-at-arms. Sometimes they cruised in company; sometimes each for himself; and many warriors followed them both.' 'King' Hake, as he is called, goes against the Swedes. They flee before him; he subdues their country, and becomes king of Sweden. 'He then,' it is said, 'sat quietly at home for three years, but during that time his combatants went abroad on viking expeditions, and gathered property for themselves.' Afterwards, Hake meets with Jorund and Eirik, two other sea-kings. A great battle takes place in which he is worsted, and here is the account of his end: 'King Hake had been so grievously wounded that he saw his days could not be long; so he ordered a warship which he had to be loaded with his dead men and their weapons, and to be taken out to sea; the tiller to be shipped, and the sails hoisted. Then he set fire to some tar-wood, and ordered a pile to be made over it in the ship. Hake was almost, if not quite dead, when he was laid upon this pile of his. The wind was blowing off the land—the ship flew, burning in clear flame, out between the islets, into the ocean. Great was the fame of this deed in after times' (*Ynglinga*, c. 27). The Jorund mentioned went one summer to Denmark, and plundered all round Jutland. While lying in Oddassund, Gylang of Halogaland (Nordland) came up. To escape, Jorund sprang overboard, but was made prisoner and hanged. Adils of Sweden, we are told, went south to Saxonland. Of his son's reign it is said: 'In those days many Kings, both Danes and Northmen, ravaged the Swedish dominions; for there were many sea-kings who ruled over many people, but had no lands, and he might well be called a sea-king who never slept beneath sooty roof-timbers, and never drank near

the hearthstone' (*Ibid.*, c. 34). We hear also of expeditions to Esthonia. So far the expeditions were commanded by single chieftains, and were made almost simply and solely for the sake of plunder. But when the Vikingtide set in they assumed a different character. The fleets grew larger. They were commanded by high-born chiefs, were manned not only by men-at-arms, but also by numerous warlike emigrants, who were bent upon finding a home in other lands, and sailed under fixed martial law. The movement was so vast that it assumed something like the proportions of a national exodus, and lasted for many years. While one stream went eastward and established a kingdom in Russia, others left the Baltic and swarmed everywhere in the Northern Seas. Many cruised along the western shores of Europe, and swept along the Mediterranean and beneath the Italian and Eastern skies. Normandy was conquered, and a Danish king sat upon the throne of England by right of conquest.

There was one part of this movement, however, which for our present purpose is of more importance than the rest. Before the days of King Harald Fairhair there had been a migration westward, which had resulted in the peopling of the Western Islands, and especially of the Orkneys, with Vikings, and in a few families settling in Iceland. During his reign there was another. The story of it is told in the Sagas; but here we will let Dr. Vigfusson tell it. 'When,' he says, 'Harald's policy of putting down the small tribal Kings, breaking down the great families, and uniting the land under one man's sway, began to be successful, the resistance of the Norwegians at home was supplemented by the efforts of the emigrants [*i.e.*, to the Orkneys, etc.], who were not at all inclined to favour a King who was the stern friend of order and centralisation, and the foe of piracy and the great houses, or to reverence a monarch who had seized their kinsmen's estates, estates in which they had by no means given up their interest, and whose power threatened to convert their own migration into exile. They were continually making raids on the old country, plundering and ravaging, and keeping alive an irritating resistance to the King, whose rule, but for their interference, would probably have been far sooner acquiesced in. The crisis of this resistance, the ranks of which were continually being augmented by the disaffected,

came at the great sea-fight of Hafursford (c. 885) when, as Hornklofi sings, "The high-born King fought with Kiotvi the Wealthy: ships came from the West with gaping dragons' heads and carved beaks. They were laden with warriors and white shields, Western spears and Welsh swords. The Bearsarks yelled, with war in their hearts. They joined battle with the valiant King of the Eastmen, who put them to flight," etc. The fight was fiercely contested, but at length the Wikings turned their war-ships and fled across the North Sea. The King, not content with this crushing blow, followed it up relentlessly, and made a great expedition to the Orkneys, then the focus of the Wiking movement, to strike at the very roots of the influence which he dreaded. There was now no further choice; the Norsemen of the Western Islands were forced to bow to the King or to fly again to lands beyond his sway. This latter alternative some of them had already taken; among the settlers in Landnama many a man is recorded as having fought at Hafursford, and of these no doubt a goodly number had already entered on their second exodus; an example which was largely followed by those whom other causes beside the "overbearing rule of Harald Fairhair" induced to leave the lands they had at first chosen to dwell in.*

Other emigrants arrived in Iceland somewhere about the same time. In Ireland the Norseman had made his first appearance in 795. Dublin was taken in 837. In 853 came Olaf the White, and kinged it in Dublin, though often abroad on forays. In 870 or 873 he was killed, some say in Scotland; others in Ireland; and some time after, Aud, his widowed Queen, owing to the disturbed state of the country, due partly to the risings of the Irish and partly to the inroads of the Danes, left the island. She took with her her one grandson and her six granddaughters, whom she married one by one on her journey. In her retinue was a large company of kinsfolk and friends, besides dependants, both Norse and Irish. On her way she stayed for a while in the Faroe Isles, where she married one of her daughters, and then sailed for Iceland, and finally settled there, at Broadfirth, in the West.

* *Sturlunga Saga*, pp. xviii-xix.

She was the daughter of Ketil Flatnose, son of Biorn Buna, son of Grim, lord of Sogn. In her train were her brother-in-law, Helgi the Lean, Ketil Fífiski, her sister's son and her own brothers, Helgi Biolan, and Biorn. Biorn settled with her in the West, Helgi Biolan went to the South, Ketil Fífiski settled in the East, and Helgi the Lean in Eyiafirth, in the north of the island. 'From this mighty kindred,' says Dr. Vigfusson, 'sprung the most distinguished families of Iceland'; indeed, in one way or another, whatever was good and noble.*

Reference has already been made to a third emigration. This went direct from Norway. As we read in the Heimskringla, 'In the discontent that King Harald seized on the lands of Norway the out-countries of Iceland and the Farey Isles were discovered and peopled.' But the bulk of the settlers were those who had lived in the Western Islands and Ireland. There was among them a considerable number of Irish and Scotch. The tone of the society was aristocratic; to a certain extent it was also democratic. It was in this society, composed chiefly of those who had lived in foreign parts and among the Celts, with whom they had probably intermarried, that the literature of Iceland took root and grew up. Some of the Viking literature had its origin in Norway; but it was in Iceland, in this mixed Scandinavian and Celtic society, that it was chiefly fostered and developed.

Like all other national literatures, it took the usual forms of poetry and prose. The Eddic poetry, as Dr. Vigfusson has shown, originated in Ireland and the Western Isles, and was in all probability collected, if not written down, in the Orkneys or Iceland, not earlier than 1150.† The oldest MS., which is not complete, belongs to the first half of the thirteenth century. Some of the poems belong to the old pre-Viking times; others of them bear traces of the influence of later times. The Court poetry originated in Norway. The oldest piece extant dates back to the time of Harald Fairhair. The songs of which it consists were originally sung in praise of kings or chiefs, and upon them Ari the

* *Ibid.*, p. xix.

† *Corpus Poet. Boreale*, pp. lvi. et seq.

Historian based his Book of Kings. 'There were skalds in Harald's court,' he says, 'whose poems the people know by heart even at the present day, together with all the songs about the Kings of Norway since his time; and we rest the foundations of our story principally upon the songs which were sung in the presence of the chiefs themselves or of their sons, and take all to be true that is found in such poems about their feats in battles; for although it be the fashion with skalds to praise most those in whose presence they are standing, yet no one would dare to relate to a chief what he, and all those who heard it, knew to be false and imaginary, nor a true account of his deeds; because that would be mockery, not praise.'* The Court poetry, however, is not what it was in Ari's time. The text has been greatly tampered with by some one who seems to have imagined he was improving it.

The prose literature of Iceland, as need hardly be said, was its Sagas. Dr. Vigfusson calls the Saga 'the true child of Iceland,' and it is customary to regard it as peculiar to it. Dr. Todd, however, has put in a claim for Ireland and thinks, not without good reason, that the Icelanders borrowed it from there. 'It may be questioned,' he says, 'whether the Saga literature was not an imitation on the part of the Northmen of the historical tales and bardic poems which they had found in Ireland. Many such productions, of undoubted antiquity, are still extant in the Irish language. In the Book of Leinster, a MS. written, as we have seen, before the middle of the twelfth century, there is a curious list of Romantic tales, which, we infer from those of them that are still extant, were exactly similar to the Sagas of the Northmen. . . . We cannot be wrong, therefore, in assuming that such tales were popular with the Irish in the tenth and eleventh centuries at the latest. But we learn from Snorro Sturleson (in the Preface to the *Heimskringla*) that "The priest Are Frode, son of Thorgils, son of Gellis, was the first man who wrote down in the Norse language narratives of events both old and new." Are hinn

* *Heimskringla*, Preface. This, i.e., the preface to the *Heimskringla*, Dr. Vigfusson has shown is not by Snorri, but by Ari.

Frode was born in Iceland in 1067, and lived to 1148, or, as some think, 1158. This was about the time when the above mentioned list of Irish historical tales was compiled, and Are hinn Frode only followed the practice which had before his time prevailed in Ireland.' 'It is evident,' Dr. Todd again remarks, 'that Ireland had the priority over the North in this species of popular literature; and it is worthy of note that, both in the North and in Ireland the Saga or historic Tale was in the vernacular, not in the Latin of the monasteries. They were read at public entertainments, as well as at the fire-side, and their popularity accounts for the remarkable love of historical lore, as well as the singular knowledge of the legendary history of their country which was once characteristic of the Irish peasantry.'* There can be little doubt therefore that the art of Saga-telling which prevailed in Ireland from a very remote time, and long before the Vikingtide, was borrowed from Ireland. Mr. O'Curry gives a list of no fewer than one hundred and eighty-seven of these Irish Sagas or Historical Tales which are named in the Book of Leinster alone.† Several of them he describes, and classifies the whole under the different headings, 'Destructions,' 'Cow-spoils,' 'Courtships,' 'Battles,' 'Tragedies,' 'Feasts,' 'Sieges,' 'Adventures,' etc. Of the Irish Ollamh or Historical Teacher, he remarks, that he 'was bound (and even from the very first course of his professional studies) among other duties to have the Historic Stories, and these,' he continues, 'are classed with the genealogies and synchronisms of history, in which he was to preserve the truths of history pure and unbroken to succeeding generations.' The likeness between the two, the Irish Historical Story and the Icelandic Saga, is close, and shows considerable affinity.

It is not our purpose, however, to attempt a settlement of this curious and interesting question, but to remark on the value of the Icelandic literature for the mythology and history of the Vikings. Mr. Du Chaillu regards it as an almost absolute authority. He bases his account of their religion mainly on

* *War of the Gaedhill with the Gaill*, pp. xxviii., note 2.

† *MS. Materials*, pp. 584-592.

the Eddas and the *Heimskringla*, and cites the Sagas with implicit confidence. We are unable to share his confidence. Most, if not all, of the Sagas, we think, require to be read with considerable caution. One of our reasons we have already hinted. A slight comparison of dates will corroborate it. Though the Vikingtide did not spend itself till about 1030, Iceland was settled towards the close of the ninth century, when the settlers there practically ceased to be Vikings. In the year 1000 Christianity was accepted in the island, and with Christianity there came the clergy and such of the Latin literature as was then in vogue among them. Ari, 'the first man in Iceland who wrote down in the Norse language narratives of events both old and new,' even if we suppose that he made a beginning when he was thirty-three, could not have written his first saga before the year 1100. The Eddic poems, as Dr. Vigfusson has shown, were not committed to writing earlier than 1150; and Snorri's Prose Edda was not written before 1220. So that during a hundred years the whole of the materials out of which that part of the Icelandic and Norse literature which refers to the Vikings was framed, was floating about in the shape of oral traditions, while the greater part of it was floating about in the same shape for a still longer period; and the question arises, Is it likely that the songs and stories which were afterwards worked up into the poems and Sagas as we now have them could pass from mouth to mouth during so long a period without change and alteration? Then, again, is it at all likely that those who gave the literature its present form did not add something of their own invention? There can be little doubt which way the answer must go, and still less that both the prose and the poetry must be read with a very watchful and critical eye in order to make out with anything like precision a detailed and trustworthy account of the Viking and his mythology.

Some of the Sagas are undoubtedly of the very highest historical value. The Religious and Romantic may be left out as belonging to a much later period than the Viking, and as having little or nothing to do with him. The Mythical are certainly of use, if not for history, at least for the native myths

and traditions. The *Landnama*, *Kristni*, and *Sturlunga* are specially valuable, but their value is chiefly for the settlement and history of Iceland. Together with the rest of the sagas referring to the 'Saga time' in Iceland, they undoubtedly contain many genuine reminiscences of the Viking. It has always to be remembered, however, that between the composition of such sagas as the *Nials*, *Egils*, and *Laxdæla*, and the events to which they refer, a period of two centuries and a half elapsed. As works of art, they deserve all the praise which is given to them, but their historical value is another matter. They are touched with imagination, and are probably not so much exact narratives of what was said and done, as ancient tradition worked up into an artistic form. Perhaps they bear the same relation to history as Shakespeare's *Macbeth* or *King Lear*, and certainly not more than his histories of *King John* and the *Henries*. Of the passages in the *Kings' Lives* referring to the Vikings, Mr. Du Chaillu has made frequent use, and rightly so. Their narratives are among the most authentic. Even the legendary and superstitious matter which is mixed up with them is not without its uses. Frequent use has also been made by Mr. Du Chaillu of the references made to Viking life in the poems. His use of this source of information, however, has been scarcely so fruitful as it might have been, and one has still to turn to Dr. Vigfusson's *Excursus* to see how rich a source it may be made when skilfully used.

To construct the mythology of the Viking is a much more difficult task than to attain to a knowledge of his political, social, and warlike life. Not that there is any lack of materials, but because the old and genuine Viking mythology has been mixed up and overlaid with another that is little akin to it. This partial and at times complete obscuration of the pure native mythology has been due partly to the influence of the Troy migration theory, well known in the rest of Europe long before Saemund, the author of the *Prose Edda*, studied at Paris, and partly to the influence of the clergy. Dr. Vigfusson is disposed to lay the whole blame on the Christian Churches, East and West, 'whose beliefs,' he

says, 'reaching the Northmen of the Viking Age (oftenest in somewhat distorted shape), coloured their ideas, and gave rise in the imaginative brain of two or three foremost poets to a system and view of mythology very different to the old simple faith of their forefathers.'* Dr. Rydberg, on the other hand, is disposed to allow largely for literary influence, and to the desire it created among Northern writers to claim for their respective nations an Eastern origin. In fact, he traces the development of the Trojan migration saga among them with considerable minuteness. The first mention of it he finds in the Fredegar Chronicle, which was written about the year 650. Thence it was adopted into the *Gesta regum Francorum*, and afterwards by Paulus Diaconus in his Longobardian Chronicle. Widukind, as we have seen, refers to it; and after him came Dudo, who in his Norman Chronicle avers that 'the Norman men regarded themselves as Danai, for Danes (the Scandinavians in general) and Danai were regarded as the same race name' (p. 38). The adoption of the theory by the Icelanders was easy. Saxo rejected it; but 'the Icelanders,' as Dr. Rydberg remarks, 'accepted and continued to develop it.' 'The accounts,' he also remarks, 'given in Heimskringla and the Prose Edda in regard to the emigration from Asgard, form the natural denouement of an era which had existed for centuries, and in which the events of antiquity were able to group themselves around a common centre. All peoples and families of chiefs were located around the Mediterranean sea, and every event and every hero was connected in some way or other with Troy' (p. 38). At the same time he lays great stress on the influence of the Church, affirming that the effect of the spread of Christianity, Church learning, and Latin manuscripts, was not only to disseminate a knowledge of and an interest in the Trojan stories, but also to alter the complexion of the old mythology, and to cause parts of it to be almost entirely forgotten and even lost. Practically, however, the two writers are agreed. It was only through the Church and its

* *Corpus Poet. Bor.*, ii. 459.

organisations that the Trojan theory was spread, and it was mainly, if not wholly, through the influence of its teaching that the old mythology was obscured. That the Church and its teachers meant well there can be no doubt. But for mythology the latter cared nothing, and for literature little. The old ways of thought and religion had no interest for them. They were objects of their intense abhorrence. Their one aim was to win men to Christianity. They succeeded, but at the expense of the old native traditions, and to the confusion of mythology.

But the conclusions to be drawn from what has now been said are obvious. The formal mythology of the Icelandic literature is not that of the sea-kings who were so long a terror to Europe, and the old method of simply citing passages indiscriminately from the Prose Edda or the Heims-kringla in proof of what it was will no longer suffice. These, together with the rest of the Saga and Eddic literature, require to be subjected to analysis and criticism, and the native and foreign mythology must be disentangled before anything like a satisfactory idea of the religion and beliefs of the Viking can be obtained. This Mr. Du Chaillu has failed to do; but a beginning has been made by Dr. Vigfusson in a couple of Excursus in his *Corpus Poeticum Boreale*, and by Dr. Rydberg in that very excellent volume which we have so often referred to and cited.

ART. IV.—THE CAPTURE OF VERSAILLES.

Translated from the MONITEUR of October 9, 10, 10-11, 12, 1789.

MEN felt that they were on the eve of a catastrophe all the more terrible that the hatred which divided the two parties seemed to make them inaccessible to a compromise of any kind. One of them was concentrating its energies, and could only with difficulty moderate its enthusiasm; the other was gathering together its forces and its fury. On the one side, the standard of liberty was preparing to fly to another

victory ; on the other, the banner of despotism was summoning from all parts of the kingdom, a crowd of worshippers eager to win back the right of sharing the homage and the offerings of the divinity whose shrine it was their avowed intention to set up again.

Never had so many crosses of Saint-Louis been seen glittering, such swarms of factious partisans hovering about in the streets of Paris, or in the antechamber of Versailles. In the midst of this multitude of uniforms of all colours, with which the capital was filled, a few green coats with red facings, which belonged to no regiment, attracted the attention of observers ; and rumour, which exaggerates everything, singled out this peculiarity, which at once gave rise to a vast amount of conjecture, and spread fresh alarms amongst the many whom circumstances had not yet inured to sudden outbursts of terror.

The devotedness of the Bodyguards to the person of the King inspired the conspirators with the hope that it would be easy to induce them to join the league ; the devotedness of their chiefs to the aristocracy had brought down upon them the suspicions and animosity of the multitude, although, from the very commencement of the Revolution, this regiment had shown itself as faithful to the fatherland as to the Sovereign. They had sworn to die in defence of the life of the King, the Queen, and the Dauphin ; but they had also taken the oath never to imbrue their hands in the blood of the citizens. Indeed, the greater number of the Guardsmen were often to be found in the company of the Deputies, whose wisdom and courage they seemed to admire, and whom they besought not to allow themselves to be discouraged by obstacles, but to continue with ardour their noble and sacred course.

During the riots, which broke out at Versailles, at the time when the States-General began their sittings, they loudly complained of the orders which had been given to them (as well as to the foreign regiments) to send out patrols for the purpose of keeping down the people, and urged that their duty was to guard the King's person, and not to molest their fellow-citizens. One of their quarter-masters having, in their

name, laid the protest of the company before a superior officer, the latter had thought fit to misinterpret their remonstrances; he accused them of insubordination, and the quarter-master was broken in presence of the whole corps. Indignant at this tyranny, they resolved to send in their bandoleers rather than allow that their chiefs had the power of thus degrading their officers, under false pretences; and, at the Queen's request the quarter-master was restored to his rank. This act of justice appeased the discontent of these gallant soldiers, but not their indignation against M. de Guiche, whom this display of despotism made as despicable in their eyes as in those of the public.

The Court, alarmed at the patriotism of the Bodyguards, which it looked upon as open rebellion, set everything in motion for the purpose of changing their sentiments. They were plied in their garrisons; some were caressed, others were threatened. Among the younger men, the prejudices of vanity and the pride of birth were flattered; to the ambitious the bait of patronage was held out; and to all the honour of restoring the splendour of the throne and the dignity of the nobility. The officers went so far as to forget their social and military superiority, as to descend from the height of their pretensions, and were willing to let it appear that they were lowering themselves to the point of making common cause with mere civilians.

The attempt to destroy the spirit of patriotism of this chosen and brilliant body of citizen-warriors, was, it is true, unsuccessful; but, the opinions of the greater number of them were shaken, alarm was spread amongst them with regard to the intentions of the Legislative Body and the fate of their beloved Sovereign, and great excitement was caused amongst the younger men. Indeed, it must be said, though the avowal should in no way tarnish the glory of this brave legion, that a few allowed themselves to be deceived or seduced, and were dragged into this fatal plot; but, to the corps as a whole this was always a secret. Those who flattered themselves that they could deceive it by specious appearances, did so, because they knew that it was impossible to corrupt it.

Such was the state of affairs when they arrived at Versailles, about the end of September, to go on duty for the October term. Those of the previous quarter were also retained; and the plots or the fears which this doubling of the King's guard betokened, spread similar fears amongst the public.

At that time the Bodyguards had not yet assumed the national cockade. Respect for the person of the King had induced them to keep the white cockade, and they alone of all the army had not formally taken the civic oath. On the morning of the entry of the Flanders regiment, they had been seen walking about on the avenue which led towards Paris, booted and ready to mount.

Some indiscreet boasts, idly uttered by a few young men, seemed to indicate contempt for the Parisians, and the immediate execution of some great enterprise fatal to liberty. This imprudent conduct, magnified by rumour and envenomed by hatred, excited against them odious suspicions, and the fatal banquet of the 1st of October marked them out for the execration and the vengeance of the multitude.

The Flanders regiment, on arriving at Versailles, had handed over its artillery and ammunition to the National Guard. This mark of confidence dispelled the prejudices of the inhabitants of the town, and they hastened to bestow on both officers and men fraternal marks of good-will and friendship. The Court, on its side, was of opinion that it ought to win them over by caresses. The officers were presented to the Royal Family; they were received with kindness, admitted to the Queen's card-party, and, as a crowning distinction, invited to a regimental dinner, the first that the King's Guards had ever given at Versailles. Several officers of the National Guard received special invitations in their own name, as did also some from the *chasseurs* of the Three Bishoprics, and the Provostry, who had never been even on bowing terms with these favourites of the Court. Finally, the Opera Hall of the Chateau which had never previously been used for any but Court festivities, was fixed upon as the banqueting hall; and, that everything connected with the banquet should bear the stamp of singularity, one Captain of the Guards was present at it, and that captain was M. de Guiche.

It was on Thursday the 1st of October. The company assembled in the drawing-room called the *salon d'Hercule*, from which they passed into the Opera Hall, where this magnificent and unfortunate banquet was served. The bands of the Bodyguards and of the Flanders regiment enlivened the feast. At the second course four healths were drunk, the King's, the Queen's, the Dauphin's, and the Royal Family's. According to some, the toast of the Nation was proposed; according to others, it was purposely omitted; whilst, according to a great number of witnesses, it was expressly rejected by the Bodyguards who were present.

One of the ladies of the Palace, hastened to the Queen, gave her a glowing account of the gaiety of the feast, and asked, at first, that the Dauphin, whom the sight could not fail to amuse, might be allowed to go to it. As Her Majesty seemed sad, she was then pressed to go herself, in order to cheer her spirits; she seemed to hesitate. The King arrived from the hunting field; the Queen proposed that he should accompany her, and they were both hurried off, together with the heir to the Crown, into the banqueting hall. It was filled with soldiers from every corps, for the Grenadiers of the Flanders regiment, the Swiss, and the *chasseurs* of the Three Bishoprics had been admitted at the dessert.

The Court arrived. The Queen advanced up to the edge of the stage, holding the Dauphin by the hand. This unexpected visit drew forth shouts of delight and joy. Her Majesty then took the Dauphin in her arms, and walked round the table, in the midst of the most enthusiastic applause and the most deafening acclamations. The Bodyguards, the Grenadiers, all the soldiers, with drawn swords in their hands, drank the healths of the King, of the Queen, and of the Dauphin. The Court acknowledged them and retired.

Soon, the feast, which had hitherto been animated only by gaiety, a little too free it is true, but still decent, was changed into a complete orgy. The heads of all present were fired with the wine which had been provided with a munificence truly royal; the bands were playing pieces calculated still further to increase the excitement, such as: '*O Richard, ô mon roi,*

l'univers t'abandonne' (O, Richard, O my King, the whole world is forsaking thee!)—the perfidious allusion of which could not, at that moment, fail to be understood—and the '*March of the Uhlans.*'

A charge was sounded. The reeling guests scaled the boxes, and presented a sight at once disgusting and horrible. They indulged in the most indecent expressions. The national cockade was proscribed; white cockades were passed round, and several Captains of the National Guard of Versailles had the weakness to accept them.

In the meantime, a crowd had followed the Court out of the Hall. Some Bodyguards, officers from various regiments, troops of drunken soldiers, were indulging in a thousand excesses in the Marble Court. M. de Perceval, aide-de-camp to M. d'Estaing scaled the balcony of Louis XVI's apartments, took possession of the inner guard-rooms and exclaimed: '*They belong to us; let us, henceforth, be called royal guards.*' He donned a white cockade, amidst the applause of a number of spectators who followed his example. A Grenadier of the Flanders regiment reached the balcony by the same way as he had done, and M. de Perceval decorated him with a Limbourg cross, which he himself was wearing. A less fortunate Dragoon attempted to commit suicide, because he had not been able to climb up as the other, and deserve the same decoration. With the cries of '*Long live the King and Queen!*' some mingled imprecations against the National Assembly.

A private in the *chasseurs* of the Three Bishoprics, was enacting another scene in the corridor which leads from the terrace to the main staircase. With his brow resting on the pommel of his drawn sword, he was waiting, in this tragic attitude, a confidant and spectators. M. Miomandre, a former officer in Turenne's regiment, happening to pass, the soldier seized him by the left wrist, and exclaimed that he was very wretched. The deepest grief was depicted on his countenance. . . . He said that all he wanted was death. Tears and sobs seemed to choke the words which his lips were endeavouring to utter. He looked round about him and perceiving that he was alone with the officer, he pronounced

these incoherent words: '*Our good King . . . Those worthy members of the Royal Household . . . I am a great blackguard! The monsters . . . What do they want of me?*'—'Who!' enquired M. de Miomandre. '*Those j.f. (sic) the Commandants and d'Orleans.*' A crowd gathered about him. He became furious, and pointed his sword to his heart.—'Help, Duverger!' cried M. Miomandre. The person called on hastened up and disarmed the soldier, but he could not be prevented from wounding himself. The blood flowed, his fury redoubled. He was conveyed to the guard-house, and stretched on a truss of straw, where he remained in complete prostration, until, to crown the inexplicable oddity of the whole incident, his comrades kicked him to death, without anyone being scandalized at it.

Drunkenness and delirium were producing in the Chateau a thousand other extravagances, without any steps being taken to check them. The tumult became so great that the alarm spread throughout the town. Several distant guard-houses sent pickets to enquire into the causes of such extraordinary proceedings. The sentry who was guarding the colours communicated the fears of the people to the lieutenant-colonel of the National Guard of Versailles. This officer mounted his horse, and galloped off to the Chateau, followed by his aide-de-camp. The orgy had just come to an end. He hastened to appease the anxiety of the people, and the citizens quietly returned to their homes.

The banquet was repeated the following day in the Riding-School, with a greater crowd of guests, increased tumult and under circumstances more offensive still to the Nation. A reconciliation was brought about between the Count de Guiche and the Bodyguards, and, in token of peace and union, he was decorated with four bandoleers.

On the day following, the Municipality distributed three hogs-heads of wine among the soldiers of the Flanders regiment. The National Guards did the honours of them, and everything went off with as much order as there had been license and scandal displayed at the two former feasts.

It seemed as though a cruel fate were shaping events in

such a manner as to foster mistrust and embitter resentment. On the morrow of the fateful banquet, a deputation from the National Guard of Versailles having gone to express to the Queen their respect and their gratitude for the gift of several colours, which she had bestowed upon them, Her Majesty answered in these terms: 'I am very pleased to have given colours to the National Guard of Versailles. The Nation and the Army should be attached to the King as we ourselves are to them. I was delighted with Thursday.'

The approval which the Queen thus seemed to bestow on those insane scenes made good citizens grow pale and tremble, and the conspirators leap for joy. In their frenzied audacity they knew no longer either check or limit. Now at last the aristocracy lifted their heads. The national uniform was insulted in the King's Palace. A knight of Saint-Louis, who was wearing it, was turned back at the door of the royal apartments, whilst, before his very eyes, several officers of the *chasseurs*, also in uniform, were allowed to enter; no attempt was even made to hide from him that it was his dress which had brought upon him this humiliation. '*You must be very meanspirited to wear that coat,*' an officer in the Guards said to the Major of a battalion, in the King's antechamber. Nor was this enough. To combine the extreme of absurdity with the extreme of insolence, ladies, both married and single, surrounded by *abbés*, distributed white cockades in the antechamber of the Chateau. '*Take great care of it,*' they said to those whom they decorated with it, '*it is the only good one, the only victorious one.*' These ladies exacted an oath of fidelity from the new knight, and he was allowed the favour of kissing their hands.

'*It is very astonishing,*' exclaimed M. Lecointre at this sight, and moved to indignation by such excessive unseemliness, '*that people should dare to allow themselves to act in this way in the King's palace. Either the colour of the cockades must change within a week, or all is lost.*'

At these words, M. Cartousières, a knight of Saint-Louis, and son-in-law to the Queen's florist, came forward to uphold, against all comers the pre-eminence of the white cockade, and the swashbuckler challenged the citizen. M. Lecointre

answered with self-possession, and went to the house of M. Necker, from whom he was expecting an audience.

As he was coming out of the Minister's residence he was again met by the champion of the ladies of the Chateau, who renewed his challenge and tried to lead him away towards the 'Swiss' pond.' 'No,' he replied, 'we must settle the matter here; but do not fancy, vile gladiator, that I will measure myself with you according to established rules. Draw your sword, and the more skilful shall stab the other.' They were parted, and a fight, which might have become the signal for a general massacre, was prevented.

Almost about the same time M. Mettereau, aide-de-camp to M. d'Estaing, went up to the Chateau in quest of his superior officer. Scarcely had he entered when an officer of the Bodyguards, decorated with the cross of Saint-Louis, said to him, with a glance of contempt at the tricoloured cockade which he wore in his hat: '*Is that really the one which you have adopted? Do you believe that the majority of your regiment are of the same way of thinking as yourself?*'—'Yes, certainly, I do believe it,' replied the aide-de-camp; '*it is unseemly that you should ask me such a question, and behave in this manner in the King's palace.*' The officer turned away from him at once, with an angry and scornful air. M. Mettereau entered the *Ceil-de-Bœuf* and met a captain of the National Guard who was wearing a white cockade of enormous size. He learnt from his own lips that some ladies had adorned him with it. Expressing his surprise at this, he passed on into the inner anteroom, where three ladies came up to him, saying: '*Long live the white cockade; it is the right one,*' and proposed that he should exchange his own for it. The officer repressed his indignation, withdrew without giving them an answer, and contented himself with showing them, by an expressive look, the contempt with which such a proposal inspired him.

Such is, in strictest truth, the picture of the long series of extravagant actions engendered by the frenzy which suddenly seized the conspirators; prodigies worthy to figure among the knightly follies of the Round-Table.

M. Lecointre, who was at the time colonel of the municipal

militia of Versailles, fearing the disastrous consequences which might follow this odious and criminal, though ridiculous, conduct, proposed to the military committee, on the morning of the 5th of October, that the two commanding-officers, M. d'Estaing and M. Gouvernet, should be instructed to appear before the Assembly, and to request the General to call out the Bodyguards, on horseback, with a view to making them take, in the presence of the Municipality, the oath prescribed by the National Assembly, and to giving them the patriotic cockade. It was the only means of averting the misfortunes by which they were threatened, and there seemed to be a disposition to try it, when several officers of the Versailles Guard, who had formerly served in that regiment, confidently asserted that it would never submit to such demands, and that the very life of the author of the motion was not safe if he did not withdraw it. M. Lecointre renewed it, but Major-general Berthier, the president of the Committee, opposed it, alleging that it would be giving the signal for civil war. The meeting was adjourned to the next day. The next day was too late.

The news of what had taken place in Versailles did not reach Paris till two days later. It is more easy to imagine than to depict the effect which it produced there. Anger quickly succeeded to surprise. A cry for vengeance resounded throughout the whole of the city. Men recalled with indignation the conduct of the Court, alternately threatening and submissive; the Bed of Justice of the 23rd of June, which gave the lie to the false popularity of the Government; the feigned moderation of the Ministers, which was suddenly followed by the outrages of the month of July; and the best of kings, borne towards the people by the inclinations of his heart, forced by perfidious counsels into a series of disastrous measures, and on the point, without knowing it, of being snatched from the Nation by a hostile cabal, and of giving the sanction of his name to the most fearful civil war.

‘How long,’ they cried, ‘shall we be the toys of the dark policy of the Cabinet and of the Catilines of the *Œil-de-Bœuf*? What limit will there be to their plots and perjuries? Shall we any longer allow the representatives of the Nation to remain

between the bayonet and the dagger? Shall we abandon this good King, whom we cherish as our father, to the mercy of those factious partisans who, in his fall, wish to drag down the throne itself, and who count the monarch and the monarchy as nothing if they can but oppress us and avenge themselves? Let us sally forth, let us hasten to Versailles, let us rescue both the National Assembly and the King from the be-ribboned bandits who are besetting them, and let us surround them with the most impregnable of ramparts, that of a brave and faithful people resolved to conquer or to die for Liberty, Law, and King.'

Such was the general cry which rose from all the groups scattered about through the streets and gardens, on the bridges and quays, and in the public squares. In vain did numerous pickets patrol the city, scattering the assembled crowds and endeavouring to repress their tumultuous movements. A feeling of anger was aroused against the National Guard itself; proposals were made to destroy this dangerous aristocracy of thirty thousand armed men in the midst of eight hundred thousand men without arms. The horror of tyrants and of tyranny made the most legitimate authority appear hateful, and in the fear of chains the protecting curb of public force would have been broken without remorse.

The various rumours which had spread during the previous fortnight, with regard to the impending dissolution of the National Assembly, a new blockade of Paris, and the restoration of the old order of things, were revived, exaggerated by additional details. They were repeated, compared with each other, fitted in to the events, and an endeavour was made to arrive at the truth through the falsehoods of rumour. It was difficult to doubt the reality of the plot formed by the aristocratic league. The proofs which we have given of it, although less palpable at the time, were still sufficiently evident for forming an opinion. The unwarranted and mysterious use which M. de Saint-Priest had made of M. de Lafayette's letter, showed clearly enough what was to be expected from that minister. No doubt was entertained that the Flanders regiment, so fraudulently introduced into

Versailles, in violation of the King's oath, with the enforced consent of the National Guard, and in disregard of the murmurs of the people, was the advanced guard of the enemy, and that the Bodyguards, who had been retained about the Chateau in double the number usually employed in that service, and whose ranks were being increased every day by the addition, as supernumeraries, of a crowd of soldiers dissatisfied with the new order of things or fearing to be involved in the projected reforms, were the nucleus of that army which was preparing in silence to fall upon the patriots.

The orgy of the 1st of October, with all its accompanying circumstances, seemed to be intended to seal the compact between the conspirators. Those toasts to the Court which had been drunk sword in hand, and with those tumultuous acclamations which seemed to be cries of fury and rage against the friends of liberty rather than the expression of love for the Sovereign, were looked upon as their oath; and their refusal to drink to the Nation as a declaration of war. The insult offered to all Frenchmen by the marks of scorn and hatred shown towards the national cockade, irritated all minds. But that which filled every heart with sentiments of grief and indignation was the presence of the King in the midst of such a feast and in the midst of such guests. It was proclaimed, as with one voice, that not a moment was to be lost in preventing the King from being carried off, or, if it were too late to do that, in snatching him from the hands of the ravishers, and bringing him to the capital, which, to its regret, had for more than a century been deprived of the presence of its Kings. There he would be surrounded by the love of his people; the watchful eye of patriotism would unceasingly follow the devious course of the conspirators; and a million hands would always be armed for his defence. 'But, let us hasten,' men cried, 'and, if it must come to a hand to hand struggle with the conspirators, let us not wait till hunger has completely enervated our arms, and dried up the little blood which still flows in our veins.'

For, in truth, Paris was experiencing, more and more, the horrors of famine. All the thoroughfares of traffic being closed,

there had at first arisen a dearth of corn. Then, when the unwearied labours of the Food Committee had procured a supply of grain, flour had failed. In the early days of the Revolution, the boat which brought it from the mills of Corbeil, used to come in every morning and evening. Later it came but once a day, and then, only on the morning of one day and on the evening of the next. To make up for this, hand-mills were set up in the Military School, and it is proved by the register of the market, that larger quantities of flour were never distributed. Nevertheless, although the population of Paris was diminished by a sixth, the dearth went on increasing from day to day. As early as four o'clock in the morning, crowds besieged the bakers' shops. Men, women, old and young, outstripped the day in order to make provision against the famine. A loaf bought, or, rather, conquered money in hand, was so to speak, a victory. The unhappy labourer, sometimes obliged to struggle on till four o'clock in the afternoon, so as to snatch the means of subsistence for his family, lost a day's wages, and, unable even at night to satisfy the hunger which was devouring him, he found himself on the morrow, without money and without strength, oppressed between want and despair.

In this fearful situation, the people, not knowing on whom to lay the blame of so much misery, accused the indifference of the representatives of the Commune to the public calamity, the incompetence and treachery of the Food Committee, and the ruthless hatred of the aristocracy. The bad quality of the provisions still further embittered their resentment. The blackish colour of the bread, its earthy taste, and its repulsive smell, showed that the flour was either bad or adulterated with ingredients which might render the food destined to support life fatal to it. The whole city was the prey to fearful suspicions and dark presentiments, and agitated by a sullen fury which awaited only a favourable opportunity and a definite object, in order to burst forth with violence. These, the events which had taken place at Versailles, and the imprudent arrogance of the conspirators supplied.

Not content with working in secret to keep up the general

misery, the aristocratic cabal seemed, indeed, to rejoice openly at it. Men of every rank and of every age put on the black cockade, and in a spirit of most insolent bravado, presumed to appear, with this badge of a hostile faction, at the review of a division of the National Guard, in the Champs-Élysées, on Sunday, the 4th of October. Moved to indignation, a volunteer, M. Tassin, sprang from the ranks, tore off one of these cockades, and in reprisal trampled it under foot. About noon, at the Luxembourg, and at the Palais-Royal, five of these cockades were torn off. One of those who wore them picked his up, and kissed it respectfully; he tried to fasten it again to his hat; a hundred walking-sticks struck it from his hands.

At the same instant, and in spite of the patrols, a motion was proposed. 'Cockades of a single colour,' it was said, 'will be the signal for a civil war, if we allow them to increase. The patriotic party was ruined in Holland by a woman and a cockade. Let us repress the insurrection by a terrible example. The law allows us to slay the man who places our life in danger; now, he who puts on a black cockade places in danger the political life of the nation, and the physical life of every citizen. We must, therefore, hang on the nearest lamp-iron the first individual who displays the anti-patriotic cockade, unless he be a stranger.'

The fearful logic of the speaker struck his hearers, already inlined by anger and by hunger to the most energetic measures. A young man wearing a black cockade was seized and carried off to the guard-house of Saint-Germain-l'Auxerrois, opposite the Louvre, and it was only by dint of prudence and coolness that the commander of the patrol prevented the people from subjecting this knight of the black colours to the ordeal of the lamp-iron.

The '*Three Hundred*' assembled at the Town Hall and forbade the wearing of any cockade but the tricoloured, which had become an emblem of brotherhood for all the citizens, and which His Majesty himself had adopted. Whilst they were deliberating the National Guard patrolled the city and restrained the impetuosity of the people, who ventured to make against it several attempts, of which almost all were

wholly impossible, if, indeed, anything can be so to men who are reduced to the last extremity. For a moment, it was feared that they would attack the guard-houses in the night, for the purpose of disarming the troops and then starting at once for Versailles. The representatives of the Commune sent information to this effect to the various districts. The patrols were doubled, and the night was fairly quiet.

On the morrow, at early dawn, hunger and dearth having revived the smouldering fire, the insurrection broke out with renewed fury, and, as is often the case in popular risings, a slight incident set an immense multitude in motion. A young woman, who had come from the Halles or the Quartier Saint-Eustache, entered one of the guard-houses, seized a drum, and went through the neighbouring streets, beating it, and uttering cries relative to the dearth of bread. Several women gathered about her and the crowd increasing at every step, made for the Town Hall. About the same time, other troops of women assembled in immense numbers at the Porte Saint-Antoine, spread themselves like a torrent through the city, dragging along with them all those whom they met in the streets and even in the houses where they were able to penetrate, advanced towards the Grève, crying, '*Bread! bread!*' and demanded to speak with the representatives of the Commune.

The sitting of the previous evening had been prolonged to a very late hour. It was now only seven o'clock in the morning. The guard was weak, and in the Town Hall itself there were only a few officials on duty during the night. A short time before the arrival of the women, a picket of the National Guard had brought to the police-station a baker who had been detected selling a two pound loaf seven ounces under weight. With redoubled cries, the crowd gathered in the square demanded his death, and lowered the fearful lamp. Major-General de Gouvion, fearing lest the multitude should succeed in getting hold of the culprit, took measures to prevent the murder, and, assisted by the tumult, succeeded in rescuing the wretched man from the hands which were about to be reddened with his blood. The General, as well as all the other officers of the Staff, at once wrote off to all the districts, asking troops to be sent.

In the interval, four or five hundred women charged the mounted guard which was outside the railings of the Town Hall, drove it as far as the Rue du Mouton, and came back to attack the gates. The infantry, forming a square on the top of the outer stairs, levelled a row of bayonets at them, which kept them at a respectful distance for a few moments. But soon, a general cry gave the signal for a fresh attack, and a hail of stones fell on the battalion, which, not feeling strong enough to awe the multitude, and not wishing to use their arms against miserable women reduced to despair by excessive want, fell back, and opened a passage for them. They rushed into the rooms in crowds. Some of them, whose bearing and dress did not betoken women of the lowest class, entered with a playful air into the various offices, joined in conversation with the officials, and recommended to their humanity several of their companions, of whom a number were big with child, and others in delicate health.

But the greater number, whose dress and language bore witness to their coarseness and poverty, demanded bread and arms, with frightful imprecations, saying that the men had not the heart to avenge themselves, and that they would give them lessons in courage. At the same time they threw themselves upon the official papers, to which they wanted to set fire, they said, because they were the work of the representatives of the Commune, all of whom were bad citizens, and deserved the lamp-iron, chief of all M. Bailly and M. de Lafayette. Others endeavoured to break into the armoury. They were beginning to be doubtful of the success of their efforts, when a crowd of men, armed with iron bars, axes, and pikes, and treating the Town Hall as though it had been a place taken by storm, came to their assistance. Some of them seizing crow-bars and others sledge-hammers, they burst open the doors, took possession of seven or eight hundred muskets, pillaged the stacks of arms, and made themselves masters of two pieces of cannon. A few scoundrels penetrated into the room where the scales, gauges, and measures were kept, and where there were also three bags of money. One of these they carried off, the others were

rescued by some citizens. A body which had detached itself from the crowd swarmed up to the clock-tower, fell upon the *abbé* Lefevre, that intrepid representative of the Commune who, having been entrusted with the distribution of powder at the time of the Revolution, braved all kinds of dangers with so much coolness and courage. A rope was slipped round his neck, and he was hung to a beam where he would have died but for a woman who cut the halter and saved his life. In the Halls two furies were rushing, torch in hand, to set fire to the papers as they had threatened. Stanislaus Maillard precipitated himself upon them and prevented this new disaster; Stanislaus Maillard, one of the heroes of the Bastille, who, on this occasion again had a narrow escape from falling a victim to these infuriated women.

He had been sent in the morning to the Commune to lay before it an appeal from the volunteers of the Bastille; but the sudden invasion of the Town Hall, and a violent riot which had just broken out in the faubourg Saint-Antoine made it his imperative duty to neglect the object of his mission, and to comply with the request of M. de Gouvion, who commissioned him to march with his company, which was the nearest to the scene of the rioting, for the purpose of overawing the multitude.

The volunteers of the Bastille were under arms, having at their head their Commander, the intrepid Hulin, whose name is for ever associated with the memory of the triumph of liberty. He was communicating to him the intentions of the Major-General when the workmen from the Bastille came marching towards his battalion, which they suspected of hostile intentions. They were received with demonstrations of brotherly feeling and assured that arms had been taken up only against the enemies of the Revolution; in proof of this, they at once laid them down, and calm was thereby restored.

The crowd feeling re-assured evacuated the Bastille square, and brave Maillard returned to the Town Hall, in obedience to the order he had received. It was then that, at the peril of his life, he snatched the two lighted torches which were, perhaps, about to kindle a fearful conflagration, and redoubling his activity, endeavoured to stay the progress of disorder.

But what dam can be opposed to legions of furious bacchanals? They wanted to place the Town Hall in ruins, to march to Versailles, to demand bread from the National Assembly and the King, and to cause an account to be rendered of everything that had been done and decreed up to that day. Maillard went up to the Staff department and informed M. d'Ermigni, the General Adjutant Major, as to the state of public feeling, and proposed to him, if he would give him the order, that he should accompany the women to Versailles, in order to avert the dangers which might result from the conduct of a multitude which had no guides but want, anger, and a desire for revenge. M. d'Ermigni replied that he could not give such an order, but that he was free to do whatever he liked, provided he did nothing to disturb the public tranquility. 'What I am proposing to you,' Maillard said to him, 'very far from disturbing is, on the contrary, the only means of securing it, and of delivering the Town Hall and the Capital. It is the only means of getting the army together. Whilst this troop of women is walking twelve miles, you will be able to prevent the dangers which are threatening us.'

He went down immediately and took a drum from the Town Hall gate, where he found the fierce Amazons already assembled, some joyful, others furious, but almost all freuzied, stopping carts and loading their artillery on to them. Some of them held linstocks in their hands, others were mounted on the cannons which they had seized, or on the horses which they had harnessed to them. They acknowledged Maillard for their captain, and fixed upon the Champs-Elysées as their headquarters. The greater number of them proceeded thither, whilst various detachments spread themselves through the different quarters of the city in order to gather new recruits. Soon after they again assembled together, to the number of from seven to eight thousand, after having increased their cohort by the addition of all the women they had met with on the way. Most of them had decked themselves with ribbons of all colours, and armed themselves with long sticks, pitchforks, spears, even muskets and pistols, but they had no ammunition.

Their first evolution was to throw themselves on their chief, asking him all together to lead them to the Arsenal, in order to get some served out to them. Fortunately he succeeded in getting a hearing from them and in persuading them that the powder magazine was empty. He did more. He induced them to lay aside their arms, by impressing upon them that, as they were going to the National Assembly to ask for justice and for bread, they would move it to far greater pity by presenting themselves in the attitude of suppliants, and by using nothing but prayers, than they would if they arrived before it with arms in their hands, as if they were about to besiege it and dictate to it the law. At length they set out, accompanied by a troop of armed men, preceded by eight or ten drums, and followed by a company of volunteers of the Bastille, who formed the rear-guard. They continued on the road to impress, as they had done in the city; they stopped all whom they met and compelled them to fall in, whether they liked it or not; they even obliged several ladies, who were beside themselves with terror, to get out of their carriages and undertake, elegantly clad as they were, the fatigue of a painful tramp under a rainy sky, and to trudge through the mud as far as Versailles, in order to share in the glory of their expedition.

For several hours the tocsin and the drums, which were beating to arms, had set the whole city afoot. The citizens betook themselves to their places of assembly, the National Guards to their muster-grounds; the greater number of the Central Companies marched in order of battle to the Place de Grève, where they were received with the most enthusiastic cheers.

‘It is not your cheers we are asking,’ exclaimed the soldiers: ‘the Nation has been insulted; arm yourselves, and come with us to receive the orders of our leaders.’

Detachments from all the districts were not long in following them. An immense concourse of people, which covered the square, gradually made room for these legions of armed citizens, and a general cry warned the ‘*Three Hundred*’ to assemble for the purpose of promptly issuing their orders.

A great number of the representatives had returned to the

Town Hall as soon as it was evacuated. All the committees were actively at work; the General was with the Commissioners of Police, dictating despatches for the National Assembly and the King, with reference to the insurrection of the morning. A deputation from the Grenadiers presented itself, and one of them, acting as spokesman, said to M. de Lafayette: 'General, we are come as delegates from the six Grenadier companies. We do not believe that you are a traitor, but we believe that the Government is betraying you. It is high time that all this should come to an end. We cannot turn our bayonets against women who are asking us for bread. The Food Committee is either guilty of malversation or is incapable of managing its business. In either case it must be changed; the people are wretched. The source of the mischief is at Versailles. We must go and fetch the King, and bring him to Paris; we must exterminate the Flanders regiment and the Bodyguards who have dared to trample under foot the national cockade. If the King is too weak to wear the crown, let him lay it down. We will crown his son, a Council of Regency shall be named, and everything will go better.' 'What!' exclaimed M. de Lafayette, 'do you propose to wage war against the King, and to oblige him to abandon us?' 'General, we should be very sorry, for we love him greatly. He will not leave us, and, if he did . . . we have the Dauphin.'

M. de Lafayette spoke to them earnestly, and to the strongest arguments joined the most touching appeals to make them give up their design. But, to all his discourses they replied by repeating: 'General, we would shed the very last drop of our blood for you; but the people are wretched; the source of the mischief is at Versailles; we must go and fetch the King and bring him to Paris; all the people desire it.'

M. de Lafayette went down into the square, harangued the Grenadiers, and reminded them of the oath which bound them to the Nation, to the Law, and to the King. His voice was lost amid the constantly repeated cries, '*To Versailles! to Versailles!*' Nevertheless, although he saw the troops in possession of the Grève, he still ventured to believe that they

would not disregard the voice of their general, and he sent a representative of the Commune to Versailles, entrusting him with his despatches, and with the expression of his hopes that quiet would soon be restored in the capital.

The '*Three Hundred*' sent a deputation to the Mayor of Paris, requesting him to come and take his place at the Town Hall. M. Bailly went thither through the surging waves of a starving multitude which cried out, '*Bread! To Versailles!*' He tried to calm them; but a movement vague and tumultuous in its origin, had imparted an irresistible impulse. The people and the army repeated in concert, '*Bread! To Versailles!*' The whole of the National Guard was then under arms, and the whole of the National Guard shared the wishes of the people.

M. de Lafayette mounted his horse and put himself at the head of his troops, awaiting the result of the deliberations of the Commune. These deliberations were protracted, and the excitement was increasing every minute with fearful rapidity. The faubourg Saint-Antoine and the faubourg Saint-Marceau were launching forth swarms of men armed with pikes, spits, axes, and a thousand other instruments of carnage. Companies from the districts were precipitately arriving with cannon. Sinister cries from all sides were now mingling with the original cries and prolonging themselves, reverberating with a horrible murmur. The General's position was becoming very alarming. He attempted to go up to the Town Hall; a formidable barrier at once prevented his reaching it. '*Morbleu, General,*' cried the Grenadiers of the Central Company, '*you will remain with us, you will not abandon us!*' The crowd trembled with impatience and anger; everything presaged the most fatal explosion.

A letter was brought to M. de Lafayette. Suddenly the eyes of sixty thousand men, who seemed to be awaiting their doom, were riveted upon it. It was the decision of the Municipality; it ordered the Commander to start with the army for Versailles, and appointed four commissioners from the Commune to accompany him. The General grew pale, and casting a sorrowful look on the numerous battalions which

surrounded him, gave the order to start. A cry of universal joy rent the air.

Three companies of Grenadiers and one of Fusiliers formed the advanced guard. They were supported by three field-pieces, and were preceded by from seven to eight hundred men, armed with muskets and pikes. The main body marched in three columns, with artillery and ammunition waggons. The ranks were composed exclusively of National Guards; but between the various companies there were to be seen numbers of men strangely accoutred, whose outward appearance betokened vagabonds rather than citizens, and whom the army seemed to be taking along with it in order to keep them in check and rid the capital of them rather than to make them fight and get any help from them. The march through the City was a veritable triumph. Clapping of hands, *bravos* and joyful applause accompanied the avengers of the Majesty of the Nation. Martial enthusiasm filled every heart; but when the standards could no longer be seen waving, and the sound of the drums could no longer be heard, a mournful silence succeeded to the acclamations, and a gloomy, sadness to the noisy bursts of joy.

The National Assembly, not foreseeing the storm about to burst over Versailles, was preparing peaceably to continue the course of its deliberations. M. Mounier was then the President; M. Mounier, one of the prime movers of the revolution and of the first chiefs of the patriotic party, who had suddenly become the object of the hatred of the people and of the favour of the aristocracy. So long as the *priests* and the *nobles* cherished the hope of maintaining the tyranny of the privileges, he had been in their eyes nothing more than a fiery demagogue, whom it sufficed to brave in order to subdue him. But when the union of the Estates and individual voting had shattered their pedestal, and when their haughty pretensions had been overthrown with the walls of the Bastille, their opinions of people changed with their hopes, and they resolved to win him over. His celebrity at the time of the convocation of the States General had drawn upon him the eyes of all France, and more particularly attracted the attention of the

Court. Frightened at the undaunted demeanour of an athlete who entered the lists with so much boldness, it ran to meet him, not so much with the object of overthrowing him as of coming to terms with him; and it was seen with surprise how M. Mounier outstripped his colleagues at Versailles.

Yet the flattery lavished upon him seemed to him, at first, to be nothing more than a simple homage rendered to his talents, and, if it exercised any influence on his own individual views, it did not make him lose any of his popularity with the public. But, the ardour with which he defended the Royal sanction, and his system for dividing the Legislative body into two Chambers, whilst providing Despotism and the first Estates with a convenient port in the storm, exasperated the people who, from that time refused to look upon him otherwise than as an ambitious man, who had sold himself to their enemies. It is certain that he displayed more genius than character, and more selfishness than genius. Intoxicated with his first success and with the poisonous incense of the Aristocracy, he thought that he alone was worthy to give France a constitution. A religious cultus was paid to his vanity, and he was forbidden, possibly indeed, in the name of virtue, to subordinate his own private opinions to those which the express wish of the Legislature and the adhesion of the Sovereign had invested with the sacred character of law. He had the weakness to allow himself to be caught with the clumsy bait of flattery, to treat some of the patriotic members of the Assembly with shameful injustice, and to connect himself intimately with the enemies of liberty; all this rendered the whole of his conduct suspicious. His appointment to the Chair irritated the people, who looked upon him as a traitor, and gave dissatisfaction to the popular party, alarmed as it was by the preponderance of the aristocratic faction in the National Assembly. The circumstances under which this dignity was conferred upon him still further increased the discontent and suspicions.

On the day of the new insurrection in Paris, the King's assent to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and to the first clauses of the Constitution was expected. The sitting was opened with the reading of the King's answer.

This answer seemed, on the first reading, to satisfy a part of the Assembly. On the second, the applause which came from that part of the Hall where the *Clergy* and the *Nobility* usually sat was most sensibly diminished, and gave place to a significant silence soon succeeded by murmurs.

Several members recalled, with all the energy of indignation, those pretended patriotic feasts, those military orgies which had scandalised Versailles the week before, and for the renewal of which preparations were being made, those barbaric scenes in which, under the influence of a double drunkenness, some mouths, of hirelings, perhaps, had belched forth imprecations against the Assembly. Mention was made of the insult done to the national cockade, of the seditious cries, and of the threats of those very soldiers who, but a few months before, had so courageously refused to lend themselves to the plans of a Minister who wanted to associate them in his plots in order to make them the instruments of his vengeance.

M. de Monspey, anxious to vindicate the honour of a corps in which he had served, demanded that those who were guilty should be handed over to the severity of the law, and that the denunciation which had just been uttered should be laid in writing, and with signatures affixed, on the table. M. Pétion and M. de Mirabeau at once rose to their feet. 'In the first place,' said the latter, 'I declare that I consider the denunciation which has just been called for to be supremely impolitic. If, however, the demand for it be persisted in, I am ready to supply all particulars, and to put my signature to them. But before doing so I demand that this Assembly should declare that the person of the King is alone inviolable, and that all other individuals in the State, whoever they may be, are all equally subject and amenable to the law.'

This sudden interpellation struck the Assembly with astonishment.

In the course of the debate, persons frequently passing to and fro, and an extraordinary agitation, were noticeable in the Assembly. Vague rumours and reports announced the intense excitement of the capital, and an augury, drawn from the very nature of things, seemed to indicate that a violent crisis was

at hand. The Count de Mirabeau, having been informed of what was going on, went up to the President and whispered to him: 'Mounier, Paris is marching upon us.'—'I know nothing about it.'—'You may believe me or you may not; that matters little to me; but Paris is, I tell you, marching upon us. Fall suddenly unwell; go over to the Chateau, give them the news. Say, if you like, that you have it from me, I have no objection. But put an end to this scandalous debate; time presses, there's not a minute to lose.'—'Paris is marching upon us,' replied Mounier, 'very well; so much the better, we shall be a Republic all the sooner.'

The event was not long in justifying M. de Mirabeau's statement. About three o'clock thousands of women were seen advancing along the Paris road. Maillard was at their head. He had succeeded in keeping them within bounds during the journey, and, by his prudent firmness, in preserving Chaillot from pillage, and from the disorders which would have followed it. They had stopped all the messengers who tried to outstrip them, and had obliged them to remain behind lest Versailles should be warned of their approach, and an attempt made to close the roads leading to it. Even a Deputy, whom they met near the Cours, and whom they took for a spy from the faubourg Saint-Germain, narrowly escaped being killed. But when they had recognised him as M. Chapelier, who presided over the National Assembly during the memorable night of the fourth of August, cheers succeeded to threats, the air resounded with cries of '*Long live Chapelier*,' and several armed men even got up behind and in front of his carriage to escort him. Several horsemen, wearing black cockades, were kept as prisoners, and had cause to think themselves particularly fortunate in getting off with no greater harm than abandoning their horses and walking behind these formidable warrior-women.

When in sight of Versailles, Maillard halted them, drew them up in a line three deep, disposed them in a circle, and reminded them that they were about to enter a town where no warning of their arrival or their intentions had been given, that any threatening display would inevitably lead to their

being suspected of hostile intentions, and that it behoved them, by the cheerfulness of their countenances and their peaceful demonstrations, to dispel such an idea, and to prevent the alarm which it might cause. They obeyed his voice, sent the guns which they had been dragging in front to the rear, and continued their march, singing, '*Long live Henry IV,*' and mingling with the song cries of '*Long live the King!*' The people flocked in crowds to meet them, crying, '*Long live the women of Paris!*'

In the meantime, the drums were beating the assembly in Versailles. The Town Council met together, the Bodyguards, to the number of three hundred and twenty, mounted their horses and formed in squadrons on the Place d'Armes, with their backs to the grille, and their right flank protected by the old barracks of the French Guards. All the ministers proceeded to M. de Necker's residence, to which all the officers in command of regiments were summoned. There M. d'Estaing also came, bearing an order from the Municipality, which authorised him to accompany the King on his departure, and enjoined him to neglect nothing to bring him back to Versailles as soon as possible. He was also to try all means of conciliation, and to repel, if necessary, force by force.

Already the Flanders regiment and the Dragoons had taken arms. The former occupied the ground which extended from the right of the Guards to the royal stables, and faced the Sceaux road. The Dragoons took up a position on the other side of the Flanders regiment, but a little below it; the Swiss Guards were posted partly in front of their own guard-house, and partly in the outer court-yard of the Chateau. M. d'Estaing came up and read an order from the Municipality, which directed the Flanders regiment, in conjunction with the National Guard of Versailles, to check any disturbance which might be raised by the multitude arriving from Paris. The National Guards ran to arms; but, the several companies, abandoned by their commanding officers, did not know where they were to go, nor how they were to act. Some of them proceeded towards the Paris road, others towards that which led to Sceaux, and a few towards the old barracks of the

French Guards, where M. Lecointre, Lieutenant-Colonel of the first division fixed the rendezvous, and rallied all the other companies he met. M. d'Estaing had gone back to the Chateau, and M. Gouvernet, second in command, refused to give any orders. Soon he indeed went over to the side of the Bodyguards; and, to the reproaches which this defection brought down upon him, replied that '*it was better to be with men who could fight and wield their swords than with undisciplined militia.*'

Maillard had arrived with his troop before the gate of the National Assembly. All the women wanted to get in, and it was only with the greatest difficulty, and by joining his efforts to those of an officer of the Provostry who happened to be on guard duty, that he managed to persuade them to allow only a small number to accompany him, and to await quietly his return. He appeared at the bar followed by fifteen women and by an adjutant, who had served as a private in the French Guards.

Maillard harangued the National Assembly. He said that the Parisians had come to Versailles to ask for bread and to demand the punishment of the King's Guards who, in a scandalous orgy, had trampled the national cockade beneath their feet. He obtained of the Assembly that it would send a deputation to the King, to lay before him the sad picture of the condition of the city of Paris.

M. Mounier, the President, was sent with several others to the King. 'Immediately,' he states in his *Exposé Justificatif*, 'the women surrounded me, declaring that they meant to accompany me to the King. I had great difficulty in obtaining, by dint of entreaties, that only six of them should go in with me to the King; but this did not prevent a great number of them from forming our escort.

'We walked through the mud, in the midst of a heavy rain. A considerable crowd of the inhabitants of Versailles lined either side of the avenue which leads to the Chateau. The women of Paris formed various groups, amongst which were a certain number of men, for the most part covered with rags, with ferocious countenances and threatening gestures, and

uttering fearful howls. They were armed with a few muskets, with old pikes, with axes, with iron-tipped sticks, or with long poles having sword or knife blades at the end. Small detachments of Bodyguards were patrolling, and galloped about at full speed, in the midst of cries and hoots.

‘A number of the men who were armed with pikes, axes, and sticks came up to us for the purpose of escorting the deputation. The strange and numerous crowd which swarmed around the Deputies was taken for a riotous gathering. Some Bodyguards rode through us, scattering us in the mud, and it may easily be imagined how violent must have been the rage felt by our companions, who thought that, being with us, they had a better right to present themselves. We rallied and advanced towards the Chateau. We found drawn up on the square the Bodyguards, the detachment of Dragoons, the Flanders regiment, the Swiss Guards, the Pensioners, and the Municipal Militia of Versailles. We were recognized and received with honour. We went through the lines of troops, and had great difficulty in preventing the crowd which followed from entering with us. Instead of six women, to whom I had promised admission into the Chateau, it was necessary to let in twelve.’

The King had just returned. He had gone out in the morning to shoot in the forest of Meudon. M. de Miomandre-Château neuf had left Paris at the moment of the insurrection, for the purpose of bringing information of it to the Court. Twice stopped by the people and brought back to the city, he climbed the walls of the enclosures lately built up, made his way, through the mountains, to Ville d’Avray, and, meeting in the forest of Saint-Cloud some Bodyguards, communicated to them what was going on in Paris. They broke up into two parties, one of which rode back to Versailles at full speed, whilst the other set out in quest of the King. M. de Cubières had already been despatched to him, with a letter in which he was informed of the arrival of a crowd of women who had come from Paris to ask him for bread.—‘Alas! if I had any,’ he said, ‘I would not wait for them to come and ask me for it.’ A few minutes later he mounted his horse for the purpose of

returning to Versailles. At the very moment when he was placing his foot in the stirrup, a knight of Saint-Louis ran up, and throwing himself at his feet exclaimed: 'Sire you are being deceived. I have come this moment from the Military School; I saw there nothing but some women assembled together, who said they were coming to Versailles to ask for bread. I beseech your Majesty not to be afraid.'—'Afraid, Sir,' replied the King, 'I have never been afraid in my life.' The officer offered him his services, and swore that he was ready to defend him with the last drop of his blood. The King feelingly expressed his acknowledgments for this zeal, thanked him for his offer, and set off at once.

On his arrival, the crowd made towards the Chateau, and the King saw from his windows the efforts which it made to get as far as the grille, which was closed. M. de Saint-Priest sent M. Prioreau, Chief Stewart and Master of the Horse to his Majesty, to ask the women, who had come from Paris, what they wanted. '*Bread,*' they answered, '*and speech with the King.*' They then formed a deputation which joined itself to the women who were accompanying M. Mounier, and entered with him into the Chateau. Five from among them were admitted with the Deputies from the National Assembly, and presented to the King by the President, who set forth before him the fearful state of the capital and the complaints of the women; communicated the assurance given by the National Assembly that it would do its utmost, in co-operation with the King, to supply Paris with provisions; and, finally, besought him to procure assistance for this unhappy city, if such assistance was within his power.

The King replied with evident emotion, and expressed his grief at their unhappy condition. The women seemed moved. Louison Chabry, a young worker in sculpture, seventeen years of age, who had been chosen to lay before the King the grievances of the women of Paris, swooned, and was treated with kindness. As she was withdrawing she tried to kiss the hand of the King, who embraced her, telling her good-naturedly that she was well worth the trouble. They retired, crying '*Long live the King and his House!*' and returned shortly after with several others.

The crowd gathered in the square had refused to accept their report as to what had taken place. They accused them of selling their testimony for money, and insults were heaped upon them. In vain they endeavoured to clear themselves, and to prove the falsity of the charge, and invited the fullest investigation. Two of the women who accused them tied garters round their necks, meaning to hang them on the nearest lamp-iron, and they would have lost their lives but for the help of Babet Lairot, of Madame Leclerc, a clerk in an office, and of the Bodyguards.

The King directed his Keeper of the Seals to draw up with all haste, and himself hastened to sign, an order that corn should be brought from Senlis and from Lagny, and that every obstacle which prevented Paris from being supplied with provisions should be removed, this being what he particularly wished to see carried out in preference to everything else. This order was handed to the women, who retired filled with joy and gratitude.

Another body of women, led by M. Brunout, a private in the Parisian Guard, whom they had forced to put himself at their head, was advancing towards the Chateau. But the Bodyguards took measures to prevent their getting near it, and to drive them off. Brunout soon became separated from his companions, and obliged to seek for safety by running through the ranks.

Lieutenant de Savonnières and two other officers of the Guards pursued him sword in hand. The wretched man, seeing himself attacked by superior numbers, drew his sword to ward off the blows which were aimed at him. Not being able to reach the guard-house of the National Guard, access to which was barred against him, he took refuge, still followed by his pursuers, in a shed adjoining the Chateau, crying out, '*They are getting us murdered!*' He was about to succumb, when a shot, fired by a soldier from the Versailles Militia, broke M. de Savonnières' arm, and rescued Brunout from danger. This first act of hostility redoubled the resentment on both sides, and the animosity of the people against the Bodyguards.

The fighting soon commenced. Insults were followed by the hissing of bullets; and a few shots imprudently fired from the carbines on the side of the King's Guards, for they had received orders not to fire, came and struck two or three women. Their fire was at once returned, and two of them were unhorsed. At the same moment three pieces of cannon, loaded with grape-shot, drawn and served by some men from the faubourg Saint-Antoine and some French Guards, were levelled. Several times the match was applied but without effect, owing to the rain, and some voices were heard uttering the words: '*Stop! it is not yet time.*'

Thus, it was the rain, and the want of concerted action which saved the Bodyguards, and prevented a general massacre. Then, the women of Paris, detached themselves from the Parisian troops and approached the Dragoons. Making their way into the ranks they clasped them in their embraces and obliged them to drop their weapons from their hands. The order not to fire and not to irritate the people having been repeated, and again brought to the Bodyguards, they retired and the grille of the Chateau was closed. There, terror and alarm prevailed. Another invasion was feared. An attempt was made to find out whether egress from it was free, and the King's carriages drove round for the purpose of passing out through the Orangery gate. The detachment of the Versailles Guard which was stationed there refused to let them through, which occasioned some stir. M. Durup de Baleine, hearing that there was a disturbance sent reinforcements under the command of a corporal. The carriages went back again, and the gates were closed.

There was no ammunition for the National Guard; at least, this was what M. de la Tontinière, commanding officer of the municipal artillery, was endeavouring to make them believe. Meantime, the excitement, the violence of which increased with every moment, forboded an impending and inevitable crisis. Night was drawing on; each interpreted the conduct of the Bodyguards according to his passion or his prejudices.

M. Lecointre who, owing to the defection of the genera

officers, found himself at the head of the Versailles volunteers, set out, followed by his aide-de-camp, and by his second in command, with the view of ascertaining their intentions. Having ridden up to the front of the squadron, he asked the officers what the National Guard had to hope for or to fear from them.

‘The people think themselves in danger,’ he added, ‘and want to know in what light they are to look upon you.’

‘Sir,’ replied one of them, ‘your doubts are cruel. However, we have forgotten the treatment to which one of our men has been subjected, and are animated solely by the wish to live on good terms. We will commit no act of hostility.’ This officer received the same assurance in the name of the National Guard; he was requested to draw back his men nearer to the grille, so as to free the entrance to the guard-house, a movement which was at once carried out.

M. Lecointre hastened to inform his corps of these peaceful dispositions, and then sought out the Flanders regiment. The officers surrounded him and assured him that they had never intended to harm the citizens; with one voice the men swore the same thing, and, as a pledge of their friendly feeling, handed over to the National Volunteers a considerable number of cartridges.

The people went about freely through their ranks, and received from these warriors demonstrations of peace and brotherhood.

After having likewise reported the devotedness of the Flanders regiment, M. Lecointre, with the same escort, went up to a troop of armed men who had taken their stand in front of the National Assembly. He caused himself to be announced, and asked to be admitted alone into the midst of them. Twelve men, armed with muskets, came forward. He alighted and ordered the officers who accompanied him to stop near the advance posts. To give him a hearing the men placed him in front of the mouths of the guns, the matches of which lighted up the circle that was formed about him.

‘Your brothers in Versailles,’ he said, in a loud voice, ‘astonished at seeing you in such guise, have sent me to ask

you what motive brings you here, and what it is you want.'— Answer was made in one general cry of, '*Bread and the end of this business!*'—'We will satisfy your most pressing wants; but we cannot allow you to enter the town with your arms. An accident, were it to happen, would disturb the King's tranquility, which we are all bound to respect. Swear to me, therefore, that you will not advance beyond the position you now occupy, and I will go and exert myself to get a sufficient quantity of bread served out to you. How many of you are there?'—'Six hundred.'—'Will as many pounds of bread be enough?'—'Yes.'

He was going off to fulfil his promise, when some men from the main body rushed furiously towards him, declaring that it was only to betray them that he had enquired their number. As a guarantee of his intentions they made him tell them his name, his calling and where he lived. A third individual came up, recognised him, and made himself answerable for his sincerity and good faith. This man, with another of his comrades, was commissioned to accompany him and to see to the speedy fulfilment of his promise.

M. Lecointre, after having obtained renewed assurances of peaceful behaviour, mounted his horse again; the two men, who had been deputed to go with him, seized his bridle and led him to the Municipality.

To the Municipal officials he gave a touching account of the situation of the men who had sent him, and asked for the six hundred pounds of bread which he had promised them, calling attention to the fact that this was the condition on which the oath not to enter the town had been tendered and taken. It was objected that the distribution of the bread would be inconvenient, and that its payment and conveyance would be attended with difficulty. He offered two horses, a servant, and money to pay for it, and undertook, if the Municipality consented to issue the order, to see that it was carried out. Then, some urged that such liberality would be holding out an inducement to the Parisians to come down upon Versailles; others, that it was impossible to part with such a large quantity of bread without exposing the town to the danger of suffering from want.

At length, after having required the aides-de-camp and the deputation to retire, the Municipality, on the motion of M. de Montaran, and by a majority of nine votes to seven, consented to sacrifice two tons of rice. This decision was made known to the deputation, and M. Lecointre was entrusted with the paltry commission of asking the troop whether they would have the rice raw or boiled.

News, which he at that moment received, requiring him to return to the Place-d'Armes, he directed his aide-de-camp, M. Poivet, to conduct the deputation back, after causing all the bread which was in his own house to be handed to them, and expressing his regret that the untowardness of so unforeseen a circumstance did not allow of more being done for the troop.

The aide-de-camp had considerable difficulty in acquitting himself of the delicate mission entrusted to him. He was sent back, with the same deputation, to signify the acceptance of the boiled rice which had been offered. But the Municipality had already dissolved their meeting, leaving with the beadle an order for M. Lecointre, couched in these terms :

‘The Municipal Council empowers M. Lecointre to do whatever he may consider most conducive to public tranquility.

Signed LOUSTAUNAU, *President.*

Versailles, October 5th, 1789.

A single word will explain such extraordinary and reprehensible conduct. It was the old Municipality, the Municipality of the old *régime*.

M. Poivet then left the deputation, assuring it that he was going to rejoin his superior officer, and, in concert with him, to consider the means of providing food for the Parisian troop. But, the latter, seeing that the promise made to it was not kept, considered itself freed from the oath which it had taken to remain encamped on the Paris road, and spread itself through the town.

In the meantime M. de Lafayette's despatch had arrived, conveying the hope that quiet would be restored in the capital.

This news allayed the fears of the royal family, and it was fondly believed that order would be re-established in Versailles by withdrawing the troops.

Then M. d'Estaing appeared for the first time at the guard-house of the National Guard, where he met with bitter reproaches for having abandoned his regiment, and gave the order to retire.

Several companies obeyed at once, but the greater number, seeing that the Bodyguards were remaining on the Place d'Armes, declared that they would not leave till they had seen them file off. The Bodyguards at once received an order to this effect, and carried it out by riding down the esplanade, on the way to their quarters. The last troop had drawn their swords and were using them against people whom the darkness prevented from being recognised.

Several pistols were fired from this troop. M. Moneret had his hat shot through; a bullet pierced M. Lourdel's clothes, and another bruised M. Briand's cheek. They were all three volunteers.

Some of their brothers-in-arms who, at that moment, happened to be on the esplanade with their arms loaded, replied with several shots. The two last squadrons faced to the right in very bad order, and discharged their muskets. They were replied to, but only feebly.

At the moment of this unfortunate attack a deputation of forty members, officers and men who had served in the Guards, was marching, with M. de Luxembourg at its head, towards the barracks of the late French Guards. They were all unarmed, and were the bearers of a friendly letter from the whole corps to the National Guard. They were next day to take the civic oath, and to assume the tricoloured cockade.

The moment which was to bring about a reconciliation so much to be wished for was at hand. The peace-makers were at the upper end of the Cour des Ministres when a volley, fired by some fifteen muskets, quite close to the grille just then being opened for M. d'Estaing, was heard. This general turned towards the deputation, and made them go back to the Chateau; he told them the danger which he had himself run whilst trying to prevent hostilities, and assured them that they would infallibly be massacred if they presented themselves. From this moment the destruction of the aggressors appeared inevitable.

The people were furious with rage. Expecting to see those whom they could not now help looking upon as their enemies returning in force, the National Guard, which had just been exposed to the greatest danger, again called upon M. de la Tontinière to supply them with ammunition. A sub-lieutenant, M. de Bury, threatened to blow his brains out if he persisted in his refusal. Fear seized upon the commander of the artillery, and he caused half a ton of powder and half a barrel of bullets to be brought to the Esplanade.

The muskets and cannons were quickly loaded, and at once directed towards the sloping path where it was thought the enemies would soon reappear. They did, indeed, try to reach it by way of the Sceaux road, but, warned by a citizen of the preparations which had been made to receive them, they turned back, and going through the Rue de l'Orangerie and the Rue de la Surintendance, drew themselves up in fighting order with the Swiss regiment, partly on the terrace, partly in the Cour des Ministres.

At this moment some men, armed with pikes, spread themselves over the Esplanade and made for the guard-house, asking for bread. M. Durup de Baleine and M. Raisin, the commanding officers, sent to all the bakers for some, and also got a hoghead of wine.

Scarcely had these provisions been distributed when a body of women and Paris pike-men came to the same guard-house, struggling amongst themselves for the possession of an unfortunate guardsman whom they wanted to behead. It was M. de Moucheton, of the Scots Company, a knight of Saint-Louis, whose horse had been killed during the fighting. His accusers, who were also his judges, had condemned him to death as one of those who had fired upon the people, and were preparing to carry out their sentence.

M. de Baleine went up to them and besought them to stay the fatal blow. The prisoner, after surrendering his arms to him, declared boldly, and without being questioned, that he was party to no plot, that he had not been present at the dinner, that he was confined to bed by an attack of fever, but that honour had made it a law for him to mount his horse.

M. de Baleine managed to get the executioners into one of the dormitories, as though to hold a court-martial. He besought them, with renewed entreaties, to moderate their anger, but they confirmed their sentence, and went back to the guard-house to fetch their victim. Fortunately M. Raisin and several volunteers had taken him away, by order of their commander, and placed him in safety in the room of the surgeon of the French Guards, who lived in barracks. Their anger then turned against his liberator; some were of opinion that he should suffer the fate intended for M. de Moucheton, but others endeavoured to defend him.

During the uproar of the discussion he went out, and remained absent for a few moments. Vengeance was taken on the horse; it was half roasted, and hunger was so pressing that it was all devoured.

The news of the approach of the Parisian army created a diversion in the midst of the many scenes of the day. The Flanders regiment, which had been called in, was ordered under arms again and stationed in the courtyard of the chief stables, with strict injunctions to refrain from every act of hostility.

The Dragoons were mingled and mixed up with the people. The crowd of women and of pike-men, who had come from Paris, soon filled the guard-house, where a part of them had taken refuge, intending to pass the night there under shelter from the rain which was falling in torrents. The greater number, however, invaded the National Assembly, the galleries of which presented the strange sight of a crowd of pikes and iron-shod sticks. The men were tolerably quiet, but the women could not content themselves with playing a passive part. Their spokesman, Maillard, alone had the gift of appeasing them, and even he could only succeed in doing so by setting forth their grievances and their complaints. In their name he expressed the disappointment which Paris felt at the slow progress of the labours in connection with the new constitution, and attributed it to the opposition of the clergy.

One of the Deputies having very energetically called him to order, he justified his want of respect for the Assembly

on the plea that he was expressing not his own personal opinion but the rumours of the capital.

The noise of the firing which was going on in the square further increased the excitement of the women, and the tranquility of the Assembly might have been more seriously disturbed by it, but for the intrepidity and coolness of Maillard, which prevented the untoward consequences at one moment to be feared. The tumultuous movements of the crowd, which filled the court-yard and beset the doors of the Hall, inspired the fear that it would give itself up to some act of violence; there was even a moment when the entrance-hall was on the point of being stained with blood.

M. de Cuverville, who, with a company of Dragoons, was watching over the safety of the representatives of the Nation, having asked for reinforcements, fourteen Bodyguards were added to his troop.

At the sight of these, fury flamed out; they were threatened with a discharge of artillery, and the Dragoons were obliged to form a circle, and to place them in the centre so as to cover their retreat. One of these Guards having remained in the ranks, was wounded in the face by a stone, and as he was fleeing, alone, towards the Chateau, two musket-shots were fired at him, one of which knocked off his hat. The imprudence of one of their officers, who offered to help the Dragoons to capture the cannon, was probably the cause of this attack.

After a few moments of confusion, the King's answer was communicated. It had been brought at about eight o'clock, by one of the Deputies who accompanied the President to the Chateau. It was conceived in these terms:—

‘I am deeply touched by the insufficiency of provisions in Paris. I will continue to second the zeal and the efforts of the Municipality by all the means and with all the resources within my power; and I have given the most positive orders to ensure the free circulation of corn on all the highways, and the transport of that which is destined for my good city of Paris.

Signed LOUIS.’

The Assembly being equally desirous to succour the Parisians, in so far as it was able, issued a decree to ensure the proper management of the markets, to facilitate the conveyance of corn, to remove the obstacles which impeded its circulation within the interior of the kingdom, and to invite neighbouring Municipalities to get bread conveyed to the capital by the bakers within their districts.

The multitude listened with transports of joy to the reading of the King's answer, and of the decree which had just been passed. But, their claims increasing in proportion to the facility with which they obtained what they asked for, a multitude of men and women loudly insisted that the price of bread should be fixed at eight sous for the quartern loaf, and that of meat at six sous a pound.

The Bishop of Langres, who occupied the Chair in the absence of M. Mounier, being unable to restore order, thought it best to bring the sitting to a close.

Maillard and several women, after having provided themselves with copies of the King's answer and of the decree of the Assembly, which the secretaries most readily supplied, set out for Paris, in Court carriages which the King ordered to be sent round for them.

About eleven o'clock, M. Mounier arrived. The Hall was filled with Amazons and Paris pike-men, in the midst of whom were distinguished with difficulty a few representatives, whom curiosity seemed to have kept there. He caused the other members of the Assembly to be recalled by tuck of drum and, in the meantime, read out to the people the King's acceptance of various clauses of the Constitution. It was couched thus :

‘I accept purely and simply the clauses of the Constitution and the Declaration of the Rights of Man, which the Assembly has laid before me.

Signed LOUIS.’

The crowd applauded, and pressed round the table to get copies. But, with the applause were mingled the murmurs of a great number, who complained that they had eaten nothing all day. The President, therefore, sent to all the Versailles

bakers for bread. Wine and saveloys were served out, and the Hall of the Assembly became a banqueting hall.

It was during this meal that an aide-de-camp from M. de Lafayette announced his immediate arrival at the head of the Parisian army. The Court was already prepared for this; a previous message from the general which arrived about nine o'clock, had informed it of his departure. Consternation prevailed, and towards ten o'clock a new attempt was made to leave the Chateau.

Five of the Queen's carriages, drawn, some by six, others by eight horses, came to the Dragon grille. They were escorted by several horsemen in plain clothes; the coachmen and postillions were also without livery. The porter was about to open the gate, when the astonished sentry called the officer on duty, and the guard turned out. The outrider stated that the Queen was in the carriage, and that she wished to go to Trianon. 'In these troubled times,' replied the officer, 'it would be dangerous for Her Majesty to leave the Chateau. We offer to accompany the Queen back to her apartments, but we cannot take it on ourselves to let her go out of the town.'—The outrider insisted.—The officer refused, and the carriages went back to the stables under escort. Madame Thibault, first waiting-woman to the Queen was, it is said, in one of these carriages, and Madame de Salvert, with the waiting-woman, in the carriage of the Queen whom she personated. Another vehicle, laden with trunks and with a cow, was brought to the guard-house by a picket, which had prevented it from going out. Two fusiliers were set as a guard over it, to prevent it being pillaged, and the next evening it was handed over, without having been examined or having suffered any damage, to Madame de Saint-Priest, to whom it belonged.

Finally, one of M. d'Estaing's grooms came in about the middle of the night, leading five horses, all saddled and bridled. Being questioned by the sentry he stated that, the evening before he had got orders from his master to get them ready in this way, and to take them into the park, but seeing no one come, he had made up his mind to return to the town.

If, to all these circumstances, it be added that the Lorraine *chasseurs* garrisoned at Rambouillet had, for several days, been under orders to hold themselves ready to march, and passed this very night under arms, it will be difficult not to feel convinced that it was part of the plan of the Versailles league to avail themselves of the crisis brought about by events, for the purpose of frightening the King, of inducing him to take to flight, and of dragging him into the civil war so keenly desired by the blood-suckers at the Court, as the last resource of despotism and of the aristocracy. But Louis XVI. who still held out, and who justly feared that he would fail in such an undertaking, remained inactive.

Moreover, he appeared to be little affected by his own personal dangers, but he made enquiries as to those which threatened his family. From his apartments he heard the furious cries of the multitude which, in its horrible imprecations, joined the Queen's name to that of the Bodyguards, and demanded their blood. Each moment increased the hesitation of the Council with regard to the measures which should be taken to secure the safety of heads so precious and so dear as were those of the King's consort and children; and the leaguers were putting forth their utmost efforts to prevail upon the Queen to set out, in the hope that her danger would cause the King to follow her. Such was the object of the various attempts that were made to sound the dispositions of the people, by endeavouring to get the Court carriages out of Versailles.

At half past eleven o'clock at night all hope had not yet been given up, and when the Bodyguards received the order to come on to the terrace, the report spread amongst them that the Court was about to set out, and that they would be commanded to escort it.

When it was at last recognised that the King's resolution was not to be shaken, the Queen, convinced that the wrath of the Parisians threatened her alone, declared that she meant to remain with her children, under the safeguard of the King, and that she would rather perish at his feet than be separated from him.

A crowd of people filled the apartments. There were to be seen the wives of the Ministers, the ladies of the Palace, and a

number of Deputies of the National Assembly. Consternation was visible upon every face. The Queen alone presented a calm and serene front. She re-assured all those who were trembling for her, and drew admiration for her courage, even from those who condemned her principles and whom the ever present memory of her faults disposed least in her favour.

It was nearly midnight, and all seemed fairly peaceful, when the sound of drums, and the lights which served as guides to the Parisian Army, announced its arrival. The vanguard, under the orders of the Duke d'Aumont, came and drew up in fighting order on the Place-d'Armes. It was closely followed by the main body commanded by M. de Lafayette. Nearly the whole of this army, goaded by resentment and excited by the fanaticism of liberty, seemed to revolve nothing but projects of vengeance. Fortunately the General availed himself of the time which the march gave him to speak to his soldiers, to inspire them with other sentiments, to exhort them to moderation, and to change dispositions which might become so fatal.

Having arrived at Viroflay, not far from the Avenue de Versailles, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, he halted his army, and exacted from them a new oath of obedience and fidelity, an oath which the darkness of the night invested with a still more solemn and sacred character. The General then marched forward at the head of a battalion, and proceeded to the National Assembly.

M. Mounier had sent out M. Gouy-d'Arcy to meet him, to inform him of the assent given by the King to the Declaration of the Rights of Man and to the first nineteen clauses of the Constitution, and to request him to make this known to his troops. Having reached the Assembly, where there were at that moment fewer Deputies than men and women who had come from Paris, the General told the President that there was no occasion for alarm as to the consequences of his arrival, that he had several times made his soldiers swear to remain faithful to the King and the National Assembly, to obey them, and neither to do nor to allow any act of violence. 'In that case,' the President asked him: 'What is the object of such a visit and what does your Army want?'—'Whatever may be the motive

which has determined its advance,' replied the General, 'since it has promised to obey the King and the National Assembly, it will impose no law. Nevertheless, with a view to calming the discontent of the people, it would perhaps be advisable to send off the Flanders regiment, and to get the King to say a few words in favour of the patriotic cockade.' He then retired for the purpose of going up to the Chateau.

There he was awaited with impatience mingled with fear. The whole Court pressed forward as he passed, to watch his countenance, and read in his looks whether he was bringing peace or war. He presented himself with two of the Civil Commissioners appointed by the Commune to accompany the army. His features betrayed mingled emotions of grief, respect, and courage, by which all who perceived him were singularly struck.

Having gone into the King's cabinet, he gave him an account of the state of affairs, and said to him: 'Sire, I have come, to bring you my head for the safety of your Majesty's. If my blood must flow, let it at least be in the service of my King, rather than by the ignoble and lurid glare of torches on the Grève.' He received orders from the King to station the Parisian guard at the posts occupied by the late French Guards; but the Bodyguards, the Swiss, and the Hundred-Swiss were to retain theirs.

The Parisian Army, which had entered the town immediately on the footsteps of its General, was received with every mark of friendship and brotherhood by the Guard and inhabitants of Versailles. M. de Lafayette returned at once to the head of the column, gave the order which he had just received, and addressed first the Swiss and then his own troops, in speeches animated with love of the fatherland, fidelity to the King and enthusiasm for liberty. He was listened to with that attention which indicates confidence and guarantees submission.

Before M. de Lafayette's arrival, the King had sent word to M. Mounier, requesting him to come to the Chateau with as many Deputies as he could get together. But his Majesty's wishes only reached the Assembly at the moment when the commander of the Parisian army was leaving it, and

the General forestalled the President. The latter having, with a great number of his colleagues, complied with the King's request, his Majesty said to them: 'It was my desire to be surrounded by the representatives of the nation, and to have the benefit of their advice at the moment when I should receive M. de Lafayette; but he has come before you, and there remains nothing for me to tell you, except that I have had no intention of going away, and that I will never separate myself from the National Assembly.'

The Deputies having returned to their Hall, so as to be able to watch the course of events, M. de Mirabeau requested the President to maintain the dignity of the debate by requiring the withdrawal of the strangers who were occupying the Hall. But the galleries could not hold the crowd which flocked towards them, and a great number of people remained on the Deputies' benches. The Assembly, not to remain inactive, was beginning to discuss the criminal laws, when suddenly the debate was interrupted by repeated cries: '*Bread, Bread! Not so many long speeches!*' 'I should very much like to know,' exclaimed M. de Mirabeau, 'by what right it is presumed to dictate laws to us here?' The people applauded. The President added that if the public were allowed to be present at the debates, it was only on condition that they would not overstep the limits of the respect due to the National Assembly; and it then became possible to obtain silence.

In the meantime various detachments of the Parisian army had taken possession of the posts which the King had just entrusted to them; and the inhabitants of Versailles hastened to offer their hospitality to their brethren from Paris. Those who could find no quarters retired with their battalions into the Churches and other public buildings, to pass the remainder of the night there. A feeling of security reigned in the Chateau, and quietness over the whole town. The National Assembly adjourned at four o'clock in the morning, on the assurance given it by M. de Lafayette that good order and general tranquility should be maintained.

The Parisian troops, worn out by the march and the bad weather, sought for nothing but shelter and rest. They had

found both, and a quiet night succeeded the tumult of the previous day. A detachment of National Guards took up their quarters in the barracks of the Bodyguards, which now contained only about a score of the latter, those who were not required for sentry duty inside the Chateau having gone successively from the Royal Court-yard to the Dauphin's Terrace, thence to Trianon, and then again to Rambouillet. A great number of them not having been able, the day before, to get into the Charost barracks, where their horses were, had taken refuge in secret hiding-places.

M. de Lafayette having reached Versailles with the main body of the municipal troops of Paris, got quarters for them in the Churches, and was careful to take all such measures as seemed suited to allay the King's anxiety by concealing from him the most dangerous features of the movement. About the Chateau, the General stationed only the same number of sentries as were accustomed to watch over its safety in peaceful times. About five o'clock in the morning he went the round of the various posts, and having found that everything was again quiet, he retired to his lodgings, where the chief officers of his army were to meet. He thought he might take a little rest, but terrible misfortunes soon came to rouse him from his fatal security.

The legions of women who had left Paris the day before, and the crowds of volunteers and vagrants who had followed the army, passed the night in the Hall of the National Assembly and in the large guard-house of the Place-d'Armes. Still under the influence of the violent emotions which had excited them to frenzy for the last twenty-four hours, they goaded each other into a paroxysm of rage and went out at break of day, thirsting for blood and revenge. Some ruffians who had mixed with the citizens, raised their blind fury to its highest pitch.

It was about half-past five; the day was beginning to break. Crowds of women and pike-men advanced towards the Chateau. In the general confusion caused by the events of the day before, the simplest measures of precaution had been forgotten. Some gates were closed, others were open. Several entrances were insufficiently guarded. A troop of vagabonds made their way into the Cour des Ministres; the multitude followed them

and reached the Royal Gate which they found closed. Some of them tried to scale it; the others broke up into two bands, one of which made for the Chapel Court-yard, the other for the Cour des Princes. Both succeeded in entering into the Royal Court-yard. M. d'Aguesseau disposed some of the soldiers so as to defend the entrance to the Chateau. The Bodyguards took arms. One citizen was severely wounded in the arm; a musket shot fired from a window, either through imprudence or blind zeal, stretched another lifeless. This unfortunate man was immediately picked up and carried to the steps of the Marble Court. Indignant at the sight and instigated by some women armed with cutlasses, who were at their head, the crowd rushed forward to seek vengeance, uttering furious cries and yelling horrible threats against an august person, upon whom in the frenzy of their rage they poured fearful imprecations. The crowd was already ascending the main staircase; the Bodyguards came forward. M. Miomandre-Sainte-Marie went down four steps. 'My friends,' he said to them, 'you love your King, and yet you come to annoy him even in his own palace!' For their only answer they threw themselves upon him, endeavouring to seize him by his coat, by his bandoleer, by his hair, by his musketoon. With the help of one of his comrades he fortunately succeeded in freeing himself, and rejoined his men. The guards fell back, some of them into the King's Hall, others into the Grand Hall. An attempt was made to burst open the doors. The lower panel of the latter was broken in, and, through the opening, it was endeavoured to strike the Bodyguard with pikes; but the latter succeeded in blocking it up with a wooden chest. Wearied by so much resistance the ruffians traversed the Queen's Hall, and, penetrating into the Grand Hall, charged those who were defending it. Obligated to yield to numbers the Guards entrenched themselves in the Œil-de-Bœuf. M. Tardivet du Repaire tried to throw himself into the Queen's apartments, in order to prevent the maddened crowd from entering them. He was attacked by a furious multitude, and fell beneath the blows which overwhelmed him on every side. A man armed with a pike attempted to pierce him to the heart; he seized the murderous weapon, and succeeded in disarming his assailant and in regaining his feet.

With the lance he parried the bayonet-thrusts which a soldier was making at him. At this moment the door of the King's Hall was pushed slightly open, and two of his comrades, dragging him by his coat, succeeded in getting him inside. Whilst this was going on, M. Miomandre-Sainte-Marie saw one of the guards of the Queen's Hall being dragged down the staircase. Fearing nothing but the danger which threatened Her Majesty, he rushed through the surging waves of an angry crowd; he saw M. du Repaire struggling in the midst of the assassins; he heard a band of cannibals uttering howls of death! Nothing stayed him; he flew to the apartments, opened the door, and perceiving a woman at the further end of another room, he cried out to her: '*Madame, save the Queen, her life is being threatened; I am alone here against two thousand tigers; my comrades have been obliged to abandon their Hall.*' He then drew the door to again, and after a few minutes' struggle, was felled to the ground by a blow from a pike; another assailant dealt him, at the same moment, a blow on the head with the butt-end of a musket, and he remained unconscious and bathed in his own blood. The ruffians believing him to be dead, rifled him, and returned to the Grand Hall, where they took possession of the arms. M. Miomandre, having recovered his senses, and perceiving that there were now only four persons near the door, summoned up all his strength, rose to his feet, crossed the King's Hall, the Guards' Hall, and the Œil-de-Bœuf, and was fortunate enough to escape from the murderers.

