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Art. I.—HOME RULE FOR SCOTLAND.

HOME Rule is in the air. We live in an age when decentralization in government is preferred to centralization. This tendency of the age is thoroughly healthy. It does not arise so much from a reaction against the somewhat refined notions ot central government that have prevailed now for some time, as from the impotency of the central government to discharge its varied functions. On all sides the Imperial Parliament is pressed for legislative enactments and for measures of constitutional enquiry. It courageously attempts at the beginning of each session to satisfy all parties, but signally fails to satisfy any. Year after year passes by, and the same tale is told. The arrears of legislation are rapidly increasing. The present system of Parliamentary government hampers every industry and injures nearly every class. The question naturally enough has been put—can anything be done to remedy this defect in our Constitution; and the answer invariably given is Decentralize. We are asked to make the people govern themselves, to throw upon them the responsibility of all local administrative acts at least. This is what political philosophy prescribes as the true solvent. It is not the proposal that needs to be justified in the face of science; it is the resistance to it that needs such justification. The cry is not for small states; they are out of the question; the course

of empire is quite the other way. For that very reason the decentralizing system becomes indispensable.

We must not be misunderstood. We do not believe in the efficacy of localization in every case, any more than we believe in the efficacy of centralization in every case. There are those who think that the principles are opposed to each other; that if the one is good, the other must necessarily be bad. But the supposition is erroneous. The conflict that here arises is due to the attendant circumstances that impede or vitiate the action of one or both; it does not arise from the qualities that are inherent in both. The complete development and unfettered activity of both are the only effectual means of bringing the supposed antagonism to a close; they do not aggravate or perpetuate the antagonism. The principles are sound and healthy. It is an error in fact as it is a solecism in language to say that either may be carried too far. So long as a sound principle is adhered to, it can never become a false principle. No amount of local or individual energy or freedom can be excessive, for such qualities are the very blood and life of central power. No central power can be too vigorous, prompt or omniscient, for it is thus only a more perfect instrument for the development of local energy and the vindication of individual freedom. But every true principle has its corresponding false principle; and the moment the true principle is successful in asserting its own exclusive recognition it is liable in practical operation to be confused with its corresponding false principle. It is then that the beneficial operation of the true principle is stultified, and error creeps in. A return to truth in such cases is practicable only by means of an analysis of the circumstances that have tended to impede the operation of the true principle. Of these phenomena we have many examples in history. Our present Parliamentary Constitution is an example. Our present Parliamentary Constitution is found wanting, not because it has become too prompt or omniscient but because it has proved itself unable to accomplish the work which it is necessary for it to do. Hence it is we urge a reconsideration of the ties that at present bind England and Scotland, and we

trust that in the discussion of this question no one will object to anything that may be advocated on the ground of antiquarian sentimentalism.

Our present Parliamentary government is the result of the growth of centuries. Generally speaking it has grown gradually; at very few dates in its history has it been subject to violent changes. Yet changes have occurred when it has been found that the existing system did not work well. That the present system works badly cannot be doubted. The real difficulty is the quantity of business thrown upon the legislative body. The mere quantity of work is too great for any assembly to do well. Every year the work to be done is overpassing the working power of the machinery. Things are rapidly coming to a serious block, if not a deadlock, and something must be done. The number of interests with which Parliament has to deal has immensely increased, while the working power of Parliament has not increased. Every decennial census shows that the interests to be attended to are continually increasing. There is a continual growth of specialization of labour. Separate trades seek separate localities, and in consequence new legislative and administrative measures are needed. Each new invention and each new adaptation of an old process lead to new ways of carrying on business. The manufacturer, the workman and the shop-keeper of Glasgow are dependent for their well-being not only on each other's conduct, but also on the course of events in other parts of the Empire and in other countries. There is a keener sympathy between one marketing town and another, and this becomes intensified as the commercial area extends. In fact, the train, the steamship, the printing press, and the telegraph give inducements and facilities for enterprise in all directions, and call for changes in the condition of our Parliamentary life. Then again population has enormously increased. Consider the difference in this respect between the Parliament of 1708 and that of 1886, even between the Parliament of 1800 and that of 1886. In 1800 Parliament had to attend to the wants of some ten millions of people, in 1886 to the wants of some thirty-five millions. Since 1800

we have added, outside these islands, millions of people and thousands of square miles to our Empire, yet the system of government is practically the same. If England ever fails as a nation, says Sir Arthur Helps, it will be from too much pressure of business. The union of several parliaments into one, said Sir George Grey, has thrown upon that one an amount of business that it cannot perform. It was remarked with some degree of truth by one of the London newspapers the other day that 'Parliament is such an obsolete machine that it cannot get through a tenth part of its work.' Even of the newly dissolved Parliament with its great appetite for work, nothing satisfactory can be reported as to the progress made in either private bills or government measures. Mr. Gladstone's famous programme has not been looked at nor any of the questions so eagerly canvassed at the election which preceded it, and the session has passed away with hardly anything attempted and nothing done.

It is true that we have made great changes within the last forty years in the manner in which business is conducted in the House of Commons. The direction of all these changes, however, has been towards the abridgement of the freedom, or at least of the fullness of debate and the curtailment of the privileges of private members. They have been all made with a view to enable the Ministers of the Crown to expedite government business through the House. The subject is a large one and not to be incidentally discussed. But certainly the necessity of 'getting through' the work that has been cast upon it has induced the House to depart from many of its ancient traditions, and give up many of its most valuable privileges which were once considered essential protections of the independence of its own members and of the rights of the people.

This glut of Parliamentary business is no new thing. Twenty years ago the Chancellor of the Exchequer in a speech at Dundee complained bitterly that Scottish business in the House had not been attended to. Many useful Scottish reforms that Scotland had been ripe for had been postponed again and again. Even Mr. Disraeli sympathized with Scottish

members in many of their measures never becoming legislative enactments. The same may be said of other parts of the kingdom. But what Scotsmen have to complain most of is that on vital questions of policy she has obtained no hearing. Scotland waited thirty years for the extension of the Franchise, and about half-a-century for the abolition of hypothec, and even yet hypothec occasionally turns up. It were easy to give a long catalogue of measures of practical utility—about the necessity for which there is little controversy—which every year are certainly promised the next session, and as to which we year after year await with a patience like Job's the fulfilment of the annual promise. She has been anxiously waiting to pronounce an opinion on the Church question, the licensing question, the land question, the game question, the question of university reform and education generally, and various questions dealing with commerce, poor law and legal procedure. Pages could be filled with a list of similar questions. Yet such questions have been neglected in the Imperial Parliament. But this is only part of the evil. There is the whole question of private bill legislation. It is intolerable that as often as we require a gas, or a water, or an improvement bill we must go to London for it, in which are involved the undue costs and inconvenience to which the promoters of such bills are subjected by the needless reiteration of the same evidence before committees of each of the two Houses of Parliament, and also the expenses of a long journey and of a protracted stay and maintenance in London, along with the disadvantage of the objects of the bills being examined into by committees and lawyers both commonly alike ignorant of the circumstances of the country and of its legislation. Add to this the fact that many stories are told of the miscarriage of useful projects owing to the cost, delay and risks of bringing the business to London. There is hardly any reason to doubt that it would be for the public interest that such business should be done by a tribunal in Scotland under whose authority inquiries might be made in the localities affected. It is sometimes hinted that there would be jobbery. Even if there were jobbery, the jobbery would most likely be less

detrimental than the inconvenience of the present system. But it is idle to pretend that there cannot exist a pure tribunal in a country where local government prevails to the extent that it does in its burghs. Then over and above all this there is the incalculable, though none the less grave, loss to every interest that arises through bills, really necessary, being indefinitely postponed.

But in the case of Scotland the grievance is peculiarly hard. The business when done is not done well. It is too often either neglected, postponed, or run through in a very unsatisfactory manner in the small hours of the morning when the grey dawn is struggling through the stained glass windows of the Commons' Hall, or on a Saturday sitting towards the end of the session when members are not disposed seriously to work. It is almost useless discussing any matter of vital importance in a bill, unless the point raised be in accordance with the Government mandate; for, let the people of Scotland desire it ever so much, the advocacy of their representatives is ignored, and their votes are outnumbered. The Government has always at command a sufficient number of English members who scarcely ever hear the debate but lounge about the smoking-room or the library, to defeat the action of the Scottish members. If any one doubts what we say, let him look into the reports of the discussions on the Crofters Bill, and the Fettes Endowment, during the current session, or any other Scottish measure at any time.

It is no wonder then that there is a strong spirit of dissatisfaction abroad, against the present system. It is no wonder that we in Scotland are determined to seize the present opportunity, and demand the right and power to legislate and administer in all matters relating to ourselves. Local Government in the counties will not suffice. There is no good in tinkering with the disease. Either we must have a Parliament at Edinburgh, or nothing at all. Nothing short of a Parliament, will remove the grievance. A Parliament at Edinburgh is the logical outcome of the extension of the Franchise. It is a recognition of the fundamental principle of democratic Government in giving the people their desires in everything, trusting to

their inherent sense of justice in the proper execution thereof.

To speak of a Parliament at Edinburgh, at once recalls to our minds the Parliament that existed there two hundred years ago. But we have no desire to return to the condition of affairs that existed at that period. Nor do we agree with those that opposed the Union. To join England was irksome in the extreme to the nationalist or patriotic party headed by Lord Belhaven and Fletcher of Saltoun, that opposed the Union. Their ideal Government would never be realized. Scottish nationality, a separate and an independent national life, moral, social, and political, would be lost. It seemed as if a kingdom of no obscure history and literature, full of high memories, not decayed or barbarised were about to lose its identity, its national existence, and be degraded into a province; and relying on the respectable authority of Buchanan, they supposed that it had existed from the beginning of time. The national party knew nothing of half measures. Either Scotland was to cease, and there were to be Scotsmen no longer, or they were both to exist as they had existed since the war of independence. The idea of political identity with a larger, richer and more powerful nation—of a system of centralization which should embrace all the springs of internal Government and external defence, whilst it left untouched not only the private rights of the citizen and his religious convictions which for a time at least might be protected by positive stipulation, but his modes of thinking and speaking, his habits of living and acting, everything, in short, which in our sense, constitutes a Scot—was to them utterly unintelligible. To reason otherwise was equivalent to saying that the same thing was at once to be and not to be.

Notwithstanding these Cassandra wailings, however, the Union was carried, and the worst fears of the patriotic party were to a certain extent realized. A kind of social collapse actually occurred, and during the forty years between the Union and the final suppression of the rebellion, the capital of Scotland particularly laboured under a depression of spirit unknown at any other period of its history. Everything became Anglicised. The Church, the universities, the higher schools, even the legal institutions, came under the English influence. We do not

question or condone the justification of the power thus exercised; we simply remark it to show that the predictions of Belhaven and Fletcher were not altogether erroneous.

Happily, however, Scotland revived from this apathy, and yearned after civil liberty. But these yearnings were boldly met by the judicial butcheries of Braxfield, Eskgrove and Hermand, and it was not until the Reform Bill was passed that Scotland was allowed to express her wants in a constitutional manner. From that epoch complaints have been raised from time to time as to the neglect of Scottish business, and the recent attempts to remedy the defect by the establishment of new offices, first of the appointment of an Under Secretary at the Home Office, and then of a Scottish Secretary, and reducing the work of the Lord Advocate, have been nothing more than a recognition of the evil; they have done little to effect an improvement.

Many proposals have been made from time to time to remedy the grievances which we have indicated. A leader writer in one of the Edinburgh newspapers, works out an ingenious plan in which it would seem he takes his model from the Presbyterian form of Church Government. The seventy-two members for Scotland are to meet at Edinburgh some time during the prorogued periods of the Imperial Parliament, to discuss all Scottish bills and to take a vote upon first the principle and then the details of the measure. 'The bill, if it passed safely through these stages, would go to Parliament at Westminster at the stage of report. The details would then be open to reconsideration.' The scheme is similar in many respects to one which the late Lord Clancarty used to advocate for Ireland. The principle upon which it is based recognises the right of the Scottish people to legislate for themselves. The scheme recommends itself by its simplicity and moderation. Indeed we think it is too moderate: it does not go to the root of the grievance. The writer complains in the same leader that the needs of Scotland are unattended to because of the press of work, but his scheme would do little to alleviate the press of work, at least little compared to the present needs of Scotland. He complains further that Mr. Chaplin and

his friends unjustly delay all useful Scottish reforms, instancing the case of the Crofters Bill, but his scheme would still give them the opportunity to interfere in matters with which they as Englishmen have no concern. No, it will not do; there is no half-way house between the present system and the system of Home Rule. The demand of the Scottish farmers for Home Rule or a local Parliament, is a much bolder one, and is we think more in accordance with the requirements of Scotland.

There is nothing very extraordinary in this demand for Home Rule. A system under which, while great territories and populations are united under one political system and common government, union is not carried down to every detail, but there is left to each province a certain power of dealing with provincial matters through its own representatives, is not a very alarming system to say the least. A principle which has guided countries to be so united by circumstances and position as to make it their common interest to be joined in one common state, yet so separate as to make it necessary for the domestic affairs of each of them to be managed by an administration of its own, is no new doctrine in political philosophy. Home Rule is the only kind of Government which history proves to be qualified to regulate truly free states. The business of any free state cannot be well carried on if it is too much centralized on too large a scale. If we look back into history we find that really free states have been either small, or consisted of a federation under which much provincial self-government or Home Rule is left to the component parts. Accustomed as we are in England to a system of large consolidated states we are apt to look upon a federal system as a system of disunion, and therefore of weakness. In reality, however, federalism is a form of closer union. In countries, such as France, in which there has been too much consolidation and too much centralization, great difficulties have arisen. Self-government has been reconciled with Imperial unity under the British Crown in the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man. The Imperial Parliament has adopted this as a fixed principle in dealing with all its Colonies of European race. Indeed, some of the shrewdest thinkers of all countries concur with Mr. Laing in holding that

the federal system is that towards which civilized society is naturally tending all over the world. Nature forbids, says Mr. Laing, by unalterable moral differences between people and people that one government can equally serve all. Federalism is a principle more akin to natural, free and beneficial legislation than this forced centralization. It is indeed only an application of the great principle of freedom which maintains local privileges against the despotism of central power. From the formation of the Achaian League to the incorporation of the German Provinces into one united Empire the principle has forced itself upon nations. The German Confederation established at the Congress of Vienna recognised it. For centuries each of the Swiss Cantons has preserved its perfect independence; they differ in religion, in language, and in race, yet they have found unity and security in one general confederation, and one general diet of them all. The great confederation of the States of America is only another example of the universality of the instinct which teaches that nations as well as individuals may combine, and that there is no inconsistency between the existence of a legislature regulating the internal affairs of each portion of the confederation and a central legislature directing with efficiency and unity the combined power of all.

But perhaps the most remarkable tribute to the principle of Federalism is to be found in the course taken by the British Parliament in 1867, when it was thought wise to incorporate into one dominion all the North American provinces of the British Crown. Each of these provinces has its separate legislature and separate administration. When the British Parliament combined them into one dominion each of them was left with a separate administration and a separate legislature, for its own domestic affairs. A common Parliament and a common administration were provided for the concerns of the Dominion.

It was a relation of this sort, but of course much more loose and ill-defined, that existed between the kingdoms of England and Scotland from 1603 to 1707, that has existed between the kingdoms of Sweden and Norway since 1815, and between the

kingdom of Hungary and the arch-duchy of Austria since 1866. Within the kingdom of Hungary there is a good example of a Home Rule province. Croatia-cum-Slavonia has a very large autonomy. It has its own legislature and its own administration and language, and utterly repudiates everything Hungarian. The revenue is collected for common purposes, and a certain proportion of it is allowed to the Croatians for their internal expenses. They send a certain number of delegates to the Hungarian Parliament, but in the isolated position in which they are, as the only Home Rule province, these delegates, few in number, have no very potent voice in Hungarian affairs. Matters are intensified by the political antagonism between the Croat and the Magyar. But even with all these drawbacks, the opinion of competent observers is that the arrangement works well.

But not only is our contention supported by historical precedent, it is also supported by doctrinaire reasoning. Mr. Freeman in his work on Federal Government lays down the following doctrine:—'The federal connection is in its place wherever the several members to be united are fitted for that species of union and for no other. It requires a sufficient degree of community in origin or feeling or interest to allow the several members to work together up to a certain point. It requires that there should not be that perfect degree of community or rather identity which allows the several members to be fused together for all purposes.' In the next page he adds, 'Federalism is out of place if it attempts either to break asunder what is already more closely united, or to unite what is wholly incapable of union.' Commenting on this elsewhere he explains that a federal system is the right thing when it is a step in advance but it is a wrong thing when it is a step backwards. It must always put a closer tie instead of a laxer one or no tie at all. In short, Federalism should only be resorted to when it is for the best interests of the country.

We have seen that Federalism in a sense existed between England and Scotland from 1603 to 1707. It was a relation suited in many respects to both peoples according to the doctrine just laid down. The countries of England and Scotland

are so distinct in many respects. The laws are different, because they have their origins in different sources. Even under the union no endeavour has been made to assimilate and codify the laws. There is nowhere else in the world an example of two countries wholly joined to one another both in legislation and administration and yet retaining entirely separate laws and institutions. The extreme inconvenience of this is daily apparent in Parliament, for even where it is desired to apply exactly the same legislation to England and Scotland, it is almost always necessary to pass separate Acts, one for each country because the legal system and nomenclature are so different. A recent instance is found in the case of the Parliamentary Elections Returning Officers Bills. The measures as at first introduced related solely to Ireland. It was found easily practicable to extend the scope of this exclusively Irish Bill to England. But as to Scotland it was impossible. All our arrangements even in so simple a matter as taking the poll are so different from those of England that the Lord Advocate was obliged to draw up a separate measure following the lines of Mr. Healy's Bill as nearly as he could. Whether the laws of England and Scotland could now be welded into one, may be questionable. The principal difficulty would probably be the unwillingness of English lawyers to adopt the Scots law in many cases in which the Scots law is generally deemed to be superior. Then again there is the difference in the character of the people. The lowland Scot, although he is after all a north Englishman, is frugal, patient of toil, cautious, yet not cowardly, nor devoid of enterprise, sober-minded, not generally imaginative, but with a vein of romance capable of being excited to the highest enthusiasm and tenacious of his purpose to a degree of obstinacy; the Celt has a patriotic attachment to his native glen, and the seeds of romance and poetry lie deeper in his dreaming nature. To the Scot the political arrangements are to be fitted to social requirements, society is to be brought into harmony with ethical conceptions; and these as they spring up in the natural man are to be purified and elevated by Christian influences. He brings back politics

from a blind groping after the expedient to the region of principle. He urges the necessity of taking an observation, ascertaining our course and looking at the chart which human possibilities have marked out, lest we heedlessly run our bark against some unalterable law of social life.

We now proceed to state more precisely our scheme of Home Rule for Scotland, to make a stroke off our own bat, as Lord Palmerston was wont to say. We propose that in all purely Scottish affairs, affairs not in common between England and Scotland, but proper to Scotland only, the authority of the Scottish domestic Parliament should be final. England, Ireland, and Scotland, have naturally many common interests. The interest of Scotland is not necessarily different from that of England in the matter of Imperial taxation or of postal arrangements or of colonial and foreign policy, or even of tariffs and commercial treaties. There are affairs which the English people and no one else can well manage for the English people; there are affairs which the Scottish people and no one else can manage satisfactorily for the Scottish people. We must then divide Imperial from national or local purposes. We must assign to the imperial or central authority the maintenance of the militia, military and naval service and defence, currency, post-office, foreign relations, census and statistics, lighthouses, sea-coast fisheries, weights and measures, bankruptcy, patents and copyrights, the criminal law, except the constitution of courts of criminal appeal but including the procedure in criminal matters, and penitentiaries, and the imposition and collection of such taxation as would be needed for these objects. The reservation of this last item might seem inconsistent with any considerable degree of local liberty; but in practice it is surprising how much legislative freedom is possible notwithstanding the reservation of finance. Of course there must be rates for local purposes, but the whole or nearly the whole of what we call taxes in this country, as distinguished from rates is reserved for common purposes. In Austria (not Austro-Hungary) the taxation and finance are reserved to the central authorities at Vienna. The same plan is practically followed in the United States. All customs' duties belong to the federal power, and

no state can levy any customs or transit duties whatever. The federal authority is also empowered to levy internal excise duties, and has so completely absorbed that form of taxation (taking to itself all the duties on alcoholic liquors, tobacco, patent articles, and the like) that scarcely anything of the kind is levied by the individual states. The several states raise the funds necessary for their purposes almost entirely by rates with the addition of some small direct taxes for special purposes, for example, a poll-tax devoted to education. The Scottish Parliament would have power to amend the Scottish constitution, to impose direct taxation for provincial purposes, borrow money on the credit of Scotland, establish provincial offices, establish and maintain public prisons, reformatories, hospitals, asylums, charities and eleemosynary institutions; superintend education; supervise shop, tavern, auctioneer and other licenses; legislate for municipal institutions and local requirements; incorporate companies; regulate the administration of justice and the imposition of punishment, and attend to local works and generally all matters of a private nature. Power would be given to the Imperial Parliament to effect uniformity of all or any of the laws relative to property and civil rights in both countries. A Scottish representation would appear in the Imperial Parliament. Provision would be made for the same person being elected to both Parliaments. It might be unlikely that there would be a doubly qualified person. If the system were bad the electors would have the rectification in their own hands. Persons who would make good representatives of the public opinion of Scotland where Imperial affairs were concerned might be found much less useful for the business of a local Parliament. The electors would soon find out what classes of men were best suited by intimate knowledge of the country and by residence in it, by practical acquaintance with its customs, its commerce, its agriculture, and all its various local interests to make themselves useful as representatives. Or the plan suggested with respect to the Imperial and local representation of Ireland in the present Irish controversy might be adopted—a plan originated by a Scottish member, and regarded with favour by the Irish Nationalist leaders, and commended by the

Prime Minister himself. The plan consists of dividing the country into a number of constituencies agreeably to the proportion of representation which Scotland would have in the Imperial Parliament. All the members elected would sit in the Scottish Parliament. One member from each constituency would be entitled to sit at Westminster. If the two members elected agreed in politics, they might decide between themselves which should enjoy the double honour and double power coupled with the double labour of sitting at Edinburgh and at Westminster. In the event of disagreement of opinion upon this point (in other respects an open one), the member returned at the head of the poll would be entitled to decide or compelled to act.

Although we have given this rough statement of what work and powers might be relegated to the different Parliaments, we candidly admit that it may be faulty. We know full well how difficult it is to distinguish between Local and Imperial affairs; but the difficulty is not insuperable. It has been successfully overcome in several instances elsewhere, and can be overcome here if an earnest attempt be made. Each of the Swiss Cantons enjoys Home Rule, while bound by the Federal Union in allegiance to the whole Commonwealth. The same principle is partly recognised in the Imperial German Constitution. In the United States we have a further illustration of State self-government, combined with Imperial Unity. The labour—involving great care and discrimination—if successful, would be well bestowed. Efforts similar to those made elsewhere, actuated by a similar spirit and directed to a similar end, could not fail to be equally successful here.

In the Scottish Parliament there would be two Chambers. Hereditary chambers are at a discount in this age, and there is a decided objection to vest any power of legislation in irresponsible men. The peers of Scotland must therefore take their place as commoners. The creation of an Upper Chamber by election as in France and the United States, or by royal warrant as in Canada, would be more in accordance with the principles of modern freedom. We should prefer the system in France and the United States. The Second Chamber would

be elected for a definite number of years on a principle different from that which regulated the election of the representative Chamber. The Representative Chamber would be composed of a certain number of members returned for each county and burgh, just as the members are returned for the Imperial Parliament.

It might be objected that were a similar scheme not carried out with respect to other parts of the kingdom, the Scottish Imperial representatives would have an undue influence in the affairs relating to other parts of the kingdom. It is admitted that there would be a lack of symmetry; but it has been pointed out again and again that there is not the slightest ground for serious alarm or complaint. The arrangement would only be provisional, for it is not unlikely that the granting of Home Rule to Scotland would soon be followed by the granting of Home Rule to other parts of the kingdom. Besides, at present the same man may be a member of the House of Commons and also of the Metropolitan Board of Works. In the House he has a full right to interfere as much as he pleases with Irish and Scottish business, and yet an Irish or a Scottish member may not interfere with all that part of the business of London which comes under the control of the Board of Works.

This plan of Home Rule for Scotland would establish between Scotland and the Imperial Parliament, relations similar in principle to those that exist between a State of the American Union and the Federal Government, or between any State of the Dominion of Canada and that Central Canadian Parliament which meets at Ottawa. The State legislatures are useful institutions, and do a great deal of useful work. It must be admitted that their laws are not sometimes stated in the highest style of jurisprudence, but they are practical and useful. The members are men sent up from among the people, and the press of work not being very great, laws that do not work well are soon righted.

Again Scotland is suited in many ways for Home Rule. It is large enough to be free from the charge of vestrifying its meetings; it is small enough to be easily managed and

capable of fully dealing with details and local matters. It is just about the size of a typical state of the American Union.

It was an Act of the Imperial Parliament that constructed the Dominion of Canada, and the system as promulgated has worked with almost unbroken success. Any differences that have arisen have been less serious than those that often arise in our present system when the House of Lords seeks to exercise its constitutional function of rejecting a bill which happens to be popular. Parliament could pass an act establishing a similiar parliament in Scotland strictly defining the jurisdiction of the local and of the Imperial Parliament; and any conflict of authority that might afterwards arise could be settled by argument, by conference, by gradual experience, or by the establishment of a supreme court independent of both to decide all disputes.

Such a scheme if effected we venture to think would work well. The Imperial Parliament would be preserved in its present form. It would leave to that Parliament all its present control over everything that affects the Imperial Crown, its dominion, its colonies and its dependencies. It would leave it still the power of preventing any interference with the permanent taxation which is the security for the national debt and other charges to which the faith of the Crown and Parliament is pledged. It would leave it still the power of providing by imperial taxation for imperial necessities. It would make no difference in the Constitution; it would only extend to Scotland a constitution that already exists. The advocates of progress would lose nothing by it; they would be in exactly the same position as they are now. The friends of the conservation of existing institutions would lose nothing by it; they would still have the means of maintaining them that they now have. The demands of our national life require an expansion of our institutions; we cannot make our institutions binding on all time. The scheme would relieve the House of the plethora of business. The domestic affairs of Scotland would be transacted by men who have no other public business to attend to. After all in these high pressure days, time and knowledge are essential to

the proper conduct of business. Is it not evident that the Imperial Parliament has neither the knowledge nor the time? The scheme would stimulate all enterprise, nerve every industry, and give impetus to every improvement. It would strengthen the union more and more. There would be increased zeal on the part of every individual in maintaining the empire at home and abroad. De Tocqueville was right in asserting that every citizen in a confederation had an interest in maintaining it, because in defending it he defended the prosperity and freedom of his own State.

It may be asked, and asked in all fairness, would such a scheme if incorporated in an Act of Parliament be final? In one sense it would be final, in another it would not. Grant Home Rule to Scotland at present, and we do not anticipate anything so absurd as a subsequent demand for separation; it is out of the question. The sense in which it would not be final is with respect to further reforms in the internal government of Scotland. We do not for a moment imagine that the Scottish people would rest contented with the present system of administration in the counties. We want real local government, and not a sham local government. There is nothing so confusing and scarcely anything so feeble as the administrative bodies that exist in our counties and smaller administrative areas. The organisation of the county is constituted by the lord lieutenant, sheriff-principal, sheriff-substitute, procurator-fiscal, justices of the peace, commissioners of supply, county road trustees, sheriff clerk, clerk to the peace, clerk of supply, treasurer and collector. All of them have different functions, most of them have different areas over which they exercise their functions, and the county is divided and cross-divided to an extent that it is hopeless for the untutored laic to attempt to understand. The justices of the peace have their areas for quarter sessions and their sub-areas for petty sessions; the county road trustees have a set of areas for themselves, while the sheriffs and sheriff-substitutes have fields of operation independent of each and every one. All that the uninitiated knows is that at the call of the road trustees and commissioners of supply he has to

pay certain taxes for county purposes. Confusion is not so great in the burghs, although matters are not so simple as they might be. First of all we have royal and parliamentary burghs, then regality and barony burghs, and lastly police burghs; and as they differ in designation so they differ in the composition of the governing corporation. The royal and parliamentary burghs are governed by corporations composed of magistrates and burgesses acting in a town council and representing the citizens; each of the second class has an organisation peculiar to itself; while the police burghs are governed by an elected body with most of the powers of an ordinary corporation. In administration there is a similar want of symmetry. Besides managing its own property the corporation usually attends to the watching, cleaning, lighting, paving, and improving the burgh, registration, valuation, burials, roads and bridges, weights and measures, sanitary and one or two other matters; while in several burghs special trusts have been created by local Acts of Parliament for the separate management of police, roads, harbours, water, and other public purposes. Why the corporation does not look after all the matters connected with the burgh does not seem quite clear.

It is hard to conceive anything more confusing than this, or a system of administration so destitute of the popular element as that which exists in the counties. The defects of the system have arisen through the present organisation having been introduced bit by bit upon an antiquated system; it has all the disadvantages of such a system, and few if any of its good qualities. The time has surely come for the people to look after their own local matters. We need a reform, and let us hope that it will be a simple reform and at the same time a radical one. One popularly elected board to look after all the affairs of the county, and one corporation to look after all the affairs of the burgh would meet the necessities of the case. We do not require at this time of day to expound the advantages of such a scheme; they are patent to every one. It is simple, and could not fail to procure the effectual administration of our local areas. Unlike the present system it is

intelligible and symmetrical in its arrangement. We should have municipal parliaments and county parliaments, and Home Rule having been granted, a national parliament and an Imperial Parliament, each one working within its own sphere. Some such arrangement is one to which we are gradually if not rapidly hastening. It points the way to the grandest ideal in modern politics, the union of the mother country with the colonies in one real United Empire, *the United States of Greater Britain.*

Art. II.—SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON.

1. *English Philosophy. Sir William Hamilton.* By W. H. S. Monck, M.A., Professor of Moral Philosophy in the University of Dublin. London, 1881.
2. *Philosophical Classics for English Readers. Hamilton.* By John Veitch, LL.D. Edinburgh and London, 1882.

THE time that measures a generation of men has nearly passed away since Sir William Hamilton finished the work of his life. During this long period the highest thought of Scotland has moved to a standpoint which, if not affording a wider view of speculative problems, is at least outside the sphere of his system; and the time has come for attempting a more accurate appreciation of that system than was possible while Scottish speculation was still under the spell of his genius. But in order to such an estimate of Hamilton's system it is necessary first of all to understand its author,—to find out how he became fitted to do the work which he accomplished in the development of Scottish philosophy.

The primal factor in the adaptation of any man for the work of his life is the nature which he brings into the world, and that is of course mainly determined by hereditary influences. What

these were in the case of Sir William Hamilton, we fortunately know more fully than in regard to the majority even of great men. On his father's side he represented the Hamiltons of Preston, whose deeds at Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, as well as in other scenes of Scottish history, are too well known to make it necessary that they should be referred to here in detail. Many admirers of the philosopher have seemed to see in him a reappearance of those family characteristics which were happily symbolised in the striking family crest—a man brandishing a sword aloft, with the motto attached, *Pro Patria.* For the Hamiltons of Preston were always men ready to draw the sword, literally or figuratively, and to strike home with all the vigour of stout earnest hearts, in defence of what they conceived to be the right, especially if the right was to them the cause of an oppressed fatherland. From his mother's side, too, Hamilton bore a fine hereditary nature. His mother was a daughter of that William Stirling, whose name occupies a prominent place in the commercial annals of Glasgow during last century, and who claimed connection with the ancient family of the Stirlings of Cadder. Even if we had no independent testimony to her worth, that would be sufficiently evidenced by the life of the two children who were left to her as infant-charges at the death of her husband. Sir William's younger brother, Thomas, who adopted the army as his profession, took a very enviable position in the literature of his day. He was one of the most vigorous of the associates of Wilson and Lockhart and those youthful writers, whose fervid Toryism in politics and Romanticism in literature raised *Blackwood's Magazine* to its preeminent position among the monthlies, and turned the tide against the political and literary dogmatism of the *Edinburgh Review.* His book on *Men and Manners in America* (1833), is still well worth reading by those who wish to form a picture of life in the United States and Canada fifty years ago. But the work, by which he is best known, is a novel entitled *The Youth and Manhood of Cyril Thornton,** which was one of the most popular fictions in its day, and is not unknown still in the book-markets. It will probably

* Captain Hamilton appears as one of the speakers in the *Noctes Ambrosianæ* under the name of his hero.

retain its popularity long for its inimitable sketches of Glasgow life in the early part of this century.

The life of Sir William himself may be separated into three stages:—a boyhood; a period in which he was mainly a learner, —his *Lehrjahre*; and the period in which he was mainly a teacher, —his *Meisterjahre.* The first period closes with his nineteenth year, when he went to Oxford; the second extends to his forty-first year, when he wrote his first article for the *Edinburgh Review*; while the third embraces the whole period of his authorship and professorship.

Of his boyhood the events that are still known may be summed up in a sentence or two. His school education was obtained in different places, most of it from Dr. Dean of Bromley, and Dr. Sommers of Midcalder. In the midst of these school years, while he was still only twelve, he attended the junior Latin and Greek classes in the University of Glasgow, though he did not become a regular student there for three years later. Entering the University in session 1803-4, he spent that and the two following winters partly in the arts, partly in the medical, classes; and in 1806-7, he proceeded to Edinburgh to carry on his medical studies. In the spring of 1807 he obtained a Snell Exhibition, by which he was enabled to go to Oxford.

Amid the insignificant details of his outer life during this early period a few characteristic facts deserve prominence, though none afford any indication of the philosophic future of the boy. Fond of athletic sports, and enjoying robust health, he had developed a fine physical constitution,—presage of that handsome presence which struck all who knew him in his prime. In his mental constitution, however, he remained to the end of this period a thorough boy. In the revelations of his intellectual life that have been preserved nothing impresses one more than the utter absence even of the most fitful flashes of precocity, which are after all seldom to be taken as symptoms of the most healthy growth. All through the boy's letters to his mother there runs in fact a vein of delicious juvenility. 'Mother,' he says in one of these, 'you have lost your wager, for I asked Mr. Sommers and Mr. Cruikshanks both, who both were astonished at me asking such a question, as any child

of ten years old knows that the sun is nearer us in winter than in summer.' Then, to confirm his statement, he quotes from a 'French geography,' translating for her benefit, 'for perhaps you have forgot your French;' and he finishes with 'so, if you please, you may enclose the half-crown with the rest in my box, remembering to pay the carriage, for I am growing poorer, having only 11s.' Two or three years later, when he was over eighteen years of age, he concludes a letter, 'I wish you would give me a genteeler appellation on the back of your next letter. I shall now bid you farewell.—Your affectionate son, W. S. Hamilton, *Esqr*. Remember that.' A few months after this, however, he seems affected by an equally boyish puritanism. 'You need not direct to me by my full names; you may always omit *Stirling*. It is nonsense having three long names.' Even at the very close of this period, just before proceeding to Oxford, he airs his medical attainments in a charmingly youthful dissertation, in which he seeks to convince his mother, that Tom's sore throat was not *cynanche maligna*, but merely *cynanche tonsillaris*.*

The complete boyishness of his mind is further indicated by the absence of any decided taste. There is indeed a slight appearance of one of those distastes, and consequent inaptitudes, which clung to him through life, and to which we may perhaps trace his notorious article on the Study of Mathematics. Dr. Sommers found him backward in his arithmetic, and could not induce him to give his whole mind to the study. There are also some minor tastes evident, which remained with him to the last. He had already become a book-hunter, and sometimes had to apologise to his mother for exceeding his means in his purchases. He was likewise fond, even in early boyhood, of highly imaginative works, like the *Pilgrim's Progress*, as he continued in later life to find recreation in the romances of Mrs. Radcliffe and other novelists of the most sensational type.

On the whole, as the result of his early education, we may perhaps detect two tendencies in his intellectual life,—one towards classical scholarship, another towards the medical sciences; but there is as yet no evidence to determine which will gain the

* See Veitch's *Memoir of Hamilton*, chap. 1.

mastery, or even whether either of them will survive the influence of subsequent studies. For there is still no revelation of any very decided bent towards philosophy. He had indeed taken the highest prizes in logic and ethics, he had also written good class-essays on these subjects in the University of Glasgow; but in nine cases out of ten these academical distinctions are no guarantee of extraordinary eminence in philosophy. Hamilton's philosophical destiny was not determined till he went to Oxford.

The second stage of Hamilton's life,—his apprenticeship or *Lehrjahre*, if such a description may be used,—is divisible into the Oxford and the Edinburgh periods. As has just been observed, it was evidently during the former of these two periods, that his intellectual character received its final bent. It is not often that you come upon a reference to his personal history in any of his writings; but in one of the Discussions * will be found an exceedingly genial expression of the gratification with which he looked back to his residence in Balliol as the most important epoch of his life in determining the drift of his subsequent tastes and studies. Nor is it difficult to discover some at least of the influences, under which he was led to devote himself to philosophy and philosophical scholarship. Though medicine is the profession, to which he might have been expected to show hereditary inclination, yet it is worthy of note that both he and his brother turned in preference to literature. He entered Oxford indeed with the purpose still entertained of qualifying for the practice of medicine; but from the first his professional studies were seriously handicapped by that love of curious learning which was one of the most potent seductions of his after-life, and which now directed itself to the antiquities of medical history. It is evident that, with the exception of physiology, the medical sciences attracted but slender interest for their own sakes; and even physiology seemed to find its chief charm in its connections with psychology. Gradually, as he qualified himself for his degree at Oxford, he disqualified himself for the practice of medicine; and by the time he left the University, he had

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* P. 750, note, 2nd ed.

evidently also abandoned the idea of entering the profession for which he had been designed.

In Oxford and Cambridge, owing to the excellent supervision of studies by the college-tutors, men are apt to be moulded in accordance with the prevailing type of the particular college to which they belong. But Hamilton educated himself at Oxford rather in the German and Scottish fashion, in which students are left more to themselves;* he was made the scholar he became more by his own self-directed labours than by any tutorial instruction. This was owing partly, indeed, to his having been put under the charge of a most eccentric tutor of the name of Powell. This man, who is said to have stood for the sketch of Daniel Barton in Lockhart's novel, *Reginald Dalton*, was an absolute recluse, not only cutting himself off from intercourse with men in general, but even leaving his pupil to follow his own inclinations. But evidently none of the tutors had any attraction for Hamilton. From the first his letters to his mother complain of the intolerable dullness of their prelections; and all the testimony of teachers as well as of fellow-students points to the isolation and independence of his work as an undergraduate.

And yet, after making all allowance for such testimony, it is impossible to ignore Hamilton's own acknowledgment of the influences of Oxford and of Balliol. Most of the tutors may have simply 'whistled to their pupils the old tunes which, as pupils, had been piped to them.'† But this was far from being a complete account of the Oxford teaching of his day. There was evidently some fresh intellectual life shaking the dead mechanism of tutorial instruction. The great traditions of Oxford as the home of the best classical scholarship of England were themselves an inspiration to a mind like Hamilton's. But there must have been some special stimulus to philosophy and philosophical scholarship in Oxford during those years, when its colleges ranked among their members such men as Copleston and Whately, and Senior and Keble and Arnold. It is a remark-

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* On this subject see some excellent remarks in *The Scottish Review* for December, 1883, pp. 16-17.

† *Discussions*, p. 760, 2nd edition.

able fact, indeed, that Hamilton never seems to have made the acquaintance of his eminent English contemporaries at Oxford, with whom he might have been expected to find sympathy in his favourite pursuits. Though gifted with a strong social disposition and pleasing manners, apparently he never cultivated an extensive circle of friends, his close devotion to his studies perhaps rendering that impossible. There seem to have been only two men at Oxford with whom he formed a relation warmed with the enthusiasm of youthful friendship; and both of these were his own countrymen. One of them, Alexander Scott, was a young man of beautiful character, who died immediately after leaving the University. The other was John Gibson Lockhart; and unhappily, ere many years had passed, this friendship was shadowed by some misunderstanding which was never cleared away.

The presence of Keble in Oxford during Hamilton's own time, to be followed in a few years by R. H. Froude and J. H. Newman and Pusey, seems to show that classicism was not the only influence to which Hamilton was subjected, that the renaissance of mediævalism had begun. He surely caught, during his Oxford days, the spirit of this reaction against the supercilious depreciation of 'the dark ages'; and while in others it produced a new insight into the meaning of Gothic architecture, or a craving for the stimulus which the devout mind derives from an elaborately symbolic ritual, or a tendency towards mysticism in the treatment of theological dogmas, it led the young Scotch undergraduate to a sympathetic study of the writings of the great scholastic doctors. It may therefore be inferred that he left Oxford not only with his mind chastened by the classicism of his Greek and Latin studies, but with a somewhat less healthy liking for the quaint dialectics of scholasticism.

It would be unfair, however, to overlook the fact that, when he left Oxford, he had not only cultivated valuable intellectual habits and attainments, but had also mastered the moral elements of a noble manhood. Even in his *physique* the charm and vigour, which had shown themselves already in boyhood, were now developed to maturity. It is further evident, however, that in the solitary independence of his studies he had kept himself singularly aloof from the prevalent vices of Oxford life. From

Lockhart's *Reginald Dalton* it is clear that an undergraduate of those days must have been endowed with more than ordinary force of will to withstand the besetting temptations to degrading intemperance, as well as a foolish and dishonourable extravagance. Apparently the only extravagant expenditure, of which Hamilton could fear any complaint, was that into which he was occasionally led by his fondness for books; but we have the testimony of his friends, that, without the slightest tinge of niggardliness, he was yet never known to be tormented by a dun.* The same testimony assures us, that he was never seen indulging to excess in the drinking customs of the time.

Such a career as Hamilton's would surely now-a-days lead to a fellowship in any of the colleges of Oxford; but, whether it was owing to his nationality† or not, it appears that in his day even his brilliant success did not encourage him to hope for academical preferment. He passed his examination for B.A. in November, 1810, and during the next two or three years he continued occasionally to reside at Oxford, in order to satisfy academical requirements as a Snell Exhibitioner and a candidate for the degree of M.A. This degree he did not take till 1814. By this time he had settled in Edinburgh, and thither his mother removed soon afterwards to take up her home with her son for the remainder of her life. His Oxford studies had, as we have seen, alienated his mind from the profession of medicine, and he had now resolved to qualify for the Scottish bar. He did pass as an advocate, and the philosophic bent of his mind gave reasonable ground for anticipating an eminent career in the higher branches of the profession, terminating in a seat on the bench. It might at least have been expected that his splendid culture, with its grasp of classical antiquity and its aptitude for mediæval distinctions, would have

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* Veitch's *Memoir*, p. 49. So Kant used to pride himself in being able to say, 'with calm and joyful heart I could always call "come in," when any one knocked at my door, for I was certain that no creditor stood outside.' Fischer's *Geschichte der neueren Philosophie*, Vol. III., p. 98.