M. de la Roche-Saint-Virieu, who was on sentry duty in the Queen's Hall, convinced that not a moment was to be lost in saving her, had rushed with five or six of his comrades into the first of Her Majesty's rooms. They made their way as far as her antechamber, admission to which was with difficulty granted them, as it was doubted whether they were really Bodyguards. The door was, at length, opened, a woman threw herself at their feet, and adjured them to save the Queen. They answered that they would shed the very last drop of their blood for her, and that they were in a condition to hold out long enough to enable her to get up and to retire. They were admitted into the Queen's chamber, whence they came out again a moment

later, to take their station outside the apartment and allow her to dress. She had been awakened, a quarter of an hour previously, by the clamours of a troop of women scattered about the terrace. But Madame Thibault, her first waiting-woman, had re-assured her, telling her what she really thought to be true, that '*it was those Paris women who, having probably found no sleeping place, were walking about.*' But now, in great fear herself, she went, with her companion, Madame Hogné, into Her Majesty's chamber. They hastily slipped on her stockings and a skirt, threw a cloak over her shoulders, and led her to the King's apartments by a private passage called *the King's passage*. On the way, as she was going through the *Ceil-de-Bœuf*, she heard threatening voices which cried: '*She is a Messalina; she has betrayed the State, she has sworn the ruin of the French; she must be hanged, she must be hanged!*' The report of a pistol and a musket, which she heard at this very moment, redoubled her fright. At length she reached her destination, and bursting into tears, exclaimed: '*My friends, my dear friends, save me and my children!*' She there found the Dauphin, whom Madame de Tourzel, warned by Madame de Sainte-Aulaire, had just brought in. The King had gone out. Startled out of his sleep at the moment of the invasion of the Chateau, he had seen, from one of the windows of the Clock Room, the crowd precipitating itself in great waves towards the main staircase. Anxious for the life of the Queen, he had dressed in haste, and was entering her apartments by one door at the very moment when she was going to his by another. Re-assured by the Guards whom he found still there, he returned to his own room, and went, with the Queen, to fetch the Princess Royal. They then both began to get themselves ready to appear before the people.

Several times during this terrible crisis Her Majesty repeated that she owed her life to the Bodyguards. As many of them as could reach it were gathered together in the *Ceil-de-Bœuf*. There, they entrenched themselves by means of benches, stools, and other articles of furniture, with which they barricaded the door. But soon a fearful noise was heard; the ruffians were battering it with redoubled blows; a pannel was burst in; . . . they expected nothing but death. Suddenly a deep stillness

succeeded the tumult; a moment later, a gentle knock was heard. The door was opened. The Parisian National Guard filled the apartments. An officer presented himself at the head of the Grenadiers: '*Gentlemen,*' he said, '*put down your arms; we have come here to save the King, and we shall save you too. Let us be brothers.*' It was Captain Gondran, commanding officer of the Central Company of Saint-Philippe du Roule.

At the first news of the disastrous scenes of which the Chateau was the theatre, the Parisian army had hastened up. Its numerous battalions lined the Royal Courtyard and the Place-d'Armes. The Grenadiers went up to the apartments, and in the twinkling of an eye, the ruffians were driven out. But a great number of Bodyguards had fallen into their hands; they had penetrated into all corners, both within and without the Chateau, where they suspected any of them to be concealed, and had dragged them out of their hiding-places. M. Deshuttés and M. de Varicourt, taken by surprise at the first moment of the attack, had been massacred. Their bloody heads, borne aloft on a pike, from Versailles to Paris and to the Palais-Royal, became standards for the murderers and gave the signal for carnage. Infuriated bands dragged from one side to another the unhappy prisoners whom they had doomed to death. Some condemned them to the lamp-iron, others vociferously called for the headsman, that frightful headsman, noticeable for his long beard and the two white metal plates which he bore, one on his back, the other on his breast. With his arms bare to the elbows and his hands covered with blood from the two first executions, armed with an axe which he furiously brandished in the air, he seemed to instigate to new murders and to call for fresh victims.

In the midst of the general agitation, M. de Lafayette was to be seen and to be heard everywhere. '*Gentlemen,*' he cried to his soldiers, '*I have given my word of honour to the King that no harm shall befall anybody belonging to His Majesty. If you allow his Guards to be murdered, you will make me break my word of honour, and I shall no longer be worthy to be your chief.*' The Parisians threw themselves from all sides into the midst of the furious groups; they surrounded the Bodyguards and placed them beneath their own standards as beneath a sacred ægis.

The ruffians who had attempted to sack the Chateau were preparing to throw the furniture out of the windows when Captain Gondran, coming up with his troop, sternly commanded them to desist, under penalty of being shot, and ordered his men to level their pieces at them. They at once retreated from the windows, and ran down stairs. Bidding his soldiers follow him, he went up the Marble Staircase, with his drawn sword in his hand, obliged the spoilers to turn back, and ordered them to set down in the Guards' Hall all the objects they had stolen. As we have stated, he induced those gallant warriors to lay down their arms, and re-assured them, by swearing that he would protect them at the peril of his own life. He took possession of all the posts, from the Marble Staircase to the King's antechamber, and seconded by the Grenadier Company from the district of the Oratory, restored the most perfect order. On his arrival in the Royal Courtyard he was fortunate enough to be able to prevent a crime. An unhappy Guardsman was being led around it, and after being brought up to the dead body which lay exposed to sight on the steps of the Marble Court, was about to be immolated upon it, in expiation of the murder committed on the person of a citizen by one of the Bodyguards. 'Comrades,' he cried out, 'will you allow a murder to be committed in your sight?'—'No; no!' replied the Grenadiers; and rushing on the infuriated band, they rescued the unfortunate man and placed him in safety in the King's apartments.

Inside the antechamber and the *Ceil-de-Bœuf*, the ladies of the Court beside themselves, and trembling with fright, held out suppliant hands to the Deputies, who were coming in crowds to save the Royal Family, and besought them, in accents of despair, to keep back the threatening hordes.

Driven out of the Chateau, the ruffians then tried to find compensation in the pillage of the King's stables, and were soon seen crossing the *Place-d'Armes* mounted on splendid horses. But, the Parisian Guard again snatched this new prey from them. M. Doazan, a Farmer-General and Captain in the battalion of the district des *Feuillants*, inspired his men with the ardour with which he himself was animated; they divided themselves into platoons and marched through the *Place-d'Armes*.

The improvised cavalry was at once unhorsed, and the horses were brought back to the chief stables and left in the keeping of a numerous detachment, which received orders to repel violence by force. At this moment the Bodyguards' barracks were attacked, and some soldiers, mingling with the crowd, cried out that pillage was allowed. But everywhere they met the indefatigable Doazan and the National Guard, and were again obliged to stop their plundering and to give up the booty with which they were laden. The various objects which they were carrying off were deposited in the porter's lodge, and the battalion did not retire till measures had been taken to ensure the safety of the barracks.

At last the ruffians departed. Whilst they were on their way back to Paris, carts laden with provisions succeeded each other without interruption, and spread abundance amongst the battalions, which received these touching tokens of the solicitude of their brethren in the capital, with the liveliest acclamations.

Scenes more moving still were disposing all hearts towards peace. The Bodyguards, who had retired within the inner apartments of the Chateau, suddenly re-appeared. They ran to the windows, waved their hats in the air, put on the national cockade, and showed it to the people. At the same time they took off their bandoleers, and threw them out of the windows, crying: '*Long live the Nation!*' The people replied by redoubled cries of, '*Long live the King! Long live the Bodyguards!*' The General presented to the King the National Guards who lined his apartments. His Majesty graciously received the expression of their love and of their fidelity, and in a voice which betrayed his deep grief, begged for life and mercy on behalf of his guards. Acting under orders from M. de Lafayette, the latter went down and fell into rank in the square, where he received from them the oath of fidelity to the Nation, to the Law, and to the King. In their emotion the Parisians clasped them in their arms. All clouds were dispelled; the two troops now formed only one corps, and the men on both sides embraced each other, mingling together without distinction.

In the meantime the Parisian army had advanced beneath the balcony of the King's room, through an immense crowd which

filled all the court-yards of the Chateau, and repeated cries bore testimony to the general impatience to see the Sovereign. In compliance with such earnest wishes, he appeared at his balcony, accompanied by the Queen and by his children, and greeted by the applause of the National Guard and of the people, who vied with each other in crying, '*Long live the King!*' He remained there a few minutes, and then retired. A few moments later he again showed himself, with his family, and the cheering was renewed. A voice cried out, '*The King to Paris.*' It was the wish of all France; the army and the people repeated '*The King to Paris!*' A severe hoarseness not allowing the King to make himself heard, the Royal Family retired within the apartments. Everything had been thrown open; ministers, courtiers, members of the Assembly were in the antechamber and in the Council Hall. Several persons were writing hand-bills which intimated that the King would go to Paris, and were throwing them out of the windows, to appease the multitude. The Queen was in one of the rooms, standing at the corner of a window, having Madame Elizabeth on her left, on her right and leaning against her, the Princess Royal, the King's daughter, and in front of her, the Dauphin, standing on a chair. The child was saying to her, as he played with his sister's hair, 'Mamma, I am hungry.'

The King's brother, sister, and aunts were in the same room. At this moment word was brought to the Queen that the people wanted her to appear alone at the balcony. She seemed to hesitate, but M. de Lafayette having come up and told her that this was necessary to restore calm, she said: 'Were I going to my death, I will no longer hesitate; I am going.' Taking her children by the hand she went forward with the General who, as he interpreted them, guaranteed the sincerity of the sentiments which she thought it her duty to express to the people on the occasion.

Shortly after the Royal Family again appeared on the balcony, surrounded by all the Ministers and some people of the Court. M. de Lafayette, addressing the crowd, announced His Majesty's intention of complying with the wish of the capital. He added that it was very much to the interest of certain evilly disposed

men to incite to rebellion the people whom they were leading astray, but that he knew them well and would expose them when the time came.

The King then spoke, and said: 'My children, you wish me to follow you to Paris; I consent, but on condition that I shall not be separated from my wife and my children.' Cries of 'Yes, yes, yes!' and, for the first time, of '*Long live the Queen!*' were heard on all sides. 'My children,' added His Majesty, 'I ask you to guarantee the safety of my Bodyguards.' The people answered with '*Long live the King!*' '*Long live the Bodyguards!*' The latter appeared on the balcony and cried '*Long live the King!*' '*Long live the Nation!*'

M. de Lafayette came forward with M. de Mondallot, a quarter-master, bade him take the oath in a loud voice, and made him wave his hat, showing that side of it to which the national cockade had been fastened. All the Bodyguards did the same with theirs, and the whole army waved theirs on their bayonets. The crowd asked for hats and bandoleers; these were thrown to them, and the reconciliation was complete. The Grenadiers took the Guards' hats and gave them their own bonnets. Several volunteers, on receiving the swords of the Bodyguards, when the latter were arrested, had, out of courtesy, handed them those with which they themselves were armed. They now wanted to exchange again, but most of the Guards asked as a favour to be allowed to retain the national sword, and to march, without distinction, under the same colours, as they accompanied the King on his journey to Paris.

The King having announced that he would start at one o'clock the welcome news at once circulated through all the ranks, and the army gave expression to its enthusiastic joy by a salvo of all its artillery, and a general discharge of musketry.

At eleven o'clock M. de Lafayette, after having received from the officers of the Flanders regiment the oath of allegiance to the Nation, the Law, and the King, which they tendered him, presented them to the Sovereign, who ordered them to get together as many of their men as they could. Their own feelings inclining them to the cause of liberty, they had already mingled with the people and the national troops, who eagerly

received them in their ranks, and bestowed on them a thousand tokens of brotherly affection. A real or supposed wound, inflicted upon one of them by one of the King's Guards, was the last thing which turned them against the latter, and afforded a motive or a pretext for abandoning their standards. At the moment of the King's departure they assembled together in several detachments to swell the cortege, and a picket from the National Guard went to fetch their colours, which followed the procession to the Town Hall.

Before the King had resolved on the journey to Paris, M. de Sérent and M. de Blacons, members of the National Assembly, being of opinion that, under such critical circumstances, the Majesty of the Nation ought to surround the Sovereign, and that its representatives should gather about him with their counsels and their wisdom, proposed that the Assembly should be held in the *salon d'Hercule*. The King having approved of the idea, they communicated it, on his behalf, to the President. Several Deputies remained in the antechamber, but the majority assembled at eleven o'clock in the usual place of meeting, when M. Mounier communicated to them His Majesty's wishes.

Several Deputies having stated that, according to general report, the King was preparing to come amongst them himself, two members were commissioned to enquire what his intentions really were, and, in the meantime, it was decreed that a deputation of thirty-six members should proceed to him. The Assembly did not think that it was in accordance with its dignity to go and deliberate in his apartments. It knew, moreover, how fatal the air breathed within the palaces of kings is to liberty. But, considering the urgency and the critical nature of the circumstances, on the motion of M. de Mirabeau, it unanimously voted the following resolution: '*It has been decreed that the King and the National Assembly are inseparable during the present session.*'

The *abbé d'Eymar*, at the head of a numerous deputation, communicated this decision to the King.

A deputation of a hundred members was appointed to accompany the King to Paris. It was one o'clock when their Majesties got into their carriage; it was past two when they set out,

escorted by a hundred representatives of the Nation, preceded by an army, and surrounded by a whole people. They performed the journey slowly, so as to suit themselves to the pace of the innumerable multitude which pressed around them.

Paris had passed a great part of the night in tears. All the streets were lighted as in the early days of the Revolution. There were to be seen walking about in them only patrols and deputations from the districts, which followed each other uninterruptedly to the Town Hall, to enquire the fate of the army. Silence and solitude inspired a gloomy terror.

A woman who came in on the 5th, at eleven o'clock at night, increased it further by false or exaggerated reports. Three hours later, Louison Chabry arrived, with several of her companions, and brought better news. It was she who had been introduced to the King, and had laid before him the grievances of the Parisian women.

About four o'clock in the morning, Maillard brought in the decrees of the Assembly which had been sanctioned by the King. But, of four successive messengers sent out by the Commune, not a single one had yet returned, and the members were in a state of the keenest anxiety, when, about six o'clock, M. Desmousseaux, one of the officials who had been deputed to accompany the army, arrived, gave an account of all the events which he had witnessed, and handed to the President a note from the General, announcing the most complete quiet.

The meeting broke up immediately after congratulating itself on having been informed of so happy a termination to an expedition which had caused such alarm. It was at this very moment that blood was flowing in Versailles, and that the most horrible misfortunes were threatening the King's palace.

In the course of the morning, the Commune announced by placard that the National Guard had encountered no hostility, that the King had received it graciously, and admitted it as a guard about his person. At noon, the arrival of a band of men and women bearing in triumph the heads of the two Bodyguards massacred in the morning, again spread consternation and grief amongst the citizens. But a messenger from M. de Lafayette and another placard from the Town Hall, caused the general

grief to be succeeded by joy at the news that the King and his family were on their way to Paris.

Immediately an immense concourse of people streamed out along the road through which he was to pass, and the crowd of citizens and of sight-seers of every age and of every sex, attracted by so novel and so extraordinary a sight, formed a double line from Passy to the Town Hall. A large detachment of the army, trains of artillery, a great part of the women and pikemen, most of them on foot, but others in hackney coaches, on carts, or mounted on the guns, opened the march. They were followed by fifty or sixty cart-loads of flour and corn, carried off from various store-houses in Versailles. These waggons immediately preceded the carriages of the Court. A numerous body of Municipal cavalry, with women, Deputies, and Grenadiers mingled amongst them, surrounded the King's coaches. The Flanders regiment, the Dragoons, the Bodyguards, bands of ruffians, the Hundred-Swiss, followed in a confused medley of horse and foot. About the flour carts were also to be seen the Halle Dames and their robust squires, bearing lofty poplar branches. This presented the appearance of a forest of trees intermingled with muskets and pikes, which seemed to be slowly moving towards Paris, into which it was about to pour abundance. The whole procession filled the air with shouts and songs. The women who preceded the King's carriage, sang allusive airs, indicating with their gestures the cutting references to the Queen; then pointing with one hand to the flour, and with the other to the King and his family, they called out to the multitude which crowded about them: '*Cheer up, Friends, we shall not want for bread now; we are bringing you the Baker, the Baker's wife, and the Baker's boy!*' Behind the carriages, a few Bodyguards, humiliated, protected, and saved, fraternally embracing their liberators, caught every eye. The main body of the army, divided into companies, each preceded by its artillery, closed this procession, which, taken altogether, presented at the same time, the touching picture of a civic feast, and the grotesque effect of a saturnalian revelry. The Sovereign might equally well have been taken, either for a father in the midst of his

children, or for a dethroned King led about in triumph by his rebellious subjects.

The King arrived at the Town Hall about nine o'clock in the evening. He seemed to experience a slight emotion, from which he quickly recovered. As he ascended the staircase, M. de Lafayette besought him several times either to say himself, or to allow him to say, that His Majesty had resolved to take up his residence in the capital.

The King answered with firmness: '*I do not refuse to take up my residence in my good city of Paris; but I have not as yet come to any decision on the subject, and I do not wish to make a promise which I have not made up my mind to fulfil.*'

The King entered with calm demeanour into the assembly of the *Three Hundred*. The Queen followed him with an undismayed countenance, holding her children by the hand, and hiding her deep grief at seeing herself on the Place de Grève, at the mercy of an angry multitude, and so near that lamp-iron, the formidable name of which had more than once sounded in her ears during the course of the morning. They both seated themselves on the thrones which had been prepared for them. They were accompanied by the King's brother and sister, and cries of '*Long live the King! Long live the Queen! Long live the Dauphin! long live the Royal family!*' resounded several times in the Hall, uttered with an enthusiasm impossible to describe. M. Moreau-de-Saint-Méry, the President of the representatives of the Commune, addressed the following speech to his Majesty:—

'Sire, if Frenchmen could ever forget the obligation to cherish their King, we would bear witness to the virtues of Louis XVI., and our oath would be inviolable. But a people amongst which love for its Sovereign is rather a necessity than a duty, can entertain no doubts as to its own loyalty. Indeed, Sire, you have just bound us more firmly than ever to yourself, by adopting this constitution, which will henceforth form a double link between the throne and the nation. Finally, to crown our wishes, you come, with the dearest objects of your affection, to take up your residence amongst us. Strong as are the sentiments with which our hearts are filled, we would not presume to say that your choice favours those of your subjects who love you most. But when an

adored father is summoned by the wishes of an immense family, he must naturally prefer the place where his children are assembled together in greatest numbers.'

After having taken the King's commands, the Mayor stated that when he had received his Majesty on his entry into Paris, the King had addressed the following words to him: '*It is always with pleasure and with confidence that I see myself in the midst of the inhabitants of my good city of Paris.*' The Mayor having forgotten the words, '*and with confidence,*' the Queen immediately reminded him of them. M. Bailly added: '*Gentlemen, you are happier than if I had said it myself.*' At the close of this discourse, the acclamations and applause were redoubled.

M. de Liancourt then said, with the King's sanction, that the National Assembly had decreed that it considered itself to be inseparable from the person of the King, and that it would, consequently, come and hold its sittings in Paris. This news redoubled the transports of joy of the capital. Their Majesties proceeded to the Chateau of the Tuileries, in the midst of the blessings and the good wishes of an innumerable multitude.

Such is the true picture of that series of events which seemed to follow each other as though bound together by a necessary connection, during the days of the fifth and sixth of October, fatal days if the sanguinary scenes which stained them be considered; happy days if it be remembered that they saved the King and the people, extinguished the torches of Civil War, and stifled the plots which had been formed against the Constitution.

ART. V.—PHILOSOPHY IN SCOTLAND.

Hegelianism and Personality. By ANDREW SETH, M.A., Professor of Logic, Rhetoric, and Metaphysics in the University of St. Andrews. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1887.

Knowing and Being. By JOHN VETTCHE, LL.D., Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1889.

NOT long ago it seemed likely that the rapidly rising idealistic philosophy would sweep Scotland almost without protest, certainly without direct challenge.* But the recent works, of our youngest and of one of our two oldest philosophical professors, have somewhat rudely disturbed this anticipation. These books, although named together, are not of precisely identical interest. Professor Veitch has long been known as the uncompromising opponent of German idealism. But in *Knowing and Being* he levels his criticism against the most distinguished English—and Scotch—followers of Kant and Hegel. Professor Seth, on the other hand, is among those who profess to have ‘seen idealism from the inside.’ Notwithstanding, in *Hegelianism and Personality* he resiles from his former position, and delivers a vigorous onslaught upon the Hegelian system. *Et tu, Brute!* as one among his many critics exclaimed.† But, although the respective relations in which our authors stand to the Neo-Hegelian movement are thus different, their criticisms have many points in common. We shall attempt, therefore, to unify their strictures, and to indicate their bearing. Before doing so, however, it may be well to pass a remark upon a few questionable statements.

It may be assumed at the outset, that we are now beyond those ‘salad days’ in the reception of Idealism, in which even so able a thinker as Ferrier was content to put the provoking and pointless question, ‘Who has ever yet uttered one intelligible word about Hegel?’—days, once more, when accredited reviewers, in their love of Mill *et hoc genus omne*, could but carp at Schelling as obscure, and gape at Hegel as obscurer. One may take it for granted that the period is past in which ‘men of the highest position in England have thought it no inconsistency to claim to refute what at the same time they complained to be unintelligible.’ But, whatever may be said of procedure on this wise, facts unfortunately forbid one to suppose that the time of misunderstanding has gone by. Mr.

* Cf. *The Scottish Review*, October, 1885, p. 248 seq.

† Cf. *Mind*, vol. xiii., p. 256.

Veitch very properly complains * that Green and his followers constantly present as realism 'a rough statement of a sensational view of consciousness, which every sound realist repudiates.' It is by no means impossible to return him a Roland for his Oliver. When, for example, he declares that 'Neo-Kantianism is simply an attempt to fuse the impressionism of Hume with the apriorism of Kant,'† he makes an assumption respecting the existence of impressions *per se*, which no idealist would admit for a moment. And this error is repeated, in various forms, throughout the book.‡ Mr. Seth echoes this mistake when he says that Green 'constantly assumes a stream of sensations,'§ and he does not fail to repeat it once and again.|| The difficulty which Green himself experienced in banishing the self-existent external world of the Realist, affords a certain excuse for his critics. But no such plea can be entered on their behalf for misstatements—unwitting, no doubt, and, in Mr. Seth's case, astonishing—such as: 'While Kant shrank from regarding the transcendental self as real, as more than a mere logical abstraction, and especially from identifying it with God, Neo-Kantians boldly make the advance, and hold the self to be real, and also to be God.'¶ Hegel 'regarded thought as the thing, and the evolution of categories as the evolution of the universe.'*** 'The distinctive feature of the Platonic theory of Ideas, in which it is the type of a whole family of systems, Hegel's among the rest, I take to be its endeavour to construct existence or life out of pure form or abstract thought.'†† Hegel's scheme of the universe 'is reached by hypostatizing the notion of self-consciousness and not by any progress from reality.'‡‡ It is very hard to see how Mr. Seth can square this with his previous statement, that Hegel 'would have protested against the idea that he ever meant to assert a factual existence of the logical Idea by itself, antecedently to the existence of Nature and Spirit.'§§

* p. 234 *seq.* † p. 22. ‡ Cf. pp. 51, 87, 188, 200. § p. 74.

|| Cf. pp. 24, 77, 207.

¶ *Knowing and Being*, pp. 20-21.

** *Ibid.*, p. 211.

†† *Hegelism and Personality*, p. 115.

‡‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 162-3.

§§ *Ibid.*, p. 108.

Be this as it may, all allegations, in which the ancient and too well-known bogies of pantheism or of the individual mind as creator of things* are put forward, must be regarded as caricatures, and deserve to be treated as specimens of that 'intellectual unfairness' of which Mr. Veitch † very reasonably complains.

Further, idealists would take exception to the complaint, sometimes made, that they do not explain the genesis of objects. They do not profess, nor do they consider it the business of philosophy, to do this. Consequently, the implied strictures of Mr. Seth (p. 16), and of Mr. Veitch (pp. 169 and 287) are not to the point. The same may be said of the time-relations of the thinker, of the alleged constitution of 'the infinite self-consciousness,' and of the statement that 'there could never have been a point at which, or from which,' the relationship between them, of which Green makes so much, 'was constituted.' ‡

In the same way, the alleged identity between idealism and empiricism§ requires no comment. It may also be noted, that Mr. Veitch appears to admit all that idealists contend for when he says that thought 'and its object are contemporaneous. Even if taken as an abstraction, they are still in one and the same indivisible act at once.'|| While Mr. Seth's statement, that 'Hegel's acceptance of self-consciousness as the ultimate category of thought . . . is not really reached by any "high *priori* road," but is simply derived . . . from the fact of his own self-conscious experience'¶ seems to indicate a compliance, on Hegel's part, with Mr. Veitch's requirements of a true philosophical method.** Finally, to make an end of fault-finding, we would venture to express

* Cf. *Hegelianism and Personality*, pp. 104, 108, 124, 127, 157, 221; *Knowing and Being*, pp. 68, 129, 175, 185, 207, 212.

† *Knowing and Being*, p. 235.

‡ Cf. *Knowing and Being*, pp. 263, 272, 285.

§ Cf. *Ibid.*, p. 238, *Hegelianism and Personality*, pp. 171, 211-12.

|| p. 210.

¶ p. 98.

** *Knowing and Being*, pp. 296 *seq.*

a hope that the extreme nominalism* of both critics is only the result of their natural anxiety to bring their own doctrines into strong relief.

The difficulties of Idealism, some only indicated, others discussed with great fulness and acuteness by Professors Veitch and Seth, may be summarised as follows. (1) How does the Hegelian thought-process, known as the Idea, begin? (2) What of the existence of external reality? (3) What is the relation between God and the world? (4) What is the relation between the Divine and the Human? Let us consider each of these questions in turn.

I. Among other new information, Mr. Seth tells us that 'Hegel regards the steps of the world-process as identical; to be implicit or explicit makes no real difference to the developing subject.'† Needless to say the whole system exists for the purpose of proving precisely the reverse. The initial difficulty with regard to it does not concern the developing subject, either as I or Idea, but relates to the starting, as it may be familiarly termed, of the universal process which is held to explain everything. The Absolute Idea, as Hegel himself declares over and over again, passes through an evolution in which there are three clearly defined stages. At the outset it exists, if such a term can be used in this connection, as a simple abstract entity; it is Idea, and nothing more can be affirmed concerning it. Then it travels into the second stage—that of Essence—in which it sets concrete Being over against itself. These two then re-act upon one another, and, thanks to the relationship constituted by the re-action, both gradually come to know themselves. The Idea learns its unsuspected possibilities, the object perceives that in the Idea alone it lives and moves and has its being. Here, then, is the most characteristic exhibition of the famous progress by anti-thesis, taken as an organic whole. To adduce an abstract example:—Analysis and synthesis are shown to be inseparable; the more ascertained with respect to the one, the more can be

* Cf. *Hegelianism and Personality*, p. 198. *Knowing and Being*, p. 283.

† p. 180.

predicated concerning the other. And so on for every pair of opposites, ending at last with the Idea itself, and its self-positing antithesis, Being. Once the antithesis has been reached, to use Hegel's own words,* 'the second sphere develops the connection of what were distinguished to what it primarily is,—to the contradiction in its own Nature. That contradiction is seen in the infinite progress, which is resolved,' in the third stage, 'into the End where the difference is explicitly stated-as-what-it-is in the notion. The notion, which from its implicitness thus comes by means of its differentiation, and the merging of that differentiation to close with itself, is the realised notion,—the notion which contains the relativity or dependence of its special features in its own independence. . . . It is the knowledge that the Idea is one systematic whole.' That is to say, rendering the phrases in less abstract language, the period of antithesis results at last in an explicit exhibition of qualities of the Idea which formerly were implicit. Until I have a seventy-five pound weight, I do not know that I can lift it, when I have actually lifted it, I have brought out my latent power of doing this work against gravity. Similarly, in the end, knowing all that is to be known, and being all that can possibly be, the Idea returns to itself, no longer as a bare abstraction, but as the absolutely concrete universe—all thought, all things. The final solitude is that of the oak, the first had been that of the acorn-concept.

Now, the kind of progress just sketched is alleged to reproduce itself in numerous modes. The moral life of the individual, for example, is nothing but a realising of self—a rendering of self explicit. This is effected by taking advantage of the occasions for self-manifestation which the surroundings supplied by human society offer. History, in the same way, is a presentation of ideals which, so far as circumstances permit, find actualisation in institutions, or laws, or literatures. An explanation of this kind—*i.e.*, by way of a dormant faculty which, on suitable occasion supervening, springs into active life—is satisfactory enough *if* you once have your faculty *and*

* *Logic* (Wallace), p. 327.

your occasion. Indeed it is essential to have both ere the opposition, which is to result in advance, can emerge. In many of its particular applications the theory does not seem to be difficult to handle. But, consider the process as a whole, and it will be found that a very decided difficulty, one peculiar to the case, arises. In the beginning was the Idea; it alone, and that as idea only, existed. But, on the theory itself, it is impossible to obtain progress from a bare implicit of this sort and to pass to any explicit manifestation, without occasion arising for the display of innate power. This display, further, is only elicited by antagonism, and antagonism belongs to the second stage. Nevertheless, according to Hegel's own statement, there is nothing but the Idea in the first stage. A pure universal stands by itself, there is nothing outside of it. How then, on his own terms, does Hegel set the process agoing? Whence does he derive the opportunity necessary to elicit even the least important implicit quality of the Idea? Allow the process to have begun and all is well. But fix it down at its starting point, and having learned the nature of this, say how the evolution ever sets out upon its travels.

No doubt, as we learn, 'Hegel transformed the notion of the Absolute. It is not *some one thing*, vaguely defined on the borderland of dreams, but it is the whole rich contents of the world slowly developing before our eyes. It is development, evolution, growth, progress, because it is the process by which pure thought externalises itself in nature, and wins its way back again to self-conscious spirit; it is the world's history in all its departments, fulfilling the divine order of things.* Perfectly so. But the theory itself demands a dialectic progression—an advance by conflict; and the Idea, in its original implicit state, is alone: how then does the process, so eloquently portrayed, ever receive initiation? It is only in the second stage, as every idealist will readily admit, that 'the living being stands face to face with an inorganic nature, and conducts itself as a power over that nature, and assimilates it to itself.† Indeed it may be questioned, with Mr. Veitch,‡

* *Constructive Ethics*, W. L. Courtney, p. 226.

† *Hegel's Logic* (Wallace), p. 312.

‡ pp. 92 *seq.*

whether there be any first stage at all, in which a 'self-distinguishing consciousness' subsists by itself. Having no desire to filch an apparent victory by what seems to us, especially in Mr. Seth's case,* a misinterpretation of Hegel, we do not allege that the Idea is *transcendent*. It is *transcendental*, as Hegel himself so constantly shows. It is not above experience, but is the constitutive principle in experience. The real difficulty is to learn how the actual duality, which characterises the second or germinating stage of the dialectic, is ever attained. The original Idea, whose very *rationale* is solitude, has no opportunity to display its constitutive powers. Nor is this obstacle to the mere workability of the dialectic process superable by a rehabilitation of the exploded ontological argument. And this, as is well known, is Hegel's usual resource. In the first stage, when by itself, the Idea is Idea; but it also has or possesses existence. Out of these two—the Idea itself, and its attribute of being—the second stage is eventually evolved. But, unfortunately, this is no solution. For, in order to render it satisfactory, the Idea as Idea,—that is, thought which implicitly is all thought, but actually is no definite thought—has to be proved a possible conception, as Professors Veitch and Seth both show. Moreover, it has to be proved a conception to which, from its very nature, the real attribute of being attaches.

Or, to sum up the matter otherwise, it may fairly be allowed to Hegel that, as a *logical concept*, this *prima forma* possesses the 'is' of being. But then the logical 'is' happens to be formal; it has no reference to reality. Reality, in turn, can only be obtained by an appeal to the ontological proof. It hardly requires to be shown here, for the ten thousandth time, that it is impossible to pass from the subjective 'is' of logic—or of thought, as Hegel would prefer to say—to the actual 'is' of life.

II. Granted that the process, already delineated, has been satisfactorily started, what can be learned regarding the existence of things in the external world, as it is familiarly termed?

* p. 162.

At the outset, the idealistic reply may be stated as sympathetically as possible. 'One can always allow the possibility of outer reality.' The crucial point is, that 'things in themselves are meaningless apart from a mind in relation to which they are known. Apart from thought being does not exist. The thinker recognises differences between himself and things, and between different things, but he can only do so because unity or relation is already present. A balance must therefore be preserved between two tendencies. Relationship is ultimately the important fact in thought, but its truth is made manifest by difference. If it be true that all things exist only in relation to thought, it is as much the case that this relationship is knowable only because it is constituted between two separate factors. Metaphysic involves equally analysis and synthesis, but both processes alike depend upon consciousness. So soon as too great stress is laid upon either, philosophy begins to obscure instead of to explain thought. Analysis would lead to the ridiculous conclusion that man is somehow able to divest himself of his own mind, while synthesis would lead to the equal absurdity that the individual can know nothing but subjective states of consciousness. On the contrary, the truth is that the individual only recognises itself in relation to the world, and the world is reasonable only because it exists for him.' In some such way the idealist would argue.

It is necessary to sketch the idealistic position with a little fulness, because, in the first place, we must grasp it clearly. Moreover, in one aspect of it, there is nothing from which to dissent. Professors Seth and Veitch are at one with us in their recognition of the services rendered by idealism. The cardinal fact of personality has been magnificently emphasised by Green,* his metaphysic notwithstanding. The principle of intellect is that of action as well. Self-consciousness,—recognition of the uniqueness of self, is as essential to the existence of will as to the being of knowledge. Just as all the varied contents of thought presuppose one mind, out of relation to which they would be unknown, so the

* *Prolegomena to Ethics*, Book III. chap. ii.

endless multiplicity of desires is but the changing aspect of one will. In the moral life man reveals his own nature. No doubt it is composed of a large number of particular acts. But the unity of the self pervades them all. Will is a further development of intellect in so far as it is the practical manifestation of the thought-process. In my deeds I exhibit my mind to my fellow-men. Morality is an endeavour after self-realisation. For, in every act of life, one self, striving ever after an ideal, is present as the inspiring cause. We repeat that there is much here of the very highest value. Idealism has a gospel well worth freeing from the historically necessary, but theoretically accidental, errors which now accompany its presentation. Wherein, then, is it not wholly satisfactory?

Consciousness, as the Neo-Hegelians unanimously declare, involves conceptions both of the self and of the not-self. But in order to the existence of either the *activity* of the individual mind is also necessary. Not only is man aware of the two elements, he is also *the one being* for whom they are possible cognitions. The thinking mind has thus a certain constitutive power of its own. It can put two and two together, so to speak. In so doing it not only states the proposition '2 + 2 = 4,' but it also declares that '2 + 2 = 4' is a universal and necessary proposition—it must be so. That is, to materials which it received from some source, presumably not itself, the mind adds a specific determination which is entirely of its own contribution. It has a constitutive power, such as nothing but thought is known to possess; therefore it stands on a different level from the elements which it perforce uses in evincing this constructive capacity. Mark then the two points:—mind has a synthetic faculty capable of working upon certain elements; but these elements are not brought into being by this faculty. Mind is not creative, as Mr. Seth would have us believe that the idealists hold.* It is thus unfair to accuse Green and his school of subjective gymnastics, such as those professedly practised by Berkeley. Mr. Veitch, despite his very acute and logical analysis of 'Relation,' and of 'External Reception,'

* p. 24.

goes beyond the record in urging this point.* 'It is not denied,' the idealist would argue, 'that the individual finds himself necessarily limited by his fellows and by external things. This is one side of the case. On the contrary, it is rather asserted that these very limitations occasion the contradictions essential to progress. For they produce dilemmas which elicit powers that were previously latent. But, while admitting this, it must ever be remembered that the individual is himself conscious not of his limitations alone, but also of a certain ideal, which implies a realisation of his capabilities. The process of knowledge is nothing more than the reconciliation of man with nature, and its principle is self-consciousness. The deeper the antagonism overcome, the richer will be the resultant life. Man is thus possessed of the key to the secret of his own and of the world's existence. Nothing is known out of relation to his spiritual activity, and his self-consciousness, while depending upon contact with the not-self, is ultimately traceable to the self-sustaining power of thought.'

But, although the not-self is absolutely essential to the development, not to say the being, of the self, it appears to have no reality of its own, on the explanation offered by the Neo-Kantians. 'The understanding,' says Green, quoting Kant, 'makes nature, but out of a material which it does not make.' And, proceeding to comment upon this, he continues, 'that material, according to Kant, consists in phenomena or data of sensibility, given under the so-called forms of intuition, space and time. This apparent ascription of nature to a two-fold origin—an origin in understanding in respect of its form as a nature, as a single system of experience; an origin elsewhere in respect of the matter which through the action of the understanding becomes a nature—cannot but strike us as unsatisfactory.' † Consequently, as Green afterwards shows, ‡ the most familiar circumstance of common life—the universally, if irreflectively, accepted division between 'the real' and 'the work of the mind,'—is, after all, only a conflict between two

* p. 193.

† *Prolegomena to Ethics*, pp. 15, 16.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 30.

works of the mind. We compare our knowledge of this table or that mantel, not with a real table or mantel, here or there existing, but with *our own ideal* of them as they would be if seen in all their relations. With regard to 'the real,' once more, we have this, 'the relations by which we judge it to be determined are not, or at anyrate *fall short of, those by which it is really determined.* But this is a distinction between *one particular reality and another*; not between a real, as such or as a whole, and an unreal, as such or as a whole. The illusive appearance, as opposed to the reality, of any event is what that event really is not; but at the same time it really is something. It is real, not indeed with the particular reality which the subject of the illusion ascribes to it, but with a reality which a superior intelligence might understand. The relations by which, in a false belief as to matter of fact, we suppose the event to be determined, are not non-existent. They are really objects of a conceiving consciousness.*

Even at this we are not disposed to admit the efficacy of the common argument against idealism, although countenanced by Professors Seth and Veitch alike—that mind is endowed with a power of creation, that is, of construction out of nothing. The error or weakness does not lie here; far rather is it in this. On the theory, the second and antagonistic stage, when, as a matter of fact, we do contrast what we suppose to be real with the work of the mind—this stage is absolutely essential to mental development. The friction between the self and the not-self causes the innate capacities of mind to exhibit themselves. Through this interaction self-consciousness grows from a less, which to all seeming it does not transcend at the first, to a more, which will be known ultimately, and which was implicit from the beginning. Thought and Being, originally one, issue into differentiation, to the end that they may become identical once more—this time explicitly. But, if this be so, each term, necessary to the constitution of the second stage, must be as real as its fellow. And the objection is that, accepting the idealistic account of the process, reality

* *Prolegomena to Ethics*, p. 20 (the italics are ours).

is posited as essential, but is actually eviscerated of all meaning by the explanation of it now offered.* Mind does not make things out of nothing; for, if it did, there would be a return to the subjective individualism of Berkeley, and this the Neo-Hegelians explicitly repudiate. At the same time, the reality of things is necessarily involved in the evolution of its own nature by mind. Things supply the occasions for thought; in response to the opposition which they furnish, thought puts forth as yet unknown powers for the subjection of matter. But, notwithstanding, as the idealist account of things alleges, reality is only 'the other' of mind. Or, as Green says, somehow contriving both to eat his cake and have it, 'Abstract the many relations from the one thing and there is nothing. They, being many, determine or constitute its definite unity. It is not the case that it first exists in its unity, and then is brought into various relations. Without the relations it would not exist at all. In like manner the one relation is a unity of many things. They, in their manifold being, make the one relation. If these relations really exist, there is a real unity of the manifold, a real multiplicity of that which is one. But a plurality of things cannot of themselves unite in one relation, nor can a single thing of itself bring itself into a multitude of relations. It is true that the single things are nothing except as determined by relations which are the negation of their singleness, but they *do not* therefore *cease to be single things*. Their common being is not something into which their several existences disappear. On the contrary, *if they did survive in their singleness*, there would be no relations between them—nothing but a blank featureless identity. There must, then, be something other than the manifold things themselves, which combines them without effacing their severalty. With such a combining agency we are familiar as our intelligence.† According to this, mind shows its power in constituting relations among things. Unless things were, as such, single exis-

* Cf. Seth, pp. 90-1, 118, 141, 167, 230; Veitch, pp. 46, 59-60, 77, 183, 195, 215.

† *Prolegomena to Ethics*, p. 31 (the italics are ours).

tences, the constitution of relations of this nature between them would be impossible. But they are not, as such, single existences (so far Green); therefore, as we are unable to avoid concluding, *either* relations cannot be constituted, *or* there is no need to constitute them.* On the idealistic theory itself, as here sketched, it is impossible to avoid this dilemma, it must be faced. (a) To put it generally. Things are necessary to the development of the innate faculties of self-consciousness. They have no such reality as would enable them to stand up against self-consciousness, so to speak, and compel it to come forth. (b) To put it particularly. The office of self-consciousness is to act as a 'combining agency.' If it is so to act, there must be something in need of combination, or, at least, something in relation to which this combining agency can be exhibited. Yet, as we are informed above, there is no such factor in the process, because things, as singulars standing in need of combination, do not exist. So the dilemma in which the idealists find themselves is, that *either* the account of things, *or* the account of self-consciousness, is wrong.

This dilemma might be met, it seems to us, by accepting the first of the two alternatives. The account of things is wrong, because it tends to deprive them of self-sustained reality. In this connection much remains to be learned from the too often despised and neglected Reid. His analysis of perception can be in great part substantiated—although not by appealing to 'common sense.' Reid and the idealists might both be laid under contribution with much advantage to philosophy. Real presentationism, based on the necessary—idealistic—movement of mind, and referred to a universal principle, may be the coming metaphysic. Reality, not perhaps as self-subsisting matter, must be rehabilitated; and no less, the confusion between thought and thinker must be removed.† Not indeed that aid is to be expected from Hamilton, as Mr. Veitch naturally urges.‡ Hamilton never had any

* Cf. Veitch, 139, 149, 209, 224.

† Cf. Veitch, pp. 15, 33, 97, 217.

‡ p. 53.

well-defined theory of the perceived object. He tell us—we select the instances at random—that ‘I am conscious of an external reality in relation with my sense.’* A few pages later, † he affirms that we do not know this object, but only believe it. He holds, again, that we literally ‘see’ some objects ‘by inference,’ ‡ and so is driven to discard vision as a medium of perception. Thereupon he relies solely upon touch, only to be induced to rely solely upon force, thereby implying that there is no immediate knowledge, as he had formerly insisted, of the primary qualities of body.§ Yet again, Hamilton, while alleging *belief* in the external world, professes to *know* extra-organic things, although nothing but their resistance to locomotion is certainly ascertained. Finally, while dragonnading Kant, Hamilton insists, as Mr. Veitch himself shows, || that ‘of things absolutely or in themselves we know nothing.’ ¶ Back to Reid, not back to Hamilton, who seems to represent a stage in which realism did not well know where it was—must be the watchword of ideal-realism. Idealism is partially right—in its account of self-consciousness. Reid is partially right—in his account of things. And if Reid’s real greatness were but better appreciated, as, thanks to Mr. Seth,** it may come to be, an important step might be taken toward the solution of the knowledge-and-reality dilemma in which Neo-Hegelians find themselves.

III. The ‘Eternal Consciousness and the World.’ According to Green, the world is a related whole because it is constituted such by the synthetic power of an eternal consciousness. This consciousness sets the world in order, and reveals itself in the system of the universe. The world, in short, is *in* the eternal consciousness; it exists only by and for this principle. ‘The unification of the manifold in the world implies the

* *Reid's Works*, p. 747.

† *Ibid.*, p. 750.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 814.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 804, 881-2.

|| *Hamilton*, p. 145-6.

¶ *Discussions*, p. 643.

** Cf. *Scottish Philosophy*.

presence of the manifold to a mind, for which, and through the action of which, it is a related whole. The unification of the manifold of sense in our consciousness of a world implies a certain self-revelation of this mind in us through certain processes of the world which, as explained, exists only through it. . . . If there are reasons for holding that man, in respect of his animal nature, is descended from "mere" animals in whom the functions of life and sense were not organic to the eternal or distinctively human consciousness,—this does not affect our conclusion with regard to the consciousness of which, as he now is, man is the subject.* When the idealist comes to consider the *why* of the reproduction of this consciousness in man, he admits that he finds himself in a certain difficulty. We ask, why does the universal mind reveal itself partially, and under special limitations, in us? We are informed, that this is a question which we naturally put, just as the child inquires, who made God? But, as in this latter case, it is a question essentially outside the sphere of the answerable. This admission is, from one point of view, valuable to idealism. It removes at a stroke all those pretensions to absolutism which Mr. Seth † flings in the teeth of the Neo-Hegelians. Moreover, it exhibits, even in what physical evolutionists would call its weakness, a true intuition of the often disregarded axiom, that God cannot be explained save in terms of Himself. Thus, to our thinking, what Green terms the circle, in intellect, and especially in morality, is no real difficulty.

Yet there is a very serious point, in the same connection, which demands attentive consideration. It may be put as follows. The universe as we know it bears evidence that, as a system of related facts, it is determined by an eternal consciousness. No fact is such, unless by the action of this consciousness it 'exists as part of an eternal universe—and that a spiritual universe or universe of consciousness,—during

* *Prolegomena to Ethics*, p. 87.

† pp. 205, 213.

all the changes of the individual's attitude to* it. You, the reader, and I, the writer, for example, are not facts in the universe save for this. And the principle applies as much to what we can see—to men and beasts and trees—as to our intellectual life. But, further, this same consciousness is, somehow or other, revealing itself *in us*. We are its vehicles. The development of man's bodily organism had been such that, at a given time, he became a suitable medium for the active manifestation of this unifying and timeless power. Yet it reveals itself in him only to a certain degree. There is no unreserved revelation, no fully divine life, perceptible in man as he now is. And this is so, because the eternal consciousness finds itself retarded or cramped by the limitations inseparable from a bodily organism. This fact is admitted in the most precise terms. Our consciousness is a 'function of the animal organism, which is being made gradually, and with interruptions, a vehicle of the eternal consciousness.'† Now, on the theory, the body, which is the limiting condition, is as much *in* the eternal consciousness as is the alleged and peculiar manifestation of a universal power. That is to say, the Eternal Consciousness limits itself. But, *ex hypothesi*, it cannot do this, and retain its infinite character. Therefore the limitation must be *within it*, and not be in any sense *set to it*. But if this be the truth, the Eternal Consciousness contains an element of self-contradiction. It has a surd in its nature, as it were, and thus must live a divided life just like any 'creature.' Consequently, the Eternal Consciousness *either is progressive, or it is tainted from the beginning of time*. If progressive, it cannot be *the* eternal at all; if tainted, it does not fulfil the conditions necessary to its own conception. It may be fairly urged, that this difficulty points to a defect in Green's, as indeed in the general Hegelian, account of God's relation to the world. There are doubtless other *cruces*.‡ But this is the ultimate question. Perhaps it is not uncon-

* *Prolegomena to Ethics*, p. 74.

† *Ibid.*, p. 72.

‡ Cf. Seth, pp. 61, 168, 179, 223; Veitch, pp. 217, 250, 253, 256.

nected with the leap from thought to reality characteristic of the ontological proof. We have the *thought* of an eternal consciousness, the *reality*, which, we know, is our own consciousness. To rid ourselves of the division, we leap from the one to the other, thereby reading into the Eternal many qualities and defects of the temporal. Viewed thus, the position stands in need of the gravest reconsideration. Professors Veitch and Seth are to be thanked for the powerful irritants which they have supplied to unwarrantable complacency.

IV. The relation between the 'Eternal Consciousness' and man as an individual possessed of personality. Passing now to the strictly ethical sphere, there is another difficulty incidental to contemporary idealism which imperatively demands a re-treatment, if not a total change, of the relationship conceived to subsist between the Idea, the Eternal Consciousness, and humanity. According to Hegel, the Idea, according to Green, the Eternal Consciousness, is revealing its plenitude in the daily life of man, in art, in morals, in religion. At the outset, we must clearly understand a point which is overlooked in part by Mr. Seth, and in great part by Mr. Veitch. The Idea, the Eternal Consciousness, is not a mere invention—a 'phantasy,' as Shakespeare would have termed it. In other words, Hegel and Green did not simply set themselves to evolve an entity of this kind by an act of creative imagination. Hegel arrived at his conception after the most patient search. Having laboriously mastered an extraordinary number of the facts then available, he concluded, that in the history of mankind, more especially in those portions of it which concern moral and spiritual attainment, a constant progress was traceable. Prior to the rise of Christianity, for example, the ancient world had time and opportunity to exhaust error in the attempt to conceive the Deity and His relation to mankind. Thus, what Hegel presents is not a semi-fantastic product, but a deduction from the facts. So, too, with Green. A careful metaphysical analysis—an analysis, that is, of the elements which human knowledge necessarily implies—led him to conclude that an Eternal Consciousness could not but be present in the world and in man. With the method, if duly safe-

guarded by application to ascertained facts only, little fault can be found. It is precise, painstaking, free from mysticism, and, above all, it tends to lift one out of the narrow sphere of pre-Kantian individualism, which so stunted individuality, and restricted the philosophical outlook.

But, as reflection shows, the conditions of the method are in conflict with its conclusions. Hegel and Green alike lift man out of the materialistic slough by pointing upwards to an eternal principle which, present throughout all human life, at once dignifies it and fills it with deepest meaning. Man, unquestionably, has a physical history in time. Yet he is an intelligent being, and 'every effort fails to trace a genesis of knowledge out of anything which is not, in form and principle, knowledge itself.*' Humanity has that in it which renders it timeless. Morality, and the moral life of the individual, both have a past on this earth which can be traced and discussed in relation to certain temporal events. At the same time, 'we have no knowledge of the perfection of man as the unconditional good, but that which we have of his goodness or the good will, in the form which it has assumed as a means to, or in the effort after, the unconditional good.†' Morality, regarded as a universal principle and as seen in the individual man, is timeless. Now, the meaning of this is that, through the medium of the world and man, the Idea or the Eternal Consciousness is gradually revealing with explicitness faculties which existed implicitly from the beginning, but which lacked due occasion for their expression. Accordingly, Hegel and Green quite consistently explain the world-process and the human race in terms of this timeless principle. The evolution belongs to it, is of it. So, while raised above the genealogy of monkeydom, man finds new limitations. Each individual is a factor, and an indispensable factor, in the eternal process. He 'exists not for what he is,' as a distinguished idealist said, 'but for what can be accomplished in him.' He is a medium for the revelation of the universal spirit, in proportion as the Eternal Consciousness has designated him to be such from the begin-

* *Prolegomena to Ethics*, p. 75.

† *Ibid.*, p. 206.

ning. In it he lives and moves and has his being in the most literal sense. *By* it he came to be here; *in* it, that is, in its stage of manifestation, he is; and *for* it, that is, to act as its vehicle, he lives. What is this but exchanging the determinism of the materialist for a spiritualistic determinism? We are told, indeed, that 'determinism' has no meaning as applied to the relationship between the Eternal Consciousness and man. Green makes a desperate attempt to avoid the obvious conclusion. The second chapter of the Third Book is perhaps the most valuable portion of the *Prolegomena*. But then, it is contradictory of much that has preceded. Personality, fully understood, is subversive of the metaphysical position, that an Eternal Consciousness is in the universe causing everything to be what it is.* No doubt, as Hegel shows in the *Philosophy of Religion*, men are all sons of God; and as the earthly father does not limit the separate personality of his son, so too the Heavenly. But, unfortunately, this is going back upon the explanation already tendered. No earthly father possibly can so surround the person of his son as to warrant the phrase, in him he lives and moves and has his being. The analogy by no means holds. For, the earthly father, from the nature of the case, cannot determine his son, as the Eternal Consciousness *must* determine individual men, if the theory be correct. And it is on this evisceration of personality that we feel bound to join issue with the Neo-Hegelians. It is not contended that their theory is absolutely false. But, anyone can see that it contradicts the facts which it assumes of aforesaid. For, it begins by regarding men as individuals, each of whom, in a very special sense, has a mission to fulfil here. And the same holds of occurrences in the material universe. All the events which compose history necessarily have an individualised absolute significance. This leads to the deduction of an ever-present consciousness, which, in turn, is used to explain the related system of things, and of human society. And with what result? The purposely developed reality, out of which alone the Eternal Consciousness could be extracted, is found to be but the obverse

* Veitch, 264, 274, 310; Seth, 191, 193, 216, 226.

of some extra-material and extra-human agency, which is employing these supposititious specialised events and individuals to its own magnificent advancement. The theory thus rounds upon itself. We believe that, in its insistence upon an eternal consciousness, it is perfectly correct. But the whole question of the relation of this Consciousness—which, if not an illusion, attaches to a Person—to the world, and especially to man, stands in need of reconsideration. Those idealists—and they are to be found—who, in the present state of the theory, frankly acknowledge that personality is an illusion, and that the eternal process is everything, appear to be strictly consistent. But we would decline to accept idealism at such sacrifice. Personality is the first fact in human life.* And any philosophical theory, if it be true to itself, must consider what such personality implies. It is not sufficient merely to refer it to a general principle, vaguely defined as Thought, of which it is a revelation, or from which it emanates. So far as the ethical sphere is concerned, the battle of idealism must be fought round this question. It is not enough to say that the world bears witness to a supernatural cause controlling all. Need is to discover how man is exempt from the thralldom of another spiritual being. For, the *differentia* of the individual, as now known, is complete selfhood. Apart from this there can be neither freedom, moral responsibility, nor immortality, no matter with what glibness these terms may be bandied.

The books of Professors Seth and Veitch may be objected to, by Neo-Hegelians, as over-polemical in their character. Perhaps they are. At the same time, they possess a distinct value. The verdict which they pronounce may be harsh, but it will excite discussion, it will cause reflection. And no idealist will say that, on the points of difficulty raised, further explanation is needless. Nay, if the theory be workable, reconstruction is a positive necessity. Green himself considered that the Hegelian Logic required 'to be done over again.' Mr. R. B. Haldane has no compunction in writing, 'Not only Green, but also Hegel himself, appear to me often to fall into the very

* Cf. Seth, p. 214, *seq.*

fault which they are continually condemning—the indiscriminate use of metaphors as the foundation of inferences which, on their common principles, are illegitimate.* One Neo-Kantian, as Mr. Veitch points out,† may be set to criticise another. And, despite *Hegelianism and Personality*, we are by no means certain that Mr. Seth has shaken off the dust of idealism for ever. ‘Hegel’s superb contempt for nature as nature has a justification of its own. In fact, we might adopt Fichte’s strong expression, and say, that if matter alone existed, it would be equivalent to saying that nothing existed at all.‡ Mr. Veitch himself would not be of distinctively poetic mind did he not inherit a strongly idealistic strain. His article on *The Theism of Wordsworth* is on the constructive, what *Knowing and Being* is on the destructive, side. ‘There is here the consciousness of a Transcendent Spirit, a spiritual Power above and beyond the order of experience. It is Soul, living Soul or Spirit, analogous thus to us, to our spirit, yet in contrast to ours and all its workings, for it is “the Eternity of Thought,”—not the mere everlastingness of successive thoughts in time, not the mere order of perceptions or thoughts ever going on, not a mere perpetual series of relations—but the “Eternity of Thought,” the ground, the substratum, the very permanent in all thinking.’§ Philosophical theory notwithstanding, all men are, in their order, idealists. Idealism is one side of human nature. It matters little how we may differ on minor points. It is vital that, as speculative questions now stand, we should adopt a spiritualistic view of the world. If we do, we shall not jibe at acute critics, but rather thank them for indicating where and how ‘the broken, incomplete, imperfect character of our experience’ may be rendered more adequate to comprehension of the Infinite Being, whose manifestation is known by us.

* *Mind*, vol. xiii, p. 587.

† p. 201, *seq.*

‡ p. 230.

§ *Wordsworthiana*, p. 304.

ART. VI.—MORE POPULAR SONGS OF ITALY.*

THE first thing that strikes us in a detailed study of the Popular Songs of Italy is the infinite variety which the singers have managed to introduce into the one theme of Love, successful or unsuccessful. As Mr. Symonds has remarked in an essay on the 'Popular Songs of Tuscany,' the patriotic spirit which has inspired so many old ballads in our literature, the heroic legends which cluster round the name of half-fabulous heroes like King Arthur and Robin Hood, find no counterpart in the national poetry of Italy. Yet within these restricted limits, what a wealth and exuberance of fancy, what a glowing parterre of flowers to cull from. The briefest song or verse suffices to enshrine a picture or a thought of the loved one, often expressed with a felicity and grace which we may seek in vain in more elaborate compositions. Take for example this from the Province of Vicenza—

'La me morosa per un prà la passa
Dove la mete un pié l'erba se sbassa.'

My loved one wanders through the meadows sweet,
And where she sets her foot the bending grasses greet.
My darling walks the meadows up and down,
And where she sets her foot the leaves bow down.
My dearest strolls in meadows where larks sing
And where she sets her foot, I see flowers spring.

In contrast to this, where the northern spirit is expressed, which seeks to intensify the one idea, is this verse from the south, an Apulian song, where a brilliancy of effect is obtained by accumulation of metaphors—

'Si erta echit de porta de castella.'

* It is again to Mr. Waldemar Kaden, of Naples, that we are indebted for the songs we give here as examples. We regret only to be able to quote the first lines of most of them in the original dialect. As a whole they exist only in oral tradition, which is difficult to reduce to writing in the provincial tongue, and the attempts to do so have been scattered or lost.

Taller thou art than castle-gates, sweet maiden mine,
 And bright as light that through clear glass doth shine;
 Thy slender form more pliable doth spring
 Than gold, or silver, or bright steely ring.
 Fetch paper here and brushes bring to me;
 The artists all are coming to paint thee.
 They come to paint thy rosy face so bright,
 And headlong all in love fall at thy sight!

This little Ischian poem shows the islander's prejudice for the sea-coast in ascribing the beauty of his beloved one to her being

BORN BY THE SEA.

I wonder not thou art so fair,
 For thou wast born beside the sea;
 Its breath preserved thee fresh and fair,
 And like a rose thou seem'st to me.
 Thy smiling mouth and thy small hands
 Are like the roses, white and red;
 With thee they bloom in winter-time,
 When all their comrades sweet are dead.

And a similar feeling inspired the homelier expressions in the

FISHERMAN'S WIFE.

Holy Catherine, I beseech thee,
 My husband let a fisher be;
 When he cometh home at evening,
 He will smell so of the sea.
 How salt the water of the sea,
 How sweet the fish that in it move;
 The olive-leaf how bitter is it,
 And full of jealousy my love.

This also is from Ischia.

A poet of the Abruzzi allows his fancy yet freer range and contrary to all experience with the majority of babies, ascribes to the object of his affection the charms that now distinguish her from the earliest moment of existence—

When thou wert born, oh, dearest maid!
 Beauty and grace did thee adorn;
 The sun appeared, and was ashamed,
 Blushed rosy-red at early dawn.

The moon for full an hour stood still,
For full an hour stood still to see ;
But a sweet word my heart did thrill,
That thou wast born alone for me.

Beauty among the ladies of the Abruzzi would seem, from another song from that district, bewildering in its abundance—

There lives a mother with three lovely girls :
When they walk out, like lilies fair they seem.
When I the eldest saw alone, her curls
Were such bright gold, they seemed a sunny beam ;
The second comes, her eyes shine like two pearls,
As bright as Dian's star she is, I deem.
Then, when the youngest I do see alone ;
She seems to be the moon and stars in one,
But when the daughters with the mother go,
The sun itself is 'stonished at the show.

And no less beauty is to be found in Sicily, to judge by these lines, apparently written to accompany a lover's gift, which is, however, only referred to in the slightest possible way.

' *Si longa delicata, anima mia,—*

So delicate and slender, love, art thou !
Soul of my soul, thy face is magic fair,
By monks in cloisters painted thou shouldst be ;
With thy dark eyes and raven curling hair.
Then from thy lover take this ivory comb,
To comb and order thy dark curling hair ;
No painter ever painted thee so fair,
It was the Sun that gave thee beauty rare !

A variation in this ever-recurring praise of beauty is introduced by a Calabrian poet, who does not echo the Shakesperian sentiment, 'What's in a name?'

' *Oh quantu è graziosa lu tue nune !
L'aju sempre alla vucca ed alla mente.'*

How pretty is thy name, my little girl,
'Tis ever on my lips and in my mind ;
I wrote it down in letters all of gold,
Within a frame of pearl, that name so kind.

Fast-sealed it lies within my heart's deep shrine,
 'Tis 'yea and amen,' wheresoe'er I go ;
 And my last word whenever I shall die,
 Shall be the name, oh darling ! I love so.

Besides these songs, descriptive chiefly of the loved one's beauty and excellence, there is a large class more subjective in their treatment, where the lover's feelings are the central theme. One of these we have from the Ionian coast—

' Fu si luntana, nè mi pu vidiri,
 Ma fatti 'na finestra all oriente.'

Thou art so far and never canst me see,
 But make a window opening to the east !
 When the winds blow, my sighs they be,
 And all the heat is but my hot unrest.
 See'st thou the ripple moving on the sea ?
 Then know, it is the current of my tears ;
 And if thou see'st an image in the air,
 'Tis I, who vainly call thee, full of fears !

In another from Terra d'Otranto we have the metaphor more fully worked out, and the whole drama of happiness and disillusion presented in the compass of a few lines.

' Fici una nave cu li miei pinsieri.'

I built a little ship
 Out of my thoughts so fine,
 And in it fast sped on,
 Cleaving the ocean brine.
 Out of thy golden hair
 My nets all woven were ;
 And all my chosen crew
 Out of thy bright eyes grew.
 There came a wicked storm,
 And my white sails it tore—
 Alas ! unto the harbour
 I can return no more !

More tragical still is this one from the Basilicata—

Great Love has made me sick to death,
 And the last sacrament I bid prepare.
 Love has reduced me to a witless fool ;
 Physicians stand consulting round my chair ;

The wisest of them gives me this advice,
'If thou wilt live then sweet Love thou must fly,'
Oh doctor! Love has brought me to this pass,
But for Love's sake, full gladly will I die.

Sorrowful and not happy love seems also to be referred to in these few grave lines from Apulia—

'Sia beneditta cci stampo lu numun.'

Blessed be He who stamped the world with form,
Created it and made it circle round!
He made the night, He made the rosy morn;
The one so dark, the other bright is found.
Look up! He made the smiling sun;
He made the gentle silver moon so round,
He gave us sense to net the glittering fish,
Which, His creation, in the seas are found.
And then created He my maiden fair,
And filled my heart with love-pain so profound!*

A quaintness of expression which was one of the characteristics of the renaissance time, is found in a verse from Calabria—

'Oh perche dintra a chilla finestrella
Trasira nun mi fai, mala fortuna?'

Oh, why through that small casement, envious Fate,
Deniest thou me evermore to pass?
Sure there doth dwell the lovely maiden mine,
Within whose bosom fair the Sun his lodgment has.
Could I but change into the swallow small,
That, all alone with thee, I could thee clasp,
Then thy sweet blushing cheek I'd gently bite,
As in ripe grapes doth bite the little wasp.

Quite different in its tone to all the others is this which we have from the Province of Verona. The girl here seems to be

* A Tuscan variation is as follows :—

'E benedico chi fece lo mondo,
Lo seppe tanto bene accomodare.
Fece lo mar che non aveva fondo,
Fece la nave per poter passare;
Fece la barca, e fece il barcaiuolo,
Fece la donna che consuma l'uomo.'

the speaker, which is only very rarely the case in these love-songs—

‘ Oh chitarina te me di gran pena.’

Oh small guitar, how sad thou makest me
 When thy sweet tones do reach me in the night,
 So often have I supperless remained
 To listen at the door in mournful plight.
 Oh! wert thou mine, thou tuneful small guitar,
 I'd buy for thee strings of the finest gold,
 For thee I'd buy both gold and silver strings,
 Thou small guitar, who all my joy doth hold!

Another allusion to the custom of serenades we have in a song from Terra d'Otranto—

‘ Oh cci trumentu ci me dà sta luna.’

‘ Oh! what a torment is this moon to me!
 I dare not go, for the street's full of light,
 And speak a word to my dear love to-night;
 But how delightful in the dark to be!
 Oh little cloud, that floatest in the air,
 Graciously hide the moon's bright light for me!
 Come to my help in my forlorn despair,
 That I may speak my love!—What is't to thee?—

Most original in its idea and treatment is this little song from Calabria—

‘ Tri arburi di pini aju tagliatu
 Ppe lla telard de la bella mia.’

I felled three stately trees of scented pine,
 To make a loom for the sweet maiden mine:
 There only shall be fine-spun gold to see,
 The shuttle shall of purest silver be.
 From Heaven come flying downwards angels fair,
 To see the maiden weave a stuff so rare!
 Then know, oh angels! who so radiant shine,
 The tissue may be yours, the maid is mine!

As a welcome change from the sentimentality of most of this poetry, we give a saucy little dialogue from the Province of Messina—

UNDER THE MULBERRY TREE.

' *Bella supra stu chiosu chi faciti ?
Jo cogliu frunna e vui pirchi spiati ?*

' What art thou doing, fairest, on the tree ?
' I gather leaves, but wherefore ask'st thou me ?
' I ask thee, for thy beauty's sunbright ray !'
' Though I be fair, what want you there, I pray ?'
' I wait till thou descendest from the tree,'—
' Till I descend ?—Long may'st thou wait for me !'

This is merely a brimming over of youthful spirits at the expense of the lover, but in a little Tuscan poem there is more malice, and indeed it would seem that the adorer was somewhat fickle in his love—

' *Oh ben venuto fiare di arcipresso
Figlia la sedia e metteti a sedere.*'

Ah, welcome flower of Cypress ! come to me,
And take thy stool, and seat thee in the shade—
Art really come ?—And hast not me forgotten ?
And wert not once again with other maid :
Another maid who gladly lists thy praise ?
Think'st thou that no one tells me of thy ways ?—

Not always is the banter so harmless—a flash of the wild southern nature, which leads to frequent bloodshed on the smallest provocation, gleams in these lines from the Basilicata. The dreaded knife which plays such a fatal part in street-brawls and lover's quarrels, appears here ready for action—

I hear that thou to kiss me oft has sought,
Whene'er alone thou meet'st me on the road ;
But thou must know, a sharp knife I have bought ;
The handle's made of toughest olive wood.
And if to kiss me, thou dost come too nigh,
I'll stab thee to the heart, ere thou canst fly !

A rich collection might be made of those songs where allusions to birds and flowers, (especially the first), give the form to the lover's plaint, or heighten the expression of his joy. Mr. Symonds has already noted the resemblance to Lord Tennyson's 'Oh, swallow, swallow, flying, flying south,' in a Tuscan song.

The following variation of the same oft repeated theme is from Terra d'Otranto—

' O rindineddha ci mbarchi lu mare
'Jeni quantu ti dien do palore—'

Oh swallow, swallow, flying over sea,
Stay but one moment, I would speak to thee,
Would pluck a feather from thy wing so bright,
Wherewith a letter to my love to write !
Then hide it slyly, slyly 'neath thy wing,
Thou wilt it safely to my true love bring ;
Oh swallow ! when thou hoverest then above her,
Tell her ' These words are sent thee by thy lover ! '*

A bird-messenger of love is also mentioned in this little rhyme of Venetian origin—

Bel oselin del bò
Bel'oselin del bò
Per la campagna el svola.

Oh wood-bird sweet !
Oh wood-bird sweet !
Far over the land it flies !

Where has it flown ?
Where has it flown ?
Where the little cottage lies—

What has it brought ?
What has it brought ?
A letter small and sealed.

What's writ therein ?
What's writ therein ?
My love is there revealed—

* (A slightly different form from Tuscany).

Oh rondinella che voli per l'aria,
Ritorna addreto e fammelo un piacere,
E dammela una penna di tu alia,
Che scriverò una lettera al mio bene.
Quando l'avrò scritta e fatta bella
Ti renderò la penna, o rondinella :
Quando l'avrò scritta in carta bianca
Ti renderò la penna che ti manca ;
Quando l'avrò scritta in carta d'oro
Ti renderò la penna e il tuo bel volo.

Yestreen I wooed—
Yestreen I wooed—
And now I would regret it.
Should I woo to-day—
Should I woo to-day—
Much rather I'd forget it.
Then long live Freedom—
Then long live Freedom—
And all who in her delight.
He who cannot have her—
He who cannot have her—
Must sigh both day and night !

Next to the swallow comes the nightingale, as sacred to love and its associations, and the following simple lines from Sicily are an example—

'Rrisognola d'amuri, rrami, rrami.'

Nightingale ! from branch to branch
Flutterest on the wing !
And thy mate within the nest
Gladly hears thee sing.
But my love is far away,
Cannot hear my cry.
Were I a nightingale, to her
Swiftly would I fly.

If the nightingale be the emblem of happy love, the turtle-dove's melancholy notes have made it from time immemorial sacred to bereaved widowhood, and from Sicily also, which province is rich in these bird-songs, we cite

THE WIDOWED DOVE.

'Turtura scumpagnata comu fai—'

Tell me, thou widowed turtle-dove,
How passest thou thy days,
Since thou hast lost thy faithful love,
So dear to thee always ?
Sadly thou fliest to and fro,
From peak to peak alone,
Thy fond laments could move to woe
The hardest, coldest stone.

Sadly thou weepest him who's dead—
 My grief is not like thine ;
 I weep a maiden who's alive
 Yet never will be mine.

As a counterpart to these we have, from the same province, these lines on the Night-bird, by which the owl is probably meant, being regarded throughout Italy as of evil omen, whose voice foretells death and disasters.

'Oh bruttu aceddu ca disciogghi l'ali.'

Oh, ugly bird ! who spread'st thy wing
 Only when night and silence reign ;
 Of death and sorrow thou dost sing
 In the dark night, with sad refrain.

Teach me thy sorrows, woeful bird,
 Who of complaint art so insate—
 If they with mine may be compared,
 We two must bear our evil fate.

Our evil fate ! Yet in one thing
 Thy lot from mine doth differ quite ;
 Ne'er save at night-time dost thou sing,
 While I must sorrow day and night.

It is to be regretted that it is quite impossible to fix the date of these songs, handed down as they have been by oral tradition, often through several centuries. It would be interesting to know if slight resemblances to Shakespeare's songs, which we may trace here and there, are merely chance coincidences, or whether they point to contemporaneous origin in the rich soil of the Renaissance epoch.

Very slight in comparison to those we have been considering, yet gay as the warbling of the birds of which it speaks, are these lines from the provinces, the precise origin of which we have not been able to fix.

Could I but be a songster sweet
 At every hour I wis,
 I'd fly to that fair garden
 Where my love the gardener is.
 Hither and thither I'd take my flight,
 And hover round him day and night.

Birds, beasts, and fishes are summoned in the following verse to furnish similes for the lover's state; it is from Tuscany.

' Il tordo va volando alla foresta
E quando sente il fischio s'abbadona— '

The turtle-dove aye to the wood is flying,
Hearing the fowler's cry, is caught forlorn ;
The noble hart, in fragrant herbage lying,
Notes not the hunter who his death hath sworn.
The little fish swims through the water clear,
Sees not the fisher lurking near.
So 'tis with me, for love I'm nigh distraught,
And with the angle, net, and cry, I'm caught.

The cicala, that most distinctive feature of the Italian country-landscape, has suggested the following most original comparison in an Ischian song.

MY CRICKET.

I walk about the garden,
As oft I wander there,
I wish to hear my cricket
Singing so loud and clear.
Oh, all ye girls and women,
Who stand there at the spring,
I beg you tell me truly
Can you my cricket bring ?
I cannot find my cricket,
She answers not my call ;
So I with questions tease you,
You dear good women all !

Flowers are principally introduced in a form of poetry peculiar to Italy, and arising, we believe, from the favourite pastime of improvising. It was a common amusement in small circles to give a different flower to each of the company who might have a turn for versifying, and require them in turn to compose, on the spur of the moment, some stanza, no matter how slight and irregular in metrical form, generally introducing an illusion (often distant and forced enough) or a compliment to the lady in whose honour the poem was composed. When strung together these verses, called *stornelli*, were always disconnected and

irregular in form, but they have often a wild grace of their own, like the charm that attaches to a bouquet of field-flowers. An example will prove this better than any lengthened description, and we give two series, the first from Calabria, the second gathered from different provinces—

STORNELLI.

So speaks the Balsamine.
The sun doth greet thee at the window, sweet !
But rain enough for thee is never seen.

Marsh-mallow blossoms that I find,
Tell me ; Envy hath eyes, but Luck is blind !

Love blossoms 'sweet !
Shut up your blooms now that he's gone to war,
And should he die—remain closed, as is meet !

Beware the rose !
Beneath its leaves doth wily snake repose !

Cherry-blossom spray
So simple outwardly, but at heart so gay !

Dear myrtle white !
Oh blossom soon ;
Amid the stars thou seem'st to me the moon.

Pepper-blossom hot !
The miser dies of thirst near running streams,
And when he loses all, himself perceives it not.

Flax-blossom blue !
Even should its heart be like a tulip, vain ;
Still in my garden I would plant it true !

 FLOWERS AMONG THE CORN.

Blossom of Verbène !
See at thy tender feet I'm kneeling down,
Like that fair penitent, the Magdalene.

Pepper-blossom red !
Thou fairest ! goest forth to cull the flowers
Which angels on thy path have gently shed.

Love-blossom twines !
Oh ! who will go to tell my mother dear,
That I have lost my heart among the vines ?

Oh, Campanella !
Upon this bosom dance the Sun's bright rays,
And there also the Moon doth dance the Tarantella !

Oh, thou, who garlands windest !
Thou art without a wife, and I no husband have,
Nowhere in all the world, thou two more luckless findest !

Ah, my Love's name? What 'tis I cannot say,
For it my memory hath quite escaped—
Ah, yes, I know—she's called the Jessamine-spray !

Cradle-songs and lullabies find a place in the popular poetry of Sicily in particular. A glance at these will show the difference of feeling between them and the analogous rhymes of northern nations. The mother's tenderness is more on the surface as it were. She expatiates on the beauty, the noble descent of her darling, but there is not a trace of that deeper religious sentiment that inspires our best songs and poems descriptive of a mother's happiness over her child. Epithets and similes, borrowed from all Nature are heaped upon the little head, and the daily marvel at the dawning and expanding life, has seldom found more forcible expression than in some. But it is always marvel and wonder, not that inner understanding by which the mother's existence becomes one with that of the infant. The first we quote is of Syracusan origin.

LULLABY.

Avò lu figghiu miu, t'amu e ti stimu,
Ciu assai ri l'ora, e di l'arghientu finu.

My little son, I love and cherish thee,
More than all gold and silver that can be.
More than all gold and finest silver cup ;
If I should lose thee, what could make it up ?
When can I find again a child so loved by all ?
Such a sweet son for me from Heaven did fall.
When can I find a child just like to thee ?
My darling little orange-bush, and lemon tree !
Sleep, little laurel-bush, sleep as is meet,
I, leaning o'er thee, mark thy breathings sweet.
Ah, little darling, full of tricks and wiles !
See, thine eyes sparkle, and thy mouth still smiles !

Sure, with my finger soft, I rock, nor make thee start,
For, little son, a noble's child thou art.

Oh ! if thy father knew thou sleep'st so mild,
A golden scarf he'd give to his sweet child.

She who now rocks thee is to hardship banned,
But thou, one day, art lord in all the land.

This, to a little girl, is still more dazzling in its imagery—

' Avò, la figghia mia facciuzza tunna,
Lu mari è comu a tia, quannu fa l'unna.'

Round-faced daughter ! thou art like the sea,
When wave on wave rolls o'er the surface free !

Fine as amber, oh, my baby-blessing !
Godfather sends thee slumber so refreshing,

Sweet, thy name is splendid as a flame,
And a nobleman gave thee that name.

Mirror of my soul ! so fair thou art,
That I am dazzled and confused at heart.

Flame of love ! Be ever fond to me,
For life itself despise I, losing thee.

Now that in slumber my darling's head doth bow,
Take her in thy protection, Virgin thou !

The following, for all its fondness, seems to have been suggested by a 'fractious,' restless child, not easy to lull to rest—

' Avò, lu figghiu mia ti vogghiu beni,
Consortu ri la mamma quannu ha peni.'

I love thee, little son, with all my heart,
Be thou my comfort under sorrow's smart.

I seek, my darling, ever thee to please,
But thou ne'er leavest me rest nor ease.

Sleep has passed by, and asked me why I weep ?
Whether my darling boy will not yet sleep ?

Oh, my sweet baby ! close thy little eyes ;
Around thee breathe the airs of Paradise.

Breath of my life ! slumber on mother's breast !
A rosebud's fragrance on thy lips doth rest.

Sleep, oh, my darling ! child so passing fair !
Like a flower chased in gold, thou liest there !

Passing from these simple songs to the ballad-form of poetry may seem an abrupt transition but, as has been already stated, love and the domestic affections, not the graver notes of patriotism, have inspired their lines. The first we give is from the Umbrian Marches, simple enough in form, and which we have rendered somewhat in the Scotch style, as more closely approximating to the spirit of the original.

'Mamma mia, sto tanto male,
Che 'na cosa giù l'orto non c'è.'

Oh, mither mine ! sae wae is me !
For something in the garden I canna see.

Dear daughter, is't the lettuce, say ?
For if thou wilt, tak' it away !

Oh, mither, nay ; oh, mither, nay ;
For that would never heal my wae !

Oh, mither mine ! sae wae is me !
For something in the garden I canna see.

Daughter, is it the sweet kale, say ?
And if thou wilt, tak' it away !

Oh, mither, nay ; oh, mither, nay ;
For that would never heal my wae !

Oh, mither mine ! sae wae is me !
For something in the garden I canna see.

Dear daughter, is't the lad therein ?
So wilt thou try his love to win !

Oh, mither, yea ; oh, mither, yea ;
That is the herb will heal my wae !

As a contrast to the idyllic character of this, here is a wild border-song of the feud and battle between Turks and Christians, so long maintained in the Albanian colonies of Calabria. There is some picturesque description, but the whole lacks somewhat in continuity and clearness. It is called, rather vaguely,

BIRD-SONGS.

Two birds sat in the forest dark ;
One sang to the other so loud—
'Hast thou not seen what I have seen ?
A Turk galloped past with armour sheen,
And held to his heart a maiden, I ween,
As fair as he was proud.

- ' The maiden she wept, the Turk he sang,
 And this was the song he sung :—
 " With my rich booty I'll ride apace ;
 I've won the maiden with milk-white face,
 The maiden of rare Albanian race !"
 The maiden trembled and clung.
- ' " Oh, woe is me ; oh, woe is me !
 On the heathen dog a curse !
 He carries me off, I know not where ;
 No Christian church shall I find there ;
 And I must weep in my despair,
 And meet with death or worse ! " "
- And the other bird sang in a mournful tone—
 ' I sat on a palace roof
 And heard a mother her child reprove :
 " Though the stranger woos thee on his knees,
 And offers gifts, thou art hard to please,
 And hold'st thyself aloof ! " "
- ' " Mother, oh, mother, I cannot leave—
 Not for silver and not for gold—
 My native place in such sore distress,
 When foreign foes upon it press,
 And ever grow our brave ranks less ;
 I will not be bought and sold ! " "
- ' And while the mother and daughter strove,
 The girl a silken banner wove ;
 But a tear lay in every flow'ret's eye,
 And every stitch was a bitter sigh.'

A lighter specimen of the ballad class is the following, from the *Marches*, in which a reminiscence of *Red Riding-Hood*, as read in the German original, strikes us at once in the sixth verse—

' Ntella riva del mare
 C'era 'na pastorella,
 Pascolava i capri
 " Ntella erba tenerella. " '

Low on the strand was sitting
 A pretty shepherd lass ;
 Watching her flock of goats and kids,
 Grazing the tender grass.

A gallant knight came riding,
 And cried ' Oh, lovely child !
 Call back thy wandering charges,
 There comes the wolf so wild ! '

'Nay, go thy ways, Sir nobleman,
For safe we sure are here ;
And should the wolf come near us
I shall not heed nor fear.'

The wolf rushed from the forest,
With hunger fierce sore pressed ;
And carried off the prettiest,
The best kid she possessed.

The maiden sat her down full sad,
And wept for what was lost ;
Of all her flock was taken
The one she loved the most.

Then quick the knight returned,
And with his sabre bright,
The wolf he disembowelled,
The kid sprang to the light.

'See, lovely maid ! the lost one,
I give it back to thee ;
And this I do for love's sake ;
What wilt thou do for me ?

'What can a shepherd maiden
Do to please taste of thine ?
When I shall shear my snowy flock,
Then take the wool so fine.'

'Sweet maid, I am no trader,
To sell wool north and south ;
I only care for one sweet kiss
Upon thy rosy mouth.'

'Speak low, Sir knight, I prithee,
That no one hears what's said ;
As yet I am a maiden free,
But gladly would I wed !'

Interesting, as an Italian version of the Bluebeard story, is the legend of the Fair Mampresa, a lady dauntless in self-defence, if we may judge from these lines from the Province of Verona.

'El figlio de siar Conte
Lu vol prender mari ;
Lu el vol prender Mampresa,
Filia d'un cavalier.'

More Popular Songs of Italy.

The son of the Count so mighty
 Has donned his armour bright ;
 He would win for his wife Mampresa,
 The child of a valiant knight.

He sues for her at evening,
 At dawn she is his bride ;
 He takes her by the snow-white hand
 And mounts her at his side.

They ride a stretch of thirty miles,
 Mampresa speaks no word ;
 They ride another five miles more,
 And constant sighs are heard.

'Why sighest thou, Mampresa ?
 What can thy sorrow be ?'
 'I sigh for my dear mother,
 Whom I never more shall see.'

'See'st thou, above, that castle ?
 Regard that castle fair ;
 For six-and-thirty maidens
 I have led before thee there !

'I robbed them of their honour,
 And slew them one by one,
 And so I mean to do with thee
 Before this day is done.'

'Oh, chieftain ! dearest chieftain !
 One prayer to me award ;
 Wilt thou not give me from thy side
 Thy bright and glittering sword ?'

'First tell me, sweet Mampresa,
 What will'st thou with the blade ?'
 'I will cut a leafy branchlet,
 Our trusty horse to shade.'

But when he gave his sabre,
 She struck him to the heart—
 Then wheeled around the charger,
 And hastened to depart.

The first whom she encountered,
 It was her mother's son ;
 'Whence comest thou, oh sister,
 So lost and all alone ?'

'The brigands and the robbers
 My husband dear have slain.'
 'Beware, beware, Mampresa !
 That no guilt with thee remain.'

'Oh, no ! oh, no ! my brother !
How can such fancy come ?'
'Then tell me, sweet Mampresa,
Wilt thou with me go home ?'

'Oh, no ! oh, no ! my brother,
Home never will I go ;
But to the Pope's confessor,
And there repent my woe.

'An old, old sin is weighing
So heavy on my heart.'
'Oh, sister ! dearest sister !
Tell it me ere we part.'

'Oh, yes ! oh, yes ! my brother,
With remorse my heart is filled ;
For urged by fear and terror,
My husband have I killed !'

In the same ballad-form, yet differing by the incompleteness of its end, for a ballad should present an entire epic, even within the smallest limits, is one from Umbria—

'Cosa piangè fratello
Cosa piangè, ma vò ?'
'Me tocca andà alla guerra,'
'Ci andarò io per vò'—

'Why weepest thou, my brother ?
Why fall thy tears so free !'
'Alas ! I must unto the wars !'
'Nay, I will go for thee.'

Then she took off her pretty skirts,
And donned a doublet brow ;
And mounted on a charger tall,
And set off to the war.

To her father standing at the door,
To her mother on the lea,
Their pretty daughter mounted high
Seemed a dragoon to be.'

Now, give me quick a handsome sword,
Pointed and sharp to thrust,
And give me quick a faithful squire
In whom I sure may trust.

But when she brought unto the camp
 Her voice and face so fair,
 She quite bewitched the general's son,
 Who fell in love with her.

'Oh, mother mine ! how like a girl
 This handsome lad doth move !—
 Alas ! the shadow of a maid
 Has made me mad with love !'

'Oh, dearest son, hark my advice !
 A trinket at him fling,
 And if it be a maiden
 She'll sure pick up the ring !'

Still slighter is the following from the Province of Como, but we have selected it and the preceding one for quotation on account of a similitude in some of the details to ballads of our own literature. With us it is affection for a lover instead of a brother that prompts the girl to go for a soldier, and Lady Nancy Bell, from whose grave grew a red rose, was not buried in the same grave with Lord Lovel but beside him, so that the briar which grew from his could meet and entwine with the rose from hers. Still there is an interest in tracing even chance resemblances with what is already familiar to us, and so it is with this faint sketch entitled *Rosetta's Flower*.

'Cara Mama, metteme in nana
 Che mi sento a morir.'

'Oh ! mother dear, put me to bed,
 For I feel that I must die ;
 Sing me to sleep oh, mother dear,
 For I feel that I must die.

And sink the coffin very deep,
 For three will lie with me ;
 My father, and my mother,
 And my love who's on the sea !'

'And if thou diest this morning,
 Shalt have a burial fine ;
 Shalt be buried therein nobly
 With rose and jessamine.

On thy grave there shall be planted,
The sweetest flower that grows ;
We'll plant it in the evening,
And at morn the flower blows.

The people all go by it,
And say " Of flowers the pride !
That is Rosetta's flow'ret,
Who for love alone has died."'

And here we pause, fearing to exhaust the reader's patience. Enough has been given to show what a fair field Italy offers us for this kind of research. If to those who have followed us thus far, its exploration has afforded half the gratification that it has us, our labours are amply requited.

EDITH MARGET.

ART. VII.—THE SCOTTISH UNIVERSITIES COMMISSION ; CURRICULA OF STUDY, AND ACADEMICAL DEGREES.

NO problem that will come before the Scottish Universities Executive Commission is more important than the arrangement of those curricula of study, which will lead up to the academical degrees of the future. The allocation of the Parliamentary grant, the founding of new Chairs (lectureships or assistant professorships), the equipment of laboratories, the length of the session, extra-mural teaching, and even the affiliation of new Colleges—important as they severally are—are all subordinate, so far as the future of our University system is concerned, to the adjustment of the various lines of study that are to qualify for the degrees, which will follow and crown them.

The Scottish professoriate can hardly be expected to give a perfectly unbiassed judgment on this question, and it is fortunate for the country that its determination is in other hands. All University teachers are apt to over-estimate their own department ; and probably, if they did not, they would be

less worthy of the office they hold, and less successful in it. The new Commission—which is representative of every Scottish interest—will doubtless consider the question with absolute impartiality, with a view to the greatest good of the greatest number, and with an eye both to present and prospective needs. Acquaintance with some of the details of University life, however, may have enabled the members of the various Senates to form opinions on this subject, that are at least worth stating; and, as the Scottish people are profoundly interested in the welfare and development of those great National Institutions, which have done so much for their country in the past, public discussion of their present condition, and their prospective reform, can do nothing but good.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the new legislation as to curricula and degrees cannot be expected to be—it would be a positive calamity if it were—framed in the interests of any one department of study, or of any one of the sections into which our modern knowledge is subdivided. It is equally clear that reform is necessary only because present arrangements are inadequate to meet the wants of the immediate future; but it is a first principle in all lasting reform that there should be no sudden break with existing usage, or with the precedents of the past. To recast our curricula and degrees from the beginning would be to throw the whole academic constitution of Scotland into the melting pot, and to mould it anew.

Several other questions, however, are closely related to this one, and must be discussed along with it. That of the entrance examination, for example, and the relation in which the several degrees are to stand to one another vitally affect it—especially the relation in which the degree in arts is to stand to that in science.

The object of the present entrance examination for students who take a three years' course for the degree of Master of Arts, and of the 'First Examination' in Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and English, (proposed in the Report of the Commission of 1876,) is so to raise the qualification of entrants, as ultimately to abolish the elementary classes in the present Arts curriculum. There has been a gradual consensus of opinion in the country,

which has steadily grown for more than a quarter of a century, that our Secondary Schools should now do the work of our elementary University classes. Doubtless there is something in the intellectual air of a University, as well as in the teaching given at it, which ought to stimulate a student more than the best training in a secondary school, under the ablest headmaster. But if encouragement is to be given—and ought to be given—to our secondary schools to do the work that is now done by the first year's classes within University walls, the students of the future will come up to the Universities better fitted to profit by the teaching of professors. It would be both a relief to the professorial staff and an economy to the country at large, if this work were done beforehand in the schools, as was recommended by the Commission of 1876. That Commission emphasized the need of a 'basis of general culture,' before a student is allowed to proceed to his degree; and it proposed to secure this basis, not by teaching obtained within the University, but by previous training in the schools, of which the 'first examination' was to be the test. As soon as he passed this examination, the student was to be allowed to specialise along nine different optional paths. Considering the age at which the average Scottish student begins his studies, and the state of education at present in the schools, it is a serious question whether this would not tend to narrow, rather than to widen the University studies of the future. There is great risk in allowing a University student to specialise too early. Such specialisation might neither promote breadth, nor ensure thoroughness. It might even tend to foster prejudice. Whatever may suit the genius of the German Universities, it would be a great loss if we in Scotland were to abandon our old academic ideal of general culture for specialisms which might end in concentration on a single subsection of knowledge, such as linguistic roots, or the dynamics of a particle.

On the other hand, it would be unwise to make all the classes in our existing M.A. curriculum obligatory on every student. The object of the present three or four years course for the degree, preparatory to professional study, is to

'lay the basis of general culture' far and wide among the existing sciences, or bodies of knowledge; but it is a mistake to compel a student to work at subjects for which he has no natural capacity. It is quite true that many a student, who fancies he has no such capacity, may have it unknown to himself; and all students,—at least all the average men,—are much the better of having a course prescribed to them, rather than of being left themselves to make a possibly premature selection. If a four years' residence at the University were to be the condition of obtaining the M.A. degree of the future, then a fixed and inelastic course for one of these years might be desirable for all; but, as three years study is to suffice for taking the degree, a certain option seems desirable from the very first.

To grant this option, however, is not the same thing as to sanction immediate specialisation; because provision ought to be made, in each of the pathways to the degree, for some general as distinguished from special culture. I would therefore either give an alternative of two or three groups of subjects, even in the first year of the course (taking care that they were so arranged as to promote general culture), and allow the student in his second year to specialise along a selected line; *or*, so arrange the various optional pathways from the time of entrance to the University, that the student may take the more generally educative subjects during his first year, and gradually, as he advances to his second and third years, concentrate on special work.

As almost every Scotsman knows, the present pathway to the degree of Master of Arts is by three prescribed lines. 1. Classics, including the languages and literatures of Rome and Greece. 2. Philosophy, including Logic and Metaphysic, Ethics, and English Literature. 3. Science, including Pure Mathematics, and Natural Philosophy or Experimental Physics. The Commission of 1876 proposed that after passing his first examination, the candidate for a degree in Arts should be allowed, either (1), to select this ancient pathway, or (2), to desert it, and to substitute for it any one of five departments, or lines of study, the last of which was subdivided into four

groups. The departments were Literature and Philology, Philosophy, Law and History, Mathematical Science, and Natural Science. The subjects to be included under these five departments were as follows :—

‘ I. LITERATURE and PHILOLOGY to comprise the subjects of Latin, Greek and English Literature, together with one of the following subjects, viz. : Comparative Philology, Sanskrit, Hebrew, a Modern Language, Gaelic, with Celtic Philology. Questions on history and geography incidental to each subject to form part of the examination.

‘ II. PHILOSOPHY to include Logic and Metaphysics, Ethics and Psychology ; and the Physiology of the nervous system. The first two subjects are understood to embrace the History of Philosophy.

‘ III. LAW and HISTORY to include Civil Law, either Constitutional or International Law, and Political Economy, together with the history of any one of the following groups, viz. : Greece and Rome, Modern Europe, Egypt, Syria, Palestine and Arabia, Ancient and Modern America.

‘ IV. MATHEMATICAL SCIENCE to embrace Mathematics, pure and applied ; Natural Philosophy, and Physical Astronomy.

‘ V. NATURAL SCIENCE to comprehend four groups, viz. : (1) Applied Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Chemistry ; (2) Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Physiology ; (3) Physiology, Botany, and Zoology ; (4) Natural Philosophy, Chemistry, and Geology. A candidate to be allowed to take any two of these four groups ; and the practical working of the arrangement would be that Natural Philosophy and Chemistry would be compulsory, while an option would be given between the Mathematical and the Morphological Sciences.’

As this suggestion comes with the authority of the Commission of 1876, it demands most respectful consideration. In comprehensiveness it is a great advance upon our existing system ; but it has certain features which suggest that it was proposed more as a general forecast, or basis for subsequent discussion, than as a definite solution of the problem.

To the seven old subjects, eleven new ones are added by the Commissioners. Two subjects, however,—one of which has been included within the Scottish University system since the Commission sat, and another of which existed in 1876—are left out of all the proposed pathways to the degree, viz., Education, and Fine Art ; while as yet there are no Chairs in any of the Universities for three of the subjects suggested by the Commissioners, viz., Sanskrit, Comparative Philology, and Modern

Languages; and at some of the Universities there are several blanks in the other subjects proposed.