† Lockhart seems to have believed that this prejudice would be a sufficient bar on Hamilton's claim; for under a notice advertising a fellowship at Balliol he is said to have written in waggery, 'No Scotchman need apply.' Veitch's *Memoir*, p. 61.

been applied to philosophical jurisprudence, and that he would have ultimately taken rank among the great speculative jurists. Here again, however, the habits of the scholar predominated, not only over the demands of legal practice, but even over those of juristic speculation. The time, which is usually devoted by the briefless to acquiring the attainments essential to professional success, was too often spent by Hamilton in antiquarian researches, so that he was less frequently to be seen pacing the floor of the Parliament House on the look-out for clients, than down stairs in the unfrequented nooks of the Advocates' Library. The only professional position he ever attained was that of Solicitor to the Court of Tiends. Fortunately, in some respects, for philosophy and for philosophical erudition, he possessed means which enabled him to dispense with any other professional income; and he had that unworldliness of all pure intellectual ambition, and that national virtue of thrift, in a sufficient degree to content himself with a moderate style of living. At the same time it remains matter of astonishment, and perhaps something of a reproach to Scottish institutions at the time, that, coming to Edinburgh with such a record in Oxford, he should have been left for a quarter of a century without finding a sphere in which his extraordinary acquirements could be made available.

During the greater part of this long period Hamilton continued mainly a learner; these years were still essentially his *Lehrjahre*. And in the circumstances and society of Edinburgh at this time there was much from which any man could draw intellectual nourishment and inspiration. The *Edinburgh Review* had been running already for some years, when Hamilton settled in the city; and powerful was the ferment excited by its literary and philosophical criticisms, as well as by its bold political creed. *Blackwood's Magazine* was started a few years later. Hamilton, as we have seen, was an intimate friend of Lockhart; and the unhappy interruption of their friendship did not occur for some time. He was now to make the acquaintance of Christopher North and the other ardent spirits who put their youthful enthusiasm into the early years of *Blackwood*. Indeed, though himself a Whig, and representing an old family that had been completely ruined by its Whiggery, he is said to have indulged

the giddy humour of his young manhood by taking part in some of the literary extravaganzas of the great Tory magazine. The tradition is, that he was one of the boisterous merrymakers who produced the notorious Chaldee MS., and that one of the verses was a suggestion of his. Certainly he is understood to be himself the person meant in what forms perhaps the happiest figure in the whole piece, 'the black eagle of the desert, whose cry is as the sound of an unknown tongue, which flieth over the ruins of ancient cities, and hath his dwelling among the tombs of the wise men.' Among the older men, who had already attained an established rank in the literary circles of Edinburgh, Jeffrey was one of the most prominent figures; while, among the younger men by whom Hamilton's circle of acquaintances was enlarged, it is sufficient to mention Thomas Carlyle. But the years of which we are speaking were precisely those which stand out conspicuously in the history of Scottish literature as forming its most memorable epoch. It was in these years that Edinburgh and Scotland were drawing the attention of the whole civilised world by literary achievements which are perhaps unparalleled in the extent and continuance of their popularity. When Hamilton took his place at the Scottish bar, Sir Walter Scott had already risen to the undisputed primacy of Scottish literature as author of the poems, and he was preparing to take the world by storm in *Waverley*.

Still, with all these splendid advantages, it is scarcely possible to escape the regretful feeling that Hamilton's studies, though laborious enough to excite the admiration of all his friends, were yet awanting in unity of aim. I take it that this was mainly due to his want of any definite *metier*, to his being under no strong compulsion to do definite literary work. However pleasing it may be to picture the great thinkers of the world endowed with hereditary wealth, or rendered in some other way independent on remunerative labour, it is questionable whether much of the best literary or scientific work would ever have been done, had such independence been universal. There is no reason to believe that Shakespeare would have written much—that he would have written any plays at all—if it had not been to render the Globe Theatre a paying concern. The man

most competent to speak of Scott's motives has said that 'had not his adversity been preceded by the perpetual spur of pecuniary demands, he who began life with such quick appetites for all its ordinary enjoyments, would never have devoted himself to the rearing of that gigantic monument of genius, labour, and power, which his works now constitute.'* And even Carlyle, with all the transcendental aspirations of his literary life, would evidently have preferred some form of that silent labour, which he has so frequently eulogised, to any form of speech, if he had not been driven to authorship as apparently for him the sole or the most ready means of earning a livelihood. It may, therefore, fairly be questioned whether it would not have been better for the philosophy of Scotland, if Hamilton had at an earlier period of his life attained some position, the duties of which would have given definiteness to his intellectual labours, and roused him sooner to literary production. During the period, of which we are speaking now, from his graduation at Oxford to the commencement of his contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*, he continued still essentially a student; and the habits of this mode of life,—the habit of merely studying a subject without forcing himself to the task of a literary handling,—remained with him to the last. The habit indeed grew upon him till it became an almost insuperable obstacle to his work, and brought about the abortion of his most important literary plans. When he was contributing to the *Edinburgh Review*, the editor was at times driven to despair, and to occasional sharp-tempered communications, by the dilatoriness of his contributor in furnishing 'copy,' or by his negligence in regard to the limits of his contributions. And it is a fact, on which one cannot reflect without the deepest regret, that Hamilton had prepared himself for more than one great work by collecting a vast quantity of materials, which unfortunately lie still among his papers a 'rudis indigestaque moles.' The result has been, that, though capable of prodigious industry, and gifted with a literary power which for philosophical purposes has never been surpassed in British literature, he has never completed any great philosophi-

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* Lockhart's *Life of Scott*, Vol. VI., p. 120.

cal work. His contributions to philosophy are but fragments, though fragments which shew the magnificence of the structure that might have been reared by their use.

His studies made one important addition to his attainments during this period, his mastery of the German language. As late as 1817, when he paid a visit to Germany, he knew so little of the language, that he was obliged to resort to Latin in communicating with learned Germans. But soon after this, and perhaps stimulated by this trip, he must have made himself sufficiently familiar with the language to enjoy at least its philosophical literature. And Hamilton was really the first great British thinker who made any serious effort to comprehend and translate into intelligible English the modern philosophy of Germany. One is almost appalled now-a-days at the ignorant amazement, or the equally ignorant misconception, in reference to the Kantian movement on the part even of eminent English writers in the first quarter of this century; and if, when the century is now drawing to a close, we look back with some surprise on much that Hamilton himself has written on the philosophers of that movement, we ought not to forget that he devoted to German philosophy the honest labour of a sympathetic study at a time when it was regarded in Britain with scarcely any other feelings than those of unsympathetic hostility, and that his discussions of the subject gave the first welcome light on what had been to the British mind hitherto an impenetrable darkness.

There was one stirring incident in the life of Hamilton during this period, and that was his candidature for the chair of Moral Philosophy in Edinburgh. Dugald Stewart was still nominally the incumbent of the office down to 1820, but for two or three years before this its duties had been performed by Dr. Thomas Brown. When Brown's brief and brilliant career was cut short by his early death in 1820, Stewart retired altogether and left the professorship vacant. The only candidates with any prospect of success were Sir William Hamilton and his friend, John Wilson. The patronage was then vested in the City Council, and the admirers of Sir William have not been slow to charge upon the patrons an ignorant, if not a deliberate, disregard of the interests of the University in their election of Christopher North.

The management of an University by a Municipal Council is certainly not the best academical constitution that can be conceived; but the actual administration of the University by the City Council of Edinburgh can scarcely be worthy of the unmitigated obloquy, with which it has been overwhelmed by its most unsparing critics, for it was under that administration that the University attained its eminence among the great schools of Europe. In the present instance, moreover, something may be said in favour of the decision. It is true, a few years soon showed that the defeated candidate's qualifications for a philosophical chair were immeasurably higher than those of his successful rival; and that may have been the general conviction of those men who knew both candidates well at the time. But it must be borne in mind that Hamilton had yet done no literary work to make his attainments known beyond the circle of his intimate friends. On the other hand, Wilson had already won wide fame, though he had also made himself some bitter foes, by his work in connection with *Blackwood.* Nor was he, as has been too hastily assumed, merely a charming *litterateur*; his own competitor for this professorship acknowledges in the most generous terms, that his 'metaphysical acuteness was not the least remarkable of his many brilliant qualities.'* It may be, as alleged, that political feeling pulsed then with an intensity, of which we can scarcely form a conception now, and that scientific qualifications touched very lightly the balance which decided the rival claims of competitors for a professorial chair, if their Whiggery or Toryism weighed it clearly down. But it is by no means to their discredit, that, with the evidence in their possession, and with all the influence of Sir Walter Scott as well as other eminent Tories on the side of Hamilton's rival, the Conservative majority in the City Council decided as they did.

In the following year Sir William received a slight compensation for this disappointment in his election to the professorship of history by its patrons, the Faculty of Advocates. Attendance in this class was not indispensable for graduation, and accordingly, as a rule, the number of students has been small. Hamilton

* Hamilton's *Lectures on Metaphysics*, Vol. II., p. 382

seems in this respect to have been more successful than most occupants of the chair; but latterly the discouragements, arising not only from the small attendance, but also from the want of salary for the office, became so great that the lectures were abandoned. The little information, which we possess in reference to these lectures, proves that they produced a very favourable impression on the few students who were able to appreciate their value; and nothing less could have been expected from a man with the vast erudition and philosophic power of Sir William Hamilton. Still it is evident that the work of the chair never roused him sufficiently to draw out his highest intellectual energies. Eight years were yet to pass before the world was to get a specimen of his best work.

It was in the year 1829, when Sir William had already passed his fortieth year, that his literary activity,—his work as a teacher—began. That was the year in which Jeffrey retired from the editorship of the *Edinburgh Review*, and Professor Macvey Napier took his place. The new editor was anxious that the first number under his direction should create a good impression and requested his friend, Sir William Hamilton, to furnish for it a review of M. Cousin's *Cours de Philosophie*, which had been delivered with great popularity in Paris during the previous year, and which contained that philosopher's doctrine of the Infinite. It was evidently with difficulty and reluctance that Sir William roused himself to the unusual task. The theme, at least in the form it had taken since the time of Kant, was new to British speculation; the systems of Schelling and Hegel, which are criticised along with Cousin's, had hitherto been treated in Britain as palpable unintelligibilities; and the terminology employed in the discussion had never before found a place in the philosophical vocabulary of England. Professor Napier was not altogether free from alarm as to the possible reception of the article, and some of his friends apparently gave way to anxious forebodings about its effect on the popularity of the Review. At first indeed it was received in many quarters with wondering doubt about its meaning and value. Carlyle expresses this common state of feeling about the article, when in a letter to Christopher North he writes, though evidently in fun, 'Hamilton's paper on Cousin's Metaphysics I read last

night; but, like Hogg's warlock, "my heid whirled roun, and ane thing I couldna mind."'* Similarly Professor Masson, when as a young student at the University of Edinburgh he came upon the phrases of this discussion for the first time, had to confess, 'My natural history failed me, and whether the thing were eel, flounder, or turbot, I was in doubt.'† But the article soon began to excite admiration among those who put themselves to the trouble of mastering its purport, and its merits were not long in finding recognition on the continent. The highest tribute paid to it, however, was by M. Cousin himself. He had heard of the article, and wrote to Lord Brougham to procure it for him. On reading it, his satisfaction passed beyond all his expectations. He wrote to his reviewer in the most generous terms, commencing a correspondence which lasted throughout Hamilton's life, and which uniformly bore the tone of warm friendship, though the two correspondents never met:

For some years after this, Sir William became a regular contributor to the *Edinburgh Review*. Some of his other philosophical articles, such as that on the 'Philosophy of Perception,' and another on 'Recent Publications in Logical Science,' produced an impression almost as deep and extensive as the review of Cousin. But the articles on 'University Reform' will long retain their value, even after the changes they advocate have all been brought about; for nowhere within the same compass will be found such an accumulation of valuable learning with regard to the constitutional history of universities. Many of these contributions were collected in America, while they were also translated into German, French, and Italian, the French collection, under the title of *Fragments de Philosophie*, being especially valuable for the notes of its editor, M. Peisse. Except the few comprehended in Crosse's *Selections from the Edinburgh Review*, these articles were never collected in Britain till 1852, when they were republished by their author, with large additions, under the title of *Discussions in Philosophy and Literature, Education and University Reform*; but by this time the circle in which these studies

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* Mrs. Gordon's *Life of Christopher North*, p. 323 (Amer. ed.)

† *Macmillan's Magazine* for December, 1864, p. 135.

were popular had become so wide that a second edition was called for in the following year.

It has been explained above that one of the chief obstacles to Sir William's success in his candidature for the chair of Ethics was the fact of his great philosophical attainments being known only to the limited circle who enjoyed his personal acquaintance. This obstacle had now been removed by his contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*; and, accordingly, when in 1836 the chair of Logic and Metaphysics in Edinburgh became vacant, he offered himself as a candidate with every prospect of success, so far as the eminent and public recognition of his claims was concerned. Indeed, when we now reflect on the distinguished names by whom the candidature of Sir William Hamilton was supported, we can feel nothing but astonishment at an opposition so strong that his election was carried only by a majority of four, and we can sympathise with M. Cousin's wish for the sake of Scotland, that among Sir William's competitors, 'there may be one who has received public eulogies of equal value from disinterested and learned foreigners.'

At the time of his appointment Sir William had already passed his forty-eighth year. A large portion of the period in a man's life that is most valuable for work had thus gone before he commenced his professorial labours; but he was still in his prime, and, with the robust constitution and health which he uniformly enjoyed, a career of prolonged influence could still reasonably be anticipated. Nor was such an anticipation altogether disappointed. During his first session he delivered the course of lectures which have been published since his death under the title of *Lectures on Metaphysics*, while the course on Logic was delivered during the session following; and these two courses he continued to read in alternate sessions, without any material alteration, till the time of his death. The effect of these lectures was at once extensive and profound. His class-room was uniformly crowded with young men who were attracted to the University, not only from different parts of Scotland, but also from other countries, in many cases, mainly for the purpose of sitting at his feet; and many of his pupils, in the New World as well as the Old, still speak with enthusiastic gratitude of the im-

pulses which issued from his teaching as the most memorable element in their education.

In accordance with the usual practice of students, extensive notes of Hamilton's lectures were taken from year to year; and during the later years of his life it was not very difficult to obtain copies, transcribed from shorthand reports, and containing the professor's *ipsissima verba* almost complete. These lectures were written during the currency of the sessions in which they were delivered; indeed generally each lecture was finished only by his sitting up and working at it with the help of Lady Hamilton, the night before it was given to his class. The circumstances, in which the lectures were thus prepared, deprived them of that compact vigour of expression, which is so distinctive a feature of the works revised by himself for publication; but this very defect may be regarded as imparting a higher value to the lectures for the purpose for which they were originally designed. Still it is to be regretted that the materials contained in the lectures were never wrought into a more systematic form. Such a use of these materials seems to have been intended at one time. If he never contemplated a complete treatise on Logic, he evidently had planned a work embodying a systematic exposition of all that was peculiarly his own in his logical teachings. On the other hand, the materials of the metaphysical lectures would probably have been embodied in another work which Sir William began during the first session of his professorship, which, had it been finished, would probably have counted as the chief literary achievement of his life, and the completest as well as the most authoritative exposition of his philosophical views. This was his edition of Reid's Works. His original intention was to give merely a careful revision of the text with a short preface. But the work grew under his hand; footnotes were subjoined, and supplementary dissertations appended, till it seemed as if the contributions of the editor must exceed in bulk, as they certainly did in philosophical and literary value, the writings of the author edited. In truth it would scarcely be possible to adduce any modern prose-writings which have received the same amount of editorial care. The general aim of the editor's whole philosophy was made by him the special aim of this edition of Reid. His

conviction was, that the Philosophy of Common Sense stands on the highest reaches of human speculation; and he sought accordingly, in his annotation of Reid's Works, to point out the relation of the philosophy which they represent to the systems of other countries and of other times, as well as by translating it into more scientific expression, to bring into clearer view its true character, and the real basis on which it rests. In this, therefore, more than in any of his other works, he betrays his fondness for gathering hints of his own theories from the writings of previous thinkers, even when it is obviously questionable whether his interpretations have not been forced into, rather than elicited from, his quotations. His peculiar doctrines of Perception, for example, of the Supreme Law of Reproduction, of the Conditioned, of Pleasure and Pain, are all found by him in the works of Aristotle. Valuable, however, as this work is, a large part of it was held in type for some years before it finally made its appearance in 1846; and even the subsequent issues during the author's life stop abruptly in the middle of a sentence in one of the dissertations, while the footnotes contain references to a large number of dissertations which he never wrote.

This miscarriage of his greatest literary scheme must be in part ascribed to those habits of his studious life, which have been already noticed. Hamilton was to the last rather a student than a literary workman. It seemed as if he could never have done with the study of a subject sufficiently to feel prepared for writing upon it; and his preparation for writing on a subject was, it must be confessed, too often rather a study of its literature than a study of the subject in itself. He thus found himself apparently, after prolonged investigation, overwhelmed at times with an unmanageable accumulation of materials, and abandoned the task of literary construction in despair. This habit of Hamilton's, though unfavourable to literary productiveness, had at least one fortunate result. The almost unparalleled learning which he had accumulated, and which has been partly given to the world in his published writings, forms an invaluable mass of information, scarcely accessible elsewhere, from which literary men will long be glad to quarry materials for their work, with feelings of gratitude for the indefatigable student who has saved

them hours of toilsome research. And yet, but for this, we should undoubtedly have seen, not only the completion of the dissertations on Reid, but the production of some great independent work, which might have helped the author to emancipate himself entirely from the crudities of the Common Sense Philosophy, and to develop more clearly that idealistic tendency which his speculations had taken from the time when he came under the influence of the Kantian impulse. All this might fairly have been expected, even though Hamilton was so well advanced in life when he began his literary and professorial labours. To cite merely a single parallel case, Kant was forty-six years of age, nearly as old as Sir William Hamilton,—when, after delays of hope that might have discouraged most men, he was in 1770 appointed ordinary professor of Logic and Metaphysics in the university of his native town. He had, indeed, prior to this, written more than Hamilton had done before his appointment, but nothing that would not long ago have been forgotten, except for its association with his subsequent fame. In fact, the literary activity of Kant properly commences with the year 1781,—the fifty-seventh of his life—when his Kritik of Pure Reason was given to the world; for all the great works on which his fame rests, and which contain the exposition of his philosophy, date from this period. But any expectations, which might fairly have been formed, of Hamilton's literary productiveness, were doomed to disappointment. In justice to the philosopher, however, it is but fair to remember, that, whatever may have been his inclinations or disinclinations for literary work, he became at an early period seriously incapacitated by an accident which claimed for him the profoundest sympathy.

Only eight years after his appointment, in July, 1844, he was struck with paralysis of the right side. Though he rallied sufficiently to go through the duties of his office for twelve years, and though his intellect continued as clear as ever to the close, yet his power of work was of necessity seriously curtailed. We must not indeed exaggerate the damage which this calamity inflicted on his influence as a professor. It is scarcely correct to say, as Professor Monck has asserted,* that 'the real scope of his

* *Sir William Hamilton.* (*English Philosophers*), p. 8.

(Hamilton's) philosophical activity was limited to eight years, and after that period the paralytic man, who tottered down to read the lectures which he had written years before, would, if those eight years had proved less fruitful, have almost afforded a caution against such appointments for the future.' Mr. Monck is perhaps justified by this case in pointing a moral against 'the prevailing fault of all Academical patrons,' who 'select a middle-aged or elderly man who has already made a reputation rather than a young man who gives every indication that he is prepared to make one whenever an opening presents itself.' But it would be unjust to suppose that the last twelve years of Sir William's life were as unfruitful in professorial influence as is here assumed. It is true that the impediment in his speech prevented him from delivering his lectures with the effective eloquence which characterised the first years of his professorship. It is true, also, that he had lost control over the idly-disposed portion of his class, who gathered on the back-benches of the lecture-room, and indulged not only in a somewhat loud conversation, but occasionally even in a rough horse-play, which tried the temper of the philosopher too severely at times. But all this was due, not so much to the lack of discipline in the class, as to the boyish immaturity of the students who found themselves obliged by academical regulations to attend upon lectures which they were yet incompetent to understand. And in spite of all this, down to the very last days of his life there used to be found on the front-benches, pressing near to the professor's chair, a fair gathering of young men who hung with reverent attention on every word that fell from his stammering lips, and who felt, in his very personality, as well as in the charm with which he led them into new realms of thought and untrodden fields of learning, a peculiar spell that made them forget all the imperfection of his utterance. Some can remember the kindly patience with which he would listen to the essays of his students, even when they had the foolhardiness to criticise his own philosophical theories; while no one who has heard them, will soon forget the few words of generous encouragement with which he was ready to welcome such criticisms as evidencing independent thought.

It was unfortunate for Sir William Hamilton, if not for the

cause of philosophical education in Scotland, that the circumstances of his family obliged him to continue the work of his chair for the sake of its emoluments, when the state of his health would have induced him very willingly to retire. Possibly, had he been in a position to give up the irksome task of dragging himself to his lecture-room every day during the most inclement season of the year, his life might have been spared for some years longer; but with his terribly diminished energy the daily labour of his office involved a perilous drain on his vitality, and it is not surprising that he collapsed under the exertion. The last session in which he lectured was 1855-6. Shortly after its close he was seized with congestion of the brain, and died quite suddenly on the 6th of May. Most of those to whom his life was precious knew nothing of his illness till they heard of his death, and there are not many who can appreciate the feelings which that event awakened among them. It was not merely that we sorrowed because we should never see that noble head again; but we felt that a presence had gone from among us, which bore in it the highest educational force that can go forth from man,—a presence which had been like an embodied conscience in the community of studious men, reproving all shallowness by depth of thought, and all indolence by unwearied learning. Nor was it merely as a student and teacher that Sir William had left his impress on his pupils and friends. His life in other respects, indeed, had never obtruded itself prominently upon the notice of men; but it was sufficiently known among those who had felt his influence to make them aware that his conduct in general had been no less a reproof of licentious living than his teachings had been of licentious speculation. There was in Sir William Hamilton an union of what is best in the moral character with what is best in the intellectual life of man; and this union, combined with the fine courtesy which he uniformly displayed to his students, especially to those who came to him with speculative difficulties, gathered round him an enthusiastic reverence which few teachers have ever won.