What will strike many minds, in studying the suggestive scheme proposed in 1876, is the prominence given by the Commissioners to the Natural and Physical sciences. In the eleven suggested pathways to the M.A. degree, Natural Philosophy comes into eight of them; Chemistry and Physiology into six; Mathematics into five; Botany and Zoology into three; Latin, Greek, Logic, Moral Philosophy, and English Literature into two; and the seven subjects of History, Political Economy, Law, Comparative Philology, Modern Languages, Astronomy, and Geology into one each. That English Literature and History should come in only once, that Education and Fine Art should find no place at all—while Natural Philosophy has eight tracks to itself, and Chemistry and Physiology have six—is surely a one-sided arrangement. Of course the number of lines, possible or available, would not determine the number of students who would select these lines; because the majority might choose the old immemorial track, or one of the new ones: while two, three, or four of the new paths might be almost deserted. If, however, the above arrangement were sanctioned as a possible one, a total desertion of the new tracks would not be likely to occur; and the emphasizing of special subjects, by placing them in so many of the possible pathways to the degree, looks like an academic invitation to the students of the future to walk along these paths. If the literary, the classical, the philosophical, and the historical studies are, by a new graduation-programme, to be subordinated to the scientific studies of the University, it will be all but inevitable that students will select the latter pathway.

It may therefore be suggested that the new grouping of the Natural and Physical Sciences—which is so admirably done by the Commission of 1876—should either be made the basis of a *reformed Science degree*, or that their plan of grouping should be similarly extended to the literary, the classical, the philosophical, and the historical studies of the University. It is somewhat curious that Mr. Froude, in his interesting ‘note’ of

suggestions for a Law and History School,—appended to the Report of the Commissioners,—should not have indicated the relation in which these proposed studies should stand to the degree, in somewhat more precise detail.

It seems almost an axiom that if the pathways to the M.A. degree are to be made so numerous—almost as numerous as are the sections in a well adjusted map of the sciences, or a scheme of University studies in general—no one of these pathways should be easier than the rest, so that students are tempted to flock to it in preference to the others. The number of obligatory classes, and the amount of fees payable for them, should, in every case, be the same. If one track is costly, and another cheap, the average student is sure to be drawn to the latter. If one avenue to the same degree demands more classes, and a longer residence, it will be set aside in favour of that which requires fewer classes and a shorter residence. Now in the scheme which the Commission of 1876 has formulated, it would be quite possible for a student, after passing his ‘first examination,’ to graduate along some of the lines, *in a single University session*. As Philosophy is one of these tracks, I may speak out the more unreservedly against the proposal. It is the same, however, in the first group of Literature and Philology, in which four subjects only are suggested as obligatory, three of them—viz. Latin, Greek, and English—being fixed; and one other, out of a list of several, being optional to the student. Similarly, in another group, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy, and Astronomy, might all be taken in a single session. Here then are three of the proposed pathways along which a clever student—who had distinguished himself at a secondary school, and passed his ‘first examination’ with credit—might walk to his degree in a single session of six months; while no student selecting these pathways could possibly require more than two winter sessions of study to reach it. What would he gain? A six or twelve months’ residence at a University seat, giving him a mere introduction to collegiate life, as well as to its subjects of study. And what would he lose? All that the Scottish student has hitherto most dearly prized, the varied influence, the manifold

guidance, the discipline, (both in intellectual habit and academic rivalry), which are as useful to him as the instruction of the class room is at a time when mind is forming, and the *esprit de corps* of student life is maturing.

It might almost be taken as a second axiom on this subject that the regulations for graduation in Arts should be so adjusted that the student's time is filled up, in pretty nearly the same proportion during all the years of his undergraduate residence, whatever be the pathway to the degree which he elects to follow ; or that, if one be easier than another, the more difficult should have a higher value. If in all the subjects at present included in the Scottish M.A. curriculum there were senior as well as junior classes, and if the student—in selecting his department—were required to take *both* of these, before being examined for his degree, it is conceivable that—with the additional subjects recommended by the Commissioners for the Classical, Philosophical, and Mathematical departments, his time might be fully occupied for three years. The Commissioners have recommended, however, that in future attendance on no class shall be compulsory for more than a single session ; and there are at present no senior classes (except voluntary ones) in any of the subjects of the curriculum, with the exception of the Classical Languages and Mathematics.

If, therefore, the number of classes in one line of study leading up to the degree are to be fewer than those in another line, the subsequent examination in the latter would require to be much more stringent, in order to prevent a rush towards the former. It is a question whether even that would reduce the inequality. A varying standard of examination for the degree in different departments, however, would probably be found to be a mistake. The standard must be uniform in all the subjects, if the resulting degree is to have the same value in them all, whether it be an academical or a market value. It seems to me to be an almost axiomatic truth that, if we are to have this many-pathed roadway to the degree, all the paths should be equal, at once in the length of time the student must take to traverse them, in the number of classes he must attend, and in the number and stringency of the examinations he must pass.

The preponderance of science subjects in the new pathways suggested in 1878, leads to the question of the Science degree, and the relation in which the Arts degree is to stand to it in future. The Science degrees of the Scottish Universities are relatively a thing of yesterday. They were instituted to meet a real want, which the stereotyped and inelastic Arts degree did not meet; and they have certainly met it in part. Demand has also gradually arisen to allow to Science a place within the Arts degree. So far well; if the Arts degree is to be taken as a symbol or certificate of general culture. No man can be said to be cultured if he is wholly ignorant of the subjects included within either the Science or the Arts department. We must attend to our terms, however, and distinguish things that differ. It will not do to give to the sciences of observation and experiment—the natural and physical sciences—a dominant place within the old Arts degree, widening out the term indefinitely; while, over and above this, we institute (or continue) new degrees in Science *for the same branches of knowledge that are already taken into the M.A. degree*, unless we place some of the subjects of the old master of Arts degree within the new degrees in Science.

It was proposed by the Commission of 1876 that a degree in Science should be obtained by the study, either (1) of the subjects in the fourth department for the M.A. degree, plus a single subdivision of another department, or (2) of three of the courses specified in the fifth department for the M.A. degree, (see p. 42 of the Commissioners' *Report* of 1876). But why give a new and separate degree, with a new name to it, when the course of study is almost the very same as that of the science sections of the M.A. degree? If this is sanctioned it will be given solely as the result of an examination in *the same subjects over again, with a very slight addition*; and the passing of this second examination will be honoured with a new name.

We cannot, however, in justice to the republic of letters, and to the provinces of human knowledge, include Science within the M.A. degree, and also have a science degree lying parallel to (but outside of) it; *unless* we grant a place, both to Language or Philology, and to Mental and Moral science, *within the science degree*. Is there not a science of Language? Is there not

Mental and Moral science? Are not Political Economy and History sciences? And is there not a science of Religion? Has it come to this that the science which deals with vermes, or with jellyfish, is more important, or has a greater title to rank in the hierarchy of the sciences, than those which deal with language, or with mind? In this connection it is to be noted that not only does mental and moral science come within the B.Sc. degree of the London University, but that in the existing regulations in some of the Scottish Universities, it is also an optional pathway to the science degree, although I do not know that it has been taken advantage of to any extent.

If an independent science degree, over and above the science pathway to the M.A. degree, be claimed—and it is claimed—as a professional qualification for scientific specialists, a similar plea might be urged in favour of a separate degree in Literature, or in Philosophy. It is surely a waste of academic honours to have the same, or an almost similar course of study crowned by two separate degrees; and it seems somewhat irrelevant to say ‘This is a scientific age, therefore, we must honour Science by a special degree.’ If a change in the intellectual tide were to make the next age, not so much scientific, as historical or philosophic, would it then be desirable to have a new degree in history or philosophy, superadded to the historical or philosophical track within the existing M.A. course? Surely not; because on precisely the same grounds a plea might be advanced in favour of English Literature or English History. We must be as careful of redundancy as of poverty in our academical arrangements.

Now, the possession of the Master of Arts diploma has been regarded as a guarantee of general culture, up to a certain point, before the Scottish student begins to specialise for his profession, along definite curricula to which definite degrees are annexed, to wit, in Divinity, Medicine, and Law. All those who have taken the Arts degree have started on their professional studies with a marked advantage. No one proposes that this advantage should be renounced. It is only proposed by some reformers that the studies which enter into or constitute it should be enlarged. Two methods are available. The pro-

fessional student may either start from a single basis, to be hereafter called the M.A. degree, which will include some additional science subjects within it, or he may start from two distinct but optional degrees as preliminaries (the Master of Arts and Master of Science) each of them having different features, and both being a symbol or evidence of general as opposed to special education. In that case the Arts Degree, while including science within it, would have a preponderance of the *old* Arts subjects; the Science Degree, while including Arts within it, would have a preponderance of the *new* Science subjects; and the student who obtained either degree would be held as qualified to enter on his special studies in Divinity, Medicine, or Law. Each of these proposals has much that may be advanced in its favour. If the several professions, to which our Scottish students proceed, will admit both, as equally qualifying for entrance on their special studies, there would be a good deal to be said in favour of two degrees of equivalent academic value. But there is no sign as yet of this willingness in Scotland; and the likelihood is that the Churches, and also the legal profession, will prefer a 'one portal system,' though not necessarily through the old M.A. subjects, exclusively. A greatly widened and semi-scientific M.A. degree is more likely to find favour, both with the Churches and with the legal profession. But to create, over and above this broadened semi-scientific Arts Degree, a new specialised Science Degree is surely from every point of view an academic waste; and its adoption would *per contra* invite the creation of another specialised Arts Degree which would exclude the sciences. It seems expedient, therefore, either to retain the Science Degree, 1, to meet the wants for which it was originally created, and 2, to crown the Science course of study (but in that case to widen it, so as to include the sciences of Language and of Mind); or, to abolish it altogether, and to bring all the sciences now existing, and any new ones that may arise, within an indefinitely widened and elastic M.A. degree.

Of these alternatives, the former seems on every ground the better of the two. The objections to the latter are numerous. Two only need be mentioned. (1) It is a mistake to abolish any-

ing that exists, and has not proved itself ineffective. (2) It would be a confusion of terms to call a degree, taken solely through Science, an Arts degree; and it would be an altogether retrograde course to allow an Arts degree to be taken solely through the pathway of the Modern Languages and Modern Sciences.

Suppose then that we retain the Science degree, it ought to have distinctive features of its own, which differentiate it from the Arts degree. If it does not possess such features, but runs parallel to the science section of an Arts degree, on precisely the same grounds, a plea might be advanced for a new degree in Language or in Philosophy.

The whole educational world is agreed—fortunately almost every scientific specialist is also agreed—that before a student is allowed to specialise, he should have what the Commission of 1876 called ‘a basis of general culture.’ The only difference that exists is as to what this basis is to be. The students and the teachers of the Languages will doubtless consider their subjects to have a pre-eminent claim. Mathematicians will probably wish theirs to be made obligatory; and philosophers may very likely desire that every student should possess some knowledge of Philosophy. In determining this ‘general basis,’ however, it might be wise to allow the student to drop *one* of the classes in each department, attendance at which is at present obligatory for the degree; namely, the Classical, the Mathematical, and the Philosophical departments. Thus, in the Classical department, a student not wishing to take the present courses for the degree, and not wishing to specialise in classics, might take either Latin or Greek (one of the two being obligatory). In the department of Philosophy, a student not taking the present course, and not wishing to specialise in Philosophy, might take either Logic or Ethics (one of the two being obligatory). In the department of Mathematical Science, a student not taking the present course for the degree, and not wishing to specialise in Mathematics, might take either Mathematics or Natural Philosophy (one of the two being obligatory). The result would be that Latin, Logic, and Mathematics would almost invariably be taken as the ‘basis of general culture.’ English Literature I would make

obligatory on every student for the M.A. degree, simply because it is a British degree, and every educated man ought to know the literature of his own country.

It is conceivable, however, that some students might prefer the alternative subject in each of the three departments named, either from having been already trained in it at a secondary school, or from its superior attractiveness at the University, due to the occupant of the Chair, or from other reasons; but the great majority would doubtless take Latin, Mathematics, and Logic; and these, along with English Literature, would certainly form a good six months' course in the first year of undergraduate life.

Take, now, the case of a student who means to devote himself to science studies. He certainly ought to know something of Latin; but suppose that his Leaving Certificate at school, his Local Examination Certificate, or his 'first examination' at the University shewed that his knowledge of Latin was tolerably thorough, he might prefer to take Greek as his Language during the first year at the University, and he should certainly be allowed to do so. Probably no academic discipline, in the whole range of studies has in it greater possibilities of culture, both deep and wide—especially if the Philosophy and Art of Greece, as well as its History and Literature are taught—and it would be a calamity of the first magnitude if, by a rigid first year's curriculum for all, any student should lose his chance of initiation into the Greek world of culture. So with the alternatives in the Mathematical track. It is quite conceivable that a student might come up from a secondary school a sufficiently good mathematician to be able to profit from the lectures of the Professor of Natural Philosophy. In that case he should not be prevented from doing so, but should have the option of taking either Mathematics *or* Natural Philosophy, according as he had, or had not, a previous initiation into the former subject.

A very valuable suggestion was made some time ago, in a report submitted to the Council of the University of Edinburgh, to recast the pathways to the degree under the five general heads suggested by the Commission of 1876. It was proposed that the following subjects should be taken in the several departments:—

I. LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY.	II. PHILOSOPHY.	III. LAW AND HISTORY.
1. Latin.	1. Logic and Metaphysics.	1. Civil Law.
2. Greek.	2. Moral Philosophy.	2. Political Economy.
3. English.	3. Physiology.	3. History.
4. Any one of (a) Comparative Philology. (b) Sanskrit. (c) Hebrew. (d) Modern Languages. (e) Gaelic.	4. Political Economy. 5. (a) Latin. or (b) Greek. 6. English.	4. (a) Constitutional Law. or (b) International Law. 5. Moral Philosophy. 6. Latin. 7. (a) English. or (b) Logic.
5. Mathematics.	7. Mathematics.	
6. Logic and Metaphysics.		
7. History.		
IV. MATHEMATICAL SCIENCE.	V. NATURAL SCIENCE.	
1. Mathematics.	1. Natural Philosophy.	
2. Natural Philosophy.	2. Chemistry.	
3. Physical Astronomy.	3 and 4. Any two of the following— (a) Mathematics (applied). (b) Physiology. (c) Botany. (d) Zoology. (e) Geology.	
4. Chemistry.	5. (a) Latin, or (b) Greek.	
5. Latin.	6. English Literature.	
6. English.	7. Logic.	
7. Logic.		

The merit of this suggestion is that while five different optional pathways are given, the subjects to be taken in each are seven in number; and they are so arranged that, while specialisation is permitted, it is conjoined—even up to the last year of a three years' course—with subjects of general culture. The language specialist must have some knowledge of Mathematics, Logic, and History. The philosophical specialist must know Latin or Greek, Physiology, and Mathematics. The student of Law and History must know something of Language, and Philosophy; while both the Mathematicians and the students of Natural Science must be acquainted, to a certain extent, with the Languages and with Philosophy.

The Edinburgh University Council may bring its views on these points before the Commissioners in greater detail. It is to be observed, however, that neither the subject of Education,

nor that of Fine Art, has any place within the five groups. Perhaps Education might find an optional or alternative place in Nos. 1, 2, 3, and Fine Art at least in No. 2.

Another solution of some of the difficulties of the problem would be found by instituting a higher University class in all the subjects at present included within the M.A. curriculum. Higher classes at present exist only in Latin, Greek, and Mathematics. Might it not be possible to remodel the Arts curriculum by a re-arrangement of it into only three groups: the first, that of Language and Literature; the second, that of Philosophy; and the third, that of the physical and natural Sciences? Into the first department would come—1, Latin, 2, Greek; corresponding to the present second year's classes in these subjects. 3 and 4, Higher classes in both of these departments. To these would be added 5, Sanskrit or Celtic; and 6, Hebrew and Oriental languages. Into the second department would come 1, Logic and Psychology, 2; Ethics, corresponding to the present classes; 3, a higher class of Logic and Metaphysics; 4, the History of Philosophy. To these would be added 5, Political Economy; and 6, History or Fine Art. Into the third department of Physical and Natural Science would come 1, Mathematics; 2, Natural Philosophy, corresponding to the present second year's class in the former subject, and to the existing class in the latter; to which would be added 3 and 4, higher classes in these two departments; and in addition 5, Chemistry or Physiology; and 6, Natural History or Botany. English Literature would be obligatory as a 7th subject in all the departments, and Education might be optional in all of them.

If this were sanctioned, no one should be allowed to graduate with Honours who had not taken the higher subjects in each of the three departments; while for the Pass degree, attendance at the ordinary classes would suffice.

It is noteworthy that by such a triple arrangement of the groups, matters would be greatly simplified. The separate departments of 'History' and 'Natural Science,' proposed by the Commissioners of 1876, would be taken up within the three sections; while 'Law' would be relegated to the Law degree.

Another very important point, which will doubtless occupy the

attention of the Commissioners, is the provision of means by which graduates may advance from the Arts and Science degrees to *Doctorates* in Literature, Philosophy, and Science. Many students, who have left the Universities and begun professional life, are extremely anxious to have such degrees opened up to them. They have even petitioned the Universities to grant such doctorates; and negotiations have been carried on, to a certain extent, between the Universities of Edinburgh, Glasgow, and St. Andrews on the subject. There are few things that would more stimulate the intellectual activity of students, after they have left the University and become professional men, than the prospect of obtaining these higher degrees—say seven years after graduation—either by examination, or by the writing of a thesis. It might even be a question whether all who have obtained their doctorates might not be licensed to teach the subject in which they have taken them, and be permitted to open voluntary classes at the University.

In conclusion, the suggestions I would venture to make are as follows:—

(1.) That the 'first examination,' to be passed by all who enter a University course for a degree should include the subjects of Latin, Greek, Mathematics, and English; and even now, in the case of those who mean to take the Science path to the degree, in elementary 'physical and natural science,' as recommended by the Commission of 1876. The inclusion of the latter *now* would be a stimulus to the secondary schools of the country; and until the state of education warrants it, the examination in these subjects need not be so stringent as it will afterwards become. If not now included, their recognition might be postponed till Scotland requires a new Universities' Bill, a generation or two generations hence.

(2.) That no student should be allowed to enter the classes qualifying for the degree, until he has passed in at least two of these subjects of the 'First Examinations,' and that, if he has failed to pass in the others, he must pass in them, at the close of his first winter session, or at the beginning of the second.

(3.) That a three years' course of study, neither more nor less,

should be obligatory on all students for the Arts or Science degree.

(4.) That a curriculum of seven classes should be in all cases obligatory before either degree can be obtained.

(5.) That those who choose should be allowed to proceed by the existing pathway to the M.A. degree.

(6.) That a distinctive difference should mark off the Science from the Arts degree; and that if all the natural sciences be brought within the Arts degree, some of the Arts subjects should have an optional place within the Science degree.

(7.) That the 'basis of general culture' should not be too rigidly fixed; but that a certain option should be allowed from the first, while one subject in each of the existing departments is made obligatory.

(8.) That specialization be subsequently permitted, with a view to greater proficiency, and graduation with honours in a selected department.

(9.) That doctorates in Literature, Philosophy, and Science be instituted, as a stimulus to further study and research after the student has left the University.

WILLIAM KNIGHT.

ART. VIII.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Zweites Heft, 1889).—This number opens with an elaborate, and, from a literary point of view, highly characteristic article from the pen of Professor Köstlin on the Origin of Religion, 'Der Ursprung der Religion.' He passes in review, not the various data furnished by recent investigators into the religions of the world, but the decisions of the numerous (chiefly German) philosophers, who have recently endeavoured to define Religion, or account for its genesis in the human soul. He points out at length what he regards as the defects of these definitions, or what seems to him faulty in the accounts given of its origin. Prof. Köstlin does not regard religion as the product of man's

unaided faculties. Neither the idea of the infinite, nor the feeling of personal weakness and need of help, fear, or self interest, can possibly, he thinks, give birth to the belief in, and aspiration after, God, which constitute religion. It comes, according to him, first of all from God's seeking after man and not from man's seeking after God, from 'ein unmittelbares inneres Erregtsein durch das Göttliche.'—Professor H. Jacoby furnishes an interesting paper on 'Practical Theology in the Ancient Church.' He goes over the works of such early writers as Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzum, Chrysostom, and Ambrose, and brings out their testimony on this subject.—Dr. Buchwald gives an account of certain manuscript sermons of Luther's found in the Stadtbibliothek of Hamburg.—Professor J. A. Sepp discusses 'Die Markus-und-Matthäusfrage und gewisse Missverständnisse bei den Synoptikern.'—The books reviewed are Schmoller's *Parallelbible* and *Dr. Martin Luther's Briefwechsel*.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Erstes Heft, 1890).—Under the title 'Die Beweggründe zum sittlichen Handeln in dem vorchristlichen Israel,' Professor Hermann Schultz sets forth the testimony of the Old Testament literature to the development of the principles of morality in ancient Israel, from the time when morality was merely devotion to the family, tribe, and nation, and to the will of God apart from the ethical quality of His commands, on to the time of Christ. His object is to make clear, or fully comprehensible, the position of Jesus with respect to the 'Sittlichkeit seines Volkes,' and to bring out the significance of the Old Testament for the moral history of humanity. Dr. G. Runze continues and completes his essay on 'Die vierfache Wurzel des ausserchristlichen Unsterblichkeitsglaubens.' Herr Pfarrer Osiander discusses the position Jesus took up with respect to the 'Law'—the Law not as confined to the Pentateuch, but to the Old Testament as a whole.—Dr. J. Dräseke treats of Apollinarius of Laodicea's Dialogue on the 'Trinity.' Prof. Häring gives an additional note to his recent paper on the 'Begriff der Sühne.' Four volumes are shortly noticed, Dr. Keller's '*Johann von Staupitz und die Anfänge der Reformation*;' Westphal's '*Les Sources du Pentateuque*;' Delitzsch's '*Assyrische Grammatik*,' and Schrader's '*Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek*.'

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (October, November, December).—The new volume of this excellent review opens with a novelette, 'Unsühnbar,' bearing the signature of Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, whose popularity is likely to be further increased by this latest addition to an already long list of works of fiction.—Pro-

fessor Rümelin, of Tübingen, comes next with the reproduction of an address delivered by him in the University, and dealing with the problems which fall within the domain of the comparatively new science of sociology.—In ‘Thoughts about Music amongst Animals and Men,’ Herr August Weismann develops the idea that amongst men music has not the same connection with sexual selection to which its development amongst animals is attributed, that there is no reason to believe in any development of musical talent in the course of centuries, but that music itself has been perfected by successive discoveries, so that it now gives freer and wider scope to musical genius, though this may not in itself be greater than existed amongst primitive men or now exists amongst uncivilized races.—A name with which we are familiar, that of Professor Herman Grimm, also appears in the table of contents. His contribution is a description of the frescoes with which Maccari has adorned the Senate Hall in the Palazzo Madama in Rome.—A long and laudatory sketch of Oehlenschlaeger’s ‘legendary drama,’ Aladdin, and an account of the great fire of Hamburg in 1842, are followed by an article which English readers, at least, will probably find more interesting. It deals with the genealogy of the English gentry. Whilst freely availing himself of Foster’s well-known works on the subject, the author, Dr. Asher, has himself gathered other materials, which not only give originality to his paper, but also enable him to modify some of the conclusions which the English writer puts forward.—The most important contribution to the November number is an account, by the Duke Ernest of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha, of the Frankfort Congress, which took place in August 1863, and at which the Duke himself was present. From the full and copious notes which he took at the time, he now publishes what may be looked upon as the first really authentic report of the proceedings in the memorable assembly which gave a death-blow to the German Confederation established in 1852. Even apart from the position and personality of the princely author, the documents which he communicates would lend high historical value to his sketch.—A paper of considerable interest is that which Herr Victor Meyer contributes. It deals with the chemical problems of the present time, and after sketching what has been achieved of late years, indicates some of the most important things which still remain to be done.—Whatever its subject, an essay by Professor Herman Grimm is sure to be worth reading, even when, as here, it is a well-worn one. Homeric students might say that nothing in his paper on the Iliad adds to our knowledge of the origin or development of the great epic, or clears up any of the other obscure points; for all that, they will

be the first to acknowledge the interest and the charm with which the author's brilliant style has invested it.—Two short but interesting papers by Madame al Raschid Bey, *née* Helene Böhlau, describe, the one the customs and ceremonies connected with the fast-month Ramadan, the other, a fire in Constantinople.—A few months ago there died in Frankfort, at the advanced age of seventy-eight, one whom the world had long forgotten, but who, nearly half-a-century before, had attracted, first interest, and then general sympathy when it was known that she was engaged to be married to the poet Lenau, and when, a few months later, the news spread that her betrothed had been taken from her by an event sadder than death, by the outbreak of the terrible disease which confined him sixteen years in an asylum. Amongst the papers left by this lady, Fräulein Marie Behrends, at her death, there have been found a diary containing references to Lenau, as well as letters written to her by the poet during their short engagement. These are given to the public by Herr Paul Weisser, who himself adds such explanations as the subject requires to be intelligible at the present day. To all who are acquainted with Lenau's works, this contribution cannot fail to be of the greatest interest.—A valuable chapter of literary history is given by Herr Otto Brahm, who narrates the circumstances under which Schiller wrote his *Don Carlos*, and enters into a detailed and critical examination of the drama. The essay is deserving of attention for its own literary merit, as well as a help to the study of what is, in many respects, one of the poet's most remarkable productions.—The beginning of a review of Heinrich von Sybel's lately published history of the foundation of the new German Empire, and a parallel between 1789 and 1889, suggested to Professor Hausrath by the late Paris Exhibition, close a most readable number.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (October, November, December).—The excellently written and interesting article, 'Aus dem heiligen Lande,' which the well-known orientalist, Heinrich Brugsch, contributes to the first of these three numbers, takes us to the most interesting of the places connected with the history of the Jews, the life of Christ, and the early Christian communities. The author shows us that, though the result of modern research has been to dispel many a pious legend referring to them, there is still sufficient left in the way of true historical associations to justify all our respect and reverence for the holy places.—A paper by Herr Heigel deals with a comparatively obscure episode in the life of Voltaire, his connection with Charles Theodore of Pfalz-Bayern, whose acquaintance he made shortly

after leaving the court of Fredrick, and with whom he continued to correspond in later years. One of the letters given by Herr Heigel is in so far interesting that it here appears for the first time, not being included in Voltaire's general correspondence. Its importance is not, however, very great, as it only contains congratulations on Charles Theodore's succession to the ducal crown of Bavaria.—Running through the three numbers there is a sketch by Herr Julius Wahle, of the various places of classical interest in Weimar, whose connection with not only Goethe, but also Schiller and Herder, it is scarcely necessary to recall.—Herr Gerhard Rohlf's contributes an article on 'Slavery and the Slave Trade.' The first part is mere padding, but the second gives a striking picture of the cruelties carried on by the slave dealers in Africa. As a proof of the difficulty of the whole question of slavery, it may be noted that Herr Rohlf's deprecates compensation to the owners of slaves, the very thing for which, as we have indicated elsewhere, another writer suggests a universal collection.—In each of the quarter's numbers, Herr Paul Kuh, communicates a series of letters between Theodor Storm and Emil Kuh, the latter of whom is known chiefly by his biography of Hebbel.—In the October and November parts, art students will find a very excellent sketch of the careers and of the works of the three Meyerheims, Edward, Paul, and Franz. A series of twenty-four illustrations, including portraits of the artists, adds to the value and interest of Herr Pietsch's contribution.—The only three complete papers in the October number are, one which Herr Ludwig Geiger devotes to the somewhat threadbare subject of Molière's female characters, another descriptive of chessmen as used in the East, and a third containing some details concerning Minchen Herzlieb, Goethe's 'Otilie.'—In the table of contents for December, besides the instalments of articles already mentioned, the contribution of most general interest is Baron von Roberts' sketch of Luxemburg; it is profusely illustrated.—An essay on Lamartine, signed by Herr Arthur Kleinschmidt, contains nothing particularly new, but it is well written and readable.—As usual, considerable space has been devoted to lighter literature, 'Ossip Schubin' being the chief contributor.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (October, November, December.)
—In addition to a second instalment of Dr. Delbrück's study of the strategy of Frederick the Great as illustrative of that of Pericles, the October number contains three complete articles. The first, which is also that most likely to interest the general reader, is devoted to Christmas. The three points which the

writer, Herr Weizfäcker, works out are, that the celebration of the birth of Christ did not exist in the Church until about the time of the Council of Nicæa; that in one part of the Church the Epiphany—commemorative of the baptism of Christ, and of gnostic origin—was celebrated; and, lastly, that it was not till the fourth century that the Nativity made its appearance.—The next article is by Herr Löwenfeld; he brings it as a graceful tribute of respect and admiration to the well-known historian, Wattenbach, whose seventieth birthday occurred last September, and whose career is made the subject of an appreciative but not exaggerated sketch.—For its indirect connection with English history, the historical essay in which Dr. Adolf Köcher gives a biography of the last Duchess of Celle, is not without interest for English readers, who will doubtless remember that she was the mother of George I.'s unhappy consort.—The November number brings an article of special interest, headed, 'Unsere Aufgaben gegenüber dem Judenthum.' To indicate the spirit in which Herr Robert Hessen has written it, it will suffice to summarize the conclusion to which he is brought. Being placed in the alternative of being either the dupes or the opponents of Judaism, Germans have, he says, too long been satisfied with the choice of the greater evil. They must now become the teachers of Judaism, and not weary until the last Jew has been Germanized. To bring this about, he considers it necessary, on the one hand, that the Jew-baiting of the last few years should cease, and on the other, that the Germans should assert themselves more in business and professional life, and banish questionable Jewish elements from it.—Another important paper is that in which Dr. Delbrück very sharply criticises the book lately published by the well-known writer Freytag, on the Emperor Frederick, and accuses the writer of having of set purpose, drawn special attention to everything approaching to a weakness in his character.—The poetry of the wandering students in the Middle Ages is the subject of a most instructive and most readable essay, which Herr Johannes Ilberg would have rendered still more attractive if he had introduced a few specimens.—Dr. Stephan heads the table of contents of the December number with a lengthy article, in which he considers the new Italian Code. He pronounces it in every way worthy of the eminent men who have devoted to it the labour of long years. Its high scientific value, he says, is apparent in its systematic plan, in the general treatment of the subject, and in the several divisions of it. In addition to this, he speaks with enthusiasm of the 'cosmopolitan spirit' which pervades the whole code, without, however, interfering with a 'strongly-marked national self-consciousness,' which

likewise excites his admiration.—A fifty-page article by Herr Hermann Conrad follows. It is devoted to 'Macbeth,' and is as complete and minute an analysis of Shakespeare's master-piece as any Shakespearian scholar has yet produced.

ITALY.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (October, November, December).—The contents of these six numbers are varied enough. Professor Villari writes on the Constitution of the United States, which, he says, is now more than ever worthy of study. He frequently quotes Mr. Bryce's *American Commonwealth*, and deplors the recent founding of parliamentary government on parties. He thinks, however, that the existing political corruption, which owes its origin to party spirit, may be only a passing period of preparation for better things; if not, the moral tone of the whole country will assuredly be lowered.—We are made acquainted by F. Marini with the family of Niccolo Puccini, who was one of the most striking incarnations of Tuscan thought and feeling.—Professor Brizio gives us another instalment of his interesting account of the Umbrians, their manners and customs. This ancient people seems to have been tall, strong, and well-made, and in many things to have resembled the ancient Greeks.—The elections in France excite the able pen of Signor Bonghi.—In the list of 'Celebrated Italian Singers' there now appears a long forgotten name, Marghereta Salicola, whose chequered history at the end of the seventeenth century, as singer at the Courts of Mantua and Parma, where she performed in operas as utterly forgotten now as herself, and at the Court of Saxony, her elopement to which caused a quarrel and nearly a war, is both amusing and interesting as illustrating the manners of the period.—A. Gabelli, in an article on 'Liberty in Italy,' points out where it is exaggerated and where limited, the evil which ensued on the sudden acquirement of political liberty in a country not gradually prepared for it, and the frequent failures in police administration.—For the learned there is an article on 'Guido's Disdain of Virgil,' while lovers of nature will find a description of *villeggiatura* on Mont Amiata.—Poets and lecturers in Domitian's time are discussed by V. Grachi, and an ex-Minister describes the evil effects of the tension between State and Church in Italy, declaring that if the Pope had the courage to promulgate an alliance between Capital and Labour, the Church might still place herself at the head of a great social movement.—P. Fambri writes on Dramatic Art.—The studies on Parini, by A. Borgognoni, are continued.—Lighter reading is afforded by Signor

Farina's serial novel, and a pleasant paper on the language of animals, by E. Mancini.—Guiseppe Verdi's jubilee brings a monograph from E. Panzacchi, and a useful description of the New National Museum of Antiquities in Rome is provided by Professor Brizio.—A. Mosso writes on the expression of pain as represented by art, and gives the palm to the Pergamon sculptures.—Of special interest is an article on Italian epigrams and the last of the epigrammatists, Ludovico Merlini of Forti, who died a few months ago, and who published in seven books no fewer than 700 epigrams, many of which are here quoted.—An extremely learned paper by Countess Lovatelli on 'Hypnotism and Dreams' in the ancient world, shows that 'there is nothing new under the sun.'—In the literary notes the Eighth Annual Report of the English Dante Society and Thomas Kirkup's *Inquiry into Socialism* are mentioned.—In the last number for this year we still find reference to the late centenary in France, in an article by A. Franchetti on the people of Italy and the French Revolution.—C. Boito writes on Antiquity and the Fine Arts; L. Luzzatti on social peace at the French Exhibition.—A short novelette by L. Capuana, an article on military disputes by Italice; a critique of Bourget's *Le Disciple*, by Signor Boughi; a paper by F. Cardon, describing the aim of the Italian explorers of the nineteenth century; and some verses by G. Marrado, close the number.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (October, November, December).—Besides the continuation of 'The Soudan and the Mahdi,' by a part relating the first action of General Gordon at Khartoum, and of the story of Queen Christina's stay in Rome, we have here for the first time in print many letters from various illustrious Italians to General Durando.—'B.' writes on Cavour as an agriculturist and business man.—E. Pernini describes the work of Abbé Darra, the director of a Deaf and Dumb Asylum in Milan.—F. C. Pellegrini, *apropos* of Villari's *Life of Savonarola*, elucidates many hitherto little known points in Florentine History relating to some institutions of that Republic.—P. E. Caslognola begins a series of papers on modern Roman poets with Luigi Lezzani, who died some thirty years ago.—The latest studies on lightning conductors afford a subject to R. Ferrini, and V. Ausidei writes a biographical sketch on Giacomo Zanelli, and A. Valdarnini on Condorcet.—Verdi's jubilee of course inspires at least a short paper, and L. Luzzatti takes the fertile theme of the Misfortunes of Labour.—A more important paper is one by J. de Johannis on the Monetary Question and the Latin League; while Mancini's mental qualities, the new classic school

of writers in Italy, Marco Minghetti, Bacio Bungli, at the court of Emanuel Philebert, afford subjects for articles of varied interest.—The number for the 16th December contains an interesting historical account, by V. G. Ottairano, of the Count of Carmagnola, the hero of Manzoni's tragedy.—G. Grabruski gives the first part of an article on the controversy aroused by the Bishop of Nancy's pamphlet on the Concordat. The chapters on Queen Christina of Sweden in Rome are continued.—G. Fortebracci writes on parties in Italy, saying that if a strong patriotic party were to rise and efficiently revive the faith of the past generation, there would be no reason for a clerical party to exist. The whole force of the Radicals of the extreme left is derived from the fact that they are the only serious opposition party against the Government.—The law project concerning charitable institutions occupies the pen of R. Mazzei.

ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLETANE.—Fas. III. IV., year 14, deals with many historical subjects—the story of a soldier and writer of the fifteenth century, Girolamo Fruttavilla, by F. Gabotti; the continuation of 'Carlo Mortello in Naples,' by M. Schipa; a complete account, the first hitherto published, of the mediæval coinage of Naples, by A. G. Sambon; three unpublished letters concerning the eruption of Vesuvius in 1631, which read like descriptions of the modern eruption, in 1872, only that the older eruption did more damage; a very entertaining paper on the theatres of Naples in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by B. Croce, and the continuation of 'Pages of the Story of Naples,' by B. Capasso, the royal architect.—G. Filippo edits the Treaty of Peace between Ruggiero and the city of Savona.

ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO.—Issue 4 for 1889 contains notes appended to the Statute of the Merchants of Florence in 1301, 1302, edited by G. Filippo, and a paper on Antonio di Noceto, by G. Bicchieri.

GIORNALE STORICO DELLA LETTERATURA ITALIANA.—Fas. 42 has a paper on the Florentine Code of Flowers of Rhetoric, by F. Tocco; researches on Folengo, by A. Luzio; and a letter from Savonarola to Ludovico del Moro, edited by Professor Villari.

REVIEW OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SCIENCE (Oct., Nov.) contains, as chief articles, one by L. Palma on the recent law concerning the rights of meetings and associations in Spain; by R. della Volta, on Italy and the Latin monetary union; by E. Coppi on the law of funded property in Tunis; and by S. Corleo on the Demoralization of Taxes.

FRANCE.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1889).—M. Maurice Vernes' recent article in this *Revue*, and two others contributed by him to other journals, in which he advocated, in outline at least, the opinion he has lately adopted as to the date of the composition of the books of the Old Testament, form the subject of the first paper in this number. It is from the pen of Professor Kuenen. M. Vernes' articles were to be followed up by a volume in which his views were to be substantiated by a minute examination of the books of the Old Testament. Professor Kuenen does not think it at all necessary to wait for the appearance of this volume, but sets himself here to show that every position taken up by M. Vernes as to the prophetic books (he has already in the 'Theologisch Tijdschrift' dealt with the author's treatment of the Pentateuch) is utterly untenable. Prof. Kuenen is very severe on M. Vernes, and his criticism of his articles leaves nothing to be desired in the way of demolition. But M. Vernes has yet to be heard in his defence. Professor Kuenen mentions M. Havet's views on this question, but takes no notice of his articles in the *Revue de Deux Mondes* of August last.—M. Georges Lafaye's, 'Bulletin archéologique de la Religion Romaine, for 1888, is devoted to the discoveries made in Rome and elsewhere during that year, in so far as they shed light on the ancient religions of Rome. A great part of his paper is devoted to the inscription discovered in Narbonne, which has changed so vitally the notions formerly entertained regarding the provincial assemblies throughout the empire.—M. C. Snouck Hurgronje gives a very highly appreciative notice of the recent contributions to Islamism by Professors Wellhausen and Goldziher, and the 'Travels' of Mr. Doughty. M. Jean Reville describes the exhibits in the Paris Exhibition, which illustrated the subject or history of religion. Several important works are reviewed, and the 'Chronique' of the two months completes the number.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 5, 1889).—M. le comte Goblet d'Alviella has the first place here with an article on, 'Des symboles qui sont influence la représentation figurée des pierres coniques chez les Semites.' It is accompanied by numerous illustrations of the symbols in question, the *cruces ansate* of Egyptian inscriptions, gems, amulets, etc., the isosceles triangles and cone-shaped statuettes and figures so frequently found on steles, seals, and sculptures generally, in ancient art. The writer endeavours to determine the primitive significance of the symbol, and to account for the widespread adoption of it.—M. D. Koulikovski follows with an elaborate paper on 'Les trois feux

sacrés du Rigveda.' His object is to show that the Vedic Aryas worshipped not one Agni, but several, which may be grouped under one or other of three classes, those of the house or family; those of the commune; or those of a federation of communes. He supports his contention by numerous references to, and quotations from the Vedic hymns.—M. Girard de Rialle treats of the races that inhabit Madagascar and its adjoining islands. He thinks that the inefficiency of the efforts made by France to maintain its hold on, and powerfully influence the native populations, is largely owing to the ignorance prevailing in high quarters, and among the French people generally, as to these races, their customs and habits, and as to the nature and resources of the islands. He endeavours here to concentrate some of the more important rays of light that have been shed by various travellers, ethnologists, and others on these points.—Dr. Albert Reville follows up the Editor's account in last number of the 'Exhibits' at the French Exhibition, illustrative of the science of religions, by a *précis* and running criticism of the papers read, and debates that followed them, at the Conferences connected with this science held in one of the halls of the Exhibition early in October. M. E. Montet gives a brief summary of what was done at the Oriental Congress at Stockholm bearing on the science to which this *Revue* is devoted, and M. J. Reville treats of the teaching of the history of Religions in the United States and in Europe.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4. 1889). This *Revue*, of which the fourth number only has appeared, has been already so warmly received in the circles for which it was principally intended, that its promoters are henceforth to issue it, not quarterly, as was done last year, but every two months, making six numbers yearly, without increasing the price. M. Fèlix Robinou, under the title 'Une double question de critique,' takes occasion from the publication of a curious book by M. l'Abbe Fourrière, 'Les emprunts d'Homère au livre de Judith,' to reproduce, in a much abbreviated form, his opinions published fourteen years ago in the *Revue Archéologique* regarding Judith. The first part of an interesting paper on 'The Origins of the Mexican Races' follows, from the pen of M. Castonnet des Fosses.—M. l'Abbe Z. Peisson contributes the first part also of what promises to be an elaborate account of 'Confucianism.' This introductory portion is taken up with preliminary matters, such as the origins of the Chinese, and their civilization; the legends regarding their first kings or emperors; and the relation of religion to the State, etc.—The 'Chronique' and 'Bibliographie' are exceptionally full, if not exhaustive, in this number, including works on the religious

sects in Russia, India, and China, besides those touching on Biblical studies proper, and the ancient religions of Greece and Rome.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (October, November, December).—Though closed in the Champ de Mars, the Exhibition is still in full swing in the October and November numbers, which contain between them no less than nine articles descriptive of one or other of the sections. To limit ourselves to a mere mention of the subjects dealt with, M. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé continues and closes his series, 'Through the Exhibition,' with three further instalments headed, respectively, 'La Guerre, la Paix Sociale,' 'Devant l'Histoire du Siècle,' and 'Dernières Remarques.' M. C. de Varigny has likewise three Exhibition articles, descriptive of the manner in which Asia, America, Africa and Oceania were represented at the world's show. M. Georges Lafenestre comes next with two articles on the French and foreign pictures exhibited. Finally, Dr. Rochard devotes some thirty-two pages to the sanitary section. Retracing our steps back to the first number we find M. Victor du Bled's signature to an historical sketch entitled 'Un Amour Platonique au XVIII^e Siècle.' The hero being Lauzun, duc de Biron, platonic attachments are not the only ones about which the writer has something to say.—M. G. de Saporta's 'Les Théories Cosmogoniques,' is a review of M. A. Falsan's recently published work on the glacial period.—M. Frantz Funck-Brentano having chosen Latude as the subject of an historical and biographical essay, it might almost be suspected that he offers his readers something more than a mere repetition of the old story of how Latude, hoping to gain the patronage of Madame de Pompadour, informed her of a plot against her life, and was kept in the Bastille or other prisons for thirty-five years, because the plot was discovered to be an invention of his own. It may interest some to know that, in the first place, the prisoner, on whom they may have bestowed a good deal of superfluous sympathy, had no right to the name of Latude. He was the illegitimate child of a woman called Aubrespy, and out of the two Christian names given him by his god-parents—Jean Henry—had manufactured the patronymic Jean Danry, which he bore in the army, where he was, not, as he says, an officer, but an assistant surgeon. The details which he gives in his Memoirs as to his treatment both at the Bastille and at Vincennes, are shown to be equally veracious, and, in short, M. Funck-Brentano, with the help of official documents, proves Jean Henri, *alias* Danry, *alias* Danger, *alias* Jedor, *alias* Masers d'Aubrespy, *alias* de Masers de La Tude, to have been a

clever impostor.—To the number dated October 15th, M. Arvède Barine contributes an article on Solomon Maimon. It is well written and interesting for those who have not made the acquaintance of this strange character. English readers, however, have access to a fuller source of information, the excellent translation of the autobiography, lately published by Professor Murray.—Lovers of music and admirers of *Carmen* will be thankful to M. Camille Bellaigue for the sketch which he gives of the career and of the works of George Bizet; it is appreciative and, indeed, laudatory, but not exaggerated, and is as conscientious and meritorious a production from the musical as from the literary point of view.—The first of the November numbers contains an article which comes particularly opportunely. It is a sketch of the first part of the career of Mirabeau, and is founded on the work lately published by M. Louis de Loménie. Unfortunately the biography, and, consequently, the review, stop short a year or two before the beginning of the Revolution.—The mid-monthly part at length manages to shake itself free of the Exhibition, which does not, however, imply that its table of contents is any the more interesting. By rather a strange coincidence, just as an English writer is announcing a work which is to prove that Sir John Maundeville is a myth, M. Emile Montégut devotes two long articles to him and his travels. The second of them treats of Maundeville as a philosopher, and makes him out to have been a free-thinker.—The sketch of Mr. Chamberlain, contributed by M. Augustin Filon, is chiefly noticeable for the discovery which the author has made that the member for Birmingham has borrowed most of his political ideas and schemes from France.—The Anti-Slavery Congress supplies M. Edmond Planchut with material for a long paper, in the course of which he summarily puts aside the idea of armed intervention—we need scarcely say that its author is Cardinal Lavigerie—and advocates a universal collection for the special purpose of indemnifying Arab slave-holders for the loss of their slaves.—Those who are interested in the question of mining royalties will find, running through both the December numbers, a very valuable paper on the subject, in so far as it regards France. The author, M. René de Récy, traces the various phases of French legislation in connection with the difficult and complex question, and indicates the changes and reforms which, in his opinion, it would be desirable to introduce.—In the first of the two numbers there are several articles which do not appeal very directly to any but French readers, such as, those on Dupont-White, and on the suggested reform of French orthography; on the other hand there may be some people on this

side of the Channel whom it will interest to learn what a French critic has to say about 'Robert Elsmere,' and for their benefit we call attention to the essay which M. Th. Bentzon devotes to Mrs. Humphry Ward's novel.—To the general reader the last of the six numbers before us offers two very readable articles; one of them, which is partly historical and partly artistic, sketches the state of Amsterdam and Holland in the time of Rembrandt. It is founded on several works dealing with the subject, one of which, at least, an excellent translation, has put within the reach of English readers, Busken-Huet's 'The Land of Rembrandt.' The other article enters into a detailed examination of milk and butter, both as regards their properties, the manner in which they are adulterated, and the various means by which these adulterations may be detected.—Another paper of considerable importance is that in which M. Louis Liard sketches the present condition of the various Faculties of the University of France.

REVUE DU MONDE LATIN (October, November).—Rienzi was not 'the last of the Romans.' In 1871 the Municipal Council of the Eternal City affixed the following inscription to the entrance of an old dwelling in the neighbourhood of the church of Santa Maria sopra Minerva, 'Stefano Porcari, a Roman citizen, was born and lived in this house. For having deplored the slavery of his country and uttered a cry of liberty in a time of tyranny, he was put to death in January 1453 by order of Nicolas V. S. P. Q. R.' A very brief and inadequate summary this, of M. E. P. Rodoconachi's scholarly and attractive study of the life and conspiracy of Messire Stefano Porcari; still, it contains the main fact that this indefatigable Roman did utter a cry for liberty and paid the penalty. Here we have one of those striking episodes in actual history in which the dramatist or novelist finds all the material ready for his manipulation.—M. Léon Marlet gives us two more instalments of his sketch of the Comte de Montgomery, and of the fierce religious struggles in which he established his military fame. The present chapters cover the period between the battle of Jarnac and the contemplated investment of La Rochelle.—M. Ch. Alexandre has selected a more modern theme in the works and letters of Guillaume Le Jean, the Breton historian and traveller. Le Jean was born in 1824 at Plouëgat-Guerrand, in Lower Brittany. Besides his brilliant Breton monographs and biographies, he contributed to science a series of important discoveries in regard to the lake-dwellers of Switzerland and Central Europe, and of their descendants in Albania, Epirus, Thessaly, and Macedonia. He travelled in Persia and wandered through Egypt, Nubia, and

the Soudan in search of the cradle of 'the mighty river of the land of Misr.' M. Alexandre writes at once sympathetically and with discrimination of his friend's literary work.—M. Léon Vedel's novel, 'Marcel Meyran,' is brought to a tragic and effective close, and the current story, 'Les Femmes Sauvages,' by M. Sacher-Masoch, introduces us to the primitive people and wild beliefs and manners of the Carpathian mountains.—Among the minor articles in these numbers, the reader should not fail to glance at Count de Barral's instructive paper on 'Brazil at the Exhibition of 1889.'—The opening sentences in M. C. Water-nau's account of the London Dock Strikes prove that something new can be written on even so well thrashed out a subject, 'Have we really returned to those glorious days in which bishops checked the career of barbarians and were the natural arbiters in public and private difficulties; in which, in the midst of anarchy that turned the world upside down, and delivered the weak to the brutality of the strong, the Church appeared as a protectress, as a benevolent conciliatrix,' etc., etc. No doubt Cardinal Manning did an admirable and truly Christian piece of work when he intervened in these labour troubles, but the writer of this article exaggerates his 'ascendancy,' and imports into the facts of the case a wholly misleading sectarian sentiment.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (October, November, December).—This quarter brings no less than eleven papers devoted to some of the various sections of the Exhibition. The first in point of date (October 5), and not the least in point of interest, gives a description, accompanied by diagrams, of the 'Chemin de fer glissant,' the railway which so interested Mr. Gladstone. Passing over the articles devoted respectively to tobacco and to ice-producing machines, we come upon another well worthy of perusal, quite apart from its connection with the big show. It is entitled 'Les Jouets à l'Exposition,' and gives some very interesting details respecting the making of the dolls and soldiers and other toys which are the delight of our nurseries. The geographical section comes next (November 2); the description of it is by M. Gabriel Marcel, who in another number (November 30) contributes a paper on maps and atlases.—M. H. de Varigny finds material for a retrospective sketch of French industry in 1789, and M. Renouard appears in two consecutive numbers, the 21st and 22nd, with papers dealing with the section devoted to textile industry. The series closes with an article on 'Zoology,' signed by M. H. de Varigny, and an anonymous one on the Military Exhibition.—Next to this, the section claiming most space is that headed 'History of Sciences.' It includes, in the

first place, a sketch, running through two numbers, of the labours of Lamarck. Another chapter is supplied by the same author, M. Duval, who, in the 23rd number, takes Leonardo da Vinci for his subject, but considers him from the point of view not of the artist but of the biologist.—Another important scientific biography is that of J. B. Dumas, written by M. Armand Gauthier.—Finally, M. A. Laboulbème sketches the origin and progress of surgical anæsthesia.—The various congresses which took place in Paris, in the course of last summer, also supply a number of papers which ought, perhaps, to have been mentioned in connection with the Exhibition. The subjects treated are most varied, as the mere titles will suffice to show. In one number (16) we find ‘L’hérédité chez les Végétaux,’ and ‘Les travaux de l’Association géodésique internationale.’ In another (19), there is an agronomical lecture, ‘La culture rémunératrice du blé.’ ‘La Convention du mètre’ finds a place in numbers 21 and 23, and in the 22nd M. G. Tarde gives a summarized report of the Anthropological Congress.—In the psychological section the chief contributions are ‘L’assolement dans la culture intellectuelle’ by M. Guyau; ‘Les Sensations du Mouvement,’ a translation of the address delivered by Dr. Crum Brown at Dundee; ‘Une théorie mathématique de l’expression: Le Contraste, le rythme et la mesure,’ based on the researches of M. Charles Henry. ‘La vision des monuments élevés’ is treated by both M. Egger and M. Rozier.—Amongst other articles of general interest may be mentioned M. A. Fock’s paper on the proposed trans-saharian railway, and M. Chervin’s statistical study, ‘La natalité en France,’ as well as the anonymous description of Madagascar in 1889.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (October, November, December).—Philosophy is subject to the laws of space as well as to those of time. It is born in one place; it passes from country to country. The study of these various habitats, if the expression may be used, of these migrations, is what M. Paul Janet calls the Geography of Philosophy, and the subject of the able article with which he opens the first number. It would be interesting to begin this itinerary of philosophy in the East, but documents are too rare, too obscure, too difficult of access, to allow of such a course. The writer, consequently, goes no further back than Grecian philosophy. In a rapid sketch he shows that, up to the second century before the Christian era, all philosophical activity was centred in Athens. The next centre of civilization and philosophy was Alexandria, where three or four schools flourished during the two first centuries of our era. In the Middle Ages

there was, first, an Arabian revival, and later again, Paris assumed the position which Athens and Alexandria had, in turn, occupied. Coming down to the eighteenth century, we find the greatest philosophical influence exercised by England. The philosophy of Bacon, of Locke, and of Newton, crosses the Channel, and spreads through France, which, towards the end of the century, again takes the lead. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the centre of philosophical influence again changes, and is to be found in Scotland, where experimental philosophy becomes associated, in the systems of Reid and Stewart, to a wise and moderate spiritualism. In Germany, about the same time, the critical movement inaugurated by Kant, becomes transformed into a transcendental and excessive dogmatism. In France, philosophy felt the influence of both Scotland and Germany, and endeavoured to find for itself a mean between the two. With this, we come down to the present day, the philosophical systems of which, however, it does not enter into M. Janet's plan to deal with.—In this same number, the section headed 'Revue Générale' is devoted to Giordano Bruno. As regards the article itself, it may suffice to say that it is written in the spirit of extravagant admiration. A personal matter to which the author, M. Pierre Gauthiez, refers in a footnote, deserves mention. In July 1885, he published in this same review, an article, in which he combated the views set forth, with regard to Bruno's death, in a small pamphlet by Dr. Desdouts. In consequence of his article, M. Gauthiez was refused admission to the Ecole de Rome, the then director of which feared to offend the Vatican by accepting an open apologist of Bruno.—An article of importance and interest is contributed to the November part by M. G. Tarde. It is a careful and minute examination of the facts on which Lombroso bases his theory that criminals are epileptics, and shows how insufficient they are to establish such a theory.—In the same number specialists will find a valuable paper, in which a Russian doctor, M. Korsakoff, gives the details of a special form of amnesia.—'L'art chez l'enfant' is as interesting and instructive a paper as the title would lead one to expect, and can scarcely fail to make the reader desirous of closer acquaintance with the work by M. Pérez, on which it is founded.

REVUE UNIVERSELLE ILLUSTRÉE (October, November, December).—Amongst the many sections of the Paris Exhibition, there was, it appears, one specially devoted to the theatre. About this M. G. Deymier writes an article, which is by no means flattering. He pronounces it to have been of very secondary interest, and regrets that nothing of any use to the dramatic art

can result from it.—Under the heading ‘*Poètes et Historiens d’Autrefois*,’ there is a sketch bearing the signature of Armand Carrel, who was killed in a duel in 1836, and dealing with George Washington’s mother.—Far more interesting are the few pages of description which M. Lacroix-Danliard devotes to Morvan, the wolf district of France, and in which he shows the important part which the wolf still plays in the folklore of the district.—The first of the three numbers has an article of over fifty pages in conclusion of Mme. J. B. Willems’s ‘*Les Femmes Artistes*.’—In the next there is one contribution to which recent events lend special interest. It is entitled ‘*L’Empereur Dom Pedro II. et le Brésil à l’Exposition Universelle*.’—Another very readable item appears in the table of contents. It is ‘*Conquête et Colonisation*,’ and illustrates the progress of French Colonisation in Algeria, Boufarik being taken as a typical example.—Were it only for its illustrations, which include the interesting series of the ‘*Months*,’ the paper on Luca della Robbia would give special value to the December part; but the text, which is contributed by M. E. Dumont, is no less interesting and well worthy of the attention of students of art.—If M. F. Lhomme’s sketch on Pulpit Eloquence in France is rather superficial, it is at least readable, and this is as much as could reasonably be expected, considering that the wide subject is dismissed with a dozen pages.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES JUIVES, (Juillet, Septembre, 1889).—M. J. Halévy furnishes another of his ‘*Recherches Bibliques*.’ On this occasion it is the sixty-eighth Psalm which he makes the subject of his study. It is a somewhat perplexing Psalm owing to its disjointed and fragmentary character. M. Halévy separates first the prologue, v. 1-6 in our English Bibles, and the epilogue, v. 28-35, which are each consecutive and complete, and then resolves the body of the Psalm, v. 7-27, into three sections, selecting and bringing together the verses, sometimes separated from each other in our present arrangement, which clearly belong or refer to one or other of three different theophanies—the first which has Mount Sinai for its theatre, the second which has Mount Zalmon, and the third which has Mount Zion, the ‘*har-Elohim*’ of v. 15. In this way he seeks to restore the original order of the Psalm and to establish its unity. He suggests also various corrections of the present text, and endeavours to determine the date of its composition. This latter, for reasons given, he fixes in the days of Jeremiah, and traces it to the party opposed so bitterly to that prophet, if not to the very pen of Hananiah himself, (Jer. xxviii., 15-17).—M. Isidore Loeb has an interesting paper on the eigh-

teen benedictions—the *Shemoneh-Esreh* of the Jewish Tefilla, or prayer liturgy. In section 1, he gives his reasons for fixing their date (as a whole) prior to the destruction of the Temple, though some of them are of later date, and some of them have received in later times a different application from that first given to them. In section 2, he seeks to trace them to the circle in which they were produced, which he thinks was that which bore the distinctive names of ‘the Poor,’ ‘the Just,’ ‘the Holy,’ ‘the servant of the Lord,’ of the second Isaiah, etc. In section 3, he submits these benedictions to a minute analysis in order to show that the sentiments which they express and the general spirit which they breathe were those which animated and characterised that class of the ancient Jewish community. In section 4, he discusses the question as to whether the benedictions are eighteen in number (Jerusalem Talmud) or nineteen (Babylonian Talmud).—M. James Darmesteter gives here further extracts from Pehlevi texts bearing on the Jews. Those here given are illustrative of the relations existing between Persians and Jews at certain periods of history. The texts are few and brief, but M. Darmesteter’s commentaries are full and effective.—M. G. Thiancourt adventures an explanation of the harsh and erroneous things said by Tacitus about the Jews and their history in the beginning of Book V. of his History. He regards them as said in good faith, but blames Herod, and the Herodian family generally, as well as other Jews at Rome, or whose conduct was known at Rome, for the impressions regarding the Jews that were entertained in official and cultured circles there.—M. J. Derenbourg continues his ‘Gloses of Abou Zachariya ben Bilam on Isaiah.’—Professor Graetz contributes an article of some interest on the ‘But réel de la correspondance échangée entre les Juifs espagnols et provençaux et les Juifs de Constantinople,’ of a former number. There are several short papers, too, besides those mentioned, on various subjects of note to students of Jewish literature and history, such as M. Reinach’s ‘Inscription Juive de Narbonne;’ ‘M. Isidore Loeb’s ‘Chandeliers à sept branches,’ with illustrations; M. D. Kaufmann’s ‘Extraits de l’ancien livre de la communante de Metz,’ and M. Bruzzone’s ‘Documents sur les Juifs des Etats pontificaux,’ and his ‘Les Juifs au Piémont,’ etc. etc.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (August) Contains the second article on Hungarian Poetry by A. S. C. Wallis. Two contemporaries of Petöfi, less brilliant, are Arany and Tompa. Their poetic activity belongs to the period when after the troubles of 1848-49,

Hungary was entirely prostrate and treated as a conquered country. Arany wrote musical verse, clear and pure, but somewhat devoid of passion. He helped by his national tales to keep alive, without much exciting, national sentiment. His great epic is 'Soldi's Love,' and he excels in lyrical pieces. Popular at home, he has not proved so in translations, other nations, especially Germany, having already too much poetry of the same sort. Tompa is more interesting. Born of extremely poor parents, he became, after great struggles, pastor in a little village where his life was spent. Thus he never had a wide horizon, and besides suffered much from misfortunes, family sorrows, and sickness, yet he was inspired with the most fervent patriotism. Even nature seemed to him to share in the oppression of his land, and the bright autumn leaves were for him tinged with blood. He published, after great difficulty, a volume of folk-tales in verse, which has become a standard work. To his next poem, 'The Stork,' he owed a short imprisonment, yet as far as he dared under the severe censorship, he continued to fan the patriotic flame. His shepherd songs are the most popular. Other beautiful poems such as 'The Auction,' are taken from events in his own obscure neighbourhood. Later he inclined to allegory, and amongst other pieces wrote 'Icarus,' whose daring flight is a type of Hungary's defeated struggles, and the poem ends with an exhortation to hope and dare.—The 'Development of the Modern movement,' by Bussy (October) is mainly a review, unfavourable, of Rauwenhoff's Philosophy of Religion.—The November number contains also an historical paper by the late Prof. Jorissen of Amsterdam, 'The Period of the Patriots,' that is, the latter half of the 18th century. The various influences, especially that of Brunswick at the court of Ann of England, and her son William V., are clearly indicated, and the ultimate misery brought on the country by the Patriots is traced step by step.—Prof. Valetton reviews the first part—Israel—of Dr. Pierson's 'Spiritual Ancestors,' a work in which it is intended to trace the various factors that have more or less contributed to our modern civilisation. Israel stands foremost, and Dr. Pierson gives a full and interesting view of its bearing on modern life, seeing for example Catholicism and Protestantism at their source in the priesthood and law of Ezra's time, the criticism of the latter destined to be a menace to the former. A strong work on the whole, though not so earnest in tone as it ought to be. Exception is taken to Dr. Pierson's view of Israel's development. He attaches little importance to Moses and the Exodus, and says that the original Israel, Semitic, cosmopolitan, would have ended

like Moab or Nineveh had not its natural development been forcibly arrested by the spiritual power of certain of its great men, namely the prophets of the 8th century. They, against the popular will, succeeded in moulding the nation after that ideal which has left its mark on the world's history. Dr. Pierson does not allow sufficient weight to the natural development of prophetism nor to the essential patriotism of those prophets who opposed the State policy. His work is, however, replete with finely written thoughtful pages.—In the December number an account is given of the recently deceased Prof. Cobet of Leiden. It is said there is scarcely a single ancient Greek author who does not owe something to his emendations. He spent years in Italy collating MSS., and his work is invaluable as being the fruit less of conjectural criticism than of years of acute and painstaking observation. The work by which Cobet is best known in some circles is his critical edition of the Greek New Testament, prepared in conjunction with Professor Kuenen. Some of his critical emendations of the text are marvels of ingenuity; and the critical suggestions on that text which appear from time to time in the *Theologisch Tijdschrift* are due to a school of which he was the founder. Of this side of Cobet's work the writer in the *Gids* has nothing to say.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Imago Christi: The Example of Jesus Christ. By the REV. JAMES STALKER, M.A. London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1889.

The title of this volume naturally suggests, and has probably been suggested by, the famous *De Imitatione*. Be that as it may, upon this famous book Mr. Stalker has written a chapter as an introduction to his own studies on the Person of the Redeemer, and has passed a number of strictures upon it. There is little that is new in these; nor are they always happily put or well-founded. The author of that book, whoever he may have been, says: 'The poor and humble in spirit live in abundance of peace. . . . A good peaceable man turns all things to good. Such an one is conqueror of himself and lord of the world, a friend of Christ, and an heir of heaven.' Mr. Stalker quotes these sayings along with others and immediately remarks: 'These counsels sound like many that the world has heard from other teachers. They sound like the doctrines of the Stoic philosophers.' We should like to know where he finds the proof of this. There is a spirit and a ring about them which are unmistakeably Christian, and which are not to be heard or found among any of the Stoics. Another statement of Mr. Stalker's is: 'Even life itself appeared to him an evil: in one of his gloomiest passages he says expressly: "It is truly a misery to live upon earth."' But this is no proof that life itself appeared to the author of the *De Imitatione* to be an evil. He is simply giving expression to what most men of a highly sensitive religious nature have felt when meditating on the sin and misery of the world. The language or at least the thought of the author of the *De Imitatione* is very similar to the language or thought of St. Paul when contemplating the world under similar aspects. There are other loose statements in Mr. Stalker's introductory chapter such for instance as 'Monasticism was a confession on the part of Christianity of being beaten by the world,' which it might be well to modify in future editions. Mr. Stalker's studies are as a rule well written. They are on different aspects of Christ's character and activity, and though here and there exception may be taken to some of the statements, and in some chapters—as for example in the chapter on 'Christ in the State'—there is a lack of insight into our Lord's method, they bring into prominence features in the Divine Character which are not always observed, and will doubtless commend themselves to a wide class of readers more particularly in the Church to which Mr. Stalker belongs. Those of his studies which speak of Jesus in his purely social relations, and such chapters again as those on Christ as an Influence, as a Man of Prayer and as a Worker appeal to a wider audience.

The Kingdom of God: or Christ's Teaching according to the Synoptical Gospels. By ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE, D.D., Edinburgh. T. & T. Clark, 1889.

Biblical Theology is a comparatively new study in this country, and among others Professor Bruce has done much to encourage it. His present work is a contribution towards it. German Theologians have long been masters in this subject, and usually follow it out into great minuteness of

detail. As a rule their works are learned and scholarly, but it cannot be said that they are always particularly interesting or luminous. At times their chapters are little more than collections of texts and a few bare connecting sentences. Professor Bruce has eschewed their method and striven to avoid their wearisomeness. He has rather chosen as his model a book on the same subject written some years ago by one of the Professors of the old Strasburg Seminary. At any rate, however much the reader may differ from him in opinion, none will say that he has not written at least a readable book. Instead of attempting to tabulate all the doctrines of the New Testament, he proposes to deal with what he calls the 'leading types of doctrine' which it contains 'concerning the things freely given to us of God in Jesus Christ.' These types he maintains have an objective as well as a subjective value, and may be described by the following titles: The Kingdom of God, The Righteousness of God, Free Access to God, Eternal Life. The first of these, he further tells us, is the 'synoptical presentation of our Lord's teaching,' the second is the name for the same thing found in the Pauline Epistles; the third indicates the chosen point of view of the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the fourth the watchword of the Fourth Gospel. The present volume is taken up with the first of these—the Synoptical presentation of the teaching of our Lord. The opening chapter takes the form of a critical introduction in which the author discusses the relations of the four Gospels to each other and their comparative value. As a rule Professor Bruce follows the teaching of the more advanced leaders of the German Schools, with whose opinions he shows very considerable acquaintance. There is much debatable matter in this chapter. On the very first page for instance it is said: 'There can be little doubt that, as compared with the fourth Gospel, the synoptical Gospels present that teaching,' i.e. the teaching of our Lord, 'in its original form. . . . Their reports are more indisputably Apostolic in their ultimate source, and to all appearance much less influenced by reflection on the part of the writer.' So Baur and others assumed, but not without contradiction. Other passages similar in character to the above are sprinkled pretty freely throughout the introduction and may probably give rise to a considerable amount of controversy. The work itself is divided into fourteen chapters, with an additional chapter in which the author deals with a subject at present agitating the section of the Church to which he belongs, viz., the revision of the standards. But whether we agree with Professor Bruce or not, it must be admitted that he writes with great freshness and that a very great deal may be learned from his book on the teaching of our Lord as reported in the synoptical Gospels.

Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Études : Sciences Religieuses.
Premier Volume. Paris: E. Leroux. 1889.

The *École pratique des Hautes Études* was instituted in 1868 and owed its initiation to the enlightened policy of M. Duruy who was at that time Minister of Public Instruction. At first the School had but four sections. One of these was devoted to the Mathematical Sciences, another to Chemistry, the third to Natural Science, and the fourth to the Historical and Philological Sciences. Quite recently, in fact not three years ago, a fifth section was added, devoted to the study of the Religious Sciences. The constitution of this section is framed on the broadest lines. Its work is historical and critical rather than doctrinal. Questions of dogma in fact do not seem to be touched, and for obvious reasons. Otherwise the section is pervaded by the freest spirit and among its professors and directors may be found Catholics and Protestants, Jews, and even adherents of the School

of Free Thought, all working together in harmony and conspiring together to forward the common end of promoting the scientific study of religion. At the head of the section is M. Albert Réville, the well known and accomplished professor of the History of Religion at the College of France, to whose Chair the whole work of the section may be said to be auxiliary. Among the other Directors and Professors are M. de Rosny who presides over the department in which the religions of the extreme East and those of the aborigines of America are studied ; M. Sylvain Lévi lectures on the Religions of India ; M. Amélineau on those of Egypt ; M. H. Derenbourg lectures on Islam and the religions of Arabia, while M. Maurice Vernes prelects on those of the Hebrews and the Western Semites. To M. André Berthelot has been assigned the religions of Greece and Rome. M. E. Havet treats of the origins of Christianity, and M. Sabatier with the assistance of M. Massebieau deals with Christian literature. M. Albert Réville treats of the history of dogma ; M. Jean Réville of the history of the Christian Church ; and M. Esmein of the history of Canon law. The bare enumeration of these names is sufficient to indicate the high aims which the section is intended to serve and the high standard of excellence it is desired to attain. The volume before us, we take it, is intended to justify the existence of the section and to show the kind of instruction which is given. A better justification for the existence of the section could scarcely be found. The papers of which it consists—there are thirteen in all, exclusive of Dr. A Réville's introduction—give evidence, as need hardly be said, of the ripest scholarship. Each is from the hand of a specialist, and though the reader will probably differ from many of the opinions expressed, he will find each of the papers well worth a careful perusal. All we can do here is to indicate the topics dealt with. In the introduction M. Réville gives an account of the origin of the section and the purpose for which it has been instituted. In a second paper he discusses the meaning of the word *Sacramentum* as used by Tertullian. M. Maurice Vernes endeavours to define the geographical position of the various tribes mentioned in the Bible as inhabiting Palestine previous to its conquest by the Jews. M. Havet discusses the conversion of St. Paul, the key to the explanation of which he believes he has found in 1 Cor. xv. 5, 8. Two papers of great interest are M. Sabatier's, on the question, Was the author of the Acts of the Apostles acquainted with, and did he make use of, the Epistles of St. Paul?—a question which he answers in the negative—and M. Picavet's on the origin of the Scholastic Philosophy in France and Germany. M. Massebieau attempts to classify the writings of Philo, and believes that though a mystic, Philo was a lucid thinker. M. Derenbourg discusses an inedited Sabeian inscription in the Louvre ; M. Esmein, the question of investiture in the correspondence of Yves de Chartres ; M. J. Réville the position of widows in the primitive Christian communities ; M. S. Lévi, the System of Paçupata and Caiva ; M. Isidore Loeb the chain of tradition in the first chapter of the Pirké Aboth ; M. Léon de Rosny, the text of the Tao Teh King and its history ; and M. Amélineau gives the text and a translation of an hymn to the Nile which has already been translated by Maspero, but is here translated afresh with many differences and an abundant commentary.

Chronicon Galfridi le Baker de Swynebroke. Edited with Notes by EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, LL.D., D.C.L. etc., Oxford : at the Clarendon Press. 1889.

Beyond the one or two facts which Geoffrey Baker, the author or compiler of the two works which Mr. Maunde Thompson has here edited,

tells of himself, very little is known about him. He belonged to Swinbrook, a village in Oxfordshire, lying two miles east of Bury, and finished the writing of his 'chroniculum,' the shorter and less important of his chronicles, at Osney, on Friday July 20, the festival of St. Margaret, 1347. Whether he was a canon of Osney is not known. The probability is he was not. He styles himself 'clericus,' but as Osney is mentioned but twice in his pages, it is scarcely likely he belonged to that house. Had he been one of its brethren, 'we might expect,' as Mr. Maunde Thompson remarks, 'that he would have found room in his brief record for more notes connected with the abbey than he has done.' His patron was Sir Thomas de la More, not of Britton in Gloucestershire as Camden and others have maintained, but, as the Bishop of Oxford has shown, of Northmoor in Oxfordshire, and about eleven miles from Swinbrook, not far from the Berkshire border of the county. De la More was to all appearance a man of some importance in his day. He sat in the first two Parliaments of 1340, as knight of the shire for Oxfordshire; was a member of the committee appointed in the second session to sit from day to day until the business was finished and the petitions turned into statute; and was re-elected in 1343, and again in 1351. Another and greater Oxfordshire family with which Baker seems to have had some connection was that of the Bohuns, Earls of Hereford, and lords of the hundred of Chadlington, in which Swinbrook lies. But what his connection with these was is unknown. He speaks with particular reverence of the generous character of the unfortunate Earl who fell at Boroughbridge, and describes the manner of his death with some minuteness. His account too of the drowning of Edward Bohun in the north is somewhat fuller than that of other chronicles. That his attention to the history of these individuals is more than the result of a natural interest in the great family of the neighbourhood is, in the opinion of Mr. Maunde Thompson, proved by the fact that the Bodley MS., in which is included Baker's Chronicle, certainly belonged at an early date to some one closely connected with the Bohun family. But whatever his connection with the Bohuns may have been, at the time he was writing his Chronicles and before it, Baker was evidently in more intimate relations with the de la Mores. His 'Chroniculum' is of little historical importance. As its editor remarks: 'It is a jejune record of events, beginning with the six days creation, the ages of the world, and a few notes of early history, and proceeding with two short series in chronological sequence: the first from the birth of Our Lord to the year 1320, touching chiefly on matters of ecclesiastical history, and ending with the succession of bishops of certain English sees; the other beginning with the death of Augustus, but immediately passing on to events in English history down to the year 1336-7. The dates of the entries in both series are calculated both in the ordinary manner by the year of Our Lord, and also back from the year of compilation, 1347.' The 'Chronicon' is a much more important piece of work, and contains much which is of the greatest historical importance. A good deal of his material was borrowed by Baker from the work of his contemporary, Adam Murimuth. In some passages he copies him word for word, but as a general rule he is content to follow the thread of the narrative, altering and amplifying the language, and here and there making important additions, the information for which he obtained from living sources. It is these additions, as Mr. Maunde Thompson observes, which give his Chronicle its historical value. Two of his informants he names, Sir Thomas de la More and William Bishop. To the first he was indebted for his knowledge of a part of the closing scene of Edward the Second's reign, while from the other he derived the details he gives of the persecution of that unhappy King by his brutal keepers,

one of whom was Bishop himself. The 'Chronicon' opens with a brief account of Edward I.'s campaign in Scotland in 1303, and is continued down to the year 1368, or two full years after the battle of Poitiers. Among the events for the history of which the Chronicle is of special value are the Battle of Bannockburn, Queen Isabella's invasion of England, the fate of Edward II., the Scots Treaty of 1328, the fall of Mortimer, the battles of Halidon Hill, Sluys, Neville's Cross, Crécy and Poitiers, the Black Death, the foundation of the Order of the Garter, and the march of the Black Prince from Bordeaux to Narbonne and back,—the route of the Prince being described with a fullness which is found in no other writer. By some accident or other Baker's account of the reign of Edward II. was at one time attributed to his patron, and has often been quoted under his name. Towards the close of the Sixteenth Century it was circulated under the title of 'Vita et Mors Edwardi Secundi,' and seems to have been highly popular. Camden printed it in his *Anglica, Normannica, Hibernica*, etc., and it has recently been re-edited by the Bishop of Oxford in his *Chronicles of the Reigns of Edward I. and Edward II.* For the present edition the only two known MSS. of the Chronicle have been used, one only of which contains the full text of the 'Chronicon' and the 'Chroniculum.' Mr. Maunde Thompson has given the readings of the two MSS., and has added an admirable series of notes and illustrative extracts. These latter are taken for the most part from contemporary Chronicles. Here and there, too, Mr. Thompson has given Stow's quaint English version of Baker's narrative. It is somewhat singular that Baker's complete work has not been included in the Rolls Series. No one will regret, however, that the task of editing it has fallen into the hands of its present editor. The work is one of great historical interest, and Mr. Maunde Thompson has discharged his editorial duties in a scholarly and satisfactory manner. For students of Scottish history the Chronicle has, as need hardly be said, an interest almost equal to that which it has for students of the history of England.

The Attic Theatre: A Description of the Stage and Theatre of the Athenians, and of the Dramatic Performances at Athens.
By A. E. HAIGH, M.A. Facsimiles and Illustrations.
Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1889.

Excavations on the sites of the old Greek theatres and discoveries of inscriptions relating to theatrical affairs, not to mention the labours of various scholars in interpreting the notices of the old Grammarians referring to the Greek drama, have, during recent years, thrown considerable light upon the Attic theatre and made it possible to write something like a complete history and description of it. Many points in connection with it are still obscure, but the advance which has been made during the last fifty years is remarkable. To the literary history of the Greek drama comparatively little has been added, and what little has been added has been due to the discoveries made in connection with its history from a theatrical point of view. In the scholarly volume before us the literary history of the Greek stage is not touched. Mr. Haigh confines himself wholly to the history of the production of the Greek drama upon the stage. His purpose, he tells us, has been to collect and piece together all the available information concerning the outward features of the old Athenian dramatic performances; in other words, to write a history of the Attic drama from the theatrical, as opposed to the literary point of view. In doing so he has made use of the labours of Dörpfeld and other Archæologists as well as the works of such writers as Albert Müller, Bergk and Bernhardt, Wieseler, Kawerau and

Kabbadias, and has produced a work which must unquestionably take its place as the standard English book on the subject. The first chapter is devoted to the dramatic contests at Athens. These, after emphasizing the difference between the modern and the ancient Greek drama and noting the essentially religious character of the latter, he traces as far back as possible and gives as an approximate date for their institution the second half of the sixth century, B.C. In dealing with the City Dionysia, which are carefully distinguished from the Rural as well as from Lenæa, Mr. Haigh points out the twofold character of the entertainments which were at this festival provided in the theatre and brings out, what is made clear in Köhler's inscription, that while the contest between the dithyrambic choruses was essentially a tribal one, the rivalry in the dramatic competitions was confined to individual poets and choregi. In the chapter headed 'The Production of a Play,' Mr. Haigh deals with such questions as the appointment of the choregi, the selection of actors, the training of the chorus, the performances in the theatre, and the reproduction of old plays. The third and fourth chapters deal with the buildings in which the dramas were acted and the arrangements of the stage. Other chapters refer to the actors, the chorus and the audience. The points of interest are numerous, but in a notice short as this must necessarily be it is impossible to dwell upon them. One impression which a careful perusal of the work cannot fail to make is in reference to its scholarly and painstaking character. Mr. Haigh writes with great exactitude, and except where the matters dealt with are well known, is careful to give in the notes the evidence for the opinions he expresses in the text. The chapters on the dramatic contests and the theatre are full of fresh information, while the sections dealing with the music and the audience will be read with interest even by those who care nothing for the Greek drama or its place in the history of the theatre. One point of importance deserves to be alluded to. Höpken and Dörpfeld have suggested that during the early period of the Attic drama the stage was never intended for the actors to perform on. The actors they maintain stood in the orchestra on the same level as the chorus, and the stage was used merely to hold various theatrical contrivances and pieces of machinery. Mr. Haigh, however, has produced abundant evidence to show that this theory is incorrect and that the actors, at any rate as early as the third, if not as early as the fifth, century B.C., were accustomed to appear on an elevated platform and not in the orchestra.

Hector Berlioz sa vie et ses œuvres. Par ADOLPHE JULLIEN
Illustrated. Paris: A la Librairie de l'Art. 1888.

Having written a Life of Wagner it was almost to be expected that M. Jullien would follow it up with a similar life of Berlioz, who alone, perhaps, of modern French composers has any claim to be mentioned along with the great German innovator. That he should do so was probably necessary for his own peace of mind. A Wagnerian and having written what is generally admitted to be the best Life of the Bayreuth master, it may easily be understood, considering the intense jealousy there is between the two countries, that if he was to stand at all well with his compatriots it would be necessary for him to pay to the master whom all Frenchmen have agreed to honour, a tribute similar to that which he had paid to the great German. Anyhow, he has here written a life of him which if not in some respects better than his corresponding work on the German master, is at all events not inferior to it. Such a work may be said to have been wanted. The *Mémoires*,—Berlioz's own biography—'that tragedy written in tears of blood' as Bülow called it, is not trustworthy either as to dates or facts, and though a very brilliant book, is little more than a

romance, full of omissions and involuntary errors. Even the Letters published by M. Bernard are not always trustworthy. On comparing them with the originals M. Jullien tells us that he has often found that alterations have been made in the printed texts which give quite a different sense from the original and in several instances he has given proof of this. Of M. Edmund Hippeau's *Berlioz intime*, M. Jullien has made considerable use; but excellent as that work is, it can scarcely be regarded as a biography. M. Hippeau has examined the autobiography, checked it and corrected it, but his work has less the character of a biography and more that of a series of annotations on M. Berlioz's text. For his own materials M. Jullien has gone to what may be called the original sources, using the Autobiography and Berlioz letters, a great number of which he has obtained the originals from M. de Refuge, with discretion and following the press day by day in order as far as possible to check them. So far as the public life of Berlioz is concerned he has adopted the same plan as he did in respect to Wagner, and has followed not only the serious, but also the comic press and has reproduced many of the caricatures which appeared of him. M. Jullien probably understands Berlioz much better than Berlioz understood himself. He certainly takes a calmer view of his love passages and domestic misfortunes. His criticism of his works is dispassionate, and no attempt is made to make a hero of Berlioz. The volume is somewhat formidable in appearance, but it will be found pleasant reading. M. Jullien's style is excellent. We cannot say the same, however, of the etchings.

The Life and Work of Charles Henry Von Bogatzky. By the Rev. JOHN KELLY. London: Religious Tract Society, 1889.

Few religious books are better known than Bogatzky's *Golden Treasury*; but few who read it know why it is so called, or who Bogatzky, its author, was. In writing his brief and pleasant life of him, Mr. Kennedy has done a piece of work which will be acceptable to very many. Bogatzky himself was of Hungarian extraction, and was born in Silesia, whither his family had fled for refuge and settled, as far back as the year 1690. Though his parents were Protestants, Bogatzky was baptized in the Catholic church in the Manor of Militach. He was educated in Silesia and Saxony. At an early age he came under the influence of the Pietists and became an intimate friend of Francke. His original intention was to devote himself to the Church; but one of his friends, Count Reuss, representing to him that there were many good preachers but few good statesmen, he resolved to devote himself to public life, and with this view he for three years studied jurisprudence, first at Jena and afterwards at Halle, but the strong religious bent of his mind asserting itself, he gave up the study of jurisprudence and was educated for the ministry of his own church. Prevented by ill health from entering the ministry, he became a sort of lay preacher or missionary, exercising his gifts chiefly among the minor Courts of Germany, where he seems to have had a very considerable influence. He was a somewhat voluminous writer—his compositions being mostly hymns, sermons and hortative addresses. In writing his life, Mr. Kennedy has made great use of the autobiography which Bogatzky wrote, and also of many of his writings. The history of the *Golden Treasury* forms one of the most interesting chapters in the volume. In an Appendix Mr. Kennedy gives a list of its various editions and translations, which would seem to prove that the little manual is one of the most popular books of the kind in existence, not only in Germany but also elsewhere. In England it has

passed in one shape or another through many editions, one of the latest being that brought out under the editorship of Mr. Kennedy.

Heroines of Scotland. By ROBERT SCOTT FITTIS. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1889.

Women have always played an important part in history: they have contributed some of the highest names to the roll of fame; and most countries can boast of their heroines. On the roll of Scotland their names are numerous, and Mr. Fittis has here selected a number of them in order to narrate their lives and to celebrate their fame. His enthusiasm is great; he has evidently taken pains to search out many obscure historical points for himself; and though some of the conclusions he has arrived at on certain minor points may be disputed, he has written in a generally accurate and extremely interesting way. Among the heroines whose lives he narrates are Isobel Countess of Buchan, Black Agnes of Dunbar, Margaret Keith, Jane Douglas Lady of Glamis, Fair Helen of Kirkconnel, Bessie Bell and Mary Gray, and Lady Sophia Lindsay. Of course while writing the lives of these heroines Mr. Fittis is often led out into the wider field of history, and much may be learnt from his pages respecting the history of Scotland during the thirteenth and later centuries. His volume, in fact, is admirably adapted for use as an introduction to the story of the Scottish nation.

A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, D.C.L., &c. Part V. Cast-Clivy. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1889.

The interest attaching to this magnificent work increases with each successive part, and whatever complaints may be made as to the slowness of its production, there can be nothing but admiration for the scholarliness and care with which every article is marked. It surpasses everything of its kind, and when one considers the immense amount of work which many of its articles involve, the complaints which are from time to time made as to the delay in its publication seem to us altogether unfounded and somewhat ungenerous. All things considered in fact it is not a little surprising that Dr. Murray has been able to make what progress he has. He may not be able to keep pace with the expectations or desires of some, but if he continues, as he has here done, to maintain the high standard of excellence he has set before him, every murmur must in the end be silenced or changed into ungrudging praise. The present Part is if any thing more interesting than its predecessors owing to the number of words it contains belonging to the Christian Church. In all it contains no fewer than 5966 main words, 1031 combinations, and 1374 subordinate words, or a total of 8371 words. Nearly twenty per cent. of the main words are obsolete, and nearly five per cent. are alien or words which are but imperfectly naturalized. Extending from *Cast* to the end of *Cl-*, it contains the whole of *Ch*, 'which in many respects,' as the Editor remarks, 'ranks almost as a separate letter, and actually contains more words than J, K, or Q, and more than twice as many as X, Y, and Z put together.' It has a total of 4024, of which 2720 are main words, 587 explained combinations, and 717 subordinate entries. Nearly one fifth of the main words are obsolete, and 142 are alien. Long as some of the articles are in some of the preceding parts, they are all surpassed in length by that contained in the present part on the word *Cast*. *Catch*, *Centre*, *Certain*, *Chain*, *Chair*, *Charity*, *Cheap*, *Check*, *Cheek*, *Chip*, *Choke*, and *Choose* are other examples of very elaborate treatment. The

etymological history of *Church* has been dealt with at great length, and forms one of the most important articles in the issue. There is an excellent article on *Chrisom*, and another on *Chapel*. In fact all the articles on words belonging to the Church are full of interest and information, and will well repay the most careful study. Under many words new etymological facts and details are given, as for instance, under *Celt*, *Catkin*, *Chemise*, *Claret*, *Clan*, *Charter*. *Claret* was the name originally given to wines of a yellowish or light-red colour as distinguished alike from 'red wine' and 'white wine.' The contrast with the former ceased about 1600. The word was then apparently used for red wines generally. At present it is applied to red wines imported from Bordeaux, generally mixed with Benicarlo or some full-bodied French wine. *Celt* in the meaning of a stone chisel has a very doubtful origin, and seems to owe its origin to a mistake. *Catkin* it would appear is not older than the 16th century. *Clan*, again, though apparently a genuine Gaelic word, turns out to be derived from the Latin *planta*. But like all its predecessors the part now before us teems with interesting information both etymological and historical.

The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the Thirteenth to the Eighteenth Century. By DAVID MACGIBBON and THOMAS ROSS, Architects. Vol. 3. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1889.

The first and second volumes of this very careful and elaborate work we have already had the pleasure of noticing. The present volume is the result of further research. It is not so much a continuation of its predecessors, as the first part of what promises to be a very valuable, and, indeed for the completeness of the work, a very necessary supplement. No new principles are laid down and no new style is described. The principles illustrated are those which were laid down by the authors chiefly in their first volume, while the mode of treatment is precisely the same as that they have already adopted. The principal value of the volume is in the additional examples it gives of the First and Second periods. In the first volume the authors remarked on the paucity of examples belonging to the earliest period; but since that volume was written their attention has been called to the numerous examples of the period which are still existing, in a more or less dilapidated condition, in the Western Highlands and more particularly in the Western Islands. Additional examples are also given of structures which belong to the Third Period and also to the portion of the Fourth Period which comprises Simple Keeps and Castles of the L plan. One very excellent feature of the volume is the introduction. Here the authors call attention to the important bearing which their subject has upon the history of the country in its social and political as well as in its artistic aspects, and show that the ancient structures they describe together with the more primitive, contain a most genuine and unchallengeable record of the gradual development of the national life and of the various stages of civilization through which it has passed. Another volume is to conclude the work, when it is to be hoped that the authors will turn their attention to the ecclesiastical edifices and do for them what they will then have done for the structures they are at present engaged upon.

Les Mabinogion. Par J. LOTH. Tome II. (Cours de Littérature Celtique. Tome IV.) Paris: Ernest Thorin. 1889.

M. Loth here completes his translation into the French language of the Welsh Mabinogion. The first volume we have already noticed, and need

hardly do more here than call the attention of the reader to the fact that the work has been completed, and point out the interesting matter which this second volume contains. The Mabinogion here translated are those of Owain and Luned or the Lady of the Fountain, the Mabinogi which stands first in Lady Charlotte Guest's version, Peredur the son of Ewrawc, and Geraint the son of Erbin. Each story has its full complement of notes critical and explanatory like those in the previous volume. One half of this second volume, however, is taken up with additional matter, much of which, because of its inaccessibility in English works, will be far from unacceptable. First of all we have a translation of the historical and legendary Triads, together with an introduction and many explanatory notes of great value. Two other Appendices contain genealogies. Another deals with the ancient divisions of Wales, and the last contains Mr. Egerton Phillimore's text of the *Annales Cambriae*. The work, we may say in conclusion, is an excellent addition to the *Cours de Littérature Celtique*, which is appearing under the joint editorship of M. d'Arbois de Jubainville and M. Loth.

Problems of the Future and Essays. By S. LAING. London: Chapman & Hall. 1889.

In former works Mr. Laing has attempted, as he tells us, to give some popular view of what modern science has actually accomplished in the domain of space, time, matter, energy, human origin, and in similar subjects. In the present volume, still to use his own words, he endeavours to point out some of the 'Problems of the Future,' which have been raised, but not solved, and are pressing for solution. The problems are such as these—the duration of solar heat, the constitution of the universe, the date and duration of the Glacial period, the antiquity of man, the missing link, the religion of the future, and the historical element in the four Gospels. The volume also contains chapters on the creeds of Great Poets, Taxation and Finance, Population and Food. But why the problems discussed should be termed 'future' it is difficult to tell. Mr. Laing seems to assume that they belong quite as much to the present as to the future. The fact that he here discusses them shows that they do; and we have his own assertion 'that they are questions which have been raised by science and which are now pressing for solution.' To our way of thinking they are present-day problems. But on turning back to Mr. Laing's introduction, we find, the title of the volume notwithstanding, that it is not the problems which are regarded as future, but their solution. The difference is considerable. That Mr. Laing has not discussed all the problems he has touched upon exhaustively we need hardly say. As is well known he is what is usually termed an advanced thinker, and like many such he has assumed some problems to be settled which in the minds of many, whose opinions are deserving of at least as much weight as his own, are far from being settled in the way he assumes. For instance, the opinions of Mr. Gladstone and Cardinal Newman, in respect to the questions he discusses in connection with Agnosticism and Christianity or the historical element in the four Gospels, though different from Mr. Laing's, are to many quite as trustworthy as his. Many are disposed to attribute more weight to them. In theological matters Mr. Laing has certainly read largely; but most of his reading appears to have been on one side. The charm of the volume, however, is in its earlier chapters where the great problems of physical science are discussed. These Mr. Laing states with the utmost clearness and discusses in a most masterly manner. He is much less certain in respect to the solution of these problems than he is on some other matters, and writes with a caution and a frankness which do him

credit. Some of the facts he brings out are extremely striking, and all that he has written in these chapters will be read with interest.

A. Βικέλας Διηγήματα, ἐν Ἀθήναις, βιβλιοπωλείον τῆς Ἑστίας. 1887.

D. Bikelas, *Nouvelles Grecques*. Traduites par le MIS. DE QUEUX DE SAINT-HILAIRE. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1887.

These tales originally appeared in a leading Athenian newspaper. They fully bear out their well-known and accomplished author's reputation, and, like the rest of his works, are excellent examples of admirable literary workmanship. The style is simple and unaffected, and the stories abound in subtle and happy psychological touches, which serve to bring out in clear and precise outline the characteristics of the different persons delineated. The scenes and characters are alike fresh and natural, and afford a welcome relief from the threadbare and often artificial themes of Western story-tellers. We have not space, and it would not be fair either to the author or reader, to sketch even in outline the plots of the different stories. Outlines in fact would fail to do justice to them, or to give any idea of that artistic finish which is one of their chief charms. The first tale, Ἡ Ἀσχημὴ Ἀδελφῆ, is a sort of comedy of errors, and is worked out with great skill. It is followed by the diary of the mysterious and eccentric Φιλίππος Μάρθας. The next two are founded on incidents happily unknown to us in Britain. *Le Cap des Deux Frères* is published only in the French version. The translation is the joint work of the author and his late lamented friend M. de Queux de Saint-Hilaire, and is equal in grace and simplicity of diction to the original.

Asolando: Fancies and Facts. By ROBERT BROWNING.
London: Smith Elder & Co. 1890.

During recent years the study of Mr. Browning's poems has spread with remarkable rapidity, and his works may now be said to enjoy a popularity almost equal to that which has been attained by those of Lord Tennyson. This is all the more remarkable when we consider the confession which most readers of them make as to the difficulties they experience in their endeavours to understand them. The present volume is unfortunately the last which we shall ever have from the hand of its author. It was published on the 11th of December, and Mr. Browning died at Venice on the following day, not, however, before he had received the gratifying intelligence of its extremely favourable reception in England. It is dedicated to Mrs Arthur Bronson, who, as we learn from the dedication, was induced to take up her residence at Asolo by reading one of Mr. Browning's earlier poems. For the latter Asolo appears to have had special attractions. He refers to it more than once in the pages of the present volume, and speaks of the 'surprise and delights' which he experienced during his visits to it 'in bygone days.' The 'Fancies and Facts' which are gathered together in *Asolando* are numerous. Some of them occupy only a dozen lines or so apiece, while others of them spread over many pages. Freshness of feeling, concentration of power, richness of thought, and vividness of description, are as characteristic of these last poems of Mr. Browning's, as of any of his earlier ones. Signs of old age or dimness of vision are altogether wanting. They are animated, too, by the same lofty faiths and aspirations as breathe through the rest of his works. The want of space forbids us doing more than cite, in illustration of what we have just said, the following lines from the 'Epilogue':—

' What had I on earth to do
With the slothful, with the mawkish, the unmanly?
Like the aimless, helpless, hopeless, did I drivel
—Being—who ?

' One who never turned his back but marched breast-forward,
Never doubted clouds would break,
Never dreamed, though right were worsted, wrong would triumph,
Held we fall to rise, are baffled to fight better,
Sleep to wake.

' No, at noonday, in the bustle of man's work-time,
Greet the unseen with a cheer !
Bid him forward, breast and back as either should be,
" Strive and thrive ! " cry " Speed,—fight on, fare ever
There as here ! "

One thing readers of *The County* (Smith, Elder), will be curious to learn is the name of its author. So far as the literary workmanship and artistic ability of the two volumes are concerned there is no reason whatever why his name should be withheld. Both are much above the average, and give evidence of an acquaintance with human nature, and a skill in portraying both its better and worse qualities, which are far from common. The story is laid for the most part in the world of plutocracy, and brings out some of its ugliest features. Sir Joseph Yarborough and Bryan Mansfield may be taken as typical of many in that somewhat ungracious and unlovely world. The first is rich, proud, peevish, inflated, pompous, and utterly selfish. The other, the villain of the story, is a fawning hypocrite, and contemptible. Nowadays, however, a villain needs either brains or cunning, and it is doubtful whether the author has credited him with sufficient of either for the part he plays. Frances, however, has an abundance of both, and is perhaps the most skilfully drawn character in the book. The plot is admirably managed. The railway accident comes in handy, and is used with effect.

Mr. Anstey's *The Pariah* (Smith, Elder) is unquestionably a very clever performance. On every page there is an abundance of careful delineation and excellent writing. The plot, though full of windings and turnings, is simple in outline and skilfully woven together. Here and there it moves a little slowly, but not so slowly as to be tedious. That, however, is to a large extent a matter of taste, and depends upon how the reader regards the subject. This to our own mind is not particularly inviting. There is something repellent about it. Mr. Anstey undoubtedly holds up the mirror to nature, but one scarcely cares to be dragged through three volumes of closely printed pages in the company of such unlovely individuals as Chadwick and his wife. Even Margot, on whom Mr. Anstey has apparently bestowed the greatest labour, and whom he has delineated in a very masterly way, is not a very attractive individual. With all her beauty and smartness, and spasmodic goodness, she is radically, though not brutally, selfish. The only gleam of light that falls across Mr. Anstey's pages comes from the vicarage. Millicent is charming, and Orme a sensible educated man of the world, whose interest in Margot is somewhat dubious. Allen is more of a lay figure, and is perhaps too young to be incapable of education. His lot is not happy, and it is doubtful whether, with all his stupidity and coarseness, he is not made of better stuff than the Chevenings.

Miss Veitch's *Duncan Moray, Farmer* (Alex. Gardner), is a Scotch story. The precise locality of it is somewhat doubtful. The Elliots are a Border

family living in their ancestral home, and seem to suggest that we must look somewhere near the Border for Beechwood and Craignellan. The company is rather a miscellaneous assortment. For the failings of her own sex Miss Veitch has a sharp eye, and depicts them with a sort of merciless severity, but for some reason or other she fails to bring before us anything approaching to a genuinely ideal female character. Lady Sinclair has certainly good qualities, but she is not altogether attractive. Very little more can be said about Miss Elliott, the heroine of the story. She is amiable and with none of the peculiarities of the Dean's daughter, but she has scarcely sufficient stamina about her to be made a heroine of. Gerald Elliott makes a good villain. The two best characters in the volumes, however, are Adam Moray and his son Duncan. Of the two the father is the better. Duncan, we are told, is noble, but he does little to show that he is. He is thoroughly devoted to his father, and has a peculiar affection for Miss Elliott. Miss Veitch has evidently remembered that the little god is blind, otherwise it is difficult to see how she could bring herself to make Duncan marry the daughter of his father's murderer. The plot of the story is scarcely drawn with Miss Veitch's usual skill. For a long time the centre of interest is a disputed piece of land, but towards the end this sinks entirely into the back-ground, and the essential part of the plot turns out to be the murder of Adam Moray. At the same time *Duncan Moray, Farmer*, is far from being a weak novel. There are in it evidences of great power and many exciting incidents.

Professor Palgrave's *Treasury of Sacred Song* (Clarendon Press) is one of the most charming productions of the press we have ever seen. Binding, paper and printing are simply exquisite. That the large paper edition was exhausted in four days is not at all surprising. Possessors of a copy of it are fortunate. In the collection itself we meet with most of our favourites in the way of religious poems, and others we have not met with before or forgotten. As a book of religious poems it cannot fail to obtain a wide popularity. The pieces are catholic in spirit, and have been selected for their poetic qualities as well as for their religious character. Professor Palgrave has added a number of notes, both biographical and critical, which are often of great assistance to the better understanding of the poems to which they belong.

The Language of the New Testament, by the late Rev. W. H. Simeox, M.A., is Messrs. Hodder and Stoughton's most recent addition to their 'Theological Educator' Series. It is a handy little volume, and though making no pretensions to deal with the subject exhaustively, will be found useful by those who wish to make themselves acquainted with the peculiarities of New Testament Greek.

To their 'Men of the Bible' Series Messrs. Nisbet have added *Joshua: His Life and Times*, by the Rev. W. J. Deane, M.A. They have also issued two more volumes of the Rev. J. S. Exell's *Biblical Illustrator*. Both volumes deal with the Gospel of St. Luke, and complete its illustrations. Of the character of this work we have spoken already, and need add nothing here except that the present volumes are quite as remarkable in their way as their predecessors.

To their 'Twelve English Statesmen' Series Messrs. Macmillan & Co. have added *Walpole* by Mr. John Morley, M.P., a book which will be read because of its author, as well as on account of its subject, and will be found on perusal one of the most attractive volumes of the series, and a valuable contribution to the history of the last century, more especially of the House of Commons.

Warren Hastings, by Sir Alfred Lyall, and *Strafford*, by H. D. Traill, are the most recent additions to the 'English Men of Action' Series. Neither are what are called brilliant books, but they are no worse for that. In several respects they are better. Sir A. Lyall's book is thoughtful and solid and much more trustworthy than many of the works dealing with the same subject. On several important points he agrees with Mr. Justice Stephens, though not on all.

The Henry Irving Shakespeare (Blackie) has reached its penultimate volume, notwithstanding the illness, and subsequently the death, of its editor, Mr. F. A. Marshall. The same publishers have also issued the fourth volume of their handy *Modern Cyclopaedia*, which concludes with an article on Ilórin, a considerable town in West Soudan.

Dr. Bourinot's *Manual of the Constitutional History of Canada* (Dawson, Montreal) is mostly taken from the author's larger book on 'Parliamentary Practice and Procedure in Canada,'—a book to which we had the pleasure of calling attention some time ago. Dr. Bourinot, as we need hardly remind our readers, is Clerk to the Canadian House of Commons. His larger volume is the standard work on the subject of which it treats, and the one from which all other writers on the subject must almost of necessity draw. The present volume is issued to meet the wants of the student, and is, we should say, for an elementary book, the best guide he can obtain.

Mr. R. F. Halward's *Flowers of Paradise* (Macmillan) is a book to delight both old and young. It is coloured with great taste and art, and the songs, hymns, and music contain many beautiful passages. For the nursery or drawing-room it is a charming book. Another book for children is Mr. Molesworth's *The Rectory Children* (Macmillan). The illustrations are by Walter Crane.

Hazell's Almanack for 1890, edited by E. D. Price, F.G.S., is gradually increasing in size and usefulness. The popularity it is acquiring may be taken as a proof of its general accuracy. In this year's issue many new articles have been added. Perhaps in his anxiety to include as much as possible the Editor has included a few articles which might have been omitted without loss. This, however, is if anything an error on the right side.

We have in *Short Studies on St. Paul's Letter to the Philippians* by the Rev. W. Lee Ker, M.A., a series of sermons or lectures, expository of the contents of this Epistle, and given to all appearance exactly as they were delivered to the author's congregation. They have three great merits. They are short, simple, and altogether practical. They do not aim at throwing any new light on the teaching of the Epistle or the theology of St. Paul, and will be heartily welcomed by that large class of readers who appreciate purely devotional and practical discourses, as distinguished from those that are critical and speculative. Mr. Lee Ker has prefaced his *Studies* with an 'Introduction,' in which he briefly describes the circumstances that led to the composition of the Epistle, and the reasons generally assigned for regarding it as a genuine product of the Apostle Paul. This is followed by what Mr. Lee Ker calls an 'Explanatory Translation' of the Epistle. It is in reality, however, a somewhat wordy paraphrase, and is marred throughout by mannerisms, colloquialisms, and anachronisms, wholly at variance with anything conceivable in the Apostle's style and times.

Mr. Auberon Herbert has rendered a real service to all interested in the education of the young by bringing together in his book, *The Sacrifice of*

Education to Examination, the opinions of nearly two hundred prominent scientists, specialists, and statesmen in our own country, and of several from America, as to the merits and demerits of our present system or systems of examination. They are almost all condemnatory of the present methods of testing the educational progress of pupils; and, though they do not present any agreement as to what should take their place, they furnish various hints that may lead to some practical action in the future.

The Rev. Myron Adams is a profound believer in the principle of evolution and in his work entitled *The Continuous Creation* (Houghton and Mifflin), discourses on the principle in its bearing on Christianity. The sermons or addresses are characterised by clearness of thought and of statement. Though a thorough-going evolutionist, Mr. Adams is a sincere believer in the Christian Faith, and has taken up his present subject because of the influence the philosophy of evolution is exercising upon religion. He does not always hold by some of the usually accepted doctrines of Christianity, as, for instance, that of the Fall, yet to other of the main facts and dogmas of the Christian religion he does, and writes with considerable freshness and insight.

Mrs. Henry Fawcett's *Some Eminent Women of our Times* (Macmillan) contains a series of twenty-three papers on most of the women who have made themselves famous either in literature or by other means during the present century. The papers are short, generally occupying not more than six or eight pages, but they are full of matter, and give succinct and eminently readable accounts of such women as Lady Sale, Mrs. Barrett Browning, Charlotte and Emily Bronte, Joanna Baillie, Caroline Herschel, Mary Somerville, Jane Austen, Dorothy Wordsworth, Sarah Martin, and Elizabeth Fry. The sketches were originally written for *The Mothers' Companion*, but they were worth putting together in a permanent shape, and one cannot help commending the discretion which has led to their issue in a cheap and popular form. As a sample of literature for the million the little volume is admirable.

Mr. Marion Crawford's *Mr. Isaacs*, *Dr. Claudius*, and *A Roman Singer* (Macmillan) are too well known and appreciated to need any comment. We mention them simply because of their appearance in a new and less expensive form. As a popular edition they have in their present form everything to commend them—good paper, clear type, effective binding. The rest of their author's works, we gather, are to be issued in the same form in monthly volumes, and from their well-deserved popularity will doubtless obtain a large sale.

Two other excellent reprints from the same publishers are Judge Hughes' *Tom Brown at Oxford* and *The Scouring of the White Horse*, etc. The latter of these volumes contains 'The Ashen Faggot,' a story which, though it first saw the light some thirty-seven years ago, has lost none of its interest. Other reprints from the same firm are the Rev. John Gilmore's well known *Storm Warriors*, one of the most intensely interesting, and one of the best books we know, and *Hypatia* and *Yeast* in their marvellously cheap edition.

Another reprint of some importance is David Laing's *Early Scottish Metrical Tales* (Morison, Glasgow). The collection is excessively rare and was worth reprinting, but it ought to have been re-edited. The reprint has, of course, Dr. Laing's notes and introduction, but these admit of great improvements.

THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

APRIL, 1890.

ART. I.—THE EARLY ETHNOLOGY OF THE BRITISH
ISLES.

THE Celtic nations of the present day consist, ethnologically speaking, partly of Aryans and partly of the non-Aryan races which the Aryans found inhabiting the countries invaded by them in prehistoric times. So it will be convenient on the whole to treat of them under these two heads, and to begin with them from their Aryan side, inasmuch as the Aryans are better known than the earlier inhabitants.

For the proofs that the Celts are Aryan in speech one has only to open any comparative grammar or vocabulary of the Aryan languages; but the question what precisely is to be understood by the term Aryan has of recent years much occupied the student of language; and still more has he been exercised by the kindred question, whence the Aryans set out to conquer those portions of the globe of which they are now lords. The Muse of the older Philology was loth to fix on any locality very far away from the Garden of Eden. In time, however, she was forced to wander from one spot to another, though she claved to the East all the while; and when she had obeyed the supposed behests of science so far as to locate the Aryan incunabula in a distant non-Aryan land in Central Asia, she fondly imagined that she had found a permanent resting place; but, alas! the curse of research was upon her, for she

must now quit the East where she had long cherished the one-sided motto, *Ex Oriente Lux*, and roam over Europe in quest of the primitive home of Aryan man. These her wanderings have not yet come to an end, but the probability of her returning to the East is growing feebler daily, as the conviction is steadily gaining ground among scholars, that the great European race is of European origin and not an immigrant from the stagnant East. To be brief, one may say that the regions which have gained most favour in this respect are Scandinavia and North Germany, or the neighbourhood of the Baltic Sea.

Our business here, however, is to try to understand what is meant by Celtic, and how the Celtic nations of the present day stand in respect of one another. As the data which I propose to deal with are of a linguistic nature, I must confine myself in the first instance to the narrower question of the mutual relations of the Celtic languages. Now it is a commonplace of our glottology that the Neoceltic dialects divide themselves into two groups: a Goidelic group, embracing the Celtic idioms of Ireland, Man, and Scotland; and a Brythonic group, embracing those of Wales, Cornwall, and Brittany. With regard to the former, there is a tendency in Scotch and English parlance, as you know, to confine the word Gaelic to the Gaelic of Scotland, and to forget that Irish and Manx are equally Gaelic, that those terms are in fact merely the shorter names for Irish Gaelic and Manx Gaelic. So it has been thought expedient to go back to the older native form of the word Gael, and fashion another adjective Goidelic, to cover the three great dialects of Gaelic, Irish Gaelic, Manx Gaelic, and Scotch Gaelic. Now the older form of Gael (written in Gaelic *Gaidheal*, and pronounced with a *dh* which is not heard) was Goidel or Gaidel, whence the technical term Goidelic has been coined. It may be mentioned in passing that the original meaning of the word Goidel or Gael is utterly unknown; but I would entreat you not to connect it with Gaul or Gallia and the Galli of that country in Roman times: Gael, standing as it does for Goidel, has absolutely nothing to do with the Gallus and Gallia of classical authors. With regard to the term Brythonic as the name for the other group, it would be

still more inconvenient and misleading to speak of the Welsh, the Cornish, and the Bretons as Britannic or British, seeing that those adjectives lead off with connotations of their own. So recourse has here also been had to the native vocabulary, according to which the Welsh word for a Briton, Latin Britto, is Brython 'a Briton or Welshman;' and the language of the peoples of this group is termed in Welsh Brythoneg, one of the names also of the Welsh language, while in Cornish and Breton, it is Brethonec and Brezonec, meaning those dialects respectively: Brython in its various forms is to be regarded as the national name of all this group, as Goidel or Gael is of the other. Briefly, you have to classify the Celts of the present day into Goidels and Brythons: at the one pole you have your Gaels of the Highlands, and at the other my countrymen in Wales; and you will be proof against the fascination of much of the nonsense talked of the Celts, if you will always bear in mind that Gaels and Welshmen are no less unintelligible to one another, to say the least of it, than would be the inhabitants of Edinburgh and Berlin.

This classification is dictated by the phonology of the Neoceltic languages, as illustrated by two or three very obvious differences. One of the most palpable of these differences is presented to us in the fact that the Goidels have retained a guttural, where the Brythons have labialized it into another kind of consonant. Take for instance *macc* or *mac*, which is the word for boy and son in all the Goidelic dialects. The genitive of this word as found in the early Ogam inscriptions of Ireland, was *maqui*, which would have been in early Brythonic *mapi*, and the Old Welsh form for all cases was in fact *map* (now *máb*) 'boy or son;' and we can trace the *q* in a derivative word which carries us back to the time of the Roman occupation, namely, in *mabon*, 'a child or boy,' a word applied in old Welsh poetry to the infant Jesus. This word *mabon* in its ancient form of *Mapon*, is applied to a Celtic god called in Latin, Apollo *Maponus*, on a fine monument of pagan piety at Hexham. He was so called, doubtless, in reference to the perennial youthfulness of the Celtic Apollo: this kind of hero of Celtic stories is, I may mention in passing, a great and

formidable warrior when he is only seven years old. But what I wish you clearly to understand is, that the word which was *magui* in Early Goidelic must have been *mapi* in Early Brythonic, that the same difference extends to other words, and that it dates before the dawn of Celtic history. So far I have only instanced a consonant, and this will probably call to your minds Voltaire's definition of etymology as the science in which the vowels did not matter at all, and the consonants very little. There used to be some truth in that, but of late the vowels of the Aryan languages have been so minutely studied that the whole subject of Aryan philology has within the last few years been completely revolutionized, and that we have all had to practice, so to say, a new scale, a subtle chromatic scale as compared with the very easy one in which the older philologists eternally harped on the same three notes, *a*, *i*, *u*. This difficult exercise has recently proved the means of spoiling several good tempers, for nothing could be more trying for men wont to discourse genially and elegantly on the simplicity of early Aryan institutions, language included, than to find this simplicity to be mainly of their own cerebration. In deference then to the recently established importance of Aryan vowels, I must give you a vocalic instance to place alongside of the consonantal one to which I have just alluded, but I will only mention the tendency which the Brythons had in certain periods of their history to narrow a long *u* into a long *i*, or to a sound somewhat resembling the French *u* of *une*, and other words of the same class. The Goidelic word for a dog or hound will do for our purpose. It is, as many of you doubtless know, *cū* (genitive *con*) which is the same word as the English *hound*, and its *u* is represented by the *ou* of the English word, but in Welsh the vowel has been unrounded into *i*, the Welsh word being *cī*. I may mention in passing that you have a form of *cū* in the name of the neighbouring town of Lintlithgow, which means the lake of *Liathchū* or Grey Dog; the word appears to occur also with the correct Goidelic genitive as *Linliathchon*; and on the other side of the island we have the name of the great city of Glasgow, which is probably but a modified pronunciation of *Glaschū*,

one of Kentigern's Gaelic names, meaning likewise the Grey Dog or Hound: his other names appear to have been *Munchū* (made into Mungo) usually supposed to mean 'Dear Dog,' and *Deschū*, which may have meant Southern Hound. In the mouth of a Brython Glaschū would become Glasgi, but whether the pronunciation 'Glasgie' is or is not to be traced back to the Welsh of Strathclyde, or to a more modern lightness of pronunciation natural to a 'Glasgie body,' I must leave you to decide. Other instances are plentiful, however, such as the Goidelic *dūin*, 'a fort or stronghold,' which is familiar to you in a modified pronunciation in such names as Dundas, Dundee, and last but not least Dunedin. Now this *dūin* is in Welsh *din*, whence a synonymous *dinas*, 'a town or city.' The tendency to this difference of pronunciation seems also to date very early, and as a sort of *memoria technica* I might give you names like Mac Iain of Dundas as representing the Goidel, and Bevan of Dinmael as representing the Brython; both Mac Iain and Bevan mean in the the last resort John's Son, the Welsh having been curtailed successively, *mab* Iouann, *vap* Ievan, *vab* Ivan, *Ab* Ivan, *B-Ivan*, *Bevan*, just as in the Isle of Man the word *mac* has been reduced to the initial *c* of such names as *Claig* or *Cleg*, 'Son of the *Liag* or Physician,' and Mac Iain itself appears there as *Keoin*.

From the equivalence of the *c* of *mac* with the *p* (or *b*) of *map* (or *mab*) you are not to suppose that there has been any confusion of gutturals and labials, or to assume with the charlatans always to be found in the Celtic field, that Goidelic *c* interchanges with Brythonic *p*: nothing of the kind. What really happens with regard to the word *mac* is, that the old pronunciation with a *qu* has been simplified by dropping the second element of the combination: that is the Goidelic treatment. The Brythonic treatment was different: the combination *qu* consisting of a guttural followed by a labial, was made entirely labial and simplified into *p*. So when you meet with a Goidelic word with *c* corresponding to a Welsh one with *p*, you are not to predicate the interchange of *c* and *p*, but the former presence of a *qu*, which the Goidel has made into *c* and the Brython into *p*. In both *map* and *din* the Brython

gets rid of the rounded sounds of *u* and *ū*, and in this he shows an early departure from original Aryan speech. On these and similar grounds one is warranted in classifying the Celtic languages of modern times as Goidelic and Brythonic, and the distinction can be extended back into the distant past; but that raises another question, which must now be briefly mentioned.

When one passes to the Continent and begins to ask after the affinities of ancient Gaulish the subject of classification comes again to the foreground. The remains of old Gaulish consist of a few inscriptions and a considerable number of proper names occurring in the works of Greek and Latin writers; but they suffice to prove that Gaulish goes with Brythonic and not with Goidelic, so that instead of a Brythonic group we may now speak of a Gallo-Brythonic group. Such Gaulish names as the following are in point, *Eporedorix*, which involves a word *epos* corresponding to the Goidelic *each* 'a horse,' Latin *equus*; and *Pennowindos*, in Welsh Penwyn, meaning white-headed, which would have been in early Goidelic *Quennowindos* since it appears later as Cennfind. Here and there, however, in lands occupied by the Continental Celts one comes across names with *qu* such as Sequana 'the Seine' and that of the people called Sequani; possibly *Aquitani* was likewise a Celtic word. Such names as these would seem to suggest that there was at one time a Celtic people on the Continent whose language resembled the dialects of the Goidelic group. This raises several questions, not the least pressing of which is how such a people should be designated.

Before, however, turning our attention to that question, it would be well to look what further evidence there is of the existence of Q Celts on the Continent. In the first place it may be mentioned, that the Q Celts of the British Isles doubtless came here from the Continent, and that their migration probably took place only after the race to which they belonged had long obtained possession of the coast opposite Britain. It may be added that history does not on the whole lead one to expect those Celts of the Continent to have

come over here in a body, leaving their Continental home empty: some of them doubtless remained behind, probably the great bulk of them. In a word it is morally certain that at some distant epoch the seaboard of Europe from Holland to Spain was in part occupied by Celts of the Q group. In the next place a writer of the fourth century, Sulpicius Severus, speaks in one of his dialogues of Celtic and Gallic: the words in point occur in Dialog. I. 27, and run thus: "Tu uero, inquit Postumianus, uel Celtice, aut si mauis, Gallice loquere, dummodo jam Martinum loquaris." From this it is natural to infer that two languages called respectively Celtic and Gallic were still in use in Sulpicius's time, and his mention of them deserves all the more consideration as he is said to have belonged to a good family in Aquitania, where if anywhere on the Continent one might expect the Celtic here in question to have survived. We have perhaps a stronger argument than that of any single passage, such as the one cited, in the existence of the two names Galli and Celtæ with their respective adjectives. Till comparatively recently these words used to be regarded as synonymous throughout, but the tendency of modern research is decidedly to treat them as originally referring to two different sets of Celts. Some help to distinguish them may be derived from the writings of Julius Cæsar. He regarded Gaul as divided into three parts, one of which was occupied by the Aquitani, who dwelt beyond the Garonne. These last were probably wholly or in great part non-Celtic and non-Aryan, while the other two were doubtless mainly Celtic. These were the Celtæ and the Belgæ respectively. The Celtæ according to Cæsar were so called in their own language, while the Romans spoke and wrote of them in common with the other peoples of Gaul as Galli, and the whole country was called from them Gallia, a name which in passing through French has assumed the form Gaule in that language, whence the English *Gaul*. As to the locality of the people who called themselves Celtæ, Cæsar tells us that they were separated from the Aquitani by the Garonne and from the Belgæ by the Seine and the Marne; that is to say we are left to gather that the Celtæ occupied all

Gaul from the Garonne to the Seine and its tributary, in other words, all central and north-western France, in so far as that tract was Celtic at all. Cæsar, it will be seen, had to use his word *Galli* in two senses, one restricted and one more general, as already indicated; and we should be doing similarly with the words *Celt* and *Celtic*, if we applied them specially to the people who called themselves *Celtæ*, and if at the same time we followed the modern usage of applying them to the whole Aryan branch, embracing peoples of both groups, corresponding to Goidelic and Brythonic in these islands. To avoid this it is, perhaps, best to have recourse to a special name for the *Celtæ* in the narrower sense, and since Roman authors had on the whole a tendency to term their country *Celtica*, that is, to restrict the use of that term to the territory of the *Celtæ*, one may venture to call the inhabitants *Celticans*, for which we have the analogy of *Africans* and *Americans*. But beyond the *Celtica* of Cæsar's time, the *Celticans* probably formed the bulk of the Aryan population within that tract of southern Gaul out of which the Romans had carved their Province. At any rate, that may be supposed to apply to the time anterior to the conquest of the *Allobroges*, who probably belonged to the other Celtic group. The *Celticans* had also penetrated, it would seem, into Spain, where their presence is attested by the well-known name of the mixed people of the *Celtiberians*. The third division of Gaul, according to Cæsar's account, was that inhabited by the *Belgæ* to the east and north-east of *Celtica*; but Cæsar's *Belgæ* are also to be regarded as the *Galli* proper, or else we have to add to the *Belgæ* certain peoples who were the *Galli* proper, in order to fill the map of ancient Gaul as outlined by him. It is needless to discuss the old-fashioned view that the *Belgæ* were *Teutons* and not *Celts*, for this would have to be maintained in the teeth of the whole glottological evidence; and it may be relegated to the same limbo as the groundless conjecture which would connect the *Belgæ* with the mythic folk of the *Fir Bolg* of ancient *Erinn*. It will suffice for the present to have roughly indicated the lines to be insisted on. Our data lead one to classify the *Celts*, looked at from a linguistic point of

view, into (1) a P Group, comprising the Brythons of modern times and the Galli of antiquity—let us comprehensively term them Gallo-Brythonic, or perhaps better, Brytho-Gallic; and (2) a Q Group, including the Goidelic Celts of our day and the ancient Celticans of the Continent: this might be comprehensively called Goidelo-Celtican.

We have now to endeavour to form some idea of the relation of these two sets of Celtic peoples to one another, and our attention is first attracted by their geographical position; but here enters the question of the original home of the Aryans in the form of the narrower question, whence the Celts came to the lands where we find them. This, however, matters little, as no scholar seems prepared to maintain that they issued originally from Ireland or the West of Scotland, or that they swarmed across from Africa into Spain and Gaul. Roughly speaking, the march of the early Celts may be assumed to have been towards the West and the South. Wherever, then, subject to this limitation, they started from, you find that as a rule those of the Q group occupy the furthest portions of the area from the point of departure. Thus you have them in the west and south of Gaul, and in Spain, in Ireland also, and the Islands and Highlands of Scotland. In other words, the Q Celts were clearly here before those of the other group, and it is but natural to suppose that the latter came as invaders, who partly drove the earlier comers before them and partly subjugated them. Under these conditions a state of things arose, which had not passed away in Gaul in the time of Cæsar, for he makes us acquainted with the numerous retinues which the Gaulish nobles gathered round them of clients and debtors. All that points to a population consisting of a numerically small ruling class of conquerors, with the bulk of the inhabitants enslaved by them. The ruling class was the Gauls, and their enslaved subjects, in so far as they were Celts, were the Celticans. The Romans, when they came on the scene, informed their countrymen mostly about the ruling Gauls, and troubled themselves little about the subject race. Nor for our purpose would that be all, for it is by no means improbable that Celtican names were

learned by Roman and Greek travellers mostly from Gaulish mouths, in which they underwent serious modifications, if not wholesale translation. Not many proper names, therefore, of a distinctively Celtican description are to be expected; nevertheless, a few such occur in Roman inscriptions, especially from Spain and Portugal, from the South of France, from the neighbourhood of the Alps and the North of Italy. I must, however, not trouble you with the details and the abstruse questions of language which they suggest. I will only mention one name of a place, given in the Antonine Itinerary, as situated between Lisbon and Merida in Portugal: it is Equabona, which reminds one of such Celtic place-names as Bononia, now Boulogne and Bologna, and as Vindobona, now Vienna; but Equabona was not Gaulish, for in that language it would have been Epobona, like Eporedia and the like. The probability is that it was Celtican with its first element, *equa*, of the same origin as the Latin word *equus*, 'horse,' Irish *ech*, 'a horse.' The Welsh form, on the other hand, was *ep*, which occurs in the word *epaul*, 'a colt,' now reduced in that language to *ebol*.

Now I have just skimmed over the question of the Celtic peoples of the west of Europe, including these islands; I have had to pass over most of the details lest I should weary you with minute points of philology of which you could scarcely judge without having them clearly stated in black and white, so as to be studied at leisure. In the British Isles we distinguish two groups of Celts, an older one called the Goidelic, and a later one the Brythonic. To the former belong, linguistically speaking, the *macs* of Scotland, of Man and of Erin; and to the latter the Bowens and Bevans, the Powels and Pryses of Wales, and their kinsmen in Cornwall and Little Britain. I have further mentioned some reasons and hinted at others for believing that the Celts of the Continent, in ancient times, were similarly distinguished among themselves, the Gauls being of the same group as the Brythons, and the Celticans of the same group as the Goidels. The Brythons and the Gauls make up one larger group, which I have ventured to term briefly, P Celts, while the Celticans

and Goidels make up another, which may be similarly termed Q Celts. Add to this that the Q Celts, the *macs*, so to say, were the first comers, and that the P Celts must have been later intruders, and you have the sum and substance of what I have so far tried to set forth.

This classification, however, of the Celts into a Q and a P group is not to be dismissed without reference to the like classification of certain other Aryans of Europe. Thus the Romans had *qu* in their language just as the ancient Irish had, but the Romans stood nearly alone in Italy in this respect; for all the other dialects, collectively spoken of as Oscan and Umbrian, belonged to the labializing or P Group. The Italians using Latin at the opening of the pages of Roman history, occupy a comparatively small area. It had probably been greatly narrowed by the other Italians, especially the Sabines, by whom Roman legend shows early Rome hard pressed. The Faliscan dialect, spoken by the people of Falerii, was closely akin to Latin, although Falerii was situated in Etruria. The meaning of that seems to be that it was a remnant of a population of the same stock as the Romans, and occupying the country which the Etruscans had seized upon, and levelled of its linguistic landmarks, with the exception of this spot, which, for some reason or other, successive invasions had not obliterated. Further, the remains of the oldest Sicilian dialects are supposed to show traces of close resemblance to Latin, a circumstance which suggests that Latin, or dialects of the same group, once extended along the western coast as far as Sicily. Their disappearance from most of that tract was due probably to the conquests made by peoples of the Oscan name. Behind the Oscans came pressing southwards the kindred people of the Umbrians, who continued to occupy a great part of the eastern coast of Italy until the coming of the Senones and other Gaulish tribes, who robbed them of a portion of their territory, and before this the Umbrians had been deprived of portions of their possessions by the non-Aryan race of the Etruscans. In other words, the Italians of the Q group were in Italy before the other group, and spoke dialects which we may briefly call Siculo-Latin. These latter continued to exist in Latium, and left

remnants of their existence at Falerii and in Sicily. The peoples of the Siculo-Latin Q group were followed into Italy by the Aryans of the P group, known as Oscans and Umbrians, who appear to have occupied the whole width of the peninsula behind the Q Italians, and also made their way south along the east of the peninsula. Thence by degrees they took possession of the greater part of the western coast south of Latium, and even penetrated into Sicily, where traces of an Oscan dialect is known to history as that of the Mamertini. As a help to remember the phonological distinctions between the Celts, I have suggested the *macs* of the Goidel and the *Powels* and *Bevans* of the Welsh; so when we have to do with Italy, you may remember Pontius Pilate as representing the Osco-Umbrian branch, with Pontius for Pomptius, derived from *pomptos*, 'fifth'; for had his name been purely Latin it would have been Quinctius or Quintius: so Quintius and Pontius may serve as key words. But what I want you particularly to notice is that the Q people, the Quintiuses, came into Italy first, and that the P people, the Pontiuses, arrived later, just as the Celtic people of the Q group, the Goidelic *macs*, arrived first in Celtic lands, while the P Celts only came some time later.

A similar remark may be made concerning Greece, where the gutturalizing Greeks are most obviously represented by the dialect which Herodotus wrote, with such forms as *κῶς* and *κῶρεπος*, for the *πῶς* and *πῶρεπος* of the more common dialects. Herodotus was a native of Halicarnassus, and it is highly probable that the Greek which Herodotus wrote, or Greek closely resembling it, belonged to Asia Minor. Halicarnassus was sometimes described as a colony of Troezen, and sometimes of Argos; but the dialect was Ionian. In other words, it was a dialect spoken originally by Greeks of the Ionic group, who probably represented the oldest Aryan settlers of the Hellenic world, as may be gathered from the fact of the so-called return of the Heraclidæ, as representing the victorious advance of the Dorians, the later comers. But in Greece the fusion of the dialects, as presented to us in Greek literature, is found so far advanced that no

such hard and fast line can be drawn between them as among the Italians and the Celts: all we can with certainty infer is, that the same division into a Q and a P group once obtained in the Hellenic world. But we may add, with great probability, that the Greeks of the Q group, pushed as they were to Asia and the islands, formed the first comers, while the P Greeks as represented by the Dorians came later to conquer and displace them. Lastly the scanty remains of the languages spoken by the Thracians and the Phrygians of antiquity would seem to warrant the inference that the same linguistic distinction applied among them likewise. The researches of your learned and indefatigable countryman, Professor Ramsay, have led him to regard the Phrygians as Europeans who entered Asia Minor across the Hellespont, and to see in Phrygians and Carians "two very closely kindred tribes, nearly related to some of the Greek races." These Phrygio-Carians were a conquering race and a similar ruling caste of the same stock existed in Lydia and Lycia. Such is Prof. Ramsay's conclusion, and it harmonizes on the whole with the views of those who, rightly or wrongly, regard the Armenians as representing the ancient inhabitants of Phrygia. For the case admits of being put thus: the Phrygio-Carian conquerors were Aryans of the P Group, while the Armenians linguistically belonged to the Q Group: the latter may therefore be provisionally treated as representing those of the inhabitants of Asia Minor who, dwelling in the mountain regions, escaped the Phrygio-Carian conquest, and thereby preserved their language free from any admixture of the features characteristic of Aryan speech of the P Group.

These remarks suggest two considerations, namely that of the fusion of nations of the P and the Q groups with one another as already defined in part, and that of the closer community of origin of those of the P group. Let us take the latter first: put into the form of a question it would be this—does the change of *qu* into *p* prove that the *p* dialects are to be regarded as of a common descent within the Aryan family? The answer to this must be that in itself it does not, as the change is possibly of such a nature that it may take place in any

language which happens to have the combination *qu* ; but then we are entitled to ask why we should have it three or four times over in a certain portion of the Aryan world and not at all in the rest of it. Irish, Latin, and certain dialects of Greek remained, as far as concerns the guttural, on the level, roughly speaking, of Sanskrit, Zend, Slavonic and Teutonic, as you will at once perceive by examining any instance in point, such as the interrogative pronoun, which is in Sanscrit *ka*, in Gothic *hva* and in English *who*. Compare with these the Irish *cia* 'who,' Latin *qui*, the Herodotean *κοῖος, κότερος* and the like. No phonologist supposes the change to have been from *p* to *qu* but from *qu* to *p*. Goidelic, therefore, and Latin, together with the Greek in question, are in this respect practically on the ancient level of Aryan speech, while the labializing must be regarded as an exception introduced by the later Aryan invasion represented by the Gallo-Brythons, the Osco-Umbrians, the Doric Greeks and the Phrygio-Carian conquerors of Asia Minor. Why then should we have all these three or four instances of the exceptional treatment in the inner area alone of only one portion of the Aryan world? The impossibility of answering this question brings us forcibly back to the suggestion of a common origin of all the P peoples; for that hypothesis relieves one of the necessity of postulating the labilization of *qu* three or four times independently in as many countries. Once will suffice, if we may suppose, as I think we may, that the P nations swarmed forth from the same home. We arrive at the same conclusion by reckoning the chances of the change of *qu* into *p* occurring so many times within the same area: stated at their lowest calculation they prove to be no less than 5 to 1 against it, that is to say in favour of the hypothesis here advanced that the people of the P group set out from a common home after their common language had once for all made the change here in question. As a corollary to this it may be suggested that the common home in question stood somewhere in the Alpine region of central Europe. Some such a spot would best satisfy the requirements of the theory, and, looked at from that point of vantage, the territory

taken possession of by Aryans of the P group would form a smaller area within a larger one belonging to populations of the Q group of the same stock, and the descent of the Dorians into the Balkan peninsula becomes a part of a larger movement of the P Aryans, that is to say, of a movement which resulted in giving new inhabitants to Italy and Gaul, and through the latter to Spain and Britain.

Granted this, we are provided with a key to a variety of difficulties presented by the Celtic, Italian, and Hellenic tongues; and we are brought back to the other question, namely, that of the fusion of the two groups of Aryans in the lands here in point. Here language must again serve as our guide, for to understand the extent of any such fusion of language of the Q and P groups, we have to help us those Aryan languages which have been submitted to no influence of the P group — such, for instance, as Teutonic, Slavonic, and Sanskrit. Now, of the Western groups showing the influence of the P group, the least affected by it may be said to be decidedly Latin. The case of Latin is a very remarkable one: after being pressed within a small area, it began to conquer all the dialects around it, nor stopped till it became one of the great languages of civilization. The point to be specially noticed is the fact, that the antagonism between the ancient Romans and the Osco-Umbrian peoples in their neighbourhood was so intense, that the Latin language preserved itself comparatively free from the influence of the P dialects up to the period of its classical literature. Thus does Latin not only agree with the rest of the Q dialects in retaining the surd guttural of the combination *qu*, but also in not labializing the corresponding *gu* into *b*, as one finds done in Irish and in Greek. Latin either retains the combination or simplifies it more frequently into *v* by dropping the *g*. Take, for instance, the Latin *unguo* ‘I smear,’ Alemannic *anche* ‘butter,’ and contrast with them the Irish *imb* ‘butter’ and Welsh *ymenyn*, from an early form *imben*; take also the Latin *venio* ‘I come,’ for *guenio*, of the same origin as the English word *come*, and contrast the Greek form *παiva*, ‘I walk.’ A remarkable exception to the usual homogeneity of the Latin vocabulary is the word *bos* ‘an ox,’

which is probably a loan-word from Oscan : in Latin it would have been *vos*, or at any rate begin with a *v*. To leave the subject of exceptions, another point on which Latin has remained on the old level is that of long *u*, which in the P dialects tends to be narrowed in its pronunciation in varying extent from that of a French *û* to that of *î*. Thus, while Latin had *sus*, in English 'sow,' Umbrian had *sim* and *sif* corresponding to Latin *suem* and *sues* respectively, also *pir* and *frif* to the Greek $\pi\acute{\upsilon}\rho$ 'fire,' and the Latin *fruges* 'crops.' The first-mentioned word in Greek was *ts*, with an *u* more narrow than a French *û*, and the French *û* itself is one of the products of the same phonological tendencies of Gauls of the P group. I have already drawn your attention to the fact that such a Goidelic word as *cû*, 'hound,' is pronounced *cî* in the Brythonic dialects, and a strong tendency in the same direction is to be noticed in the case of other classes of words : take the Goidelic *tuath*, 'a tribe or a people,' which in North Wales becomes *tûd*, with a narrow *û*, which in parts of South Wales becomes *î*. The tendency to make *qu* and *gu* into *p* and *b* respectively, and to narrow or unround the *û* (sometimes also the *ü*), I should ascribe to the Neo-aryan invaders of the P group, but these inherited tendencies of their pronunciation spread themselves in very different proportions in the different lands seized by them. In Italy, not one of them was to any considerable extent imprinted on the language of the Q group, while in Greece it was otherwise. There *u* was regularly made into *v* with a decided inclination towards *i* which is the ordinary modern pronunciation, while only such dialects of ancient Greece as that of Crete, retained the long *u*. Similarly the labializing of *qu* and *ghu* into β and ϕ became the rule in Greek, though here and there the guttural held its own as in $\gamma\upsilon\eta$, genitive $\gamma\upsilon\alpha\upsilon\kappa\acute{o}\varsigma$, though not universally; witness Bœotian $\beta\alpha\acute{\nu}\delta$, plural $\beta\alpha\upsilon\eta\kappa\epsilon\varsigma$. On the other hand the *b* forms became the rule among the Celts of both groups, $\gamma\upsilon\eta$ is in Goidelic *ben* 'woman,' English *queen* and *quean*. Without going into very troublesome details, one may say that the fusion of the dialects of the two groups was very considerable in the Hellenic world, while it was comparatively small in Italy.

Among the Celts it was far greater than in Italy, but not so great, perhaps, as among the Greeks. With regard to the mutual attitude of Gaulish and Celtican, we are without data; but as regards the British Isles, we have for our use the facts of Goidelic and Brythonic: the former has resisted the tendency of the P dialects to unround the \bar{u} into i , as well as to labialize the qu into p . On the other hand it has like the latter made gu into b , and there are other important points of similarity between Goidelic and Brythonic, which are to be accounted for by the influence of the latter. How then is this complication to be interpreted ethnologically? Geography comes to our aid to a certain extent: we have to suppose Aryans of the Q group in possession of most of the south of Britain, and to have extended their dominion sooner or later to the shore of the Irish Sea; then Aryans of the P group arrived and robbed them of portions of the south and east of their territory. Fresh arrivals of P Aryans would cause fresh encroachments on the Q Aryans, until at last the latter would be confined to tracts of the west, and even there they would probably come under the yoke of the conqueror. Thus we should have side by side a P language preserved on the whole free from the influence of the other language, and a Q language subjected more and more to the influence of the P language. Then hordes sail from the west to conquer Ireland, and they settle probably in Meath—I mean ancient Meath as approximately represented by the diocese of that name. Numerically speaking, they consist mainly of those whose language was the modified Q language alluded to. Thus there would be a people speaking that Q language in the western portion of Britain and in Meath in Ireland; but in the course of time the Q language this side of the Channel would give way wholly to the P language of the later Celtic comers. From that moment the only representative of that Q language would be the dialect transplanted to Meath and spread thence in the course of time to the whole of Ireland, and to Argyle, together with other parts of Britain.

This theory leaves the Goidels in the main nearly related to the ancient Romans, just as the striking similarity between Latin and Goidelic irrefragably prove; at the same time it

makes the Goidel and the Brython inseparably related by reason of manifold race amalgamation, so that we are justified in speaking of the Neoceltic nations collectively as such, and not simply as Goidels and Brythons consisting of groups only distantly related with one another, which is the utmost one could have said of them before their fusion, as the case would also have been with the Romans and the Italians of the P group previous to the conquests of Rome and her sending forth her colonists to different parts of the peninsula.

The rise of the peoples of the Neo-aryan or P group within the Aryan world of prehistoric antiquity profoundly modified a portion of it, that is to say, what may be loosely termed its south-western half. Among other consequences it had probably that of driving the Q peoples further from their original point of dispersion, into Ireland and the corners of Gaul, into Spain, into Italy and Sicily, into Greece, into Asia Minor and possibly Armenia. The other half, so far as one can guess, was left unaffected, that is to say, the north-eastern half occupied by the Teutons, the Litu-Slaves, and the ancestors of the Aryan conquerors of Persia and Hindustan, who were probably helped to their homes in the East by the mighty current of the Volga and the waters of the Caspian Sea.

If I were asked to define more exactly what I mean by Q peoples and P peoples, I should say that the Q peoples who have occupied us in this lecture, the Goidels, the Latins, and the others in point, were simply Aryans, and all that is vaguely connoted by that term, just as in the case of the Teutons, the Slaves, and the Aryans of the East in so far as they are not merely Aryanized races of non-Aryan blood. On the other hand the Aryan of the P group is the ancient Aryan plus something else, in other words the term Aryan is here modified by an unknown quantity, which unknown quantity makes itself felt linguistically in such changes from original Aryan speech as have already been specified, together doubtless with many others which the glottological telescope, so to say, fails to make perceptible to us at this distance of time. What does this mean when translated into ethnology? I cannot exactly say, but one could hardly be far wrong in assuming it to imply

a mixture of race, whatever else it may have involved. The Aryans conquered or assimilated and subdued another race in the neighbourhood of the Alps: the subject race learned the language of the conquerors while retaining its own inherited habits of pronunciation, and those habits of pronunciation in some cases prevailed and brought with them, among other things, the modifications of pronunciation which have occupied us in this lecture. Thus arose a modified form of Aryan language spoken by a Neo-aryan people of mixed origin, partly Aryan and partly something else. What race that other was I cannot say, and its physical characteristics would have to be collected to some extent from a study of the P peoples of this country, of Gaul, Italy, and other lands once possessed by them. Short of that it may be worth the while to mention that ethnologists seem to be fairly well agreed that the purely Aryan man had a long skull, whereas the builder of the Round Barrows of England was in the main a short-skulled man. Now those barrows were probably the work of the later Celtic comers, that is to say, of the Celts of the P group; so here at least a difference of bodily shape seems to combine with a modification of speech, to point to a difference of race between the P Aryans and the purer Aryans of the Q group.

It has already been suggested that this mixed race had its home somewhere in the region of the Alps, and one is tempted to ascribe to it the Alpine lake-dwellings which archæology has of late years been attempting to examine and reconstruct for the benefit of the student of prehistoric history, if I may venture so to call it. To illustrate the capacity of Alpine Europe, one has only to recall a few well known facts: consider for instance the southward advance of the Alpine Gauls, who seized on the rich lands of north Italy, and once on a time sacked Rome; think also of the Gauls who swarmed from the region of the Alps to overrun the East, and to plant the name Galatia in Asia Minor. Even in the time of Julius Cæsar we find the same sort of movements going on. Thus the whole people of the Helvetii leave their country to take forcible possession of another territory, namely that of the Santones in the west of Gaul. Had it not been for the inter-

ference of the Roman general, the Helvetii would have probably realized the ambition which they had so systematically cherished; and it is instructive to note that they were Celts of the P group, while the Santones, whom they were preparing to enslave, belonged probably to the older Celts of the Q group. This may be regarded as merely a late instance of movements which had often before originated in the region of the Alps.

JOHN RHYS.

ART. II.—THE NILE AND ITS WORK.

[The sudden and lamented death of the late eminent Civil Engineer, Mr. Francis R. Conder, has deprived the *Scottish Review* of a frequent and highly esteemed contributor. The first article by him which we had the privilege of publishing, was that entitled 'What is Astrology?' in January 1886. He pursued the same subject in the 'Redemption of Astrology,' which appeared in July 1887. We were indebted to Mr. Conder for two articles upon the Panama Scheme, an undertaking which excited his strongest professional indignation. These articles were 'The Panama Canal,' which appeared in January 1888, and 'The Panama Scandal,' in April, 1889. How amply the course of events has justified his eloquent condemnation of that project it is unnecessary to remark. Mr. Conder's second contribution to these pages was that on 'The Water Circulation of Great Cities,' which appeared in April 1886. It was followed in October of the same year by that on 'Inland Transport,' which was re-published in a separate form with special reference to the Manchester Ship Canal upon which Mr. Conder was professionally employed. In July, 1889, we published 'The Railway Race to Edinburgh.' The article upon 'The Nile and its Work,' which we now lay before the reader, is the last which proceeded from his pen. It had been in the hands of the Editor only a few days when he received the intelligence of an event which has been a deep affliction to all those who knew the late distinguished man, a great misfortune to this magazine, and a grievous loss to Science.]

THE cause of the miserable poverty that now afflicts the bulk of the inhabitants of what was once the richest country in the world is a problem of no slight importance. The historic records of Egypt reach back to a very remote antiquity. We

have ancient sculpture and paintings illustrating the social life of the country executed by contemporaneous artists. They betoken that at a time when London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna,—Rome herself—were not, when Europe was covered with forest and marsh, and peopled, if the word may be used, with unlettered and unrecorded savages, civilisation was far advanced in the valley of the Nile. Century after century the names of the Pharaohs, the dates of their accessions to the throne, the succession of the 33 dynasties, are recorded on granite, on limestone, and on papyrus. A separate chronicle of the discoveries and the deaths of the Sacred Bulls affords an independent check to the regnal dates. Astronomical indications set this seal of absolute certitude on the chronology so carefully recorded, and we know, with a very approximate accuracy that the founding of Memphis by King Menes took place in the year 4455 B.C.

That the wealth, the grandeur, and the prosperity developed during the four and a half millenniums that intervened between this date and the battle of Actium should have evaporated under the foreign sway of the Roman and the Byzantine Emperors, the Khalifs, the Turkish Sultans and the Khedives, to the actual residuum, is a melancholy fact. Passing by those elements of change due to the influence of race, of religion, and a political action as to which there is room for controversy, it will be our aim to enquire into the physical causes of the impoverishment of Egypt. To ascertain such causes is to indicate their remedy. To apply the remedy is to establish a durable claim on the gratitude of mankind.

The head springs of the Nile rise to the south of the equatorial Lake Victoria, at a distance of more than 4000 miles of waterway from the Mediterranean. How far the Tangourie, which, according to the measurement of Speke, pours into this lake not less than 400,000,000 of cubic metres of water in the 24 hours, is entitled to be called the head stream of the Nile may be matter for discussion. It flows into the Victoria from the south-west, and is, so far as is yet known, the principal affluent of the Lake. The area of this vast sheet of water is more than 25,000 square miles, being equal to about half the superficies of England and Wales; and its level is given by Mr. Willcocks as about 3,700

feet above that of the Mediterranean. On issuing from the lake, the stream, which then bears the local name of the Somerset river, arrives in about 20 miles at the Ripon Falls, and 140 miles lower down at the Murchison Rapids; thus accomplishing a descent of 1640 feet to its junction with the north end of Lake Albert, which it leaves at 3162 miles from the sea. The width of the stream at the Ripon Falls is 1300 feet; the water is clear and cold. From Lake Albert the river follows a north-easterly course, its direction between the Lakes, while passing through the great Ibrahimia Swamp, having been at right angles to that line, with one great S shaped loop or bend. At 3038 miles from the sea occur the Fola Rapids, up to which, according to the cited opinion of General Gordon, navigation in steamers is possible. At Gondokoro, 2562 miles from the sea, and 1760 feet above its level, commences the region of 'sadds,' masses of aquatic vegetation, which block the channel of the river, and serve as regulators of the floods. At the confluence with the Gazelle river, at 2418 miles from the sea, the main stream turns at right angles to the east following the direction of its affluent, which receives a fan shaped group of streams from the south, and this is the last contribution which falls in on the left bank of the Nile. At 2356 miles from the sea the Saubat river brings, at an acute angle to the main channel, a volume equal to that of the stream which it joins. The milky water of the Saubat has caused the name of the White Nile to be now given to the river, which sweeps from the junction round the quadrant of a circle to a point a little below Fashoda, and then runs nearly due north to Khartoum, 1800 miles from the sea, and 1300 feet above its level. The river here forms a broad, deep, sluggish stream, displaying that decided set towards the right bank which is due to a well understood mechanical cause, and which becomes evident in all parts of its course where it is not counteracted or veiled by orographical obstacles. At Khartoum the Blue Nile from Abyssinia joins the White Nile, and the united stream is thenceforth known as the Nile. The Atbara, the last affluent of the Nile, joins the river a little above Berber, 1666 miles off the sea, and appears to impress its own direction on the stream, which runs straight in a north-north-easterly direction until it turns at right

angles at Abu Hamed, between the fifth and fourth cataract; 1585 miles from the sea. The third cataract occurs below Dongola, 1207 miles from the sea, the second at Wady Halfa, with a fall of 206 feet, terminating at a point 966 miles from the Mediterranean. The first cataract, at Assouan, 746 miles from the sea, is the last natural obstacle to the regular descent of the bed of the river.

The average fall of the surface of the Nile from Lake Victoria to the Mediterranean, is but a little over one foot in a mile (1·07 ft.) Yet of this fall but little more than four inches in the mile occurs in the ordinary channel. The rest is caused by the cataracts and rapids already described. Of these the first—the last in the descending order—has undergone, within historic times, a catastrophe to which we shall have again to refer, which has had the effect of reducing the level attained by high Nile by upwards of 26 feet between Assouan and Wady Halfa, and of ruining the fertility of this once rich and flourishing portion of the river valley. The fall from Lake Victoria to Lake Albert is increased by the Ripon, the Murchison, and the Fola rapids to an average water slope of 3·3 feet per mile. From Gondokoro to Khartoum the fall is above 5·3 inches per mile, no rocky barrier intervening; but the water being checked in its flood by the vegetation of the Sadds. From Khartoum to the Mediterranean, the fall, including that of the cataracts, averages 8·46 inches per mile, but the water slope of the unbroken sea fall of the river is only about 3 inches in the mile. The gradual change of inclination which the Italian hydrographers have indicated as a general feature of the profile of river channels, and which they have divided into zones of erosion, of transport, and of deposit, is illustrated on a gigantic scale over the 4000 miles of the course of the Nile. Of the erosive action of the river we have no means of measurement, except such as are afforded by the estimate of the quantities of clay, sand, and other mineral matters that are carried down by the current, especially in the time of flood. The solids deposited in the neighbourhood of Cairo, in a few hours, by the water of the high Nile, amount to an inch for 10 feet of water, or the one hundred and twentieth part of the bulk. The total estimate of dry solid matter, both in solution and in suspension, brought

down in the year, is 16 millions of tons. But this is independent of the fertilising deposit strewn down over 4000 miles of course. From the time of Menes, if we accept the evidence afforded by the position of the dyke attributed to that early monarch, down to the date of the survey of Admiral Govats, a period of 6300 years, the northward growth of the Delta has been 55 geographical miles, giving an area of some 8000 square miles, with a mean depth of 61 yards. The accordance between the estimate of the work thus done by the river, and the topographical extension of the Delta, is shewn by a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* of January 1877 to be so close as to leave but little room for questioning the accuracy of the calculations.

The river Nile drains an area estimated at about 1,300,000 square English miles, an extent of country which is divided by Mr. Willcocks into seven catchment basins, if the rainless district extending from Berber to Cairo can come under that appellation. In the cradle of the stream, to the south and south-east of Lake Victoria, covering an area of nearly 57,000 square miles, there is a light rainfall of $12\frac{1}{2}$ to 25 inches in the year. A second district, lying at a lower level, extending to the west and north of Lake Victoria, and comprising Lake Albert as well as the larger lake, has an area estimated at about 134,000 square miles, with a heavy rainfall of from 50 to 100 inches; a fall which also occurs over the third district, of 256,000 square miles in area, which contains the lofty mountain-lake Dembea, and the head springs of the Saubat, the Blue Nile, and the Atbara. Passing northward, the rainfall decreases to from $6\frac{1}{2}$ to $12\frac{1}{2}$ inches between Khartoum and the confluence of the Atbara with the Nile, a little below which the country is marked as rainless. The total rainfall over the whole area is estimated by Mr. Willcocks at 2·844 milliards, or thousands of millions of metric tons per annum, of which very nearly half descends on the third district above mentioned, comprising Abyssinia and Gondokoro. The rainless district of Nubia and Egypt covers 328,000 square miles.

Of the enormous quantity of water above estimated, a mass which the imagination fails in any way to realise, it is probable that less than one thirtieth part reaches the Mediterranean; the

remainder being absorbed either in the soil, or by the process of vegetation, or dissipated by evaporation. The mean annual discharge of the Nile at Cairo is estimated by Mr. Baker, who was associated with Sir John Fowler in his Egyptian work, at 94,400,000,000 cubic metres. An earlier estimate by Lombardini, the Italian engineer, was 108,000,000,000 cubic metres. In attempting to form any comprehensive idea of so vast a field of meteorological operations, it must be borne in mind that the problem is complicated by the variations which occur, both from season to season, and from year to year. Again, while it is possible to gauge the outflow of the Nile, and while systematic records are now kept of the daily height of the river at Assuan, at Roda, near Cairo, and at the barrage, rainfall observations are, of course, of the most rare and imperfect description. The peculiar character of the climate and soil of Egypt led to the division of the year in extreme antiquity into three tetramenies, or seasons of four months each. More than two-thirds of the whole discharge of the Nile takes place in the watery tetrameny (of the fixed, or Coptic, not of the vague Egyptian year), namely, in the months Chesori, Thoth, Paophi, and Athyr, nearly corresponding to our own August, September, October, and November. In October the flow amounts to nineteen milliards of tons. In June it is rather less than one and a quarter milliards of tons, in a mean year. Such is the extent of the monthly variation. The range from year to year is hardly less striking. The maximum daily flow of the Nile in flood is given by Mr. Willcocks at 1,032,000,000 cubic metres, while the corresponding volume in a year of drought is only 465,000,000 cubic metres. The summer daily flow varies from 62,000,000 to 25,000,000 cubic metres, and the winter volume from 200,000,000 to 130,000,000 cubic metres in the twenty-four hours.

Even of the water actually brought down by the affluents of the Nile system to points about half-way between the source and the sea, a considerable portion disappears. We have here, thus, the Tangourie, the principal feeder of Lake Victoria, is estimated, according to the observations of Speke, to pour 400,000,000 cubic metres of water into the Lake in twenty-four hours. The Saubat has a discharge equal to that of the White Nile at the junction.

But at Khartoum the mean flood discharge of the White Nile is calculated by M. Vincent at only 432,500,000 cubic metres per twenty-four hours. The Blue Nile here adds 527,400,000 cubic metres to the main stream; and 115 miles lower down the Atbara pours into the channel at least 400,000,000 cubic metres. Yet the maximum discharge at Cairo is little over 1,000,000,000 cubic metres. 'Taking,' says Mr. Willcocks, '2780 kilometres as the length of the Nile from Khartoum to Cairo, and the mean summer width as 300 metres, the evaporation off this sheet of water at twelve millimetres per day amounts to 10,050,000 cubic metres per day.' Yet this large amount of evaporation goes but a small way to account for the loss of 450,000,000 cubic metres of water in a course of 1720 miles.

The Nile, as is mentioned by Herodotus, is the creator of Egypt. The work of the great river is of a three-fold nature. In Lower Egypt it is a most active agent in reclaiming land from the sea. Over the greater part of its course, including that through the Delta, it is the most efficient fertiliser known to exist on the surface of the globe, and the effect of its floods in removing from the soil the salt injurious to vegetation is, in parts of its course, an absolute necessity for the cultivator. Not only were the ancient monarchs of the country aware of the virtues of the river, but they have left behind them vestiges and traditions of magnificent works, by the construction of which they showed that they were the true ministers and interpreters of nature. 'At Semneh, to the south of Wady Halfa, are the rocks where Lepsius discovered the Nile guages cut by one of the Pharaohs 4000 years ago.*' 'These guages prove,' says Mr. Willcocks, 'that

* 'We read at one place on the rock,' says Brugsch, 'height of the Nile in the fourteenth year of his holiness, King Amenemhat III. living for ever.' The date is B.C. 2661, and 'the point of the greatest height was 8.17 metres above the greatest height which the inundation ever reaches in our day.' Four records of the kind have been discovered, in the rocky island at the first cataract in the neighbourhood of Philæ, and on the stoney shores of Semneh and Koomme above the second cataract. The 16th King of the Thirteenth Dynasty has left the inscription, 'Height of the Nile in the third year of King Sebek Hotep III. living for ever.'—*Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. pp. 165, 191.

the granite barriers joining the cataracts have been considerably eroded since then. Between Wady Halfa and Assuan the Nile was trained by cyclopean spurs of stone, placed opposite each other on either bank at regular intervals down the river. They were evidently put in to keep the river from eating away the banks, and to induce it to form deposits of soil in continuation of the spurs.'

That a permanent and disastrous lowering of the level of the Nile has occurred since the construction of this great work, between the first and the third cataract, is unquestionable. But erosion is hardly the term to apply to the energetic action by which nature has impoverished the soil of Nubia. It is evidently the effect of earthquake; and it is traditionally held that it was the same earthquake that overthrew the Colossus of Rhodes, in the fifth year of the first Ptolemy, that rent the barrier of the first cataract at Assouan, and thus permanently reduced the level of the water through at least 218 miles of the valley of the Nile. The slope of the surface of the river from Wady Halfa to Assouan in high flood is now a little under five inches in a mile, and the slope is only about one per cent. more steep from Assouan to the sea.

But water, though essential to vegetation, is not all that vegetation needs. It is this primary truth which was grasped by the ancient rulers of Egypt, and of which their modern successors have formed no truthful conception. Even in England, and at the headquarters of science, the fact has been too much overlooked. 'Pure water irrigation is absolutely worthless, excepting so far as it supplies water to the plant.' This canon, to be found cited in the forty-ninth volume of the *Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers*, p. 188, requires explanation. It is either true or untrue—as wisely or hastily understood. If a soil be devoid of the nitrogenous elements which are necessary for the growth of vegetation, irrigation with pure water will not produce crops. If the soil be rich in nitrogen, pure water is the best irrigant. 'It must be evident,' the passage cited continues, 'that as plants required various ingredients in order to build up their tissues, these ingredients must be derived from the air, water, and soil. Therefore, if the soil was manured,

and then irrigated with pure water, the condition was practically the same as if the water carried the manure. An English Company bought a farm of 4000 acres at Miral Campo, on the Henares Canal, close to the Azaqueca station, on the railway from Madrid to Saragossa, before the works were completed, believing that after the letting on of the water they would be enabled to sell it at an immense profit, or raise crops of enormous value. This scheme was, however, unfortunate. The soil was so devoid of manure that it could yield a crop only every two or three years, a common condition in Spain; and the attempts to raise additional crops by the application of water failed utterly—no profit was made, and some of the land was being let to Spaniards at a yearly rent of four shillings per acre.'

The water of the Nile in its purest condition, which occurs in the month of May, contains one-third less foreign matter than is usually present in the river waters of England. The ammonia which it holds in solution is only 0.0065 of a grain per gallon, and the organic matter in suspension is only 0.66 grains. It is thus almost entirely destitute of the main elements of the growth of plants, which are so abundantly present in the water of the flood. In August there is no less than 12.88 grains of organic matter suspended in each gallon of the water of the Nile, and there is a double dose of dissolved ammonia, as compared with that in the summer flow. The total matter suspended in the water by the flood is as much as 104 grains in the gallon, which is 22 per cent. more than the total foreign matter contained in a gallon of London sewage, as delivered at Barking. The organic matter suspended in the Nile water is equal to 80 per cent. of the London sewage; but the organic matter in solution in the former is less than one tenth of that in the latter, while the iron dissolved in the Nile water prevents the putrefaction process by which the Thames is so disgracefully contaminated.

The heavy rains in the valley of the Nile begin in April, and force down the green, unhealthy, stagnant water of the great swamp regions below Gondokoro. This water reaches Cairo from the 10th June to the 10th July, according as the rise of the Nile is early or late. From ten to twenty days after the first appearance of the green water come down the red muddy waters

brought by the Blue Nile from Abyssinia, where the rains begin about the middle of May. The rich dark-coloured deposit, reddened by oxide of iron, thrown down at this period of the flood, is the natural manure to which the soil of Egypt owes its unrivalled fertility. 'It is,' says Mr. Willcocks, 'to the volcanic plateaux of Abyssinia, where Lake Dembea itself, the reservoir of the Blue Nile, looks like an ancient crater, that Egypt owes the main part of its rich deposit, while to the great swamp regions of the White Nile it is indebted for its organic matter, and to the basin of the Saubat river, probably, for its lime. Between them these constituents form a soil difficult to surpass by any artificial mixture of valuable ingredients.'

The soil of Egypt varies very much in the proportion of its constituent elements in different parts of the Valley of the Nile. An analysis made by the French savans in the beginning of the present century, gives 48 per cent. of alumina, 18 per cent. of lime, and only 4 per cent. of silica. Another French analysis, made in 1872, gives 53 per cent. of alumina, 3 per cent. of lime, and 45 per cent. of silica. The deposit from the flood of 1874, which was exceptionally high, made in August and September, contains 55 per cent. of silica, 2 per cent. of lime, and 21 per cent. of alumina and oxide of iron. Suspended organic matter, which from February to July in that year did not exceed 0·7 of a grain in a gallon of water, rose to 10·5 grains per gallon in August, and formed 15 per cent. of the deposit; of potassa there was nearly twice as much, and of phosphoric acid three times as much, in the flood water as in the summer Nile. While the swollen and rapid current of the river thus brings down so much larger a proportion of fertilising ingredients than is to be found in the water at other times, the latter contains three times the proportion of chlorine that is found in the flood water. The analyses of Dr. Letheby and Professor Wauklyn do not separate the oxide of iron from the alumina which it colours, a fact which is the more to be lamented, from the important part which is played by the metal in increasing the fertility of the soil, and in preventing the malaria which would often also be likely to follow the subsidence of the flood.

The ancient monuments of Egypt, solemn with the sanction of

religious rites, record the course of the inundation on which the prosperity of the country depends, in an average year. It can be most easily grasped if thrown into a tabular form, and is as follows :—

MEAN COURSE OF INUNDATION.

	Month of fixed. Egyptian year.	Month of Gregorian year.	Days of flood.	
Pachons,	30	June 6	1	Nile begins to change.
Pauni,	3	9	4	Nile active.
	11	17	12	Night of THE DROP.
	15	21	16	Solstice.
	18	24	12	Commencement of flood.
	25	July 1	20	Assembly at nilometer.
	26	2	27	Declaration of the height.
Mesori,	18	Aug. 23	79	Marriage of the Nile.
Thoth,	16	Sept. 26	112	Nile ceases to rise.
	17	27	113	Feast of the flood.
Paophi,	7	Oct. 17	133	End of the inundation.

The height of the Nile is now taken at Cairo, (Roda) the Barrage, Assuan, and Khartoum, the two latter guages being in the old Egyptian dimension of pics and kirats,—one pic of 24 kirats being equal to 0·5 metres. The Khartoum guage stands in the Blue Nile. The Assuan guage is 587 miles above the Cairo guage, and its zero is 276 feet above mean Red Sea level. It is cut in a rock in an island at the base of the Assuan Cataract. The maximum height attained at Roda in a long series of years, referred to a datum line 0·60 feet above the mean level of the Mediterranean sea, was 26 pics, or 69·30 feet, in October, 1874. The minimum, in August 1887, was 18 pics, or 48·68 feet. The mean rise for the decade 1874-1883, was just over 5676 feet, for 20 days, 'favourable in every way.' 'The irrigation of upper Egypt' (*Egyptian Irrigation*, p. 23) 'is guaged by the height of the river at Assuan, and is independent of the Roda guage. When the rise at Assuan is below 14 pics, there will be famine in Upper Egypt.'

Between	14 and 15,	scarcity.
“	15 and 16,	difficulty in irrigation.
“	16 and 17,	abundance.
“	17 and 18,	strong floods.
Above	18	inundations and harm.

In lower Egypt we have to refer to the Barrage and Roda guages. Between 14 and 15 pics at the Barrage, or between 15 and 17 pics at Roda causes distress in lower Egypt.

Between 15 and 16 at the Barrage, or 17 and 21 at Roda ; scarcity.

Between 15·5 and 17·5 at the Barrage, or 22 and 24 at Roda ; abundance.

Between 17·5 and 18·5 at the Barrage, or 24 and 26 at Roda ; strong floods and possibly inundations.

In the face of the rapid growth of scientific knowledge which is the boast of the nineteenth century, it is instructive to compare the present state of practical hydraulics with that which, so many centuries ago, existed in the reign of the Pharaohs. It is thus that the subject was approached by the Egyptian engineers from a different standpoint from that of the maker of the modern canal. It is also true that the earlier workman wrought under an urgent compulsion, at the hand of nature, to which no later hydraulic engineers have been subject, if we except the last of that industrious people who till and inhabit provinces won by human skill and perseverance, from the lagoons and even from the bays of the ocean. The first step for ascertaining the laws of river motion was taken by the Egyptians, and that at a date, as measured by a series of uninterrupted monumental inscriptions, considerably earlier than that which the class books of the English Board Schools confidently assign for the creation of the world. The Nilometer has been watched, as the measure of the beneficent flood, and the indicator of the wealth or scarcity of the ensuing season, from before the time of Moses. The solemn assembly at the Nilometer, on the 26th day of the flood, may well be regarded as the time when the presence of the daughter of Pharaoh, the great Queen Hatasu, may have been conjointly expected by the sister of the infant prophet, who,

watching the rushen cradle among the flags, 'stood afar off, to wot what would be done to him.' We have no knowledge how far the Egyptian architect of this great princess—his name was Semnut, the son of Rames and Ha-nofer—anticipated the fundamental hydraulic law discovered by Torricelli that, neglecting the resistances, the square of velocity of water is proportional to the head of pressure. But there is no doubt that the first step in the inductive study of hydraulics was taken by the erection of fixed and permanent river guages. There is no more doubt that the utilisation of the fertilizing flow of the Nile was successfully studied, and practically aided, by the ancient men of art, than there is that the greediness of the modern rulers of Egypt is rendering irrigation a means of impoverising, instead of enriching a large area of the soil of Egypt. Semnut may have been, and in all probability was, unable to draw up any algebraical or even arithmetical formula for the flow of the Nile, as indicated by the heights attained on the guages. But what is the present state of our exact knowledge on the subject? The latest hydraulic work published in England is a translation by two American engineers, Messrs. Herring and Trantanie, of the German treatise written by the two Swiss engineers, Mons. Gauguillet and Kutter, which proposes a new and general formula for the uniform flow of water in rivers and other channels. These gentlemen know, by unquestionable evidence, that of the various rules and formulæ now in use amongst European engineers, not one can be relied on as giving any indication of the flow of the Mississippi and the vast rivers of America. The formulæ suggested by the surveyors of the Mississippi, as embodying the results of their measurements, differ so widely from those in use among us European engineers, that no common principle has been found which regulates and explains the two. The best efforts of the ablest men are now directed to the denotation of a series of empirical numbers, to be used as co-efficients in very complicated *formulae*. Mons. Gauguillet and Kutter distinctly admit that their proposed figures are purely empirical, and that they are themselves unable to explain the phenomena which they attempt approximately to measure. (*A General Formula for the Uniform Flow of Water*, p. 51. London: Macmillan & Co., 1889). 'The inadequacy'

of the usual formulæ, ‘has steadily become more apparent, the breaking of dams and levees in regulated rivers (of which we will mention only the case of the Rhone at Lyons) have given rise to just suspicions as to the reliability of the formulæ upon which the construction of these works was founded; and engineers have begun to modify them somewhat in practice, yet without any safe guide.’ (*Idem*, p. 7).

Sir Charles Hartley has drawn up a very interesting comparison between the meteorological and hydraulic characteristics of the Nile and those of three other giant streams, which are of more importance as channels of navigation than the African river. He has avoided the tedious iteration of milliards and millions of gallons, by use of the magnificent unit of cubic miles of water. In a tabular form he gives the data as follows:

River.	Length Miles.	Drainage Area Square Miles.	Rainfall Cubic Miles.	Mean Discharge Cubic Miles.
Nile,	3,300	1,293,000	892·1	22·7
Ganges,	1,680	588,000	548·8	43·2
Mississippi,	4,190	1,244,000	673·0	132·0
Danube,	1,750	316,000	198·0	44·3

‘As the central and lower parts of the Nile flow through an exceptionally dry and sandy region, it discharges, as shown in the table, only one thirty-ninth of the annual rainfall on its catchment-basin; and as regards ratio of rainfall to discharge, compared with other rivers, it was three, eight, and nine times larger than the Ganges, the Mississippi, and the Danube respectively. Again, although the Nile has about the same drainage area as the Mississippi, its annual rainfall was 30 per cent. greater, while its annual discharge was six times less than that of the great father of waters. Compared with the Danube, the annual discharge of the latter was double that of the Nile, although the annual rainfall of the Nile basin was four and a half times that of the Danube.’ (*Min. Proc. Inst. C.E.*, vol. 88, p. 353).

Since Sir Charles Hartley wrote, and indeed since the sketch of the cradle of the Nile given in a previous page was written, further information on the subject has been received from Stanley. This explorer says that he has travelled along the base

of the snowy range of Ruwenzori, which surrounds three sides of a third great lake, the Southern Nyanza, or Nyanza of Usongora, now called the Albert Edward Nyanza. The level of this lake he gives as 900 feet higher than that of the Albert Nyanza, which, according to Mr. Willcock's figures, will be 2,960 feet above the mean level of the Mediterranean. The Semplici river issues from the Albert Edward Lake. It receives over fifty streams from the Ruwenzori (or Rujenzori) range and falls into the Albert Nyanza. This makes the Albert Edward Nyanza the source of the south-west branch of the White Nile; the Victoria Nyanza, as before described, being that of the south-eastern branch; or, according to his local names, the Semplici and the Somerset rivers, joining in the Albert Lake. It is probable that the Albert Edward Lake is the southern of the two sheets of water which are shown on Mr. Willcock's Plan of the Nile as 'Lakes Albert,' to the south-east of which is sketched a line of 'hills 3000 metres high,' at about the same latitude as Kilimanjaro, to the east of Lake Victoria, 18,660 feet above the sea.

We have already referred to the set, or disposition to evade the right hand bank, which is characteristic of the Nile in some portions of its course. Such a tendency, in fact, is present in its waters from their issue from their lake cradles to their outflow into the Mediterranean. But it is in the comparatively straight reaches of the river that run northwards that the set is most easily recognized. In the eastward run, from the confluence of the Gazelle river to Fashoda, the force in question does little but accelerate the current. In the westward track from Abu Hamed to Dongola, it seems to retard it. It is most remarked as an evading action between Fashoda and Khartoum. Its origin is thus:—The rotary movement of the earth has a velocity of 1500 feet per second towards the East, at the Equator: at the mouth of the Nile this velocity is only 1295 feet per second. In the 1900 minutes of latitude, or geographical miles, which are passed by the winding course of the river in the interval, there is, therefore, an eastward tendency imparted to its water ranging from 0 to 205 feet per second. The flowing river, meeting with an eastward velocity of the higher rate named, has a

mechanical impulse to run away from the earth, as, owing to the laws which regulate the revolution of the spheroid, the surface on which it runs has a lower rate of rotation. When a distinctly measurable force of this magnitude is impressed on a volume of water as great as that of the Nile (rapidly as it shrinks from evaporation), it is quite intelligible that it should become manifest. The great engineer, Ericsson, the inventor of the ironclad, the caloric engine, and the last form of the torpedo, has entered at much length, in the splendid volume in which he has placed on record so many brilliant discoveries, into the effect produced by the action of great rivers, running north or south, on the balance of the earth, and ultimately on the length of the day.

The effects of the irrigation of Egypt by the water of the Nile are mainly these:—The first—apart from that extension of the area of the cultivable land to which we have referred—is the deposit over the surface of the soil of the rich mud brought down by the flood, and abundant in proportion to the rise of the inundation. The rapidity of the flow of the river increases in a very rapid proportion to its height. ‘At the beginning of the flood the velocity of the Nile is about three kilometres per hour, and it takes twenty-five days to traverse the distance between Khartoum and Assuan, and twelve days between Assuan and the Barrage. In full flood, on a rise, the velocity is fully 6 kilometres per hour, and it takes the flood thirteen days to come from Khartoum to Assuan, and six days from Assuan to Cairo.’ The more rapid the flow the more mud is held in suspension by the water, and the richer is the deposit on the soil exposed to the direct inundation. But in addition to the food thus supplied for vegetation, the flooding of the land for from twenty to thirty days washes out the injurious salts which rise to the surface, and which, if not removed, will ultimately cover it with a white crust, and destroy all useful vegetation. The more Nature is allowed to follow her own method, or is assisted in so doing by the engineer, the greater, therefore, the wealth of the country, whether in its yearly yield or in the improvement of its condition. On the other hand, the growth of cotton, which is a summer crop, yielding a high rate of profit, may be stimulated by artificial manners of irrigation, whether by canals or by the

rude machinery of the peasants. But water alone is now supplied to the soil, and no return is made to it of those other elements of vegetable growth which are removed by the crop. Previous to 1820 Lower Egypt was irrigated, like Upper Egypt, by a partial system of basin irrigation. A high flood, occurring every fifteen or twenty years, swept over the whole country, and thoroughly washed, as well as enriched, even the higher lands. The country was covered by a network of dykes, which formed the embankments of the several basins. But Mehemet Ali, in order to introduce the cultivation of cotton on a large scale into Egypt, changed the regimen altogether. He excavated a number of deep low-lying canals, capable of discharging the low-level summer water of the Nile. He strengthened the dykes of the river, and of the old canals, and thus protected the country from inundation. The old basins were neglected, the old embankments ploughed up, and in consequence the rich mud deposits, which constituted the wealth of Lower Egypt for thousands of years, could no longer be secured to renovate the land.' There are tens of thousands of acres of apparently good land, which can produce neither Indian corn nor wheat, which glisten white like snow through the summer when turned up and sown with cotton, and are visibly deteriorating year by year. A couple of years under flood water would give them a new lease of life (p. 90). The whole area of Lower Egypt, the revenue-paying portion of which is 2,737,418 acres, affords practically a double crop. 935,000 acres yield a value of £9,470,000 from winter crops, making an average of £8·5 per acre. To accomplish this irrigation, there are employed 6971 kilometres of summer canals, and 216 kilometres of flood canals, while the flush irrigation is supplemented by water wheels and steam pumps to the extent of 36,000 horse power, lifting, through the summer, seventeen millions of cubic metres of water per twenty-four hours, or a little more than one-tenth of the quantity of water distributed by the canals.

For the mischievous effects of the new system we are not left to rely on the testimony, unexceptionable as we consider it to be, of the Anglo-Indian engineers, who are effecting the physical redemption of Egypt. Mr. William Anderson, a well-known

and highly respected member of the Institution of Civil Engineers, visited the Delta in April 1884, being charged to ascertain why extensive estates belonging to an English Company had become wholly unproductive. His report was published by the Institution of Civil Engineers, in volume 76 of their Minutes of Proceedings. 'The welfare of the agricultural industry,' says Mr. Anderson, 'the only source of wealth in Egypt, depends mainly on the efficiency of the irrigation, the drainage, and the means of communication. It soon became apparent that the estates visited, and many thousands of acres around them, were suffering from startling defects in all the three conditions on which prosperity depends.'

Mr. Anderson proceeds to point out the want of general plan in the arrangement of the numerous canals dug for irrigation and for drainage. They are for the most part without locks or regulations for controlling the flow of water; banks of earth being thrown across them, or gaps cut in their banks, from time to time, to serve the purpose of the moment. Owing to utter maladministration the water is at times too low to serve the land, at other times it is allowed to run prodigally to waste. In summer, from May to August, many of the canals for want of care become quite dry, and thousands of acres of rice and cotton perish for want of water. Two-thirds of the summer crop of the district visited by Mr. Anderson were thus lost in 1883. But even when the canals are properly cleaned out, the water is far below the level of the soil, and has to be raised by the imperfect methods familiar to the peasantry, or by steam pumps. The cost thus incurred is ten times as much as that for which an equal amount of work might be done by large pumping stations, or by a proper management of arterial canals. The drainage canals, again, require widening and deepening, so as to carry the drainage water to the sea. When drainage is neglected the water percolates the soil, and rises in the better drained portions, bringing up with it the deleterious salts with which the whole subsoil of the Delta is more or less impregnated, which may be seen lying like snow over vast areas of land. The case is cited of 100,000 acres belonging to the village of Massara, only 12,000 of which

were capable of cultivation, on account of neglect of drainage and want of irrigation water.

In the third place, mismanagement has destroyed the means of communication. Canals, wide and deep enough to carry cargo boats as large as those in use in England, intersect the country in all directions; and yet it costs 26 shillings a ton to convey agricultural produce for 33 miles; and even that can only be done in the dry season, as wet renders the towing and bridle paths impracticable.

The testimony of Mr. Anderson possesses an especial value, not only as that of a competent and impartial observer, but from its critical date. It follows so closely after the appointment of Colonel Sir Scott Moncrieff to the post of Secretary of State for Public Works in Egypt, as to afford an accurate measure of the progress of the improvements already effected, and still in progress, at the instance of that distinguished administrator. And it is especially interesting to find that Mr. Anderson, at the time of writing this paper, was opposed to one of the most remarkable of the measures carried out by Sir Colin. 'After the Soudan troubles, driven perhaps by necessity, he unfortunately determined to make an attempt to raise the waters of the Nile by means of the Barrage, and that work is now being strengthened in a manner which he expects will enable it to perform the object for which it was designed. Most experienced engineers, native and foreign, believe that the attempt will end in failure. Mr. B. Baker's graphic description of the work is of a very discouraging kind.' (*Minutes of Proceedings of the Institution of Civil Engineers*, vol. 76, p. 353).

It is as honourable to the candour of Mr. Anderson as it is to the foresight and resolution of Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff to find that, by February 1887, the former had so far changed his opinion as to this essential portion of the sound policy of the latter as to say (*Min. Pro. Inst. C. E.* vol. 88, p. 339), 'it was an act of extraordinary boldness on the part of Colonel Scott-Moncrieff to make up his mind, before even his first year of office had been completed, that the Barrage should do its duty; a determination which no one had ventured to form for the 40 years which had elapsed since its construction.' To render this policy

intelligible to the reader, it is requisite to give a brief account of the great public work known as the Barrage of the Nile.

We have seen in our description of the Nile, that at various points in its course nature has arrested the rapid flow of the current by transverse reefs or dams of rock. Had the whole course of the Nile from Khartoum to the Mediterranean been through readily erodible soil, the river would have cut its channel so as to suit its own requirements, and we should have heard little of the periodical inundations of Egypt. The idea of imitating this operation of nature, for the benefit of agriculture, is of remote antiquity. Mena, or Menes, the founder of Memphis, 'changed the course of the river to increase the ground which was to contain his new residence. By the construction of an enormous dyke, the Nile, which before the reign of this king ran close to the Libyan chain, was carried more to the east; its ancient bed was filled up, and thus a site was found for Memphis. Linant-Bey, one of the most industrious improvers of modern Egypt, has declared his opinion, founded on an examination of the formation of the ground, that the great dyke of Cocheiche is probably that which King Menes caused to be constructed 6,000 years ago, to give to the Nile its eastern direction. At the present day this dyke serves to restrain all the waters of inundation which arrive in Egypt. By means of large sluices, constructed in the dyke, the waters are allowed to flow over Lower Egypt, or into the Nile, as they are required. It is thus that a complement of inundation is produced in the lower basins, or a rise of height in the level of the river, which in the neighbourhood of Cairo sometimes rises as much as three feet. Linant-Bey would place the spot at which the Nile is diverted to the east at two miles to the south of Memphis.' (Brugsch's *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i. p. 40.)

The engineering genius of Napoleon grasped the necessity of some regulation of the waters of the Nile at the point of bifurcation below Cairo. 'Un jour viendra ou l'on entreprendra un travail d'établissement de dignes barrants les branches de Damietta et de Rosetta, au ventre de la vache, ce qui, moyennant de batardeaux, permettra de laisser passer successivement toutes les eaux du Nil dans une branche ou dans l'autre, et de doubler

ainsi l'inondation.' In 1833 Mehemet Ali, the Viceroy of Egypt, began to fulfil the prediction of Napoléon. The first idea was to close the head of the Rosetta branch by an enormous stone dam, for the construction of which he proposed to demolish the Pyramids. Linant-Pasha—as he was called later on—induced the Viceroy to abandon this plan, in favour of the construction of two barrages, about 6 miles below Cairo. In 1842, Mongel Bey arrived in Egypt, and proposed the present plan of the barrages, with fortifications at the point of diramation; and the works were commenced. Mehemet Ali died in 1848. In 1853 Abbas Pasha dismissed Mongel Bey, and ordered the completion of the works on the same plan by Mazhac Bey. The works were completed in 1861, at an estimated cost of £4,000,000. Platforms of stone, concrete, and brickwork, were laid across the two branches of the Nile, on which were a series of arches. 'The Rosetta barrage,' says Mr. Baker, (*Mins. Pro. Inst. C. E.*, vol. 60, p. 374,) 'is 1525 feet in total length, and includes 61 arches of 16 feet 4 inches space each. The Damietta barrage is 1,787 feet long, and has ten more arches in the water way. At low Nile in 1874 about 200 cubic metres per second flowed through the former, and 181 cubic metres through the latter span; a few days later the volumes had increased to 305 and 268 cubic metres, and the differences thus rapidly grew wider. The preceding figures, significant as they are, do not indicate the worst feature about the barrage works, namely, that the 1830 cubic metres do not approach the Damietta barrage fair and square, but are directed to it at great velocity through a narrow and deep channel at right angles to the sides of the river, and in line, therefore, with the already unstable foundations of the barrage. Thousands of tons of stone have been thrown into the cross channel, but the depth is still about 54 feet below low water, or 36 feet below the foundation of the barrage. Borings to a depth of 100 feet, show that the soil is light stuff, which melts away like sugar in contact with water; so that the present critical state of affairs requires no further demonstration.'

Considering the barrage to be thoroughly unsound work, it was the decision of Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff to make the submerged weight of masonry bear ratio of fifty to one to the pressure of

water to be brought on it. On the completion of the additions made for this purpose to the talus in 1885, ten feet of water were safely held up by the barrage. 'The result,' said Sir Charles Hartley (*Min. Proc. Inst. C.E.*, vol. 88, p. 350), 'has been entirely successful; and when in Egypt two years ago, and also elsewhere since that time, he had heard many distinguished engineers (French and Italian as well as English), who had made the subject of the barrage a special study, express their warm admiration of Colonel Scott-Moncrieff's famous achievement in adding so greatly to the utility of the barrage in so short a time and for so little money.'

Important as are the engineering benefits which the carrying out by Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff and his Anglo-Indian staff of this work are conferring on Egypt, the measures taken for the protection of the fellaheen are entitled to still higher admiration. 'Within the short space of three years, British engineers have succeeded in so arranging matters that the *corvée* has been practically done away with; and it would be absolutely abolished were it not for the under-current of opposition (the source of which we need not mention), against everything originated by England, which would have the effect of sweeping away long-standing abuses. The speaker believed that in a year or two the *corvée* would be a thing absolutely unknown, and that great and desirable reforms would be produced by those who had charge of the engineering of the country. It was a marvel to him that any one could be found, who professed to have the interests of liberty, freedom, and humanity at heart, who would recommend the abandonment of a country in which so great a work had been begun.' Under that terrible species of oppression, the forced labour of the *corvée*, 'the unfortunate natives were periodically dragged from their homes, separated from their families, and sent to distant places, some never to return; they were fed in the most miserable manner upon dry bread, and forced to work upon canals in which they had not the slightest interest. Neither age nor sex was a protection, and those entrusted with the administration of the laws, enriched themselves by the money paid by the wretched fellahs to purchase exemption. The number of men called out

every year was about 160,000.' (*Min. Proc. Inst. C.E.*, vol. 88, p. 340.)

'It is, perhaps, no exaggeration to say (writes the Cairo correspondent of the *Times*) that in 1876 the lot of the fellah was more miserable than that of any human being on the face of the globe. Selfish considerations have generally prompted some consideration for the slave. If a man's labour is to be absolutely at the disposal of another, he himself having no voice in the matter, it is perhaps better that his person too should be the property of the same definite master. The Egyptian fellah had no master: he was a human implement, liable to be taken and dropped by any one in usurped authority. The sheikh of the village, the nearest Pasha, or any man whose hostility he had incurred, could hand him over to the *corvée* or to the military conscription. At any moment he was liable to be called on for money, either as exemption from these penalties or by way of taxes. If he had paid the latter it was only a proof that he was in a flourishing condition, that he was either undertaxed and must pay more, or should pay next year's in advance—it was, perhaps, ordered from Cairo that the taxes for two years should be taken in one, or, if not, it was convenient for the tax-collector to say so; if no more money was forthcoming there were alternatives—the *kourbash*, the *corvée*, the conscription, or the village usurer, the latter not unfrequently the tax-collector himself, against whom there was no appeal unless to the Mudir, which was from the frying-pan to the fire. In 1889 every owner of a fraction of a feddan has his paper showing the amount due in the year, the proportion payable each month, arranged according to the periods when his crops will be coming in; if he holds that receipt, duly acquitted, he may defy both tax-collector and Mudir. If he has any means he may exempt himself from either *corvée* or conscription by a small payment; if he has not he knows that his chances of being taken for the *corvée* are small, and in any case that he will not be required to work far from his own village. As regards conscription, he may have bad luck and get chosen; but he knows that he has the same chance for good or evil as his neighbour, that at worst it is for a few years and not, as formerly, for life, and if chosen he will probably realize that his lot under English officers is not a bad one.'

Lieut.-Col. Justin C. Ross, R.E., C.M.G., Inspector of Irrigation in Egypt, in an introduction contributed by him to Mr. Willcock's volume on Egyptian irrigation, endeavours in the most conciliatory and graceful manner to disarm some of the too ready critics of any good work done by England in Egypt. 'While making comparisons,' he says, 'between the results obtained from the French guidance up to 1882, and the results already gained, and still to be gained, by the Anglo-Indian engineers, it must

constantly be borne in mind that, firstly, the French engineers had been hand-tied by the powers that be in Cairo, who only allowed them to use their science and skill in what suited the political notions of the day; and secondly, that the French engineers, fresh from the splendid machinery of the "Ponts et Chaussées," were hampered by the routine training they had as young men, and could not naturally bring themselves into harmony with the oriental conditions of Egypt. These conditions which so hampered the French engineers, were a matter of life-long experience to the Anglo-Indian engineer, accustomed as he is to be teacher, engineer, and manufacturer at one and the same time.'

'There can be no manner of doubt that, up to 1882, Egyptian irrigation was going down hill. Every year some false step was taken in spite of the engineers. Every year the corvée lost ground in its out-turn of work, and drains were abandoned or became useless, and canals became less of artificial and more of natural channels, wholly influenced by the natural rise and fall of the Nile. The records of public works hardly existed. Gauges of canals were not taken, or, if taken, were not recorded, and the dates of the erection of the older canal works are in greater dearth than the dates of events in the eighteenth dynasty. Of course the French engineers were not responsible for this. They could only advise, and their advice, if not grateful to the authorities, was promptly rejected. I therefore must deprecate any invidious comparison between the French and the Anglo-Indian engineers. The comparison must be made really between the Arab engineers, advised by French engineers, and the Anglo-Indian engineers, directing the Arab engineers.'

The value of Indian experience applied to great hydraulic works in Egypt is not easy to exaggerate. One of the most remarkable outcomes of the comparison is that which relates to the fertility of the countries in question. Colonel Ross has thrown into tabular form a comparison of the respective yields and returns of some of the most important objects of culture in Egypt and in India. Calculating the latter in piastres, the average value of the Egyptian crops is 882, while that of the Indian crops is only 185 per acre. Calculated in pounds of grain, 1631 pounds of wheat is grown per acre in Egypt, against

990 in India. Of millet (*Holcus sorghum*), which is one of the staple articles of food in Egypt, the disproportion is more than 4 to 1—2330lbs. against 577·5lbs. Sugar-cane yields a fourfold return in Egypt; barley double, as compared to India. We are unable to tell how far exceptional cases may be brought into comparison; but the table is one deserving careful attention. So, again, are the short statistical tables as to the results of basin crops in Upper Egypt and summer irrigation crops in the Southern Delta. The net profits in the former case, after allowing £1 10s. per acre for rent, were £4 4s. in Upper Egypt and £6 6s. in Lower Egypt. The sum expended in seed and in labour in either case is not stated by Colonel Ross; but the above are given as the net profits on cultivation.

Upper Egypt contains, according to Mr. Willcocks, 2,400,000 acres of cultivable land, of which 2,215,000 are cultivated and pay taxes. Lower Egypt, out of a cultivable area of 4,000,000 acres, has only 2,740,000 acres which pay taxes. The population of Egypt is 6,807,000, of whom 6,052,000 are Moslems. The revenue of the country is £9,000,000 per annum, of which £650,000 is devoted to the payment of tribute to Turkey, and £4,450,000 to interest on the debt, which now amounts to nearly £103,000,000. Thus the population is 1·37 per acre of cultivated land; while the taxes amount to £1·92 per acre, or to £1·4 per head of population.

Mr. Willcocks has given minute details of the cost, as well as of the returns, of raising crops of different kinds in Upper Egypt, in the southern part of Lower Egypt, and in the northern part of Lower Egypt. We must refer to his pages for these and many other important details, in the number and apparent accuracy of which 'Egyptian Irrigation' is unrivalled. The cultivation of the sugar-cane by summer irrigation in Upper Egypt yields a return of £24 per acre, at a cost of £10, or a net profit of £14 per acre. In the southern half of Lower Egypt the cost of production is somewhat less, £9·2 per acre, and the return considerably more, £40 per acre, with the note 'for eating.' Cotton yields £15 per acre under summer irrigation in Upper Egypt, at a cost of £3·55. It yields £13·5 per acre in the southern half and £10 per acre in the northern half of Lower Egypt, the respective

costs of cultivation being £6·15 and £4·7 per acre. In the two latter cases, the sums of £1 and £0·7 are allowed for manure. But an acre of inferior land in Lower Egypt, without manure, yields only a net profit of £2·2 per acre, £2·8 being the cost of raising the crop. These figures are very eloquent as to the deterioration of the soil and diminution of the wealth of Egypt caused by the culture of the cotton plant by summer irrigation alone, on lands from which the precious mud of the Nile has been kept off by the 'reforms' of Mehemet Ali, and while no manure is used. A profit of £11·45 per acre is thus reduced to one of £2·2, and in the latter case the crop can only be cultivated in one year out of two or three.