J. CLARK MURRAY.

Art. III.—THE FLOWERS O' THE FOREST.

[A friend gave me a drive over Soultra Hill in October, 1885, the rain was pouring down as it can do at the head of Lauderdale; we put in to 'Carfrae Mill,' and in its cosy parlour had a three cornered chat with our genial host, Mr. George Henderson. He told us that his health had prevented him from being present at the rejoicings over the birth of an heir to the Tweeddale estates, to sing, as he intended, 'The Flowers o' the Forest in the auld style.' After some coaxing he sang Miss Jean Elliot's version (17-22 of the following verses) and admirably rendered the pathos of the song, and the rythmical sough of the fine old Scotch words of weird sorrow that abound, aye, glitter in it. Mr. Henderson is among his 'seventies' and shewed me a manuscript, of which he gave the history thus:—'It's mair than 30 years since I got it, but I canna mind hoo it came into my possession.' It was as follows, excepting that I have arranged the verses as they were *numbered on* the original manuscript. I do not recollect having seen the first seventeen verses before, they certainly possess considerable merit, as well as an intimate knowledge of the occurrences or legends of the time, such as the apparition at St. Andrew's, and the demon's summoning of the Barons 'at the throne of Plotcock,' an old Scottish name for his Satanic Majesty's throne. I have not in any way altered the manuscript's rendering of either Miss Elliot's or Mrs. Cockburn's songs, although in some points they differ from the 'authorised versions.' Many Scottish readers will doubtless feel pleased to see this fragment, and, if they read it aloud and lengthen the *ĕd*, they will admit it to be worthy of being better known.

John Strathesk.]

THE FLOWERS OF THE FOREST.

Composed on the memorable Battle of Flodden, fought Sep. 5th, 1513.

1 From Spey to the border was peace and good order,
The sway of our monarch was mild as the May;
Peace he adorëd which Southerns abhorrëd,
Our marches they plunder, our guardians they slay.

2 'Gainst Louis our ally, their Henry did sally,
The James, but in vain, did his heralds advance,
Renouncing alliance, denouncing defiance,
To Southerns, if longer abiding in France.

3 Many were the omens our ruin was coming,
E'er the flower of the nation was called to array;
Our king at devotion, St. Andrew gave him caution
And sighed, as with sorrow he thus to him did say:

4 'Sir, in this expedition, you must have ambition,
From the company of women you must keep away.'
When the spectre this declarëd, it quickly disappeared,
But where it retir'd, no man could espy.

5 The flower of the nation was called to their station,
With valiant inclination their banners to display,
To Burrow Muir resorting their right for supporting,
And there, rendezvousing, encampëd did lay.

6 But another bad omen that vengeance was coming—
At midnight, in Edinburgh, a voice loud did cry,
As heralds in their station, with loud proclamation,
Did name the barons in England to die.

7. These words the demon spoke at the throne of Plotcock,
It chargëd their appearing, appointed the day.
The Provost in its hearing, the same greatly fearing,
Appealed to his Maker, the same did deny.

8 At this many were grieved, as many misbelieved,
But forward they marchëd to their destiny,
From thence to the border, they marched in good order.
The Mersemen and Forest they joined the array.

9 England's invasion, it was their persuasion
To make restitution for their cruelty;
But oh! fatal Flodden, for there came the woe dawn,
There our royal nation was brought to decay.

10 After spoiling and burning, many homeward returning,
With our king still, the nobles and vassals abide;
To Surrey's proud vaunting he answers but daunting;
The king would await him, whatever betide.

11 The English advancëd to where they were stancëd,
Half entrenchëd by nature the field it so lay,
To fight the English fearing, and sham'd their retiring,
But alas! unperceived was their subtilty.

12 Our Highland battalion, so forward and valiant,
They broke from their ranks, and rushed on to slay;
With hacking and slashing, and broadswords a' dashing,
Through the front of the English they cut a pale way.

13 But alas! to their ruin, an ambush pursuing,
They were surrounded with numbers too high;
The Mersemen and Forest, they suffered the sorest,
Upon the left wing, were enclosed the same way.

14 Our men into parties, the battle in three quarters,
Upon our main body the marksmen did play.
The spearmen were surrounded, and all were confounded—
The fatal devastation of the woeful day.

15 Our nobles all ensnared, our king he was not spared,
For of that fate he shared, and would no longer stay.
The whole was intercepted, and very few escaped
The fatal conflagration of that woeful day.

16 This set the whole nation into grief and vexation,
The widows did weep, and the maidens did say,
Why tarries my lover, the battle's surely over,
Is there none come to tell us the fate of the day?

FLOWERS OF THE FOREST.

By the Sister of Sir G. Elliot, about the year 1775.

17 I've heard a lilting at our ewes milking,
Lasses a' lilting before the break of day;
But now there's a moaning on ilka green loaning,
That our braw foresters are a' wed away.

18 At bughts in the morning, nae blyth lads are sorning,
The lasses are lonely, dowie, and wae,
Nae daffing, nae gabbing, but sighing and sabbing,
Ilk ane lifts her leglen, and hies her away.

19 At e'en in the gloaming nae swankies are roaming
Mang stacks wi' the lasses at Boglie to play,
But ilk maid sits drearie, lamenting her dearie,
The flowers o' the forest are a' wed away.

20 At Hair'st at the shearing, nae younkers are jeering,
The bandsters are runkled, and lyart, and grey,
At Fairs or at preachin', nae wooing, nae fleeching,
Since our braw foresters are a' wed away.

21 O! dool on the order, sent our lads to the border,
The English for ance, by guile wan the day;
The flowers o' the forest, that aye shone the foremost,
The prime of the land now lie cauld in the clay.

22 We'll hear nae mair lilting at the ewes milking,
The women and bairns are dowie and wae,
Sighing and moaning, on ilka green loaning,
Since our braw foresters are a' wed away.

THE FLOWERS OF THE FOREST.

By Mrs. Cockburn.

23 I've seen the smiling of fortune beguiling,
I've tasted their pleasures, and felt their decay;
Sweet was her blessing, and kind her carressing,
But now they are fled—fled far away.

24 I've seen the Forest, adorned the foremost,
Wi' flowers o' the fairest baith pleasant and gay,
Sae bonny was their blooming, their scent the air perfuming,
But now they are withered, and a' wed away.

25 I've seen the morning, wi' gold the hills adorning,
And loud tempest roaring before break of day,
I've seen Tweed's silver streams, glittering in the sunny beams,
Grow drumly and dark, as they rolled on their way.

26 O! fickle fortune, why this cruel sporting?
O! why still perplex us poor sons of a day?
Thy frowns cannot fear me, thy smiles cannot cheer me,
Since the flowers o' the forest are a' wed away.

ART. IV.—BURTON'S *ANATOMY OF MELANCHOLY.*

The Anatomy of Melancholy: what it is, with all the kinds, causes, symptoms, prognostics, and several cures of it, etc. By DEMOCRITUS JUNIOR. Three volumes. London, 1886.

AMONG the many reprints which have been issued from the press of Mr. Nimmo, few are more handsome, and none will be more acceptable to the genuine lover of books, than the one he has now issued of Burton's quaint and famous book. So far as its appearance is concerned, it is all that can be desired. The three handy octavo volumes are much more convenient for use than the original cumbrous quarto, and each of them is much lighter in the hand than either of the two volumes of the reprint of 1806. The type is good and, though somewhat small in the notes, clear. The edges, so far as the present fashion goes, are perfection, while the binding is irreproachable. The publishers of the edition of 1806 declared that to reduce Le Blon's frontispiece to an octavo size was impossible; but this difficulty modern art and science have enabled Mr. Nimmo to overcome, and he has prefixed to his edition a very excellent facsimile of the old and curious frontispiece. Altogether, the edition is one of great beauty and ought to satisfy the most fastidious. There is just one fault we have to find with it. Previous editions have been

followed either too closely or not closely enough, in at least one instance. Turning to the footnote to the verses explanatory of the frontispiece, as they are given in the reprint of 1806, it is said:—'The author's portrait mentioned in the 10th stanza is copied on our xvth page,' and when we turn to 'our xvth page,' sure enough the portrait, or at least what is intended for it, is there, in all its grimness. In the new edition the verses are given, and the footnote is given in part. The last sentence of it is:—'The author's portrait, mentioned in the stenth tanza, is copied in page 7;' but on turning to page 7, the space where we suppose the author's portrait ought to have been, is blank. Of course this is a small matter;* at the same time it is a singular oversight; as, however, the author's portrait appears in the frontispiece, and is executed in an infinitely better style than in the older editions, the reader has no reason to grumble.

The *Anatomy of Melancholy* is an odd yet wonderful book. Personally we do not care to pile up epithets, but those who do may indulge themselves to the top of their bent when writing of Burton's book. Almost any epithets may be flung at it, and providing they are not altogether bad or condemnatory, it would not be a very difficult task to justify pretty nearly the whole of them from its pages. It is the strangest medley of excellencies we have ever had the fortune to come across. There is in it sound sense and wide reading; brilliant epigrams, wit, eloquence, invention and imagination; irony, sarcasm, saturnine humour, and one knows not what, all mixed together in the strangest order and profusion, as if they had tumbled pell mell from the author's pen, or bubbled over from his mind, with just the slightest measure of control. But before saying more of the book, we must try to form some idea of its author.

Robert Burton was the son of Ralph Burton of Lindley, in Leicestershire, and was born there on the 8th of February,

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* A similar oversight by the way occurs on p. 14, where the reference in square brackets should run,—See Vol. I., p. 327 of the present edition, and not 'p. 161,' etc.

1576. His elder brother William, who succeeded to the paternal estates, was educated for the Bar, and became a barrister and reporter in the Court of Common Pleas. The precarious condition of his health, however, did not permit him to continue long at his profession, and 'his natural genius leading him,' as Wood says, 'to the studies of heraldry, genealogies, and antiquities,' he devoted himself to 'those obscure and intricate matters, and . . was accounted by all who knew him to be the best of his time for those studies.' His *Description of Leicestershire*, one of the earliest county histories, appeared in 1622 and is still to be met with. Robert was educated at Sutton Coldfield, in Warwickshire, and at the Grammar School of Nuneaton. In 1593 he was sent to Oxford, and entered at Brasenose as a Commoner, where he is said to have made considerable progress in logic and philosophy. Six years later he was elected a student of Christ Church, and 'for form sake, though he wanted not a tutor, was put under the tuition of Dr. Bancroft, afterwards Bishop of Oxford.' In 1614, he was admitted Reader of Sentences, and in the next year but one was presented to the vicarage of St. Thomas, Oxford, by the Dean and Canons of Christ Church. Twenty years later, in 1636, he became vicar of Seagrave, in Leicestershire, through the patronage of George, Lord Berkeley, to whom the *Anatomy* is dedicated. He was appointed also to the living of Walsby in Lincolnshire, by Frances, Countess Dowager of Exeter, but resigned it. Seagrave, along with his Oxford vicarage, he kept, as Wood says, 'with much ado to his dying day.' Most of his time was spent at Oxford. That he was an omnivorous reader and had a marvellously retentive memory, no one who has looked into the *Anatomy* needs to be told. His passion for reading is said to have been sedulously ministered to by Rouse, the Bodleian Librarian, who seems to have ransacked the Bodleian and to have turned out all the obscure books he could find that were in any way connected with the subject Burton had in hand. According to Wood, Burton was 'an exact mathematician, a curious calculator of nativities, a general read scholar, a thorough-paced philologist, and one that understood the surveying of lands well. As he was by

many accounted a severe student, a devourer of authors, a melancholy and humorous person; so by others, who knew him well, a person of great honesty, plain dealing, and charity. I have heard some of the ancients of Christ Church often say,' he continues, 'that his company was very merry, facete, and juvenile; and no man in his time did surpass him for his ready and dexterous interlarding his common discourses among them with verses from the poets, or sentences from classic authors; which being then all the fashion in the University made his company the more acceptable.' Burton has left us a description of himself, which agrees wonderfully well with all that Wood could gather about him. The passage in which it occurs is somewhat long, but as in many respects it is an excellent specimen of his style we shall take the liberty of transcribing it. Democritus of Abdera was evidently his model; and after giving a slight description of him, taken mostly from the accounts of Hippocrates, Diogenes Laertius, and Columella, and disclaiming any intention of making a parallel, he goes on to say:—

'Thus much I will say of myself, and that, I hope, without all suspicion of pride, or self-conceit, I have lived a silent, sedentary, solitary, private life, *mihi et musis*, in the university, as long as Xenocrates in Athens, *ad senectam ferè*, to learn wisdom as he did, penned up most part in my study: for I have been brought up a student in the most flourishing college of Europe, *augustissimo collegio*, and can brag with Jovius almost *in ea luce domicilii Vaticani, totius orbis celeberrimi per 37 annos multa opportunaque didici*; for thirty years I have continued (having the use of as good libraries as ever he had) a scholar, and would be therefore loth, either by living as a drone to be an unprofitable or unworthy member of so learned and noble a society, or to write that which should be anyway dishonourable to such a royal and ample foundation. Something I have done, though by my profession a divine, yet *turbine raptus ingenii*, as he said, out of a running wit, an unconstant unsettled mind, I had a great desire (not able to attain to a superficial skill in any) to have some smattering in all, to be *aliquis in omnibus, nullus in singulis*, which Plato commends, out of him Lipsius approves and furthers, as fit to be imprinted in all curious wits—not to be a slave of one science, or dwell altogether on one subject, as most do, but to rove abroad *centum puer artium*, to have an oar in every man's boat, to taste of every dish and to sip of every cup; which, saith Montaigne, was well performed by Aristotle and his learned countryman, Adrian Turnebus. This roving humour (though not with like success) I

have ever had, and, like a ranging spaniel that barks at every bird he sees, leaving his game, I have followed all, saving that which I should, and may justly complain, and truly, *qui ubique est, nusquam est*, which Gesner did in modesty, that I have read many books, but to little purpose, for want of good method; I have confusedly tumbled over divers authors in our libraries with small profit, for want of art, order, method, memory, judgment. I never travelled but in map or card, in which my unconfined thoughts have freely expatiated, as having ever been especially delighted with the study of cosmography. Saturn was lord of my geniture culminating, etc., and Mars principal significator of manners, in partile conjunction with my ascendant; both fortunate in their houses, etc. I am not poor, I am not rich, *nihil est, nihil deest*; I have little, I want nothing: all my treasure is in Minerva's tower. Greater preferment as I could never get, so am I not in debt for it. I have a competence *(laus Deo)* from my noble and munificent patrons. Though I live still a collegiate student, as Democritus in his garden, and lead a monastic life, *ipse mihi theatrum*, sequestered from those tumults and troubles of the world, *et tanquam in specula positus* (as he said), in some high place above you all, like Stoicus Sapiens, *omnia saecula praeterita praesentiaque videns, uno velut intuitu*, I hear and see what is done abroad, how others run, ride, turmoil, and macerate themselves in court and country, far from those wrangling lawsuits, *aulae vanitatem, fori ambitionem, ridere mecum soleo.* I laugh at all, only secure lest my suit go amiss, my ships perish, corn and cattle miscarry, trade decay. I have no wife or children, good or bad, to provide for. A mere spectator of other men's fortunes and adventures and how they act their parts, which, methinks, are diversely presented unto me, as from a common theatre or scene. I hear new news every day, and those ordinary rumours of war, plagues, fires, inundation, thefts, murders, massacres, meteors, comets, spectrums, prodigies, apparitions, of towns taken, cities besieged in France, Germany, Turkey, Persia, Poland, etc., daily musters and preparations, and such like, which these tempestuous times afford, battles fought, so many men slain, monomachies, shipwrecks, piracies and sea fights, peace, leagues, stratagems, and fresh alarms. A vast confusion of vows, wishes, actions, edicts, petitions, lawsuits, pleas, laws, proclamations, complaints, grievances, are daily brought to our ears; new books every day, pamphlets, currantoes, stories, whole catalogues of volumes of all sorts, new paradoxes, opinions, schisms, heresies, controversies in philosophy, religion, etc. Now come tidings of weddings, maskings, mummeries, entertainments, jubilees, embassies, tilts and tournaments, trophies, triumphs, revels, sports, plays; then again, as in a new shifted scene, treasons, cheating tricks, robberies, enormous villanies in all kinds, funerals, burials, death of princes, new discoveries, expeditions; now comical, then tragical matters. To-day we hear of new lords and officers created, to-morrow of some great men deposed, and then again of fresh honours conferred; one is let loose, another imprisoned; one purchaseth,

another breaketh ; he thrives, his neighbour turns bankrupt ; now plenty, then again dearth and famine, one runs another rides, wrangles, laughs, weeps, etc. Thus I daily hear, and such like, both private and public news. Amidst the gallantry and misery of the world, jollity, pride, perplexities and cares, simplicity and villany, subtlety, knavery, candour and integrity, mutually mixed and offering themselves, I rub on, *privus privatus* ; and as I have still lived so I now continue *statu quo prius*, left to a solitary life, and mine own domestic discontents ; saving that sometimes, *ne quid mentiar*, as Diogenes went into the city and Democritus to the haven to see fashions, I did for my recreation now and then walk abroad, look into the world, and could not choose but make some little observation, *non tam sagax observator, ac simplex recitator*, not as they did to scoff or laugh at all, but with a mixed passion. *Bilem saepe jocum vestri movere tumultus.*'

According to this and all other accounts Burton's only occupations were reading and writing. His only complaint was 'melancholy,' to cure which he undertook the writing of his book, but, like many other specifics, it failed. As he grew older the disease took a deeper and stronger hold upon him, insomuch, it is said, 'that nothing could make him laugh but going to the bridge-foot and hearing the ribaldry of the bargemen, which rarely failed to throw him into a fit of laughter.' His death took place at Oxford in January, 1640, at the time he had some years before foretold, from the calculation of his nativity, 'which being exact,' says Wood, 'several of the students did not forbear to whisper among themselves that rather than there should be a mistake in the calculation, he sent up his soul to heaven through a slip about his neck.' This was probably nothing more than a piece of grim waggery, or a mischievous joke. At all events, Burton was honoured with Christian burial, his remains being interred in the Cathedral of Christ Church, where a monument was erected to his memory, bearing, along with his horoscope, etc., the following inscription, said to have been composed for the purpose by himself:

> 'Paucis notus, paucioribus ignotus
> Hic jacet Democritus Junior
> Cui vitam dedit et mortem
> Melancholia.'

The *Anatomy* was the only work Burton ever published. Of the MSS. he left behind him the only one that has been printed is his Latin comedy, *Philosophaster*, which was edited in

1862 by the Rev. W. E. Buckley for presentation to the members of the Roxburghe Club. The *Anatomy* appeared for the first time in 1621, and at once obtained great popularity. Editions were subsequently published in 1624, 1628, 1632, 1638, 1651-2, 1660, 1676, the last being called the eighth. An eleventh edition, corrected and having an account of the author prefixed to it, was published in 1806, under the editorship of Mr. Edward Du Bois. The twelfth edition appeared fifteen years later, since which there have been some eight or nine others. The additional matter of Mr. Nimmo's is apparently taken from Stephen Jones's reprint. The text followed is apparently that of the edition of 1651-2. This impression is named the sixth, and was the last revised by the author. At the end of it the following Address to the Reader occurs:

'Be pleased to know (Courteous Reader) that since the last Impression of this Book, the ingenuous Author of it is deceased, leaving a copy of it exactly corrected, with several considerable Additions by his own hand; this Copy he committed to my care and custody, with directions to have those Additions inserted in the next Edition; which in order to his command, and the Publicke Good, is faithfully performed in this last Impression.

'H C.'

The initials are those of Henry Cripps, the bookseller who is said to have bought an estate with the profits he made from the sale of the *Anatomy*.

Mr. Du Bois, in the advertisement to his edition, speaks of the *Anatomy* as 'a work now restored to public notice.' Lowndes, also, apparently following Du Bois, describes it as 'a work once almost forgotten.' But surely there is here something like exaggeration. During the first fifty years of its existence no fewer than eight editions of the work were called for, and between the last of these, in 1676, and 1806, there must have been at least two others. This scarcely looks like being almost forgotten. Few contemporary works seem to have had a larger circulation or to have been more constantly in demand. That it has had, as Du Bois remarks, an extraordinary fate, there can be no doubt. Few books have been more used, and fewer have played a more important part in

the literature of the last two centuries. To the literary men of the time it was well known. Du Bois' remark that 'Milton did not disdain to build two of his finest poems on it,' is perhaps a little strained; but he is not far from the truth when he observes that 'a host of inferior writers have embellished their works with beauties not their own, culled from a performance which they had not the justice even to mention.' Sterne's indebtedness to it is well known, and admittedly indefensible. 'Perhaps,' observes Mr. Trail,*

'Perhaps the most extraordinary instance of literary effrontery which was ever met with is the passage in Vol. I., c. i. [*Tristram Shandy*], which even that seasoned detective, Dr. Ferriar, is startled into pronouncing "singular." Burton had complained that writers were like apothecaries, who "make new mixtures every day," by "pouring out of one vessel into another." "We weave," he said, "the same web still, twist the same rope again and again." And Sterne *incolumi gravitate* asks: "Shall we for ever make new books as apothecaries make new mixtures, by pouring out of one vessel into another? Are we for ever to be twisting and untwisting the same rope, for ever on the same track, for ever at the same pace?" And this he writes, with the scissors actually opened in his hand for the almost bodily abstraction of the passage beginning, "Man, the most excellent and noble creature of the world." Surely this denunciation of plagiarism by a plagiarist on the point of setting to work could only have been written by a man who looked upon plagiarism as a good joke.'

Sterne, however, is not the only sinner. According to Wood, several authors had stolen unmercifully from the *Anatomy* in his day, and almost from the first day of its appearance its pages seem to have been a kind of happy hunting-ground for impecunious intellects, who have used them as a sort of *vade mecum* for obtaining a spurious reputation for smartness and learning. Discreditable as this is to those who were chargeable with it, it is, on the other hand, a strong testimony to the worth of the *Anatomy*. Few books have been used in the same way to the same extent. At the same time, it ought to be admitted that its pages offer every temptation to the literary purloiner. ''Tis a book,' says Wood, 'so full of variety of reading, that gentlemen who have lost their time and are put to a push for invention may furnish themselves with matter

* *Sterne* (English Men of Letters), p. 140.

for common or scholastical discourse and writing.' Burton, in fact, is so great a user of other men's thoughts, he pours them out with such volubility, and scatters them about with such prodigal profusion as to suggest to the not over-wary or over-scrupulous that his riches are common property, and that all may come and take without acknowledgment.* This, however, is no excuse for his purloiners, but it may serve to explain to some extent their pilferings. Burton himself is almost chargeable with being art and part in their sins. We know nothing comparable with his pages as inducements to plagiarism, save those shabby looking, miserably printed German handbooks, in which, for a few shillings, any one with a smattering of German may learn all that has been said or thought on any particular subject, and more especially in theology, since the creation of the world, and from which commentators and others are in the habit of stealing as unmercifully, and with as little acknowledgment, as any one ever stole from Burton.

To our mind, however, the strangest and most wonderful thing about the *Anatomy* is its longevity. At first sight, its pages, bristling with italics, quotations, astrological signs, obscure and often unpronounceable names, together with its interminable divisions into partitions, sections, members, and subsections, are as repellent as possible. The subject, too, is at

* Of his own indebtedness to others Burton remarks: 'If that severe doom of Synesius be true, "it is a greater offence to steal dead men's labours than their clothes," what shall become of most writers? I hold up my hand at the bar amongst others, and am guilty of felony in this kind, *habes confitentem reum*, I am content to be pressed with the rest.' On the other hand, he declares, '*omne meum nihil meum*, 'tis all mine, and none mine. As a good housewife out of divers fleeces weaves one piece of cloth, a bee gathers wax and honey out of many flowers, and makes a new bundle of all,

Floriferis ut apes in saltibus omnia libant,

I have laboriously collected this cento out of divers writers and that *sine injuria*: I have wronged no authors, but given every man his own.' Nothing seems to have given him more pleasure than to see upon his pages a goodly array of authors' names. Those whom he cites are legion. Many of them are utterly forgotten, and are unknown save to the bibliographer or book-hunter.

first sight by no means an inviting one. The very title is repellent. The Anatomy of Melancholy! Who would care to stand by and watch the dissection of a disease? Melancholy is enough of itself. It is a thing, a disease, a form of madness one instinctively shuns. Yet around his dissection of it Burton has thrown a sort of charm. Spite of all his defects of style and treatment; in spite, too, of the unattractive aspect of his pages, his book has survived for a couple of centuries and a half, has had countless readers and admirers, and bids fair to retain its position and popularity in our literature as long as the English language is spoken or understood. This, we take it, is one of the most singular phenomena in our literary annals, and worth considering.

To what, then, is the longevity of the *Anatomy* due? We might have said popularity, but as that term represents a much more complex idea and is liable to be misunderstood, and as the one we have used is simpler and involves the idea of a certain amount of popularity, we prefer to say longevity. The question is not a particularly easy one, but some attempt may here be made to answer it.

According to M. Taine, who may probably be regarded as less biassed than our own literary historians, the 'effectual leaven' of the literary period to which Burton belongs was the poetic sentiment—'the poetic sentiment, which stirs up and animates the vast erudition, which will not be confined to dry catalogues; which, interpreting every fact, every object, disentangles or divines a mysterious soul within it, and agitates the whole mind of man, by representing to him the restless world within and without him as a grand enigma.'* There is, doubtless some truth in this. But the 'poetic sentiment' is not sufficient of itself to give life to a book, and few, we imagine, ever read Bacon, or Sir Thomas Browne, or Burton for it. In the writings of Bacon and Browne it is unquestionably largely present, and gives a splendour to their diction and a charm to their thoughts, which most readers are able to appreciate, but in Burton it is almost completely swamped. Here and there one meets with passages in which it distinctly predominates;

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* *Hist. of Eng. Lit.*, I., 343.

as for instance, in the beautiful passage* where he says, '*Amor mundum fecit*, love built cities; *mundi anima*, invented arts, sciences, and all good things, incites us to virtue and humanity, combines and quickens; keeps peace on earth, quietness by sea, mirth in the winds and elements, expels all fear, anger, and rusticity; *circulus a bono in bonum*, a round circle still from good to good,' etc.; or again, in his description of Poverty and Want, or of the power of gold, or of the effects of music; or in the following description of the first approaches of melancholy †:—

'Voluntary solitariness is that which is familiar with melancholy, and greatly brings on, like the Siren, a shoeing-horn, or some Sphinx, to this irrevocable gulf: a primary cause, Piso calls it; most pleasant it is at first, to such as are melancholy given, to lie in bed whole days, and keep their chambers, to walk alone in some solitary grove, betwixt wood and water, by a brook side, to meditate on some delightsome and pleasant subject, which shall affect them most; *amabilis insania, et mentis gratissimus error.* A most incomparable delight it is so to melancholize, and build castles in the air, to go smiling to themselves acting an infinite variety of parts, which they suppose, and strongly imagine they represent, or that they see acted or done; *Blandæ quidem ab initio*, saith Lemnius, to conceive and meditate of such pleasant things sometimes, present, past, or to come, as Rhasis speaks. So delightsome these toys are at first, they could spend whole days and nights without sleep, even whole years alone, in such contemplations and fantastical meditations, which are like unto dreams; and they will hardly be drawn from them, or willingly interrupt, so pleasant their vain conceits are, that they hinder their ordinary tasks and necessary business; they cannot address themselves to them, or almost to any study or employment: these fantastical and bewildering thoughts so covertly, so feelingly, so urgently, so continually, set upon, creep in, insinuate, possess, overcome, distract, and detain them they cannot, I say, go about their more necessary business, stave off or extricate themselves, but are ever musing, melancholizing, and carried along, as he (they say) that is lead round about a heath with a Puck in the night, they run earnestly on in this labyrinth of anxious and solicitous melancholy meditations, and cannot well or willingly refrain, or easily leave off, winding and unwinding themselves, as so many clocks, and still pleasing their humours, until at last the scene is turned upon a sudden, by some bad object, and they, being now habituated to such vain meditations and solitary places, can endure no company, can ruminate of nothing but harsh or distasteful subjects.'

* Part 3, Sect. 1, Memb. 1, Subs. 2.

† Part 1, Sect. 2, Memb. 2, Subs. 6.

But passages like these are rare, and, like the first mentioned, are usually overloaded with quotation. That Burton was not without the poetic sentiment or any of the other elements which go to make up the poet, there can be no doubt. Nor can there be any that he was quite capable of writing, and, if he had chosen, might have written, in the same style of sustained eloquence as Bacon or Sir Thomas Browne. But this was just what he chose not to do. He preferred to write according to his bent, extemporaneously, as he says, without care, without elaboration, in a style unstudied as his talk. This he tells us.

'Pancrates in Lucian,' he says, 'wanting a servant as he went from Memphis to Coptus in Egypt, took a door-bar, and, after some superstitious words pronounced (Eucrates, the relator, was then present), made it stand up like a serving-man, fetch him water, turn the spit, serve in supper, and what work he would besides; and when he had done that service he desired, turned his man to a stick again. I have no such skill to make new men at my pleasure, or means to hire them, no whistle to call like the master of a ship, and bid them run, etc. I have no such authority, no such benefactors as that noble Ambrosius was to Origen, allowing him six or seven amanuenses to write out his dictates; I must for that cause do my business for myself, and was therefore enforced, as a bear doth her whelps, to bring forth this confused lump: I had not time to lick it into form, as she doth her young ones, but even so to publish it, as it was first written, *quicquid in buccam venit*, in an extemporean style (as I do commonly all other exercises) *effudit quicquid dictavit genius meus:* out of a confused company of notes, and writ with as small deliberation as I do ordinarily speak, without all affectation of big words, fustian phrases, jingling terms, tropes, strong lines (that, like Acestes' arrows, caught fire as they flew) strains of wit, brave heats, elogies, hyperbolical exornations, elegances, etc., which many so much affect. I am *aquæ potor*, drink no wine at all, which so much improves our modern wits; a loose, plain, rude writer, *ficum voco ficum, et ligonem ligonem*, and as free, as loose: *idem calamo quod in mente*; I call a spade a spade: *animis haec scribo, non auribus*, I respect matter, not words, remembering that of Cardan, *verba propter res, non res propter verba*; and seeking with Seneca, *quid scribam, non quemadmodum*, rather what than how to write it. For, as Philo thinks, he that is conversant about matter, neglects words; and those that excel in this art of speaking, have no profound learning.'*

And herein lies his first and principal charm. For notwith-

* Address, p. 45.

standing his weight of learning and perpetual quotations, Burton is a thoroughly natural, thoroughly original writer. He writes straight out from his mind, strongly, pointedly, without premeditation, peremptorily. One feels that he is speaking to us directly from his pages, that as we read them we are in actual contact with his mind, and that in them we have 'preserved,' to use Milton's phrase, 'as in a vial, the purest efficacy and extraction of that living intellect that bred them.' And it this which is at once the test of their originality and the secret and promise of their longevity. The *Anatomy* lives, in fact, because it is real; the free, natural, spontaneous utterance of a strong, vigorous, powerful mind. Its pages are weighted with a large and cumbrous cargo of almost useless material, but they are buoyed up by the life and spirit Burton has managed to infuse into them. As a work of art the *Anatomy* has many and serious defects, but it contains what Milton, in his splendid way, has called 'a progeny of life,' 'the precious life-blood of a master-spirit, embalmed and treasured up on purpose to a life beyond life.' Were it not for this, it would long ere this have gone the way of many another similarly laden argosy which for a while humoured the fashion of the times, and then sank to be seen no more; for only as a book is original in the sense that it is the natural and spontaneous utterance of the inmost thoughts of its writer's mind, can it lay claim to immortality, or survive the superficial tastes of its own and succeeding times.

Along with this characteristic of the *Anatomy* may be mentioned its variety. That this is not of itself sufficient to give life and immortality to a book we are well aware; but when associated with naturalness and originality, it is an important element, and has much to do not only with the temporary success of a book, but also in obtaining for it a stable position in the literature to which it belongs, and an enduring life. And that the *Anatomy* possesses this element in an extraordinary degree, it is almost needless to say. As we have already remarked, it it about the strangest conglomeration we have ever met with. No mass of conglomerate or metamorphosed rock ever presented so varied an aspect. The subjects fused together on its pages

are almost endless and the most diverse imaginable. '*Effudi,*' says Burton, in a passage already cited, '*quicquid dictavit genius meus:* out of a confused company of notes, and writ with as small deliberation as I do ordinarily speak.' And this is the only explanation that can be given of it. At the same time there is nothing like rambling in it. One feels the stir and rush of thoughts; they glance here and there, forwards and backwards, now hither, now thither, plunging here and there, dealing with subjects astrological, philosophical, medical, musical, geometrical, heraldic, pedagogic; now they are engrossed with a nice question in natural history, now with a scrap of metaphysics; now they are busy dissecting a passion, denouncing a vice, praising a virtue, or they are arguing, expostulating, or commanding; but behind them, during all their apparently wild vagaries, there is the master-spirit, calm, serious, indefatigable, holding them firmly in his leash, controlling their every movement, and making them bear down clearly and distinctly upon the point he has in hand. M. Taine has called the book 'a carnival of ideas and phrases,' and such it is; but in the madness of it there is method of the strictest and most thoroughly Scholastic type, the subject of every partition, section, member, and subsection being laid down with the most minute precision, and always carefully worked out.

And similarly with the style. Here, again, we have the most astonishing variety. At times it flows on calmly and quietly, at others the words seem to be pelted at us in fierce succession, and with such rapidity that one is almost stupified. Burton undoubtedly calls a spade a spade, and is at times a little too gross for modern ears. But his style has the merit of being clear, direct, forcible. Here is his own description of it—a description, we will venture to say, which can with difficulty be improved :—

'I neglect phrases, and labour wholly to inform my reader's understanding, not to please his ear; 'tis not my study or intent to compose neatly, which an orator requires, but to express my self readily and plainly as it happens; so that, as a river runs, sometimes precipitate and swift, then dull and slow; now direct, then *per ambages*; now deep, then shallow; now muddy, then clear; now broad, then narrow; doth my style flow—

now serious, then light; now comical, then satirical; now elaborate, then remiss, as the present subject required, or as at that time I was affected. And if thou vouchsafe to read this treatise, it shall seem no otherwise to thee, than the way to an ordinary traveller, sometimes fair, sometimes foul; here champaign, there enclosed; barren in one place, better soil in another. By woods, groves, hills, dales, plains, etc., I shall lead thee *per ardua montium, et lubrica vallium, et roscida cespitum, et glebosa camporum*, through variety of objects, that which thou shalt like, and surely dislike.'*

And then there is the subject. For after all, repellent as it appears at first sight, as conceived of by Burton it has a sort of perennial interest. For with him melancholy stands for a much more extensive idea or thing than it does with ourselves. It denotes not merely lowness of spirits, or what is now termed melancholy, but almost every known ailment or distemper of the mind and body; while his treatment of it includes not simply the dissection, or description of all these various distempers or diseases, but also their causes, natural and supernatural, general and particular, together with their symptoms, prognostics, and cures, lawful and unlawful, and a variety of digressions by the way. The attraction which all this has for some minds may not be the healthiest, but the existence of the attraction cannot be questioned. There is at least something human about it all, and it was in this aspect that Burton viewed it. He wrote as a physician, conscious of the disease himself, having, as he says, a '*gravidum cor, fœtum caput*, a kind of imposthume in my head, which I was desirous to be unladen of,' and recognising the universality of its prevalence. 'My purpose and endeavour,' he says, 'is to anatomize this humour of melancholy, through all its parts and species, as it is an habit, or an ordinary disease, and that philosophically, medicinally—to show the causes, symptoms and several cures of it, that it may be the better avoided; moved thereunto for the generality of it, and to do good, it being a disease so frequent.' And again, 'Being then a disease so grievous, so common, I know not wherein to do a more general service, and spend my time better, than to prescribe means how to prevent and cure so universal a malady, an epidemical disease, that so

* Address, p. 46.

often, so much, crucifies the body and mind.'* In fact, in the hands of Burton the subject loses what we suppose we may call its particularism, is exalted into the general and universal, and instead of being some particular affection or disease, is naught less than all the ills that mind and flesh are heir to. And when we remember the freedom and originality with which he has treated it, the curious learning he has brought to bear upon it, the stories he has to tell in illustration of it, the sense and wit and humour with which he writes, the pregnant and eloquent sayings which often sparkle in his pages, one ceases to wonder that the book, notwithstanding its defects, has a sort of universal attraction, and has survived so many years of thought and fashion. That it will ever again become as popular as it was during the first forty years of its existence, we do not suppose; we should scarcely like it; but it is a book which curious readers will always desire to have. Johnson tells us that it was the only book that ever got him out of bed two hours earlier than he wanted to rise, but in the present year of grace there are very few, we suspect, over whom it will exercise the same fascination, or from whom it will obtain so large a measure of praise, though there are few, we imagine, who, having once opened it, will not return to it again and again, and with increasing pleasure.

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* Address, pp. 161-162.

Art. V.—THE MESMERIST.

FROM THE LATE IVAN TURGENIEFF.

[It has been our wish to place occasionally before the readers of the *Scottish Review* some specimens of the best Continental fiction, especially such as combine with literary merit both a characteristic style on the part of the original author and a valuable and interesting picture of foreign manners and modes of thought. The same person to whom we were indebted for the 'Live Relics' of the late Ivan Turgenieff, which we published in No. 5, immediately after his death, as a tribute to his memory, has now sent us another of his shorter novels, which, as far as we know, have never appeared in an English dress before ; and it is possible that we may receive some more works of the same class, from the same author, and by the same translator.]

ABOUT fifteen years ago, my official duties obliged me to go to the capital town of the Government of T——, and to pass some days there. I found a very decent hotel, which had been opened some six months before by a Jewish tailor who had amassed some money. I have since heard that the establishment in question did not keep up its character very long—a thing which is by no means rare in Russia,—but when I was there it was still in all the fulness of its splendour. Amid the silence of the night, the watchful traveller could hear the new furniture warping and cracking as if it were firing in file. Sheets, table-cloths, and napkins, all smelt of soap. The painted wood-work emitted a strong odour of hemp-oil, which the head-waiter assured me was a perfect preservative against vermin. This head-waiter was a gentleman whose acumen was more striking than his cleanliness. He had once been valet to Prince G——, and immediately impressed the beholder by the easy confidence of his manners. His face was pimply, and his hands seemed to be in a constant state of sweat. He appeared habitually in a coat which had not been made for him, and a pair of slippers trodden down at heel. Thus attired, and with a napkin under his left arm, he gesticulated continually, while he poured forth a flood of elegant phrases. Recognizing in me one capable of appreciating his merits and his knowledge of the world, he had the goodness to take me at once under his protection. As to his future, he deceived himself by no fond illusions. 'If any one wants to know what our position is like,' he said to me one day,

'they can just think of so many herrings hung up to dry.' His name was Ardalion.

I had some official visits to pay to the functionaries of the town, and, with the sympathetic help of Ardalion, I obtained for this purpose the use of a carriage and of a guide. Both the vehicle and the attendant were decidedly fusty, but, as a set-off, the latter wore a suit of livery and the former bore a coat-of-arms on its panels. When my official visits were over, I went to call upon an old friend of my father's, who had been long established at T——, and whom I had not seen for twenty years. In that period he had married, had had a family, and been left a widower. In the same period, also, he had made a large fortune by speculating among the farmers of the spirit-duty—that is to say, by lending money at high rates of interest and on good mortgage security to the speculators who farmed the spirit-tax. I was talking with him, when the door opened, and a young lady of about sixteen years of age came into the room. She was small and slight, and advanced lightly and noiselessly, with an air of some hesitation.

'Oh,' said my friend, 'let me present to you my eldest daughter—Sophia. She has taken my dear wife's place. She keeps house for me, and has the charge of her brothers and sisters.'

I rose and bowed, and, as she sank timidly into a chair, I certainly thought I had never seen a person who less looked the characters of a housekeeper and a governess. She had a simple child's face, with rounded lines. The features were pleasing, but singularly fixed in expression. Her eyes were blue, and the eyebrows, which were very clearly cut, shared in a remarkable degree the characteristic immobility of the whole face. There was a peculiar look about her gaze, as if she were seeing something unexpected. Her mouth was a little full, with the upper lip slightly projecting—but there was no trace of a smile about it; on the contrary, it was like a mouth that had never smiled. The delicate cheeks were marked with two red streaks. Her forehead was narrow, and was closed on each side by a mass of fair hair, very fine in texture. Her figure and carriage were not those of a woman but of a child. Her gown, which was blue and fell from

her neck to her feet, was made quite plain like a child's frock. She did not give me the idea of being an invalid or unhealthy—merely that of being an individuality probably difficult to understand. It did not occur to me to look upon her as a mere specimen of a shy country girl. She possessed no attraction for me, nor the contrary. I only felt idly as if I had come across an odd psychological study, which I could not immediately make out. One thing, however, it was impossible not to perceive at once—a more truthful, straightforward soul had never existed. And for some reason—why, God knows,—I experienced a feeling of compassion for her, as a young being so prematurely burdened with the responsibilities and cares of life. The sweet childish face had nothing of the heroic ideal about it, and yet I caught myself thinking that it was not the face of one who is as the ordinary children of men. At any rate, it was evident that she had only come into the drawing-room in order to comply with the conventional duties of mistress of the house, which it had been her father's pleasure to make her assume.

The father himself began to talk to me about society at T——, and what amusements it afforded.

'We are very quiet,' he said, 'the Governor is rather given to mope, and the Marshal of the Nobles—well, he is not married. However, there is going to be a great ball the day after to-morrow at the County Club. I really think you had much better come to it. I assure you you will see some very pretty people, and you will meet all our *intelligences*.'

I was amused by the affectation of using this rather antiquated French expression. The fact was, my friend, who had been sent up from the country to study at a University, was rather fond of employing language which he believed to be indicative of culture, although it was also his habit to utter such phrases in a tone of cynicism under which it was easy enough to perceive how precious they really were to him. At the same time, I believe that it is generally admitted that speculation in spirit-tax-farming has a remarkable tendency to produce, in those who once give themselves up to it, not only an inexorable firmness of principle, but also a striking acuteness of penetration.

'Might I venture to ask,' said I, turning to the young lady, 'if you are going to the ball?'

The fact was, I wanted to hear what her voice was like. When she answered, the tone was soft and gentle, but she spoke as if she had only half understood what I said.

'My father has to go, and I go with him.'

'In that case,' I replied, 'may I hope for the honour of a dance?'

She made a graceful bow of assent, but without the shadow of a smile, however conventional.

I took my leave almost immediately afterwards, and I remember the odd effect which was produced upon me by the fixed look with which she followed me. After a little, it made me turn round involuntarily, as if I knew that somebody or something was coming behind me.