'The cost of raising crops on an acre of land in the basins,' that is to say on the ground enriched by the red inundations of the Nile, 'is insignificant. It is owing to the absence of field labour over large tracts in Upper Egypt that the Saidis, or inhabitants of Upper Egypt, are enabled to flock down into Lower Egypt and undertake half the contract works, making large profits, in which profits the inhabitants of Lower Egypt, with their superior crops, their ploughing and irrigation labours, and perpetual field operations, barely participate. This all goes to swell the profits on the lands irrigated by basin irrigation.' (p. 247).

It is a thing hitherto without precedent to see the highly educated officers of a foreign power effecting a return to that secular mode of improving the gifts of nature which has been neglected by Turkish and Arab rulers in their greedy haste for immediate returns. It would be difficult to imagine a more effective reform than that which has been so far, successfully effected by a return to the wise regimen so long maintained by the Pharaohs. Land, like dumb animals, wants scourging. But land commands a certain vengeance on its ill-user. It can, and does yield less and less, the worse it is used. To what may be effected for Egypt by the maintenance of the system so far introduced, under British rule, by the Anglo-Indian engineers, it is difficult to set a limit. A double or triple yield of the cultivated soil is but a portion of the increment of wealth to be secured from the due use of the gifts of the Nile. The country

is to be enlarged in its area—not by the bloodstained method of foreign conquest, but by the assertion of human rule over the forces of nature. Not only is the yield of the 2,740,000 acres which now pay taxes in Lower Egypt capable of a notable development, but there are 1,260,000 acres of land capable of reclamation in the province. The first object is being steadily effected; and it is only needful to give the support of a strong and honest government to the intelligent and highly remunerative labours of Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff and his staff in order to convert the Egyptian fellah from one of the most wretched, to one of the most contented of peasants. But more than this is needed. Some comprehensive plan must be adopted to utilise, from time to time, the annual addition of 800 acres which is made by the Nile to the Delta. Even more pressing than the need of winning a new Egypt from the sea, is that of converting much of what is already *terra firma* from desert to fertile soil. Here again we are forced to cast a glance back through remote antiquity. Here again we are called on to pay a tribute to the truthful accuracy of the father of history. Our attention is recalled to the reign of Amenemhat III., the sixth monarch of the twelfth dynasty, who reigned at Thebes, about 2630 B.C. ‘He was the founder of the wonderful Mœris Lake, of whose vastness and utility the ancients are never tired of telling us, so full were they of praise for the construction itself, and the constructor of this artificial sea.’ (*Brugsch's Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. i., p. 165.) The name of Mœris, Herr Brugsch goes on to say, which the Greek authors gave to the lake—a word in which they thought they could recognise the name of a king—was derived from the Egyptian appellation Meri or Mi-uer, which means every kind of basin or lake. For a long time it was supposed that the Birket-el-Keron, a great natural lake to the west of the Fayoum, was the lake Mœris, but a paper has been discovered, and is now in the Boolak museum, which represents the plan of the basin, and the explanatory inscriptions indicate the locality, as well as the name of the great work of Amenemhat III. Its position in the southern part of the province of the Fayoum has been indicated by M. Linant, but more exactly verified by Mr. Cope Whitehouse in 1886. The spot, called the

Wady Rayan, is a natural depression in the Libyan desert, separated from the Fayoum province by a range of low hills averaging some six kilometres in width, and with heights of about sixty metres above sea level. Two passes exist through these hills, with levels of about twenty-six metres above the sea, the remainder of the Wady being bounded by hills at least thirty-six metres above the sea. The soil is for the most part composed of desert sand and pebbles, overlying in most places a yellow clay, but partly hidden by drifted sand. The rocky bottom of the depression is forty metres below sea level. If filled to the level of thirty metres above the sea, this vast natural reservoir would hold a volume of five cubic miles of water, or nearly one-fourth of the annual discharge of the Nile into the Mediterranean.

The area has been carefully surveyed, and the whole scheme of restoring the work of the early Pharaoh is described in minute and intelligible detail by Mr. Willcocks. The canal to fill the lake is to leave the Nile at Biba, and to be $28\frac{1}{2}$ miles long, with width at bottom of 262 feet, and a slope of 1 in 20,000, allowing a mean velocity of flow of 39 inches per second—‘a velocity which neither allows of silt deposit nor scour in the Nile valley.’ An alternative line of canal, reducing the length to 18 miles, is under examination. It results from very careful consideration that at the end of the third year from the completion of the canal the lake would be filled to the level of 27 metres above the sea, or to 9-tenths of its capacity. A half supply might be drawn from it after the fall of the Nile in that year, and in the fourth year it would be in full working order. Allowing the escape of 39 inches by evaporation, from 31st April to 31st July, the lake would be utilised in an ordinary year to discharge more than 12,600,000 cubic metres of water per day, which would be enough to irrigate from 300,000 to 400,000 acres of land. The Government would not be obliged to economise its water supply in Upper Egypt, because the Delta would thus be in part provided for. ‘Another 10,000,000 cubic metres of daily supply would also go far to put a stop to corruption in the Delta. The strain upon the honesty of the local officials, when offered a bribe for a few hours’ more water, is very great and often irresistible.’ (*Egyptian Irrigation*, p. 319).

The cost of this great work, including interest, is estimated at £2,065,000, which would provide a discharge of 12,000,000, cubic metres per day, and suffice for 300,000 acres of rice, or 400,000 acres of rice and cotton combined. To reclaim 400,000 acres, it would be necessary to spend £2 per acre, or a capital of £800,000. If the concession of the Ryan reservoir and 400,000 acres of land were made to a company, Mr. Willcocks estimates that they could pay a dividend of 15 per cent. on a capital of £2,600,000. Even independently of the value of the water for irrigation, the utility of the lake as a safety valve in very high inundations, in protecting the banks of the Nile from breaches, would alone be enough to justify the outlay from the statesman's point of view.

It should, however, be noted, that the water drawn from Lake Mœris after the subsidence of the inundation can hardly be expected to possess the fertilising virtue of the red flood water of the Nile. One main outcome of both the study and the practice of the Anglo-Indian engineers in Egypt, is the indication that nothing will compensate for the loss of the true flood water, as such ; that is to say, for the abandonment of the similar expedient of basin irrigation. From land thus enriched two or three crops in the year may be obtained by the use of some new irrigation, not as a substitute for, but as a supplement to, true basin inundation. Apart from this, free application of manure is the only means by which the gradual impoverishment of the soil irrigated only by dam water can be prevented ; an effect which we have seen to be as conspicuous in Spain as in Africa. But, bearing this in mind, there can be no doubt that a competent supervision of the whole basin and canal system of Egypt, which would prevent great waste of water, and also save a vast amount of ill-directed labour, would lead to, and is already effecting, a steady increase in agricultural wealth. Nor can the effect of the return to a method of storing the waste water of the Nile, which was in practice 4,700 years ago, be spoken of as a theoretic reform. Practice, as consecrated by the experience of milleniums, and modern science, are at one on this subject. Ignorance, and the greedy improvidence which kills the goose for the golden eggs,

are the great enemies of Sir Colin Scott-Moncrieff, and of his beneficent labours.

There is another cause of decline in the wealth of the valley of the Nile to which we do not see any distinct reference in *Egyptian Irrigation*. We refer to the loss of the produce of Nubia, due to the rending of the rock forming the first cataract by earthquake. As to the change in the physical condition of the Nile between Assuan and Wady Halfa since the time of the twelfth dynasty, there can be no doubt. A great number of indications, Herr Brugsch states, were collected by Læpsius during his stay in Nubia, of the height formerly attained by the inundation between the first and second cataracts. At the same time, the observations before cited as to the effect on Egypt itself of the difference of a few feet in the rise of the Nile are enough to shew that there has been no substantial change in the average level of the river, below Assuan, from the date of the earliest records. What nature, in one of her paroxysms, has unmade, it is for man, the natural *minister et interpres*, to re-make. Speaking with that reserve which is proper in the absence of definite surveys and levels, it may be suggested that the restoration of the bridle imposed on the Nile by the first cataract through the reigns of thirty-two out of thirty-three Egyptian dynasties may be accomplished by the engineer. At the same time, it is more than probable, a lock passage might be constructed which would render the river navigable from the sea to the second cataract, without breaking bulk. The 584 miles from Cairo to Assuan now include 2,215,000 acres of cultivable land. The subject is at all events worthy the attention of the able and competent men to whom we commend the enquiry. Speaking with the utmost deference to the high authority on the spot, we cannot but venture the anticipation that the mending of the first cataract, or rather the erection of a properly designed barrage at Assuan, would render fertile perhaps double the area for which the restoration of Lake Mœris would provide summer irrigation, and that at less than one fourth of the cost. The idea, at all events, is worthy of the attention which it may now perhaps receive.

Another matter closely affecting the welfare of Egypt is the

state of the inland navigation. 'Navigation,' says Mr. Willcocks (*Egyptian Irrigation*, p. 203), 'is much discouraged by the Government, in order to compel traffic to move along the railways, which are practically a Government monopoly. This is very detrimental to the interests of the country, since nearly all the cotton is grown along the deep navigable canals, while of necessity all the pumping stations requiring coal are on the canals. By means of heavy delay at locks, and other obstructions, the traffic is moved out of its natural channels; and the merchants rightly complain that their interests are sacrificed to an unwise policy. They argue that the Government wants say £1,000,000 profit from railways, navigation dues, export duties, &c. If traffic were free and unimpeded everywhere, produce would be transported from each place in the most convenient manner, and the Government might then raise the export dues from 1 per cent. to 2 or 3 per cent. on cotton (the principal paying crop in Egypt), and thus make good their £1,000,000, without interfering with every detail of transport.' Mr. Anderson's experience shows that the difficulty found in water transport in lower Egypt is such as to reduce, in a material manner, the area of cultivated land. Of all obstacles thrown in the way of the agriculturist, those which prevent him from sending his produce to market in the cheapest and most ready mode are the most unpardonable. They can be justified only on the theory that the peasant is the natural enemy of the Government, and that it is wise on the part of the latter not only to squeeze the last available coin out of the wretched rebel, but further to incommode him to the utmost, even at the ultimate expense of the State. Where canals have to be constructed at large expense, for purposes of navigation alone, it is well known in France, and it is published in the evidence taken by the Parliamentary Committee on Canals in 1884 in England, that the prime cost of conveying farm produce, minerals, and heavy traffic by water is only from a third to a fourth of that by land, even when the land transport is effected by railway. The country is the loser by the waste incurred by the employment of any mode of production or of transport which is unnecessarily costly. No one is the gainer by such a substitution: every one finally loses. To exert human labour skilfully is to enrich a

community: to exert that labour in unnecessary toil, to produce a given effect, is to introduce the principle of the tread mill.

When we reflect on the incredible blunders that have characterised the wavering policy of the English Government towards Egypt in recent years, the manner in which any step that might have been attended by thoroughly useful results has been counteracted by some untimely struggle for party ends, the blood and treasure that have been wasted, the jealous opposition that has been aroused against any measure suggested from an English source for the welfare of the oppressed fellaheen, it is difficult to avoid the anticipation that, in spite of her feeble and vacillating ministries, it is the destiny of Great Britain to be the restorer and protector of Egypt. So it was in the earlier days of our Indian rule. Governor after governor was sent out with orders to contract no new engagements, to allow of no extension of frontier, to shrink, as fast as possible, into our shell. Governor after governor found himself the surprised agent of the extension of the British Raj—and of sheltering oppressed natives under the *Pax Britannica*. Lord Palmerston foresaw that if the ancient channel of navigation between the Mediterranean and the Indian Ocean was re-opened, the relations between England and Egypt must become matter of anxious care to the statesman. Lord Palmerston therefore opposed the construction of the Suez Canal; and if the duration of an empire were to be measured by the brief length of a statesman's life, he would have been wise in so doing. As it was, the opposition was overborne—we need not stop to indicate how—the Canal was made. Nor was this all. While British capital had not been forthcoming to execute (at moderate price) a work of which British shipping enjoyed four-fifths of the convenience, the very means contrived for the dispossession of the Khedive from his rights resulted in giving to this country a share in the property of the Canal which in 1894 will become absolute command. The high road is open—it is to a great extent supported by us—it will in a short time mainly belong to us. That is the condition of things in which, whether influenced by instinctive hereditary sympathy with the Arab slave drivers, or by a yet baser personal greed for power, an English minister

contrived to set the world in a blaze by his Egyptian impolicy, to bombard an unresisting port, to cut off and deliver to anarchy and massacre, without sanction either by treaty or by victory, an integral part of the dominions of the Sultan and of the Khedive, and to expose Egypt, by sheer imbecility of professions, to the inroad of the fanatical hordes of the Mahdi. If the human conscience can form any conception of the grand account to be one day required of those who have abused great power for ignoble or even directly disastrous ends, terrible will be the reckoning to be paid by the man whose pretended love of peace and of liberty led to the slaughter at Alexandria and at Tel-el-Kebir, to the murder of Hicks, of Gordon, and of many of hardly lesser names. The welfare of Egypt—the welfare of Ireland—perish such welfare if the destruction can snatch a party vote!

It is well that Great Britain should know—it is well that Europe should know—what are the true conditions that affect the relations between Great Britain and Egypt. In the event of war—and when are we insured against such an event?—any British Admiral or General will have to do what Lord Wolseley did in 1882, and take good care that our communications with India are not cut off by a raid on the canal. At the same time, the British property in that great water-way must be protected. These are not points for party contention, but necessary incidents of a state of warfare. Nor can the protection exerted over the Egyptian peasants be relinquished, or the frontiers of Egypt abandoned to the sanguinary, cruel, and slave-dealing Arabs, without dishonour to the national flag, which the English people may not always so readily condone as they did the order to droop it before the Boers.

For every patriotic Englishman, for every true friend to humanity, it must be the anxious prayer, that the hands which now hold the portfolio of Foreign Affairs at St. James' may not prove too feeble for the trust: that they may be guided by a head and moved by a heart conscious of the heavy responsibility of such a trust; above all, that the Minister may display the loyal courage of his convictions. To falter or vacillate in our Egyptian policy will be to abandon the sheep to the wolves—to leave open our back door to the burglar: to sacrifice the esteem

of brave and wise men from fear of the howls of those who are neither brave nor wise. Do what they will, an honest English Ministry will never meet with anything but unscrupulous and mendacious slander from those who hunger for the loaves and fishes of office—with a hunger unknown to former races of politicians. But the Minister may rest assured that the bolder his bearing, and the more imperial his policy, the more will he command the respect, the admiration, and the support of all but those who—whether external foes or internal traitors—do their utmost to further any measure that may imperil the stability of the institutions or dim the lustre of the crown of Imperial Britain.

We hope to be pardoned for expressing the idea that by offering to the sovereigns of Egypt such an extension of the cultivable area as would be obtained by the re-fertilisation of Nubia, and the establishment of the best barrier against fanatical invasion from the south by the increase of a prosperous and contented peasantry, the Anglo-Indian engineers may lay a basis for treaty arrangements as to the permanent relations of the Court of St. James with those of Constantinople and of Cairo, with which no European power would have any just pretension to interfere.

ART. III.—THE STEWARTS IN ORKNEY.

THE visitor to the Orkneys from the mainland of Scotland or England, after admiring the various combinations of sea and land which successively unfold themselves to his gaze as he ploughs the azure way towards the capital of the islands, is surprised, on landing at Kirkwall, not only by the sudden view of its massive and venerable Cathedral but also by the number of ruined palaces and quaint edifices which mark and distinguish both the town and the neighbourhood. The two most conspicuous of these 'relics of time' stand in close proximity to the sacred fane and to one another. Formerly there could have been seen also the remains of another lordly structure more magnificent still and more deeply interpen-

trated with stirring and memorable associations. Some thirty years ago, however, its thick and ivy-covered walls disappeared in the opening up of a broad thoroughfare, whose guardian angels, an Hotel on the one side and an Emporium for 'the latest modes' on the other, attest the highest tide-mark of every-day civilization no less than the revolution effected in the world's ways and pursuits. Were the visitor to extend his rambles to the extremities of the archipelago—west, north, and south,—he would meet with additional specimens of these dilapidated structures, not less surprising and interesting. The strong house of Walls, it is true, is now only a memory and a name, but the palaces of Birsay and Westray excite admiration even in their present roofless and ruinous state. Such a quadrilateral of fortresses—for in truth they were nothing else—contrasts greatly with the mean, clay-built thatch-covered cottages of the old Orkney peasant proprietors, or even with the modern and more ornate villas that have here and there taken their place. Their existence in their present and pristine conditions, viewed in connection with the general character of their surroundings, would seem to indicate the sudden rise of a polity or type of social organization alike dissimilar to that which went before and that which followed upon it. Their characteristic features all bear the impress of the spirit which pervaded the third and fourth periods of Scottish architecture; and, as a matter of fact, they are all in whole or part, directly or indirectly, the creation of the Stewarts, Robert and Patrick, father and son, Earls of Orkney, with the exception of the now non-existent 'King's Castle' which owed its rise to the St. Clairs, and which,—'thy pride and glory, fair Kirkwall,' as the Last Minstrel celebrated it in his Lay—alone housed the chivalry and warded the safety of the Islands for upwards of a century.

It would be possible to delineate the social life of the period, as moulded by the rule of the Stewarts, from these monuments of their genius and power. The Bishop's palace was originally a long, narrow building of two storeys and an attic floor. It must have contained ample accommodation for a large household, but it seems to have been wholly free from pretensions to elegance and luxury. It is, on the contrary, severely plain

and void of outward splendour, as good works and the doers of them ought always to be. Its many small windows declare it emphatically 'a house of many mansions;' the main habitation, as a whole, with its large enclosed garden adjoining, breathes the air and suggests the idea of hospitality, seclusion and peace. Its strong round tower,—with its single shot-hole in the circumference and parapeted walk at the summit, flanking the one end and facing the church,—is the work of a later age, as well as the addition at the other end, whose oriel windows 'richly dight' reveal a higher ambition and a more developed taste in the architect and builder. Noltland Castle in Westray, one of the northern islands of the group, comes next in order of time. It is built on the Z plan, so frequently met with in the latter half of the 16th century, and consists of two portions—the work apparently of different periods. The first of these is oblong in shape with a square tower at two of the diagonally opposite angles, while the other consists of a large court yard to the south. The one seems to have been built expressly for living purposes, and in its kitchen, hall, and retiring rooms, with its broad and elegant staircase—reckoned second only to those of Fyvie and Glamis Castles,—displays all the requirements and equipments of a rich and courtly establishment. One of the most remarkable external features of the castle is the number of large shot holes which bristle like those of a line of battle ship in three or four tiers round the walls. There can be no doubt but that it was built not only for residence but also for resistance against attack; its site has been well chosen for defence, as it commands a wide prospect round, and is contiguous to the almost land-locked bay on the east side of the island, which is its almost only safe landing place. It was to this castle that Queen Mary's third husband, Bothwell, wearing his new dignity of Duke of Orkney, attempted to escape on the confederation of the nobles, and there seems good ground for the belief that, if it was not partly built, it was at least fitted up for his occupancy. It was temporarily held by Montrose's officers in the civil wars, and in consequence suffered from the violence of Cromwell's soldiers, who penetrated even to this outlying region. Earl

Robert's palace at Birsay must have had in its day a magnificent appearance. Its area encloses a space 170 feet by 117, and it consisted of a court-yard surrounded with buildings two storeys in height. The entrance was by an arch-way at the south end, where two vaulted towers at the angles, well provided with shot holes, guarded and strengthened the approach. It stands close to the sea shore, on the western side of the main island, and it commands a broad outlook over the Atlantic with ready facilities for boating and sea carriage. The proud inscription placed over the entrance—'Dominus Robertus Stewartus filius Iacobi Quinti *Rex* Scotorum'—has led to some controversy as to whether its author erred on the side of grammar or loyalty, and whether the rod or the block would have been the fitting instrument of punishment. Earl Patrick's palace at Kirkwall is a superb specimen of Scottish 17th century architecture; its oriel windows and turrets being held to be unsurpassed elsewhere. It forms two adjacent sides of a square, and the entrance doorway, which is in the angle of the court-yard, is a magnificent piece of masonry of the Grecian Doric order. The great kitchen occupies a space of 18 by 15½ feet, and has a fire place in the wall of 18 feet by 7½. A great banquetting hall,' writes Sir Walter Scott, 'communicating with several rounds or projecting turret-rooms, and having at either end an immense chimney testifies the ancient northern hospitality of the Earls of Orkney, and communicates almost in the modern fashion with a gallery or withdrawing room of corresponding dimensions and having like the hall its projecting turrets. The lordly hall itself is lighted by a fine Gothic window of shafted stone at one end, and is entered by a spacious and elegant staircase consisting of stone steps.'

Such are the buildings the story of whose inner life might be gathered from the walls themselves, but which we shall attempt to piece together and narrate from the various fragmentary and scattered notices that have been transmitted to us of their respective builders and tenants. 'The greatest glory of a building' says Ruskin, 'is not in its stones. Its glory is in its age, and its deep sense of voicefulness, of stern

watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval or condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity.'

It may be desirable to take a preliminary glance at the constitution of the insular society before the arrival of the Stewarts.

For centuries the Orkneys maintained a semi-independent political existence. They nominally formed part of the scattered and extensive Scandinavian Kingdom. Their great Jarls not only played at sovereignty at home, but extended their sway abroad, making their might felt along the neighbouring sea-boards even to the walls of Dublin and Edinburgh. The islanders were of Norse origin; they spoke the Norse language and breathed that free political atmosphere, which is inseparably associated with the North. Their local and general assemblies, for instance, were primary in constitution, and not representative; each freeman had a voice immediate and direct in them, and not only in the making but also in the administering of the laws. Law, as understood among them, was simply immemorial custom as uttered from memory by the Lawman or president of the Things under check of his Assessors and the assembled Thingmen. The provinces of the legislator and the judge were thus merged in one corporate entity, which, unless in adaptation to varying circumstances, was precluded from innovating, and whose verdict when delivered was accepted by the entire community as all but divine. More especially was this true in regard to land. Land, indeed, constituted the base of their entire social and political fabric. It was the source and the symbol, the bond and the safe-guard, of the Orkneyman's freedom. The lack-lands had no rights of citizenship; they were *un-free* and sat not in their assemblies. Their land tenure was permeated by a similar principle. Each proprietor,—the smallest equally with the largest,—held his odal as it was termed by the same title; it was *his* in the highest sense, not by the gift or investiture of a superior, but by the grace or will of God. The terms *maill* or *rent* were foreign and unintelligible to him, while tax or tribute was recognised only in a limited and restricted sense. A

trifling impost called *skat* was paid to the king of Norway, and was allocated upon each district through the Lawman and General Council. All other aids and services were rendered voluntarily. The defence of the islands was entrusted to a local militia of 'keels' and men, but these could not be impressed for foreign service without their own consent. The Norse proprietor might thus, on necessity or choice, be transformed into a sailor-warrior or soldier, but he was essentially a husbandman and an administrator—a tiller of the land with a right to his share in field and pasture and waste, and at the same time a statesman with his due place in village Thing, Island Thing, and the Althing itself. In his own person he thus united the incongruous attributes of a Lord and a Commoner. As the father of a family within his own homestead, his authority was supreme, but, as a member of the township or commune, he was subject to the control of his peers. In a certain sense, his interest even in his land was not absolute, but fiduciary, holding it, as he did, not for his own use only, but as trustee for his family and kin. At his death his property, real as well as movable, was divided equally among his children, male and female, and in default of children, reverted to the nearest blood-relation. According to Blackstone, one of the original qualities of feuds was that the feudatory could neither alienate nor dispose of it, could not exchange, mortgage or even devise it by will without the consent of the lord. And the restriction thus true of feudal property, was true also of the allodial land of the north, substituting for 'lord' the word 'nearest heirs.' Even lands thus sold or burdened through poverty or other necessity could be redeemed at any time by the odal-born—and these were especially enjoined to redeem—at the price originally paid by the stranger for the kin's inheritance. The form of conveyance was simple, expeditious and cheap. A proprietor wishing to dispose of the whole or part of his estate invited the Lawman and three or four of the best men of his township to an entertainment at his house, and, a court having been thereafter formally opened, the heritor proved the consent of his children or nearest of kin, by their presence or otherwise, set forth the necessity laid upon him to alienate or mortgage.

acknowledged that he had received the full value of the land disposed, and prayed that his property therein might instantly be transferred to the purchaser and his heirs. An attestation having been made out, signed and sealed, was delivered to the new owner, and this document, which was called a Shynd Bill and which was afterwards publicly recorded formed the sole charter or evidence of his acquired possession. But, as a rule, the demesne remained in the hands of the house-father, and the intruder settled on it at his peril. Over the outer gate of the house of Stove in the island of Sanday is, or sometime ago was, the inscription 'Soli Deo Gloria. Septem pro-avi hæc nobis reliquerunt. J.F. B.F., 1671.' These 'septem pro-avi' were all direct ascendants, all of the same name, James Fea, and all holders of the same property and title. And the fact which they thereby emblazoned for their own and future ages is true also of hundreds of other families in these islands. The *regime* of equal division and consent of heirs under the udal law of succession seems to have operated no less securely for the preservation of families and everything most precious belonging to them, than that of primogeniture under the feudal with its attendant array of deeds and entails and settlements.

The Orkneys passed to Scotland, not by conquest, but through a royal marriage and the financial necessities of two Royal Houses. Christian of Denmark had found it an easier matter to betroth his daughter to King James III. than to provide an adequate dowry. As a security for the payment of the stipulated sum, he pledged his interest in the islands, hoping, we may be sure, to redeem the same. However alien the transaction may appear from modern ways, it was one by no means unusual in the north at this period. It is somewhere stated that, before the impignoration, the Islanders themselves were sounded or consulted through their Lawman, but, as the *Skat* or land tax alone was in question, probably little more was needed than a formal notice from the Danish Exchequer to pay (the whole sum at the time has been computed at some £600) to the Scottish Receiver till further notice, with perhaps a polite hint that they would do well to pay with greater punctuality in the future, than had been their wont hitherto.

The laws, institutions, and customs of the islands were expressly reserved and guaranteed. Even before this date (1469), however, a Scottish interest had arisen in the islands. The old Jarldom had become extinct in the male line, and had passed through a female to Henry St. Clair of Roslin. The St. Clairs lorded it splendidly in the stately castle they had built at Kirkwall in direct defiance of the King of Denmark, and their learned and princely court attracted scholars and adventurers from Scotland and even from Continental countries. Scottish priests had followed in the wake of the St. Clairs; the Cathedral Chapter had been remodelled; and the simple missionary bishops and canons, living principally on the voluntary offerings of the faithful or their own inheritances, were superseded by an organised hierarchy claiming the Church's share of lands and produce. After about a century's tenure of power, the St. Clairs exchanged their title and possessions in Orkney for certain Court dignities and Crown lands in Fife, and the Earldom was thereupon united to and vested in the Crown, under the provision, however, that it should never be given away except to a scion of the Royal house, lawfully begotten.

Whatever may have been the case elsewhere, assuredly the Reformation brought no immediate good to Orkney. The last Roman Catholic holder of the See was that Bishop Reid, who was one of the Commissioners for negotiating the marriage of Mary with the Dauphin of France, and who died on his way home after the successful completion of his mission. He had done much for the promotion of religion and learning within his diocese and beyond—'Witness those twin seats of learning that he founded in you'—Kirkwall and Edinburgh, the one of which all but fell with him, the other now so famous, yet withal so rising. His successor was Adam Bothwell,—the Bothwell who celebrated the ill-fated marriage of the Earl of the same name with the Queen; but the duties of the See were postponed by him to the claims which his position as a Lord of the Secret Council and a Senator of the College of Justice demanded. At the Reformation the Queen's half-brother, Lord Robert Stewart, filled the post of Abbot of

Holyrood House; to console him for the loss of position and income she gave him a feu grant of the Orkney Earldom; and her own third share of the Abbey revenues she subsequently assigned for the support and use of his children. This latter provision he thereupon exchanged with Bothwell for the temporalities of the Bishopric; and thus the entire income of both dignities, the secular and the spiritual, fell at last to Lord Robert, created now Earl of Orkney. His connection with Holyrood and its Court ceased, and was succeeded by a reign in these northern islands, the most memorable, perhaps, in their history.

This Robert Stewart was the natural son of James V. by Euphemia, daughter of Lord Elphinstone. On turning Protestant he married Lady Jane Kennedy of the House of Cassillis. In Scottish history he figures as Robert of Strathdon; and, though not to be compared to his brother of Moray in ability, policy or private virtue, he seems to have acted a loyal part to his sister and to have been fully trusted by her. In 1564 he had the command of the *gens d'armes* of France bestowed upon him by Catherine de Medici, and it was while in her service, no doubt, that he developed, if he did not acquire, his expensive tastes and arbitrary notions. Churchman though he was, he plunged into all the gaieties of the Scottish Court, but he had sagacity enough to keep out of the plots and counter-plots of that trying time. He entered warmly into Mary's favourite project of a union with Darnley, and, had that nobleman but walked after his counsel, he might have been saved from the horrible fate that overtook him.

Lord Robert's feu-grant of the Earldom was three times renewed and revoked as often, but it is not necessary to enter upon the motives which dictated the step on each occasion. The policy which animated him from the first, however variously prosecuted, was steadily maintained to the last. The end and aim of that policy was the suppression of the rights of the freeholders and the indefinite taxation of their lands.

Even before his time a start had been made in this direction. The insular Crown revenues had been farmed out to a succession of Court favourites, and of all creditors the publican

has been proverbially reckoned the most rapacious. Strange to say, the first of these financial schemers was the Bishop, Thomas De Tulloch, who with the canon law in one hand and his derived civil rights of the Crown in the other, alike perplexed and harried the simple native proprietors. A subsequent attempt to force an Overlord upon them excited a general rising and the all but total destruction of the forces landed for its suppression. Tithes were submitted to with the usual equanimity or resignation, but the imposition of Peter's pence on the other side of the Firth led to the burning of the Bishop, in the task of its collection. Apart from the Church's dues, the taxes properly leviable from the udal lands were three in number.—*Skat* or crown tribute, *forcop*, the salary of the Lawman, and *wattle*, an additional sum for his Deputy or Assistant. Soon to these others were added. The islands formed the principal breeding grounds for the Royal falcons, and a contribution of a hen from each parish was required for their preservation and support. The counting of the votes was regarded as a task too weighty for a single man; and so *balliatus*, or the Scotch bailie's remuneration, had to be imposed along with the ancient Norse *wattle*. Through the intermingling of property with property, the Odallers were continually violating either the civil or criminal law, and *chettry*, or rogue-money, as it might be called now-a-days, had to be provided for in order to check their encroachments. Thus the list increased in length, till the Rentaller found it convenient to sum up in the following quaint terms:—'All this is *præter* the skatt-males, wrack, waith, Hawkhens, Chettry, Balliatus, and uther profits and Revenues that may happen *in any maner of way*.'

Such were the instruments of extortion which Lord Robert Stewart found ready to his hands. The first grant of the Crown revenue in the time of James III. was made in consideration of the yearly payment of £366 13s. 4d. Scots; for the Crown's whole interest in the islands—*Skat* and Earldom—Lord Robert had covenanted to pay a yearly rent of £2000. In him were vested the entire produce of the taxes, the land mails and casualties, and the net income of the Bishopric

Estate. Of themselves, these were amply sufficient for their legitimate ends. They fell short, however, of the revenue which his prodigality, extravagance, and ambition entailed. How was the deficiency to be made good? To apply to the islanders for a subsidy, would have been revolting to their notions and contrary to their usages. Their democratic Parliament, theoretically, had the control of the purse more securely in their hands than any Parliament of England or Scotland ever had. The fact of the duties being payable in kind, however, suggested a leverage easily applicable and convenient for his purpose. It was the great burden of the Anglo-Saxons' complaint against the Conqueror, that 'so very narrowly did he cause his survey to be made, that not a single rood of land, nor was there an ox or a cow or a pig passed by that was not set down in the accounts.' Lord Robert not only adopted his plan, but extended it. The weights and measures which regulated all commercial dealings were in his keeping; and if he could not impose a new tax, he could, at least, augment existing ones. The standards were increased twenty-five per cent.,—such, at least, is the charge made against him. The rude and clumsy Norwegian machines then in use could readily adapt themselves to such a fraud. The little money which circulated through the islands was chiefly Dutch; and, as if to increase the confusion caused by the augmentation of the standards, a coinage of the Earl's own valuation was introduced. The shock which both these measures gave to public and private credit, may be conceived from the inconvenience which was felt by the poor of East London through a late intermixture of French copper with our own bronze pennies. Probably the sudden adoption of the decimal system would not be productive of greater perplexity to the Englishman of the nineteenth century, than was felt by the Orkneyman of the sixteenth through these measures of their new ruler. Attaching a new meaning to the maxim, that 'What belongs to all belongs to none,' he asserted a superior right to the commonies or public lands, both pasture and waste—a right which he extended so as to include the sea-beach and fisheries. Everything in the nature of jetsam

and flotsam was regarded as peculiarly *his*, and in this category were comprehended wrecks and whales, which brought a considerable income to the inhabitants. He further monopolized all the external traffic of the islands, imposing heavy customs upon imports, and all but prohibiting the export of native produce. By this policy, he strangled the nascent commerce of Kirkwall with Scotland and the Continent; and, with a view to crush its infant liberties, he suppressed its Burgh Council and burned its archives. The harbours and ferries were closely guarded, and none were allowed to enter or depart from the country without his consent. Captains of ships trading with any of the islands were expressly warned against taking natives on board either as sailors or passengers. In fact, the whole archipelago appeared as if subjected to a close blockade, with the unusual spectacle of the Commander directing the network of operations from his own castle at Kirkwall or Birsay.

Earl Robert, during the whole period of his rule, seems to have kept up a pretty close intimacy with the pirates that frequented the Northern seas. The safe and commodious harbours of the Orkneys constituted a convenient rendezvous for them and their prizes. The Record of the Privy Council contains frequent notices of demands for restitution springing from their ravages. Their method of operations may be guessed at from a suit preferred against the Earl at the instance of a Fleming, who had been intercepted off the coast of Norway, and marooned along with the pilot. The ship had been thereafter conveyed to the Orkneys, and was then lying 'at the bak of the toun of Kirkwall,' her cargo having been taken out and disposed of. More important still is the case of Captain John Clerk. This rover of the sea, or whatever his calling may have been, was an object of concern to several governments. It is well known that Bothwell, after his expulsion from Orkney, sailed to Shetland, and, being hotly pursued by his enemies, was smuggled on board a pirate ship. From some State papers recently published, it is clear that certain demands were preferred in 1568 to King Frederick II. of Denmark for his surrender, both by Queen Elizabeth and

the young King James—then a child of two years old. Leave was also given to Captain Clerk by the Scottish Regency to ‘behead’ Bothwell in Denmark, and to send his head to Scotland to be fixed on a pole on the spot where the murder of Darnley was committed. Instead of complying with the request, King Frederick set Bothwell at liberty, and imprisoned Captain Clerk in his stead. From this point, Bothwell is lost to history, and the circumstances surrounding his fate are still involved in mystery. It is not by any means likely that Orkney’s Earl and Duke ever met or came within hail of each other; its world was not wide enough for two such towering ambitions. A few years later, we find Lord Robert strictly charged by the Scottish Privy Council to apprehend Captain Clerk, ‘who had made great depredations on the King of Denmark’s subjects;’ and hence it may be inferred, that the presence of Bothwell had ceased to disturb the concord of the two governments, which were soon after to be united more closely by a Royal marriage.

To return to Lord Robert and his island government. Besides the Crown revenues, the other legitimate sources of his income were the rents of the farms and the duties of the Earldom lands. The great bulk of these were held by Scotsmen. The Scots as a class were, if politically inferior, richer in means and socially more important than the native proprietors. The farms were let usually on a three years’ tack or lease, with a grassum or fine on its renewal. The latter source, no less than the former, offered a ready means of profit to a greedy superior. The original feudatories, in accordance with the root-element of the feudal system, held their lands on the tenure of military service. The cultivation of these they had necessarily to entrust to inferior tenants, and, even as regarded their own demesne, they had to rely upon the assistance or co-operation of their retainers or vassals. Out of this arrangement, personal and prædial service sprung and was engrafted as a regular obligation in the feudal economy; and all Lord Robert’s characteristics were, if not a direct product of the feudal system, at least fostered by it. His tenants had to till, dung, sow, and harrow his own home farm; to dig peats as

fuel for his castles and household ; to cut down and store his crops ; to ferry him from one island to another ; to entertain him as he passed, after the manner of the old Norse Jarls, from one guest quarter to another ;—nay, even, to quarry stone and to transport material for his numerous building projects. In this way his splendid castle of Birsay was built, the workmen grumbling that they were forced to the task, and had neither food nor wages allowed them. Being endowed with the temporalities of the Church, Earl Robert exercised a like despotic sway over the clergy. Only one-third of the old revenues had been appropriated to them as a maintenance, and a considerable part of this he contrived to retain for his own use, by keeping benefices vacant and in other ways. The doctrine of passive obedience had not yet taken formal shape, but the spirit, it appears, was abroad out of which it was generated and developed.

With the Rentaller and the Churchman, Earl Robert's task was comparatively easy ; it was, no doubt, that of a tyrant, but of a tyrant who could plead the tyrant's privilege of doing what he liked with his own. It was otherwise with the Odaller or Freeholder. The Orkneys were not a conquered country,—they had been merely annexed, and that, too, provisionally ; a recent Act of Parliament had, moreover, guaranteed to the islanders the benefit of their own laws. The landholders called themselves Roythmen, and held their property, they vaunted, by no 'sheep-skin' title, but *de Deo et sole*. Lord Robert, like all the Stewarts, was inspired with the most arrogant and arbitrary notions. He had also inherited a full share of their pertinacity and obstinacy. To him, the pretensions of the Roythmen could not but appear as a barbarous anomaly and a standing menace. They were subjects for conversion as well as for subjection ; and, the two parties being closely cooped up in direct antagonism to each other, it was inevitable that both should strive for, and that one or other should obtain, the mastery. The Earl at first determined upon high-handed measures. Like Strafford in Ireland, his motto was 'Thorough ;' and behind him he had a body-guard of soldiers and a multitude of 'brokeu men.' As

a preliminary step, he appointed a Commission to inquire into the titles of all the landed property in the isles. Like the Conqueror of England, he decreed a Domesday Book. Every one in actual possession of a holding was required to show by what warrant he held it. As might be inferred, an absence of approved title or a title defective in the eyes of the Commission, involved either confiscation or fine. But the Earl, powerful though he was and full of resource, soon found that he had gone too far. The blood of the islanders was up, and mutterings of treason from high quarters began to reach his ears. The Commission was recalled, and a more subtle policy entered upon. Confessing, in a proclamation which he issued, that his proceedings were *ultra vires*, he made a merit of 'renouncing to the gentlemen Odallers and inhabitants of the country all such odal lands as were evicted from them by his courts of perambulation and over-gangs,' but on the condition of 'true, thankful, and dutiful service to be done by them and ilk one of them, their friends and kin and allies in time to come.' In vain was the net spread in the face of the wary bird. In 'commending' themselves to him as a superior they would have taken the first step towards vassalage,—in legal language, they would have surrendered the 'dominium directum' of their land and retained only the 'dominium utile.' It is interesting to observe, that the Privy Council of Scotland at this period upheld the rights and privileges of the islanders in this respect. The case of Nicol Oliverson is one directly in point. He claimed to be the son and lawful heir of his father, Oliver Randveill, 'heritor of the udal land of the island of Gairsay.' His father—so the narrative runs—died while he was an infant, and he himself had been carried thereafter to Norway, where he had lived for forty years. Hearing, however, that more impartial justice was being administered 'under the Lord Regent's regimen' than formerly, he had come over, claimed his heritage, and obtained a decree from the King against the possessors of it. Having had to return to Norway, he found, after a three years' absence, another entered in his heritage. The intruder the Earl refused to dispossess. He prayed, therefore, for justice according to the law of the

country. At the hearing of the case, the 'Book of the Law' of Orkney was ordered to be produced, together with the process and sentence last pronounced by the Assize; and, in accordance with these, the Earl was ordained to re-possess the claimant in his lands and heritages.

This decision of the Privy Council could not fail to embolden the Roythmen, and to convince the Earl of the necessity for a more wary method of procedure. The law of the islands, it was clear, could no longer be ignored. But was it not possible to paralyse its arm?—to use its forms for the corruption of its spirit, to turn its very safeguards into an engine for its own destruction? Lord Robert's resource and daring urged him thus far. Through the aid of his soldiers and broken men, he succeeded in packing the assemblies and juries with creatures of his own, who thereupon elected a Lawman or Speaker pledged to his projects. An organized system of 'stressing' the Odaller was then entered upon; claims were trumped up which he was compelled to litigate in his accustomed Courts, in which he was now sure to be saddled with heavy costs, if not adverse disastrous decisions. No civil tax could be imposed without the general consent, but the teinds or tithes were more elastic, and these were levied and collected by the Earl with a will which, as Oliver Cromwell would have said, 'savoured little of grace, but very much of sincerity.' According to Bishop Graham, who followed him after some sixty years, he 'set his rental of teinds above the avail—yea, *triple above the avail.*' Crushed by their weight, and seeing no hope of deliverance where it was formerly to be found, many of the Odallers were glad to surrender their lands for a bare provision for themselves and families, or to dispose of them for ever and seek an asylum beyond the seas. Others, again, purchased forbearance and protection by swearing fealty, and paying heavy sums for the charter they received. Yet it is remarkable how small the proportion of these actually was when compared with the total number. The administration of the criminal law seems to have brought more into the Earl's exchequer than his attempts at oppression. Glancing over the rental 'pro Rege et Episcopo,' one is astonished at the frequency of such entries as the following:—'Escheat for theft,' 'for

sorcery or witchcraft,' 'for raising a march stane,' 'suicide,' 'found drowned within the tide mark,' &c. In the neighbourhood of his own palace at Birsay, within the single township of Marwick, six of these cases may be counted; and it is almost impossible to banish the supposition that here the old tragedy of Ahab and Naboth was re-enacted.

The first serious check to the Earl's career of tyranny and oppression came, not from the native population, but from the chiefs of his own naturalized countrymen. Balfour of Mountwhannie, Bellenden of Evie, and others, who had suffered from his outrage and exaction, were the first to denounce him to the King and Council. The ground of their original complaint was, however, not so much oppression as suspected or overt treason. It appears that the Balfours held the Castle of Noltland in behalf of the Crown, and that they had been driven from it by the Earl. The Council, on a representation of the fact, ordered Lord Robert to restore the Castle, and to answer to them for the outrage by his personal presence. His wife, Dame Jane Kennedy, replied for him, that the abandonment of the fortalice had been effected as speedily as possible, and that they reported falsely who said otherwise. Her husband could not journey by land for reasons well known to them—probably the enmity of the Sinclairs of Caithness—nor could he venture on sea for fear of detention through contrary winds, storms, and other accidents. The summons of treason had been obtained, she averred, from a malicious pretext to draw the Earl out of the country, so that certain enterprises might in his absence be executed, 'to his utter wrack and the great hurt of the country.' This storm was allayed for the time; but, the cry of the distressed waxing ever louder, a Commission was at length granted to Mr. William Mudy of Breckness, who had formerly been Crown Chamberlain for Orkney, and William Henderson, Dingwall pursuivant, to inquire on the spot as to the alleged oppressions of the natives of both Orkney and Shetland. The Earl was meanwhile removed and warded in Linlithgow,—Lord Lindsay of the Byres and John Pennycuick of that ilk acting as cautioners for him, each in the sum of £5000. Shortly after, a fresh bond was given in to the effect that, being now licensed to return to Orkney, he

should be ready to ward himself anywhere southward of the South Esk in Angus, and to appear before the Council when called upon. This minute was afterwards cancelled under the sign manual, and the Earl remained in possession of his lands and government till the close of his life.

His eldest son, Patrick, succeeded him in his title, government and lands, and with equal, if not augmented powers, Earl Robert's policy was pursued in all its fulness by Earl Patrick, and the son might have boasted with Rehoboam that, if the father chastised his people with whips, he chastised them with scorpions. He had contracted heavy debts during his father's life-time, and all his tastes were of the most luxurious and costly description. His embarrassments drove him to the extremest shifts for raising money, and his arbitrary nature brooked neither denial nor opposition. He seems to have been as tyrannical and despotic in disposition as his father, but he lacked his father's wary and politic qualities. The following graphic pen-and-ink sketch of him is by a contemporary hand :—

'He had a princely income, and behaved himself there with such sovereignty, and, if I durst say the plain verity, rather tyrannically by the shadow of Danish laws, different and more rigorous than the municipal or criminal laws of the rest of Scotland, whereby no man of rent or purse might enjoy his property in Orkney without his special favour, and the same dear bought. Whereby it followed that feigned and forged faults were so devised against many of them that they were compelled by imprisonment and small reward to resign their heritable titles unto him ; and, if he had a full purse and no rent, there was some crime devised against him, whereby he was compelled to lose other half. And his pomp was so great there, that he never went from his castle to the church otherwise without 50 musketeers and other gentlemen of convoy and guard ; and so like before dinner and supper there were three trumpeters that sounded till the meat of the first service was on the table, and so like at the second service, and consequently before grace. He had also his ships directed to the sea to intercept pirates and collect tribute of uncouth fishers that came yearly to these seas, whereby he made such collection of great guns and other weapons of war, as no house, palace or castle, yea all in Scotland were not furnished with.'

Earl Patrick had scarcely entered upon his new dignity when a plot was formed against his life,—his own brothers, John Master of Orkney, James and William, being implicated in it.

The mode they devised of cutting him off was by poison which they were to give him at a banquet in Kirkwall. The conspirators are said to have taken counsel of one Alison Balfour, a reputed witch, and the torture applied to her and her household in order to extort a confession, is one of the cruellest occurrences in Northern history. For 48 hours she was kept in the 'cashielaws' or warm hose, an iron frame which encircled the legs and which was heated by a movable furnace or chauffers. At the same time her father, a man 90 years of age, was kept in the 'lang irons' of 50 stone weight, her son was put into the boots and 50 strokes applied, while her daughter of 7 was subjected to the 'pennie-winkies,' a species of thumb screw. Thomas Papla, an accomplice, had to undergo even greater torture. He was kept in the cashielaws for 11 days and 11 nights, placed naked in the boots for 14 days running, and scourged with cords till 'they left neither skin nor hide upon him.' The two were found guilty upon their own confession, which, however, they revoked at their execution in presence of the two or three clergymen who ministered to them, the one on the scaffold and the other at the stake. The Master was afterwards acquitted on his trial before the Justiciary Court at Edinburgh.

Throughout the entire period of his northern rule, Earl Patrick was never out of hot water with his subjects or his neighbours, with the Scottish Council and even with foreign powers. At the time when the affair of the 'Wandering Willie' threatened a rupture between England and Scotland, the Earl's seizure of an English ship in reprisal for the loss of one of his own, led to a peremptory demand for restitution from the Virgin Queen, which, in their instant compliance, furnished to the Scottish Council the means of a pacification with the haughty Elizabeth. A similar demand was preferred by some merchants of Dantzic, but the Prussian monarchy of that era could not venture upon those threats 'of blood and iron,' to which we have become familiarized in these latter days. Whether it was owing to the King's marriage with a Danish princess and the implied abandonment of its claim upon the Earl's homage, he seems on the whole to have kept up a good understanding with Norway, which was now incorporated as part of the Danish kingdom. The

feud between his neighbour of Caithness and their respective subjects was hereditary and malignant. The frequency of the outrages furnished Orkney with a plausible pretext for guarding and closing the ferries or entrances into the islands, and an important commencement was made when King James succeeded in obtaining a pledge from the Earl of Caithness 'of a free, peaceable, and sure passage to all his lawful subjects through his country.' The two Earls continued to the last to vex each other, and once, when they both met in Edinburgh to lay their complaints before the Council, they patched up for the nonce a hollow truce, 'lest they should reveal too much of their respective doings.' But it was from those immediately subject to his own rule, and, most of all, from the leading Scotsmen who had settled in the islands, that he experienced the most deadly opposition and vexation. His father's old enemies—the Balfours, Bellendens, Baunatynes, and others—had not allowed their resentment to cool, but, with the renewal of the old oppressions, rekindled the old heat. The complaints and rejoinders, the actions and defences, the criminations and recriminations, the cautioning and horning all round, might form materials for some legal interlude or comedy, did not so much seriousness and tragedy lurk under each and all of them. Towards the end of 1597, we have Michael Balfour of Mountwhanny, Sir Andrew Balfour of Strathore, and Michael Balfour of Garth, obtaining letters from the Privy Council charging not only the Earl, but a large number of more humble persons, to find caution against violence and wrong 'conform to the general band.' Lord Patrick, on behalf of himself and the rest, prays for their suspension on the ground that such band is only established and ordained for the chiefs of clans, noblemen, and men of great lands lying on the Borders or Highlands, and that Orkney was a 'civil country,' and 'law-burrows' a competent legal remedy. The Lords, however, found the letters 'orderly proceeded and directed.' But no amendment seems to have been gained. Sir Andrew Balfour renewed his complaints in the spring of 1599, and on this occasion enumerates specifically the outrages. The Earl had come to the lands of Westray, and there held courts and uplifted the unlaws. He had menaced the

proprietor's tenants, warned them not to acknowledge him, and even threatened to hang Sir Andrew himself 'over his own balkis.' He had compelled Mr. John Dischington, who had usurped the office of Commissary of Orkney, to pronounce a decree against his father for 12,000 merks without any process or cognition. Though his infettment contained the privilege of 'wrack and waith,' the Earl had reft from him and his father twenty-nine whales, valued at £3000. Accompanied by sixty armed men, he had carried away from his tenants 3600 thraves of bear and oats, which were for the most part standing in the corn-yards, and the whole duties and rents, amounting to 30 chalders of bear, 27 barrels of butter, 1200 sheep, 30 cows with calf, 15 horses, 6 score stots and queys. From the Mains of Noltland he had violently reft the whole corns thereon, amounting to 25 chalders of bear and oats, with the horses, oxen, cows, nolt, and sheep, with which the lands should have been laboured, and these, in consequence, had lain ley ever since. His father, fortunately, had escaped in a little yawl, leaving George Balfour, sometime Prior of Charterhouse, behind. The Earl's natural brother, William Stewart, along with others, had thereafter proceeded under his order to lay siege to the house, and having forcibly entered it, seized his goods and divided them among their company.—Sir Patrick Bellenden of Evie complained that the Earl put his eldest son in the 'boots' and imprisoned another, while he carried himself away, aged and sick, in a wand-bed,—all which he did for no other reason than because he refused to dispoise his lands to him.—Sir James Stewart of Græmsay rehearsed his grievances to the Council, how almost every day for ten years the Earl's servitor, David King, had compelled the complainer's servants and tenants to serve him with their horses and boats, and how, on their refusing, he had 'batonet them with great batones;' and how, in 1602, Sir James himself had occasion to transport in his own boat his brother-in-law, Robert Mentieth, from Orkney to Caithness, whereupon King, aided by others, took his boatmen prisoners, bound and conveyed them to Kirkwall, placed them in the stocks and irons till the blood burst forth 'at their schynnis.' Such were some of the acts of tyranny and cruelty exercised upon and solemnly deponed to by

the leading Scottish proprietors resident in the islands. In the case of the Balfours, cautioners for the Earl were bound in 10,000 marks not to hurt them till the 10th June. This minute was deleted by a warrant signed by the King and Treasurer, dated at Falkland, 11th June, 1599; and on 9th July following an Act was passed in favour of the Earl, setting forth that he had attended and awaited upon the Council and Session for the past three weeks, and that his affairs at home demanded his presence there. Leave of absence was given till 20th November, during which time all actions and causes concerning him were superseded and continued. And—so the Act goes on to say—because ‘upon divers sinister and wrong reports,’ letters had been directed containing dispensations to charge parties by open proclamation at the market cross, shore and pier of Leith, as ‘geff they were disobedient and unanswerable to whose presence or dwelling-house there were not sure accesses,’ it was ordered that no such charge should be directed against the Earl of Orkney in future under the pain of nullity. Lord Patrick’s personal appearance was likewise dispensed with, ‘except in great and weighty causes.’ From these words and acts there can be no mistake as to the feeling of the King at this time. The Earl when he came to Edinburgh had his apartments in Holyrood House, and among his servitors there is named one William Borthwick, brother of Lord Borthwick, whose social position may be taken as a measure of the Earl’s in the Court of Scotland. Thus far at least he had preserved an erect attitude and a firm footing; here too he could hope for an untroubled sky and a safe harbour amid all the buffetings and storms he had to encounter without.

On 14th April, 1603, King James, having succeeded to the throne of England, made his memorable journey to London. A change now took place in his policy, both as regards Church and State. In former days there had prevailed great jealousy and fierce wars between England and Scotland, and there was still an inheritance of international animosity. But a union of the two kingdoms and of the outlying portions of them loomed before the king’s mental vision, not merely as the logical sequence, but as the fitting complement of the union of the two Crowns in his

own person. Even before this auspicious event, His Majesty had begun his experiment of transplantations, having attempted with some little success to settle Lowland men in Lewis, and to transport its Celtic inhabitants into the mainland, where they might learn Southron 'civility' and Saxon usages. Why then should not a similar venture be hazarded in the case of his Scandinavian province, so that, in the fulness of time, there should be one body politic stretching from the Channel to the furthest of the Orkney and Shetland Islands? And, if such unity seemed feasible in the domain of the State, what hindered that it should not be effected also in the body of the Church, of which he himself was both the Titular Head and Defender? The realization of this latter project, he judged, was possible only through a graduated hierarchy, and the order of bishops must be restored in the Scottish Establishment. The See of Orkney accordingly was revived. But he found it an easier business to create a Bishop than to supply an Endowment. An excambion of the old bishopric lands had been made in Earl Robert's time with the feued lands of Holyrood Abbey, and Earl Patrick was neither so facile in disposition nor so enamoured of the Church's rise as to surrender without compensation his patrimonial or acquired possessions for her benefit. Nevertheless, an arrangement was arrived at, by which an annuity from the old bishopric lands was settled upon the new Prelate together with one of the palaces as an official residence. James Law, Minister of Kirkliston, and subsequently Archbishop of Glasgow, was the first to fill the resuscitated See. He was one of the most supple of the ecclesiastics of the time, and had been Moderator of the Linlithgow Assembly, from which the King had hoped so much in aid of his newly launched Church scheme.

Bishop Law's advent heralded Earl Patrick's downfall. The independent sway and oppressive rule of the latter interfered very seriously with the suddenly awakened aims of the King, which Law was expected to espouse and advance to the utmost. There now existed on His Majesty's side a motive force, urging the removal of the Earl from his government, and plausible pretexts were lying thick at his hand justifying and even counselling the step. A quarrel had sprung up between the Earl and the

Bishop, mainly on the ground of the promised provision. Lord Patrick soon discovered that it was one thing to 'stress' an Odaller, and quite another thing to starve a Bishop. The latter had easy access to the royal ear, and assailed it with piteous outcries. The oppressed islanders found in their Bishop a powerful advocate with the King, and their complaints soon met with grateful acknowledgement and ready response in quarters where they were formerly despised. Chiding the Council for their backwardness and delay, James insisted that the Earl should be forthwith brought to trial. The Council hesitated to proceed in a case so momentous without an order under the sign manual itself; but armed with this warrant, they despatched Islay Herald, arrayed in his tabard and attended by Albany Herald with their respective pursuivants and witnesses, who after a flourish of trumpets, personally apprehended the Earl, and formally charged him by virtue of the royal letters. An indictment was framed enumerating under fourteen heads the various offences and outrages against the Crown and the natives. The Earl was brought to the bar on the 4th day of June 1610, but the diet was successively continued to the 8th August, the 16th August, the 19th December, the 8th March, 'nexto cum,' and then to the 16th May, when the prosecution seems to have fallen asleep.

During this time Earl Patrick was warded in the Castle of Edinburgh. Throughout the proceedings it was clear that the King and Council were using every means to prevent matters coming to fatal extremities. So anxious was His Majesty for an accommodation that certain Lords of the Council were empowered to offer him the keepership and profits of any one of the Royal palaces at a rent of £10,000, on condition that he should renounce all rights to the Earldom of Orkney, and resign the same into the King's hands. As a compulsitor towards this end, they sequestered his revenues, allowing him the paltry aliment of £4 Scots per day while a State prisoner. His condition at this time appears to have been deplorable. 'He is now reduceit to such a poore estate,' is the contemporary testimony, 'that he has nouthier the meanes, credite, nor possibilitie to interteny himself, he being so far ingageit for his bygane interteynment that his furnisseris being disparit of pament, doeth now refuse him, sua

that, yif it be trew whiche is constantlie repoirtit, he hes nothing for his dyet but breade and drink, and that very spairinglie.' His government and palaces in Orkney were entrusted to Bishop Law, and he himself, for greater security, was conveyed from Edinburgh to Dumbarton, where it was thought he would be removed from the intrigues in which he was notoriously implicated.

The Earl had a 'base son,' Robert Stewart, to whom he had delegated his authority during his absence. On assuming the reins of government, the bishop had him sent as a prisoner to Edinburgh, but, through Law's personal influence, he was liberated from ward on his own solemn oath that he would not return to Orkney without the Royal licence. But stung with the taunts and reproaches daily levelled at him by his father, who was highly incensed at the readiness with which he had surrendered the Castle of Kirkwall and other strengths in Orkney, the young man determined to retrieve the loss or perish in the attempt. Disregarding his plighted word, he returned to the North on the plea that he could not subsist in Edinburgh through debt and poverty, and with a view to collect the arrears of rent due to his father. Preparations for his coming had been made beforehand by one, Patrick Halcro, who had obtained a charter of certain lands from the Earl for his promised support in the son's enterprise.

On landing, Robert Stewart did not linger at Kirkwall, but proceeded westward to Birsay, the palace of which was at once surrendered to him. The Sheriff-Depute, John Finlayson, instantly followed him with a party of about one hundred men, and formally demanded that the house should be surrendered to the King's authority. His summons was replied to by a volley of musketry from the walls and windows, to which a similar reply was made by the Sheriff's men. No great injury, however, was done. Armed resistance, it was clear, was meant; a rebellion was imminent, and the Sheriff, returning to Kirkwall, took up his quarters in the Castle. For about a month Robert Stewart confined himself to the fortress of Birsay and its neighbourhood, collecting stones, enlisting men, and trying by every art to attach the common people to his cause. A goodly number responded to

his appeal, and a band was drawn up, in which they swore fealty and fidelity to one another. The language in which it is couched is worth citation :—‘ Forasmeikle as by the frequent entrance of strangers in this country, the Estate of the Commonwealth is in danger and like to perish, through the corruption of the laws, partiality of judges, the greed of officers and oppression of majestates, which drives the poor ones under the yoke of servitude and slavery, consuming His Majesty’s rents in their own adoes, without utility or good service to His Majesty, etc.’ The document had been drawn up by one Andrew Martin, who had formerly acted as Secretary in Orkney to the Earl, and was signed or marked by several hundreds of the people. Of the signatures appended to it in full, almost the whole are Scottish names — Gordon, Reid, Douglas, Gray, etc. Certainly louder protestations of loyalty, patriotism and purity could scarcely be uttered, and they sound strange after the former imputations of general cruelty and oppression. To understand the change of feeling it must be borne in mind that there had been no alleviation of the public burdens during Lord Patrick’s imprisonment, that the Sheriff-Depute, Finlayson, had rendered himself by his conduct especially obnoxious, and that a secret hope of a separation from Scottish rule and a return to their old allegiance, if not independence itself, was still cherished by the great bulk of the people. When the time seemed ripe, Robert Stewart, with sixty followers, marched upon Kirkwall, the steeple of which—a more commanding ‘coign of vantage’ than it is now—had been previously secured by his party in the burgh, and immediately made himself master of the castle and the palaces, with the victualling house, which was well stored with provisions. The Sheriff-Depute, Finlayson, and the keeper of the Birsay Palace, Bernard Smith, were captured and imprisoned for a few days, and then sent by boat to another part of the country. So far fortune had smiled on his enterprise.

Meanwhile, news of what was passing in the North had reached Edinburgh, and the Privy Council was suddenly assembled. Sir James Stewart of Killeith, who now held the post of Sheriff, Judge, and Chamberlain of the islands, offered to set out at once to check the rebellion, and pledged the services

of 500 volunteers from his own kin, retainers, and acquaintances. Lord Lovat promised a reinforcement of 200 or 300 of his sturdy Highlanders. Part of the forces were to go by sea, and the remainder, under the charge of Sir James Stewart, by land. All ships and passengers bound for the Orkneys were either stopped at Leith or interdicted from carrying supplies to the robels. At this juncture, Robert Monteith of Egilshay, who happened to be then in Edinburgh, offered to allay the disturbance with the aid of sixty men of arms and a herald, and cautioned the Council against the irruption of so many strangers into the islands. But by this time a more insidious enemy had pushed himself to the front in the person of George, Earl of Caithness, whose services were accepted as Commander-in-Chief of the expedition and Lieutenant for the King.

Sailing from Leith with two ships and a pinnace on the 22nd August, he reached Elwick, in Orkney, on the 23rd. With great difficulty the battering pieces and heavy guns were dragged from the point of Carness to Weyland, overlooking the town and castle, where he hoisted his standard. Few of the leading men of the country, however, rallied round him, and the common people showed decided signs of hostility. Being short both of men and provisions, he had to wait for several days until he was reinforced from Caithness. The opposing parties meanwhile measured their strength in a general skirmish, when the rebels had to retreat into the Castle and cut the draw-bridge. A herald was next sent out with the Royal proclamation, but was prevented by the townspeople from reaching the Market Cross, and, after having his heraldic coat torn in the scuffle, was carried to one of the palaces and detained for some hours as a prisoner of war. The cannonading of the castle began briskly; at the second shot one of the turrets was pierced and shattered. The inmates, after the first alarm, stood to their guns, and the strength of the fortress both outwardly and inwardly was such as to betoken a lengthened siege. Weeks passed, without any evident sign of progress. The Earl was in despair. His letters to the Council and his friends rave with curses and a feeling of impotence. 'There is here no bread, nor drink, nor other victuals to be had for price, prayer, or command;' 'I find none but the

name of Sinclair in all this land but has been in council of this rebellion, or else airt and pairt;’ ‘I cannot prevent the inhabitants from speaking with the traitors, giving them meat and drink and all information. I protest to God I never did and never shall come to any country that may be compared in falsett to this country people. I use them both with lenity and fair forms, but, for all I can do, they have their secret means and traffic with the traitors,’—are a few elegant extracts from his despatches and letters to his friends. The company within the walls had also its secret troubles. Disunion had broken out in its midst. Robert Stewart was resolved to hold out to the last, but there was a party bent upon capitulating. The Earl’s son knew well what his fate would be in the event of a surrender. Death he did not so much dread as torture, and the possibility of his having to inform upon his father; and a grave within or even amid the ruins of the castle he looked on as an honourable exit. But Patrick Halcro was not so firm; and having been inveigled into a conference with the Earl of Caithness in the church, he offered his influence to induce a surrender on the condition of a free pardon and the hope of further reward. To aid him in his work, certain clergymen were let in ‘to instruct, admonish, and threaten’ the garrison. The young Commander’s authority was thus undermined, and he had to yield to the clamours of his followers. The castle was surrendered on 10th October, little injured, though the siege had lasted six weeks, and seven score shot had been directed against it. The Earl’s brother was left in charge of the fortress, which was dismantled in part so as to prevent its being utilized a second time against the Royal authority. More than 20,000 merks’ worth of brazen ordnance were carried away from it.

The Earl of Caithness would have inflicted summary punishment on the spot, but was restrained by the wiser counsels of the bishop. Even Patrick Halcro himself was with reluctance excluded from his vengeance. ‘I look that my word and promise given to Patrick Halcro,’ writes he, ‘shall not be fulfilled. Before it were, I had rather be in my grave. As to the rest in my hands, except Robert Stewart, they shall be hanged within two days at the castle gate, with sundry others of the countrymen that were

ringleaders to Robert. The number that shall hang that was in the castle is twelve.' Robert Stewart, with five others, were carried to Edinburgh and confined in the Iron House, or Cage, an apartment constructed for the safer custody of desperate prisoners, and so situated in the Tolbooth that they could be conducted to the court-room or the place of execution without the danger of a rescue. Their trial took place on the 8th December. Robert Stewart, when asked if he had secured the service of a procurator, replied that he desired no procurator but God, and at once threw himself upon the Royal will. The others followed his example. All were sentenced to death, and were hanged at the usual place on the 6th of January 1615. On the scaffold, Robert Stewart confessed that what he had done was done by order of his father, but asserted at the same time that he had countermanded the first order given. He was not more than 22 years old when he suffered, and Calderwood, in speaking of the execution, adds, 'that they all died penitent; and that he was especially pitied of the people for his tall stature and comely countenance.'

But a greater victim was to follow. About the end of October, 1614, Earl Patrick was brought from Dumbarton to Edinburgh under a strong guard, and examined as to his knowledge of the late rebellion. He admitted having sent his son to Orkney to collect outstanding rents, but denied all responsibility for the recent disturbances. The inculpatory information in the hands of the Council, however, was such as to justify them in placing him on a regular trial. As a peer he was amenable only to the judgment of the nobles and barons. . A muster was summoned. The older portion, it appears, withdrew from the assize, some alleging age and infirmity, others the rigour of the season, and others again preferring to endure the usual unlaws. Nevertheless, a sufficient number answered to names memorable in the annals of Scottish history. The occasion was one not unworthy of their presence. The crime for which the culprit was arraigned was in some aspects singular; it was not simply one of oppression or misgovernment, but of leze-majesty and treason. The panel himself was no ordinary noble; the blood of the Royal Stewarts ran in his veins. He was the king's own cousin, tainted, no doubt, by the bar sinister, but he had sat in Council with the proudest, and

lorded it with the mightiest in the Royal Court. Having been placed at the bar and charged, he craved delay on the ground of insufficient notice, but of delay the day was now gone. Half-an-hour was, as a matter of grace, allowed him to consult apart with his procurators. At the end of that time he re-entered the Hall of Justice, and unreservedly submitted himself to the clemency of the King. Sentence of death was passed. Nine days only were given him for preparation, his execution being fixed for the 3rd of February. According to Calderwood, the ministers finding him so ignorant that he could scarce rehearse the Lord's prayer, entreated the Council to delay his execution some few days. Their petition was supported by some noblemen, and granted. He had himself implored the mercy of the King, but no appearance of an answer to his prayer was forthcoming. On the 5th of February he was deemed fit to receive the sacrament, and on Monday the 6th, he was beheaded at the Market Cross of Edinburgh. The King afterwards reproached himself for his death, but threw the blame of it upon his favourite, Robert Carr.

The reigns of the two Stewarts in Orkney comprised little more than fifty years. Short as this period must be deemed in the life of a people, there was crowded into it the transformation of ages of ordinary misgovernment and impassioned hate. To a great extent the land of the islands had been revolutionized in tenure and consolidated in a class of holders alien, as in race and speech, so in sentiments and usages. The mass of freeholders had become sensibly reduced in numbers and broken in spirit. The large proprietors had risen with their decline, while a powerful body of tenantry had sprung up subordinate to them; the Crown overshadowed both by means of its power and wealth—its rental alone having been increased at least tenfold. To the latter of the two Earls to whom this unparalleled increase was mainly due, even the customary 'six feet of earth,' the final patrimony of the humblest, was denied. His father rests within the choir of the Cathedral of Kirkwall, and such was the superstition attaching to his name that the Bishop and Session of a succeeding age trembled to place a pew over his grave, lest some evil should visit them. For his descendants lands were carved out of the newly annexed

Pale in Ireland, but collaterals continued to haunt the old spots, and to trouble Orkney society throughout the next two centuries. The last of them has now finally disappeared; and of the many acres which they acquired by legal and tyrannical methods, not a rood now remains in the possession of a Stewart. Their proud palaces were tenanted by strangers till the walls, which had looked down alike upon the revelry of the powerful and the wretchedness of the suffering, and which, having been raised, as it were, out of the shadows of death, seemed in their solidness and security to defy the waste of time and the assaults of humanity, were forsaken for ever, and have at last yielded to the decay which, sooner or later, awaits earthly and transitory things. The proud motto inscribed on one of them—'Sic fuit, est et erit,' thus admits of an interpretation widely different from that intended by its architect and lord; and, while with cruel irony it mocks the presumptuousness of man's desires, it at the same time enforces, with an eloquence greater than the preacher's, the vanity of man's hopes.

ART. IV.—COPTIC ECCLESIASTICAL MUSIC.

Chants Liturgiques des Coptes. Notés et mis en ordre, par Le Père JULES BLIN, de la Compagnie de Jesus, Missionnaire en Egypte. Partie chantée par le Peuple et le Diacre. A.M.D.G. Le Caire: Imprimerie Nationale. 1888.

THANKS to the British occupation of Egypt, in which, whether we approve or not, we are obliged to concur, everything pertaining to that ancient and historic land is of surpassing interest to us all. That interest is felt equally by the unlearned many as by the learned few. Egyptology is now an accepted name for an accepted science, a science pursued with ardour by men of different tastes, with different objects, and in different ways. While some busy themselves in the labour of unearthing buried treasures, and therein find

their ample reward, others are devoting to the study of those treasures the gradually accumulating knowledge which this present century has furnished. The stupendous 'monuments of antiquity' above ground, with which our school-books made us familiar,* though still a fertile and unexhausted study, have, for the moment, given place in public interest to the yet more remarkable series of long buried monuments, the discovery of which, at frequent intervals of late, has astonished the world. Others again, though reverencing the dead past, prefer to give their attention to the living present, and study the Egypt of to-day: with the result, that in minute research and exhaustive description of common-place matters, the land and its people are far better known and understood by us than are our nearest and dearest continental neighbours. We need only instance Sir Edward Lane's *Modern Egyptians* (London: Chas. Knight & Co., 1837), leaving out of sight his sister's and other more recent writers' contributions on the subject, in proof of this assertion. Others yet again, equally reverencing the past, and attentive to the present, prefer, as the field of life is so large, to cultivate their own small patch therein, and take up the question to which their taste or studies most incline them,—politics, finance, or religion. The politician is never wearied when Egypt is his theme, and old though the subject be, it can never be played out; the financier, in the all-but boundless resources, agricultural and other, of this marvellous land, discovers abundant scope for his arithmetical ingenuity; while the religious student finds himself face to face with some of the most remarkable problems which any people on this earth present, or ever have presented.

We obtain our modern word 'Egypt' from the Greek *Αιγύπτος*, which, again, is derived from the original name of the country 'Kahi-Ptah,' meaning 'Land of Ptah.'† The root of

* We allude more particularly to the charming series of papers published by the S. P. C. K. in *The Saturday Magazine*, from 1837 onwards, entitled 'Illustrations of the Bible from the monuments of antiquity,' which formed, at that time, a portion of our school-reading, and helped, no doubt, to foster a taste for these studies in many a young enquiring mind.

† We are not called upon to attempt to settle the vexed question of ancient Egyptian mythology. Ptah, Phtah, or Phthah, was the name of the

these three names, English, Greek, and Egyptian, is evidently the three consonants GPT, ΓΠΤ, and ΚΡΤ. That GPT is converted into GPS in the English word 'Gypsy,' is no disproof of this statement, since we British always, without the trouble of re-spelling, change our T's into S's when pronouncing the final syllables 'tian' and 'tion.' Thus 'eGyPShun' can easily become in an uncritical age 'GyPSy,' instead of 'GyPTY.' But the descendants of the aboriginal inhabitants of Egypt are not likely to forget their proper name: hence we are not surprised to find an apt survival in the title by which those descendants—in distinction from their Arab conquerors—are known and styled, viz., 'KoPT,' from the above-mentioned name of their country, 'Kahi-PTah.*' We assume, therefore, that the Koptic or Coptic people are the real native Egyptians, descended, with very little admixture of foreign blood, from the people of Pharaohic times, whose language they have perpetuated; and that the Coptic Church is the form of the Christian religion retained by a large number of those descendants.

Egypt had the blessed advantage of being very early brought under the influence of the Gospel. Unbroken tradition has always pointed to the Evangelist St. Mark as the founder of the Egyptian Church, though he may not necessarily have been the first preacher there. Those present in Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost, from 'Egypt and the parts of Lybia about

Lord of Justice, to whom an altar is dedicated in the sanctuary of Abou Simbel; and also of the pigmy god (supposed by some to be the wicked Typhon) sculptured on the abacus of a column in the Temple of Dendera. Ptah is considered the next in rank and chronological order to Cneph or Cnuphis, the great Self-existent, and is represented as androgynous, the feminine principle being styled Neitha. There is good ground for the belief that Cnuphis is Noah, and that Ptah is none other than Put or Phut, the third son of Ham (Genesis x. 6, and Nahum iii. 9). In the Revised O. T., 'Phut' in Genesis is assimilated to 'Put' in Nahum, thereby giving us the necessary PT of our next sentence, pure and simple.

* With the other Coptic name of the country—Χαμ or Χημ, evidently derived from Ham, second son of Noah; and with the Semitic names—'Maar' in Arabic, and 'Mizr' or 'Mizraim' in Hebrew (Genesis x. 6), we have here no concern.

Cyrene' (Acts ii. 10), may well be supposed to have imparted to their countrymen, on their return, the knowledge they had themselves acquired; and the great commercial intercourse at that time between Palestine and Egypt was in all respects calculated to waft the story of Redemption from the one land to the other. Hence, no doubt, St. Mark, on his first visit to Egypt, about A.D. 40, found a people ready prepared to receive him; and he on his part was able to secure to them the title they have always since boasted themselves in, of 'The Evangelical See,' thus verifying the long previously uttered exclamation of the Evangelical Prophet speaking in the Holy SPIRIT:—'Blessed be Egypt, My people' (Isaiah xix. 25).

The Egyptian Church has further had the advantage of being very copiously dealt with historically. Few of the early Churches, not excepting Rome herself, have been more favoured by ecclesiastical writers, whether we regard them by their numbers, or their individual painstaking. And it is well that it has so happened, for in the Egyptian Church some of the subtlest thinkers and some of the direst heresies had their rise, to be combatted by champions of the truth, equally subtle, and eventually victorious. Of the historians, the latest of their number, Dr. John Mason Neale, gives a sufficiently numerous, though not at all an exhaustive list, to whom he professes his direct or indirect obligations, of which list the following is a portion only, drawn from the first 32 pages of his work* :—
 Abu'lberkat, Abu'lpharaj, Allatius, Alvarez, Anastasius, Asseman, Aymon, Ballerini, Bar-Hebræus, Baronius, Beaven, Bermudez, Bonjour, Bruce, Byæus, Cacciari, Chronicon-Alexandrinum, Chronicon-Orientale, Claude, Cotelerius, Covell, Crusius, De la Rue, Dian, Dupin, Echellensis, Elmacinus, Epiphanius, Eusebius, Euty chius, Evagrius, Fleury, Fuldner, Garnier, Geddes, George Syncellus, Gregory of Nyssa, Henschenius, Huet, Jerome, Labbe, La Croze, Lazius, Le Moine, Le Quien, Liberatus, Ludolph, Makrizi, Mangey, Mark son of Kunbar, Nicephorus, Orosius, Pachymeres, Pagi, Palladius, Pamphylus,

* A History of the Holy Eastern Church. *The Patriarchate of Alexandria.* By the Rev. John Mason Neale, M.A. 2 Vols. London: Joseph Masters, 1847.

Papebroch, Pearson, Philip of Cyprus, Philippus Sidetes, Photius, Pontac, Porphyry, Purchas, Renaudot, Renterdahl, Ricaut, Rufinus, Ruinart, Scaliger, Scherius, Severus and his continuators, Simeon Metaphrastes, Smith, Socrates, Sollerius, Sozomen, Spartianus, Stilting, Suidas, Tellez, Tillemont, Valesius, Victor, Vopiscus, Wansleb, Wilken, etc. Of the heresiarchs and their opponents we prefer to keep silence, and so ruffle no susceptibilities: since even the most righteously condemned of the former can find in the present day apologists and admirers; while of the latter it is easy to prove that they were 'a little lower than the angels,' though now 'crowned with glory and honour' (Psalm viii. 5).

One of the most patent facts in ecclesiastical history, emphasised by all writers of importance, is—that the Apostles in every place where they planted the Church, 'set in order,' as did their brother St. Paul in the Corinthian Church (1 Cor. xi. 34, and xiv. 40), and as Titus was deputed to do in Crete (Titus i. 5), the things pertaining to religious worship. Even were the fact not vouched for by Scripture and ecclesiastical history, it would be unreasonable to suppose otherwise, and fancy because the bulk of the first Christians were poor and simple that things would be left to chance; or because all were to consider themselves 'a Royal Priesthood' (1 Peter ii. 9) that 'every one should have a psalm, a teaching (*διδάχη*), a tongue, a revelation, and an interpretation' (1 Cor. xiv. 26). Accordingly there was deposited in each church the traditional order of Divine Service which its founder had first introduced, which order, when committed to writing at such varying times in different places as the *discipline of the secret* ceased to press, constituted the Liturgies (in Rome) of St. Peter, (in Alexandria) of St. Mark, (in Jerusalem) of St. James, etc. These Liturgies, and all others, were unquestionably first used in Greek, since Greek was, in the good providence of God, the vehicle by which the way of Salvation was made known to sinful man, the whole of the then known world, thanks to the conquests of Alexander, being more or less, from necessity or from choice, Greek-speaking. Indeed it was a peculiarity of Christianity, equally as of Judaism, that it was connected with

one language only, the language of the whole of its sacred literature. As Judaism was unquestionably a Hebrew religion, so was Christianity regarded as a Greek religion. 'Let it be remembered,' says Sir Lancelot Brenton in his preface to *The Septuagint* translated into English (London: Bagster and Sons), 'that the Gospel was in its aspect to the world a *Hellenistic thing*. . . . And this was in keeping with the extension of the Gospel to the Gentiles. It did not merely facilitate the grand scheme of universal preaching, but Greeks, in the language of Scripture, were Gentiles, and Gentiles were Greeks.'

The three typical Liturgies above alluded to were thus unquestionably Greek. We may also assume that, except so far as they reflected the personality of each apostle in more or less verbosity (we use the word reverently), they were identical in all material respects. It would be folly to suppose that St. Mark, in Alexandria, would other than image forth the mind of his mentor, St. Peter; or that St. Peter, at Rome, would consciously differ from the Liturgy first celebrated at Jerusalem (Acts ii. 42 and 46). That the copies now current of the three Liturgies bearing those Apostles' names* are found to differ from each other in many respects is no more a disproof of the fact of their original agreement, than is the present practice of celebrating the offshoots of those three Liturgies in Latin, Coptic, and Greek a disproof of the fact that each were originally Greek.

The Liturgy of St. Mark, then, was the special property and Use of the Egyptian Church. It so continued till after the schism brought about by the heresy of Dioscorus, and his condemnation by the Council of Chalcedon. From this time henceforward there have been two successions of Patriarchs with their flocks: (1) the Orthodox, who cling to the old faith, and are generally called Melchite, because agreeing with the religion of the Christian Empire; (2) and the Monophy-

* Bp. Lindanus published at Antwerp in 1585 a Liturgy under the title of 'Divinum sacrificium S. Ap. Petri.' It is generally deemed spurious. The Liturgies of St. Mark and St. James are very accessible. Mr. J. T. Hayes, London, has handy editions, both in Greek and English.

site, who prefer the new teaching as to the One Nature of the Incarnate Saviour, and are styled Coptic, which we have seen is equivalent to Egyptian. These latter were, and still are, considerably in the majority, and constitute, so far as numbers go, the National Church. After the establishment of their separate existence, they soon saw the desirability of making a new departure, and accentuating their heterodoxy by the use of the vernacular Egyptian language, which, we may assume (a parallel existing in Wales), never to have died, notwithstanding the long continued official and commercial use of Greek. But the liturgic reformers of the period found that they could not exorcise the Greek language, which had originated for them all their principal ecclesiastical terms. So they retained what was most necessary and familiar of the Greek, and added whatever was new in the Coptic, or a jargon of blended Greek and Coptic. To take a simple instance: whenever the Names in the Holy TRINITY occur in an old formula, it will always be in Greek, as—'Glory be to the FATHER,' etc. But when those Names occur in a formula unknown to the Greek, the Coptic will be used, as—'In the Name of the FATHER,* etc.; 'Blessed be GOD the FATHER,' etc.; 'We adore Thee, O CHRIST, and' etc.; 'Blessed in truth art Thou, with' etc.; 'Blessed be the FATHER,' etc.; and many other forms of Eulogy and Doxology.† But in lapse of time, as the evils of poverty caused by Moslem oppression took deeper root, even this prized vernacular became practically a dead tongue, and the language of the Arab conqueror alone prevailed. Hence the necessity for the many portions now said in Arabic: which make it that the Divine Service of the Coptic Church, for polyglott variety, has, as a going concern, no equal.

* This particular formula is of course known in Greek, but is proper, by Divine appointment, to Holy Baptism. It is not used on all possible occasions, as in the West, nor merely at the commencement of Divine Service, as in the Coptic.

† For these formulæ see pp. 1, 39, 49, 53, and 61, in Lord Bute's translation of the Coptic Liturgy, the title of which is given in a footnote later on.

These changes in language have not been without effect in producing changes of form in the Liturgy itself. It is now no longer spoken of as the Liturgy of St. Mark. In its first modified form it was named from St. Cyril; then St. Gregory was invoked as author, and his Liturgy is still said to be used in Lent;* afterwards St. Basil was most strangely laid claim to, and the Liturgy bearing his name is now regarded as the normal form for ordinary use.

The Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil is known to English readers chiefly by two modern versions (that by the Nonjuror Dr. Brett being generally unprocurable):—A., that by the late Dr. Neale, translated from the Latin version of Renaudot, contained between pp. 381 and 702 of his *General Introduction* to the work alluded to in a former footnote; and B., that by the present Marquess of Bute, translated direct from the original, with the audible portions printed in both Coptic and English. Of these two versions we will say a few words.

A. Of the marvellous powers of Mr. afterwards Dr. J. M. Neale,† it is impossible to think without wonder and gratitude. He was a most omnivorous reader, but, better still, had the faculty of remembering nearly all he read. He set himself, as the work of his life, to compile *A History of the Holy Eastern Church*. He first published in 1847 the portion having reference to *Alexandria*, which he styles Part II., and afterwards in 1850 the *General Introduction*,‡ which ‘in reality forms Part I.’ Part III. was advertised as the *History of the Patriarchates of Antioch and Jerusalem*, ‘while Constantinople will [so it was

* This is said by Dr. Neale, p. 323. Lord Bute tells us, in p. ii., that it is used three times only in the year, ‘for the Midnight Masses of Christmas, the Epiphany, and Easter.’ The works of both these authors will shortly be alluded to more particularly.

† Mr. Neale graduated as M.A. at Cambridge; the title of D.D. was conferred on him and his friend the late Mr. Oldknow, of Bordesley, Birmingham, by an American University (we forget its name) at the instance of the present Protestant Bishop of Western New York, then known as the ‘Dreamland’ poet, Arthur Cleveland Coxe. The facts were familiar to us at the time from Dr. Oldknow’s own description.

‡ *A History of the Holy Eastern Church. General Introduction.* By the Rev. John Mason Neale, M.A. 2 Vols. London: Joseph Masters, 1850.

hoped], by itself, form Part IV.' The *General Introduction*, now under contribution, is itself a great repository of learning. It extends through pp. xxvi. and 1243, and is, in the absence of the previous works of Ricaut, Smith, Covell, and King, the foundation of nearly all that is known on the subject by the present generation of English readers. How thoroughly the great work of Dr. King, of seventy-eight years previous, was utilized, can only be known by comparison. This *General Introduction* was dedicated to the Emperor NICOLAI I. of All the Russias, who contributed very liberally to the expenses of publication, but it failed to give the satisfaction many think it did, or ought to have done. We remember the surprise we felt when first informed by learned Russians that 'though new to the English it is not new to us, or if aught be new, it is not to our mind.' The fact is that Dr. Neale, like many another English divine, because able to state a case, thought himself able to decide it also. And this affected judicial tone runs throughout the whole of the volumes,* so that those concerned

* Lest this remark may seem to savour of unkindness,—which we assure our readers is impossible, since we personally have the greatest respect for Dr. Neale's memory, and yield therein to none of his Anglican admirers,—the following fair cause of complaint is submitted. Dr. Neale is labouring to exclude the English Church 'from the charge of heresy' for its non-reception of the 7th General Council, the second of Nicæa, which, it is well known, is the great gulf which separates the Reformed churches, Episcopal and Non-episcopal, from the Unreformed churches, Eastern and Western. His line is to be-little the 7th Council as much as possible, and thereby show its small claim to obedience. He tells us:—'In the first place we may remark that the Second Council of Nicæa wants one mark of authenticity, shared, according to the more general belief, by the six:—
 . . . its recognition as Œcumenical by a later Council undoubtedly so.' (*Patriarchate of Alexandria*. Vol. II., p. 133.) If this argument be admitted, that the 7th Council is not Œcumenical because there has been no 8th Œcumenical Council to recognise it, it follows that the 7th Council, not being Œcumenical, is unable to recognise the sixth Council as Œcumenical. And the 6th Council not being recognised, it is clearly unable to recognise the 5th, and so on step by step backward, like 'The House that Jack built,' till we come to the 2nd Council, which being unrecognised, is unable to recognise the 1st. So there have been, according to this 'first place' of Dr. Neale, no Œcumenical Councils whatever. Eastern Orthodox

might well ask—‘ Who made thee a judge or a divider over us’ (Luke xii. 14)? The proof of the existence of this feeling, now first publicly expressed, is the fact that Part III., the *Antioch and Jerusalem* portion of his History, though advertised from 1850 onward as ‘Preparing for publication,’ failed to attract further pecuniary help from Russia when applied for, and, as a consequence, was never completed in the sixteen remaining years of the author’s life. A portion only, discovered among his papers, was published posthumously by his friend the late Rev. George Williams.* Part IV., of course, the world will never see. The Coptic Liturgy of St. Basil, contained in the *General Introduction*, is parallelised in its Proanaphoral portion with the St. Chrysostom, Armenian, and Mozarabic Liturgies, from pp. 380 to 459; and in its Anaphora with the St. Chrysostom, Armenian, St. James, Orthodox St. Basil, St. Mark, Mozarabic, and Theodore the Interpreter Liturgies, from pp. 530 to 703. In this business of parallelisation Dr. Neale himself tells us, in an anonymous article in the October, 1865, No. of *The Christian Remembrancer*, p. 428, that his success was not commensurate with his labour.† That the attempt failed in certain points with our present Liturgy, we shall have necessity

Christians must be pardoned for not being the dolts who can accept argument such as this; and for pooh-poohing the judgment based upon it, and upon the special pleading in favour of the Caroline books, the local Council of Frankfort, and the Emperor Charlemagne.

* A History of the Holy Eastern Church. *The Patriarchate of Antioch*. By the Rev. John Mason Neale, D.D. (A Posthumous Fragment.) Edited by the Rev. George Williams, B.D. 1 Vol. London: Rivingtons.

† The words are as follow:—‘These two [the Liturgies of St. Chrysostom and St. Basil] so closely resemble each other, that without any great difficulty such a comparison is possible; but to parallelise the other Liturgies of the Eastern Church, as was first done by Dr. Daniel, and (as we think) misled by him, by Mr. Neale in his *Tetralogia Liturgica*, gives occasion to a great deal more trouble than profit.’ It may seem strange for a writer to pass a slight upon himself, but Dr. Neale privately informed us at the time that the article was his. It was written less than a year before his death, by which time he no doubt had realized the profitless nature of his labour. He did not even care to style himself Doctor, which everyone else at that time would have done.

shortly to point out. We have already alluded to the disadvantageous fact that Dr. Neale's version is a translation from a translation.

B. But this last-named objection does not apply to the second version of which we treat. The Marquess of Bute, whose ecclesiastical studies for many years past have been well known and gladly accepted by all, has added to his former translations of the Greek Liturgy of St. Chrysostom, and of the Latin Breviary, the present welcome translation of the so-called Liturgy of St. Basil direct from the Coptic.* It had the advantage of approval before publication of divers competent Coptic scholars, and may therefore be regarded as perfectly reliable. We understand that the copy used in translation was published in Rome, A.D. 1736, a century and a half ago, a fact which, we think, would make it that Roman Catholic readers may accept its terms without scruple. This being so, we cannot but feel regret that Lord Bute should have thought it necessary to append the long footnote at p. 88 with reference to the *ἐπικλησις*. Though it notoriously differs from present Roman use, it would have been as well to follow the advice of the Irish hedge-schoolmaster of the last generation, who, when his pupils came to a hard unpalatable word, bade them 'skip, and go on.' But the question, being opened for remark, is now public property, and, as an ecclesiastic of the Greek rite, we must in all loyalty assert, that the statement that the belief embodied in the Coptic Liturgy is a—'peculiar opinion regarding the necessity of the Invocation for the completion of the Consecration, which has obtained a footing in some of the Oriental churches'—is, at the least, misleading. What Oriental church, Orthodox or heretical, does not in the present, and did not always in the past, so far as we have record, accept this belief?† The Coptic Liturgy itself proves

* *The Coptic Morning Service for the Lord's Day.* Translated into English by John, Marquess of Bute, K.T. London: J. Masters and Co. 1882.

† See *Primitive Consecration of the Eucharistic Oblation, with an Earnest Appeal for its Revival.* By the Rev. Edmund S. Ffoulkes, B.D., Vicar of S. Mary the Virgin, Oxford. London: J. T. Hayes, 1885.

its antiquity, for it is certain the Monophysite churches would never have copied it from the Greek after the year 451. But we prefer not to argue the matter, strongly as we feel on the subject, as it cannot be disposed of in a page or two. We have simply unfurled our flag in reply to the gallant signal on the other side.

A general comparison of versions A. and B. will here not be without its use. Dr. Neale in his *Patriarchate of Alexandria*, Vol. II., p. 262, tells us that 'a belief was introduced into the Coptic Church, that the burning of the Incense at the commencement of the Liturgy was, in some mysterious manner, connected with the remission of sins which the people then privately confessed. Gradually, the rite was considered to convey Sacramental Absolution; and by a natural deduction from false premises, confession in a private house before a lighted censer, was elevated to the same dignity: and the office of the Priest was disused as superfluous.' It is curious, that after this, he gives no clue in A., or in the preliminary *Dissertation* at p. 363, to this 'Prayer at the Offering of the Morning Incense,' which occupies in B. pp. 1 to 34. These 34 pages, Lord Bute tells us, 'did not receive as thorough a revision as the rest' of the book, but he 'believes them to be substantially accurate.' The Liturgy proper then commences with the *Prayer of Preparation of the Altar*, which also B. alone gives. A. commences with the *Prayer after the Altar is prepared*, which in B. follows the previous Prayer. This prayer, borrowed from the Orthodox Liturgy of St. Basil, where it occurs some little after the reading of *The Gospel*, and is styled the *First Prayer of the Faithful*, is, we strongly suspect, the reason why the Coptic Church has borrowed the name of St. Basil wherewith to designate the whole service. By placing this Basilian prayer so near the commencement, it may be held to flavour all that follows. A. omits the doxology at the end of most of the prayers, contenting itself with—'by Whom,' &c.; 'and to Thee,' &c.; 'with Whom,' &c.; while B. gives each in full, with two, three, or four lines of minion as the case may be. A. is also very reticent in the matter of rubrical directions, while B. is full and dis-

tinct generally. Indeed it may be said that A. contains little more than the Priestly portion of the service, the responses of the People (or choir) and the Diaconal biddings, each given in their entirety in B., being conspicuous by their absence from A. Pages 37 to 40 in B. are wanting in A. The Prayers *Of Thanksgiving* and *Of Oblation* then follow in both versions. In the *Prayer of Absolution* it is of interest to note the difference between the Monophysite formula in A. and the expurgated Roman formula in B. :—

A.

Let them be absolved by the Mouth of the Holy TRINITY, the FATHER, the SON, and the Holy GHOST : and by the mouth of the One, Only, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic Church : by the mouth of the Twelve Apostles, and by the mouth of the wise Mark, Apostle and Martyr : by the mouth also of the holy Patriarch Severus, and of our holy doctor Dioscorus : of St. John Chrysostom, St. Cyril, St. Basil, St. Gregory, of the three hundred also that met at Nicæa, of the hundred and fifty at Constantinople, of the hundred at Ephesus, and by the mouth of my humility, who am a sinner.

[*Note here the names of the arch-heretics Severus and Dioscorus, and the absence of that of St. Athanasius ; the inexact numbers credited to the Councils of Nicæa and Ephesus, and the marked silence respecting the Council of Chalcedon.*]

B.

May they be absolved from the Mouth of the All-holy TRINITY, the FATHER, and the SON, and the Holy GHOST ; and from the mouth of the One Only Holy Catholic Apostolic Church ; and from the mouths of the Twelve Apostles, and from the mouth of the ecstatic Mark, the Apostle and Evangelist, and Martyr ; and of the holy Athanasius, like unto an Apostle, and of the golden-mouthed John, and of the holy Cyril, and of the holy Gregory, and of the holy Basil ; and from the mouths of the three hundred and eighteen who were gathered together at Nice ; and of the hundred and fifty at Constantinople ; and of the two hundred at Ephesus ; and of the six hundred and thirty who were gathered together at Chalcedon ; and from the mouth of our father, the honourable Archbishop Abba M. ; and of his fellow servant the Bishop Abba N. ; and from the mouth of mine own abjection.

In p. 366 of his previous *Dissertation*, Dr. Neale says of *The Hymn of the Trisagion*, that it ‘occurs in almost all the Oriental Liturgies,’ but ‘in Coptic St. Basil it does not occur.’ And yet at p. 413, its own proper place, it does occur, but in its technical titular form, under which Dr. Neale failed to recognise it. Hence his sweeping assertion, as above. It is introduced by him pretty much as in B.:—‘*The lesson from the Acts, in Coptic and Arabic, being finished, the people exclaim, Holy, Holy, Holy.*’ B. gives the hymn in full. The two fairly long Prayers—*After the Gospel* and *Of the Veil*—which occupy in A. pp. 419 to 429, are given by B. in a foot-note at pp. 61 and 62, with the remark that they ‘are now never said.’ Between these two

prayers, A. has interpolated, at p. 427, without authority, in obedience to his mistaken parallelisation principle, the words, in small capitals, bracketed [EXPULSION OF THE CATECHUMENS]. Then follows in A. the *Prayer for Peace*, also styled 'the three great Prayers.' These three Prayers in B. are divided into eight portions, separated by Diaconal biddings, and the response—*Κυριε ελεησον*, thus:—Prayer I., portions 1 and 2; Prayer II., portions 3, 4, 5, and 6; Prayer III., portions 7 and 8. A. omits portions 5 and 6, and two-thirds of portion 8. The parallelisation scheme is next brought into operation with the following curious results, the numerals marking the proper place of each item, as in B. :—

A.	B.
3. <i>Priest.</i> Peace to all. <i>People.</i> And with thy spirit.	1. <i>The Creed.</i>
5. <i>The Kiss of Peace.</i>	2. <i>The Priest washes his hands, thrice.</i>
4. <i>Prayer of the Kiss of Peace.</i>	3. <i>Priest.</i> Peace be unto all. <i>People.</i> And with thy spirit.
1. <i>The Creed.</i>	4. <i>Prayer of the Kiss.</i>
2. <i>The Priest washes his hands.</i>	5. <i>Place of the Kiss.</i>
6. <i>Deacon.</i> Approach, stand, O men, with fear, and look to the east. Let us attend.	6. <i>Deacon.</i> Offer, offer, offer in order —stand ye—with trembling—look eastward. Let us attend.

In this way we might go on to the end of the Liturgy, fatiguing ourselves and our readers. We have answered our purpose of proving the defective nature of the copy used for version A., and of pointing out some of the private judgment alterations which the translator thereof at the time thought himself at liberty to indulge in; and having done this, though in part only, we gladly pause. We will merely add that A. has, at the close, no *Κοινωνικον* or *Communion Hymn*, which in the Coptic Liturgy is very beautiful, being based upon Psalm 150, with varying stichera for the different festivals, and with many Alleluias at all times.

We now enter upon the Musical portion of our paper. Our readers will remember that in the all-too-brief article on 'Byzantine Ecclesiastical Music,' in the October number of this present *Scottish Review*,* we mentioned on pp. 274-5 that

* This article is being re-written, and its many gaps supplied; and we trust that our worthy publisher, as a leader of popular taste, will be able

a 'literary friend, enjoying facilities for the acquirement of Coptic lore, when applied to . . . respecting Coptic Church music, made reply : "The Coptic Church music is in a most hopeless state. The Jesuits tried to prepare a book of it, but when I heard last they had met with no one, Catholic or Monophysite, who could tell him which of the notes he sang were regulation, and which his own invention," etc.' Upon reading this in the October number, that friend kindly informed our Editor that the projected work of the Jesuit fathers had, since the date of his quoted communication, been published, and he forthwith sent a copy of the same for review, the title-page of which forms the heading of this present paper. The work in question occupies ninety-six extra large music folio pages, and is a great credit to the National Printing-house in Cairo. The Rev. Father Blin is also to be congratulated on his share of the work. Though he a little distrusts himself, we can assure him, from our own experience of Eastern Music, that few persons could have accomplished the work so successfully as he has done. The faults observable are of the kind that are inevitable to all, and are yielded to more or less by all, who attempt to take notes from the vocalization of Eastern singers. The correspondent above quoted gives the difficulty in a nutshell:—to 'tell which of the notes sang were regulation, and which his own invention.' To discriminate between these requires a critical mind of the highest order. Father Blin lays no claim to this faculty, and cannot be blamed for the occasional occurrence of faulty graces, the 'invention' of some zealous but not over-wise *Ιεροψάλλτης*. But he has done what he could under the circumstances, and has done it well.

Our author has given us in his ninety-six pages the complete Music of the Liturgy in seventy movements, some of which

shortly to reproduce it in a separate treatise. It embraces a subject which all competent musical judges admit has been too long neglected. The study of Music has been, from circumstances, thus far too much controlled by *£ s. d.* considerations ; but now that a higher order of thinkers regard the same as not beneath their notice, the deeper and less sensuous problems underlying it are likely to come to the surface.

are duplicated, and a few triplicated. In addition, four pages are devoted to the *Prayer at the Offering of the Morning Incense*; three to *Baptism*; one to *Confirmation*; four to *Marriage*; nine to *Funerals and Masses for the Dead*; and two to the *Stations of the Cross*. Of the Hymns of the Liturgy, constituting the bulk of the volume, we may remark, that the threefold linguistic division to which we have before alluded, is represented most accurately in the music. The oldest or Greek portion is set to magnificent melody of the most pure type; the mediæval or Coptic portion is set to melody of very good form, entirely diatonic, but less strict than the old Greek; while the modern or Arabic portion is decidedly more sing-songy, and freer in all respects. But though freer, this last portion still imitates the old manner so far as to be entirely based upon the diatonic genus, thus preserving a certain unity with the two previous portions. Since making acquaintance with these Arabic hymns, we have felt less distrust of the Mohammadan hymns and other Arabic music given by Sir Edward Lane in his *Modern Egyptians*, which were somewhat reflected on in p. 474 of our former article. It is conceivable that they, like the present Arabic hymns, may have been constructed in intentional imitation of the older forms of melody which prevailed before the establishment of the Oriental chromatic genus. The other services illustrated by our present author, *Baptism*, *Marriage*, etc., call for no special remark, excepting in the case of the *Funeral* music, which has nothing of the gloom attaching to such music in the West. We remember the joyful surprise we first felt at the funeral of a friend in Moscow, where the Priest was habited in his brightest vestments, and the Choir were singing the numerous Alleluias, three after each verse of two-thirds of the long 118th (in English 119th) Psalm. It seemed entirely on a par with the Lent music of the Liturgy, which is much longer and more elaborate than at other times in the Greek Church.

We have ventured to quote very freely from Father Blin's book, and have given several specimens of the old Greek pre-Dioscorian music; a sufficient number of the Coptic hymns to illustrate the mediæval style; and one instance only, the last,

from the Arabic. We are persuaded that we do the cause of Church Music a service in making public this selection. For detailed notices of the different Nos. quoted, we refer below to the places of those Nos. It is, however, necessary to explain the system of transliteration adopted in those music Nos. Of the Coptic liturgical formulæ, some are in pure Greek, the remainder in Coptic and Arabic. Of the Arabic, as we have one specimen only, little need be said: the transliteration is as given by our author, with continental vowel sounds, and is doubtless intended for French readers. Where the formula cited is pure Greek, Greek characters have been used, but unaccented, as the Copts do not use the Greek accents, either for writing or pronunciation. This course could not be pursued with the Coptic formulæ, although Greek words are very freely introduced, since the Coptic alphabet, besides its adaptation of the Greek alphabet, possesses seven additional characters, for which the Greek alphabet offers no equivalent. The following system of transliteration in Roman characters has therefore been adopted, using, for the characters borrowed from the Greek alphabet, with four exceptions, the ordinarily adopted system of transliterating Greek, thus:—

α . . . a	ι . . . i	ρ . . . r	shei . . . sh
β . . . b	κ . . . k	σ . . . c*	fei . . . f
γ . . . g	λ . . . l	τ . . . t	khei . . . kh
δ . . . d	μ . . . m	υ . . . u	hori . . . h
ε . . . e	ν . . . n	φ . . . ph	janjia . . . j
ζ . . . z	ξ . . . x	χ . . . ch	sima . . . s
η . . . é	ο . . . o	ψ . . . ps	ti . . . ti
θ . . . th	π . . . p	ω . . . ó	

Three remarks must also be made. (1) Th, k, m, n, p, c, t, ph, and f, often form syllables by themselves, and are then vocalised with a more or less obscure *e* or *i* sound, which is not indicated at all in writing Coptic, except sometimes by a grave accent over *m* and *n*. Father Blin has indicated this sound by red italics inserted in the text. It has not here seemed necessary to do this, except in a few cases where this inter-

* This is the old form of the Greek *s*, and is here intended to have that sound only, and not the sound of *k*.

polated vowel sound is united to a special musical note, and it is then indicated by a paranthesed italic letter. (2) Where a syllable has a good many notes, the Copts, in singing, do not repeat merely the vowel sound, as is done by Europeans, but insert the syllable *ye* if the vowel be of the *i* or *e* sound, and *wo* if it be *o* or *u*. This our author has also inserted in red italics, but it has not been thought necessary to follow him in so doing. (3) The Coptic letters being uncials, no capitals, properly so called, are in use, but it has here been thought better to use them for proper names, especially of Deity, even when there is a preherent particle.

To make the comments upon our author's work more intelligible, we have throughout compared it with the more handy and accessible version B. But in our quotations from that version we occasionally depart from its phraseology: yet nowhere more conspicuously than in the change from 'Holy GHOST' to 'Holy SPIRIT.' Musical considerations alone are sufficient to justify the change, but we confess to a great preference for the latter word over the former. The word GHOST* could not be applied to the Third Divine Hypostasis without its qualifying prefix 'Holy': while 'the SPIRIT of GOD' meets us in the first chapter of Genesis, and remains with us until 'the SPIRIT and the Bride say, Come,' in the last chapter of the Revelation. We have also taken advantage of the accented *é* to represent the long sound of *η* in the word Amén, which long sound is represented in Lane's *Modern Egyptians* by two *e*'s, thus—'Ameen.' As Englishmen have been too long accustomed, whether the first syllable be preferred as *Ay* or *Aw*, to rhyme the second syllable with *ben* rather than *been*, to be readily patient of the 'ee' of Sir Edward Lane, the accented *é* has been here adopted as a compromise, which, while it represents a sound we desiderate, one far more truthful and musical than the common English sound, can yet, as being single, offend the eye of no one.

* We once heard this unadjectived word applied to the Holy SPIRIT by a foreigner speaking English. Once hearing it was quite enough to wean us from the word thoroughly.

We proceed now with the main object of our present writing, and offer a detailed notice of the Rev. Jules Blin's *Chants Liturgiques des Coptes*.

No. 1 is the first hymn sung by the Choir in 'The Prayer at the Offering of the Morning Incense.' B. tells us, at p. 35:— 'When Mass is celebrated without the Office of the Incense, it is usual to prefix to it the opening part of that Office.' This opening part consists of the Invocation by the Priest:—

In the Name of the FATHER, and of the SON, and of the Holy SPIRIT, One God. Amén.

Then, turning towards the people, he says:

Have mercy upon us.

The Choir then sing in monotone hymn No. 1, which is as follows:—

O GOD, FATHER Almighty: All-Holy TRINITY, have mercy upon us: LORD GOD of Powers, be with us: verily we have no help in our tribulations and afflictions, save Thee.

This hymn we omit, as also the 'Our FATHER' which follows, but we give the anti-doxology—'through CHRIST JESUS our LORD,' which varies the monotone at the end with the following slight inflection:—



The above quotation from the Office of the Incense ended, the Liturgy proper begins. While the Prayers *Of Preparation of the Altar* and *After Preparation*—previous to the ceremony which A. tells us at pp. 386-7 answers to THE GREAT ENTRANCE of the Constantinopolitan rite—are being silently said by the Priest, the choir sing No. 2, a fairly fine anthem, which seems to be as great a feature in the service as *The Cherubic Hymn* of the Greeks, fulfilling also the same function, though occurring so much earlier in the service than the latter. In the following harmonised version we call attention to the *pause*, or more properly *lengthener*, written over the first note. This elongation of the first note answers the useful purpose of en-

abling the choir to pull themselves together for a proper start. This purpose we endeavour to assist in the present and all future Nos. by commencing in *plain octaves*, leaving the harmony to fall in by progression rather than by a preliminary fumbling for thirds and fifths. We also call attention to the pause over a silent bar before the words—‘Blessed is he that cometh.’ This vacant bar indicates the place of two stichoi which we omit, both of which are sung in monotone. They are:—

This is the day which the LORD hath made : let us rejoice and be glad in it.

O LORD, Thou wilt save us : O LORD, Thou wilt guide our ways.

The other pauses which occur in the course of this and the other Nos. are, no doubt, considered necessary by Coptic singers for some reason or other, most probably for breathing purposes, and we have accordingly retained them. They are not, however, always necessary for English use, and may be passed over without any material detriment. In B. this No. 2 is given in a footnote at p. 37, under the impression that it belongs to the Paschal season only, but our present author gives it as sung ‘during the year.’ The instance given by B. as normal belongs to the Minor fasts as distinguished from the Great fast. The Great fast has yet another form.

No. 2.

Δλ

ΑΙ

λη

le

λου - - - - - ια
 rallentando.
 lu ia

Fomarbout nje phé-eth-né - ou khen (e) Phran m (e) . . p - So - ic.

RECITATIVO.

Blessed is he that com-eth in the Name of the LORD.

Αλ - λη - - - - - λου - - - - - ια.

Al - le lu ia.

Our readers cannot fail to notice the extreme simplicity of the melodic phrases in the above, and with what evident pleasure a figure is repeated, sometimes nearer, sometimes a little farther removed. The first two bars are reproduced in bars three and four, though with varied harmony, according to old custom. The figure of the seventh bar is repeated in the eleventh with an agreeable variation. That the sub-dominant cadence is alone possible at the close of two out of the three parts into which the anthem divides itself, is a pretty good evidence of the antiquity of the respective melodies. We may point out that the long Alleluia at the commencement, and the short Alleluia at the close, are each a complete composition, and may be used each by itself. Also, that when the English syllables differ in number from the Coptic or Greek, the *Tenore* and *Basso* parts give the division of notes proper to the former, while the *Soprano* and *Alto* parts give the division of notes as in the original languages.

No. 3 is the third of the three Améns accompanying the following Benedictions, joined to the three Améns with which

the Deacon commences his hymn. They are thus joined in our author's work. That three choral Améns should be followed by three from the Deacon, almost leads to the presumption, that long before Choirs were formed, the Deacon, as chief server of the Priest and leader of the People, did most of the responding, and that when choirs were at length formed to relieve him, he was loath to part with portions of his accustomed duty. This presumption is strongly borne out in the example before us, where the three diaconal Améns are so beautifully redolent of antiquity in comparison with the first of the four, which is proper to the choir. Because of their beauty, we have chosen to blend the three diaconal Améns with the choral one, as in our author : so that choirs may use them (1) either the first by itself, (2) or the diaconal three, (3) or the four together, ascribing the first to the Holy TRINITY in Unity, and the diaconal three to the Three Divine Hypostases. The full text of No. 3 is as follows (See B., pp. 39 and 40) :—

Priest. Blessed be GOD the FATHER Almighty. Amén.

Choir. Amén.

Priest. Blessed be His Only-begotten SON, JESUS CHRIST our LORD. Amén.

Choir. Amén.

Priest. Blessed be the Holy SPIRIT, the Comforter. Amén.

Choir. Amén.

Priest, silently. Glory and honour unto honour and glory be to the All-holy TRINITY, the FATHER, and the SON, and the Holy SPIRIT.

Deacon. Amén. Amén. Amén.

One Holy FATHER : One Holy SON : One Holy SPIRIT. Amén.

With Thee is the Headship in the day of Thy power, amid the brightness of Thy Saints : from the womb before the morning-star have I begotten Thee.

The LORD hath sworn, and will not repent : Thou art a Priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek.

Our holy father, our holy father, our holy father, the head Patriarch, Pope* Abba M. ; and our holy father, the Bishop, Abba N.

* The Patriarch of Alexandria from early times bore the title of Pope. On the Cabinet Portrait of the present Orthodox Patriarch SOΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ, presented to us by His All-holiness (he was formerly Ecumenical Patriarch, hence this exalted style : otherwise as Patriarch of Alexandria he would have been styled His Blessedness), and inscribed with his own hand, the title of 'Pope' appears thus :—† 'Ο Πάπας καὶ Πατριάρχης Ἀλεξανδρείας ΣΟΦΡΟΝΙΟΣ, τῷ Πρωτοπρεσβυτέρῳ τοῦ Οἰκουμενικοῦ Θρόνου, κυρίῳ Στεφάνῳ Χάτερῳ. —τῷ ἡσπια Σωτηρίῳ ἔτει, μηνὶ Δεκεμβρίῳ.

Blessed be the LORD God unto the ages. Amén.

O all ye nations, bless the LORD : bless Him all ye peoples.

For His mercy is confirmed toward us : and the truth of the LORD endureth for ever.

Amén. Alleluia.

We print the above in full, since the Roman text of 1736, from which version B. was made, does not contain three stichoi given by Fr. Blin,—‘ With Thee is the Headship,’ ‘ The LORD hath sworn,’ and ‘ Our holy father.’ It appears indeed probable that they are intended for Episcopal services only, and look very like a Monophysite composition intended to glorify the Monophysite Patriarch of Alexandria: that the Uniat Copts subject to Rome should here, as elsewhere, at present substitute the name of their own head Patriarch, Pope Leo XIII., is only natural.

No. 3.

Α - - - μην. Α - μην. Α - μην. . . Α - - - μην.
Α - - - μέν. Α - μέν. Α - μέν. . . Α - - - μέν.

The Deacon's hymn being ended, the People reply at B., p. 40, with what is known in the East as the Lesser doxology, the term Greater doxology being given to the hymn ‘Gloria in excelsis.’ We may remark once for all, that though B. informs us in p. 1 that the ‘the Choir continue’ with No. 1, and in p. 37 that ‘during the procession the Choir sing’ No. 2, our present author gives both numbers, and all other responsorial matter, to ‘the People.’ This term does not, however, exclude the idea of a choir, since here, as in all other things, the whole contains every part.

No. 4.

Δο-ξα Πα-τρι, και Υι-ω, και Α-γι-ω Πνευμα-
Glo-ry be to the FA-THER, and to the SON, and to the Ho-ly

ρι· και νυν, και α - ει, και εις τους αι - ω - νας
 SPI - RIT: both now, and ev - er, and to the a - ges of the
 των αι - ω - νων. Α - μην. Αλ - λη - λου - - - ια.
 a - - - ges. Α - mén. Al - le - lu - - - ia.
rall.

The Priest then saying—'Peace to all' (B., p. 40), No. 5 is sung in response. The canonic form in which this response is set brings out its simplicity in a manner quite according with old taste. The parts being not altogether simultaneous has necessitated the writing the words to each voice separately. For English use the same separate treatment is necessary, and the variations in the places of the Greek words will serve as guides for the English words. Let choirmasters keep the syllables of the two languages in the following relative positions in each part, and all will be well :—

Και τω πνευ-μα-τι σου.
 And.. to thy spi-rit.

Soprano.—Και τω πνευ-μα - τι σου.
Alto, in canon.—Και τω πνευ-μα - τι σου.
 No. 5. *Soprano.*—And . . . to thy . . spi . . . rit.
Tenore.—Και τω πνευ-μα - τι σου.
Basso.—Και τω πνευ-μα - - - τι σου.

The *Prayer of Thanksgiving* is then said by the Priest in four portions, three of which are audible, the fourth silent. At the end of the first two parts, both audible, the people sing a very long 'LORD, have mercy' (B., pp. 41 and 42), which we

transcribe, just as it stands. A second form of the same in the *Addenda*, p. 93, which is not nearly so good, we omit.

No. 6. *a*

Kυ - ρι - ε, . . . ε - . . . λε . . . η - σον.

rall.

But as such a long phrase to so few words would please very few western ears, we have preferred in the following harmonised version to treat it as a triplet. The melody is by no means lacking in vigour, and the repetition of the musical figure on the first two syllables of the third *Κυριε* may be made much of by a competent choir.

No. 6. *β*

LORD, . . have mer . . . cy: LORD, . . have mer . . η - σον . . . Κυ - ρι - ε, ε - λε . . η - σον.

rall.

. . . cy: . . . LORD, have mer cy.

The above No. 6, *a*, is regarded as the Solemn tone for great occasions. For ferial days a far shorter form is given, which affords a great contrast to the longer form.

No. 6. *γ*

LORD, have mer cy.

Another ferial form is then given, which our readers will perceive is made up of portions of No. 6, α . and γ . Like every other hybrid, it has its weak points.

Κυ - ρι - ε, ε - λε η - σον.

No. 6.

LORD, . . . have mer ty.

No. 7 is a Bidding prayer interpolated by the Deacon after the Priest's second part of the *Prayer of Thanksgiving* is ended, but before singing No. 6 the second time (B., p. 42).

No. 8 is the response at the end of the Priest's third audible part of the *Prayer of Thanksgiving*. We had marked it for selection, but the English version, given in B., p. 43 as approved by learned Copts, is so unsingable, and so much more a paraphrase than a translation, that we feel obliged to reluctantly omit it. The response moreover fits on very clumsily where it is set, and is doubtless removed from some other place. We give the response and the words said by the Priest immediately previous.

Priest. For Thou art He who hast given unto us the power to tread upon serpents and scorpions, and upon all the power of the enemy.

Choir. Saved indeed! and [so be it] with thy spirit!

The original is—*Σωθεις, Αμην· και τω πνευματι σου*, literally—'Saved, Amén: And to thy spirit,' which seem very like the pious ejaculations uttered *ad libitum* at revival, camp, and other prayer meetings in the present century.

Nos. 9, 10, and 11 form a connected series of three pretty, small anthems, of which we give the second. The words of No. 9 are:—

The Priest puts incense into the censer. The Choir sing as follows:

This is the censer of pure gold, holding sweet spices, in the hands of Aaron the Priest, offering up incense upon the altar.

In No. 10 we have ventured to write the word 'she' twice, from a feeling that the five bars covered by the first 'she'

(which are identical with the next five bars), might be omitted in performance without the piece losing at all in dignity. In B., p. 47, there is a final clause wanting in our author—'may He forgive us our sins,' which seems a little out of place, and somewhat mars the symmetry of the anthem.

Ti-shou-ré n noub pe ti - par-the'-noc: pe - ca - rô - -

No. 10.

The cen - ser of gold is the Vir - gin: her sweet

ma - - - ta pe pen - Cò - - - tér: . . . a - - -

. per - fume is the Sa - - viour: she,

. she

omi - - -

. hath borne . .

- ci m - mof: . . . af - - - cò - ti m - - - mon.

. Him: He hath as ved us.

The words of No. 11 are :—

Thou art the censer of pure gold, holding live coals of blessed fire.

No. 12 is a simple Chant tune adapted to a *Theotokion*—‘Hiten niprecbia,’ and to the following (B., p. 49):—

We adore Thee, O CHRIST, and Thy good FATHER, and the Holy SPIRIT. Behold, Thou hast come, Thou hast saved us :

which, were it said alone by the Priest, as was possibly the case at one time, since he is still directed to say it in this place, might fairly have evoked the response No. 8, ‘Saved, Amén,’ on which we remarked above as somewhat out of place where it stands.

Nos. 13 to 18 are items of minor interest, devoted to the lections from the Pauline and the Catholic Epistles, and from the Acts of the Apostles. A bare list of the items will suffice.

No. 13 is the Prelude and Chant of the Apostle Paul sung by the Deacon (B., p. 50). The fixed Prelude consists of Romans i. 1, and is rather an elaborate affair. So also is the Chant sung to the variable words of the Epistle.

No. 14 is an anthem not given in B., about the Pope and Bishop, for episcopal services only, when it is prefixed to

No 14, *bis*, which is the response given in B., page 51, as follows :—

For grace be with you, and peace therewith. Amén, so be it.

No. 15 is the Prelude and Chant of the Catholic Epistle sung by the Deacon. These are far less lengthy than No. 13. We notice that our author assigns also to the Deacon, without inflection, the stichoi after the Catholic Epistle, which in B., p. 52, are assigned to the People.

Love not the world : neither the things which are in the world.

The world passeth away, and the lusts thereof : he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever. Amén.

No. 16 is a lengthy anthem sung at B., pp. 52 and 53, after a second reading of the Catholic Epistle (in Arabic), by the people or their representative choir. It is overlong for quotation, and varies with the seasons. The first syllable of the first word occupies 65 bars of $\frac{2}{3}$ time.

No. 17 is the Prelude and Chant of the Acts of the Apostles, sung, according to B., p. 53, by the Reader. These are somewhat shorter than No. 13, but considerably longer than No. 15.

No. 18. Our author gives no notice who is to sing No. 17. But in introducing No. 18 he tells us:—‘The Deacon finishes the Chant of the Acts with the passage following,’ which passage is in B., p. 53, assigned to the People. So that presumably Nos. 17 and 18 both belong to the Deacon, instead of respectively to ‘Reader’ and ‘People.’ The passage referred to is as follows:—

The word of the LORD shall endure and shall be multiplied, and shall wax mighty, and shall be confirmed in the holy Church of God. Amén.

It may be as well to remark that after the second reading of the Acts (in Arabic), and before No. 19, there is, in Paschal time, a procession,* during which is sung an Arabic hymn, with music without stint, which our author gives in the *Supplement*, pp. 63-66. B. has no mention of this.

* A friend remarks privately:—‘I believe I saw this procession in the Monophysite Cathedral at Cairo, many years ago, and have an impression that they played the cymbals (their favourite instrument of Church music) a great deal during it.’ A subsequent communication confirms the latter portion of this remark, and adds:—‘The cymbals were played with two strokes. One was a sort of side-long clash, so that the surfaces slid across each other. In the other, the instruments were held close together and shaken, so that they tinkled.’ Since the above was in type, we have lighted upon the name of this instrument:—‘*ΝΑΚΟΚΟΣ*. The name of an instrument much used by the Egyptians in their Coptic churches, and in their religious processions; and consisting of two brass plates suspended by strings, and struck together, by way of beating time.’ *A Dictionary of Music, theoretical and practical*, by Thomas Busby, Mus. Doc., London: 1786. We have also ascertained that in addition to cymbals, other instruments of percussion are used in the Coptic services. In *The Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt*, by Alfred J. Butler, M.A., Fellow of Brasenose (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1884), vol. i., p. 327, we find ‘triangles’ mentioned:—‘Arriving at Dair al Baramus, within two hundred yards of the gate, the monks advanced towards us with waving banners. . . . They kissed our hands as we dismounted: then formed a procession in front of us, and advanced, chanting psalms and beating cymbals and triangles, while the great bell of the convent clashed out a tumultuous welcome.’ This is the

No. 19, *The Trisagion*. We now approach one of the Grand hymns of the Ancient Church, which occurs in almost every Liturgy, and which has excited the attention of the pious in every age, from the Fathers of Chalcedon, who quote it as if always on their lips, to the venerable Symeon of Thessalonica, who devotes pp. 287-90 of his erudite work to its consideration. It is addressed to the Holy TRINITY thus:—‘Holy God [the FATHER], Holy Mighty [SON], Holy Immortal [SPIRIT], have mercy upon us.’ We have already shown, in the comparison of versions A. and B., that Dr. Neale asserts this hymn does not occur in the present Coptic Liturgy, yet furnishes it in its proper place at p. 413, without knowing it. But even if his copy had not possessed it, its presence in B., p. 56, would be a stronger argument for its use, than the absence from A. for its non-use, seeing that A. almost entirely confines itself to the Priestly portion of the Office. Dr. Neale, in his proanaphoral dissertation, pp. 367-9, gives a fair summary of the history of this hymn, which summary, long as it is, we quote, both for its merits and defects. The merits speak for themselves; the defects are more subtle, and not so easily discernible.

‘The origin of this hymn is referred to the time of St. Proclus of Constantinople, who sat on the Œcumenical Throne from A.D. 434-437. An earthquake endangering the city, a youth, says Greek tradition, was caught up into the clouds, and there heard this hymn, which he was instructed to teach to his fellow-citizens; and, on their joining in it, the earthquake ceased. But the probability is, that the hymn is older than the time of Proclus.* He might indeed have inserted it in the Liturgy,

only passage we can discover on the ‘triangle’ question. But of ‘handbells’ we find more frequent mention. Thus, in vol. ii., pp. 81 and 82 it is said:—‘*Handbells*’ are still rung, or rather beaten, as parts of the regular musical accompaniment of the Chants in the Coptic service. . . . The Coptic handbell is always tongueless, and is sounded by being struck with a short rod of iron.’ Again in same vol. ii., p. 273, after description of the ceremonies attendant upon Baptism, we read, that at the close ‘the child is carried by the Bishop or Priest, . . . the other clergy follow, and acolytes bearing candles, and beating *bells* and *cymbals*.’

* ‘If the epistles of Pope Felix III. and others to Peter Fullo were genuine, they might be received in favour of the miraculous origin of the

or arranged it in its present form. And it is worthy of notice, that the monk Job, who wrote in the middle of the sixth century, asserts that Proclus composed it himself, and not that it was revealed to a youth by inspiration. Nicephorus Callistus, no great authority, certainly, in such a matter, holds it to be of apostolic origin. But better proofs of its antiquity are these : (1) In the first session of the Council of Chalcedon [A.D. 451], we find the Trisagion among the exclamations of the Fathers,* which is an argument that it must then have been tolerably well known. (2) The life of St. Basil [A.D. 326-79] by St. Amphilochius of Iconium,† states that he [St. Basil] pronounced these words in the church of St. Diomedes, at Nicæa. We may conclude that it is of exceedingly primitive use in the Church, and probably apostolic.

‘The interpolation of the form by the Jacobites gave rise to great troubles. Peter the Fuller [*Petrus Knafesus*, circa A.D. 474] added to it—“Thou that wast crucified for us, have mercy upon us.” It is clear that the words in themselves contain nothing heretical ; the former part of the hymn might be applied to Our LORD ; and then the addition was perfectly harmless. But in this way some Catholics actually used the innovation. But the “Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal,” had usually, and most naturally, been taken as applying to the whole TRINITY ; and, in this point of view, the alteration was decidedly heretical. It was, however, received by the Antiochenes ; and the Orthodox Patriarch [of Antioch] Calendion‡ thought it better to adopt it, merely inserting the words—

Trisagion. But Le Quien, in his introductory remarks to the little work composed by St. John Damascene on this very hymn, has shown that they are supposititious. So Valesius also believed ; though Cave and Page were of the opposite opinion.’

* [‘The first session terminated by the reiterated confessions of their fault by the Bishops of Illyria, and a confused outburst of exclamations : “Long years to the Senate ;” “Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy upon us ;” “Long years to the Emperor and Empress ;” “CHRIST hath deposed Dioscorus ;”’ etc. Neale, *Hist. Alex.*, i. 302.]

‘This is referred to by St. John Damascene, who, however, believes the miraculous origin.’

† ‘It is true that the authorship of this life is doubtful ; but whoever wrote it could not have lived long after the time of St. Basil, because he speaks of the Holy TRINITY as possessing One Hypostasis, using the term in the sense of Essence.’

‡ [Calendion is said to have occupied the Antiochene Throne from A.D. 482 to 486 ; but Constantius, late Patriarch of Constantinople, in his posthumous work published at Constantinople in 1866, entitled—‘*Concerning the Patriarchs of Antioch until this day*,’ tells us that ‘Callandion the heretic’ ascended the Throne A.D. 495, and was deposed and banished the same year. See Neale, *Hist. Ant.*, ed. Williams, p. 163.]

“CHRIST our King.” The whole therefore ran thus :—“ Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, CHRIST our King, Thou that wast crucified for us, have mercy upon us.” However, the new addition pleased no one, and was soon rejected. The arch-heretic Severus, when Patriarch of Antioch [A. D. 512-18], made the use of the addition of Peter the Fuller general in his Diocese, by writing in proof of the Trisagion being addressed to the SON, although he confessed that the Ter Sanctus, in the fifth chapter of Isaiah, referred to the Holy TRINITY. His Catholic [third] successor Ephrem, A. D. 527-45, thought best to sanction the addition of Peter, with the interpretation of Severus. The Thracian Diocese, on the contrary, instead of—“ Thou that wast crucified for us,” inserted “ Holy TRINITY.” It would seem that before St. John Damascene wrote [circa A. D. 780], the simpler form was again in use all through the Catholic Church. This treatise [St. John D.’s] which is short, is very sensible, and proves that so venerable a hymn ought not to be altered without great necessity; whereas, in the instance before us, the addition was, at best, inconvenient, and at worst, heretical. . . .

‘ The Armeno-Gregorian rite varies the Trisagion with the day. Thus, on all Fridays, the addition of Peter the Fuller is used; on Christmas and the Circumcision—“ Thou that didst manifest Thyself to us, have mercy upon us.” . . . On Whit-Sunday, the hymn is addressed to the Holy GHOST :—² ‘ Thou that didst descend upon the Apostles [have mercy upon us].’ The address to the Holy GHOST shews that no heresy in the Incarnation is intended by the Armenians in the change. It is awkward, but that is all; and not so awkward as a phrase used by the Constantinopolitan Church in the responsory of the second antiphon on Whit-Sunday :—“ SON of God, gracious Paraclete, save us who sing to Thee Alleluia.” An ill-natured critic might say that this is Sabellianism.’

We will remark upon this lengthy extract: (1) that we have filled in [in square brackets] most of the dates that offered, which help to prove the antiquity of the hymn; and that we have given in a foot-note the Chalcedonian exclamation which was referred to by Dr. Neale. (2) We are not able to verify the assertion of the monk Job, and so cannot determine whether he merely kept silence respecting, or flatly contradicted, the ‘ Greek tradition ’ about the youth caught up into the clouds. (3) We confess we have never liked the tone of Dr. Neale when treating of the addition to this hymn by the heretic Peter. ‘ Words in themselves ’ are seldom heretical. It is their connection, and the animus with which they are used, which constitute their heresy. Were the Armenians not a wealthy and socially important body, we question whether such a case

would be made out for them. It is one of our great pleasures while penning these lines, to know that the poor, ignorant, despised Copts (Monophysite equally with the Armenians), who have been so many times in their history beholden to their Armenian brethren, have not been tempted to adopt this objectionable addition to the Trisagion, which takes away the Glory of the Holy, Consubstantial and Undivided TRINITY, and which is admitted to be by its apologist—‘at best, inconvenient, and at worst, heretical.’ The cool manner in which Dr. Neale at the close of Dissertation II., p. 1091, recommends the Orthodox Church in the event of Union to recognise the ‘inconvenient and heretical’ interpolation—as though in the Church age made falsehood truth, in the same way that time is said to ‘consecrate’ successful crime in the political world—is a standing wonder to all Orthodox Christians. (4) But the crowning fault of this extract is where the Constantinopolitan Church is, not covertly, but openly, charged with Sabellianism. We have it from a mutual friend, one of his publishers, who knew his habits well, that Dr. Neale, who produced most rapidly, trusted too much to a marvellous memory, and took little pains to verify his assertions. This explains, but does not remove the sting from, his great mistake. For mistake it certainly is. In the three independent copies we possess—*The Pentecostarion*, p. 193, *The Horologion*, p. 124, and *The Apostolon*, p. 62—the second antiphon responsory for Whitsunday is *not* as given by Dr. Neale, but runs thus:—‘O Good PARACLETE, save us who sing to Thee Alleluia.’ We hope that henceforth both the malignant and the apologetic will cease to quote this (no doubt unintended) calumny. For to be thus ‘wounded in the house of my friends’ was regarded even by a holy Prophet (Zechariah xiii. 6) as a most signal instance of indignity.

The following music to the hymn which has occupied so much of our attention, the second of the two versions given by our author, is eminently dignified and chaste: perfect in form, and perfect in matter. It is unmistakeably pre-Dioscorian, and quite of another school from the anthems Nos. 2 and 10, above, which being of later date, are freer, but also less stately. Our

Russian readers will be struck with the similarity in style of the present music to *The Trisagion* with the music of the so-called Old Kieff school, which is the traditional old Greek music brought by the first missionaries into Russia in the tenth century. If, as we believe, the present music dates from before the fifth century, the style must have held its ground firmly though traditionally in the Greek world for many centuries to have lasted until the conversion of Russia. It may even have co-existed, and the probability is great that it did co-exist, for a long time with the later, artificial, Oriental chromatic genus, which latter was, however, far more likely to suit the taste of a voluptuous Court, and a hierarchy not too eminent for sanctity. Reverting to the specimen, No. 19, now to follow, we may add, unhesitatingly, that it is far more worthy for church use by the Greeks in western cities than the light and secular Chaviara-Randhartinger tune used by most of their congregations. We have made free to set it out in Orthodox form, with the half phrase after the doxology, and concluding with the whole phrase a fourth time, that there may be no obstacle to its adoption.*

Α - μην. Α - γι - ος . . . Θε - ος,

No. 19.

Α - mén. Ho - - - ly God,

Α - - γι - ος . . Ισ - χι - ρος, Α - γι - ος Α - θα - να - τος, ε -

Ho - - - ly Migh - ty, Ho - - ly Im - mor - tal, have

* In the FUNERAL SERVICE at p. 83, our author gives another old form of *The Trisagion*. It is much longer than No. 19, but does not increase in interest in the same proportion. Only for the fact that time-saving in this part of the service is now much regarded, it would notwithstanding have been here quoted, being a truly venerable melody.

λε - η - σον η - μας. Δο - ξα Πα - τρι, και Υι -



Repeat twice.

mer - cy up - on . us. Glo - ry be to the FA - THER, and to the

ω, και Α - γι - ω Πνευ - μα - τι· και υνν, και α - ει,




SON, and to the Ho - ly SPI - RIT: both now, and ev - er,

και εις τους αι - ω - νας των αι - ω - νων. Α - μην.



and to the a - ges of the a - - ges. A - mén.

Α - γι - ος Α - θα - να - τος, ε - λε - η - σον η - μας.



Repeat once more the already thrice - sung phrase, "Holy God," &c

Ho - ly Im - mor - tal, have mercy up - on . . us.

No. 20 is the Prelude and Chant to the Psalm, to which B. gives no clue other than the rubric—‘*Then is sung the Psalm,*’ p. 58. The music is not unlike the previous Preludes and Chants, except that it is a shade more simple. Most probably the Psalm was sung long previously to attempting to chant the other portions of Holy Scripture.

No. 21 is a variable anthem sung while the Priest encompasses the Altar with the Book of the Gospels. It also is not in B.

No. 22 is the Gloria before the Gospel, B., p. 59. We call attention to the fact that the word Δοξα is treated as an iambus by the Copts both here and in Nos. 4 and 19, whereas the

Greeks always treat it as a trochee. Had we followed the English treatment of the first word in Bp. Ken's evening hymn, we should have had our first word an iambus also, thus:—Glo- | ry. By the bye, did not Bp. Ken write an iambus—All | praise to | Thee, my | God, this | night? We have seen old copies thus in true rhythm. In our present English setting of No. 22 we prefer to omit the short first note, and treat 'Glory' properly in dactylic fashion. The Greek words may be similarly treated, and so preserve the true accent, thus:—

Quaver omitted. | Δο - ξα Σοι, | Κυ - ρι | ε.
do. | Glo - ry to | Thee, O | LORD.

We call attention also to the imperfect *inverted turn* over the penultimate harmony. These devices, or ornaments as some think them, are not good even when well managed, as it certainly is at the *direct turn* over the penultimate harmony of the long Alleluia in No. 2. In the present No. 22 it is just bearable, that is all. The normal note, both here and in No. 2, is a plain crotchet C, in place of the three and four notes given.

No. 22

Δο - ξα Σοι, Κυ - ρι - ε.

Glo - ry to Thee, O LORD.

No. 23. *She nrompi*, A hundred years, at B., p. 60, sung after the Coptic Gospel, and equivalent to wishing the Priest a long life. In the Orthodox Church the Bishop only is thus complimented. The musical phrase is short and good, but not likely to be practical.

No. 24. Another Gloria, sung at the commencement of the Arabic Gospel. Here we have no conflict of accents, as in No. 22, but, on the other hand, have the full Greek formula of the present day. It looks like an addition to the service of later date than No. 22, but is very bold and inviting, and needs no apology either at commencement or close. B. does not possess this second Gloria.

No. 24.

Δο - ξα Σοι, Κυ - ρι - ε · Δο ξα Σοι.

Glo - ry to Thee, O LORD: Glo - - ry to Thee.

No. 25. This is a hymn in four strophes, which also B. does not possess, sung on certain festivals before the sermon. While the first and second strophes do common duty, Christmas, Epiphany, and Easter have each their third and fourth strophes. Whether other festivals have a variety of this hymn our author does not tell us. We give the form for Christmas:—

Strophe 1. O come, let us worship the Holy TRINITY, the FATHER, and the SON, and the Holy SPIRIT.

Strophe 2. Hail, Mary [*2nd person*], the fair dove, which hath [*3rd person*]* borne for us GOD the Word.

Strophe 3. An unspeakable joy is in the world. Lo, our Saviour hath been born in Bethlehem of Judæa.

Strophe 4. All the Creation leapeth, the Angels are hymning, the Shepherds rejoice, because of the Virginal bringing-forth.

The melody being the same in all the strophes of each of the festivals, we content ourselves with quoting one instance only. The melody, it will be seen, though simple, has character, but is a little overladen with ornament.

No. 25.

Solo.

A mō-i-ni ma
 O come, .. let

ren - ou - ôsht . . n ti - Tri . ac . . eth - ou - ab,
 . . . us . . . wor - ship the Ho - ly TRI - - NI - TY,

* Cases the converse of this occur frequently in the Coptic prayers, and are thus alluded to by Lord Bute in his preface, p. ii:—‘After some hesitation, the translator decided to preserve in nearly every case the extraordinary transition from the Third to the Second Person at the beginning of nearly all the prayers.’

n ti - Tri - so eth - ou -

the Ho - - - ly TRI -

ab, e te phlôt nem

1st Solo, 2nd Tutti.

- - NI - TY, the . . FA - - - - - THER, and

. pShé - ri nem pi - Pneu - - - ma . . ethou - ab.

. the SON, and the Ho - ly SPI - - - - - RIT.

On all ordinary occasions No. 25 is omitted, and we pass on to No. 26. This is given at B., p. 61, with exception of the Amén at close. But according to our present author, this No. 26, regarded by B. as a fixture, has to give place to another hymn, No. 26, *bis*, at least at Christmas and Easter. We give the first form, as in B.

No. 26.

Je f - cmarò - out n je phl - ôt nem (e) pShé - ri

Bless - ed be the FA - THER, and the SON,

nem pi - Pneu - ma eth - ou - ab: ti - Tri - so ec -

and the Ho - ly SPI - - - - - RIT: the Per - fect

jé - ke - bol te-nou-kaht m-moc : ten-ti - ô ou-nao. A - mén.

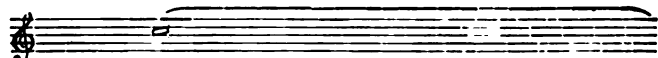


TAI - NI - TY : we wor-ship Him, we glo-ri - fy Him. A - mén.

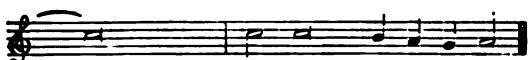
At this point a printer's error remains uncorrected by our author at foot of p. 35. Instead of the Deacon saying—'Stand ye with fear of GOD,' etc., as at B., p. 59, the Priest should here say—'Peace to all,' as at p. 62. The people's response—'And to thy spirit,' as in No. 5, shows at once 'Stand ye' to be a mistake.

Before reaching No. 27, a large space in the Office is covered with the long *Prayer for Peace*, B., pp. 63 to 71, by the Priest and Deacon, divided into eight portions, between which are interpolated seven 'LORD, have mercys,' No. 6, by the people.

Then follows the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, B., p. 74, by the people in monotone, the last clause only admitting of the following inflection :—

No. 27. 

Tenjouaht ebolkhat-hé n tianactacic nte nirefmôout nem piônkh
 We look for the Resurrection of the dead, and the Life of the



nte nieón ethnéou. A - mén.
 ages to come. A - mén.

No. 28 consists of two hymns, one for Easter-tide, the other for the remainder of the year ; and No. 29 of a hymn to be sung after both the former. They come in after the words ' holy kiss ' in B., p. 76, and are evidently composed to meet the requirements of a revived *Kiss of Peace*, a ceremony which B. assures us at p. 74 is ' seemingly always omitted.'

We now approach firm ground, and enter upon the *Preface to THE ANAPHORA*, B., p. 77, which we herewith quote in full, as the four responses are given under one head, No. 30.

Deacon. Offer, Offer, Offer in order.

Stand ye with trembling. Look to the east.

Let us attend: A mercy of peace, a sacrifice of praise.

People. A mercy of peace, a sacrifice of praise.

Priest. The LORD be with you all.

People. And with thy spirit.

Priest. Upward be your hearts.

People. We have them unto the LORD.

Priest. Let us give thanks to the LORD.

People. Meet and right [it is].

Our readers will notice that the first of the Deacon's lines is addressed to the Priest, to whom, in Eastern Liturgies, the Deacon frequently acts as a monitor, occasionally even as a prompter. The second and third lines are addressed to the People. The Priest's 'Peace to all' has now given place to 'The LORD be with you all,' eliciting the wish for the closer personal attachment—'And *with thy spirit.*' *τω* has become changed into *μετα του.*

Ε - λε - ος ει - ρη - νης, θυ - σι - α αι - νε - σε ος.

No. 30.
α

A mer - cy of peace, a sac - ri - fice of praise.

Soprano.—Και με - τα του πνευ - μα - τος σου.
Alto, in canon.—Και με - τα του πνευ - μα - τος σου.

No. 30.
β

Soprano.—And . . with thy spi rit. . .

Tenore.—Και με - τα του πνευ - μα - τος σου.
Basso.—Και με - τα . . . του πνευ - μα - τος σου.

Ε - χω - μεν . . . προς τον Κυ - ρι - ον.

No. 30.
γ

We . . . have them un - to the LORD.

No. 30.
δ

Α-ΞΙ-ΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΔΙ . . . ΚΑΙ . . . ΟΝ.

Meest . . . and right [it is].

No 31 is one of many short strophes which occur at this point, giving opportunity for choice which does not often exist. The strophe given by our author is to be found at a foot-note in B., p. 79, thus:—

Let us sing with the Angels and the heavenly host [to Him] Who is the FATHER, and the SON, and the Holy SPIRIT.

No 32, B., p. 80, is another of the Great hymns of the Liturgy, of all times and of all Churches: the Triunphal Hymn (ο Ἐπιθικιος Ἕμνος) of the Greek, the Tersanctus of the Latin. It may console some of our Anglican friends, who deplore the fact that *their* Sanctus does not stand out boldly, but is wrapped up with its introduction—‘Therefore with Angels and Archangels,’ and has no Hosanna and Benedictus, to know that this ancient Coptic Church is in a precisely similar plight, but has never, so far as we are aware, felt it as a grievance. These simple people evidently know of no pre-existing Sarum Use* to give them trouble or disquiet.

Ni . . che . . rou . . bim nem ni .

No. 32.
α

The che . . ru . . bim and the

* In the Sarum Use of this hymn there is but one ‘Hosanna in the Highest.’ At the close of the *Benedictus* there occurs instead—‘Glory be to Thee, O LORD, in the Highest.’ See *The Sarum Missal done into English*, by the late Mr. A. H. Pearson, 2nd edition, p. 308. London: Church Printing Co.

oe ra . . . phim e - u - ðsh

se ra . . . phim shout . . . a - loud,

. e - bol . . . e - u - jð . . . m - moc: je

. they . . cry, . . say . . . ing:

A γι - oc, A

Ho ly, Ho

. γι - oc, A γι

. ly, Ho

. oc, Κυ ρι oc Σα

. ly, LORD Sa

βα ωθ, πλη ρης ο Ου - ρα

. ba oth, full are the Hea

νος, και η . . γη . . της α - γι - ας Σου δο - - - ξης.

- ven and the earth of Thine Ho - ly Glo - ry.

Different though it be to the received Greek and Latin forms of this hymn, there can be no question that the above is as beautiful as it is venerable. Few can enter into its spirit and not be moved thereby.

Our author gives us another and shorter form of this hymn in the *Addenda*, which we also quote. It is simpler in manner than the above, but has a charm of its own. The two constitute a valuable contribution to church music, for which our readers will thank us.

Ni - che - rou - bim nem ni - ce - ra - phim e - u - ðsh - e - bol e - u -

No. 32
β

The che - ru - bim and the se - raphim shout aloud, they cry,

jà m - moc : je Α - - γι - ας, Α - - γι - ας, Α - γι - ας,

say - - ing: Ho - - ly, Ho - - ly, Ho - ly,

Κυ - ρι - ος Σα - βα - ωθ, . . πληρης ο Ου - ρα - νος, και η γη της

LORD . . Sa - ba - oth, . . . full are the Hea - ven and the earth of Thine

α - γι - ας Σου δο - - - ξης.

Ho - - ly Glo ry.

No. 33 occurs at B., p. 81, after the word *μαριαμ* (Mary).

Α - μη .

No. 33.

Α - mén.

From this point a series of small Nos. occurs, which we will trace each, when possible, to its proper place in B.

No. 34: B., p. 82. The first of the responses—'I believe.'

Nos. 35, 36, and 37: B., p. 83. Nos. 36 and 37 are two other forms of 'We believe' and 'I believe.'

Nos. 38, 39, and 40: B., p. 84. No. 40 is another 'We believe,' which omits the triple Amén of B. at commencement, and adds the word *Κυριε* instead of the bracketed pronoun [Him].

No. 41: B., p. 85. Omits the first word *Πιστευομεν* (We believe), given in B.

No. 42: B., foot of p. 86. Omits *Tennahti je* (Thus we believe) of B., and inserts instead *και παλι πιστευομεν* (And again we believe).

No. 43: B., p. 87. The latter part of this hymn is the well-known *Σε υμνομεν* of the Constantinopolitan rite, which covers the period of the *ἐπικλησις* or *Prayer for Descent of the Holy SPIRIT*. In the Coptic liturgy this hymn slightly anticipates that *Prayer*, bringing to a close the eight Nos. (from 36) which cover the *Divine Words of Institution*.

No. 44: B., p. 88. This is evidently meant for a translation of the *Σε υμνομεν*, and takes its place, the original being relegated one step backward, and joined to another hymn, as above.

Priest (silently). We offer unto Thee these Thy Gifts of Thy gifts (aloud), Of all, and for all, and in all.

Deacon. Worship GOD in fear and trembling.

People. We praise Thee; we bless Thee; we serve Thee; we worship Thee.

Ten(c)lhc e - rok : ten(c)cu ou e - rok : ten-hemslu m-mok : te-nou-6sht

No. 44.

We praise Thee; we bless . . Thee; we serve . . Thee; we worship



The present Greek form of the above No. 44 runs thus :—We hymn Thee ; we bless Thee ; we thank Thee, O LORD ; and pray of Thee, our GOD.

No. 45 : B., p. 89. The Deacon's call to attention at *The Illipse*—*Προσχωμεν. Αμην.*

Nos. 46 and 47 : B., p. 89. A short 'I believe,' and 'Amén.'

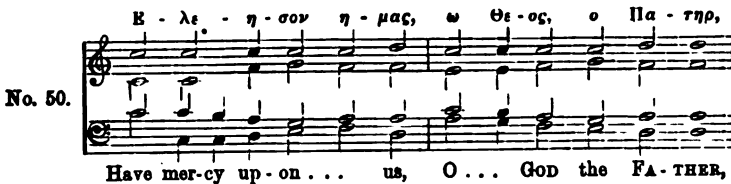
No. 48 in B., p. 90, is similar to No. 46, but our author adds *Και παλιν* so that it reads—'And again I believe.'

No. 49 : B., p. 90. 'Amén,' with the triple 'Lord, have mercy.' Three forms are given.

No. 50 : B., p. 92, is an evidently ancient hymn, which does not occur in the Constantinopolitan Liturgies. A second form is given in the *Addenda* for 'Solemn Masses,' with the words :—

Have mercy upon us, O God our Saviour (*three times*).

After the third time is sung a Coda of such extraordinary form that it is a charity to suppose some singing master, engaged on 'solemn' occasions, must have transferred it by mistake from his exercise book. Two other short stichera, each sung three times, have the same brave Coda after each, and the effect can be better imagined than described. We are thankful our present ferial No. has no Coda.



Nos. 51, 52, and 53 : B., pp. 93, 94, and 96. Three forms of 'LORD, have mercy.' At the foot of p. 96 is the place where in the Constantinopolitan rite the *Theotokion* of the Liturgy occurs.

No. 54 : B., pp. 97 to 99. A long commemoration, by the Deacon, of the departed.

No. 55 : B., p. 99. The People's response thereto, in which we find Δοξα treated as a trochee, or rather portion of a dactyl.

No. 55.

Δο - ξα Σοι, Κυ - ρι - ε · Κυ - ρι - ε ε - λε - η - σον, Κυ - ρι - ε ε -

Glo - ry to Thee, O LORD: LORD, have mer - cy, LORD, have

λε - η - σον · Κυ - ρι - ε, ευ - λο - γη - σον · Κυ - ρι - ε, α - να - παυ - σον.

mer - cy : LORD, ... bless Thou : LORD, give . . re - pose.

Α - μην.

A - mén.

No. 56 : B., p. 100. After the Priest's summary of the above commemoration, the People again reply :—

No. 56.

Ὡς-περ ἦν, και εἶ-πιν, και εἶ-ραι εἰς γε-νε-ας γε-νε-ων,

As it was, and is, and shall be un-to ge-ne-rations of ge-ne-ra-

. . . και εις τους συμπαν-τας αι-ω-νας των αι-ω-νων. Α-μην.

etc., as at
No. 55.

- tions, and un - to all the a - ges of the a - - ges. A - mén.

No. 57: B., p. 100. 'Peace to all,' responded to by 'And to thy spirit.'

No. 58. This No. is not in B., and is apparently misplaced by our author, who sets it in response to another 'Peace to all.' Had it *preceded* the next 'Peace to all' in manner following, it would have answered very well to the words of the Priest, thus:—

Him then let us entreat that He will make us worthy even of the Communion and Particiopation of His Divine and undying Mysteries—the Holy Body, and the glorious blood of His CHRIST—He, the Almighty, the LORD our God.

People. We worship Thy Holy Body, and Thy glorious Blood.

Deacon. Amén. Amén. Pray ye. LORD, have mercy.

[*People.* LORD, have mercy.]

Priest. Peace to all.

[*People.* And to thy spirit], *instead of* 'We worship' etc., *four lines above.*

This conjectural emendation we respectfully commend to the notice of those whom it concerns.

No. 59: B., p. 104. The first instance that has occurred of the frequent *Σοι Κυριε* of the Constantinople Liturgies. It takes the form of *Εμπροσθεν Σου, Κυριε* (Before Thee, O LORD), in reply to the command—'Bow your heads to the LORD.'

No. 60: B., p. 106. Our author, in making this No. (a triple 'LORD, have mercy,') follow the words 'through CHRIST JESUS our LORD,' obliges the Deacon to omit an instance, given in B., of 'Saved indeed: and [so be it] with thy spirit,' similar to that in No. 8, with the additional words—'With fear of GOD let us attend.'

No. 61: B., p. 107. After *Τα Αγια τους Αγιους*, the Deacon has to repeat *Εις Πατηρ Αγιος*. This differs from the Constantinopolitan rite, where the People take the corresponding hymn—*Εις Αγιος*.

Nos. 62 and 63: B., p. 107. Another 'And to thy spirit,' and 'Amén.'

No. 64: B., p. 108. The last 'I believe' given in the form of response, but which is really introductory to greater professions of faith than any yet uttered, in consequence of the near approach of the moment of Holy Participation.

No. 65 is not in B. excepting as the close of the Priest's inaudible doxology at foot of p. 109.

No. 66 consists of a set of *Κοινωνικα* or Communion hymns for Easter, Christmas, and other festivals. They are based upon Psalm 150, as at B., p. 110, but have, on each festival, a special sticheron which is sung before each of the verses of the Psalm. The first time the sticheron is sung it is to a slightly longer musical phrase than after, and it is preceded by a fourfold 'Alleluia.' The verses of the Psalm are each followed by a single 'Alleluia' only, as is also the Lesser doxology after the eleventh or last verse; while the three final clauses are sung in manner following:—

Alleluia. Glory to Thee, O our God. Alleluia.

Alleluia. Glory to Thee, O Only-begotten. Alleluia.

Glory to Thee, O Holy SPIRIT, the Comforter. Alleluia. [*To this last clause there is no initial 'Alleluia.'*]

No. 67, the *Κοινωνικον* for ordinary occasions, is pretty much as in B., p. 110, but has the first 'Alleluia' three times. As the melody in this No. is the same from the commencement to the final clauses of the doxologies as above, we give the triple 'Alleluia' and the first verse only of the psalm, with the single 'Alleluia' which closes each of the sixteen repetitions.

No. 67.

Al - λη - λου - - - ια, Al - - λη - λου - -
 Cμου e . . . phNou - - ti khen né eth - - ou -

Al - le - lu - - ia, Al - le - lu - -
 Praise GOD

ια, ΑΛ - - - λη - - - λου - - - *

ab té - - rou n

ia, Al - le - lu - *

. in all His

* Pass from hence to final bar for last note and syllable of triple "Alleluia"; then recommence and sing throughout for first verse of the Psalm, and so for the other ten verses, and the five clauses of Doxologies.

taf. ΑΛ - λη - - λου - - - ια.

Saints Al - le - lu - - - ia.

As it would be manifestly unfair to entirely pass by the more modern Arabic portion of the music in the Liturgy, we give as our last example the melody and one stanza of a metrical hymn for the season of Lent, which hymn follows immediately upon No. 67 without any direction from our author as to whether or not it forms a part of the Κοινωνικον, though we imagine it is so used as an additional feature thereto. The hymn consists of eight stanzas, but each stanza is sung to the same melody. There is nothing in it savouring of the 'sad countenance,' as in much of the Lent music to which our readers are accustomed. It is cheerful rather than otherwise, bearing witness to the 'anointing the head and washing the face' of the Divine command (Matthew vi. 17). This hymn is not given in B.

EN TEMPS DE CAREME.

Es-sôm, es - sôm, len - nef (e) the - bat; Es - sôm, es - sôm

No. 68.

The Fast, the Fast, of the soul the strength: The Fast, the Fast a -

yagh-fer ez - zel - lat; . . . Es-sôm, es-sôm jes-fah es - si yat: . . Tou-



atones for sin; The Fast, the Fast con - verts the mind: O

ba li men sam bi qalb (e) na - qi wa the - bat. . .



hap - py they who keep it with a pure heart and firm - ness.

We have now accomplished our task, and passed in review, so far as the Divine Liturgy is concerned, this most interesting work of Fr. Blin; and alluded also to the works of two previous writers who had prepared the way so that this new effort of our present author is to English readers understandable at the least. The task has been a very congenial one, and has brought vividly to memory some of the happiest of days spent by us in this sacred 'land of Egypt,' engaged in religious and other duties.

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ART. V.—THE UNIVERSITY OF FINLAND.

1. *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400.* Von P. Heinrich Denifle: Berlin, 1885.
2. *Nogra Anteckningar till de Nordiska Universitetens Historia under de sista femtioåren.* Stockholm, 1878.
3. *Kjöbenhavns Universitets Retshistorie, 1479-1879.* Kjöbenhavn, 1879.
4. *Biografiska Anteckningar öfver Det Finska Universitetets Lärare; Embets-och Tjenstemän.* Af Robert A. Renvall. Helsingfors, 1869.

FREE Education has been one of the war-cries in the course of, at least, the three last General Elections, and seems now to be adopted, to use an American figure, as a plank in the ordinary Liberal platform. It is remarkable, however, that so little attention has been hitherto paid to the experience of other nations, who have already preceded us in this path. In 'Statistical Data,' forming part of a volume, translated by Miss Fredrica Rowan from the Swedish,* *On Education in the United States*, it is stated that popular instruction forms by far the most important item in the budget of popular expenditure in the various States, and that in a number of the States, the Governor, or highest functionary of the State, receives a smaller salary than many a master in the popular schools.'

It has not, however, been noticed that the very highest education,—that supplied by the University—has been in some cases even more eleemosynary than elementary education, either in the form of high monetary rewards, as, for example, in the case of the English Universities; or in the entire remission of fees from the students, or in both forms. We think that a particularly successful instance in which the encouragement to the prosecution of the higher or university education assumes both forms, is well deserving of the attention of British educationists. This may be found amongst the Scandinavian universities, though the country to which it belongs is now under Russian sovereignty. We refer to the University of Helsingfors.

Before we come to speak, however, of the practical working and success of this institution, there are some historical notices to be prefixed, which are, we think, not without interest nor undeserving the attention of the friends of education.

The Northern Universities are a late product of the great intellectual movement which originated the Universities of Europe. The ancient Cathedral and monastic schools had previously satisfied the needs of the European mind: but

* *Educational Institutions of the United States: their character and organization.* London: Chapman, 1883.

towards the end of the eleventh century a new spirit spread abroad over Europe. That intercourse with the Byzantine Court had begun which restored ancient Greece, first to the Italian, then to the European mind, and led to the great movement known as the Renaissance. The Popedom, the intellectual and moral centre of Europe, had been rescued from degradation, and raised to the highest pinnacle of influence and power. The Crusades had made the thinkers of Europe acquainted with Moorish and Saracenic learning; mathematics and astronomy had taken a new departure; Galen and Hippocrates were known through their Arabian commentators; the physical and physiological study of Aristotle was prosecuted through the same stimulus; while, led by the great spirits of the time, Abelard and William of Champeaux, philosophy and speculative theology were successfully prosecuted. Under such circumstances, the instruction provided by the Cathedral and monastic school was found insufficient. The new wine required new bottles, and it found these in the Universities which sprung into existence.

Italy and France were the headquarters of the new movement—Italy as the centre of Europe, from its being the home of the Papacy; and France, in whose famous University of Paris the controversies between Nominalist and Realist agitated the schools of Philosophy. The most ancient of these Universities, which had its seat in Paris, traced its origin as far back as the ninth century, and is said to have been established by Charlemagne. This, however, is uncertain; still the succession of teachers can be traced from William of Champeaux, already mentioned, who was placed at the head of the schools of Paris by the Bishop Foulques in 1103. Thus the great Parisian School, the mother of Universities, came into being.

The name 'University' has been often misunderstood. It has been taken for granted that an University was an institution for teaching the whole circle of the sciences; but nothing is more certain than that the term was used simply in its strictly technical meaning as denoting a 'corporation.' It is so used in a Decretal of Pope Innocent III. affecting the great Parisian school, then in vigorous growth, which dates from

the beginning of the thirteenth century. So far was it from meaning a school of all the sciences, that in the Italian Universities of Bologna and Padua, only Roman law was taught; and in Salerno and Montpellier, medicine alone. Nay, two Universities might spring up side by side, on the same ground—as in Bologna, where there were two law Universities side by side with each other—distinguished only by the nationality of the students, the one being Cis-Alpine in its character, the other Trans-Alpine. Each University was a distinct corporation of students and teachers; and as the liberal arts, medicine and theology, made their appearance on the field, they, too, obtained recognition—not as *faculties*, as they are spoken of in our day, but as distinct corporations or Universities. Thus Bologna was actually the seat of no less than four contemporary Universities. The term ‘faculty,’ which came later into vogue, has a history of its own. In Scholastic times, it was frequently used as equivalent to *scientia*. It was a word which sprang up and was cherished by the members of those learned corporations. Any science might be spoken of as a *facultas*. Its origin is thus accounted for. The Greeks sometimes designated science by *δύραμις*, and hence in translations of Greek works the term *facultas* easily found its way. This novelty pleased the laurel-staved bachelors, and when with affected elegance they conversed regarding the sciences, they spoke of *facultates*. By and bye the term was used to denote a Collegium of Masters (Magistrorum) who had addicted themselves to the teaching of any particular science, and hence its modern use to denote a particular branch of learned study, as medicine, law, or theology. The last of these was then literally the queen of the sciences from its connection with the Church. In Paris and Oxford, the two great mediæval schools, theology was the main subject of study, and on the model of these the German and Northern Universities were founded.

We have spoken of the eleemosynary character of the higher education, but this was certainly not the character of the more ancient corporations of which we come to speak. They paid their way, and looked for neither benefactor nor patron, and went cap in hand to neither Church nor State. In these

learned corporations the teachers lived by the *honoraria* which they received from their pupils; they met in the monasteries or other public institutions, or they might hire suitable places in the towns. Stranger still: to those who think of dons and proctors in our day as the very incarnation of authority, some of these early universities were so ultra-democratic in their character that the leading members of the corporation were the scholars, while all undue interference on the part of the teachers was discouraged and provided against! No doubt the democratic government of the Italian republics rendered this ultra-democratic character of university government a possible thing, but it must be remembered that many of the scholars were men of mature age, and anything but school-boys in the ordinary signification of the word. But the more authoritative character of the Arts-theological university prevailed; the Papacy, with its absolute controlling power, was ever in the background, and it interfered to the advantage of authority, even in Bologna, as we find Pope Honorius III. doing in 1219 against the supposed laxity in the promotion of unworthy scholars to the doctorate! In the Arts-theological universities the principle of authority was from the beginning fully established. The democratic self-regulative power of the members was nevertheless sufficiently recognized, even in these aristocratic institutions, and notably in Paris, which was *par excellence*, the cosmopolitan world-famous school. Here, as in other universities formed after the same model, the principle of nationality was fully recognized in the internal organization of the institution, and long continued to hold its place.

In Paris, there were four nations: the French, the Teutonic (English and German), the nations of Picardy and Normandy. Some have supposed that the nations were four, to express Hebrew-wise, the fulness, completeness, and cosmopolitan character of the university itself. Be that as it may, the nations enjoyed a very considerable amount of freedom. Each had its own head, the procurator or proctor, as he is now named in the English universities, chosen by each nation from

among its masters; its own patron Saint, its own church or chapel; and its auditoria, seal, archives and treasury.

At the head of the four nations stood the Chancellor, usually a high ecclesiastical dignitary, Bishop or Archbishop, who licensed the teachers, conducted the promotions, was the visitor of both teachers and taught, and exercised jurisdiction over the University as a whole.

But these duties, with others of an ecclesiastical character, were often too much for the venerable bishop, and as a natural consequence, most of his labours devolved upon the *magistri*, the masters; and these were, upon the whole well content to act as independently of the Bishop as they could. By crossing the Seine, they might become independent of the Bishop altogether, and this some of them were not unwilling to do. It is true, there was an Abbot of St Genevieve, and his Chancellor on the other side, under whose jurisdiction they would come; but the fragments of a university were valuable. They might, as emigrants to other places, as for example from Paris to Oxford, become at once the seed or nucleus of another university, and this made the Abbot always ready with his offer of privilege; an offer which made the Bishop on the other side, exert himself if possible to bring the truants back. In these circumstances, the Chancellor left the university more and more to itself, *i.e.*, to the government of its own teachers and representatives. The necessity of a head who should proceed from the university itself, and be able to reconcile the jarring contentions which were likely to manifest themselves within it, was more and more felt.

Already in the thirteenth century, we find such an official, recognized in the Decretal of Pope Innocent III., who is mentioned by the name of Capitale. Later the title of Rector was adopted. The Rector was, in no sense, a representative of the Chancellor, but, on the contrary, of the nations, and specially of the procurators, who were the heads of the nations. The fashion adopted by Gregory X. in 1274, in the conclave for the election of a new Pope, was taken up in 1280, as a model for the election of the Rector. In 1435, the election was taken out of the hands of the procurators, and passed into the hands

of four magistri chosen by the nations. Curiously, the term of office was at first only from four to six weeks. Afterwards, in 1276, it was lengthened to three months. The first Rectors could only be chosen from the magistri actually engaged in teaching; he must be unmarried, but not necessarily an ecclesiastic. The business was conducted by him with the aid of the four procurators, with whom afterwards were associated the three Deans of the higher faculties. Appeal might be made to the whole body of masters; but the Parliament of Paris took upon itself to interfere in the government of the university, and often interfered very oppressively.

Such was the model of the arts-theological universities throughout Europe; so grew up Oxford and Cambridge, on the other side of the Channel, though necessarily affected by the different *genius loci*. Oxford, though believed to be as old as the days of Alfred, must date its real origin, as the greatest after Paris of the mediæval universities, to the great immigration of Parisian professors and students which took place in 1229, mainly on the invitation of King Henry III. To a similar emigration from Oxford, Cambridge was indebted for the high place it began to take as a school in the thirteenth century. Thus also arose, in the fourteenth century, the German Universities: Prague, 1348; Vienna, 1356; Heidelberg, 1386; Cologne, 1388; and in 1392, Erfurt. These were followed, in the fifteenth century, by Würzburg, Leipsic, Rostock, Trier, Griefswalde, Freiburg, Basel, Ingolstadt, Mayence and Tübingen. To these ten, were added in the sixteenth century twelve more, with the Reformed University of Wittemberg at their head; in the seventeenth century, ten others were added, and six in the eighteenth; while three have been founded in the course of the present century, viz., the Universities of Berlin, Bonn, and Munich. No fewer than 45 universities have thus sprung into existence in Germany, and, if we add Dorpat, 46. Fully one half of these have ceased to exist, either through union with other institutions of the kind, or through their discontinuance as teaching institutions. In Germany at present, there are 14 Protestant, and 5 Roman Catholic; while six bear a mixed character as both Protestant and Roman Catholic.

The Scandinavian Universities had special difficulties to contend with during the age of their inception. The more or less cosmopolitan character of the earlier Universities, such as we see exemplified in the University of Paris, made it natural rather than otherwise to seek the higher culture outside of one's own natal soil; while the turbulent character of the age, its political and other struggles, were unfavourable to the growth of these educational institutions. Copenhagen, the second of the Scandinavian Universities in point of date, had to struggle for its very existence, owing to the lack of interest in it as an institute for the higher culture—a tendency which grew even amongst the clergy, who had hitherto been the promoters of the Latin literature, which, save the romantic ballads which were in the mouths of the common people, alone prevailed.

As early as 1419, Eric of Pomerania had made application to the Pope for a Bull sanctioning the erection of a University in Copenhagen. The Bull of Pope Sixtus IV., addressed to Archbishop Jens Bröstrup, Lund, in which he authorized the erection of a *studium generale* in Copenhagen, is dated the 19th June, 1475, four years previous to the establishment of the University. But the institution, when at last established, did but little to cure the evils of the time. These northern countries were on the eve of the Reformation. A new era was at hand, with new ideas, new views of life, and new conceptions as to Science, Literature, and Philosophy. Legally, the University was originated on the old mediæval lines, which, as respects education, were then becoming antiquated; and the Danish youth, who were naturally impregnated with the spirit of the time, were not therefore drawn to the new institution, but continued to frequent the neighbouring German Universities. An effort was nevertheless made to induce them to attend the newly opened institution. King John enacted a law by which youths were forbidden to visit foreign countries for their education until they had attended the native University for three years.*

See Dr. Winkel Horn's *Geschichte der Literatur der Skandinavischen Norden* s. s., 128, 129.

One or two points in connection with the constitution of this University deserve a passing notice. Christian I. anxiously desired to obtain from Sixtus IV. an order to sanction his projected University as a school for Churchmen; the bull authorising its erection, however, was not addressed to the King, but to the Archbishop of Lund, Jens Bröstrup. Did this royal patronage and Papal sanction, make the institution a secular or an ecclesiastical one? The answer is, that the new university was, properly, neither secular nor sacred, but like the older universities, a corporation, possessing somewhat of a private and somewhat of public character. Still the fact that its statutes were drawn up by the Archbishop,* and that it was sanctioned by the Pope as a school for Churchmen, and that the honours and degrees it bestowed were recognised by the Church, gives it undoubtedly a certain ecclesiastical character.

The Reformation made a change in this respect. The semi-ecclesiastical corporation became henceforth a purely State institution, a character which it has continued to bear to our own times. The theological faculty was, no doubt connected with the Lutheran Church; but this was on the ground that Lutheranism was the religion of the State. The Reformation brought other changes, as in the case of the English universities, the general effects of which, combined with the growing distaste for the higher studies, were such that in the later years of King Frederick I. the University can scarcely be said to have continued to exist.

It was not indeed till the year 1539, when the Reformation had advanced so far that the Roman Catholic Episcopate was set aside, that the patrimony of the Church was, in part at least, applied to the University; so that by some, as for example by our own Hallam, the proper date of the University's foundation is set down as 1539. The University, though a State institution, obtained greater powers of self-government, and began to be recognised as a power in the State, possessing the right to

* It is to be noted that the statutes followed to a large extent even verbally, those of the University of Bologna; and where they deviated from these, the statutes of the Cologne University were followed.

participate even in the election of a monarch, and to approach him like other estates of the realm. These privileges it continued to possess until 1660, and its political position continued to be more or less recognised until 1771. It also possessed a considerable self-regulative power, as, with respect to the salaries of the Professors, etc. New Professors were formally invited by the University itself, and it was not until 1664, that the King began to take the place of the University in the oaths taken by members of the institution. Its modern history has reflected the changes which have taken place in the life of the Danish people; the growth of greater social complexity, and a wider culture. Above all, the institution has gradually acquired—like the German Universities, its nearest neighbours—much more of the character of a school of science.

In Sweden, as early as 1441, at a meeting of ecclesiastics, it was resolved that the Bishops with the Archbishops at their head should labour for the establishment of a *studium generale*, so that the Swedish youth should no longer be compelled to go abroad in order to obtain a learned education. Thirty years passed away, however, before these endeavours reached any practical result. The leading statesman of the time—much disturbed by the premature Calmar Union of the three Northern Kingdoms, then beginning to be felt to be impracticable,—was Sten Sture, the Elder. Favoured by powerful connections, he was chosen President of the Kingdom in the year 1470. His ecclesiastical coadjutor was Archbishop Jacob Ulfsson, or Wolfsson, a man of noble descent, high courage, and richly gifted with the necessary strength of mind and will to contend with the storms of his time. The struggles of Christian I. to establish a university in Copenhagen, had probably quickened the zeal of the Swedish bishops. Without doubt also the commanding energy of Archbishop Ulfsson, as compared with the less practical ability of Christian I., and the unwillingness of the leading ecclesiastics to find the needful endowments for the Copenhagen University, had not a little to do with the practical result; but so it was, that though later in the field, the Swedes outstripped the Danes in the foundation of their University. A Bull was obtained from the same Pope, Sixtus IV.,

who had issued the Bull for the foundation of the Danish University, dated the 28th February 1477, which gave permission to establish a *studium generale*, for theology, law, medicine, and philosophy; and Bologna was pointed out, as furnishing a convenient model for the statutes and other arrangements of the new institution. The council of the Kingdom and its President, Sten Sture, gladly accepted the Pope's Bull, in which the Archbishop Jacob Ulfsson was appointed Chancellor, and on the 2nd July of the same year, 1477, the newly originated institution was endowed with all the privileges, which belonged to the *studia generalia* of the time. Under the Union arrangements, which were still in force, King John, or Hans, whom we have seen, had not a little to do in forwarding the University of the sister Kingdom, was required to give his consent to the establishment for ever of this newly born rival in Upsala. Lecturers or professors were in no long time found in theology and philosophy. These were, in all likelihood, less difficult to find amongst the clergy of the Kingdom; the chairs of Law and Medicine, were less easy to fill, and a quarter of a century passed before the new institution was brought into full working order.

So long as the Archbishop Jacob Ulfsson lived, the newly erected *studium generale* continued to develop a praiseworthy activity in the sciences of the time, no doubt of sufficiently mediæval cast. But the times were evil. The premature Calmar Union, brought about before either the people or the nobles were ripe for it, led to bloody wars, in which the gown alike of the professor and the ecclesiastic had to yield to the sword, shield and helmet of the warrior. Hence in Sweden, as in the sister country Denmark, the ground won by the establishment of the university was hardly maintained. Our Swedish historian bears testimony* that scarcely a trace remained, on the accession of Gustavus I. to the throne, of the good work which had been begun by the Archbishop Jacob Ulfsson in 1477, and which so long as he lived, had been so zealously urged forward. The native school had fallen so low that the

* *Sveriges Historia*, Vol. III. Stockholm, 1878. See pp. 470-471.

King resolved, instead of striving to restore the decayed university, to send promising young men to Germany and to Wittemberg, Hamlet's University, of which Luther was then a professor; and quite a number of the youth, zealous to acquire the learned culture of the time, were sent. From 1540 to 1573 no less than seventy Swedes and Finns are inscribed as students, and in Rostock, during the same time, more than a hundred. But in 1593 it was resolved that the University in Upsala should be re-organised, and zealous efforts were put forth to accomplish this good work. We thus find that in 1600 the number of students in Upsala was from one to two hundred, and in the same year the first meeting of the University took place for the laureation or graduation of the successful students.

The scientific life of the restored university must not be rated too high. Like some other universities of the time, we are afraid, there was to be found a good deal of science which was really 'falsely' so called. With the great astronomers of the day, Copernicus, Kepler, and Tycho Brahe, a belief in astrology mingled with their great achievements in the real world of science. Olaus Petri, a man who had gone to Wittemberg before the restoration of the University, and under the influence of Luther had come to be one of the leading Reformers in his own country, preached on the occasion of the appearance of several mock suns, which were seen in Stockholm in 1530, and maintained that this atmospherical phenomenon foreboded God's judgments upon the upper classes on account of their sins!

In the next quarter of a century Upsala University partook of the vast and varied activity which the kingdom developed under its great leader, Gustavus Adolphus. But the final condition of the University was not yet reached. In 1626 it received provisional statutes from the great statesmen, Axel Oxenstjerna and John Skytte. These were again superseded in 1655 by others drawn up under the patronage of Charles X.

We pass by the second Swedish University, that of Lund, founded in 1666, and also the Norwegian University, which is altogether a modern institution, to dwell, in the space which

remains to us, on the foundation, history, and development of the Finnish University, with whose history, condition, and educational results to the people to which it belongs, we happen to be best acquainted. And though the chief educational institution of a rude, semi-Turanian people, not numbering more in our own day than between two and three millions, driven back by the great racial immigrations of Europe into a bare and rocky corner, interspersed with marshes, and possessed of almost no wealth, save the pine, fir, and birch woods which cover their land,—though it seems impossible that a University placed amongst such a people, and under such circumstances, should present any feature of interest, yet, we venture to say, that no University in Europe has approximated to such an almost ideal perfection in several, and, as it seems to us, almost all-important features.

In the first place, all Universities place, as the basis of the culture which they diffuse, the light of classical instruction, in which the principal force or animating spirit is the philosophy, art, language, and literature of ancient Hellas. Universalised by the conquering power, the politics and law of Rome, the Roman language became, as a natural consequence, the earliest medium for its diffusion throughout the world: and hence it is not wonderful that the teaching of the language of those, who built up the mighty structure of the Roman Empire, should be identified with the culture itself, or that both should be known by the name of Humanity. Yet Humanistic studies, however they may have been included in, and identified with the language of Rome—were ever, and must, from the necessities of the case, be essentially Greek. Art, Philosophy, and the beginnings of Science and Literature, in their most purely artistic form, were, and must always remain, the essential property of Hellas. Rome had indeed—in the forces which drew together and conserved for many centuries that vast structure, whose forms and modes of thought still to a marvellous extent rule our thoughts and fashion our speech—her own special products, her political maxims and principles, and her great legal collections; and, when we step

over from the Philosophical or Arts faculty to the Legal, we find that these collections form the Bible of legal science, and, save, perhaps, in England, lie as the universally recognized basis of legal science on the tables of every University in Christendom. Medical science—from the same circumstances, in part, though more indebted in original thought to Greek than to Latin sources—has also been specially connected with the language of Rome; while, owing to the Christian Scriptures being written in Greek, and the writings of the Fathers of the Church being written in either the one or the other of the classical languages, it came to pass that the leading faculties of the ancient University were intimately connected with the languages and literatures of Greece and Rome. In our own time, there is a reaction against this, more particularly in Great Britain; and Science, or the study of Nature, has successfully forced its way to a prominent place in the curricula of our Universities. This is by no means to be regretted, for there can be little doubt that classical instruction had degenerated into a mechanical routine, giving rise to the sarcasm that ‘Latin, badly taught and worse remembered, is the sum of English instruction.’

On the Continent of Europe, from the fact that for more than a century education, in its most approved methods, has been a leading study on the part of statesmen and publicists, more especially in Germany, there is far less one-sidedness than with ourselves. On the part of men like Tyndall and Huxley, science—which they would seem, at times, to identify with purely physical studies—is placed in marked antithesis to the grammatical, literary, and philosophical studies which have hitherto formed the staple of University instruction; and there has been claimed a very much higher place for the former, while, not only in its defects and shortcomings, but even in its very essential character, the latter has been condemned.

This, however, has not been the case in Germany. Here, Language, and even History has been recognised as susceptible of scientific treatment; and as the German Universities are not like our own, taken up with general instruction, but their professors form a body of specialists, the teaching in all

cases assumes a more specialistic and scientific character. Nothing is more curious than to see men like Carlyle, who were believed to be especially conversant with things and modes of thought, and, we should suppose, institutions, German, should yet as Carlyle does, in his bequest of Craigenputtock to the University of Edinburgh, still declare his adhesion to that theory of University study which may be called general or preparatory, while the universally recognised theory of University study in Germany, is that the youth having completed his general studies in the gymnasium, proceeds forthwith in the University to specialize in the direction of the profession he is about to follow as jurist, philologue, chemist, or theologian.

This direction has, moreover, been impressed on those countries, which have followed in the wake of Germany, as Scandinavia, and to a large extent even Russia. Italy would appear to be following in the same track; so also would France, though the identification of the University with the whole system of education and the reverence of the French for eloquent speech give a different aspect there to the whole subject.

But to return to the University of Finland. This institution was founded towards the close of the Thirty Years War. The great monarch Gustavus Adolphus had passed away after raising his country to the highest pinnacle of her greatness; but he left behind him men who were able to follow up, and fully profit by the gigantic struggle in which he had engaged. Axel Oxenstjerna, one of the greatest figures in state-craft, which has been seen in any country, was at the head of affairs. We have seen that he did not disdain in company with John Skytte, another great Swedish statesman, to take upon himself the preparation of provisional statutes for Upsala University, which had become dilapidated through the effects of the Calmar Union struggle. And yet, multitudinous as were the matters which must have claimed his attention, he found time to reorganize the educational institutions.

The storm of war, as we have said, was still raging in Europe. Banér, appointed at first, general-in-chief, overcame

the greatest difficulties, arising both from the internal condition of the army under his command, and the divided and uncertain state of his allies. Dying unexpectedly, he was succeeded by Leonard Torstensson, who, by his science, coolness, and rapidity had shown himself an apt pupil of the great Gustavus, and by the ability he afterwards displayed amply justified the confidence of his country. A martyr to gout, contracted during a lengthened captivity, and so sickly that he had often to be borne in a litter at the head of his army, he was nevertheless able to circumvent, out manœuvre and defeat the enemy in successive bloody battles and sieges, and to win for himself the title of the 'Lightning of War.' When finally compelled by sickness to give up his command, the Imperialists justly considered that his departure was equivalent to the withdrawal of ten thousand men from the Swedish forces!

Such was the great struggle which was going forward, and of such character and distinction were some of the men who figured in that struggle, while the diminutive learned institution whose fortunes we would describe, was inaugurated in Abo, the then capital town of the Finnish Duchy.

Governor Peter Brahe, the younger, who was the founder of the new university, was one of the stars in the brilliant Swedish constellation which clustered around the great Chancellor Oxenstjerna, and who had even manifested some desire to rival or oppose him in the great plans with which he was occupied. Perhaps it was for this very reason, that he was appointed Governor-general of Finland towards the end of 1637, and came thus to be placed at the head of affairs when the new Finnish University was founded. He is presented to us by the limners of the period, as a massive, open-faced, thoughtful figure. His habits were active, for, notwithstanding the inconvenient travelling of the period, and the by no means passable condition of the roads,—if like our own Marshal Wade's roads, they might be called roads before they were made—he visited in the course of a few months the various divisions of the Grand Duchy, of which he had been installed Governor.

But amid all his other engagements, he steadily nourished

the thought of connecting his name with some scheme of lasting benefit to the Duchy,—a thing to be remembered in coming years,—and this was nothing other than a high school,—a *studium generale* for Finland. Accordingly interest was made to obtain a Royal Letter from Queen Christina, and the Chancellor, who was anxious perhaps to keep the active statesman,—who was not unwilling sometimes, when at home, to put a spoke in the wheel of his own projects, as long as possible at a distance—made no opposition, and accordingly the Royal Letter was actually forthcoming in the year 1639, bearing date the 9th March. In this the Governor's plans for the organization of the University were fully approved, and the following year 1640, was appointed as the time when the project was to be translated into actual fact. The new learned corporation was to come into existence on the 16th March; and the Royal Letter sanctioned its endowment with all the privileges which had already been bestowed upon the more ancient foundation of Upsala.

The day of its inauguration was regarded with justice as a high day in the history of the Grand Duchy; and it was honoured accordingly with all becoming solemnity; the Governor being, as was natural, the leading figure in all the academic solemnities. The town of Abo, or Obo, if we strictly regard the Swedish pronunciation, then the capital of Finland, situated on the somewhat sombre, bare and rocky banks of the Aura, was lighted up—as if Nature had conspired to help—by a day of unusually brilliant sunshine, as, early in the morning of the 15th July 1640, the pro-Chancellor of the projected institution, Bishop Rothovius, the magistrates of the town and the other officials, betook themselves in boats down the river to the ancient castle, then the residence of the Governor. The historian of the event, Wexionius, himself appointed by anticipation Professor of History in the new university, exhausts the power of language in setting forth the festivities connected with its inauguration. The procession was led by three trumpeters and a drummer, whose performances drew echoes from the surrounding rocky banks and hills; so that, figuratively, even inanimate Nature may be said to have given

voice, and rejoiced in the festivities of the day. These were followed by the Marshal of the nobility and the nobility of the Grand Duchy to the number of sixty, walking two and two in procession. Then came the Governor's Master of Ceremonies and other noteworthy persons, bearing with them the insignia of the new institution, the keys, the Rector's hood, the seals, the matriculation records or register, and other instruments or documents connected with the university. Next came the Governor, the worthy Count Peter Brahe, the younger, a stout, well-bodied figure, with well-travelled, intelligent face, not perhaps without thoughts,—travelling far away to the fields of Germany, where John Banér was leading the Swedish hosts to victory indeed, but amid hosts of difficulties, not the least of which was the gradual impoverishment of the Swedish Fatherland itself. Yet, his thought may well have turned with elation to the new institution he was inaugurating, and which had been brought to this consummation, not without much laborious effort on his own part. After the Governor came Bishop Rothovius, the pro-chancellor of the University, a learned and diligent ecclesiastic, Professor Petraeus, the first Rector, and after him the whole professoriate, ten in number. To these succeeded the gentlemen of the long robe, followed by the clergy, amongst whom were many sympathetic strangers from Wiborg and Livonia, come to do honour to the occasion. Finally came the magistrates of Abo and some forty intending students and others.

The procession wended its way to the bridge over the Aura, the cannon of the castle meanwhile giving mouth, awakening more forcibly from inanimatè Nature, those echoes which had already been called forth by the trumpet and the drum. At the bridge, the procession divided. The more aristocratic portion of it, with the Governor at its head, embarked on board a royal galley, which was in waiting, while the remainder made their way on foot to the locality, where the ceremonies connected with the foundation of the University, were to take place. The dissevered procession again became one in front of President Kwick's mansion, where a great throng of spectators had assembled in holiday attire, and manifesting such

joy as befitted the occasion. Thence the procession made its way to the new University hall, which had been decked for the occasion with garlands of flowers and other fitting adornments. The strains of martial music were also heard, as the insignia of the University were deposited in an appropriate place. The Governor opened the proceedings by a speech. He spoke of the necessity of such an institution, how, the altar, the judge's bench, the council of state, whether in peace or in war, could not be properly filled, or find fitting service without a supply of educated men. He showed how Finland had suffered in the past from the lack of education, glanced at what had seemed to him to be the capabilities of the country in respect to this during his personal tour through the Duchy; and anticipated, were peace once concluded—a side glance here at the great Swedo-German struggle—that the population and prosperity of the Duchy would greatly increase, and how in this prosperity the lack of a higher culture would also be felt, and how to obtain this, the inhabitants of Finland would no longer find it necessary to send their children abroad, seeing that through the new institution it would be attainable at home. The Royal Letter authorizing the establishment of the institution was then read as its charter, and the new University was declared to be an existing *studium generale*, fully entitled to take its place amongst other institutions of the kind in Europe. The Governor's part of the business finished, the Pro-Chancellor, Bishop Rothovius, stepped forward, and in fitting speech installed Professor Petraeus, as the University's first Rector. The new Rector duly returned thanks, and was followed by Wexionius, the Professor of History, who has preserved for us the record of this Old World ceremony. He was followed by the student *Stolhanske* (Steel-glove) as representing those who were to be the students in the new institution, and who therefore, as was fitting, expressed the feelings of his class. Perhaps we have dwelt too long upon this opening ceremony; but, the struggling parti-coloured procession, marching together, or part embarking in the royal galley beneath the bright July sunshine, is a real bit of human life, and as such we could not help presenting it.

The University thus formed, has undergone a variety of changes. It was, at first, like its predecessors in Copenhagen and Upsala, greatly hampered through lack of funds. The mother country was overburdened with the expenses of the Thirty Years War, and had otherwise but little to spare. The income of the new institution was thus for long only 6125 Swedish dollars; increased after more than a hundred years, in 1743, to 8000.

The Chairs in the new institution were eleven in number, three of which belonged to the theological faculty, while to the juridical and medical only one each was allotted, and the rather disproportionate number of six belonged to the arts or philosophical faculty. These were History and Politics, Hebrew and Greek, Mathematics, Physics and Botany, Logic and Poetry, a conjunction which one feels somehow to be incongruous; and finally Eloquence, which we suppose is another name for our old acquaintance Rhetoric, as one of the old Trivium, or first three of the seven liberal Arts. In 1650 Poetry was separated from Logic and conjoined with Eloquence, altogether a more promising combination; but finally in 1655 Poetry obtained a Chair to itself, and the philosophical faculty was thus increased to seven Chairs. In 1743 two Docenten or assistant professors were added, one to the theological and one to the philosophical faculty respectively. About this time, too, the Chair of Poetry was suspended, and a Chair of Economy established in its room, the fortunate occupant of which was expected, if not obligated, to lecture apart from this rather unqualified Economy, for there is nothing to show whether it was Domestic, National, or Political—it may possibly have been all three,—on Mineralogy, Botany, Zoology, and Chemistry. If Poetry was not entirely forgotten, whatever remained was to be heard from the lips of the Professor of Eloquence. The economical man of all work to the University, to whom we have just adverted, was relieved somewhat in 1758 by the establishment of a Professorship of Chemistry as part of the Philosophical Faculty. A School of Anatomy was founded in 1757, and converted into a Chair of Anatomy and Surgery in 1778. In 1786

another Chair was added to the Philosophical Faculty, again in the direction of relieving the Professor of Economy, and rendering him less anxious about the economical use of his time, by the foundation of a Chair of Natural History, to which, however, was added, by one of those awkward strokes to which the eighteenth century seems to have been peculiarly addicted, that of Veterinary Art. This, it would appear, was soon felt to be somewhat incongruous, and was, as it appears to us, not very happily attempted to be remedied, by handing over Veterinary Art to the Chair of Anatomy, to which, however, meanwhile a surgical section had been added. Eventually the already heavily burdened occupant of this Chair, who seems to have entered into competition with the holder of the Chair of Economy, for we find that Physiology and Zoology were handed over to him—was relieved of his original subject, Natural History, which was handed over to the much exercised Professor of Economy, and was further relieved by the mineralogical section of his profession being handed over to the Professor of Chemistry.

Meanwhile, the great Muscovite Empire was growing up on the borders of Finland, and gradually absorbing Swedish territory, and other territory beyond the sea; and so, as a further step in the process, Finland was annexed in the war of 1809; and thus, in 1811, the Finnish University came under the Russian power. This was not such an intolerable evil from every point of view, as might have been expected. The internal constitution of the University was remodelled, and its revenue was considerably increased. By the new arrangements, four professors and two adjuncts or assistants were added to the theological faculty; two professors and two adjuncts to the faculty of law; while three professors and four adjuncts or assistants were allotted to the medical faculty. To the philosophical faculty, no less than eleven professors and eleven assistants were added, or rather, the philosophical or arts faculty was to consist of the following professors with their adjuncts: (1) Economy; (2) Chemistry; (3) Ethics; (4) Mathematics; (5) Physics; (6) Eloquence and Poetry; (7) Theoretical and Practical Philosophy; (8) the Greek Language

and Literature; (9) History; (10) Oriental Languages and Literature; (11) Bibliography and History of Literature.

This last profession of Bibliography and History of Literature was to be held by the librarian of the University, who was thus to conjoin theory and practice. The assistant professors were to be in theoretical and practical Philosophy, History, Economy and Technology, Chemistry, Mathematics and Physics, the Latin Language and Literature, Greek Literature and Oriental Literature,—thus making up eight adjuncts; while the remaining three were to be made up by the Lector or Reader of the Paedagogical Seminary or Normal School, the sub-librarian and the inspector of the Museum. The whole staff of professors was thus raised from fourteen to twenty, and the adjuncts from three to eighteen, while five lectors or tutors were added in Modern Languages, one of them being naturally Russian, and four Repetitors for what is called by the Germans *Uebungen*, or practical exercises.