When I got back to the hotel, I found awaiting me my usual dinner—always the same—*julienne* soup, *côtelettes aux petits pois*, and an ill-roasted bird. I despatched the repast with all celerity, and threw myself down upon the sofa. The truth was, my thoughts were still puzzling over the young lady. Ardalion, however, who had just finished clearing away the dinner-things, misinterpreted the cause of my pre-occupation. He began dusting the backs of the chairs with a dirty napkin—an action which every one must have remarked as eminently characteristic of the 'enlightened' class of Russian servant—and as he did so, said in a careless tone:—

'There is not much amusement down here for the gentlemen as comes.' He gave another flick, and repeated: 'not much.' And thereupon a great clock upon the mantelpiece, in a white frame, with violet numerals on the face, slowly struck the half-hour, as if to emphasize with its own monotonous repetition—'Not much—Not much.'—'There is not no concerts,' continued Ardalion, 'nor there is not no theatre.' (*Theatre* was one of his fine words; he had been abroad with his master; indeed, he might have been to Paris; so he did not say *kiatr*, like the common people.) 'There is not no soirees and no receptions given with the upper ten.' (Here he paused, probably to allow me to realize the refined grace of his expressions.) 'They just sits in their holes

like owls. Gentlemen has not anywhere to go to—nowhere at all.' He here gave me a peculiar look, stopped a moment, and then went on: 'You know, sir, if it came to pass that you happened to want to know of any place where you could find——' He here gave me another look, but I suppose that his idea must have been one to which the 'enlightened' Russian did not find me appear sufficiently responsive, for he began forthwith to move towards the door. However, before going out, he stopped suddenly, seemed to think for a moment, returned, and said close to my ear, with a kind of humorous smile,—'or, perhaps, sir, you would like to see some ghosts.'

I stared at him with amazement. He went on in a low voice.

'Yes, sir, we has got a man here as is good at that. He is just a poor young man as has not got no education, but he does things wonderful. If one asks him to show him anyone as they has known that is dead, he shows them to them immediate.'

'How does he do that?'

'That is what he knows best himself. He is not a man as has had any education, or as knows even how to read. He is one of the very strict religious ones. The merchants thinks a deal of him.'

'Do people know about it in the town?'

'Everybody knows as wants to know, but they has to keep quiet on account of the police, seeing as how these things is against the law, and it is not proper for the lower classes. The common people always makes these things end in a disturbance.'

'Did he ever show you a ghost?' I asked. Ardalion hung his head.

'Yes,' he said, 'he showed me my own father, just the same as if he was alive.'

I looked hard at him. He still had the same sort of affected smile on, and was whisking his napkin about, but he stood my look perfectly well. I said at last: 'This is very odd. Do you think that I could see him?'

'It is not impossible but what you might see him, sir, only that you would have to commence with his maternal parent. The old lady sells apples upon the bridge. If you like, I will let her know.'

'Yes,' I said, 'I shall be much obliged to you if you will.'

Ardalion put his hand up to his mouth, coughed slightly behind it, and then said: 'And you would offer her a consideration, sir, —a mere trifle,—but it is the old lady as the pecuniary remuneration is to be given to. I will tell her that she has not need to have no apprehension, as it is a gentleman travelling, as is an honourable man, and knows as how these things has to be kept quiet as among gentlemen, and she need be under no apprehensions.'

So saying, Ardalion took up his tray, and went towards the door, gracefully balancing his own body from side to side, as he balanced the tray on the tips of his fingers. As he was just leaving the room, I called after him—

'I can reckon on you, then?'

'You may feel some assurance, sir,' he answered—and his tone implied no doubt. 'When the old lady has been interviewed, we shall have our answer exact.'

All this story which Ardalion had told me excited me a good deal; but it is unnecessary to enter into my speculations upon the subject. I will only say that I waited impatiently to hear the result of my enquiries. Late in the evening Ardalion came back and told me, with a sheepish look, that he could not find the old woman. I therefore refreshed his zeal by the gift of a 3-rouble* note. The consequence was that he entered my room the next morning with a gentle smile. The matron had consented to see me. Having so informed me, he put his head out into the passage and called:

'Here, my boy! come here!'

Whereupon there appeared a child of some six years of age, grimy with soot. His head was shaved, and, indeed, presented divers patches which were totally hairless. His attire consisted of a sort of striped dressing-gown, which was in rags, and he had clogs upon his stockingless feet. Ardalion turned to this infant, and pointed to me.

'You look here,' he said, 'you take this gentleman down to

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* A rouble is worth rather more than three shillings.

that place.' And then he added to me, 'When once you get there, sir, you will only have to ask for Mastridia Karpovna.'

The child gave a sort of grunt, and we set off. He led me a long walk through the unpaved streets of T——. At length, in one of the most deserted and squalid of them all, he stopped in front of an old two-storeyed wooden house, wiped his nose with his sleeve, and said:

'In there—first door to the right.'

I went up the steps, entered a small passage, and knocked at a low door on the right, which was defended by rusty iron work. In response to the sound, the door was half opened from within, and I found myself face to face with a fat, old woman dressed in a cinnamon-coloured pelisse lined with rabbit-skin, and wearing a coloured handkerchief on her head.

'I wish to see Mastridia Karpovna,' I said.

'Happy to do you any service, sir,' answered the woman in a shrill voice. 'Would you please to step in, sir? Please to sit down.'

I went in and sat down, and she stood before me. The room was so full of old clothes, rags, pillows, mattresses, and sacks, that there was hardly room to turn round. A little broken sunlight entered through two small windows coated with dust. In one corner a confused noise as of sighing and groaning proceeded from behind a pile of old baskets—sounds of which it was difficult to guess whether they were produced by a sick child or a dog. My hostess herself had a wrinkled face, shiny and sallow, very like a mask modelled in unbleached wax, and in which the presence of a mouth was indicated not by lips but by a kind of mere transverse slit. A lock of grizzled hair escaped from under the handkerchief on her head. She had a projecting forehead, underneath which deep-set eyes shone like live coals. These eyes were surrounded by enflamed red circles, and she smelt of spirits. Her sharp nose seemed to sniff suspicion. Altogether, I felt that I had no simpleton to deal with. I proceeded to explain to her the object of my visit, although I knew that she must be already aware of it. Her eyes twinkled as she listened to me, and her nose, as if scenting danger, seemed to get longer and sharper,

like the beak of a fowl which is hesitating whether or not to peck at a doubtful object. At length she answered:

'Yes, sir. Ardalion Matfeïch told us there was a gentleman that wished to see what our boy was able to do. The only thing is that we are afraid——'

'But you need not be afraid,' I said, interrupting her, 'I am not a detective.'

'Oh, dear me, no, sir,' answered the woman, 'nobody would think for a moment that a gentleman like you was a detective. But indeed, sir, if it was all the detectives in the world, it would be nothing to us. No, sir, we have not got anything for them to detect. And as for my poor boy, sir, he is not one of them that would do anything wrong in any way. He is not one that would think of anything like witchcraft or any such wickedness of that sort. God preserve us all from such things, and God's Holy Mother too!' (So saying, she crossed herself three times). 'There is nobody in all the country that fasts and prays as my boy does, sir. And maybe it is just on account of that, that that power has been given to him, sir. It is not the work of his hands, sir. Oh, no, sir,—all these things are sent down upon us from above.'

'Very well, then,' said I, 'it is settled. When can I see your son?'

The old woman seemed a little embarrassed by the question. She winked a good deal, and took her pocket-handkerchief several times convulsively out of one sleeve to put it into the other, and then back again. At last she said again that 'the real truth was that, in fact, they were rather afraid.' Upon this I begged her to do me the favour of accepting a 10-rouble note. The swollen and distorted fingers with which she seized the paper and stuffed it up her sleeve reminded me of an owl's talons. After securing it, she seemed to think a little, and then clapped her hands down suddenly upon her knees, as if she had made up her mind.

'Come here to-night, sir,' she said—and I noticed that her voice was changed—it was no longer the high whining note in which she had hitherto spoken, but deeper and graver. 'Do not come into this room, but be so good as to go upstairs. You will find a door there, on your left hand. Open it, if you please, sir, and go in. You will find an empty room,

with one chair in it. Just sit down on the chair and wait, and do not do anything, nor say anything, whatever you may see. And do not speak a word to my son. If you say anything to him, it may lead to harm, because—well, sir, he is young, and that would give him a bad turn. It is so easy to give him a fright. Oh, sir, how he shakes, but, oh, how he shakes—the poor lamb!'

I looked Mastridia in the face, and said:

'If the man is so young, how is he your son?'

'The son of my adoption! my adopted son!' she cried. 'I have taken in many orphans in my time,' she continued, making a sign towards the part of the room whence I heard the confused noise of sighing and groaning. 'O Lord my God!' she went on, 'Holy Mother of God! And as for you, sir, if you would kindly please, sir, before you come here, just to let your mind rest a little upon any one of your relations or of your friends that is dead, it does not matter which of them—may the kingdom of heaven be granted to them all! Just think quietly a little over your departed ones, and then whichever one of them you choose, just keep them well in your mind, and be thinking of them steadily, for the time when my boy will come to you.'

'Must I tell your son who it is?' I asked.

'Oh, no, sir—oh, dear, no, sir—not a word must be said. He will be able to see what you want, in your own thoughts. The only thing is that you should keep the one that is dead that you wish to think of well in your own mind. And then, sir, when you are having your dinner, just take two or three glasses of wine—a little drop of wine never does any harm.'

As she finished these words, the old woman smiled and licked her lips, then put her hand over her mouth and gave a sigh.

'Very well, then—at half-past seven,' said I, rising to go away.

'Half-past seven, sir,' responded Mastridia Karpovna, unhesitatingly.

I went back to the hotel. I felt no doubt that some curious juggling trick was going to be played upon me, but my curiosity was very much excited by speculation as to how the feat was to be accomplished. Only a word or two passed between me and Ardalion.

'Will the old lady do it?' he asked, with a peculiar movement of the eyebrows, and on my reply in the affirmative, he exclaimed, She is a knowing one, no question!'

In compliance with the request of the astute matron in question, I now set myself to recall to mind, one after another, all the people I had known, who were since dead. After a good deal of consideration, I selected for the subject of the experiment an old Frenchman who had been one of my tutors. It was not that I had felt any particular attraction towards or affection for, the old man in question. The fact was that his memory presented to my mind a striking and original figure, which had almost nothing in common with figures of the present generation, and was therefore almost certainly different—and very markedly different—from any figure which they were likely to be preparing to raise before me. M. Deserre had a remarkably large head, adorned with an abundance of white hair which he fastened at the back with a comb. He had bushy black eyebrows, an hooked nose, and two remarkable warts, of a deep purple colour, in the middle of his forehead. He also habitually wore a peculiar costume, which had likewise impressed itself strongly upon my memory; namely, a green coat with polished metal buttons, a striped waistcoat with flaps turned over, and a frill and ruffles. 'Certainly,' said I to myself, 'if this man calls up old Deserre, I will freely confess that he is a real warlock.'

At dinner, in farther accordance with the old woman's advice, I drank an whole bottle of a liquid which Ardalion called '*Lafitte-premier choix*.' (It was a fluid with a marked *bouquet* of burnt cork, and left at the bottom of the glass a thick sediment of log-wood.) At half-past seven precisely, I was standing in front of Mastridia Karpovna's house. I found all the windows closely shuttered-up, but the front door open. I accordingly entered, and went directly up a very ricketty set of stairs. At the top I found a door upon the left, as she had indicated, and in compliance with her instructions, I opened it and went in. I then found myself in a large unfurnished room, imperfectly lighted by a candle which stood upon the window-sill. Directly in front of the door, against the opposite wall, was a single common wicker

chair. I snuffed the candle, took my seat upon the chair, and waited.

The first ten minutes went by quickly enough. There was absolutely nothing in the room to attract any sort of attention, but whenever I heard the least sound, I anxiously watched the door. To the first ten minutes succeeded another ten, which drew on into half-an-hour. At last I found I had been waiting a full three-quarters-of-an-hour, without anything happening of any kind. I became irritated. It had not occurred to me that I was going to be made the victim of a mere practical joke. I thought, therefore, that I had better simply leave my place, take the candle, and go down stairs. I turned my eyes on the candle—when I noticed that the wick had now got very long and was burdened with an enormous 'thief'—and then on the door. . . . A cold thrill at once passed down my spine. There was a man standing in front of me, with his back against the closed door. He had entered so suddenly and so silently that I had not noticed the fact.

This man's dress was a very common blue frock. He was of middle size, and seemed of a strong, muscular frame. His hands were both behind his back. His head was thrust forward; and he was gazing upon me. The dim light of the candle was too feeble to enable me to see him well. I noticed only that a shock head of unkempt hair fell in a shaggy mass over his forehead, thick, misshapen lips, and eyes which gleamed in the obscurity. I was upon the point of speaking to him, when Mastridia's injunction of silence flashed across my mind, and I remained silent. The man's gaze was rivetted upon me—and I could not take my eyes off him. Suddenly, and for some reason which I do not explain and which took me by surprise, I experienced a vivid feeling of terror; and at the same moment, as though I were obeying an unspoken lesson, I fixed my thoughts upon my old tutor. The man I saw was still standing in front of me, with his back against the door, and was breathing heavily, or rather, gasping, like one who is struggling up a steep hill or toiling under an heavy load. But it seemed to me as if his eyes were growing larger, and coming nearer to me, and I felt as if I were growing sick under his gaze. His look had something in it

which seemed implacable, dark, and evil. Every now and then the eyes seemed to light up inside with a kind of ominous fire, such as I have seen in those of a greyhound when on the point of seizing the hare. And I was made to feel another peculiarity of the same kind. Whenever I tried to *double*—as coursing men would say of the hare—that is, to turn aside my eyes, his followed mine.

How long he and I remained in this position I am utterly unable to say. It may have been a minute. It may have been a quarter-of-an-hour. His gaze never wavered from me, and I found that I was beginning to feel downright ill, shaken by a reasonless fear, and yet chained, as it were, to the fixed mental image of my old French instructor. Two or three times during this stage, there was a moment when I tried to say to myself, 'What abject folly! what buffoonery!' and wanted to laugh and shrug my shoulders. But when I tried, I found I could not. My will seemed to have become paralyzed. I do not know how otherwise to express it. I felt as if I had lost my personal freedom. I seemed to be bound hand and foot.

All at once, the man left the door, and came forward one or two steps directly towards me. After this, my impression was that he put his two feet together and jumped—anyhow, he came nearer—and then nearer, and nearer again. His terror-striking eyes were never moved from mine for a second. His arms remained crossed behind his back; and the violence of his breathing seemed to increase. I was fully conscious how ridiculous his jumps were, in themselves; but, somehow, my feeling of nervous terror only augmented——

At this point, for some reason at which I cannot guess, I found myself overpowered by a sensation of irresistible drowsiness. My eyelids closed. The face in front of me, crowned by the unkempt locks and marked by the gleaming eyes, dilated before me to twice its size, and then disappeared completely.

I roused myself. Certainly, yes, the man was there. I saw him, between me and the door. Only he was nearer. He passed away again, as if he had disappeared in a fog. . . . An instant after, I saw him again—then there was a complete blank.

After this I saw him once more. He was nearer. He had

indeed reached me. His struggling breath, which had now become a sort of hoarse rattle, fell upon me. But this sight and sense were soon obliterated in another blank fog. And amid that fog I saw something white gleaming, and the gleaming presently came out more clearly as white hair fastened behind with a comb. It was my old French tutor's head. I knew it well enough. There there were the two warts, and the heavy black eyebrows, and the hooked nose. There also there were even the green coat and the glittering buttons, the striped waistcoat, the frill and the ruffles.

On seeing this I am conscious that I gave a loud cry, and rose from the chair—whereupon I saw nothing in front of me but the man in the blue frock, who was staggering up to the wall, against which he pressed his head and his hands, and, with a convulsive gasp, like the respiration of a roaring horse, cried—'Tea!'

Mastridia was beside him in a moment—whence she came, I know not—and began to wipe away the sweat which was trickling in streams down his face, while she called him 'her Basil!—her own little Basil!' I was about to approach them, when she cried to me in a voice of agony not to kill him, but to be gone, for the love of Christ. I obeyed her, and she began assuring 'her darling, her sweet angel,' that he should have the tea at once, 'yes, at once, at once,' and then turned to me again, and advised me also to go and get a cup of tea. I left the house accordingly.

When I got back to the hotel, I followed Mastridia's advice, and called for a cup of tea. The fact was that I found myself feeling utterly worn out, as if broken with fatigue.

'Well,' said Ardalion, 'Did you go there? And did you see anything?'

'I was shown something,' I answered, 'which—which I certainly did not expect.'

'He is a man as understands a lot,' said Ardalion, as he arranged the tea-urn. 'The mercantile classes here thinks very highly of him.'

When I was in bed, and thinking over my adventure, it occurred to me how I could explain it. The man, no doubt, possessed a great magnetic force. He had succeeded in working on my nerves by some means which were to me unknown, until

the mental image of my old tutor became so lively and distinct as to appear to myself to be outside me. Such *metastases*, or displacements of sensation, are known to science. There remains, however, the question as to what the actual force is which is capable of producing such results; and this question still remains an unsolved mystery. 'It is all very well to talk and to explain,' thought I, 'but the fact remains the same—I have seen before my own eyes my old tutor who has been dead these many years.'

The next day was that of the County Ball. Sophia's father came to see me, and recalled to me my engagement to dance with his daughter. Accordingly, at six o'clock the same afternoon, we were dancing together to the strident blasts of a military band, in the midst of a gaily illuminated ball-room. There was a great crowd, many of whom were ladies, and several remarkably good-looking, but in this respect none of them could be put in comparison with my own partner, notwithstanding the strange look which marked her expression. I noticed that she very seldom looked down, and that the curious expression of her eyes was hardly counteracted by its perfect frankness. She was beautifully made, and her movements, although timid, were exquisitely graceful. As she bent herself in valsing, with her delicate neck turned away from my right shoulder, it was impossible to imagine a more charming embodiment of youth and innocence. Round her neck she wore a black riband, to which was attached a turquoise cross; but, with this exception, she was dressed entirely in white.

I asked her to dance the cotillon with me, and, while it was going on, tried to lead her into conversation, but she only answered me in monosyllables, and seemed to dislike speaking. On the other hand, she listened to me with great attention, and I noticed again the sort of air of pensive wonder which had puzzled me the first time I had seen her. Her manner was absolutely devoid of any shade of coquetry; she never smiled; and her eyes remained wide open and calmly fixed upon those of whoever was speaking to her. And yet these same eyes, all the while, never lost their appearance of being occupied with something far away, something which the rest of the world could not see. At last, as my hopes of being able to amuse her began to wane, it

came into my head to tell her what had happened to me the night before.

She listened to me with undisguised interest, but, when I had finished, she manifested no surprise, and only asked me whether the man was not called Basil? I remembered that Mastridia had so addressed him.

'Yes,' I answered. 'His name is Basil; do you know him?'

'God,' she said, 'has an holy servant here whose name is Basil. I thought that it must be the same man.'

'Whether he is holy or not,' I replied, 'I do not know, and it has nothing to do with what I saw. It was a pure effect of magnetism, and it would be very interesting for doctors and naturalists to study.'

I tried to explain to her the nature of the magnetic or mesmeric force, by means of which the will of one man can be brought into subjection to the will of another, etc., etc., but my exposition—which was not, I must admit, particularly clear—appeared to produce no impression on her whatsoever. She listened to me with her hands lying in her lap and holding her fan. She was perfectly motionless; not one of her fingers moved; and it seemed to me as if my stream of words might as well be falling upon a marble statue at some great distance from her. She understood what I was saying; but it was quite evident that the subject was one upon which she had a distinct mind of her own, thoroughly made up, and against which it was useless to argue.

'Then you do not believe in miracles?' she said suddenly, at last, and then continued quietly, 'But I believe in them. I do not see how we can avoid believing in them. The Gospel says, "If ye have faith as a grain of mustard-seed, ye shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place, and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto you." Therefore, if anyone has faith, he can work miracles.'

'Then,' I replied, 'there must be uncommonly little faith at present, for certainly we do not get any miracles.'

'Yes, we do,' answered my partner. 'It was a miracle that you saw yourself last night. It is not that there is no faith now-a-days. It is because the beginning of faith—'

I interrupted her by repeating the words of Scripture:—'The

beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord.' But she went on without paying the least attention to me—'The beginning of faith is self-abnegation, lowliness—'

'Lowliness, too?' I interposed.

'Yes,' she continued. 'The things which must be got rid of first of all, the things which must be plucked up by the very roots, are pride, and self-seeking, and self-esteem. You were speaking of *will* just now. Well, the will must be beaten down altogether.'

I looked at the charming preacher. It was quite clear that she was thoroughly in earnest. At the same time, I saw that our neighbours had taken notice of the earnestness of our conversation, and that my air of astonishment evidently amused them. One or two regarded me with a sympathetic smile, as though to say, 'Well, why should not we have an infant phenomenon of our own, at T—— as well as anywhere else? She is new to you, but we know her ways well enough.'

At last I resumed—

'Did you ever try to beat down *your* will?'

She answered me in a somewhat dogmatic tone:

'Everyone is bound to do what seems to him to be the teaching of the truth.'

'Might I take the liberty of asking,' I enquired, after a silence of a few moments, 'whether you think that it is possible to call up the dead?'

Sophia shook her head gently and said:

'There are no dead.'

'What!' said I, 'no dead?'

'No,' said my partner, 'souls cannot die. Souls are immortal, and they can always make us know that they are there, if they so please. But whether we can see them or not, they are always round about us.'

'What do you mean?' I answered. 'Just look at the old Major with the red nose. Do you think that he is surrounded by immortal souls?'

'I do not see the difficulty,' said Sophia. 'The sun-light has tanned his nose, and the sun-light is the gift of God, the Father of all lights. What does it matter what things look like?

"Unto the pure, all things are pure." The difficulty is to find a teacher, a guide—'

I felt a little inclined to banter her, and I said:

'Forgive me for making the remark; but, if you are still in search of a teacher and guide—what is the use of your confessor?'

Sophia stared at me coldly.

'I am afraid,' she said, 'that you wish to make fun of me. However, what my confessor does is to tell me what I ought to do. What I have need of is some guide who will go before me, and show me, by the example of his own sacrifice of himself, how I can sacrifice *my*self.'

As she uttered these words, she looked towards the ceiling, and the sweet virgin face, in its profound repose, and with its expression of mystic exaltation, brought to my mind the Madonnas of Raphael—I mean those of his earlier period, and not of his later, which are, I confess, those which are most to my taste. As I continued to look at her, she spoke again, but without turning or altering her position, and hardly, as it seemed, even moving her lips.

'I think,' she said gently, 'that I once read somewhere the story of a great prince, who left an order that he should be buried under the threshold of a church, so that everybody that came out and that went in might trample him, as it were, under their feet—only that is how we ought to put ourselves while we are still alive.'

Here her voice was drowned by an unusally noisy crash from the band. It suddenly struck me how very eccentric was the combination of our conversation and our position, although I am free to admit that the growing interest with which my beautiful partner had inspired me was anything but exclusively that of a theological controversialist. Another dancer now came to lead her out in one of the figures of the cotillon, and I took advantage of this break to let our religious discussion drop. A quarter-of-an-hour afterwards, the ball ended; I brought Sophia back to her father, and we parted. The next day I left T——.

A couple of years passed before I heard of Sophia Vladi-

mirovna again. Indeed the image of the little girl with the child-like face and the far-away expression and strange ideas had become completely obliterated from my memory, when it was suddenly recalled to me by a casual conversation with one of my comrades who had just returned from an official tour in the South of Russia. He had passed some days at T——, and was giving me the local news.

'By the way,' he said, 'you know Vladimir G— B—, do you not?'

I replied in the affirmative.

'Did you know his daughter Sophia?'

'I met her twice.'

'Well, just conceive—she has run away.'

'What do you mean?' I exclaimed.

'Yes,' continued he, 'it is perfectly true. She disappeared three months ago, and nobody has the least idea what has become of her. The funniest part of it is that nobody knows who it was that she ran away with. They cannot find out anything. They have not even an idea. She had been proposed to all round, and refused everybody. The whole world thought that she was a kind of ideal type of propriety and good conduct. But you see that is how your very pious and staid young ladies turn out. Of course it has made the devil of a row throughout the whole province. Her father is frighfully cut up. No one can guess, either, why on earth she wanted to do such a thing, for he would have let her marry anybody in the world that she liked, and have been only too happy to please her. By the way, one of the most interesting phenomena about the whole affair is that there is not a Lovelace* in the province who is quite prepared to take his oath that he had nothing whatever to do with it.'

'They have not caught her again, then?' I asked.

'Oh, dear, no,' replied my friend, 'she might just as well have been drowned and washed away. The pity is, to see such a thing with what looked like a nice girl, who might have married well.'

This piece of news surprised me excessively. It was so utterly

* The hero (!) of Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe*—much as we should ourselves speak of a man as 'a Don Juan.'

opposed to every idea which I had formed of Sophia Vladimirovna. However, life is full of the unexpected.

During the autumn of the same year, I was obliged to go on duty to the Province of S——, which, as everybody knows, is in the same direction as T——. The weather was cold and wet, and, light as my carriage was, the wretched post-horses had hard work to drag it through the inundated roads. It was on one of the very worst of these days. Three times had we sunk in mud up to the axle-trees. My driver seemed to land us in a fresh rut at every step, and when, by dint of shouting and swearing, he had extricated himself from one, it was only to fall into another and a deeper. When we arrived in the evening at the post-house where we were to change horses, I felt perfectly tired out, and determined to stay there for the night. I was shown into a room with the wall-paper in tatters and the planks of the flooring all awry. It was furnished with an old wooden settle, and there was a strong smell compounded of stale *qwass*,* onions, rotten straw, and resin. The atmosphere was filled with dense swarms of flies. However, at last I found myself out of the rain, which was by this time falling in torrents. I ordered some tea, and sat down upon the settle, where I abandoned myself to a class of reflections painfully familiar to all travellers in the interior of Russia. My gloomy meditations were suddenly interrupted by a loud noise in the common parlour, from which my room was separated only by a slight partition. The sound resembled the rattling of iron, as if occasioned by the dragging of rusty chains, above which I soon heard the hoarse voice of a man raised almost to a shout, and articulating each word with a fiery distinctness.

'Peace be to this house,' cried the voice, 'and unto all them that dwell therein! May the Lord command His blessing! Oh, may the Lord command His blessing! Amen! Amen! Get thee behind me, Satan!' Here the speaker drew a deep sigh, which was followed by a sound as of some heavy body falling upon a bench, and in so doing making the chains rattle again. Then he continued—'Behold the handmaid of the

* A kind of beer.

Lord! Behold the handmaid of the Lord! The Lord hath regarded the lowliness of His handmaiden! Oh, what lowliness, and, oh, what blessedness!' Then the tone changed to that of a precentor, as he chanted the Church Hymn, 'Holy God, Holy Mighty, Holy Immortal, have mercy on us;' after which he resumed, 'Oh Lord God of my life, forgive me my trespasses, and command Thy blessing upon this house at the seventh hour.'

The landlady here brought me my tea, and I asked her who it was in the next room.

'Ah, dear, dear,' she replied, with a sort of nervous excitement, 'it is a holy man of God. It is not long that he has been in these parts, and yet he is pleased to come to our house today, even when it is raining cats-and-dogs. And, oh, to see the chains that he wears! It is enough to make one's heart bleed.'

'Bless the Lord, O virgin greatly beloved!' cried the voice in the next room. 'Oh, where is Eden, glorious Eden, the city of our God? Oh, may everlasting peace dwell herein!'

Here followed some words which I could not catch, which were again succeeded by the sound of a prolonged yawn, and then by an hysterical laugh. Immediately after the laugh, I heard him spit indignantly*—which indeed I noticed he always did under the same circumstance.

'Ah, dear, dear,' said my hostess, speaking with great emotion, and more to herself than to me, 'if only my husband, Stephen, was here. The holy man speaks such comforting things, they quite go to one's heart, and I have not got the learning to take them all in.'

She left the room hastily, and, as I perceived a small crevice in the partition, I went and peeped through. I now saw an 'innocent'† sitting upon a bench, with his back turned towards

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* A superstitious mode of implying that he who spits rejects any complicity with what has just occurred, not unusual among the Slavonic peasantry.

† The word implies a religious maniac, of the class sometimes popularly regarded as saints, the more worldly part of whose understanding God has taken to Himself.

me. I could only see a great head of shock hair, and a curved back, clad in a mass of darned rags, and all soaked in the rain. Kneeling upon the earthen floor in front of him was a slight female figure, wrapped in a cloak as wet as his own garment. Her features were concealed in the dark kerchief in which her head was muffled. She was doing her best to take off the madman's boots, but the leather was sodden with rain and covered with mud, and her fingers kept slipping upon it. The mistress of the house stood by, her hands crossed upon her breast, gazing with reverential awe upon the saint, who, on his part, kept up an inarticulate mumbling. At length, one of the boots yielded to the efforts of the woman upon the ground, and so suddenly that she nearly fell backwards. The feet of the lunatic were wrapped in rags instead of stockings, and these she at once proceeded to unfold. The process presently revealed an ulcer. The sight was disgusting, and I drew back from my post of observation. I could still, however, hear what passed.

'If you please, my father,' asked the landlady humbly, 'might I offer you a cup of tea?'

'Oh, what does she say?' cried the 'innocent.' 'To pamper this sinful house of clay, to give pleasure to the body of this death! Oh, that I could break every bone therein! And she speaks to me of tea! Oh, honourable woman, Satan is strong within us. Cold and hunger smite upon him, and the windows of heaven are opened above him, so that the water-spouts fall upon him, the cold waters that chill to the very marrow of the bones. But he lives still, he lives still. Remember the Day of the Intercession of the Mother of God!* Then shalt thou see what shall surely come to pass concerning thee—thou shalt surely see it.' (Here the hostess gave a slight sigh, as though from astonishment.) 'Only give ear unto me. Give, give thine head, give thy shirt. None asketh thee to give. Give freely, because God seeth thee. What time would there be

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* The translator has not been able to find this Festival in the only Russian Church Calendar to which he has had access. There is a Feast of the Protection of the Mother of God on Oct. 1.

need of to Him, if He were pleased to scatter thine house on every side? It is He That hath given it unto thee. The Lord God, the Giver of all good gifts, hath given thee bread. Do thou put it into the oven. Yea, all things are naked and open unto the eyes of Him with Whom we have to do. Thou knowest it well; the Eye in the triangle.* And wherefore?' The hostess crossed herself under her shawl, and there was a short silence, which was suddenly broken by the madman crying aloud—'Oh, thou old enemy, as hard as adamant!' He ground his teeth with fury, and continued—'It is the old serpent. But let God arise, yea, let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered! I shall yet awake the dead, I shall yet trample the enemy of God under foot.'

Here a low voice, which I could hardly distinguish, said:

'Do you think that you could let me have a little oil? I would like to dress his wound. I have a piece of clean linen for it, myself.'

I looked again through the crevice. The woman was still kneeling before the 'innocent,' occupied with his leg. 'The Magdalen,' thought I to myself.

'To be sure, my dear, to be sure,—at once,' answered the landlady, and forthwith she came into my room with a spoon to take some oil from the lamp which was burning before the holy pictures.† I asked her who the woman was.

'Indeed, sir,' replied the hostess, 'we do not know who she is. But it is her that keeps him alive. Maybe, she does it for her sins. Oh, what a holy, saintly creature he is!'

'My dearest child, my daughter greatly beloved,' began the madman, and then suddenly burst into tears. On this, his companion, still on her knees, looked up. The sight gave me quite a shock. 'Good heavens,' I said to myself, 'surely I have seen the look of those eyes before. But where can it have been?'

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* A common symbol in Russian religious Art, intended to indicate the all-seeing power of God.

† It is the custom in Russia to place one or more pictures of sacred subjects in a corner of every room, and a lamp is often kept burning before them.

I now saw the landlady come back again with the oil. The woman on the ground proceeded forthwith to dress the sore. When she had finished bandaging it, she rose, and asked whether it would be possible to allow them to sleep in some loft where there was a little hay. Basil Niketich, she said, was very fond of sleeping on hay.

'To be sure,' said the landlady, 'of course. Come, father,' she added, to the 'innocent,' 'Dry yourself, and rest.'

The lunatic gave a groan, and rose slowly from the bench, and, as he did so, his chains rattled. He turned round to look for the holy images, and, on seeing them, began crossing himself repeatedly, with the back of his hand. While he was so employed, I had a full view of his face. I recognised him in an instant. It was no other than the man who had shown me the figure of my old French tutor, at T——. His features had not changed much, but his expression had become wilder and more menacing. His cheeks were covered with a rough beard. The whole hideous figure, however, in its garb of muddy rags, caused me a feeling of disgust rather than of alarm. He still went on crossing himself, but, while doing so, his eyes strayed about the floor and into the corners of the room, as if he were looking for something. Presently his female companion bowed deferentially to him and called him by his name. Upon this, he raised his head, and, endeavouring to take a step, reeled, and all but fell. She immediately started forward and supported his arm. I then perceived by her movement and her figure, as I had conjectured from her voice, that she was young, but I could not see her face. 'Oh, beloved!' said the lunatic, in a drawling tone, and then opened his mouth wide, began to strike himself on the breast, and gave a groan which seemed to rend his very soul. Therewith, the strange pair followed the landlady out of the room.

I sat down again on my hard settle, and thought over what I had seen. The man who had mesmerized me had ended by becoming an 'innocent.' That he had some strange nervous or magnetic temperament I could not doubt, but this was what it had at last brought him to.

Next morning I determined to try and continue my journey. The rain was still falling, but my business was too pressing to allow me to delay any longer. When my servant brought me my shaving things, I noticed in his face a peculiar expression of suppressed but sardonic pleasure. He belonged, like Ardalion, to the 'enlightened' or 'civilized' class of Russian domestic, and his particular delight was to meet with anything scandalous among the class of those he served. I felt very little doubt as to the nature of his present satisfaction, and, as I saw that he was burning to talk about it, I said:

'Well, what is it now?'

'Please, sir,' he answered, 'did you see that "innocent" yesterday?'

'What about him?' asked I.

'And did you see the woman, sir, that was with him?' continued he.

I replied in the affirmative.

'She is a lady born,' said the man.

'Nonsense,' I exclaimed.

'Indeed, she is, sir,' he answered. 'There were some merchants from T——, came through here yesterday, and they knew her. They told me what her name was, only I have forgot.'

A suspicion flashed suddenly across my mind. I asked whether the 'innocent' was still there.

'Oh, yes,' replied my servant. 'The gentleman is down there at the door, giving them a taste of some of his wares. They are fine stories that he is telling them. He knows it pays.'

I enquired if his female companion was with him. Yes, she was waiting on him.

I accordingly went down to the door, and immediately perceived the madman. He was sitting outside upon a bench, which he clutched with both hands, and was swinging his bowed head to and fro. His coarse masses of thick hair hung over his features and swayed with the movement of his head. His heavy lips were open, and between them issued a continual growling sound which hardly resembled the human voice. He

recalled the appearance of a wild beast in its cage. The middle of the yard of the inn was occupied by a dunghill, over which a plank formed a sort of bridge to the well. Upon this plank stood the young woman, occupied in washing her face in a bucket which was suspended by the side of the well. As she was only a few yards from the door, and had laid aside the handkerchief in which her head had been muffled the night before, I could now see her perfectly well. I unconsciously clapped my hands with astonishment. It was Sophia Vladimirovna. At the sound made by my hands, she turned round, and fixed upon me the same strange motionless eyes as of yore. But great changes had passed over her face. Exposure to the weather had altered her complexion to a dusky red. Her nose had become sharp, and her lips thin. She had not lost her beauty, but the expression of dreamy wonder was now mingled with a concentrated air of determination, boldness and fanaticism. The look of childish grace had left her face for ever.

I went up to her, and said:

'Sophia Vladimirovna! Is it possible that this can be you, in this disguise, and along with that man?'

She gave a sort of shudder, and stared stonily at me, as if seeking to recall who I was; then left me without answering a word and went hurriedly to her companion.

'Holy, happy virgin,' began the lunatic, with a sigh, 'our sins, our sins—'

'Basil Niketich,' she cried hastily, throwing her handkerchief over her head with one hand, and seizing him by the elbow with the other, 'Come away from here; come away from here at once. Do you hear me, Basil Niketich? There is danger here. Come away.'

'I am coming, oh, my mother, I am coming,' answered the lunatic submissively, struggling up from his seat, 'but I want something just to fasten the sweet little chain with.'

I ran after her, told her my name, and implored her to listen to me, if it were only for a moment. I tried to stop her by telling her that the rain which was falling in torrents might cause her the most serious injury, and not to her only, but to her companion also. I spoke to her of her father. Nothing

made the least impression upon her. An animation, at once evil and inexorable, seemed to have seized her. Without paying the slightest heed to my entreaties, with close pressed lips and shortened breath, she urged on her insane companion, to whom she every now and then addressed some words in a low voice but with the accent of imperious command. Fitting a ragged cap upon his head and thrusting his staff into his hand, she threw his wallet over his shoulder, and then, with one arm round his body and carrying his chain with her other hand, she hurried him into the road. I had no legal right to arrest her, and, indeed, if I had had, what could I have done? She must have heard my last despairing appeal, but showed no consciousness of it. Forth she strode into the lashing rain, through the deep black mud, forcing her Saint along with her. For a little while I followed the two receding figures with my eyes through the blinding downpour; then a turn of the road hid them from my sight.

I went back to my room feeling quite dazed. I could not realize the inducements which could make a wealthy and highly educated girl abandon home, family, and friends, change all the habits of her existence, and give up all that makes life easy, in order to tramp the country as the servant of a wandering madman. One idea—that of some distorted erotic fancy—I felt to be utterly out of the question. To see the pair was enough to set that at rest. She was one of those pure to whom, as she had once herself reminded me in the words of inspiration, all things are pure. Her act was one I could not understand, but it was also one on which I felt myself too unworthy to pass a condemnation, any more than I dare to condemn other young souls who sacrifice everything to what they regard as the truth, to follow what they believe to be the Divine voice summoning them to seek the living death of a monastery. Such a sacrifice is one which I frankly confess I can never view without some worldly regret, but it is a sacrifice to which I cannot refuse the tribute, not only of respect, but of admiration. She had been perfectly sincere when she talked to me of self-abnegation and lowliness, and to a being so high-minded to think and to act were the same thing. She had been seeking

some guide who would go before her, to show her, by the example of his own sacrifice of himself, how she could sacrifice herself. And such a guide she had indeed found. But what a guide! It had indeed been her wish to put herself while she was still alive at the door of the church, in such a position that everybody that came out and that went in might, as it were, trample her under their feet.

Some time afterwards, I heard that her family had at last found her and taken her home, but she was with them only a short while, and the history of all she must have suffered passed with her unspoken into the silence of the grave.

May she rest in peace!

As for Basil Niketich, for all I know he may still be wandering about the country. Men of that sort have constitutions of iron.

ART. VI.—RECENT NOVELS.

1. *Salammbô.* By GUSTAVE FLAUBERT. Englished by M. French Sheldon. London and New York: 1886.
2. *The Fall of Asgard. A Tale of S. Olaf's Days.* By JULIAN CORBETT. London: 1886.
3. *Court Royal. A Story of Cross Currents.* By the author of 'Mehalah,' etc. London: 1886.
4. *A Country Gentleman and his Family.* By MRS. OLIPHANT. London: 1886.
5. *The Mayor of Casterbridge. The Life and Death of a Man of Character.* By THOMAS HARDY, author of 'Far from the Madding Crowd,' etc. London: 1886.
6. *A Fallen Idol.* By F. ANSTEY, author of 'Vice Versa,' etc. London: 1886.
7. *The Heir of the Ages.* By JAMES PAYN. London: 1886.
8. *Living or Dead.* By HUGH CONWAY, author of 'Called Back,' etc. London: 1886.

9. *The Wind of Destiny.* By ARTHUR SHERBURNE HARDY, author of 'But yet a Woman.' London: 1886.
10. *The Chantry House.* By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE, author of 'The Heir of Redcliffe,' etc. London: 1886.
11. *A Daughter of Fife.* By AMELIA E. BARR, author of 'Jan Vedder's Wife,' etc. London: 1886.

WAS the social life of the old world civilization as remarkable for variety of aspects as that of the nineteenth century? Did Greece and Italy, in their palmiest days, possess circles of society as widely differing from each other as those sketched by Mrs. Oliphant, and Mr. Baring Gould, in *A Country Gentleman and his Family*, and *Court Royal?* We know no reason why they may not have done so, for, given the destruction of all our lighter literature, leaving for posterity no further record of our age than what would be equivalent to what remains for us of Greece or Rome, we doubt if some two or three thousand years hence we should be credited with being quite the curious social mosaic we are. Alas that no Greek or Roman Dickens, or Trollope, has left us three volume novels to enlighten us on this point. Even if not written in the most classical Greek, or the purest Latin, what priceless treasures they would be! Alas, also, that social reconstruction should be so much more difficult than physical reconstruction. We give a naturalist a single bone, and straight a ponderous megatherium, or a marvellous pterodactyle, rises before our wondering eyes. But who could reconstruct a social picture from a single sentiment, casually expressed long ages ago, by a representative of some social type of the day?

For our impressions, therefore, of those transient conditions of life which do not stamp themselves on the permanent records of any nation, we have mainly to depend on the imaginative creations of writers able, or deeming themselves able to catch the tone and spirit of a dead civilization, from such scanty traces as may be gleaned in libraries and museums, with the result that, generally, Cæsar and Pompey are very much alike, only more or less vigorously sketched; and that where any marked individuality of character is

apparent, it is apt to be so much an individuality with which we are personally acquainted, that that very fact might well raise a doubt whether it could be a very accurate representation of a type existing under conditions of life so wholly dissimilar from our own.

One of the most noteworthy of these attempts to reconstruct a perished world has been brought before British readers by the publication of Mrs. Sheldon's translation of *Salammbô*, by Gustave Flaubert. It has been ushered in, with a great flourish of trumpets, by an almost piratical appropriation of methods hitherto principally associated with Pear's Soap; and with only we should imagine, in the case of most people, the result of raising a passing doubt whether Mr. Wilkie Collins is a very accurate French scholar? and whether Professor Max Müller read very much of the translation? or, if he did, whether it was with the original at hand?

As regards the work itself it is certainly one of immense power, but at the same time, we cannot but think that to most British readers it must prove, to some extent, one of extreme repulsiveness. It is a little curious that the nation which is not always slow to hurl at us such adjectives as 'barbarous' 'brutal,' should accept with complacency a vividness of realistic detail, in topics suggestive only of the shambles and the dissecting room, which would, we think, be found a very serious impediment to the success of a book by even a popular British writer. We say this with the fullest admission of the fact that the most marked feature of the old world civilization was the intermingling of an almost limitless amount of barbaric splendour and magnificence, with hideous and revolting cruelty, and a sickening disregard of the commonest decencies of life; and that no picture of these ages could possess any claim to accuracy, in which this fact was not fully portrayed. But Flaubert has, we hold, carried his realism on these points beyond all necessary bounds, and rendered his work, occasionally, simply disgusting. We do not care to quote instances. Those who have read the book are not in the least likely to forget where to look for them. We would simply cite, in support of our position, the description of the leper Hanno.