While these changes were made in the teaching staff of the University at the instigation of the new Government, considerable changes were made in its constitution, the somewhat democratic character which it had hitherto borne, not being naturally welcome to its new over-lords. The University lost its Court, and the students were made subject to the town authorities. The Chancellorship, which had been vested in the Swedish Governor for the most part, was now transferred to the Russian Governor, but eventually to the Czarewitch for the time being, who was to nominate a vice-Chancellor; the rectorate, instead of being taken in turns by the professors, was to be selected by the Consistory or *Senatus Academicus*, at the end of every three years. These changes, it would appear, did not greatly affect the University as a working institution, while, as we have seen, its income and teaching staff were greatly increased.

The old University in Abo had never been very comfortably or roomily situated in the matter of buildings. Up to the year 1802, it had no better place for its academical activity than the house occupied by the old gymnasium, which preceded it as an institution. But in that year the foundations of a new

and stately structure were laid by Gustavus IV. during a visit made to Finland. The buildings thus begun were carried forward to the year 1816, when they were completed, and solemnly opened for the service of the University. But the new buildings had scarcely been ten years in use when, by a terrible fire, by which the whole town of Abo was laid in ashes, they were destroyed. The library and other collections became a prey to the flames; while the public hall, the observatory, the conservatory for tropical plants, and the hospital, were with difficulty saved.

Under these circumstances, the Government of Finland saw that the proper time was come for carrying out—what must already have been designed—the transference of the University from Abo to Helsingfors. The Senate of Finland, the governing body under the Czar, had already been transferred thither as early as the year 1819; so that this unfortunate fire must only have hastened the carrying out of a proposal which had already been determined on.

An Imperial decree was accordingly issued on the 21st October, 1827,—the fire which had consumed the most of the University buildings took place on the night of the 4th September of the same year,—by which the University was commanded to be transferred to Helsingfors, the new capital of the Grand Duchy. Although the removal of the institution was, as we have seen, a pre-determined matter, and the destructive fire only the occasion of hastening that which would, in all probability, otherwise soon have taken place, it is not without a touch of pathos that the ruined condition of the academical structure is referred to in the Imperial manifest. ‘Of this seat of learning,’ it is observed, ‘whose foundation was originally laid in a position very suitable both for the time and the circumstances, now hardly more remains than the defaced memories of the past, the body of academical teachers, and the stony heaps of the sanctuary of science.’ Nevertheless, the removal was received with anything but popular favour. The darkest forbodings were thrown out as to the future of the University, and the belief prevailed that its very existence as an institution would soon be a thing

of the past. That these sinister anticipations were completely falsified, was due in no small measure to the good sense of the Finnish people, and the shrewdness with which they have been able to turn even the most unfavourable circumstances to the best account.

The University took up its work in Helsingfors in a very plain way on the 1st October, 1828, before even a place had been found for receiving the classes. At length an old castellated building was pitched upon, which had previously been occupied by the inspector of the Finnish troops, and which has since been, for a time, the dwelling of the Governor. Additional rooms were hired in private dwelling-houses. The University library was lodged in the eastern wing of the building set apart for the meetings of the Senate. On the same day, however, that the Imperial manifest had been issued commanding the University's removal, a rescript from the same authority was issued, ordering the erection of buildings for the institution on the western side of the square,—the eastern side of which is occupied by the Senate House, and which now forms one of the most impressive views in the modern capital of the Grand Duchy. The northern side of the square is filled by the great Lutheran Church, built upon a platform which crowns a ridge running across the square. On the southern side, the square is occupied mostly by shops and private buildings, the only exception being a building in which the Police Courts meet.

The foundations for the new University were laid in July, 1828, under the care of C. L. Engel, the leading architect of the capital; and on the 1st October, 1831, it was completed, at a cost of some 432,000 Finnish marks, or £17,280 sterling—a very much smaller sum than it could be erected for at present. The expense was defrayed by continuing to the University, for forty years, the customs exigible on all wood or timber products, which had been previously granted to it while under Swedish rule in the years 1801 and 1802. To this was added the revenues of all the benefices throughout the Duchy falling vacant during the next thirty years, during the period of their vacancy. A loan of 500,000 roubles banco

(£22,800), without interest, was further granted to the University, to be repaid at the end of ten years. From the Finnish Government 150,000 roubles banco was received for the walls and ground on which the University stood at Abo.

Few as the Finnish people then were, and in the present day they do not number more than somewhere about two millions, their only source of income, so far as export is concerned, being pretty nearly the stunted fir, pine and birch forests, that cleave to their bare and rocky soil, they have yet the stern and rugged energy of Wainamoinen; the hero of the Kalevala: we need not wonder therefore that their university, which has always been a pet institution, when once more organized, housed and established in the new capital, was speedily surrounded by a number of auxiliary institutions. The first of these was the Clinical Institute completed in September 1832, and handed over to the medical authorities in 1841. A second Clinical Institute was built by the university itself in 1843. The place for a Botanic Garden was obtained with difficulty in the midst of the rocky crags and lakes which surround the Finnish capital. At last, with the advice and approval of the St. Petersburg authority on this science, M. F. Faldermann, a site was fixed upon comparatively near the town, where the institution is now found. This work was completed in 1833. An Astronomical Observatory was next resolved upon, and was completed shortly after the Botanic Garden. A new building for the library was begun in 1836, but had to be rebuilt from defects discovered in the foundation; so that it was not ready for the reception of the books until 1845. It is now one of the finest buildings in the square to which we have already referred, as dominated by the noble Lutheran Church. It crowns the ridge in a line with the University on the right, and stands nearly on a level with the Church. The cost was 228,000 marks, or about £9,120 sterling. A Magnetic Observatory was founded in 1838. A Chemical Laboratory and an Anatomical Hall were transferred from the University buildings, in which they had originally found a place, to a special building in 1843. This locality was after some decennia found too strait, and the Laboratory was removed

to a new and spacious building, containing, besides the Laboratory, a dwelling-house for the Professor of Chemistry, an auditorium, a writing-room, and several other different museums. This important building was completed in 1869, at a cost of 469,000 marks, or £18,760 sterling. In 1878, new buildings were opened for a Lying-in Hospital, and for pathological and anatomical preparations. To this noble series of buildings may be added the student's house or club, where the various 'nations,' as after ancient usage they are named, can meet together, and in which there are a music hall, refreshment rooms, library, and rooms for other purposes. This important building was built from sums collected by the students themselves, through concerts, lectures and voluntary subscriptions, which reached at last the considerable amount of 247,000 marks, or £9,880 sterling. Similar institutions have lately come into being in our own Edinburgh and Glasgow.

One thing is deserving of notice in regard to the Finnish University. We have just referred to the considerable sums spent on the University and its buildings; when we mention side by side with this, the population of the Grand Duchy and the number of students for whose instruction these institutions are provided, the result seems truly astonishing. The Grand Duchy in 1884 numbered a population of 2,176,421 of both sexes. The students attending the University during the forty years, extending from 1827 to 1867, numbered annually from 400 to 500. From 1867 to 1870, the number gradually rose to 700 annually; while in 1885-6, they reached the number, for those actually attending the classes, of 847 students; two of whom, however, belonged to the female sex. The Professoriate numbered in the spring session of 1886, 28 ordinary Professors: 3 Theological, 4 Law, 5 Medicine, 9 Historico-Philological, 7 Physico-Mathematical. These were assisted by 10 extraordinary Professors: 1 in Medicine, 5 in the Historico-Philological, and 4 in the Physico-Mathematical faculty. There were besides 22 Docenten, 4 Lectors, 4 extraordinary Lectors, and 4 whose business it was to superintend the students in their practical exercises, or what the Germans call *Uebungen*. Besides these, one vacant chair in Theology

was supplied by a Substitute-Professor or Vicar; two in Medicine, one in the Historico-Philological division of the Philological faculty, and two Masters of Exercises. The total *Lehrpersonnel*, to use a German word, was thus 72 teachers, or 3 in Theology, 5 Law, 15 Medicine, 27 Historico-Philological, 18 Physico-Mathematical, and 4 Masters of Exercises.

If we add to these statistics a brief extract as to the cost of this noble school of science, founded and supported by a population of from 2,100,000 to 2,200,000 people in perhaps one of the poorest countries of Europe—so far as the natural products of the country itself, agriculture, manufacturing and mineral, are concerned—we shall have reason to admire the noble devotion, by which these two millions of people have concentrated their scanty means to such a noble end. In 1885, from the State, came a subvention in the ways to which we have referred—

	Marks.
Wood products and others, - - - -	601,200
Interest on Money already Invested, - -	320,000
Donations from private individuals, - -	12,800
From other sources came - - - -	53,200
	<hr/>
Or a total of Finnish Marks, - - - -	987,200

at 25 Finnish marks to the pound sterling, equal to £39,488.
How is this money expended ?

	F. Marks.
To Professors or the teaching staff, - -	408,200
To other functionaries, - - - -	76,700
To servants, etc., - - - -	26,400
Retiring pensions for professors and other functionaries, - - - -	22,300
To widows and orphans of professors, etc., -	44,700
Travelling allowances to professors, that they may enlarge and extend their knowledge by visiting foreign countries, - - -	17,500
Stipendia and travelling allowances to students, so that humble teachers are en-	

abled to look with their own eyes upon Athens and Rome, and complete their education by the sights and stores of knowledge in these classical countries, -	84,200
On the library, and this is the only considerable library which Finland possesses; and at the same time, for other scientific appliances, there is expended a sum of Finnish Marks, - - - - -	78,000
For new buildings, repairs, etc., in 1885, -	132,000
For heating and light, a needful charge in the severe cold, and brief winter days of the stern North, - - - - -	56,200
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There was thus expended in 1885, Finnish marks,	946,200
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Or in sterling, an equivalent - - - - -	£37,848
Leaving a balance in favour of the funds of the Institution, of - - - - -	£1,640

This prosperous state of the University funds, for a country like Finland, is altogether the result of the exertions of patriotic citizens, and more or less of the whole Finnish people, during the last fifty years. In 1828, the collected capitalized funds of the University amounted to F. M. 833,000 or £33,320 sterling; in 1877, they had reached F. M. 4,734,000 or £189,360. In 1829, the subvention from the State was F. M. 247,300 or £9,892; in 1877, it was F. M. 512,4000 or £20,496. The fund for stipendia or scholarships was for 11 such scholarships in 1827, F. M. 110,200 or £4,408 sterling; in 1877 for 44 stipendia it was F. M. 986,600 or £39,464 sterling; and when it is added, that besides these amounts expended for the positive encouragement of education in the Grand Duchy, *there are, as at Upsala, no fees paid in the Finnish University*; while in travelling scholarships for deserving young men, teachers, etc., the University displays a liberality which we are afraid would hardly be appreciated by the *bourgeois* class in our native Scotland, it will be seen what great things are done in this poor hyperborean country, with

such a limited population, for the education of its youth. If we now make some brief comparison between the educational power of our own University, Edinburgh, and Helsingfors, we shall then be able, perhaps, to draw this already too lengthened article to a not unsatisfactory conclusion.

Comparisons are no doubt, as Mrs. Malaprop says, 'odorous,' but they are, at the same time, useful, and especially useful in dealing with subjects such as that before us. Let us then see how it stands with the University of Finland, when compared with our Scottish Metropolitan High School: first, in regard to their teaching faculty; second, in regard to the rewards they offer to their alumni; and finally, in the spirit and ideal in which they are worked.

I. The relative teaching power of Edinburgh and Helsingfors Universities is not easily brought into comparison. In the first place, the philosophical faculty in Helsingfors is divided into two sections,—the historico-philological and the physico-mathematical; while in Edinburgh, they are thrown together in the Calendar or authorized publication of the University. In the Edinburgh faculty of Arts, there are eighteen professorships. In the Helsingfors philosophical faculty, there are ten professorships in the historico-philological section, and seven in the physico-mathematical; and there thus seems to be pretty nearly an equality, if we reckon only the ordinary professors. But besides the ordinary, there are no less than five extraordinary professors in the historico-philological section, and thirteen docenten. We are aware, that in Edinburgh there are assistants; we do not know if we may name them assistant-professors, because we have never heard the latter designation applied to them. So far as we know they have no *status* in the University such as, for example, the docenten enjoy in the foreign universities, but they are more or less successful students, who are selected by the ordinary professor to aid him in his work; they are, moreover, at the beck and will of the professor, and may be dismissed by the ordinary professor at his pleasure, that is, under the condition of an ordinary servant. There are tutorial classes, but these are merely to bring up the *mauvais sujets* who

are behind the rest of the class. It is wholly otherwise in Helsingfors. The extraordinary professors and docenten there partly supplement, partly compete with the ordinary professor, and they form in general a staff of teachers working under the highest possible stimulus, striving to reach the highest excellence, from whose ranks, when the *ordinarius* resigns, or is called away by death, the ordinary ranks of the professoriate are recruited.

The subjects taught, however, will perhaps afford the closest and most accurate means of comparison. Let us take, for example, the classics, the humanities, which anciently formed the introduction and preparation for the seven liberal Arts and the three Philosophies, which were originally the subjects of University study. In Helsingfors there are the usual Latin and Greek Chairs, as with us. But, owing to the *abiturient* examination, without having passed which respectably, the student is not allowed to enter the University, and to the fact that *the professor receives no fees*, there is no temptation on his part to admit students insufficiently prepared to his class. To use the Latin language as a living tongue is expected of the students as the result of their work in the class. Professor Lagus, the eminent Professor of Greek, no longer holds his place in the University; but we were witness to a scene which took place in the meeting of the Oriental Congress in St. Petersburg, in 1876, which showed how much at home the learned professor was in the language of Rome. The learned professor's paper was on 'Cufic Coins and other Ancient Monuments of the East found in Finland.' The paper, which was couched in classical Latin, excited a veritable learned *furor* amongst the visitors to the Congress. At its end, M. G. Stickel, Aulic Privy Councillor, sprung up, and, in a half-hour's impromptu oration in the language of ancient Rome, expressed his delight in listening to the paper, but more particularly for the ancient tongue in which it was so fluently and eloquently expressed. He was followed by M. Jules Oppert, the eminent Assyriologue, who also eulogized the paper in the same language, but in a briefer utterance, while other voices were not wanting to echo the common

feeling of the meeting, and its admiration of Professor Lagus's mastery of the language of Old Rome. The learned professor began his academical career as Docent in Greek Literature. From this he passed over to Oriental Literature in 1857, and in 1861 returned to his first love and became Professor of the Greek Language and Literature. Professor Lagus is worthily supported in the department of classical study by Professor Gustafsson, the Professor of Latin. Besides the ordinary professorships, there is an extraordinary Professorship of the Greek Language and Literature, and a Docentship in Classical Philology, the holder of which, Docent Heikel, is said to be about to succeed Professor Lagus as the Professor *ordinarius* of Greek. Latin, as a subject of general teaching in all classical schools, is only represented by the ordinary professorship in the University.

In Edinburgh University, classical studies are no doubt eminently represented by Professor Sellar in Latin and Professor Butcher in Greek. But the cardinal defect in the Edinburgh course is that there is no provision within the University itself to fill its Chairs, when, in the usual course of nature, they must be vacated by the eminent men who fill them. The Edinburgh newspapers observed indignantly, when Professor Butcher was elected, that it seemed to be true that no Scotsman need apply to fill the office of Professor in a Scottish University; and had it been added, unless he had distinguished himself in passing through one of the English Universities after his Scottish curriculum, the observation would have been literally correct. Even then we fear it can scarcely be said that the Scotsman would be preferred. The Scottish Universities are barren institutions, so far as making provision for the filling of its Chairs with eminent alumni, as teachers and scholars, is concerned; and it seems to us that in this at least one half of the function of the University is not fulfilled.

Passing on to the other departments of learned study in the Finnish language and literature, there is one very eminent ordinary professor, one extraordinary professor, and one docent. We are far from undervaluing Professor Masson,

whose position in English Literature, and even Philosophy, is very well known ; but three are better than one.

In Philosophy, our Scottish students have made their mark, and Professors Fraser and Calderwood worthily sustain the old blue banner of Scottish Philosophy. It is a great advantage for such study to belong to a country where one comes into contact with the tumultuous movements of a crowded population. Nor would we lose sight of the lectureships, more especially in Philosophy, which have lately been founded; but their too palpably extra-academical character is sufficiently marked. The ordinary professor is with us the owner of a well-kept preserve, in which the assistant comes only as a gamekeeper; all academical competitors, extraordinary professors, and docenten, are to be eschewed as foreign innovations. What is the difference between an ordinary Scotch professor and the proprietor of a private academy? We fail to see any, save that the professor is carefully shielded from competition by law! The classes are, in many cases, so large, that effective teaching as dealing with special traits of the individual student, or any regard to the peculiarities of his mental constitution, is an utter impossibility. Returning, however, to our comparison of the institutional system in Edinburgh with the Finnish University, in Philosophy, we have here our own metropolitan University at its strongest. Both historically and in the genius of the Scottish people, as well as in the memory of the great names which have connected themselves with the school of metaphysics, there is everything to stimulate even the mediocre that they should rise above themselves in upholding the fame of the schools of thought which have given reputation to the University. Still, Edinburgh is inferior to Helsingfors in equipment for psychological and metaphysical research. In the latter University, the Chair of Ethics belongs to the Theological faculty. With us, the Chair of Oriental Languages belongs to the faculty of Theology; in the Finnish University, it forms part of the Philosophical faculty, but is properly a Chair of Arabic, Persian, and Syriac, there being an adjunct in the Theological faculty whose special function is to praelect on the language

of the Old Testament. Besides the professor *ordinarius* in Logic, Philosophy, etc., there is a docent in Philosophy, two in the History of Art and Esthetics, and one in Experimental Psychology. We have already referred to the strength of the historico-philological faculty in teachers of History, both general and special; but we must not omit to refer to the hiatus in our own Universities as regards Chairs of the modern languages. In the higher characteristics of the European nations and their literatures, there is a rich element provided for the very highest culture, which with us is wanting; but not so in the Continental Universities. In Helsingfors, besides the Finnish language and literature to which we have already called attention, there is both an extraordinary professor and a docent of the second language of Finland—Swedish—with which is conjoined Old Northern, a subject professed in many of the smaller German Universities, and which certainly ought to be represented in our Scottish Universities. Besides this, we have an ordinary Professor for Modern Literature, joined with Aesthetics, who is at present lecturing on Modern English Literature; a Professor of the Russian Language and Literature, and a docent in Modern Literature, who occupies himself with the French classics, their history and grammar.

Turning to the Physico-Mathematical section of the philosophical faculty, we have in Edinburgh a worthy representative of the Playfairs, Leslies, and Forbesees of the past in Professor Tait; and this Chair has lately been reinforced by that of Engineering. In the Finnish University, we are however again confronted by the richer and more abundant variety of talent which is provided for attracting the scientific youth to its halls. In Physics or Natural Philosophy there is the ordinary Professor and an extraordinary Professor, who occupies himself at present with elementary physics and physical calculations. There is also a docent in physics, who lectures in Optics, and next term on Heat. The physical laboratory is superintended by the professor and two assistants. In the department of pure Mathematics, there is the ordinary professor and three docents lecturing on different sections of

mathematical science; one on Algebra, the second on Analytical Geometry, and the third on the Calculus.*

In our own University, we are aware that Professor Chrystal is a strong man, and worthily fills the Chair of Gregory, Maclaurin and Kelland. But four against one, although supported by an assistant, is certainly a great inequality.

In Chemistry, whatever may have been the great names who have occupied the Chair, the Gregories, Playfairs or Crum Browns, they are unequally pitted against a Professor *ordinarius*—who is not, as with us, in the Faculty of Medicine, but in the Physico-Mathematical—and three docenten: one is a teacher in the Polytechnicum, the other lectures on Organic Chemistry, the third conducts practical exercises in the University laboratory, with a trained assistant, also holding academical rank.

It will be expedient to confine these observations to the Philosophical Faculty in its two divisions, and perhaps we have done enough to compare the two systems of teaching in the two Universities. The difference is great. The Edinburgh professor is frequently, nay often, an eminent and distinguished man. Sometimes he is of European fame. But as a teacher, he is alone. He suffers no rival near his throne. He has a proprietary interest in his class. Hence there is no provision in the Scottish Universities for what would do more for the eminence of the students than the greatest and most celebrated teacher. There is no staff of young teachers being fostered up in the University, to receive with earnest rivalry the torch of science from the hands of the professor, when age and infirmity compel him to step out of the course. The University must go a-begging for its teachers to foreign schools. And we may add that the proficiency of the professor-elect cannot be so obvious, however able and conscientious the curators, as it would be, were he the foremost man amongst a

* We understand that there is this difference between the foreign Universities and our own, that if reference is made in a Scottish University to the Calculus, it is accompanied by an apology; in the foreign Universities the Calculus is introduced as a matter of course.

body of extraordinary professors and docenten, who had grown up to eminence in connection with the University itself. Were such an arrangement in vogue, we should have the best of a school of known specialists to select from; while, as it is, the curators must select at a venture, a man whose reputation may be high, but whose real proficiency is to a large extent unknown. This is a fatal blot in our Scottish Universities. But the objector will say, 'we want a travelled, an experienced man!' The Helsingfors University quite concurs in this, and offers its young professors a travelling stipendium of 8000 marks, = £320 per annum, that he may travel for scientific ends, or to acquire a larger experience. There are twelve stipendia for docenten: six at 2500 marks, = £100 sterling, and six may be increased to 3500 marks, = £140. Of these eight appertain to the two sections of the Philosophical Faculty. Were our Ferguson, and other Scholarships for graduates, applied in this way, how much more profitable they would be for the future growth and life of the University?

II. We have proposed to compare also, the rewards which the two Universities offer its students. We have just referred to the travelling fund for professors, of 8000 marks = £320. This may be allowed to professors travelling for scientific purposes or research, provided that the Chancellor of the University concurs in the bestowal of it. Equally, for candidates who have finished their course with credit, and are desirous of advancing to be professors (*ordinarii, extraordinarii, and docenten,*) there is a provision of 4500 marks = £180, which may be obtained every third year by candidates, and even by deserving candidates outside the University, if they expressly make known their desire to join the teaching academical staff. The total sum available for this purpose is given in 1886 as 23,300 marks or £932, which may be dealt out as travelling expenses for professors; and 94,300 F. marks or £3772, as available for students, etc. Even female teachers may obtain a travelling pension to perfect their knowledge of any subject in which they are about to teach.

Besides these, there are special endowments given for par-

ticular studies, as, the Alexander stipend of 5,140 F. marks = £205 12s., given annually for two year's study of the Russian language, for which the holder of the scholarship must live in Russia. Of the same kind are five scholarships of 3,400 F. marks = £136 each, annually given for two years to enable students to proceed to the University of Moscow. These are specially intended to equip men for the public service. 200 F. marks = £80, are given every second year as a travelling scholarship for accoucheurs. Backman's Scholarship is given every year to deserving teachers, 2400 F. marks = £96. Ekkestubbe's Scholarship of 4,500 F. marks = £180, is dealt out every fifth year to students, who would give themselves to the study of agriculture, mining or technology. This may be held for two years, which time is expected to be spent by the holders of the Scholarship in travelling in countries, where he may best perfect himself in such subjects. Beside these, there are a multitude of stipends, public and private, which are dealt out very like the bursaries in our own Universities, in different amounts and for differing periods: to jurists, medical students, theological students, for music, for the study of the fine arts, scientific studies and treatises on the subjects of study. There are 99 such scholarships of a public character, which are dealt out to deserving students and graduates, varying in value from 350 to 100 marks, *i.e.*, from £14 to £4 yearly; and 101, from private donors and legatees, varying from 600 F. marks yearly, down to 50, *i.e.*, £24 to £4. Two are for female students, one at 250 marks = £10, and one at 60 marks = £2 8s. 4.*

* These are comparatively small sums; but it must be remembered that there are no fees exigible in the Helsingfors University. The special lectures and exercises with docenten, lectors, etc., cost for two hours per week, 12 marks = 10s. English, nearly; and for four hours a week, 24 marks = £1 nearly, for the whole session. The chief payments are for examinations, which cost the student 40 marks = £1 12s.; for the Candidate or Licentiate Examination, 39 marks = £1 11s. 2d.; teacher's examinations, 25 marks = £1, etc. The cost of degrees is: Master of Arts, 46 marks = £1 16s. 9d.; Doctor of Theology, 105 marks = £4 4s. 2d. Honorary degrees cost 200 marks = £8. Certificates of competence from the University cost 5 marks = 4s. 2d. The small bursaries are doubtless very useful to

Though esteemed richly endowed, the Finnish University, relatively to its position, the number of students, and the population of the Grand Duchy, the amount of its endowment is *much less* than the income* of the University of Edinburgh. According to the Calendar 1888-89, the total capital in charge of the Senatus is £380,292 19s 4d; but there is difficulty in connecting this with the income. We will therefore take the latter as it is given in the Calendar, and compare it with the figures already given in connection with Helsingfors and which we have taken from *Statistisk Årsboken för Finland* for 1887—‘the Statistical Year-Book for Finland’ 1887. The total yearly income of Edinburgh University as given in the Calendar, year 1888-89 is £35,326 11s 6d; but to this must be added £15,853 7s 2d, as given on page 512 of the Calendar, as expended in salaries of assistant examiners and class expenses, making thus a total of £51,179 18s 8d. In the statistical year-book to which we have just referred, the income of Helsingfors is given as 1,036,400 marks, or in sterling as £41,456. Taking the bursary fund or, as they are named in the foreign universities, stipendia, we find that the fund for these was computed by R. A. Renvall, a distinguished student of the University, as amounting in 1877 to 986,000 marks, or in sterling £39,464 for 44 stipendia. This must, however, have greatly increased, for we find the total number drawing stipendia in 1884 to have been 135;

the student in procuring the needful books, and aid in his support during his stay at the University. From what we have seen in the lives of the men, a life of hardship and struggle, by which also our Scottish students are in no small degree honourably distinguished, is common enough in the Finnish University. I am informed that 100 marks per month, equal to £4 sterling, is considered sufficient for board and lodging in Helsingfors.

* We have heard the scanty endowments of Edinburgh University alleged as a ground for withholding the *venia docendi* from lecturers, extraordinary professors, etc., if such existed, and as an excuse for the present monopoly of the professors and the miscellaneous condition of their classes comprising students, really so called, schoolboys and youths who ought to be in elementary schools. There is an easy method of testing this. Take not only the Helsingfors, but any well-known German University, and compare the incomes!

and the number of stipendia, public and private, to have amounted during the present year to 157. Many of the stipendia are in the hands of private persons, and their actual amount is difficult to ascertain. This, however, is equally true of the University of Edinburgh. A paper came into our hands, published in the *Scotsman*, we believe, for 1877, in which the yearly value of the bursaries is estimated for that year as £7,420. It is admitted, however, that this is but an approximation, for the writer adds, 'it is difficult to know in every instance what the Calendar means precisely,'—an experience which, we must also add, has been our own. No account has been taken of the fees for matriculation and attendance on the professors' lectures in Edinburgh. These, of course, are an additional charge upon the students, as compared with Helsingfors, where, as already stated, no fees are exacted for attendance on the professor *ordinarius*. The rewards must moreover be taken into account while estimating the number of students attending each university. There were in actual attendance in Helsingfors during 1886-7, 832 students in the four faculties. For these there were 157 stipendia of greater or less value, or one for each $5\frac{1}{2}$ students nearly; the rewards in Edinburgh are 260 bursaries, fellowships, and scholarships, representing a sum of £7,420 for 3,254 matriculated students, or one for each $12\frac{1}{2}$ students.

III. We come finally to the endeavour to make a brief appraisal of the spirit and ideal, in which the institutions referred to are worked. An estimate of this kind is without doubt very difficult, and may be made in an invidious spirit, yet we think it ought to be attempted.

The first consideration which we think ought to be taken into account is that arising from the constitution of the two universities. The Finnish University, in common with most Continental institutions of the kind, only admits those to benefit by its course who have already completed their general education in a lyceum or gymnasium, and have been honourably dismissed after passing the *abiturient* or dismission examination. Their entrance into the university is in order to

specialize in some of the faculties so as to fit them for the business of life as working theologians, jurists, medical men, or for teachers in or beyond the university, as doctors of theology, philology, classical or modern, philosophy and law.

This specialistic conception, common both to Scandinavian and German Universities, is certainly not that of the Scottish Universities. These are a sort of cross between the gymnasium, the elementary school, and the university, and in not a few of the philological subjects of study the student has to begin with the alphabet. The medical education,* thanks to free competition and Government regulations, approximates more fully to the Continental University course.

We are far from denying that good work is done in the higher departments and classes of the University; indeed, we have already borne testimony to this, and to the deserved eminence of the men who occupy most of the Chairs. But it is not too much to say, that in the present state of the Scottish Universities—half University, half secondary school, with not a few, as we have seen, who should properly belong to the elementary classes—their powers are wasted: those powers by which young men should be rendered competent specialists in their subjects of study, or put in a condition to carry forward original investigation in it. This is what is done in Helsingfors, as in the German Universities. We were conversing some time ago with a gentleman who had been appointed to the

* Formerly, medical education, particularly in England, was conducted in the very practical way of binding the student of medicine as an apprentice to a working practitioner; and, granting that the student had a fair previous education and the teacher eminent in his profession, we question whether any better method can be devised. The pith of the matter in Germany is, that the students in all the faculties are apprentices to working specialists. In the medical faculty, this system has been the means of preserving greater freedom in medical teaching; and hence the oft-recurring phrase, in discussion about the Scottish Universities, of extramural teaching. But we have heard this phrase used as if it referred, or could refer, to the Faculty of Arts! But the truth is, it has no meaning or practical bearing there. We believe Dr. Chalmers did once try extramural teaching in Mathematics in St. Andrews University; but this is the only case we ever heard of.

Chair of Comparative Philology in a Continental University, and he was telling us of his experiences in the University of Berlin. Speaking of his fellow-students, he said—‘ There were not many of us, not more than five or six students, and we practically lived and went about with the professor.’ The truth is, the student in these circumstances becomes an apprentice to a working specialist, whether in Mathematics, Physics, Philology, etc., and learns practically to solve the problems which emerge in the course of his studies. And to this end the Continental University is to a far larger extent a literary institution than with us. The doctoral dissertation is a well-known form of literature in the German University; and in the journals, for criticism, classical and otherwise, the best of these are with great advantage published, and every one who has some acquaintance with foreign publications knows the long list of journals on every possible subject, classical study and research included.

Now, in connection with the Helsingfors University there is a pretty extensive academical literature. We refer to the biographical notices of the professors, officials, and servants of the Finnish University, which we have placed at the head of this article, and we find no insignificant list of publications, connected with the names of the men of eminence belonging to the university. Academical disputations are found on all possible subjects; take Kellgren, for instance, who died in 1855, after filling the Chair of Oriental Literature for only two years, after a lengthened course of study both at home and abroad in Sanscrit and Comparative Philology, *Mythus de ovo Mundano Indorumque de eodem notio*; *De Cosmogonia Graecorum ex Aegypto profecta*, a translation of the Indian poem, *Nal and Damayanti*; *Grammar of the Osmanli (Turkish) Language from Fu'ad Effendi and Gaudat Effendi*. Such are a few out of many; Professor Freudenthal's—Professor of the Swedish and Old Northern languages and literatures—many *Treatises on the languages of Swedish Colonies in Finland and the Baltic Provinces*; Professor Ahlquist,* successor of Castrén

* Recently passed away, to the great regret of his countrymen and of all who knew what a wealth of learning, combined with poetic genius, was

and Lönnrot, and late Rector of the University, *Contributions to Researches in the History of the Finnish Language before Porthan; Doctrine of the Verb in the Moksha dialect of Mordvin; A Grammar of the same in German; Culture Words of the Western Finns in Swedish and German; Among the Woguls; Monograph on Elias Lönnrot*, and many other treatises and translations, among them translations from Shakespeare and Sir Walter Scott.

Perhaps it were well before leaving this subject to supplement these remarks as to the literary activity of the students of Helsingfors University by some reference to their work upon the classical authors. It was in the little country of Denmark that Madvig, the great European Latinist, was found, now alas! no more. Classical criticism can flourish in these hyperborean regions, but not in Scotland, where, from the entire lack of a reproductive system in the universities, unless the aspirants have first been transplanted to Oxford or Cambridge,* such a thing is unheard of.

Here is some of the work of John A. Söderholm, Docent in Latin Literature, and teacher of Greek in Helsingfors Lyceum, '*De Vernacula Romanorum Satira, ad ideam ejus nativam et peculiarem adumbrata*;' '*Dialectices Ciceronis Descriptio*;' '*C. Cornelii Taciti Germania*,' translated with a commentary. Some of these academical theses are on English subjects. A very able one which came into our hands is Danielson's '*England's Social Politics and Economico-Social Development from the 13th to the 16th Century*.' Mr. Danielson was then Docent; he is now ordinary Professor of History.

The Philological school in our Finnish University does it great honour. The students of Philology in Helsingfors have exploited the Ural-Altaic languages in their academical theses

possessed by this scholar; so modest and unpretending in his character and habits.

* But the truth is that even here the article flourishes to a very limited extent. The absence of journals for classical or other philologies, of necessity, hampers and limits the work of the specialist. There is no proper discussion, and the absence of this is fatal!

and doctoral dissertations. Some years ago there was an article in a popular Edinburgh journal, 'On the Gaelic Nuisance.' How much better to recognize that that nuisance is a heaven-sent gift to enable us to understand the laws of language, and enlighten our native Philistinism! Principal Geddes, has too briefly dealt with the great advantage of Gaelic study, to illustrate the different methods which Nature employs to express the thoughts of the heart in language. Were our universities in the same fruitful position as the continental, we should welcome the existence of the languages and dialects of the United Kingdom as a means of giving insight into the laws of language, and as materials for philological study and research; and for the solution of its problems! Anglo-Saxon and Old Northern, the twin elements of our English speech, and even of the classical Scottish of Burns, where are they represented in our universities? But the truth is, our universities, in vainly attempting to conjoin the work of the foreign gymnasium and university (may we not almost say of the elementary school?) fail to do either efficiently. The highest part of the university is wanting. Without providing for the future equipment of its own chairs, the highest function of the University is not fulfilled. As a High School, it is deficient in what ought to be its loftiest aim and end. In our Finnish University, the students who are called to fill the docentships, and extraordinary professorships, are the very flower of its culture, the noblest fruits of its strivings after the aim and ideal of a University. They give body and character to its life, and show that its aspirations after the highest scholarship, culture and science, are not in vain. But in Edinburgh—and not in Edinburgh alone—the ideal, the noblest flowers and fruitage of the University are sacrificed.

ART. VI.—AN OLD SCOTS SOCIETY.

THERE exists in Boston, U.S., a Scottish Society, a short account of which may be interesting. I shall preface what I am going to tell about it, by referring to an event which led to a considerable number of our countrymen finding a home in New England.

The battle of Dunbar was fought on 3d September, 1650. As is well known, the Royal army was completely defeated and put to flight, the official account stating that 'above 4000 were slain upon the place and in the pursuit, about 10,000 taken prisoners, most of whom were wounded, and many of note and quality taken.'* The prisoners were sent to various towns and strongholds in England; but how to dispose of them was rather a troublesome business, and became a serious question for the Government. Frequent mentions is made of them in the *State Papers* of the period, but I shall only quote a few of the references †:—

16th September, 1650. '1000 Scots prisoners to be sent to Bristol, whence they are to be shipped to New England.'

19th September, 1650. 'Sir Arthur Hesilrigge to deliver to Samuel Clarke, for transportation to Virginia, 900 Scotch prisoners; and 150 men for New England; but they are to be such as are well and sound, and free from wounds. . . . Sir Wm. Armyne, Mr. Bond, Mr. Challoner, and Mr. Martin to be a Committee to consider the proposition of Colonel Rockby for taking off 1000 Scotch prisoners for the service of France under Marshall de Turenne, and to confer with him as to where he intends landing them, and the security he will give for their not returning to England to the prejudice of the Commonwealth.'

17th October, 1650. 'John Allen and partners to be supplied with more prisoners to take the place of those dead whom they received to transport to the Plantations.'

23rd October, 1650. 'The Admiralty Committee to examine whether

* *A True Relation of the Routing the Scottish Army near Dunbar, Sep. 3 instant. The particulars of the Fight, Numbers slain and Prize taken. With an exact List of the Names of the Prisoners.* . . . London, printed Sept. 9, 1650. [The List of Names is of Officers only—292 in all.]

† *Calendar of State Papers—Domestic Series.* Vol. for 1650.

the Scotch prisoners now come and coming into the river are carried to places where they may be made use of against the Commonwealth, and stay to be made of all, until assurance be given of their not being carried where they may be dangerous; the proportion for New England to be shipped away forthwith, as their ship is ready, and the place is without danger.'

11th November, 1650. 'Sir Arthur Hesilrigge to deliver 150 Scots prisoners to Augustine Walker, Master of the Unity, to be transported to New England.'

The main object of the English Government, it would seem, was to get rid of these prisoners so that they should be neither an expense nor a trouble to the Commonwealth. They were, in many cases, 'given away' or 'sold at the nominal price of half a crown the dozen!' In an application to the Government for '2000 of the common prisoners that were of the Duke of Hamilton's army' (taken at Preston in 1648), Cromwell, addressing the Speaker in support of the petition of the individual who had applied for these men, said, 'You will have very good security that they shall not for the future trouble you; he will ease you of the charge of keeping them, as speedily as any other way you can dispose of them.' *

But it is more especially with the disposal of some of them in the North American Colonies that we have at present to do, for undoubtedly a large number were sent thither. I have only been able, however, to find a record of the names of one shipment—that made in the ship 'John and Sara' of London, which cleared at Gravesend for Boston on the 8th November, 1651. This ship had on board 272 'Servants' (as they are called), and on arriving in Boston their names were 'entered and recorded at the instant request of Mr. Thomas Kemble [the

* See article on 'Convicts Shipped to the Colonies,' in *Notes and Queries*, February 5, 1887. Cromwell's letter making the above application is in the Tanner MSS. in the Bodleian at Oxford. It is dated Dalhousie, 8th October, 1648, and is addressed 'For the Honourable William Lenthall, Esquire, Speaker of the Honourable House of Commons.' The individual for whom the application was made was 'Colonel Robert Montgomery, son-in-law to the Earl of Eglinton, whose faithfulness in the late troubles may render him,' adds Cromwell, 'worthy of a far greater favour than any I shall, at this time, desire for him.'

consignee of the ship and cargo,] by Edward Rawson, Recorder,' in the books which are now preserved in the Suffolk Probate Court, Boston. The cargo, in addition to the 'servants,' consisted of 'Iron worke, household stuffe, and other provisions for Planters and SCOTCH PRISONERS.' These articles were admitted free of duty 'by ordnance of Parliament, dated 20 of October, 1651.' The letter of instructions from the freighters of the ship to the consignee is interesting, and is as follows:—

'LONDON, this 11th of November, 1651.

Mr. THO: KEMBLE.

Wee whose names are underwritten, freighters of the shipp John & Sara whereof is comander John Greene doe Consigne the said shipp and servants to be disposed of by yow for our best Advantage and account, & the whole proceed of the servants & vojage Retourne in a joynet stocke without any Division in such goods as you conceive will turne best to acco^{nt} in the Barbadoes & consigne them to Mr. Charles Rich for the aforesajd acco^{nt} & w^t other pay yo^w meete with fit for this place send hither and take the Advise & Assistance of Capt Jn^o Greene in disposall of the Servants Dispatch of the shipp or w^t else may any wajes concerne the vojage thus wishing the shipp a safe vojage & Gods blessing on the same not doubting of your best care & dilligence, Remajne

Your loving friends

JO: BEECH

ROB^t RICH

WILLIAM GREENE.'

How these 'Servants' were actually disposed of cannot now be ascertained; but, in the face of the above letter of instructions, it is not presuming too much to say, that they were treated like other merchandise, and disposed of to the 'best advantage;' that is, the consignee sold them at the highest possible price for the benefit of his constituents. The following extract from a letter regarding another (and previous) shipment of prisoners,* may throw some light on

* Perhaps the 150 ordered to be delivered to Augustine Walker, master of the *Unity*, on 11th November, 1650.

the manner in which they were disposed of. It is dated 'Boston in N[ew] E[ngland], 28th of 5th [July], 1651,' and is addressed by the Rev. John Cotton to 'the Lord Generall Cromwell':—

'The Scots whom God delivered into your hands at Dunbarre, and whereof sundry were sent hither, we have been desirous (as we could) to make their yoke easy. Such as were sick of the scurvy or other diseases have not wanted physick and chyrurgy. They have not been sold for slaves to perpetual servitude, but for 6 or 7 or 8 years, as we do our owne; and he that bought the most of them (I heare) buildeth houses for them, for every four an house, layeth some acres of ground thereto, which he giveth them as their owne, requiring three dayes in the weeke to worke for him (by turnes) and 4 dayes for themselves, and promiseth, as soon as they can repay him the money he layed out for them, he will set them at liberty.'

If disposed of in this way, then the men sent out in the 'John and Sara' would all probably have regained their liberty between the years 1657 and 1661. Some of them, it may be presumed, returned to Scotland; but the greater part, most likely, would remain in America—either in Boston or its neighbourhood, or in 'the Plantations.' It is evident, however, that there must have been Scottish settlers in Massachusetts previous to the arrival of these prisoners, for in the year 1654—only twenty-seven years after the founding of the colony—'Some Gentlemen, Merchants, and others of the Scots nation residing in Boston, New England, from a compassionate concern and affection to their indigent countrymen in these parts, voluntarily formed themselves into a Charitable Society.' The 'indigent countrymen' were probably men who had served their term of years as 'servants' and been set at liberty, and if turned adrift, without money and without employment, would naturally excite the 'compassionate concern' of their more fortunate brethren. Unfortunately, we have no means of ascertaining the names of the members of this Society, or how it was managed; but on the 6th of January, 1657, a meeting was held, at which certain rules were agreed to, and from that date THE SCOTS' CHARITABLE SOCIETY OF BOSTON—the oldest society of the kind in America—has existed as a

benevolent institution. The Minute of this meeting has been preserved, and is as follows :—

'At a meeting the 6 of January 1657 we whose names are underwritten being all or the most part present did agree and conclude for the releefe of our selves, and any other for the which wee may see cause, to make a box, and every one of us to give as God shall moue our harts whose blessing and direction wee doe from our harts desyre to have from him (who is able to doe abundantly aboue all that wee are able to ask or think) both in the beginning and managing of that which we doe intend, and therefore that we may express our Intentions and become our owne Interpreters, (leaving those that shall come after us to doe better than we have begun) hoping that by the assistance of the great God who can bring small beginnings to greater perfection than wee for the present can think of or expect, and lykwise we hope that God who hath the harts of all men in his hands and can turne them which way soeuer he pleaseth will double our spirit upon them and make them more zealous for his glory and the mutuall good one of another . . . and therefore knowing our owne weaknes to express our selues in this particular we leave our selues and it both to God and to the word of his grace, and doe desyre to declare our Intentions about which we have agreed. That is to say that wee whose names are Inserted in this booke doe and will by God's assistance give as God will moue us and as our ability will bear at our first entring, but is agreed that none give less at ther entring then twelve pence and then quarterly to pay sixpence, and that this our beneuolence is for the releefe of our selves being Scottishmen or for any of the Scottish nation whome we may see cause to helpe (not excluding the prudentiall care of the respective prudentiall townsmen whose God shall cast any of us or them, but rather as an addition thereunto) and it is agreed that there shall nothing be taken out of the box for the first sevin yeers for the releefe of any (the box being as yet in its minority), and further it is agreed that there shall be one Chosen (one of good report, fearing God, hateing covetousnes) quarterly to receive the duties of the said box and lykewise what Legacies may be left unto it, and that the first box maister shall give up all the revenues belonging unto the said box unto the next that is chosen, and so continue quarterly untill the Company may see any Inconuenience in it or cause to alter it, and it is agreed that our children shall have the same liberty with ourselves, they entring (when they are growne up) orderly, and it further agreed that those who doth willfully neglect to pay there duties and have entred for the space of a twelve month togethir, shall have no benefite hereafter by the said box.'*

* There is something very quaint in the simple manner in which the members began their Society by agreeing 'to make a box,' the payments to which were not to be disturbed for a specified time. This plan reminds

Here are the names of those who signed this Minute: Robert Porteous, William Cossar, Alexander Simson, George Thomson, James Moore, James Grant, Thomas Dewar, John Clark, Peter Grant, John Kneeland, Thomas Polson, Wm. Anderson, James Webster, William Gibson, Alex. Grant, Andrew Jamesone, Wm. Ballantyne, William Speed, James Ingles, John Macdonald, Thomas Shearer, George Trumble, Alex. Bogle, John Bennett, James Adams, Malcome Makcallome, John Mason.

Seven of these names occur in the list of 'Servants' shipped on board the 'John and Sara,' and it may be presumed they represent the same individuals. It may be well to repeat their names—Wm. Anderson, Alexander Grant, James Grant, Patrick (or Peter) Grant, John Mackdonald, James Moore, Alester (or Alexander) Simson.

The Society at first was not very prosperous.* To the twenty-seven members whose names have already been given, one only was added in 1658, five in 1659, and one in 1665;

me of what I was told, when a boy, as to a way the poor people in some of our Scottish towns had of laying past a sixpence or a shilling a week in a *menage*, so that at the end of six months they might have a small sum—these weekly savings—which would help towards paying the half-year's rent, or some other special liability. This *menage* was a box (generally opened at Whitsunday and Martinmas), in which the small sums were deposited; and, as in the case of the Society whose history we are considering, was entrusted to the safe keeping of 'one of good report, fearing God, and hateing covetousness.' Probably the *menage* was a custom left in Scotland by the French, as I have found a similar way of allowing savings to accumulate among the people in French villages. From the *menage* the Savings Banks, now of such national importance, were naturally evolved. Possibly the Rev. Dr. Duncan, the founder of Savings Banks, got the idea from having seen the beneficial workings of the *menage* in his youth.

* At the time of its formation the New England people did not look very favourably upon the Scots, who were placed under disabilities from which the English settlers were free. They were not, however, received with the same disfavour as the Irish, against whom the General Court of the Colony passed an Act on the 29th October 1654, imposing a penalty of £50 sterling on every one who brought an Irish man, woman, or child, within the jurisdiction! *Court Records of the Colony of Massachussets*, vol. x., folio 338.

and then for nineteen years there were no additions; so that, (to quote from a statement read before the Society on 8th May 1770), although 'it did subsist for some years' yet 'from the Smallness of their Number, Lownnes of their Stock, and Mismanagement of some private Trustees it had not the desired Success and Effect,' and it seemed in 1684 as if it were to come to an end. But there were some good and earnest men who did not wish it to go down, and 'encouraged thereto by the Success of a Scots Society in London of the same Nature, established by Charter of King Charles 2d,' they called together a meeting of 'residents in towne and countrie'; and on the 25th October of that year the Society was revived, and 'has ever since without Interruption been continued and promoted to the Compassionate and Seasonable Relief of many.' The account of this meeting is as follows:—

'At Boston in New England This twenty-fifth day of October Sixteen hundred and eighty-four yeirs. 1684.—The Eternall Lord and great Lawgiver to his people heath commanded by his word a Collectione for the necessities one of ane other, for the relieving of them who are under wants and poverty, good workes of this kind being the fruits of faith and holiness, which hath been the practise of the Saints in all ages, in their severall societies, and also of our COUNTRYMEN at home, and abroad in many parts of the world, to Gods glorie, the reliefe of our countrymen in their povertie and the credit of the actors theirin. As it hath been begun in this place formerly in a most laudable manner, But throw some discouragment hath been left over for a tyme to our grieffe & the prejudice of the poor.

'Therefore throw the providence of God being willing to meet together to consider of this matter, Wee are this day convined being Scottsmen & the sons of Scotts-men Inhabitants of Bostone and in the Colony thair of with severall strangers of our COUNTRYMEN being of one accord most willing to renew the former good example, and to give what the Lord shall enable and move us for this good work, that the poor strangers and families and children of our natione, when under this dispensatione may be the more orderly and better relieved. Wee doe recommend this not only one to an other heire present, But unto all our COUNTRYMEN in this Colony not present, And to all Strangers of our natione that from hencefurth shall come heir, either to recside or trade as merchants, masters, saillors, Tradesmen & all others, That all of us may according to the Command of God enjoyned us give to the poor which is a lending to the Lord, by whom we have all thinges, And theirby open the bowells of our compassion,

according to our willingness and ability for the releife of such of our nation or their children, who shall be heir, or in providence as strangers brought heir to poverty, being flesh of our flesh, & bone of our bone may be helped in their distress, And this wee doe not by constraint bot by a willing & free heart as in the presence of God, who will reward the liberall giver, and will much nottice the smallest myte to be a good & christian example to all who shall come after us.

‘ And Therefore for the better regulating heirof wee have with one Consent maide these rules and lawes following.’

But it is not necessary to copy the whole of them; it is sufficient to say that they were framed with carefulness in every respect. Two extracts will show this; rule 3d. is to the effect that if any one get assistance above the sum of ten shillings he shall ‘give a bill or bond for the payment of the same, if afterwards he become to be able, payable to the box-master for the use of the sd. Society.’ The 9th rule is worth repeating, ‘It is also heirby provided, that no prophane or dissolut person, or openly scandelous shall have any pairt or portion heirin, or be a member of the Society.’

Of the original members, or those who were present at the meeting held on the 6th January 1657, four only were connected with the revived Society of 1684, viz.: Wm. Gibson, James Ingles, Alexander Simsone and James Webster. Alexander Simsone, apparently was the only survivor of the ‘Servants’ shipped in the ‘John and Sara.’

From 1684 till the time of the Revolution the Society was in a most satisfactory and prosperous condition, and ‘its roll embraced the wealthiest and highest in the province, whose Scottish blood entitled them to its membership. Its quarterly assessments were given with liberal hands; its property was considerable; and its appropriations—governed with caution—were yet generous and ample.’*

In 1770, the funds being then ‘of a considerable value and in a flourishing state,’ additional rules were passed ‘for the better Management thereof’; and a bye-law was added which is rather curious, viz. that ‘the Key Keepers are to attend Gentlemen and others, Scots, or of Scots Extraction, residing

* President’s address at bi-centenary celebration, 30th Nov., 1857.

in Boston, or Transients, to acquaint them with the charitable design of this Society, and to invite them to contribute by the Formality of delivering to them a Silver Key.' But the revolutionary troubles were then beginning, and our prudent countrymen seeing danger ahead held a meeting on the 10th May 1774, at which it was agreed 'that the whole of the Society's bonds be call'd in.' A committee was appointed for this purpose, and on 29th March 1775 'the Books, Bonds, Obligations and Notes were del^d. to J. Greenlaw, Ad. Cunningham, Joint Treasurers; W. Dickson, Secretary; Jas. Selkrigg, Assistant; also the cash on hand, £6 2s. 3½d. The sundries were put under the care of Mr. Cunningham.' The funds, it may be stated, amounted to £924 10s. 8d. 'Lawful money'—about £740 sterling.

'When hostilities actually commenced, that loyalty which has ever been among the strongest characteristics of the Scots, retained the majority of the Society in their allegiance to the mother country.*' Many of the members accordingly left Boston and removed to Canada and Nova Scotia; and among those who did so was the Mr. Cunningham above-mentioned, who carried with him to Halifax the books, securities, and other documents belonging to the Society. There is no record of any work being done by the Society during the 'troubles' (there could scarcely be any, when the books, and especially the funds, had been carried off); but as soon as peace was declared and people had returned to their usual avocations, we find the members (it seems there were nineteen remaining in Boston) bestirring themselves about realizing and disposing of the funds. A meeting was held on 27th December 1782, and a Committee appointed, who were instructed 'to ask, demand, sue for if necessary, and collect from all and every person or persons who are indebted to the said Society on Bond or Mortgage, the several sums respectively due from each and every of the said Debtors, principal and interest.' Mr. Cunningham was written to with the request that he would return the books and securities which were in his

* President's address, 30th Nov., 1857.

possession; but he refused, as he was of opinion that the Society should be dissolved, and the funds divided among the members. The members resident in Boston thought differently, and on the 6th August 1783, a letter was addressed to Mr. Cunningham to that effect. He was told in the letter that 'the interest at this period amounts to a considerable sum, and when received will afford relief to a number of suffering members. Should a dissolution take place as you purpose . . . how trifling will the dividend be among so many! We consider you and the other gentlemen who were members before the commencement of the late war as members still, and entitled equally with us, residents of Boston, to all the privileges of the Society. At the same time, we consider the Society by its institution entirely confined to this town, and that the members here ought to be possessed of the books and papers, and have the management of the affairs of the Society as they ever have had.'

In the meantime the Boston Committee had recovered £42 of the debts, which sum, in seeming violation of the spirit of the above letter, was divided among the members, each one receiving nine dollars; the assets subsequently recovered were, however, retained to form a 'permanent' or endowment fund.* It was only, however, after a lengthened correspondence with Mr. Cunningham, and a delay of about twenty years that the

* This fund amounted in 1821 to about £400, and continued without increase till the year 1846, when it was taken by the Treasurer from the several stocks in which it was invested, and transferred to a mortgage on a farm. From some irregularity, not clearly shown in the records of the Society, it was found when the farm was subsequently sold, that the Society had no valid claim under the mortgage, and so the entire fund was lost. [In 1867 the Secretary of the Society made the following memorandum in the minute book, 'Invest only in first mortgages; and be sure they are registered according to law in the public records.' It is easy being wise after the event!] In 1854 a lady bequeathed 1000 dollars to the funds of the Society; in 1866 a subscription list was opened, and a considerable addition was made to the 'permanent' fund, which the following year amounted to about 6000 dols.; in 1874 Mr. John Templeton bequeathed 5000 dols., which brought the fund up to 11,000 dols. It is now over 16,000 dols. (about £3300).

books and other documents were finally recovered. A minute of a meeting held at the Green Dragon Tavern on 2d August, 1803, records 'that the thanks of this Society be given the Secretary for procuring the books and papers of the Society.'

But while the negotiations were going on, the members had been adding to their number, and prosecuting their work of usefulness. They had also made an application to the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachussets for a Charter of Incorporation, which was granted on 16th March, 1786. The Government, however, probably from political reasons, did not consider it prudent to allow an unlimited membership, and so a clause was inserted in the charter 'that the members of said Society shall at no time exceed the number of one hundred.'

A few extracts from the records of the Society may here be given :

5th May, 1713. It is ordered that Captⁿ. Frizell and Mr. Maxwell, two of the Overseers of the Poor's Box shall from time to time go to all the Scotsmen in the North part of Boston, and Captⁿ. Thomas Steel and D^r. Geo: Stewart to the Scotsmen in the South end, and acquaint them with the good and charitable design of the Society, 'both to relieve any such as contribute thereto when in distress, and Strangers cast in by shipwreck or otherways ; that they should contribute to so good a work in order to relieve themselves in caise Providence should so order it that they or theirs should stand in need of help ; and in caise any one should slight so friendly an Invitation to give help to the poor which is lending to the Lord, their names are to be returned to the Society next quarterly meeting in order to be recorded as Slighters of the same, and never to receive any benefit or releife out of the said Box.'

4th May, 1714. 'Voted that whoever shall be chosen Tréasurer . . . and refuses to serve shall forfeit and pay to the poor fourty shillings.'

5th May, 1719. 'Captⁿ. Tho^s. Steel, the former Treasurer, gave in his Acco^t. of the Society's Stock . . .' from which it appears that it 'amo^{ts} to the sum of Six hundred and nine pounds, three shillings and eight pence, whereof Fifty six pounds, seven and five pence of *old standing Debts are Desperate.*'

5th February, 1734. 'Cash paid Captⁿ. Watt (£2 0s. 0d.) for Cloes for James Forbes, that came from Virginia afoot, for his passage to London ; he was formerly a servant to the Earl of Marr and got his passage in Cap^t. Cowper.'

7th May, 1734. 'Voted Cha^s. Gordon, if he goes home, and if he doe not go home the petition to be void, £3. 7.'

5th November, 1734. 'Voted Alexander Fyfe and William Ross, as an Act of Charity, not being members of y^e box, £3. each.*

2nd May, 1738. 'Voted that no wine or strong drink be drunk at the charge of the Charity of the Society, but beer or cyder only during the time of the meeting on Business.'

5th May, 1741. Voted 'That no woman unless a native of Scotland, or of Scots progeny, shall be entitled to the charity of the Society as a widow of the contributor, but during her being y^e widow of said contributor; that is, upon a subsequent marriage to any man not a contributor; and during her subsequent widowhoods she shall have no claim on this charity.'

2d November, 1742. 'Further voted, That upon Petitions for Charity towards paying passage money to Scotland, the money granted shall be paid to y^e master of y^e vessel, the petitioner at the same time giving his or her note to repay the said sam to Scots Box when able.'

5th December, 1753. 'Given as charity to a poor W^{do}. Stewart, a Scots Woman, her husband Jn^o. Stewart being Wash'd Overboard in a Storm in their passage from Liverpool to N. York, & She much bruised, &c., by w^{ch}. she lost the use of her left arm—by consent of y^e Presid^t. & Vice Presid^t. a Crown Sterling; more given wth. consent of y^e Presid^t., a Dollar.'

3d August, 1756. 'At the quarterly meeting of the Society . . the following Charities were voted and given to the poor on 12 petitions, £39 0 0

Paid David Lennox, Servitor, his fees, - - - - -	2 0 0
P ^d . the Clerk his fees, - - - - -	2 10 0
P ^d . the Reconing, - - - - -	5 17 0
Paid for Eliz ^h . Brown's passage to North Britain w ^h . her 3 children, by vote and order of the Society, 40 shillings sterling, - - - - -	20 0 0

4th August, 1761. 'It was Agreed & Resolved upon by this Society at this meeting that each present member shall pay his Clubb or Share of the Reconing, & that no part of the Reconing shall now or at any future meeting be paid out of the Box.'

4th May, 1762. Paid the Boarding, Nursaing, & attending, &c., one Robert Craige, a Sailor, at y^e house of Sarah Smith, - - £34 10 0

Paid to Widow Wood in consideration of her kindness to a poor Scotch orphan girl, - - - - -	0 10 0
Paid to John Johnston, a poor man, for linen for two new shirts, - - - - -	0 14 0

3d February, 1767. Voted that the quarterly subscription be raised to half a dollar, which 'is very moderate, and that . . . no liquor be called for untill the Business of the Society is over.'

* The pound, (unless otherwise expressed) was not much more than a pound Scots, being only two shillings sterling; but in 'Lawful money' it was equal to sixteen shillings Sterling.

These extracts will give an idea of the manner in which the funds of the Society were expended.

The Scot abroad always observes St. Andrew's Day. It was, therefore, considered most appropriate by the committee, that when the day came round in 1857, the Society should, on it, have a social gathering to celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of its foundation. This celebration took the form of a supper in the Revere House.* 'The President was escorted from his residence by the members of the Society, some of whom, with himself, were dressed in the Highland costume. They were preceded by pipers, who played national airs.' The meeting was most enthusiastic, and the President gave an excellent speech, telling those who listened to him many of the facts which are related in this paper.

It has been mentioned, that when the Charter was granted to the Society in 1786, the number of members was restricted to one hundred. This, as time ran on, was gradually felt to be an embarrassment and an interference with its usefulness. Accordingly, on the 16th January, 1865, the number permitted by the Charter being then reached, a resolution was moved, that a petition be presented to the Legislature of the State praying that the clause limiting the membership should be repealed. The petition stated that 'whatever might have been the propriety of such a precise restriction seventy-nine years ago, it can scarcely hold now, when the number of Scotsmen in the city of Boston is probably fifty times as great as it was then—more to succour in their poverty, and more to relieve them, could they have the opportunity to do so through some organised channel, such as the Scots' Society. That such restriction is entirely unnecessary in a Society, the sole object of which is, according to the second article of their Constitution, 'to furnish relief to unfortunate Scottish emigrants, their descendants and families residing in New England, and to furnish them with information and advice;' and which, in its fourteenth article of the same document, says: "Discussions on religious, political, or other subjects

* Then, as now, one of the leading hotels in Boston.

foreign to the objects and purposes of the Society, shall not be allowed, either at the general or government meetings.”’ The prayer of this petition was granted, and the amended Charter adopted accordingly. The restriction being removed, the number of members was soon largely increased; and at the last annual meeting there were 422 on the roll, about a fourth being life members.

Last year, the amount expended by the Society in charity was about £300; 351 applicants had asked for assistance and 306 had been relieved; and during the year several of our countrymen, who had been unable to find employment and were without means, were forwarded to their old homes in Scotland. ‘Although,’ the Chairman said, at the annual meeting, ‘the past year had been a busy one in the work of charity, there having been a greater number of applicants than in any previous year of the Society’s existence, yet the treasury was able to stand all demands made upon it.’

The current expenses are met by the interest on the ‘permanent’ fund, and the annual subscriptions of ordinary members. The thirty-ninth article of the constitution expressly states that ‘All donations and legacies bequeathed to the Society shall be added to the Permanent fund, unless otherwise specified by the donor. All amounts received from Life membership subscriptions shall be added to the Permanent fund. The Permanent fund shall never be diminished, the interest only to be used for current expenses.’ This fund amounts at present to 16,225 dols., or about £3375.

The Society also owns the following property:

The dwelling-house, known as <i>The Scots</i>		} or about £2400
<i>Temporary Home</i> , valued at	- \$7000	
The furniture and library in same,	- 1500	
A burial lot in Mount Auburn Cemetery,	3000	

The Society has a Relief Committee whose duty it is to enquire into the circumstances of those applying for aid, and to see that ‘relief when granted shall be prompt and efficient, whether in the form of house rents, food, clothing, fuel, or money.’ The ‘Home’ is intended to give shelter to Scottish

men and women, or their immediate descendants, who may be in distress, and who are allowed to remain in the house for a time not exceeding three days; but this period may be extended if the officers authorised consider it desirable.

Such is an outline of the history of the Scots' Charitable Society of Boston. It cannot boast of anything brilliant or extraordinary, but it is truly Scottish in thoughtful providence, in generous will, and liberal deed; in manly expression of intent, and in enduring perseverance in pursuit of the end. In the words appended to one of its old rules, 'May this Society subsist as long as Charity is a virtue.'

JOHN MACKAY.

ART. VII.—THE LIMITS OF SCOTTISH HOME RULE.

FOR good or for evil, the problem of Scottish administration, if not of Scottish legislation, suggested by the comprehensive phrase of 'Home Rule,' does not stand where it did at the General Election of 1886. The Scottish Home Rule Association was, indeed, in existence before that time; and what is now known as 'Home Rule all round' had been adopted and advocated by several of the more pronouncedly Democratic of Scottish representatives. But neither the Association nor the cry had any appreciable effect upon the fortunes of that contest. A great deal has happened, however, since 1886. Mr. Gladstone, who was defeated then, has placed the Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland—regarded as an exclusively Scottish question—in the forefront of that Liberal programme with which he hopes to win the next General Election; and he is confessedly in the 'something must be done' stage of opinion in regard to Scottish Home Rule itself. Lord Hartington has recently spoken of the Scottish Home Rule Association as if it were *une quantité négligeable*, but he has recognized its existence and has engaged in controversy with its Secretary. An eminent nobleman, who takes little or no interest in the party controversies of the time,

but who takes a very warm interest in everything relating to his country, has advocated the re-establishment of a Parliament for Scotland in a recent number of *The Scottish Review*. Another eminent nobleman, who is at once an ardent partisan and an active Nationalist, and who is universally recognised as Mr. Gladstone's chief lieutenant, at least on this side of the Tweed, said no later than the beginning of the present month, and at a dinner of the Scottish Liberal Club, 'that the question of Scottish Home Rule is a question of great importance, and if adopted by the Liberal party, would become a question of extraordinary significance.' In the meantime, Government have introduced a measure dealing with that important portion of Scottish administration which is covered by private bills, and dealing with it in a manner expressly intended to conciliate Scottish public opinion.

'We are all Scottish Home Rulers now.' This is at least as true as that 'we are all Socialists now.' Some curious evidences of the fact have been afforded since the present year began. Various interpretations have been given of the successful resistance offered by Unionists to Home Rule in the constituency of Partick, and of their recovery of the Ayr Burghs. But it seems reasonable to infer from the polling in these two constituencies, that Scotland is no longer prepared to efface itself for Ireland or for the Enthusiasm of Humanity as employed for the settlement of Irish questions. In other words, when the problem of relieving the Imperial Parliament of work which it cannot perform by means of 'delegation' on Gladstonian, or any other lines, actually comes within the range of practical politics, Scotland will put in a claim to equality of treatment with Ireland in the actual solution. Then a proposal for giving Scotland Home Rule is now a recognised 'annual' both in the House of Commons and in the Convention of Royal Burghs, which, sitting for two days a year in Edinburgh, does its best, although with but a limited amount of success, to recall the departed glories of the Scottish Parliament. It was this year defeated in both Assemblies. But, in the House of Commons, all of the Scottish Liberal representatives who took part in the discussion upon the motion in favour of Home Rule, which was brought forward by Dr. Clark, were in favour of some

scheme of the kind. In the Convention, indeed, Home Rule would appear at first sight to have met with a decided check. A proposal to give Scotland a special Parliament and Executive was defeated by 52 to 11, whereas the corresponding vote last year was 41 to 24. This may mean, however, nothing more than that the special form of Home Rule which was suggested does not meet with approval from men of the particular class from which the Convention is drawn. This is, indeed, probable enough. Among the numerous schemes, the broaching of which may be traced to the extension and popularisation of Local Government in Scotland, is one to infuse new and democratic life into the Convention of Royal Burghs, and to make it the apex to a pyramid of Parochial Boards, County Councils, and District Committees. It is but natural that such a proposition should, by members of the Convention, be preferred to the creation of a new body, which would certainly supersede the Convention altogether, and that the more closely this latter scheme is scrutinised, the less it should be liked. Besides, the most resolute opponents of a Parliament for Scotland are the active promoters of a National Council, or, as they prefer to regard it, a local-national Assembly for Scotland, which differs from a Parliament only in degree. When addressing the Glasgow University Liberal Club in November of last year, Lord Rosebery, speaking of a pamphlet that has been published in Edinburgh, described it as 'the charter of Scottish Home Rule,' as giving 'a reasonable basis and a reasonable theory of Home Rule.' Presumably, therefore, it is in this pamphlet that we are to look for the Home Rule of which Lord Rosebery approves, and the acceptance of which by the Liberal Party would be an event of 'extraordinary significance.' The author of the pamphlet proposes in effect that the Imperial Parliament should delegate to a local-national assembly in Scotland, and consisting of some 144 members (two for each of the existing Parliamentary constituencies), certain powers, of which these are given as specimens:—Taxation for the exclusive purpose of Scottish administration; the supervision of the Civil Service establishments necessary for administration in Scotland; the extension of municipal government subject to general laws; education, sani-

tary regulations, poor law, piers and harbours, subject to general policy and the rules of the Board of Trade; fresh water and sea fisheries, subject to general rules; public charities, licenses, private bill legislation, and the appointment of civil servants for the administration of Scottish affairs. The writer of this pamphlet seems, however, to have a suspicion that the delegated powers which he mentions are rather too small for the consideration of a local-national Assembly of 144 members, for he says 'If there were a plan for enabling the different parts of the United Kingdom to deal with affairs superficially and exclusively their own, party divisions would not be a necessity, nor even desirable in the body entrusted with the work. There is nothing of party in helping forward piers and harbours, or in education or in licensing questions, or even in regard to Disestablishment. They would all be better settled in accordance with individual opinion and due consideration of the requirements of the case, than they would on party grounds. Take Disestablishment as the strongest instance. It has been said again and again that it ought to be settled in accordance with the wishes of the Scottish people. That is a proposition which has our hearty assent. But, as a matter of fact, it is complicated by party considerations; and it would be almost an impossibility to get at the real feeling of the people of Scotland on the subject at a general election of members of the House of Commons.' If this reasoning is to have any practical effect at all, it means that the Disestablishment problem would, so far as Scotland is concerned, be much more satisfactorily solved by a local-national Assembly than by the Imperial Parliament.

Wherein then would the actual work of such an Assembly—as distinguished from its constitution, which need not now be considered—differ from that of such a National Legislature as is suggested by Lord Bute and the Scottish Home Rule Association? 'A National Parliament,' says Lord Bute, 'would probably begin by separating into parties over some such question as Disestablishment, and it would go on to concern itself with matters like Compensation for Unexhausted Improvements, Education, Public Works, and similar topics.' There is so substantial difference, therefore, between the views of Lord Bute

and those of the pamphleteer, except this, that Lord Bute regards Disestablishment as a party question, and the pamphleteer does not. In other words Lord Bute is much more obviously abreast of the political thought of the time than the pamphleteer, for if there is one doctrine which can be said to be more decidedly than another an integral portion of the programme of the advanced Radical party it is Religious Equality, which is included in any and every scheme for Disestablishment.

The true difference between the local National Assembly proposed by the author of Lord Rosebery's 'Charter of Scottish Home Rule' and the National Legislature which the Scottish Home Rule Association desires, lies in the comparative degree of their subordination to the central Imperial authority. According to the constitution of the Association, its first object is 'to promote the establishment of a Legislature sitting in Scotland, with full control over all purely Scottish questions, and with an Executive Government responsible to it and the Crown.' The proposed Legislature and the proposed Assembly agree in this, that the powers to be conferred on either the one or the other must be delegated. It is by an Act of the Imperial Parliament that the Scottish Legislature will be created; and it is the Imperial Parliament that can alone define what are purely Scottish questions. But once the Legislature is created, it is to have 'full control' over all questions which have been declared to be 'purely Scottish.' The powers of the proposed Assembly are much more limited. Under it 'every legislative Act of the Assembly must have the sanction of the Imperial Parliament.' Acts of Assembly in fact are to be laid before the Imperial Parliament much in the same way as the schemes of the Educational Endowments Commissioners. 'When these schemes are completed, they may be sent back for amendment, or they may be challenged in Parliament. If they are not challenged, or if a vote be not carried against them, they become law. An Act of Assembly would have the latter ordeal to go through. Let it be laid before Parliament, and if it be not challenged, or if it be carried on a vote, it will become law. Only one thing should be understood—the Act must be accepted or rejected as a whole.

If it be rejected, the effect would be to send it back to the Assembly for reconsideration.'

If the Scottish people make up their minds that a constitutional change of some kind must take place, and that a body more or less accurately representing them shall be established for the purpose of looking after their special legislative and administrative interests, they can have but little hesitation in deciding for a National Legislature as opposed to a local-national Assembly. The chief reason for a change, is that, owing to the present embarrassed condition of the Imperial Parliament, Scottish business cannot be adequately attended to in it. Make it absolutely clear, however, what are 'purely Scottish questions,' and entrust the 'full control' of these to a Scottish representative body, and it becomes abundantly clear that for good—or more probably for evil—the Imperial Parliament would be troubled with these questions no more. The case of a local-national Assembly subordinate in all respects to the Imperial Parliament would, however, be widely different. It may be doubted if Scotsmen of ability or even self-respect would care to become members of an assembly, not of legislators, but of bill-draughtsmen for Westminster. But even if they did, their labours would be quite as liable to be thrown away as the labours of Scottish members of Parliament at the present moment. Suppose, for example, they were to prepare an Act of Assembly for the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Church of Scotland. It would, according to Scotland's 'charter of Home Rule,' have to be submitted to the Imperial Parliament. What, in that case, would there be to prevent such an Act being voted down by legions of English representatives 'whipped' for the purpose out of the smoking rooms at Westminster? As things are in the Imperial Parliament, it is possible for something in the shape of a compromise between English ignorance or prejudice and Scottish knowledge and national feeling on the subject of Scottish legislation to be arrived at. A Scottish measure may be modified, marred, or mangled, but yet it may pass the Imperial Parliament in some form or other. But 'the charter of Scottish Home Rule' admits of no compromise; the Act of Assembly 'must be accepted or rejected as a whole.' It is quite conceivable, there-

fore, that the interposition of an Assembly between the Scottish people and the Imperial Parliament would have the effect of retarding and not of facilitating the progress of truly important Scottish business. Take, for example, the question of Disestablishment, partly because it has been placed in the forefront of the official Liberal programme, partly because the author of 'the charter of Scottish Home Rule' would include it, although with some hesitation, in the list of subjects which he would not object to see considered by a local-national Assembly; but, above all, because various 'proposals' are afloat, the general object of which is, in the event of legislation for the Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland, to temper the wind to the shorn lamb, by minimising Disendowment, or substituting for it something of the nature of Concurrent Endowment. It is not only conceivable, it is absolutely certain, that when the subject of the Disestablishment of the Church of Scotland came to be considered by an Imperial Parliament, in which English members must of necessity be an overwhelming majority, English opinion represented by this majority, or entrenched behind it, would, having regard to the future of a much more imposing Establishment, seek to modify the Act of an exclusively Scottish Assembly. But, according to the author of that Assembly, the Imperial Parliament is to have no such authority. The Act must either be accepted in its entirety, or sent back to the Assembly which passed it. It is quite credible, therefore, that a small minority in the Scottish Assembly might be able, by invoking the aid of England in the shape of the English majority in the Imperial Parliament, to defeat or indefinitely delay the triumph of Scottish opinion upon the Church question.

In plain words, if 'Home Rule for Ireland' is to be followed or superseded by 'Home Rule all round,' if a Pentarchy, consisting of England, Scotland, Wales, and the two Irelands is to be set up, let it be a real and not a bogus Pentarchy. If in a fit of national despair, caused by the congestion of business at Westminster, the British Constitution must be remodelled, let the change be of a final and thorough, not merely of a tentative and tinkering character. Let the desired relief for the Imperial Parliament be found not in 'delegation' so much as in Delegations. Let a

National Legislature be set up in each section of the Pentarchy, and let it be entrusted with the full control of genuinely national and truly important business—the Church and the land, not piers and fisheries—and let Delegations from the different Legislatures assemble at stated times to deal with Imperial business. The establishment of a Legislature of this kind in Scotland with an Executive responsible to it, would resuscitate Scottish patriotism under provincial if not parochial and grotesque conditions; it would narrow Scottish ideas; it would stereotype Scottish prejudices. But greater honour, because greater power and freedom, would be involved in the membership of such a Legislature than in the membership of a local-national Assembly, subordinate not only to the Imperial Parliament but to the Departments in London. If, moreover, the Imperial Parliament were to be asked at every turn, to supervise, sanction, or reject the work done by one or other of the local-national Assemblies—work of whose character, moreover, it would be elaborately because constitutionally ignorant—whence would the needed relief come? If there is congestion at Westminster now, the establishment of local-national Assemblies would be followed by chaos.

But has the day for preaching the gospel of despair actually dawned? Need that day dawn at all? The ideal, which was embodied in the legislation specially identified with the name of Mr. Gladstone, before he became a convert to Home Rule for Ireland, although he himself was not quite conscious of it, is still left. That ideal is the substitution for an incorporating union between the different Legislatures of the United Kingdom of an obliterating union between the various peoples composing it. For the realisation of this ideal, we must trust mainly to the magic of time, and to that revolution in the methods of human locomotion and intercourse, which more than anything else in our time is calculated to put an end to that weakest and most pernicious form of patriotism—the self-conceit of race. Still legislation may aid, and as a matter of fact has aided, in the realisation of this ideal. The Irishman lost one, at least, of ‘the badges of conquest,’ when, by the enactment of a single measure dealing with the County Franchise for all of the Three King-

doms, he was placed on a footing of absolute political equality with the Englishman and the Scotsman. He will lose another, if the Local Government problem for Ireland be solved on the same lines as was the same problem in England and Scotland. There is no reason, except in national, racial, and legal differences, which are yearly becoming of less importance, why every large question affecting the Three Kingdoms, such as the land problem, should not be similarly dealt with, in a single measure, on its being forced on public attention by circumstances. But, even allowing that this ideal—at once truly imperial and truly democratic—has been discarded or submerged in the controversy of the hour, are the resources of Devolution—in the old Gladstonian sense and regarded as a substitute for 'Home Rule all round'—absolutely exhausted? If Government succeed in its present scheme—and the prophecy may be safely hazarded that some Government will succeed in some scheme—for handing over the more laborious work of Private Bill procedure for Scotland to an essentially Scottish Commission, the example thus set will, beyond all question, be followed in and for the other portions of the United Kingdom. When this matter of Private Bill procedure has been finally disposed of, members of both Houses of Parliament will be relieved of incomparably the more serious and embarrassing of their non-Imperial duties. Why should not the time and energy thus set free be utilised for the consideration of ordinary Scottish, English, Welsh—perhaps also Irish—measures by Scottish, English, Welsh, and Irish Members of both Houses of Parliament. If the Imperial Legislature can define 'purely Scottish business,' and delegate it to a subordinate Scottish Assembly, it can much more easily, and without upsetting or even straining the Constitution, 'devolve' this business upon a Grand Scottish Committee. Such a Committee would, of course, have to be entrusted with much greater powers than Grand Committees have at the present moment, but the limits of their powers would necessarily be defined by Parliament. If it be urged that the Scottish members are elected for Imperial and not Scottish purposes, and on party not Scottish lines, the answer is that the moment it became thoroughly understood that they were to have, in any real sense, the control of

national business, national considerations would affect their election. Suppose, for example, it were certain that after next General Election the vote of the Scottish members were to be decisive on the question of Disestablishment, how much more truly burning would that question become than it is at present? But if we are to have any constitutional changes with a view to relieving the Imperial Parliament and giving prompt expression to the popular will, why not look even further afield? Even if the adoption of the Referendum be too revolutionary a proposal, why not give Parliamentary sanction to the Plebiscite, which the promoters of 'the charter of Scottish Home Rule' tried in the case of the proposal of the majority of Edinburgh Town Council to confer the freedom of that city upon Mr. Parnell? Instead of dissolving the Imperial Parliament to decide whether the Scottish Church is to be disestablished and disendowed, why not declare that this question shall be settled through the vote,—and after a certain period allowed for consideration—of a majority of the electors (or of the adults) of Scotland, that majority being of certain dimensions decided beforehand? At all events, the Plebiscite would be much less of an innovation than the setting up of National Legislatures, or even of local-national Assemblies for the different portions of the United Kingdom.

One other suggestion falls to be made, because it springs naturally from the completion of the edifice of Local Government in Scotland, which has now come within the range of practical politics. In the course of time, and it may be hoped within a very short time, Scottish Parochial Boards will be reformed, and the County Councils will be entrusted with a number of powers which were with unnecessary caution withheld from them by the Act of Parliament that brought them into existence. It might be desirable that delegates from the County and Town Councils should sit once or twice a year together in conference—say by rotation in the leading centres of Scottish municipal life—and consider various public questions affecting them, and coming within the sphere of Local Government as defined by Parliament. Such a committee or Convention would be found invaluable for the purposes of consultation both by the Scottish members and by the Secretary for Scotland. It might even be entrusted with

powers for preparing 'schemes' to be submitted to Parliament similar to those already possessed by the Educational Commissioners. If this were the case, the burdens that at present prove too much for the shoulders of Scotch members would be greatly reduced. If finally there were delegated to this body, and to the similar bodies which would be established in England, Wales, and Ireland, a limited amount of work of an administrative character, the London Departments would be relieved to an equal extent with the Imperial Parliament. In any case Devolution of the kind which is here hinted at rather than carefully formulated, has yet to be tried. It could be tried, moreover, almost at once, and certainly without a reconstruction of the British Constitution, whereas the establishment of National Legislatures, or of local-national Assemblies, could only be accomplished after years of agitation. After all, it is the will of the nation, not the mere machinery of representative institutions, that effects the solution of great political reforms when the times are ripe. This will make itself felt through a Grand Committee quite as effectually as through a Legislature or an Assembly.

WILLIAM WALLACE.

ART. VIII.—SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

GERMANY.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (January, February, March).—For many readers, even outside Germany, the most interesting of the contributions for this quarter will be that which heads the February number. Its title is 'The Emperor William I., the Princess Elise Radziwill, and the Empress Augusta,' and it is communicated by Herr Gneomar Ernst von Natzmer. This biographical fragment takes us back to the time when the present century was yet in its teens, and when he whom the present generation remembers only as a grey-haired monarch was entering on his manhood. In those early days, Prince William was frequently brought together with the Princess Elise Radziwill, one of the most beautiful and fascinating ladies of the Prussian Court. Like young men of humbler birth, under similar circumstances, Prince William fell desperately in love. But though of

the very highest rank next to it, the Princess was not of royal rank. Grave ministers and learned lawyers debated the question, and were asked to consider whether the adoption of the Princess by one of royal birth would remove the impediment. But they pronounced that the regulations laid down by Frederick admitted of no such compromise, and Prince William was obliged to submit. In the letters here given to the public, Prince William himself traces the development of this romantic incident, and freely opens his heart about it to his friend and confidant, Oldwig von Natzmer.—Running through both the January and February parts, there is a very long essay which Dr. Paul Güssfeldt devotes to a consideration of the manner in which the German youth should be educated. Without following him through all the details of his able paper, it may suffice to indicate that he champions the opinions of those educationists whose watchwords are ‘science and modern languages.’ The other side of the question is ably advocated by Professor Zeller in his article ‘Gymnasium and Universität.’ His leading idea is that the gymnasium is preparatory to the university, that classical studies are indispensable as a preparation for the university, and that, consequently, it is unreasonable to listen to the objections raised against the present system of instruction by those who, losing sight of the connection between secondary and higher education, demand that a youth on leaving the gymnasium should be fully equipped for the practical business of life.—In the first and third parts Herr Julius Rodenberg publishes some more interesting letters and poems of Dingelstedt’s. Particularly interesting are those which record his impressions of Paris and of London; but, from first to last, the two papers are most readable.—The January number also contains two reviews, the conclusion of that which Herr August Kluckhohn devotes to Professor von Sybel’s *History of the Founding of the New German Empire*, and one of Professor Bryce’s *American Commonwealth*. This same number also reproduces the inaugural address by Professor Wundt. Its subject is the connection between philosophy and contemporary history during the last hundred years.—Besides the articles to which we have already referred, the second of the three numbers contains a paper in which Herr Ernst Brücke submits Michael Angelo’s two famous statues, Night and Morning, to a minute critical examination; also an obituary notice of Dr. Döllinger.—Of more general interest than these, however, is the essay—concluded in the March number—which Herr Conrad devotes to the dramatist Ernst von Wildenbruch, the author, amongst other well-known works, of ‘Harold.’—In an article which appears in the last part, and which bears the title ‘Frauen-

arbeit in der Archäologie,' Herr Franz Xaver Kraus gives an account of the archæological work done by women, amongst whom we note Anna Jameson, Louisa Twining, and Miss Margaret Stokes.—The last contribution calling for mention is Herr Gottlob Egelhaaf's summary and review of the third and concluding volume of the reminiscences of the Duke of Saxe-Coburg-Gotha.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (January, February, March).—Prominent, as usual, amongst the contributions to this excellent periodical are the papers devoted to records of travels and descriptions of places of interest both at home and abroad. To mention them in the order in which they appear, we have, in the first place, a sketch of Hildesheim—the Nürnberg of the North. To this quaint and delightful old town full justice is done both in the text and in the illustrations which accompany it, and to the fidelity of which we can bear testimony. In the same—the first—number, Herr Edmund Naumann has a series of 'Pictures from Japan.'—February brings three similar papers: one by Herr August Müller, whose subject is 'Mecca und Medina'; another by Herr Kurt Boeck, who begins an account of his travels in the Caucasus; and the third by Herr Wilhelm Oelze, whose twenty pages of most readable text, aided by a series of thirteen capital sketches, give a very vivid picture of 'Jamaica's beauteous isle and genial clime.'—Finally, in addition to the second instalment of the Caucasus sketches, the third part brings a description of the Gulf of Baiæ.—Returning to the January number, we have to notice a short essay devoted to a sketch of the life and an appreciation of the works of Theodor Fontane, a poet who deserves to be better known in this country, were it only for his translations of some of our old Scotch ballads and his own imitations of them.—In a charmingly written and most instructive paper, Herr Erich Schmidt traces the origin and development of the legend of the Three Rings. He first finds it used as early as the twelfth century by a Spanish Jew, and then cropping up again at intervals and in various countries, till Lessing gave it its final and classical form.—In addition to this, the same table of contents contains 'The Messiah in Magdeburg,' an historical episode of the eighteenth century, and a final instalment of some twenty letters between Theodor Storm and Emil Kuh.—A most original, as well as interesting and instructive, paper is that in which Herr Vogt makes a crab relate the story of its life. It is to be found in the February part, as is also a short sketch of Madame de Longueville.—Though dealing with a subject which does not possess any great charm of novelty now, the essay in

which Herr Geiger indicates the various stages through which the Faust legend has passed, and the use to which it has been turned by Goethe's predecessors, will be found exceedingly readable.—Very interesting in its way is also the paper which Herr Schwarz devotes to German porcelain.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (January, February, March).—Of the five articles which make up the table of contents of the January number, three are reviews of books. The first of them deals with the philosophical writings of Döring, Gizycki, and Paulsen, who are grouped together as 'modern moralists.' In the second, Herr Hans Delbrück makes Professor Sybel's lately published history of the foundation of the German Empire, as well as the memoirs of Baron von Canitz und Dallwitz, serve as a peg whereon to hang his own views on the Government of Frederick William IV. The development and the fall of the order of the Knights Templar, as set forth in a work published by Dr. Prutz a couple of years ago, is the subject to which the third is devoted.—Of the other two papers, that which appeals to the general reader is Herr Otto Harnack's very able examination and critical appreciation of Ibsen's newer dramatic productions. Of these the more important is that powerful, but terribly gloomy piece, 'Ghosts,' which, as the critic puts it, may be looked upon as the fifth act of a tragedy, the dénouement brought about by circumstances not thoroughly worked out, but sufficiently indicated to give the reader—or spectator—a clear idea of the whole, and and of which the object is to show the effects of heredity from father to son of disease in both mind and body.—The remaining contribution to this number is headed 'Die Katholisirung Englands,' and is a very elaborate attempt to prove that Catholicism is not making any progress in England, that Ritualism is no sign of a movement in that direction, but rather the contrary, and that, finally, the results which Protestantism has to show all over the world altogether eclipse anything that the rival religion can boast of.—The second of the three numbers for the quarter continues and concludes the philosophical study 'Moderne Moralisten.'—A very instructive and particularly interesting paper by Herr Kawerau follows it. The subject chosen is Thomas Murner, and more particularly his famous satire 'Narrenbeschwörung,' a work akin to, and indeed, partly suggested by Brant's better known 'Ship of Fools.' A very important point of this excellent study is the connection which it establishes between satirical works of this kind and the popular preaching of the period.—In 'Australia Felix' Herr R. von Lendenfeld records his impressions of a visit to the island continent. Much that he has

to say is tolerably familiar to English readers; one passage, however, is interesting enough to translate: 'For an Englishman who honestly does his work, and duly goes to church on Sundays, Australia is, in the truest sense of the word, Australia Felix. For the Presbyterian Scotchman, who has everywhere if not sympathy at least respect shown him, it is also Australia Felix. For the Irish Catholic—and there are more than half a million such—Australia is, socially, no longer a happy land. The Germans meet with decided antipathy on the part of the British, and many a one longs for a German Imperial colony, where he will not be a servant, as in Australia, but a master.'—In the same number Herr F. H. Reusch has an article which compares the results obtained by the Redemptorists and the Jesuits respectively.—March opens with a paper in which Herr Adolf Harnack considers the relation of legends to serious history.—The correspondence between Herder and Hamann supplies Herr Wilhelm Lang with materials for a readable literary sketch.—The remaining contributions are: 'Minghettis Denkwürdigkeiten,' of which the author is Herr Lang; 'Suarez, der Schöpfer des preussischen Landrechts,' by Herr Paul Hinschius; 'Rembrandt als Erzieher von einem Deutschen,' and finally 'Ueber Internationale Arbeiterschutzgesetzgebung.'

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Drittes Heft, 1890).—Professor H. Jacoby continues his study on 'die praktische Theologie in der alten Kirche.' Here he deals with the works of Augustine, Cyril of Jerusalem, Dionysius the Areopagite, Maximus, Jerome, Innocent I. and Gregory I., which furnish materials in regard to this subject. Dr. Usteri furnishes some exegetic and historico-critical observations on Christ's conversation with Nicodemus (John iii. 1—21).—Herr Johannes Weiss treats of Christ's defence against the charge of being in league with Beelzebub.—Herr Dalmer gives some observations on 1 Corinthians, x., 3-4, and Ephesians iv., 8-10.—Dr. F. Dusterdieck follows with a short article titled, 'Sprachliches zu der lutherischen Erklärung der vierten Bitte;' and Dr. Koshlin has a note on the authenticity of Luther's letter to Bugenhagen of the year 1520.—Dr. Ischackert reviews Julius Heidemann's *Die Reformation in der Mark Brandenburg*.

R U S S I A .

VESTNIK EVROPY—Messenger of Europe—(January and February).—This well-known historical, political, and literary monthly, which is styled by one of its contemporaries 'the prince of journals,' is now in its twenty-fifth year. Its editor is Mr.

M. M. Stasyoulevich. The two numbers abound in articles of interest. Ninety-nine pages are occupied by a thoughtful paper on 'Hippolyte Taine and his signification (znachayniyea) of Historical Science,' by Mr. V. I. Geryea.—Poetry is illustrated by Messrs. D. Merezhofski (five pieces), Alexie Zhemchouzhikoff (two pieces), Vladimir Martoff (nine pieces, seven of which are love songs), and Paul Kozloff (two pieces).—Mr. V. I. Shenroke contributes one hundred and five pages of an essay on the writers N. V. Gogol and A. S. Danilefski.—A new romance by Mr. P. D. Boborykin, entitled 'Na Ooshcherbey' (On Loss), is carried as far as chapter xxiv.; while the English author, Mr. F. Marion Crawford, is honoured by an anonymous translation of his *Eve of the Revolution* ('Nakanoony Perevorota').—Five chapters of a translation by Mr. Eugene Ootteen of the *Journal des Goncourt* (Paris, 1888), follow.—'Materials for a Biography of M. E. Saltykoff,' industriously gathered by Mr. K. K. Arsenieff, already fill eighty-two pages.—The 'Chronika' giving in twenty pages the Otchet (or Atchote, account) of the lists of monies controlled by the Russian Government in 1888, and the estimates for 1890 (the completed account for 1889 taking, we presume, some time to properly audit), will be especially interesting to financiers.—A short summary of the principal domestic events of 1889 is given under the title of 'Home Review.'—'Foreign Review' gives a summary of political events, including the labour troubles in Germany and England; the nationalist disputes in Austro-Hungary; Boulangism in France; the economic crisis in Italy; the prolonged confusion in Ireland; and the periodical commotion in various parts of Turkey. Also an interesting account of the African expedition in relief of Emin Pasha, and of Mr. Stanley's great achievements therein. Austrian interference in the affairs of the Balkan States is, of course, animadverted on. The German elections and parliamentary parties, the proceedings in the Socialist question, and the part taken in the latter by the Emperor William, are discussed. So also is the Anglo-Portuguese dispute.—The 'Literary Review' notices—1. Mr. I. A. Shlapkin's *Complete Collection of the Works of A. S. Griboyeadoff*, in two volumes, I., prose; II., poetry (St. Petersburg: Vargoonin, 1889). 2. *The Writings of A. Skabichefski*, containing critical studies, publicistic outlines, and literary characteristics. Two volumes. (St. Petersburg, 1890: publisher not mentioned). 3. *The Book of Kalila and Dimna*, a collection of fables known under the name of Fables of Bidpai, translated from the Arabic by M. O. Attay and M. V. Ryabinin (Moscow, 1889). This is a work well known among the Buddhists in Thibet, Mongolia, etc., and ought to be of interest at the present moment, when all

that pertains to Gautama is so eagerly sought after. 4. and 5. Two books with Tartar titles; one on *Central Asian Affairs* by Mr. N. I. Grodeckoff (Tashkend, 1889), the other on *Ethnography* by Mr. A. Kharoozin (Moscow, 1889), are bracketed. 6. The second volume of *Lectures on the Annals of the historian Nestor* by N. P. Dashkevich and A. I. Sobolefski (Kieff, 1888). 7. *Solofski*, by P. F. Fedoroff, M.D. (Cronstadt, 1889), a collection of the best literature of, and concerning, the world-famed Monastery on the savage islet of Solovetsky in the White Sea. 8. *The Writings of N. V. Gogol*, tenth edition, collated with the author's MSS., by Nikolas Tikhonravovym. Vol. III. (Moscow, 1889). 9. *Collection of Oral-Kazak Songs*, containing 162 songs and 18 longer poems. Compiled by N. G. Myakooshin (St. Petersburg, 1890). 10. The titles of 107 works received but not noticed.—'New Foreign Literature' contains notices of M. Fustel de Coulanges' *History of the Political Institutions of Ancient France* (Paris, 1889); Viscount de Vogue's *Remarks on the Centenary Exposition* (Paris, 1889); Baron von Bosse's *Boulangier Swindle* (Wiesbaden, 1889); M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu's *The Modern State and its Functions*, (Paris, 1890); and M. N. Guyau's *Education and Heredity*, a sociological study (Paris, 1889).—A domestic 'Society Chronicle' of thirty pages, and 'Bibliographic Leaves,' containing notices of nine other literary works on the inside of the paper covers, bring to a close the joint effort of the January and February numbers, in a total of 727 pages. The remaining 187 pages are filled with matter special to each number, as follows. The January number contains:—'Griboyeodoff: Historical Remarks,' by Mr. A. I. Pypin. This article, taken in connection with those previously quoted on Gogol, Danilefski, and Saltykoff, shows that a Russian knows how to appreciate his national literary heroes. A review of Mr. Griboyeodoff's two volumes has already been noticed above.—The appreciation just alluded to is further proved by the 'Fragment' (Otryvke) of Mr. Alexander Gradofski, on the popular poets, Pushkin and Gogol.—A discussion of the 'New project of Reform of the entourage (oblozhayniay) of the Zemtsvoes' takes the form of a long Letter to the Editor, in twenty-eight pages, from Prince N. S. Volkonsi.—An anonymous letter from Paris of seven pages, entitled 'National concourses (in the sense of competitions) in France' is full of matters connected with education and the great French seminaries. The February number contains specially:—'Practical Philanthropy in England, an article by Mr. Iv. Yanzhool, most flattering to the better side of our nature as a nation. The two institutions described at length are the People's Palace and the Toynbee Hall, both in the East

End of London.—Mr. V. Dedloff contributes the first nine chapters of a new tale, 'On the Lap (or Bosom) of Nature.'—The 'Eighth Meeting of Naturalists' in St. Petersburg, twenty-two years after their first meeting in that city, is the subject of a sketch extending over six pages.

ROOSKAHYAH MYSL—Russian Opinion — (January and February).—Our long severance from, and slight communication with Russia, a country we love so well, make it that the present plethoric literary-political periodical, now in its eleventh year, is to us an absolute novelty. Where else in the whole literary world can be found the periodical publication containing, on an average, 526 pages, in size similar to our *Review*, and that periodical published monthly? We envy not the arduous task of its editor, Mr. V. M. Lavroff. The genial manner in which it is conducted may be gathered from the fact that it was in its pages that we found the deservedly high compliment on the *Vestnik Evropy* quoted in our opening lines. The post of honour in both the numbers is awarded to a vigorous translation by Mr. Paul Kozloff of the first Canto of Lord Byron's 'Childe Harold,' occupying thirty-two pages.—'A Comfortable Corner' is the title of a narrative by Mr. I. A. Saloff, complete in sixteen chapters.—The American authoress Miss Margaret Woods' *Village Tragedy* is translated anonymously, the seven chapters given spreading over eighty-two pages.—Poetry, excepting the above translation from Byron, is not largely represented; Mr. D. Merezhofski treating us to one piece, Mr. N. P. Aksakoff to one, and Mr. S. G. Froogh also to one.—'Without Dogmas,' a contemporary romance by Mr. Henry Senkevich, translated anonymously from the Polish, is divided into dated fragments, from January 9th to 26th of March, 1883, diary fashion. The first few fragments hail from Rome; then the writer is at Warsaw, but returns to Rome, and the portion thus far given takes up sixty-nine pages.—'Concerning the realization or getting-up of a Drama with Scenery,' by Mr. S. A. Yourieff, fills thirty-three pages, with promise of more to come.—'Chastisement and Reformation' is an essay on the treatment of criminals, by Mr. M. N. Remayzoff.—'Outlines of Russian Life,' by Mr. N. V. Shelgounoff, are worthy of study.—'Home Review' occupies forty-nine pages.—Under 'Scientific Views' Mr. A. Th. Fortunatoff deals with the 'Progress of scientific methods of Cultivation,' and Mr. I. A. Kablookoff with the 'Eighth meeting of Russian Naturalists and Physicians.'—'Contemporary Art' devotes thirty-one pages to reports of the Moscow theatres, in which we perceive our old Shakespearean friend 'Mac-

beth' holds a place.—The 'Bibliographic Division' is a division indeed, with its 102 pages separately numbered for special binding. It is admirably compiled, the books in each department of learning being classified. Thus we have 'Belles-lettres,' with notices of six works; 'History,' with thirteen works; 'Geography and Ethnography,' with ten works; 'Political Economy and Statistics,' with nine works, including Booth's *Life and Labour of the People: the Inhabitants of East London* (1889), and *The History of Land Tenure in Ireland*, by W. E. Montgomery, (1859); 'Jurisprudence,' with two works; 'Naturalism,' with seven works; 'Medicine,' with four works; 'Rural Economy,' with four works; 'Technics,' two works; 'Elementaries,' five works; 'Kalendars,' eight works; and 'Periodicals,' five works. Of these seventy-five works, excepting the two in English above quoted, and one in Polish, all are by Russian authors. The joint contributions of the January and February numbers, with their total of 601 pages, being here ended, the specialties for each month numbering 451 pages, now call for notice. The January number contains: 'Demon Puppets' (Chortovy Kookly), a romance by Mr. N. S. Leskoff, part I., in twenty chapters.—'I Paid Myself' (Vydalsyah Denek). These notes of Voyages on the Volga (to be continued) by Mr. G. I. Oospenski, occupy fifteen pages.—Another fifteen pages are given to Professor I. M. Seychaynoff's 'First Lecture at the Moscow University' on September 6, 1889.—'A Cursory View of the Materials for the Formation of a Protective Society of Landowners,' by Mr. S. Kapoostin, takes up eighteen pages.—'Prince Peter Andreyevich Vyazemski and his Polish relations and acquaintance,' by Mr. V. D. Spassovich, is a review of a long and eventful life of eighty-six years, which terminated in 1878. Specimens of the Prince's poetry are freely interspersed among the records of his other achievements. The ten chapters fill thirty-two pages.—'Fustel de Coulanges.' Sum and reception of his learned labours. In twenty-one pages by Mr. P. G. Vinogradoff.—'Shakespeare's Wisdom of Life,' an article by Professor Edward Dowden in the *Fortnightly Review* of September, 1888, is anonymously translated.—'Structure of the representation in the Zemstvo assemblies of the villages of Russia,' by Mr. V. O. Kliuchefski, consists of thirty-eight pages of most interesting matter.—A short anonymous paper of nine pages, entitled 'Literature and Life,' is followed by one of eleven pages on 'The year 1889 in its political relations,' by Mr. V. A. Goltseff. The February number contains specially:—'A Literary Expedition.' Archival documents and personal recollections by S. V. Maximoff, a most discursive article, extending to thirty-four

pages.—‘In a Fog’ is a light tale by Mr. Philipp Nefaydoff.—‘The Land Question in the Caucasus,’ an anonymous article of twenty-six pages.—‘Sanitary Disorder,’ by Mr. V. O. Portoghaloff, in fourteen pages, speaks volumes of importance to all.—‘Serious Moments in the History of the Papacy in the Middle Ages,’ a brochure of twelve pages by Mr. M. S. Koraylin.—‘Slumber of our Predecessors in the Eighteenth Century,’ by Mr. I. I. Ivanoff.—‘Concerning the Measures to sustain and develop Forest Production,’ by Mr. A. A. Isahyeff.—‘Gotthold Ephraim Lessing,’ a biographical sketch, apparently translated (as usual, anonymously, shewing how little Russian scholars regard the talent for translating) from the German.—Examples of Pope (or Priest) Tikhon, a literary monument of the sixteenth century, discovered in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford in 1862 by the late Vice-Procuror of the Russian Holy Synod, Mr. Yoory Tolstoi, by Mr. N. S. Leskoff.—‘Foreign Review,’ in eight pages, devotes itself mainly to German affairs, the last mentioned of which, having reference to Alsace and Lorraine, leads insensibly to France. The Scandinavian countries are then alluded to, and, last of all, Greece. The other powers are conspicuous by their absence.

ITALY.

LA RIVISTA DELLE SCIENZE SOCIALE E POLITICHE for January and February has several political articles. L. Palma writes on ‘Gold the Nerve of War,’ F. P. Cantuzzi on ‘Forms of Government and the Principle of Nationality,’ A. Brunialti on the Autonomy of the Trentino, declaring that the struggle should only be carried on by legal means, and the attempt made to prevent the invasion of pan-Germanism in that Austrian province.—Professor Spoto discusses the Homestead Exemption Law in relation to the necessities of Italy.—G. Iona gives an account of the Conservative Party in Italy, and G. Marchesina writes on education in modern life.—Many reviews of recent pamphlets and works follow.

L’ ARCHIVIO VENETO (fascule 73, year 19), contains: Venice in French Art and Letters, by P. G. Molmente; The Epoch of the Construction of the Columns of the Cathedral of Verona, by P. Vignola; Historic Notes on the Spilemberg Government, by F. C. Carreri; Padua the Saint, by M. Caffi; The Margins of Rivers in the Roman Period, by F. Lampertico; The Rural Statutes of Verona, by C. Cipolla; Paolo Paruta, by V. Cian; Frederick III. at Venice, by P. Ghinzoni; and Historic and Literary Anecdotes, by E. Motta.

L'ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANA (Issue 5-6, 1889).—In this there is a very interesting paper by C. Carnesecchi on 'A Florentine of the 15th Century and his Domestic Memoirs,' being the diary of Messere Luca de Matteo, written from 1406 to 1461. It is preserved in the Florentine State Archives among the second Stroziana Feries, and shows Luca to have been a respectable merchant and citizen, and a kind and wise father. It abounds in domestic and civil affairs, and gives a picture of the passing events of a stirring period.—A. Virgili gives an account of the eight days before the battle of Parma, in February, 1525.—G. Rossi writes on Macchiavelli and the rights of the port of Monaco.—E. Rudolfi gives a long and interesting account of the family of Matteo Civitali.—The Bibliographical Review notices with high praise C. Lea's *History of the Inquisition in the Middle Ages*.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Jan. 1st and 16th).—The new year begins with an important article by Signor Magliani on Italian finance, of which it is not easy to give an adequate summary in a few words. The writer says that the present depression ought not to be an argument for denying the solidarity of the normal basis of the financial balance and the power of its natural expansion. If the extraordinary expenses, which have been so much increased by the Military Budget, were maintained within moderate limits, the equilibrium between income and expense might be restored.—There are two articles on old times, one by Professor Villari on the origin of Florence, the other by D. Guoli on 'Pasquin'; an appreciative paper on the late Robert Browning, by E. Neucione, who deems the poet's death, while still in full possession of his powers and after brief suffering, a happy one. The writer denies that Browning's most important works are obscure to anyone who reads them thoughtfully. He refers to what the poet learnt from Italy, a breath from which sunny land is felt throughout his poems, and praises English poets in general for their open gratitude to Italy for much poetic inspiration.—The lighter parts of the number are furnished by a novel by Matilde Serao, and a new dramatic sketch by F. Cavallotti.—In the 'Varieties,' Professor Brizio gives a short account of the excavations at Marzabotti near Bologna, which have revealed some Etruscan houses, the plan of which so closely corresponds to the well-known plan of Roman houses, as to lead to the conviction that the Romans derived from the Etruscans the type of their dwellings.—We have further an essay by Signor Occione on the 'Delia' of Tibullus, showing that the poet idealized a common-minded woman. The projected law on charitable insti-

tutions is the occasion of much excitement in Italy, and the subject is discussed in this and other magazines.—The paper on 'Pasquin' is ended, and Professor Barzelotti commemorates the anniversary of Francesco de Sanctis's death.—Signor Luzzatti writes on social peace at the Paris Exhibition, describing the results of co-operative association.—Professor Brunialti, writing on the revolution in Brazil, describes the ex-Emperor's work, and fears that his expulsion will be of no benefit to the State.

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Feb. 1st and 16th).—We have here an article by Sidney Sonnino on the African possessions in Africa, in which he believes that agricultural operations might be made profitable if the Government proceeded in a liberal spirit, facilitating colonisation as much as possible, and choosing at first those places in which the climate and soil are most favourable. He goes into all the economical and political questions relating to the subject, and believes that the difficulties yet to encounter are not worse than what Britain met with in North America and New Zealand a hundred years ago.—C. Boito desires reforms in the schools of architecture in Italy, and points out how the *artistic* talent ought to be encouraged in architects.—F. Casini gives an account of Rustico da Filippo, a humouristic poet of the 13th century, and shows how he was one of the founders of the *dolce stil nuova*, and that he was not mentioned by Dante because he was a Florentine, and so came under the divine poet's hatred.—C. F. Ferraris writes on the Military Budget in France, and on the late studies of the military question in Germany and Italy.—In fiction there is a story by Signora Emma Perodi.—F. Porena describes the chief cities of America, and their fulfilment of the needs of modern culture, in which, he says, they might well be imitated by the Italian cities without damage to the precious antique and historical character of these.—In the second number for the month, Professor Bonghi, in a monograph on the late Dr. Döllinger, praises the latter's search into truth, in all its parts, without regard to consequences.—E. Masi, *apropos* of Mr. J. Addington Symonds' translation of the memoirs of Carlo Gozzi, has an article on the comedy of art.—E. Cavalieri discusses the Emperor William's socialist rescripts.—An 'ex-Home-Minister' writes on the police question in Italy, in which he thinks people in general do not take sufficient interest.—G. Boglietti's article on Don John of Austria treats of the conquest of Tunis.—B. Zumbini points out the poet Ugo Tosco's use of German literature, with which, however, he was only acquainted through French translations.—Mutius writes an interesting sketch of the curiosities of tattooing.—The review of

foreign literature notices Mr. W. Pater's 'Appreciations,' pointing out some defects, but still designating the writer as one of the first order.—Tennyson's 'Demeter,' Amy Levy's 'A London Plane-tree,' and Helen Zimmern's 'The Hansa Towns,' are also reviewed, and the last work styled 'a brilliant and attractive book, the work of an evidently thoughtful writer.'

NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (March 1st and 16th).—James Walter's *Shakespeare's True Life* and an Italian translation of the poet's sonnets by Signor Olivieri give Professor Chiarini an opportunity to write the first part of a readable paper on Shakespeare's marriage and loves, promising to prove in the second part that the sonnets were not addressed to his wife.—Paolo Liroy writes on the treatment of mountains by poets, rapidly surveying the progress of a love of scenery from the earliest times, when mountains were solely considered the abodes of the gods down to the nature-worship of our period.—F. Bertolini describes the origin of the temporal power of the Popes, as important and interesting not only to science, but specially to Italy.—P. discusses the crisis of the Italian parliamentary system and political parties in Italy.—R. Erculei relates the story of the villa of Pope Julius III., its origin and rise to splendour, its degradation and its ultimate utilization as a museum of classical antiquities.—Fiction is represented by a short tale called 'A Shadow,' by Ugo Fleres.—A struggle for the preservation of the Bank of St. George in Genoa is described by C. Boito, which has resulted in a splendid project to restore, isolate, and preserve the precious monument as a grand *loggia* for merchants, custom-house, etc.—*Apropos* of the future centenary of Columbus in 1892, G. Berchet writes on 'Columbus in Venice.'—E. Nencioni reviews the quite recent inedited memoirs of Giuseppe Guesto, by F. Martini. The book gives a picture of the Tuscan Government, the rural population, the bourgeoisie class, and the revolutionary centres in Leghorn and Pisa.—A. Graf contributes the 'Legend of a Pontificate,' being that of Silvestro II. in the 10th century.—Mario Pratesi begins a series of sketches of the great painters of the 15th century with Paul Veronese.—L. Cisotti describes the conditions of gymnastics in Italy, and the need of reforms in the physical education of Italians.

LA RASSEGNA NATIONALE (January, February, March).—In these six numbers two articles are devoted to the memory of Prince Amadeo and the King of Portugal, E. Sodermi giving a sketch of the political history of Portugal, and the country's progress under the late king.—The political articles in the January number are, one by G. Grabinski on the obligation of treaties,

noticing the service rendered to the Holy See and the Church by the writings of Monsignor Turinaro; and one by Signor de Carpegna on the laws concerning charitable institutions, being a tirade against Liberals and Freemasons.—In the February numbers E. Cavaglioni writes against the alliance of Italy with Germany, which to most Italians, he says, is repugnant.—Signor Jacini's letter to the Constitutional Association of Milan, and an article by Crito describing the Anglo-Portuguese conflict, in which the latter deplores the fact that '*la raison du plus fort est toujours la meilleure,*' and that the egotism of Europe is stronger than all the political progress made.—In the number for 1st March, N. Malvezzi writes on the Independence of the Pope and France in relation to Italian politics, demonstrating that the independence of the Holy See has never been advanced by the interference of France.—Grottanellis continues his account of Queen Christina in Rome, dwelling upon the fact that her death was hastened by rage at an attempt to abduct a favourite singer in her service.—A paper in memory of Victor Emmanuel points out that his success was owing to the conviction in Europe that Italy would be an element of solidarity, and that one of his chief merits was to have respected conservative principles.—Signor Naldi relates the story of Babone di Paolo-Naldi, an Italian patriot of the 16th century; and De Lemeni writes on a North Italian poet of the 17th century.—In the February number A. Moretta contributes an interesting article on one of the most celebrated precursors of Goedone, Jacopo Angelo Nelli, who lived between 1670 and 1766, and many of whose letters are preserved in the Communal Library in Siena.—There is a letter of exhortation to the clergy of young Italy, by G. Zampini, writing from the solitude of Monte Cassino; an account of a journey in the Malesian Archipelago, by F. Rho; a paper on democracy as applied to education, by A. Rossi; a discussion of the Bank question by Xanlippo, and a story by R. Cormani.—G. Cassani gives a historical sketch of beneficent institutions from the earliest times; Signor Collobianco a full account of the work of Father Damiano, and Professor Centi a curious paper called 'Theism and Atheism.'—In the second March number Dr. Rho's journey across the Malesian archipelago is continued.—A. Astri has an article on the education of the clergy previous to our times, and tries to prove that, as knowledge progresses, neither the clergy nor democracy have anything to fear, as they are really both of the same camp. The great error of the age is the attempt to establish the reign of democracy without religion, and the aim of the new century should be to Christianize democracy, and reconcile the people to Mother Church.—X. reviews several new Italian

poetical works.—N. Guarise writes on Catholic dogmas and the liberty of science.—Signor Strafforello, in the *Bibliographical Review*, dedicates many pages to the late Robert Browning and Charles Mackay, and their works; to Tennyson's 'Demeter'; and to E. Manie's 'International Law.'

LA GIORNALI STORICO DELLA LITTERATURA ITALIANA (fascicle 43-44, year 8).—We have here a learned paper on the life and times of Simone Serdini, a Siennese poet of the fourteenth century, who passed almost all his life at the courts of Milan, Ferrara, etc. The article is enriched with innumerable notes and references.—F. M. Leone writes on Boccaccio's politics, a point of view which has been seldom taken of that great 'novelliere.'—Another sixteenth century story-letter, Straparola, is the subject of an exhaustive article by G. Rua.—The 'devotional poems and hymns of the city of Aquila' is continued by E. Percopo.—In the 'Varieties,' V. Rossi writes on the rhymers, male and female, of the fifteenth century; E. Gorra on the author of the 'Pecarone'; F. Flamini describes two historic poems by Andrea da Pisa; and G. Castelli contributes new researches in Cecco d' Ascoli.

FRANCE.

REVUE DES ETUDES JUIVES (October-December, 1889).—We have here first two further contributions from M. J. Halévy to his 'Recherches Bibliques.' The first is on 'The hereditary kingdom of Cyrus,' and the second on 'The epoch of Abraham.' In the first he defends the position he took up on the publication of the famous Cyrus cylinder, by Sir H. Rawlinson, that Ansan was Elam. He defends this now against two French scholars who have recently come forward maintaining that Ansan is Persia. These French Assyriologists are M. l'Abbé Delattre and M. Amiaud, now deceased. M. Halévy gives several weighty reasons for rejecting their views, and in support of his own. In the second paper here given, he endeavours to show how the correspondence recently discovered at Tel-el-Amarna between Amenophis IV. of Egypt, and Burnaburyas of Babylon, throws light on the date of Abraham, or the emigration of the Terachites. M. Halévy has in former papers given his reasons for identifying the Amraphel of Gen., xiv. 1, with the Hammurabi of the inscriptions. The Nabonidos tablets inform us that Hammurabi lived seven hundred years before Burnaburyas. If then the latter lived in the time of Amenophis IV., in the fourteenth century B.C., the date of Abraham is the twenty-first century B.C. (May we mention here, however, that M. Oppert, from the

same Tel-el-Amarna correspondence, fixes the Abrahamic epoch in the twenty-third century, and that M. Renan expresses the gravest doubts as to the genuineness of that correspondence).—M. Isidore Loeb furnishes a series of notes, addenda chiefly, to his paper on the Pirké Aboth in vol. i. of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Hautes Etudes*—the Religious Science section; and also a series of notes on Jewish History—on its chronology.—M. T. Reinach gives a transcription and translation of the funerary tablet found at Auch in 1869, and comments on it. M. J. Guttmann treats of Alexandre de Hales and his attitude towards the Jews, and shows how that attitude was modified by his study of the works of Maimonides.—The other papers of note in this number are, 'Le traité sur les Juifs de Pierre de l'Ancre,' by M. J. Levi; 'Un document sur les Juifs du Barrois,' by M. E. Lévy; 'Documents inédits sur les Juifs de Montpellier,' by M. S. Kahn; 'Procès de R. Joselmann contre la ville de Colmar,' by M. J. Kraguer; and 'Les Juifs de Nantes et du pays nantais,' last instalment, by M. L. Brunschvicg.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1, 1890).—M. l'Abbé de Broglie here continues and completes his study of the origins of Islam. The principal aim of his articles seems to be to show that Islam was not, as maintained by some writers on the subject, the mere product of certain tendencies in the thought and life of the time and place where it took its rise, but owed its existence and character to the genius of Mohammed himself. Without him, he asserts, Islam would not have been. In this part of his study he gives an analysis of the prophet's intellectual and moral idiosyncracies, and shows how Mohammed's gifts, and no less his defects, contributed to determine for him the work he undertook, and enabled him to carry it through in spite of all the obstacles that lay in his path. It was his very narrowness of mind and lack of idealism that made him so energetic and persevering in the prosecution of his task.—M. l'Abbé Loisy furnishes next the first part of a critical study of the 'Book of Proverbs.' He deals first with the general character and arrangement of the book, and the class of literature to which it belongs, and then discusses the question of the authors, or sources from which it has been compiled. Its doctrinal teaching is reserved for future treatment.—M. R. P. Staelens follows up his criticism and exposure of the faults of the late M. Schoebel's work on the Râmâyana, begun in a previous number. He entitles this part of his criticism 'La doctrine moral et religieuse du Râmâyana,' and shows that M. Schoebel knew as little of the moral and religious teaching or contents of the poem, as he did of everything else about it.

REVUE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1890).—M. l'Abbé Loisy continues here his critical study of the 'Book of Proverbs.' In this section of it he discusses the claims made in behalf of Solomon as the author of the book, or parts of it, and has no difficulty in showing how impossible it is to attribute either its authorship or compilation, in its present form, to him. That Solomon uttered 'wise sayings,' which may have been preserved in the memory of the people, or were written down, and that some of these may have found a permanent place in more than one of the collections that go to make up our present Book of Proverbs, he by no means denies. Nay, he grants that Solomon may have been 'le principal initiateur au genre de speculation et de poesie connu sous le nom de chokma,' and so have given his name to this form of composition; but the Book of Proverbs, as we have it, the learned Abbé regards as 'un résumé de l'enseignement traditionnel des sages,' from Solomon's time down to the Captivity, and perhaps beyond it.—M. l'Abbé Petitot's second paper on the 'Theogonie des Danites americains' is taken up for the most part with an attempt to illustrate the beliefs of the North American tribes in question as to spirits, or rather 'genies animaux,' from the conceptions of primitive races in the cradle lands of humanity (as witnessed to by the Bible chiefly), in regard to the Elohim—the spiritual powers that played so prominent a part in the religious thought and life of the Semites, and as testified to also by their teraphim, etc. His idea is that the religious beliefs and conceptions of those tribes, as of all uncivilized peoples, are mere corruptions of the primitive revelation given to Adam. The second section of his paper describes his efforts to discover whether these Danite tribes had any real idea of the one Supreme Being.—M. l'Abbé de Moor criticises M. Vernes' article, 'When was the Bible composed?' and in the *Chronique*, which follows, M. Vernes' work, *Le Précis d'Histoire juive*, which was to furnish the evidence on which that article was based, comes in for severe animadversion.

REVUE CELTIQUE (October, 1889).—The place of honour is here given to the concluding part of the late J. F. Cerquand's article on 'Taranous et Thor.' It is concluded by a series of notes illustrative of the text, and consisting for the most part of citations from Gregory of Tours and other authors.—M. l'Abbe Eug. Bernard contributes additional scenes from the old Breton Mystery on the Creation of the World.—Next we have seven pages from the hand of M. Nettlau, dealing with the Irish MSS. in London and Dublin, and supplying additions to the already published lists of their contents.—Above the signature

of M. Gaidoz is a brief article entitled 'Le debat du corps et de l'ame en Irlande,' dealing with the peculiarities in the Latinity of mediæval Irish writers as illustrated in the Irish text recently published by M. Atkinson from the *Leabhar Breac*. There are three versions of the dialogue or debate, and M. Gaidoz has collated them for the Latin.—In 'A Puzzle in Irish Parsing,' the Rev. H. Hogan, S.J., discusses the grammatical difficulties in the phrase: 'Is é leth atóibe ind aiséis-sea co dú.'—In the *Bibliographie* Professor Rhys' Hibbert Lectures on Celtic Heathendom are reviewed by M. Loth, and the *Chronique* is as usual full of extremely interesting notes.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January, February, March).—The first number for the quarter opens with the beginning of a new novel by M. Victor Cherbuliez. Its title is 'Une Gageure,' and it will probably take rank amongst the very best of his works of fiction. The plot is not a complicated one, nor is the interest awakened of the breathless kind; but those who can take pleasure in skilful delineation of character cannot do better than to note 'Une Gageure' amongst the French works of fiction which it will amply repay them to read.—Each of the odd numbers through the quarter contains instalments of the 'Diplomatic Studies,' contributed by the Duc de Broglie, who has chosen the closing years of d'Argenson's ministry for his subject. A third section of the anonymous sketch 'du Danube à l'Adriatique,' begun as far back as last May, deals with the various religions of the country, and contains amongst much else that is eminently readable and instructive, an account of a visit to the old monastery of Studenitza.—M. Treub devotes a paper entitled 'Un Jardin botanique tropical,' to a detailed description of the Botanical Gardens of Buitenzorg, in the island of Java.—Two other contributions are deserving of mention, as dealing with English subjects, though, as regards the substance of them, they bring nothing but what is already tolerably familiar on this side of the Channel. One of them is a summary and critical appreciation of two historical novels, 'John Inglesant' and 'Marius the Epicurean'; the other is based on 'The Letters of the Duke of Wellington to Miss J.....'—The mid-monthly number is headed by the first part of an historical essay by the Duc d'Aumale, who, continuing his history of the Princes of the House of Condé, has now come to a consideration of the struggle between the great general of that name and his rival Turenne.—A fourth instalment of the paper to which we have already referred, 'du Danube à l'Adriatique,' is exclusively devoted to

the 'Orthodox Church.'—Another of those scholarly essays which M. Gaston Boissier has, for some years past, been contributing, as the result of his studies in early ecclesiastical history, is also to be found in this number. It deals with St. Augustine's 'de Civitate Dei,' which it analyses and examines critically in connection with the circumstances which called it forth.—M. de Tchihatchef, who some time back contributed an interesting paper on the desert of Sahara, now brings another descriptive of that of Gobi.—Finally, M. de Varigny has a political article, of which the American statesman, James G. Blaine—whom, by the way, he likens to Bismarck—is the subject.—The first of the two February parts is largely made up of continued articles. Not including the usual literary, musical, dramatic, and other reviews, there are only three complete papers. Of these one is a very interesting sketch of the prisons of Paris during the Reign of Terror. Another gives an account of Captain Binger's exploration of the country comprised between the two arms of the Niger and the coast. Finally, in a sketch which he calls 'Une femme de bien,' M. Maxime Du Camp enlightens the public as to the charitable institutions which owe their origin to the Duchesse de Galliera.—In the next number an article on Christopher Marlowe is amongst the most readable of the items which the table of contents has to show.—Archæologists will find a paper to their taste in M. Callignon's account of the excavations carried on at the Acropolis in Athens; and those who delight in political economy may turn to M. Block's sketch, 'Les progrès de la science économique depuis Adam Smith.—March brings us another essay from M. Gaston Boissier, who sets himself to answer the question, 'Is Christianity responsible for the fall of the Empire?' He sees no reason to believe that it is, though he admits, that it proved powerless to retard it.—To the same number, M. de la Jonquière contributes a valuable historical sketch based on the recently published collection of French State papers, and entitled 'M. de Castillon at the Court of Henry VIII.'

REVUE MENSUELLE DU MONDE LATIN (January, February, March).—Max O'Rell and one of his titled compatriots have recently given us more or less amusing accounts of their impressions of Scotland—men, manners, and landscape. The rapid tour of M. R. Souchesmes, which runs through the January and February numbers, will, notwithstanding some lack of novelty, be read with interest and an occasional self-satisfied smile. Filling in his canvass with a large brush, rapidly handled, the author ought not perhaps to be held responsible for trifling inac-

curacies, though they furnish sufficient proof of the hasty manner in which he has made his notes. At the English Lakes, which he took on his way, M. Souchesmes found not only a society formed 'pour encourager les excursions,' but also a literary school, 'celle des *lakistes*,' the speciality of which it is to sing either in prose or verse, but always 'en long termes,' the lakes of Cumberland. With respect to the character of the haughty Scotch peasant, the old joke of *Punch* about the Queen's being 'a prood woman' in consequence of the marriage of Princess Louise, appears to have fascinated the French mind. M. Souchesmes serves it up once more with epigrammatic smartness. Melrose, it appears, is better known, thanks to some scent or other, to hairdressers than to antiquarians; but surely this must be in France. The tourist, of course, visited Glasgow Cathedral, where he found the choir, of all places, empty, and counted only sixty of the sixty-five pillars which support the crypt. At Inversnaid, he discovered that the hotel occupied site of the little fort erected against Rob Roy on the ruins of his own castle.' Loch Katrine did not come up to its reputation, and the Trossachs did not correspond with the interested and enthusiastic descriptions of the guide-books. And why were the big coaches and superb red-coated drivers invariably escorted by a policeman? Why, oh why? It is unnecessary further to follow M. Souhesmes, whose tour was uncomprehensive enough; but we may mention that the 'picturesque town of Dumbarton' does not lie 'sheltered between the two peaks of a basalt rock,' and that one does not 'perceive on the highest of these peaks an old fortress celebrated even in antiquity under the name of Theodosia.'—The fiction of the quarter is copious and varied. Besides the attractive novel, 'Cœur Tendre,' by M. Jean de Bourgogne, we have 'Une Aventure à Volterra,' 'L'Envoyé Extraordinaire,' and 'Le Coupon de Loge,'—all bright and readable.—M. Horatius resumes his studies in contemporary Portuguese literature, and gives an appreciation of the novels of Madame Pardo Bazan and M. J. M. Pereda.—'En Provence' is a pleasant sketch by M. Paul Mariéton, and serves as a good specimen of the important work, 'La Terre Provençale,' from which it is extracted.—The most prominent contribution to these numbers, however, is a masterly study of the political and literary life of Emile de Girardin, by M. Léonce de Brotonne.

REVUE UNIVERSELLE ILLUSTREE (January, February, March).—A full half of the first of these three numbers is taken up by 'Les Editeurs Parisiens,' an article in which M. E. Chevalier enumerates the most important works published during

'l'année du Centenaire.'—In 'Un théâtre enfantin,' M. Arthur Pougin sketches the history—from 1772 to 1859—of what was once an 'institution' in Paris, Séraphin's 'ombres chinoises.'—'Souvenirs de Bavière' is merely a sketch of Ratisbonne as it now is, and of Bayreuth as it was a hundred years ago.—The short, but interesting 'Propos de Théâtre' deal with the use of duelling on the stage.—The table of contents for January contains further 'Un humoriste,' 'La Maison,' and a short 'Causerie Scientifique.'—M. Mereu opens the February part with a political paper, 'La France et l'Italie,' in which he deprecates a quarrel between these two countries, and warns them both to be on their guard against the 'farouche Teuton.'—M. Paul Morin makes Velasquez the subject of an interesting study, to which numerous illustrations add very considerably.—The most important article, however, is the continuation of M. Louis Leroy's 'Conquête et Colonisation,' which deals with Algeria, and more particularly with the town of Boufarik, which he takes as a type.—Fiction, which is well represented throughout the quarter, claims an exceptionally large share of the March number, a well-written and touching sketch 'Miss Edith Brown' is, however, the only contribution which calls for special mention.—Amongst the more serious papers 'Une vieille Ville de Belgique'—which is Nieuport—is the longest and most important.—M. Pierre Tissot's profusely illustrated 'Promenade chez les Armuriers du xvi Siècle' is also eminently readable, and contains some interesting and instructive details concerning the equipment of the iron-clad knights of old.

L'ART (January, February, March).—Last year's Exhibition still shines with reflected light in all the numbers for this quarter. A seventeenth instalment closes the series of sketches which M. Hustin has been devoting to the 'Peintres du Centenaire.' The last names on his long list are those of Segé, Amaury-Duval, Baudry, de Neuville, Isabey, Monticelli, Gaillard, Guillaumet, Bertrand, Bouvin, Rousseau, de Beaumont, Lavielle, Lefortier, Maillot, Cabanel, Dupré, and Heilbuth. In addition to this, 'L'Art dans nos colonies et pays de protectorat' runs through from the second of the two January numbers to the last of those for February. L'Orfèvrerie, by M. Molinier, also belongs to the same category.—Amongst what we may call more independent articles we have one bearing the well-known name of M. Eugène Müntz, and dealing with the borders of Raphael's tapestries.—M. A. Venturi devotes a few pages to Ercole dei Roberti, and traces the development of the singular mistake which caused him, for centuries, to be confounded with Ercole Grandi.—In both

the February numbers, and the first for March, there are instalments of a very valuable and masterly paper in which M. Diehl describes the Byzantine mosaics in Sicily.—In an article less exclusively artistic than the majority of those to be found in *l'Art*, M. Julien sketches the career of Renduel, the publisher of the Romantic School, as he styles him, whose connection with Heine, Theophile Gautier, Charles Nodier, de Lamennais, Sainte-Beuve, and Victor Hugo gives him a position of considerable importance in the literary movement of the early years of the century.—A critical description of the works of the engraver Caylus closes the list of articles for the quarter.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1889).—Under the heading, 'Morisques et Chrétiens de 1492 à 1570,' M. Lucien Dollfus describes the final struggles of the Moors, or Moriscos, as they had come to be called then, after the submission of Granada to Ferdinand and Isabella in December 1491 to their final suppression and banishment in November 1570. His narrative is purely historical, and he neither hides nor palliates the cruelties perpetrated by Moriscos on Christians, nor those perpetrated by Christians on the Moriscos. The shameful story is told with great impartiality.—M. Pierre Paris furnishes the 'Bulletin archéologique de la religion grecque,' in which he details the discoveries made since his last 'bulletin' appeared in this *Revue*, or from August 1888 to November 1889, in Greece, which bear upon, or in any notable way illustrate, the ancient faith and cult of the Greeks. He laments that the objects brought to light by excavators during that period, which are serviceable in this way, are few and unimportant in comparison with the rich harvests of the past few years. But, as he shows, they are still very far from being unimportant. The fact that a temple of Herakles stood on the Acropolis of Athens, though history says nothing of it, is now definitely established and several other interesting facts are raised above controversy. M. Paris notes the work of the various archæological schools at Athens and elsewhere, and their publications in so far as these have reference to the Science of Religions.—Dr. H. Oldenberg is publishing a critical edition of the Rig Veda, and has issued an introductory volume containing what he describes as 'Metrische und textgeschichtliche Prolegomena.' M. Paul Sabbathier gives us a very elaborate summary of the contents of its various chapters, and points out wherein Dr. Oldenberg differs in his opinions on some points from the late M. Bergaigne, whose recent loss to Vedic studies he deeply deplures.—Reviews of books, the 'chronique' of the last two months of the year, and the Biblio-

graphy follow, and are, as usual, most helpful in keeping the readers of this *Revue au courant* with what is being done in the interests of the Science to which it is devoted.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1, 1890).—This number is unusually rich in reviews of books bearing on the Science of Religions. Space has therefore been found for only two articles of an independent and original character. The first is a study on the Book of Genesis by M. Ch. Piepenbring. It is intended to illustrate and establish views already advanced by him in former contributions to this *Revue*, as to the mythology and polytheism of the primitive Israelitic tribes. He separates here the three narratives that go to form, according to the modern critical school, the book as we now have it. He enumerates the contents of each, calls attention to their distinguishing characteristics, and seeks to determine their chronological order. He then endeavours to show that most of the details contained in them have passed through three phases before attaining to their present form. They were first, most of them, myths of nature, then they came to be modified in accordance with the later religious views and sentiments of several generations as they repeated and transmitted them, and finally they got woven together in a *quasi* consecutive order as they lie now before us.—The second article is by M. Paul Regnurd. It is headed 'Etudes védiques. Traduction d'un hymne à l'aurore.' The hymn translated is No. 123 of the first Mandala of the Rig Veda, and M. Regnaud's object in presenting it is to show how the views given expression to by him in his opening lecture at the *Musée Guimet* (and which appeared in this *Revue* last year, No. 3) stand the test of practical application in the interpretation of the hymns. This hymn to the Aurora is chosen by M. Regnaud as furnishing a series of test words by which the principles he has enunciated can be verified in opposition to those followed by M. Bergaigne. He pays a just and well-merited tribute of praise to the latter scholar's genius and erudition, and pathetically alludes to the loss sustained by France and Vedic students everywhere through his death.

SPAIN.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA: REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (January).—The first article in this number is a cruel story of a 'Jack the Ripper' of the early part of the century in Spain. It is followed by three summaries of very varied ability, upon 'The Military Year,' 'The Musical Year,' and 'Medicine in 1889.'—The necessity for scientific military education, and specially trained officers for

the Artillery and Engineers, is shown by Jose Gómez de Arteche. What he calls the 'crass blunder' of allowing the construction of the railway from Canfranc is commented upon, and the advantages of decentralisation of organisation, for rapid local mobilisation is noted.—Music is treated with literary skill, temperance, and judgment. The wealth of Spain in young composers compared with England; the decadence of her glory in religious music; the prominence of concert-opera as compared with lyric drama, and her success in comic-opera, are clearly shown by the Count de Morphy.—José de Letamendi begins by a plea for thorough anatomical training; he then gives a resumé of medical discovery for the year, dividing it into many heads. He protests against the new idea of *moral lunacy*, and shows how entirely opposed are the authorities as to the facts in this connection. He good-humouredly suggests that, if a general practitioner were to apply to his clients the most perfect diagnostic instruments invented during the last fifteen years, he would require to go about with a hand-cart.—An old-fashioned but well-written paper, in reply to Don Ramon de Campoamor, is on 'The Uselessness of Metaphysics and Poetry,' by Juan Valera. He upholds their value with mediæval learning and skill.—A very curious paper is on a document of the sixteenth century, in which a Council had advised fining all those who used the title *Don* without right. It was expected thereby to raise ten million ducats.—The lists of 'worthy' and 'unworthy gentlemen' is a most interesting one, and gives a strange insight into the ideas of the time.—The bulk of the 'Seccion Hispano-Ultramarina'—Spain beyond the sea—is occupied by a reply by 'Vicente Barrantes' to a Bohemian professor, Fernando Blumentritt, on the government of the Philippine Islands. Scoffing at the fear of Bismarck and his agents, the German had declared that the true agents of Bismarck were Spanish intolerance, vanity, craze for grandeur, and the venomous character of their insulting literature. The author, while admiring the American States, looking to the possibility of the remaining Spanish colonies setting up for themselves in the future, and prepared to acknowledge their right, supports the rule of the religious orders in the Philippines.—There is a review of the world's letters; and a paper of special interest on a work upon the 'Classical Renaissance in Catalan Literature,' by D. Antonio Rubió and Lluch, in which an attempt is made to revive an interest in these Doric Classics.

LA ESPAÑA MODERNA: REVISTA IBERO-AMERICANA (February). 'Contemporary Portugal,' by Juan Valera, is of special

interest in view of our late complications. The writer holds that the language and literature of Portugal and Galicia were one at the end of the fifteenth century, and that the idiom gradually degenerated into a dialect. He hints that Portugal sold its aid to England dearly in 1642-1644, 1661, and 1703, in place of clinging to Spain, and retaining their ancient power and possessions. The jealousy between the two countries is referred to, and the suggested confederation of Latin peoples is regarded as a chimera.—‘Biscayan-Navarrese literature in 1889,’ by R. Becerro de Bengoa, and ‘Literary and Artistic Renaissance in Galicia,’ by the Marquis de Figueroa, are more of those valuable localised papers so important to the student of language and of history. The Province of Galicia is to Spain what Brittany is to France, the Celtic, emotional, and Conservative region.—‘Democracy in Europe and America,’ by A. Cánovas del Castillo, is a well-written essay on the various democratic growths and their peculiarities.—In some ‘Military Pages’ Jenaro Alas gives some amusing comments on military affairs. He does not apparently believe in the German system for Spaniards. It is useful and necessary for the descendants of slaves and burghers, who are not naturally animated with the military spirit—but for Spaniards, restraint of their military ardour is more necessary!—‘Succession of Ferdinand VII. in Navarre,’ an essay on ‘Regional political right,’ by Arturo Campión, commences by speaking of Ferdinand, *the Catholic*, as being for the Navarrese, *the Falsifier*; holds that he broke the laws he swore to keep, and that on his death the Crown of Navarre belonged by unrepealed statute law (Fuera), to Doña Isabella of Bourbon. This harping back on the past centuries is a special attribute of the time, and is markedly prevalent in these papers.—The ‘foreign’ portion is a review, subtle, able, (perhaps ultramontane in its dislike of the materialistic philosophy mixed with its author’s Comtism) of a poem published in Buenos Ayres. The poetry, so far as the examples go, when not weak philosophy, is weak Walt Whitman.—‘Latest literary Styles,’ by Emilia Pardo Bazán, is a criticism of an Italian work, in which the writer declares there is no Italian modern literature of a really national character, and the styles referred to are all French.—‘Letters in Valencia,’ by Teodoro Llorente, speaks of 1889 as ‘the year that Querol died,’ one of the foremost Spanish poets. This is followed by some pages of ‘Notes for a Dictionary of Spanish Authors of the Nineteenth Century,’ by M. Ossorio y Barnard, which has advanced as far as P.—‘The Last Lesson’ is a touching story by Alfonso Daudet, of the last lesson in French after the order had been issued to teach only German in Alsace.—‘An

historical review of the *Stenographic Art*, by D. Juan Cornejo and Carvajal, concludes an excellent and solid number.

HOLLAND.

DE GIDS (January, 1890).—E. Sachse gives an elaborate analysis of the life and thought of Gustave Flaubert, with criticisms on his works, especially *Madame Bovary*. His place in French literature, though assured, is difficult to define, as he belongs neither to the romantic nor realistic school. His enthusiasm for the East, joined to his classical tastes, gives him an independent position peculiar to himself.—M. Speijer criticises the curriculum of Dutch higher schools, advocating the utmost possible liberality in the choice of subject to be studied for the final examination, suggesting such as *belles lettres*, different branches of philology, science of religion, history of art, but at the same time he would insist on a thorough training in the classics and modern history.—Dyserinck has an interesting and well written article on the advocacy of the sinfulness of self-defence by the Baptists of the 16th and 17th centuries. Their theory, impossible in an imperfect world, has often been contradicted by their practice of supplying money and goods to the warlike defenders of their country. The modern upholder of it is Tolstoi, who also is obliged to seek in retirement from the world, the only possible condition on which he can carry out his views.—Apropos of Browning's death we have a review of his life and works by Bijvanck, who especially praises his love of freedom, and singles out 'Fifine at the Fair' as his greatest though unpopular creation.

DE GIDS (February).—Prof. Quack gives a sketch, which will, no doubt, form a chapter in a new volume of his great work on the 'Socialists,' of Pierre Leroux, Radical printer, then St. Simonian, writer of misty Socialisms of a religious and enthusiastic kind, friend of George Sand, whose beautiful *Consuelo* was written under an impulse connected with him, then member of the Constituent Assembly in 1848, where his mystical speeches excited ridicule chiefly; afterwards refugee in London, and finally dying at Paris, where he had gone to witness the revolution in 1871, and buried at Montparnasse by representatives of the Commune. French workmen still visit his grave, and in a history of French Socialism he has a place, though the Socialism which now is has turned away conclusively from such teaching as his.—Prof. Van der Wijck has a paper on Giordano Bruno and his statue. The bad taste of the movement is admitted; it was ill done, the writer thinks, to erect a monument to a

heretic close to the Vatican; the Papacy of to-day is not the Papacy Bruno had to do with, and the heretic is not well chosen. The miserable story of the trials, the recantation, the renewed offences,—the story with which the readers of this Review are familiar,—is repeated and commented on; but the estimate formed of Bruno by the writer is less unfavourable than that of our recent articles. Bruno is judged to have been, in the first place, a poet, whose insight led him to see truths which science should afterwards unfold. He was not a philosopher, not a reformer so much as a genius, to whom some new rays of truth—imperfect, yet genuine and real—stood revealed.

DE GIDS (March, 1890).—Opens with the first part of a charming story of rustic life by Virginie Loveling, much superior to what is usually found in the *Gids*.—W. H. de Beaufort gives the first part of a paper on Oliver Cromwell.—S. Müller V. Voorst, who has before written on the subject, offers suggestions for the improvement of that swampy and backgoing colony Surinam, where the first necessity seems to be embankments, roads, and river steamers.—The Daubigny Exhibition at the Hague gives occasion for a paper on that remarkable artist and his methods, especially his treatment of light, which in many of his pictures is introduced from a point behind the spectator. His moonlight effects are especially to be noted.—A sketch is given of the lately deceased Buys Ballot, whose services in the cause of physical science, especially meteorology, are well known.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT (March).—Dr. Hoekstra proposes a new interpretation of the phrase, 'baptised for the dead,' in 1 Cor. xv. The early Church custom of baptizing the living for the dead, he regards as founded on this verse, which, therefore, it cannot explain. Baptism here is taken in the sense in which it is spoken of in Matthew xx. and elsewhere, as immersion in suffering or in persecution for the truth's sake, so that the persons spoken of would be the heroes of the faith, the martyrs of Christianity; and Paul himself, fighting with beasts at Ephesus, would be one of them. The explanation does not appear to us to be complete.—Dr. Oort reviews Dr. Robertson Smith's lectures on the religion of the Semites. While regarding the book as a valuable repertory of reliable facts, Dr. Oort rejects its main theories—its view of early sacrifice, of the relation of the domestic animals to man, and the position that the earlier Semites did not practise burnt-offerings. The Scotch writer, it is said, is carried away on his hobbies of totemism, of the matriarchate of early society, and of the social nature of early sacrifice, to positions which cannot be upheld.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Hereafter : Sheol, Hades, and Hell, the World to Come, and the Scripture Doctrine of Retribution according to Law. By JAMES FYFE. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1890.

Few theological questions have been so frequently discussed during recent years as that of the duration of future punishments. That sins committed here will be punished in the world to come is admitted by all writers who believe in the doctrine of immortality, but on the question as to how long the punishment will last the most diverse opinions are maintained. Singularly enough every writer appeals to the Scriptures, and maintains, other opinions notwithstanding, that his own particular opinion is the only doctrine which is there taught. Mr. Fyfe's book is written in the interest of the extreme Protestant Evangelical School of Theology. He maintains not only, as Mr. Maurice and others have argued, that the Divine punishments are eternal and will be for ever manifested against sin, but also that he who commits sin and does not repent in this life will be eternally punished. This he believes is the only doctrine on the subject which is taught in the Holy Scriptures. The doctrines of Purgatory, Final Restitution and Conditional Immortality he accordingly rejects, and sets forth his own as alone orthodox or scriptural. In support of it he adduces a vast number of texts both from the Old and the New Testament. He also examines the teaching of the Apocrypha and finds that it accords with the conclusions he has arrived at from his study of the earlier and later writings. His work divides itself into two parts, the first of which may be said to be historical and exegetical, and the second argumentative. In the first he gives an account of the beliefs of the most ancient nations in respect to the world to come, and then examines the various passages in which the doctrine of retribution is referred to in the Scriptures, and the terms which are there employed to designate either the future world or its punishments. In the second part he endeavours to show, partly from Scripture and partly from the analogy of the natural world, the reality and eternal duration of the punishments to which the wicked are hereafter to be subjected. Here also he attempts to meet the objections which various writers have urged against the doctrine he sets forth, and to show the untenableness of the opinions which are not in accordance with his own. Mr. Fyfe writes clearly and forcibly, but his work is not exhaustive.

Kant, Lotze, and Ritschl. A Critical Examination by Leonhard Stählin. Translated by D. W. SIMON, Ph.D. Edinburgh : T. & T. Clark. 1889.

In this country, beyond a very limited circle, Dr. Ritschl's name is scarcely known. Some years ago an English version of his great work on Justification and Reconciliation was issued, but it cannot be said to have attracted a very great amount of attention. It was of course reviewed, but, except among the few who take up with German theologians, its effect on the theological thought of the country has not been great. It is doubtful indeed whether it be so much as appreciable. In Germany, on the other hand, Dr. Ritschl was for long the centre of a large and influential school, and even now his influence is not spent. His followers are numerous ;

many of them are occupants of Chairs in the Universities ; and the German theologians of the present may almost be divided into those who are with him and those who are against him. His writings have been examined and assailed over and over again, but few of the examinations to which they have been subjected have been so thorough as Professor Stählin's. While others have contented themselves with attacking the outworks of his system, Prof. Stählin has directed his attack against its citadel. It was Ritschl himself who said that in order to prove that his system is wrong it is requisite first to shew that the theory of cognition on which it rests is wrong. This is what Professor Stählin endeavours to do. But before examining Ritschl's theory of cognition, he enters into an elaborate examination of the epistemological theories of Kant and Lotze, and then shews that Ritschl, while professing to repudiate the Kantian theory, attaches a value to epistemological questions which is much more in accordance with the mind of Kant than with that of Lotze, whom he professes to follow. At the same time he points out the logical consequences of Ritschl's doctrine, and does not hesitate to declare that his principles issue in religious nihilism, pure negation and naturalism, and that if metaphysics are again to hold the place of honour in theology which is their due, the errors of the Kantian theory of cognition must be consciously and openly renounced. Professor Stählin's style is clear and forcible. Dr. Simon has added to the volume an introduction of considerable value, and so far as we are able to judge, has done the work of translation with fidelity and more than ordinary exactness.

The Epistles to the Hebrews: the Greek Text with Notes and Essays. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L.
London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

Students of the New Testament Scriptures can scarcely fail to receive this learned and elaborate volume by Dr. Westcott on the Epistle to the Hebrews with all the pleasure and gratification with which they have anticipated it. Its appearance at the present time is especially fitting. As Dr. Westcott has more than once observed elsewhere, and as he here repeats, the Epistle was addressed to a society, the experience of whose members corresponded as closely with that of very many Christians in the present, as differences of time and place, circumstances, temperament, and culture will permit. The members of that society were living in an age of transition ; Christianity they expected would fulfil their hope for the future, but when they saw the new world opening out before them and their hopes and expectations as to their faith unrealized, they were plunged into an ever deepening perplexity and sadness. In the Epistle, the inspired writer enters with the tenderest sympathy into every cause of their grief and dejection, and as Dr. Westcott finely observes 'transfigured each sorrow into the occasion for a larger hope through a new revelation of the glory of Christ.' So it will still be, he believes in the present. 'The difficulties,' he remarks, 'which come to us through physical facts and theories, through criticism, through wider views of human history, correspond with those which came to the Jewish Christians at the close of the Apostolic age, and they will find their solution also in fuller views of the Person and work of Christ. It is with these thoughts in view that the Notes have been compiled. These, as it is hardly necessary to remark, are distinguished by sound scholarship and fair discrimination. Particular attention is paid to peculiarities of expression ; the order of the words is noted, the change of tenses, the selection of words, and an attempt is made to ascertain the meaning which these minute variations in the

language were intended to convey. There is frequent and constant reference to the language of the New Testament and the LXX as well as to classical and post-classical use. The notes, which are always condensed, are in many instances supplemented by 'additional notes' or essays. Of these many are of exceptional value; such, for instance, as those on the prae-Christian idea of sacrifice, the meaning of *διαθήκη* in ix. 15 ff., the general significance of the Tabernacle, Christ as the High-Priest and the Highpriest King, the prae-Christian Priesthood, on the social imagery in the Epistle, and the two on *τελειωσις*. After carefully weighing the evidence, Dr. Westcott comes to the conclusion that the Epistle was probably addressed to a number of Christianized Jews living in Jerusalem. The authorship of the Epistle he declines, on the evidence adduced, to assign to St. Paul, and believes that, whoever its author was, he is now unknown.

The Permanent Elements of Religion (Bampton Lectures, 1887).

By W. BOYD CARPENTER, D.D., D.C.L., Bishop of Ripon.
London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1889.

It is not often that a Bampton Lecturer selects for his subject one which appeals to so wide an audience as that which the Bishop of Ripon has here chosen. Nor is it often that a Bishop of the Church of England goes so far as to admit that the permanence of religion is a subject open to discussion. But we live, Dr. Boyd observes, in an age of transition, and it is difficult to tell what changes may at any moment arise. If, in the volume before us, nothing new has been added to our knowledge, or if the subject has not been discussed very profoundly, it has nevertheless been handled with great perspicacity, with much freshness of illustration, and in a very attractive way. The question discussed is, Will religion survive? and the reasons for believing that it will are found in the experience of the past, which shews that religion lives though religions die, and in the nature of man, which is permanent and religious. In support of this last point, Dr. Boyd quotes a fine passage from Reville, and then proceeds to point out four principles which are constant in human nature. These are, As we think we are; as we are we see; progress is through sacrifice; sacrifice to be pure must be inspired by something higher than the desire to be self-sacrificing; which, for convenience sake, are called the Laws of Environment, of Organism, of Sacrifice, of Indirectness. The question which is next proposed is, Can we forecast any of the features of the religion of the future? From an examination of the definitions of religion and its history, it is found that they are those which are demanded by the religious instincts of man, viz., Dependence, Fellowship, Progress. In answer to the question, how far do the three universal religions possess in themselves these three elements, Dr. Boyd finds that in Islamism the element of dependence is natural and indigenous, that of fellowship artificial, and that of progress wanting. In Buddhism the element of fellowship, it is maintained, is akin with its earliest features, but that of dependence is not native to it; while progress toward a goal of gladness and fuller life is outside its range. In Christianity alone are the three elements native. The fifth and sixth lectures discuss the two questions, Is Religion necessary and ethically helpful to mankind? The second of these questions is dealt with first, and leads to a discussion as to the effect of religion on morals, more especially as to the effect of the Christian religion, and the conclusion arrived at is, that though the influences of religions are, speaking generally, mixed, Christianity is in the highest degree an ethical religion, there being in it a spirit which consecrates life and makes men see, if they will, that everything is holy. In the sixth lecture, on the Necessity of

Religion, the proposed substitutes for religion are examined and found defective. The seventh lecture is devoted to the consideration of the necessity there is for a principle or basis on which religion and morals unite, which is found in the recognition of the fact that religion and morals are meaningless unless they express relationships between beings who have wills and affections. The Religion of the future, it is remarked, must not only supply an ideal, but also a power, an inspirer as well as a guide. The conclusion which is finally arrived at is that the religion of the future will be Christianity, though probably not altogether in the form in which we know it now. Changes of form, indeed, it is said, may be looked for, but Christianity itself, Christianity in all its essential forms, is abiding.

After the Exile. Part I. By P. HAY HUNTER. Edinburgh: Anderson & Ferrier, 1889.

In this volume Mr. P. Hay Hunter tells the story of the Jewish nation from the close of the exile down to the arrival in the newly-built Jerusalem of Ezra. He has made good use of the results of recent Biblical criticism, and of the archæological discoveries which have lately been made in connection with the history of the period he narrates. These last, as need hardly be said, throw considerable light on the conduct of Cyrus, and show that the notion that he was a monotheist, and that on this account mainly he favoured the return of the Jews to the Holy Land is erroneous. As is emphatically shown by the Cyrus cylinder Cyrus was not a monotheist, but a polytheist, and in all probability, as Mr. Hay Hunter suggests, a religious opportunist or indifferentist. Among other things which Mr. Hay Hunter brings out is the effect which the exile or captivity had on the intellectual, social, and political condition of the Jews, the unwillingness of many of them to avail themselves of the permission to return to Palestine, and the smallness of the number of those who did return. As to the character of these last, the Bene ha-Golah, he has much that is instructive as well as interesting to say, and remarks: 'into the Exile there went a generation of heretics; out of it came a generation of devotees.' The contrast is neatly put, and is a sample of many similar sayings scattered throughout the volume, though it is scarcely good taste, we may remark in passing, to speak of Ezekiel's scheme of a second theocracy as 'fantastic.' Mr. Hay Hunter's pages, however, not only contain a clear and condensed narrative of the history of the first seventy-five years of Judaism, they throw light also on many passages in the prophetic writings, and show with very great distinctness the part played not only by Cyrus and Darius, Zerubbabel ben Shealtiel and Joshua ben Jehozadak, but also by the prophets Haggai and Zechariah, what hold they had upon the dispirited people, and how materially they contributed towards the rebuilding of the Temple and the walls of the ancient city. Mr. Hay Hunter claims Joel as belonging to this period, but on what grounds he does not explicitly say. There are good reasons for assigning his date to a much earlier period, and for regarding the invasion he describes as that of a much more formidable foe than any whom the Bene ha-Golah found among the ruins of their fatherland.

Ireland and the Anglo-Norman Church. By the Rev. G. T. STOKES, D.D., etc. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1889.

In a previous volume, as it will be remembered, Professor Stokes gave an excellent sketch of the Church and Christianity in Ireland during the Celtic period. In the present volume he continues his subject, and deals with the history of Ireland and Irish Christianity from the Anglo-Norman

Conquest down to the dawn of the Reformation. To the first volume the great names of SS. Patrick, Columba, and Columbanus, lent a surpassing interest, and there are few who have read that volume who will not bear witness to the admirable manner in which the author attempted to do justice to them. Any such names in the period he has to deal with in the present series of lectures are not to be found. We hear much of Henry II., Strongbow, De Lacy, John Comyn, De Courcy, and others like them, but of great saints there are none. Nevertheless it would be a mistake to suppose that there is any want of interesting materials in connection with the period or any want of attractiveness about the manner in which Dr. Stokes has used them. If anything his present volume has a deeper interest attaching to it even than its predecessor. At any rate its bearing on modern problems is more obvious, and for those who care only for what is transpiring before their eyes, it cannot fail to be highly instructive. As might be expected, Dr. Stokes has here to enter more largely into the secular history of the country. Nearly one half the volume is taken up with the Norman Conquest and settlement of the country, and, as a consequence the sources of most of the troubles which now afflict Ireland are laid bare. To those who are acquainted with *Ireland and the Celtic Church* it is not necessary to say that Professor Stokes is by no means a dull writer. As a writer on Church History he is one of the liveliest we have met with, and we doubt whether there is one who has thrown the same charm around his subject or produced so readable a book. He has the rare faculty of kindling an enthusiasm for his subject, and whether he is treating of Dermot, St. Laurence O'Toole, or John Comyn, the Archbishop of Dublin, who 'was one day an ambassador, the next day a judge, but never a priest or a pastor of souls,' he is equally entertaining and instructive.

An Epitome of the Synthetic Philosophy. By F. HOWARD COLLINS. With a Preface by HERBERT SPENCER. London: Williams & Norgate. 1889.

To condense the substance of the ten volumes in which Mr. Herbert Spencer has expounded the Synthetic Philosophy into 542 pages of a similar size and in a similar type as the original, would be regarded by most of Mr. Spencer's readers, we think, as a task 'surpassing the wit of man,' and, if attempted, as certain to be worthless. Mr. Spencer is not a writer who multiplies words or sentences unnecessarily. He always says what he wants to say in clear and terse language, and his illustrations of his several averments or positions are only sufficient to make them lucid to the reader, and carry, if possible, conviction with them. Neither is he unduly lavish with them, and padding is a literary vice of which he is, and has always been, altogether innocent. Where then can the condensing and epitomising, and on such a scale as is attempted here, come in? Certainly, if such a work could be accomplished with any reasonable measure of success by any one, it would readily be admitted that Mr. F. H. Collins was the one most likely to fulfil the task. His long association with Mr. Spencer in his literary work, his hearty sympathy with its results, and the pains he has necessarily taken with every volume issued, as is seen in his admirable Index to them, for the Indices have all been prepared by him, give us a guarantee of thorough acquaintance with all the salient points of the Synthetic Philosophy. As might be expected, therefore, the work has been accomplished with great skill and success. The process is worth noting. Mr. Collins has not attempted to give in his own words what he thinks is the gist of the various sections of Mr. Spencer's system;

he has selected one or more of the sentences in each section, which form so to speak the text of the section, and given them. The passages omitted are what might be called the explanatory and illustrative commentary. We have therefore in this Epitome the master still and not the disciple. There is no effort or desire on the part of the latter to usurp the place of the former, or to replace the larger work by his own. The object is not to furnish a shorter way to the apprehension of the Synthetic Philosophy than Mr. Spencer has provided, but to aid the memory of those who have accompanied Mr. Spencer all along, and to help those who are, or may yet be, attempting the long and arduous journey with him. He brings out here the leading thought or principle advanced in each section consecutively, and each is numbered precisely as in the original volumes, so that there is no difficulty in finding the reasons or illustrations by which each is enforced or elucidated. Mr. Spencer is himself satisfied with the manner in which the task has been fulfilled, and no higher praise can be given to it than that. The work is, of course, not very attractive reading, but it is an admirable piece of literary workmanship, and cannot fail to serve the purpose for which it was undertaken.

History of Phœnicia. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., etc., etc.
London and New York: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1889.

With this volume Canon Rawlinson bids farewell to the Chair which he has occupied so long and ably in the University of Oxford. Few professors have made so faithful a use of the opportunities afforded them by their official position, or produced so long a list of excellent works connected with their subject; and old as the Camden professorship of Ancient History is, no one has filled it with greater credit to himself or honour to the University. Canon Rawlinson's present work is a fitting conclusion to his series on Egypt and the great Oriental Monarchies, and deserves, as need hardly be said, a place among them. To those who are acquainted with the subject of which it treats, and have followed the various writers who have thrown light upon it since Movers and Kenrick wrote, it contains little that is new. As in most of his other works, the author has contented himself with utilizing the labours and researches of others, and has brought together a vast mass of information scattered through many volumes and papers, sifted and arranged it and recorded it in a readable and extremely interesting narrative. There is much in it to remind us of its predecessors. It is cast on the same lines; there is the same absence of speculation, the same adherence to ascertained facts, and the same judicial calmness in pointing out their bearings. At times one almost wishes he would overstep his record a little and attempt the solution of some of the perplexing questions his pages suggest. But he is always superior to any temptation of the kind, and pursues his way almost as if he were altogether unconscious that any such problems were in view. Even on such interesting topics as the origin of the Phœnicians and the origin of the Alphabet he is almost entirely silent, while on that of the origin of the Phœnician coinage he is entirely so. One very tantalising thing about the history of Phœnicia, at least about its earliest period, is the absence of precise dates. One would like to know when Tyre and Sidon were founded, when the Phœnicians began to colonize, and when their various colonies were established. But anything like precise dates for any of these things are, or appear to be, perfectly unascertainable. So much so is this the case, that in the very excellent account which Canon Rawlinson gives of the Phœnician Colonies he makes no attempt, except in one or two instances, to fix the dates at which they were founded, but follows, instead of the historical order in his description, the geographical. One thing, however, that ap-

pears to be clear, is that the Phœnician civilization was long anterior to that of Greece. To what extent it was dependent on the Egyptian or Chaldean, is not so clear. The people themselves do not appear to have been of an inventive turn. They were practical rather, 'with,' as Canon Rawlinson puts it, 'an intellect quick to devise means to an end, to scheme, contrive, and execute, and with a happy knack of perceiving what was practically valuable in the inventions of other nations, and of appropriating them to their own use, often with improvements upon the original idea.' But whether borrowed from abroad or indigenous, there can be no doubt that from the earliest period of written history, if not long before, their material civilization was for the time very high, quite equal to that of their neighbours, and in some respects superior. As manufacturers and merchants, they seem to have borne a high character. Some stories are told of them to the contrary; but, as Canon Rawlinson argues, these stories emanate from sources which are not altogether above suspicion. And besides, the fact that for centuries they retained their hold upon the commerce of the world is itself a proof that on the whole they were honest and reliable in their dealings. But for much more that is interesting in connection with these ancient manufacturers and traders of antiquity, we must refer the reader to Canon Rawlinson's volume. The chapters on Architecture, Aesthetic Art, Ships, Navigation and Commerce, Mining, Religion and Literature, will be found especially attractive. Altogether, the work is a valuable contribution to the ancient history of the world, and notwithstanding the many difficulties with which the subject is beset, cannot fail to convey not only a clear conception of the people and civilization of this narrow corner of Syria, but also to show how deeply the roots of our present civilization are planted in the past, and to what extent it is indebted to those who have been called the British of the ancient world.

A Historical Sketch of the Conflicts between Jesuits and Seculars in the Reign of Queen Elizabeth, with a Reprint of Christopher Bagshaw's 'True Relation of the Faction begun at Wisbeich,' and illustrative Documents. By THOMAS GRAVE LAW. London: D. Nutt. 1889.

Mr. Law has here reprinted a very interesting pamphlet belonging to the reign of Elizabeth. The introduction he has written for it, to say nothing of the footnotes which are plentifully scattered throughout the volume, or of the numerous appendices it contains, is, if anything, more interesting still. It opens up a by-path in English political and ecclesiastical history with which few, even among the best read, are acquainted. The conflicts with which the volume deals, and on which Mr. Law has thrown great light, arose among a number of secular priests and Jesuits, who were imprisoned in Wisbeach Castle for their religion. With the exception that they were compelled to make the castle their residence, the fathers seem to have enjoyed the greatest liberty. They were allowed to associate, to receive their friends, to eat and drink as they pleased, and to go in and out of the Castle as they chose. They lived on such good terms with the governor, and were so little suspected by him, that they managed to convert his daughter, who was a strict Puritan, to their own faith. In short, the Castle was a pleasant, if an enforced, retreat, and for some time the fathers lived together in the greatest harmony, and won the respect and esteem of all around them. Their troubles began with the introduction among them of the agents of Parsons. The ostensible point in dispute was whether the little society—it numbered thirty-seven in all—should be governed by an arch-priest appointed or controlled by the Jesuits; but the

real point at issue was whether the English clergy should become the agents of the Spanish Court under the direction of Parsona, or, while remaining faithful in their allegiance to the Catholic faith, they should remain faithful to their country. The dispute was carried on with great bitterness on both sides, and lasted several years. On appealing to Rome the Seculars were at first worsted, but ultimately they obtained a decisive victory. It is remarkable that what was apparently a mere private dispute among a number of imprisoned priests should have had issues which affected not only the position of the Catholic Church in England, but also the course of English political history, yet such was unquestionably the case. 'The course and results of the appellat controversy,' as Mr. Law points out, 'were undoubtedly of national importance. The kingdom owed perhaps, more than is generally admitted, to the appellat priests for the failure of the later Spanish attempts, and (notwithstanding the Watson episode) for the peaceful accession of James. By their prior resistance to a policy of aspersion and violence, and their known readiness to divulge any treasonable project, they thwarted the Spanish faction at every point. The views which they were the first to broach in opposition to the deposing power, and which ultimately prevailed among the clergy in general, were at least indirectly a gain to the country on the side of liberty and peace. They endured many sufferings, but they succeeded in breaking down the Jesuit ascendancy, both in political and ecclesiastical affairs, and were mainly instrumental in changing the attitude of the government of James I. towards the Catholic faith.' Of Mr. Law's work in the volume it is difficult to speak too highly. Christopher Bagshaw's 'True Relation' is short, occupying less than one half of the volume, and is, of course, one-sided, though it probably puts the case of the Secular priests in as fair a way as one who was intimately involved, and, in fact, one of the chief leaders in the quarrel could be expected to put it for his own side. Mr. Law has given the other side. He has traced the history of the dispute back to its origin and supplied what is wanting in the 'True Relation' for the full understanding of it, by means of copious footnotes and numerous appendices. The former are full of information drawn from obscure sources, and together with the letters, etc. in the latter, throw great light upon the text. Here and there Mr. Law perhaps shows his own bias, but even in spite of this, he has done his work of editing in a very scholarly and masterly way. It is to be hoped that we have here only the beginning of further work in the same direction.

La France préhistorique d'après les sépultures et les monuments.

Par EMILE CARTAILHAC. Paris: Félix Alcan. 1889.

Materials for the formation of a pretty accurate, if somewhat incomplete, idea of the condition of the human race previous to the period of written history, are gradually being accumulated, and not a few attempts have been made to piece them together in order to show what man was and what his environments were in the earliest discoverable epochs of his existence. So far, the subject has proved itself of surpassing interest, and few sciences have done more to widen the horizon of human thought than the science of Archæology. Thanks to the abundance of its prehistoric remains, France has always taken a leading part in the development of the science, and contributed at least as much to our knowledge of the primitive history of man as any other country of Europe. In proof of this we need only refer to the admirably illustrated pages of the excellent volume before us. M. Cartailhac, its author, is well known among his countrymen as the editor of the Review which is devoted to the collection of materials for the history of primitive man. Here he has confined himself entirely to

France, and has endeavoured to reconstruct the outline of its history from the earliest times of which any remains have been found, down almost to the opening of the period of written history. Dates are of course altogether wanting, and recourse has been had to the well-known division into periods. As to the existence of man in France during the tertiary period, M. Cartailhac is doubtful. The first sure traces of his existence, he finds, are in the quaternary period; and using these and the places in which they were found as the basis of his induction, he proceeds to describe in four chapters the civilization of the period. Two of these chapters are of special interest: the one on the art of the period, and the other on the worship of the dead. The men of the neolithic period are similarly treated, but at greater length; their weapons and monuments are described, their dwelling-places, their sepulchres, and their funeral rites. The subject is one which affords wide scope for speculation, but M. Cartailhac has resisted the temptation to indulge in it. He quotes with approval Professor Senes' remark, that in human paleontology we are menaced with error on so many sides that it is impossible to be too careful in drawing our conclusions from the objects submitted for our consideration, and seems to have continually borne it in mind. The volume, in fact, is as carefully as it is admirably written, and is well deserving an attentive perusal.

Martin Luther and the Reformation in Germany until the Close of the Diet of Worms. By the late CHARLES BEARD, B.A., LL.D. Edited by J. FREDERICK SMITH. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1889.

Notwithstanding the almost innumerable Lives of Luther, there is still room for an account of him written from a purely historical point of view and in a thoroughly impartial and judicial spirit. That anything of the kind has as yet appeared, few who are conversant with the subject will venture to say. In those which have appeared, in such of them at least as have come under the notice of the present writer, the religious and theological and even political prepossessions of their authors have been all too evident, and there seems to be a general tendency among them to use Luther and his writings more or less as illustrations of a preconceived idea. History or biography written in this way may be entertaining and suggestive, but it is not instructive. The ideal historian of the Reformation period would be one who would shake himself free from his personal and traditional prejudices, do equal justice to both sides in the conflict, and appraise its results at their true value in connection with the religious and secular development of Christendom. Whether Dr. Beard answered to this ideal, how near he approached it, or how far he was from it, we must leave the reader of his volume to say. Most, we should say, will be disposed to suspend their judgment. The work is unfinished, and considering the extensive preparations he had made, it would probably be unfair to say the final word as to his fitness for the task he assumed. In some respects the present volume would seem to show that he was well qualified. He had patience, no small amount of insight, and was familiar with his subject. His preparations were more than ordinarily extensive. Especially does this appear to have been the case on the German side, though on the Italian his reading seems to have been less wide. On the other hand, Dr. Beard's theological position and his evident antipathy to Rome are drawbacks. History without partiality is what we should like to see, and though Dr. Beard has manifestly striven to be impartial, his prepossessions seem here and there to have overcome his intentions and desire. But, taking the book as it stands, it may be regarded as an instalment of the

most learned and temperate Life of Luther which has yet appeared on English ground. In this respect, indeed, it may probably be looked upon as the promise of better things. It is to be regretted that its author did not live to complete it. Whether he would have succeeded in pleasing all parties is doubtful, but judging from the present instalment it is more than probable that the work would have been one from which the most divergent in opinions might have learnt.

Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1667-1752, with Appendix, A.D. 1471-1752. Glasgow: Printed for the Glasgow Stirlingshire and Sons of the Rock Society. 1889.

This volume completes, for the present at least, the publication of the charters and documents illustrative of the history of the royal burgh of Stirling. It is the largest of three considerable quarto volumes, the preparation and issue of which reflect great credit on the energy and public spirit of those who have been more particularly connected with their production. For the present volume we are indebted to the liberality of Sir Michael Connal, who, as we learn from the preface, with characteristic decision and zeal authorized its preparation. It is to be hoped that the example which Sir Michael Connal and others in similar cases have thus set will find numerous imitators. For the social history of the country such works as the present are invaluable, and few greater benefits can be conferred on the public than by their publication. It is to be hoped, too, that all intending benefactors in this direction will be fortunate enough to meet with editors as competent as Mr. Renwick, under whose care this and the other two volumes we have alluded to, have been produced. The present volume has much in common with its predecessor, and consists for the most part of extracts from the records of the Town Council. These begin with the 1st of January 1667, and reach on to October 14th 1752, and so cover nearly a century in one of the most critical periods of Scottish history. As might be expected, the extracts contain many references to the attempts made in 1715 and 1745 by the Stewarts to regain the throne from which they had been ousted. Not a few of the extracts specify the charges put upon the burgh for the quartering of troops, and betray a laudable anxiety on the part of the Town Council, who complain loudly of the burdens thus imposed upon them, to be freed from the expense attending their support, and the maintenance of the guard at the bridge. One of the most interesting entries in this connection is under the date February 10, 1746, where we have extracts from the *St. James' Evening Post*, in which the authorities of the burgh are charged with the cowardly surrender of the town to the forces under Prince Charles, and the defence which the Magistrates and Council thought fit to make in respect to their conduct—a defence which, though it is not without some show of reasonableness, affords little argument for their courage or loyalty. Both then and at an earlier date, in fact, some of the municipal authorities appear to have been suspected of leanings towards the Stuarts. Many of the extracts refer to the settlement of ministers and teachers, the regulation of the markets, the business of the guilds, clipt money, the poor, singing schools, the cleansing of the streets, vagrants, prison-breaking, the letting of seats in the town churches, repairs on the town bells, and the conduct of the town officials. Several entries refer to the morals of the town, and from one we gather that bigamy was rife, 'and nowhere else,' as the Extracts bear, 'more than in this place.' For 'the more effectual suppressing of the horrid crimes of cursing, swearing, drunkenness, profanation of the

Lord's day, unreasonable frequenting of taverns, and other vices and immoralities abounding in this place,' a weekly court was established, and two honest and conscientious neighbours out of each quarter were appointed to observe the conduct of those around them and to report. Warlocks and witches seem to have been numerous. On September 7, 1677, no fewer than 'ane warlock and three witches' were put in jail. One point of special interest at present may be noted. On November 16, 1706, an address was appointed by the magistrates and councillors to be drawn up and presented to Parliament against the Union. A month later the Articles of Union were burnt in the burgh by some of the inhabitants, 'at their oun hands,' as the magistrates and town councillors say, 'without the least knowledge of any of the saidis magistrats or council.' Several of the entries have a sort of pathetic interest about them, such as those referring to the Plague, and the following: 'The magistrats and counsell who have received ane letter from Innerkeithing for ane supplie for releiveing the poor prisoners that are lyeing under the slaverie of the Turks,' etc., referring to one of the frequent collections which were made at the time, in order to raise funds for the redemption of those who had fallen into the hands of the corsairs of Barbary. But we have said sufficient to show the interest there is in these old records. Some of the appendices are if anything still more interesting. The town accounts, for instance, throw a very vivid light on the habits of the town councillors and workmen of the period, and also on those of the judges when they were at the 'justice air.' Workmen and officials of all kinds were always thirsty, and the accounts for confections, wine, ale, tobacco and pipes, which were supplied to the magistrates and councillors, show that, however careful they might be in spending the town's money on the town's work, they took care to spend it freely on themselves.

The Book of Wallace. By the Rev. CHARLES ROGERS, D.D., LL.D., etc. Edinburgh: Grampian Club. 2 vols. 1889.

Dr. Rogers has long been known for his devotion to the memory of Sir William Wallace, and in a literary way these two handsome volumes may probably be regarded as his *magnum opus*. But be that as it may, they are a substantial indication that the spirit of enthusiastic patriotism which conceived the idea of the Wallace Monument, which has now for some years formed one of the most conspicuous objects in the landscape around Stirling, is not yet spent. They are evidently the result of a vast amount of research, and bring to light a multitude of particulars relative to the national deliverer, his family, and the history of the War of Independence, which have hitherto lain in obscurity. There is perhaps a little superfluous matter in the two volumes, and some of the speeches might probably with advantage have been omitted. Still, taking them as they stand, they deserve a hearty welcome as a zealous and by no means unsuccessful attempt to do honour to a great and immortal name. The first volume is devoted to tracing the origin and history of the Wallace family. Dr. Rogers seems to hesitate between the Hittite and the Hebrew theory of the origin of the Cymri, and to have no belief in the fact that on philological grounds alone, both theories are untenable. The earliest Wallace whom Dr. Rogers has been able to discover is Aymer de Wallace, who was one of the witnesses to the foundation charter of Kelso Abbey, 1134, and whom he claims as a Cumbrian, but whether his native soil was the kingdom of Strathclyde, or Shropshire, or Wales, is left uncertain. As to his connection with the national hero nothing is said; probably for the reason that nothing is known. In the twelfth century the Wallaces seem to have been pretty widely spread, being known all over the Lowlands of Scotland, and

in many parts of England. The earliest known progenitor of Sir William Wallace is his great-grand-father, Richard Wallace of Riccarton, near Kilmarnock. Adam, his grandson, acquired, prior to the middle of the thirteenth century, the lands of Elderslie and Auchinbothie, the latter of which are not, as Dr. Rogers tells us, in the County of Ayr, but like those of Elderslie in the County of Renfrewshire, though in a different parish; those of Elderslie being in the Abbey Parish of Paisley, and those of Auchinbothie in the parish of Lochwinnoch. It was in the castle or manor-house of Elderslie that Sir William Wallace was born. As the reader of the first volume will see, the Wallace family was very widely spread, and Dr. Rogers deserves great credit for the patience with which he has traced its various branches and members. Before reading this volume, however, it will be as well to consult the list of errata at the end of the second volume, where two or three unfortunate errors will be found corrected. The second volume is mainly taken up with an account of the War of Independence and the part played in it by Wallace. The question of the English claim to the Scottish Crown is well put and fairly discussed. In narrating the life of Wallace, Dr. Rogers is disposed to lay too much stress on the story of Blind Harry. He is alive, however to his inconsistencies, and tries, but not always with success, to reconcile some of them with the more sober facts of history. An author who makes his hero be put to death at twenty-seven, yet makes him die at the age of forty-seven, is not always to be depended upon.

English Wayfaring Life in the Middle Ages. By J. J. JUSSERAND. Translated by LUCY TOULMIN SMITH. Illustrated. Third Edition. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1890.

For readers of mediæval books, for those who wish to understand many of the allusions in the old poets, and for those who desire to obtain a clear insight into old English life, the way in which our forefathers travelled, what they saw along the road, what difficulties they encountered, and what inconveniencies they had to put up with, this is a rare and valuable book. The fact that it has already reached a third edition is a proof of how widely it is appreciated, and of the amount of interest with which it is fraught. An hour's waiting in a large railway station or a saunter along one of the main roads of the kingdom remote from towns, affords many an opportunity of witnessing some strange sights, and of seeing some of the most singular specimens of humanity. But all that may be seen now is almost as nothing compared with the strange scenes which M. Jusserand conjures up in his pages. Civilization has now-a-days swept the high-roads clean, and magnificent specimens of engineering as many of them are, they are now almost unfrequented, except by an occasional tramp or cyclist; but in the days M. Jusserand takes us back to, bad as they were from an engineering point of view, they were busy thoroughfares, full of life and incident; and M. Jusserand's object is to give an account, not only of the roads and bridges of the fourteenth century and of their condition and of how they were kept up, but also of those who lived upon them and passed along them. As a picture of English life at the period, his work can scarcely be surpassed. His materials are drawn from the existing documents of the period, and the truth of his presentation is vouched for both by extracts and illustrations drawn from them. Altogether there is a strange fascination about the volume which is heightened by the quaintness of the illustrations, and the admirable manner in which the translation has been executed.

Archæological and Historical Collections relating to the County of Renfrew—Parish of Lochwinnoch. Vol. II. Paisley: Alex. Gardner. 1890.

Though five years have elapsed since the publication of the former part of this work, the issue of this second volume is not, even at this distance of time, unwelcome. It completes the work so far as it was intended to complete it in connection with the Parish of Lochwinnoch, and contains some seventy additional documents relating to the parish, together with an introduction to the series, additional drawings and descriptions of historic and pre-historic structures, the rental roll of Lord Semple in 1644, a poll tax roll of the parish in 1695, and an elaborate index to the contents of the whole of the two volumes. Like those of the first volume the documents in the one before us are of exceptional value, and throw considerable light both upon the history of the parish and upon the social and political condition of the country, during the period they cover. Some of these have been printed before, but many of them have not. They refer for the most part to the third or Great Lord Sempill, and various members of his family. Among others is a series connected with Lady Grizzel Sempill, and another relating to the marriage of Sempill of Beltrees with Mary Livingstone, one of the famous Maries, and surnamed by Knox 'The Lustie.' Those relating more directly to the third Lord Sempill, while containing abundant indications as to his character and influences, are of interest in connection with the history of his times. The introduction, which covers some thirty-two pages, besides summarising the contents of the documents in the two volumes, contains a description of the parish, a sketch of the Sempill family, and numerous historical and other notes, which are more or less supplemental to the main contents of the volumes. The plates in the first volume, as it will be remembered, belong to the Collegiate Church and Peel of Castle Semple; in the present, we have a series of eight devoted to Barr Castle, the ancient seat of the Glens, a large plate representing the present condition of the hill fort on Knockmade, a series of four illustrating the sculptured stones of the parish, none of which, however, are of any great antiquity, with the exception perhaps of the 'Dumb Proctor.' The plates are excellent specimens of lithography, and the descriptive letterpress accompanying them is carefully written. Altogether the work is of great interest and value, and an excellent indication of what is possible in connection with most of the parishes in the country. The continuation of a work so well begun is, to say the least, very desirable.

The Historical Castles and Mansions of Scotland (Perthshire and Forfarshire). By A. H. MILLAR, F.S.A., Scot. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1890.

This is the first instalment of what promises to be a useful and important work. In it Mr. Millar, who is well-known as the author of several other historical and antiquarian works, proposes to give some account, not only of the historical castles and mansions of the country, but also of the fortunes of the families in whose possession they have at any time been. Its scope and design differ materially from those of the excellent work recently issued by Messrs. M'Gibbon and Ross, being less technical and more historical, and, on this account, it may be said to be of a more popular character. Anyhow the volume before us is extremely readable, and leads the reader along many a by-path of national and family history. It is not exhaustive, and does not pretend to be so. Nevertheless, Mr.

Millar, notwithstanding the scantiness of his references, has evidently spared no pains to be accurate, and to make the work as full as his space would allow. He has had access to many unpublished papers, and has thus been able to make his work of some historical importance. Here and there he indulges in somewhat lengthy descriptions, but to those who are unacquainted with the localities he describes, this will by no means be unwelcome. For the most part, however, his text is historical, and narrates not a few incidents of surpassing interest. The Counties covered in the present volume are Forfarshire and Perthshire, and among the Castles and Mansions of which accounts are given are Rossie Priory, Kinfauns Castle, Dupplin Castle, Taymouth Castle, Hospitalfield, Glamis Castle, Panmure House, Redcastle, and Kinnaird Castle. The volume, we should add, is abundantly illustrated.

Bell's Dictionary and Digest of the Law of Scotland. By GEORGE WATSON, M.A., Advocate, etc. 7th Edition. Edinburgh: Bell & Bradfute; London: Butterworths. 1890.

This work has long been esteemed an authority among the legal profession. Its first edition takes us back to the year 1807, and since then it has been gradually growing until it has now become a very portly volume. The present edition is practically based on that of 1838, in which Mr. W. Bell introduced much new matter and gave the work almost a new character, thereby rendering it much more generally useful both to the profession and the public. The text of that edition, so far as compatible with the existing state of the law, has been retained. Where out of date, it has been omitted or corrected. The additions rendered necessary by recent legislation have been supplied, the ordinary terms of English law have been explained, and the references to handbooks for fuller information multiplied. In the present edition advantage has been taken of the statutes and decisions of the last seven years in order to bring the work up to date and to increase its usefulness. In addition to this, a number of new articles have been added, and the more important ones prepared for the last edition, such as those on Insolvency, Sequestration, and Joint Stock Companies, have been revised and in some instances enlarged. Altogether, no pains seem to have been spared to maintain the high reputation which the work has hitherto so deservedly and so long enjoyed.

Since Archbishop Trench issued his well known *Notes on the Miracles*, books expository of the miracles of our Lord have been rare. They have been dealt with, of course, in Commentaries on the Gospels or New Testament and by Apologetic writers; but very few books have been devoted to their elucidation. In his work *The Miracles of Our Lord* (Hodder and Stoughton) Professor Laidlaw assumes that the work of the Apologist has been done, and aims at dealing with the miracles recorded in the Gospels in a purely expository and didactic way. He arranges them in four classes: Nature Miracles, Healing Miracles, Miracles of Raising from the Dead, and Post-Resurrection. The arrangement is simple and has much to commend it. In the first class he reckons eight, regarding the two miracles of the loaves as separate events; in the second, twenty, remarking that the number of healing-miracles which are recorded in detail in the Gospels are a mere handful out of the numberless cures which the Lord must have actually wrought. The three in the third class are those which are usually enumerated, while the post-Resurrection miracle is the second miraculous draught of fishes. The volume will scarcely bear comparison with the work already alluded to, but great pains are taken to show the

meaning of each miracle, and to fix its position and significance in our Lord's ministry.

Leaves from the Tree of Life (Hodder & Stoughton) is a series of consolatory and practical discourses delivered by the Rev. J. Rate, M.A., partly to a Belgravian and partly to a country congregation. They are pointed and earnest in spirit, but they cannot be said to have anything to commend them in the way of eloquence or thought beyond many others.

The Rev. C. A. Row's *Christian Theism* (Hodder & Stoughton) has been written with a view of setting forth in a popular form the chief reasons on which the belief in the Being of a God, who possesses the attributes which the Christian revelation attributes to Him, is founded, and of pointing out the fallacies underlying the current anti-Theistic theories. The work is exceptionally well done. Prebendary Row has a thorough grasp of the arguments for Theism, and writes in so clear a style that no one can mistake his meaning. He has the art, moreover, of putting his arguments in an interesting way. On a subject so often dealt with it can scarcely be expected that his volume will contain much that is new. It is popularly written, and to have brought down the arguments to the level of those who have no turn for abstruse argumentation, is no small thing.

Mr. T. B. Saunders, M.A., has translated half-a-dozen of the essays which Schopenhauer issued under the title *Parerga und Paralipomena*. Those he has selected are: Religion: a Dialogue, the Few Words on Pantheism, and the tractates on Books and Reading, Physiognomy, Psychological Observations, and The Christian System. The title of the volume is *Religion and Other Essays* (Swan Sonnenschein). The essays, as need hardly be said, are written in their author's precise and pointed way, and belong to the most popular of his works. So far as we have examined it, the translation has been executed with fidelity and skill.

For Messrs. Macmillan's 'School Class Book' Series the Rev. A. Sloman, M.A., has prepared an excellent edition of the Gospel according to St. Matthew. The text used is that of Drs. Westcott and Hort. A useful introduction has been prefixed. The notes to the text are brief and contain just such information as boys will desire as to the meaning of the text. Several very useful indices are added.

Mrs. Edmunds' *Rhigas Pheraios* (Longmans) is a brief and well written biographical sketch of Constantine Rhigas, the founder of the Hetairia and the protomartyr of modern Greek independence. The materials are taken chiefly from the narrative of Perraivos, the friend and colleague of Rhigas, and from the columns of the Athenian 'Eortia,' to which in 1885, Dr. G. N. Polites contributed such information as he had been able to glean respecting Rhigas from the inhabitants of Pheræ. Several of Finlay's statements respecting Rhigas are called in question, and the account which Mrs. Edmunds has here given of him is fuller and apparently more accurate than any which has hitherto been provided for the English reader.

To students of constitutional and political history, Mr. S. R. Gardiner's *Constitutional Documents of the Puritan Revolution, 1626-1660*, (Clarendon Press) will prove a very handy and useful volume. It contains all the more important documents connected with the political and constitutional history of the period. Though most of them were already accessible, they were accessible only in large and expensive books, and their publication in their present form is a decided advantage. Four of the documents, however, are here printed for the first time, viz., a Bill for the Reform of the Church which was twice read in the House of Lords in 1641; a suggested

answer of the King to the propositions presented at Newcastle, drawn up by the leading Presbyterians and a small number of Independents, a document, as will be seen, of very considerable importance; the secret engagement between the King and the Scots Commissioners, dated Carisbrook Castle, December 26, 1647; and lastly, the Constitutional Bill of the first Parliament of the Protectorate, a document not to be confounded with the Instrument of Government, with which Mr. Gardiner has here carefully compared it. The documents are preceded by an introduction in which Mr. Gardiner connects them with the history of the time, and points out their significance.

The fifth volume of *Blackie's Modern Cyclopaedia*, of which Dr. Annandale is the editor, brings the work down to Momus. It bears out the promise of its predecessors and maintains their character for general accuracy and utility. Among the biographical articles are those on Kant, Krupp, Junius, Jacobi, Washington Irving, Jenner, Lacordaire, Landor, Leibnitz, Mandeville, and John S. Mill. There are good articles under Ireland, Italy, London, Louis, Local Government, Lighthouse, Library, Lakeland, Jury, Jews, Iron-clad, Insurance, and Interest. Most of them are short, as in the other volumes, but they are all informing.

The lectures which Dr. Bourinot delivered before Trinity University, Toronto, Canada, during last May, have been issued by the authorities of the Johns Hopkins' University, as a triple number of their 'Historical and Political Science' series, under the title of *Federal Government in Canada*. Here it is unnecessary to do more than call attention to the fact. Dr. Bourinot's position as Clerk of the Canadian House of Commons and his various publications entitle him to a first place among writers in all matters connected with the Constitutional History of the Dominion.

Our acknowledgements are also due for the following:—*The Theory of Credit*, Vol. I., by H. Dunning Macleod, M.A. (Longmans); *Old Age* by G. M. Humphrey, M.D., F.R.S. (Macmillan, Cambridge); *The Casket of Letters and Mary Queen of Scots* by T. F. Henderson (A. & C. Black); *Clavers the Despot's Champion* by a Southron (Longmans); *Life of Lamartine* by Lady Margaret Domville (Kegan Paul); *The New Continent*, 2 Vols., by Mrs. Worthey (Macmillan); *With all my Worldly Goods I thee Endow* by G. Washington Moon, F.R.S.L. (Routledge); *The Works and Days of Moses* by Sir Philip Perring, Bart. (Longmans); *Historical Tales and Legends of Ayrshire* by W. Robertson (T. Morison, Glasgow); *A Memory of Edward Thring* by J. H. Skrine (Macmillan); *Trial by Combat* by Geo. Neilson (Hodge, Glasgow); *Poems, Scottish and American*, by D. M. Henderson (Cushings, Baltimore); *Wallace* by C. Waddie (Genmell, Edinburgh); *Personal and Social Evolution by a Historical Scientist* (Fisher Unwin); *Huxley and Swedenborg* by Rev. R. M. Tafel, M.A. (J. Speirs); *Fra Angelico* by Gregory Smith (Longmans); *The Servant of the Lord* by John Forbes, D.D., LL.D. (T. & T. Clark); *Days and Nights* by Arthur Symons (Macmillan); *The Theory of Law and Civil Society* by Augustus Pulszky (Fisher Unwin); *The Scottish Paraphrases* by Douglas J. MacLagan (A. Elliot); *Lectures: Legal, Political, and Historical* by Alex. Robertson, M.A. (Stevens & Haynes); *The Pope and the New Era* by W. T. Stead (Cassell); and the following numbers of the 'Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,' edited by Herbert B. Adams; *Arnold Toynbee* by F. C. Montague; *The Establishment of Municipal Government in San Francisco* by B. Moses, Ph.D.; *Municipal History of New Orleans* by W. W. Howe; *English Culture in Virginia* by W. P. Trent, M.A.; *The River Towns of Connecticut* by C. M. Andrews.

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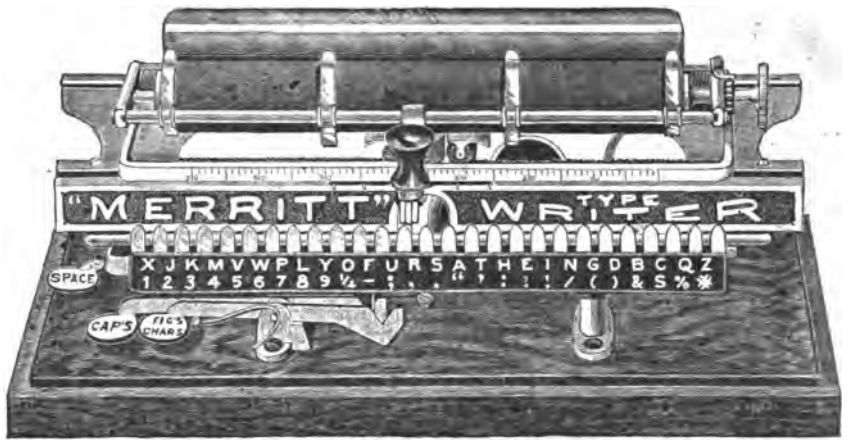
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