We should not deem a picture of nineteenth century life imperfect because it failed to reproduce, from some of the medical papers, an accurate description of some of those fearful maladies which are to be found among us. Surely a little reticence on such points, on the part of Flaubert, would have been an enormous gain to his work, from an artistic point of view, without any injury to its accuracy!

Mr. King, in his introduction to the translation, says that French critics have accused Flaubert of 'insufficient sense of contrast.' We should be disposed to substitute 'insufficient sense of proportion.' There is a want of atmosphere. The book recalls, at times, M. Amiel's charge against Victor Hugo —that 'he draws in sulphuric acid, and lights his pictures with the electric light.' There is a persistent glare of light upon every page of *Salammbô* which becomes in time fatiguing, and makes one feel, when one has finished it, rather as though one had been present at some magnificent theatrical display than witnessing actual scenes in real life.

Notwithstanding these defects, we fully appreciate, as we have said, the colossal power of the book. We know no romance of a similar character which leaves on the memory so vivid an impression of the scenes depicted. Of the translation, we cannot speak in quite such high terms. Mrs. Sheldon has essayed a work of enormous difficulty, and has accomplished it in a way which shows that she has great translative ability. The rock upon which she has split has been a tendency to indulge in fine English, and occasionally to interpolate, to the extent of absolute mistranslation. It appears to us as though, in trying to avoid the Scylla of that jerky abruptness of style which is the result of trying to reproduce very closely, in English, the terse vigour and thorough finish of good French writing, she has fallen into the Charybdis of a kind of ornate diffuseness, which is an equally fatal mistake. 'L'on voyait au milieu du jardin, comme sur un champ de bataille quand on brûle les morts, de grands feux clairs où rôtissaient des bœufs.' This sentence appears thus: 'Bright huge fires blazed in the centre of the gardens, before which beeves were roasting, imparting to the vicinity the appearance of a battlefield upon

which the dead were being burned.' How the translation, 'like a wounded snake, drags its slow length along'! An almost immediately following one is only to be accounted for on the assumption of some differences in the various editions of the original. 'La joie de pouvoir enfin ve gorger à l'aise dilatait tous les yeux; çà et là, les chansons commençaient.' 'The delight experienced in being able at last, after prolonged privations, to gorge themselves at will, dilated the eyes of these starving warriors, and here and there songs burst forth. Hamilcar's absence contributed to the freedom with which the multitude ate, drank, and caroused.' 'White sails fluttered, athrill with day,' is a bold rendering of 'Des voiles blanches palpitaient.' While, to say nothing of the inexcusable idiom, 'I have fear' is a false rendering of 'J'en ai peur.' The constant recurrence of such faults as these very seriously detracts from the merit of a translation which, if sustained throughout at the level of some of its best passages, would have been an excellent one.

The Fall of Asgard carries us at once from the somewhat lurid magnificence of the fiery clime of Africa, to the cool, soft loveliness of the fertile valleys and dark pine forests of Norway. It is a singularly beautiful and most pathetic story, written in the pure, simple, vigorous English which its date and character specially require. Whosoever wishes to know how, under the guidance of a true artistic sense of beauty, a scene of horror can be vividly depicted, without any repulsive naturalism, can consult the first chapter of the book. Mr. Corbett's powers of description are of the highest order; and if the 'modest hope' of his preface be not realised, the fault is none of his. The beautiful, heroic, yet gentle, womanly Gudrun, is a heroine for whose portrait we could well imagine the Valkyriel Sigrun, the devoted wife of Helgi, had stood; while Thorkel is a thoroughly human Sigurd. In fact, throughout the whole book, there is a singularly successful blending of the characteristics of the Sigurds, Gunthers, and Sigfrieds, and the Brunhilds, Gudruns, and Krimhilds, of the Sagas of the Heroes, with thoroughly human traits. It is the most successful effort of the kind which we have seen, avoiding the fault,

which we have observed in some German efforts in this direction, of allowing the actors to remain too palpably the myths of, notably, the Nibelungen Lied, to allow them to harmonize with definitely settled earthly surroundings. Gudrun's purity and loveliness are as skilfully depicted as the more heroic qualities shown in her consecration of her son, and devotion of her own life, to the losing cause of the Æsir; and the inevitable final tragedy is managed with great skill, in the subordination of all that is painful, to the lofty heroism for which, under the circumstances, there is no possible end save defeat and death. Thorkel's growing contempt for the Æsir, who had turned, 'Niding,' and could not hold their own against the White Christ, is a genuinely Norse characteristic, still manifesting itself wherever the Norse element is traceable, in the high estimate set on dauntless valour and stubborn incapacity to accept defeat. Mr. Corbett may certainly be congratulated on having produced, in pure and melodious English, one of the most thoroughly living and breathing old-world stories which has appeared for a long time.

Court Royal manifests ability of high order, as indeed does all Mr. Baring Gould's work. But one sentence in his preface is quite sufficient to prepare any critic for partial failure from an artistic point of view. 'Two types in two groups are opposed to each other, each group represents a set of ideas, social and moral,' etc. When a man sets to work to write a novel, with types and groups and sets of ideas in his head, he may produce a book very well worth reading, but it will not be an excellent novel. Types and ideas, set to do duty as human beings, have a painful resemblance to marionettes, always mechanically carrying out the parts assigned to them, with none of the spontaneity and free movement of the actions of human beings. Given a family one and all so wholly devoid of common sense as the *Court Royal* family, and let their affairs be in the hands of a steward not many degrees removed from idiocy; then, by a series of impossible incidents, place an impossible young woman in an impossible position, and some such result as the catastrophe of *Court Royal* might come to pass. But the moral of the story appears to us to be, that if

the British aristocracy requires the concurrence of such an extraordinary combination of circumstances to bring it to naught, it must be a remarkably sound and solid institution.

The old Duke of Kingsbridge is a fine character, with his lordly magnificent ideas, stately courtesy, and thoroughly patriarchal conceptions of the duties of his position. We heartily commend him to the careful study of writers who wish to introduce Dukes into their novels, as the general result of that ambition is startling. Both Lazarus and Joanna are overdone to the extent of becoming positively grotesque, and many incidents connected with the girl are simply absurd, the accurate aiming of Ems water bottles in the dark, for instance—the false character, and the scene of her visit to Court Royal with the housekeeper. In fact the whole story has a tendency to slide over into the region of the grotesque, and therefore, though very amusing and in some parts exceedingly good, it fails to be satisfactory as a whole.

Of *A Country Gentleman and his Family*, we may safely predicate that it is good, but we cannot call it amusing. It is an admirable picture of a certain phase of country society, where dull solemn decorum reigns over a life of unvarying monotony; but the story is beaten out much too thin, and only Mrs. Oliphant's unusual ability saves it from being too tiresome for the most conscientious critic to struggle through. Anything more daring than to take as a hero an egotistical commonplace and exceedingly stupid prig, we cannot imagine. Theo Warrender possesses neither a virtue to attract, nor a vice to interest; his odious temper is of that dogged sullen kind which can never be made interesting; and if Lady Markland did not feel devoutly thankful to Providence for the final catastrophe, she did not merit such a merciful interposition on her behalf. She deserved, rather, that her twin daughters should inherit the disposition of their exceedingly unpleasant father.

The plot, also, is strangely defective as the work of a veteran novelist. Mr. Thynne has been in close relations with all the party from the outset of the story; yet his name is never even mentioned until a third of the way through the

second volume when he is suddenly introduced and married to Minnie Warrender, all in the space of one chapter. This is a piece of clumsy workmanship which might, in a beginner, indicate only want of mechanical skill. In Mrs. Oliphant it can only be laid to carelessness, or a tendency to risk too much on the possession of well won spurs. The episode of the interrupted marriage is also one which will not bear a moment's scanning. The supposed first wife is so eager to free Cavendish from all difficulty about her, that she lays an elaborate plot to convince him of her death; the only possible reason for her not adopting the simpler expedient of merely letting him know that she had a husband living at the time of her supposed marriage to him, being, apparently, to provide the story with one dramatic scene, and enable it to struggle through a third volume. On these two counts alone, in spite of the ability displayed, we cannot but hold the story, as a work of art, quite unworthy of Mrs. Oliphant.

To *The Mayor of Casterbridge*, Mr. Hardy adds the second title of *The Life and Death of a Man of Character*, thus indicating an intention in the story which must be taken into account in considering it. There is no complex action in it, and all the other characters seem to have been purposely toned down, so as to allow the central figure to stand out with greater prominence. There is a certain rugged grandeur about Michael Henchard; the grandeur of immense force, and blunt straightforward honesty. He is a man of extremely coarse moral fibre, and extraordinary energy, possessing strength, without gentleness, and straightforwardness, without refinement: the sort of man whose good offices, even, are almost as much a source of terror, as of satisfaction, to a sensitive nature; who, if he tried to save you from a fall, would probably inflict more injury by his iron grip, than you would have been likely to suffer if he had left you alone.

The coarseness of Henchard's moral fibre is shown in his being able to face remaining in Casterbridge after his downfall, and to serve where he had been master, under the very man to whom he had himself given the first start in life; and his blunt honesty is as skilfully depicted in his frank acknow-

ledgement that the accusation of the woman, brought before him as a prisoner, is true. The character is admirably drawn, and excellently sustained. Henchard is successful in life, as such a man is almost bound to be, and wins consideration, but never affection. He is unloved in prosperity, and scarcely pitied in adversity, save by the girl who believed herself his daughter, and whose action is almost more the outcome of a noble generosity than of any deeper feeling.

With the one exception of Elizabeth Jane, the rest of the characters in the book are commonplace, and there is but little incident. Therefore, although it is an admirable and most successful study of character, *The Mayor of Casterbridge* can never, in interest, come up to Mr. Hardy's delightful *Far from the Madding Crowd.* In one point, only, is the book marked by failure. Farfrae is as unlike a Scotchman, as his spasmodically odd dialect and phraseology is like Scotch. Mr. Hardy seems to have fallen into an error, very common among English writers, that the Scotch dialect is only English spoken with a peculiar accent, and mingled with certain words not in use south of the Border. As long as this opinion prevails, we shall, from time to time, probably, be treated to such a remarkable jargon as that of Donald Farfrae.

We hail with extreme satisfaction Mr. Anstey's return to his proper sphere. In his own peculiar line, the author of *The Curse of the Catafalques* has no rival. Not even *Vice Versa*, in our opinion, can touch that inimitable story. *The Giant's Robe* entirely failed to afford scope for the display of Mr. Anstey's special powers; but in *A Fallen Idol* they have full play. The prosaic, matter-of-fact world will probably be grievously scandalised, and much exercised in its mind by the question, whether this book is to be regarded as ridiculous folly or mischievous madness. Let them discuss it; and if Mr. Anstey should be the means of thus keeping their attention off philanthropic fads, for even a brief space, he will deserve well of his country. Mr. Anstey's peculiar power seems to us to be that of writing an extravaganza with an air of profound seriousness, which, while it enormously enhances the ludicrous effect, completely takes off that air of vulgarity which is apt to linger

about broad farce. In the disastrous story of the luckless Ronald Campion, and his unfortunate love token, one has to pause at times and consider whether one is reading tragedy or comedy. To reveal in any way the plot of a story, at once so original and so delightful, would be unpardonable, so we can only indulge in a few general remarks. The dexterity with which Mr. Anstey has woven together a number of marvellous and impossible coincidences, so as to impart to them an air of commonplace possibility, is wonderful. He manages his incidents with all the ease with which a dexterous conjuror manages his stock-in-trade; so that the thing which your reason tells you is impossible, your senses declare has actually been done before you. There is an undercurrent of sly humour in the descriptions of Herr Nebelsen, with his straightforward simplicity of enthusiasm, and total absence of all sense of the ludicrous, which is inimitable; and then, as if to make him some amends for having been thus depicted in a slightly ridiculous aspect, he is dismissed with a last speech of such calm, almost dignified, pathos, that we feel inclined to credit Mr. Anstey with believing that there was 'more in it' than his previous sketch of the Chela seems to indicate. Altogether, the story is as fascinating as it is original, and is fully worthy to take rank with Mr. Anstey's previous most happy efforts in the same direction.

Mr. Payn does not strike us to have reached his usual high level in his latest work. *The Heir of the Ages* is somewhat injured by that mixing of things to which the gardener in, we think, *The Small House at Allington*, so much objected. Scenes and incidents of a literary career, almost professedly drawn from real life, do not harmonize well with adventures of a governness, slightly suggestive of Miss Warden, and buried treasures, echoing faintly of Monte Christo. Moreover, the introduction, here and there, of pieces of very common place moralizing, and even of thirteen pages continuously of a supposed newspaper criticism, looks very like making copy. A novelist of Mr. Payn's ability is not likely to write anything not far above the average, but *The Heir of the Ages* will not enhance his reputation. We are far from saying that it is a

novel which anyone might have written, but it is one which any writer of moderate ability might have written, who has been so long acquainted with the literary world as Mr. Payn has been. For every grain of literary ability in it, there is an ounce of literary knowledge. The story opens well enough, but it soon begins to flag, and the taint of bookmaking to appear. Whether a woman of Elizabeth Dart's mental and moral range would have been ready to throw herself into the arms of a Jefferson Melburn after an acquaintance of something less than forty-eight hours duration, particularly considering that she had had abundant evidence of there being something seriously adrift in the Melburn household, is a point very open to question. It seems to us as if, before he got thus far, Mr. Payn had become a little hazy about the earlier part of the book, had forgotten that the first forty-eight hours of his story cover nearly the whole of the first volume. Certainly he seems later on to have very distinctly arrived at this oblivious condition, for when we read that the Game Laws had been one of the subjects which Miss Dart had been wont to discuss with Jefferson Melburn, and glance back to the somewhat detailed account of their brief acquaintance, we feel disposed to ejaculate incredulously, 'When?' Mr. Payn's equestrian ideas are rather bewildering to us. That a tall and shapely young woman of three or four and twenty could get into the riding habit of a slight tall girl of seventeen is startling. But that the same young woman could mount a horse, for the first time in her life, ride with perfect equanimity and capacity for enjoying what she saw going on, from immediately after breakfast, until, apparently, within a couple of hours before dinner in the evening, and return home in no way inconvenienced, is a thing quite beyond our not altogether unpractised comprehension.

Had the late Mr. Fargus lived, or at least, written somewhat earlier in the century, he would have had splendid chances as a writer of Experiences of a Detective, and works of similar character. His powers of clear vivid description, and of putting together a bold vigorous plot, would have given him good chance of immense success in such stories, in the days of a

popularity which seems now to have abandoned them. *Living or Dead* is a story of that type, expanded into three volumes, with a carefully constructed, and well worked plot. Given a husband and wife devotedly attached to one another; how to make mischief between them, and thus produce a sensational mystery, to be cleared up in the course of three volumes, and end happily; that is the task which Hugh Conway set himself in *Living or Dead*, and it is therefore in the nature of things that he found himself forced to do what everyone who ever has tried, or ever will try to work such a plot, has been, and will be forced to do—make both act with an idiotic folly impossible to any sane human beings. If there be degrees of impossibility, the superlative degree is undoubtedly to make serious mischief between a really sensible husband and wife, who are deeply devoted to each other. So the writer who attempts the task has simply to choose which of all suitable impossibilities he chooses to select, and, as far as our experience goes, the choice almost invariably falls upon that of sensible people suddenly resigning themselves to most idiotic folly. Captain Chesham is a very melo-dramatic villain, and the part played in the catastrophe by him and the lady's maid manifestly treads very close upon the impossible. But if an impossible result has to be brought about, there is a certain fitness in its being accomplished by impossible means. The tone of the book, as indeed is the case with all those of Hugh Conway's that we have seen, is manly and healthy, and quite free from any debasing moral tendency.

The Wind of Destiny greatly perplexed us at first starting. The thoroughly English sound of *Ashurst*, added to the name of the well known London firm on the title page, caused us to overlook the significance of the mention of 'the young American,' at the beginning of the second chapter; and we had become much puzzled before it became apparent to us that we had been wafted across the Atlantic. We confess to some reluctance to say much about stories dealing entirely with the social life of a different country. Although we cannot allow that our American kinsmen are foreigners, still their ways and habits, their whole social structure, is different from ours, and

only those of us who have lived long among them can be really competent to judge accurately of such a story as *The Wind of Destiny*. It is unquestionably one of great power; but it gives us an impression of a want of proportion. The tragedy seems out of all proportion to its cause. Gladys Temple, who strikes us to have a considerable family resemblance to Bertha Emery, in *Through One Administration*, though dowered with that highly strung nervous system which is very common in American heroines, is pure and lofty in moral tone, of thoroughly heroic temperament, and gifted with much common sense. Such a woman, married to a man so worthy of affection as Jack Temple, would surely have possessed spirit enough to enable her to live down a love which had never been returned by a man whose love was now given to another woman. It seems to us almost an insult to so fine a character as Gladys to represent her as succumbing to such a pitiful weakness. The purity of moral sentiment which distinguishes Gladys Temple, a quality which we have observed in other highly strung American heroines we have come across, is extremely refreshing, and most worthy of the careful attention of sundry British writers. The chief interest of the story centres round Mrs. Temple, but the other characters are well sketched, especially Schonberg, with his one strange fleeting romance, and subsequent life of quiet unselfish devotion to the welfare of others.

The Chantry House is to some extent injured by the same defect which mars *The Heir of the Ages*, as a work of art—the attempt to mingle incongruous elements. The introduction of a haunted house, with periodical appearances of a ghost which is only to be induced to give up these unpleasant disturbances of domestic tranquility when a family wrong has been redressed, and the mouldering remains of its earthly tenement have been duly consigned to consecrated ground, is an element wholly incompatible in the history of a rather sentimentally religious family, caught on the evangelical revival wave of the early part of this century, and borne onward into hearty sympathy with the Oxford movement, of the time of the Tracts. Apart from this defect, the story is, like all Miss Yonge's, graceful, refined, and interesting; and her sketch of the results of stern

harshness upon a highly nervous disposition, in the case of Clarence Winslow, is as excellent as valuable. Who shall tell the amount of ruin wrought by the dealings of dull common place conscientious parents, sublimely confident that their prosaic stupidity is the calm serenity of well-grounded religious principle, upon unhappy children, gifted by nature with the keen sensitiveness of highly strung nervous systems. It is certainly, however, a mistake for Miss Yonge to assume the first person in masculine guise. Her style and tone of thought are so essentially feminine, that not even taking the attitude of a partially helpless cripple, can disguise the utter incongruity between the sex, and the tone of thought and sentiment of the biographer.

Mrs. Barr is incorrigible. Superficial acquaintance makes her Scotch stories bright and readable, but a want of any accurate knowledge of her subjects fills them with blunders, which it is not to the credit of Scotch reviewers should be so often passed unnoticed. To anyone at all acquainted with Scotch county families, especially forty-two years ago, the whole plot of *A Daughter of Fife* is utterly absurd. To almost anyone the rapidity of Maggie Promoter's transformation into a suitable wife for a son of an old county family is transparently impossible. A perfectly natural American incapacity to master the details of a complex social system, wholly non-existent in her own country, has led Mrs. Barr into a maze of absurdities. Nor does her ignorance stop short at social questions. A kirk-session, forty-two years ago, has before it the question of the introduction of an organ into the service. About the same time a passenger goes direct by rail from Glasgow to Liverpool. The heroine wears turned-down linen collars, and, shortly afterwards, an ivory-tinted silk. That the factor of 'as desirable an estate as could be found in the West of Scotland' should be smoking his pipe and chatting familiarly with the housemaid, in the neighbourhood of the servants' hall, must be set down as another manifestation of social ignorance; but all these blunders, in the course of one not very long volume, are exceedingly indicative of a writer possessed of but a very flimsy acquaintance with her subject. That Mrs. Barr

might write an excellent story, if she would keep to subjects she thoroughly understands, is very clear. Maggie Promoter is a fine character, a faint reminiscence of Lizzie Hexham being, we believe, solely due to the strong resemblance between her objectionable brother and Charlie Hexham; and the rest of the actors in the scene are well enough, so long as you look at them solely as possible human beings, not as representatives of Scotch character.

ART. VII.—LIFE AND TIMES OF LONGFELLLOW.

Life of Henry Wadsworth Longfellow; with Extracts from his Journals and Correspondence. Edited by SAMUEL LONGFELLOW. 2 Vols. London, and Boston, Massachussetts.

IN these pleasant volumes we have the simple and uneventful story of a poet's life. It is chiefly autobiographical in form, and the editor has been careful to follow the lines which Mr. Trevelyan laid down with conspicuous success in his biography of Macaulay. Wherever possible, the subject is allowed to tell his own story, and the narrative is enriched with copious extracts from journals and letters. The editor may safely be congratulated on the thoroughness with which he has performed his task. If there be fault to find, it must be on the score of excessiveness in the employment of material, many trivial things being included which might with advantage have been omitted. The book is really a most wholesome contribution to our literature. It is interesting, gossipy, and instructive, and tells all that one may wish to know about a sweet and lovable character, and genuine man of letters. That such a life, passed in the study and among books and manuscripts, may have been uneventful, can readily be granted. The editor undertakes to say no more, but quiet and undisturbed as the poet's life was, this account of his career is full of interest to the reader of literary history, while the letters and journals are rich in incidents of a purely intellec-

tual kind. Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, more nearly than any of his contemporaries, fulfills Emerson's definition of a true poet. He was a heart in unison with his time and his country. He was less distinctively American in his poetry, perhaps, than either Bryant or Whittier. His choice of subjects was confined to no particular latitude, and though his work is often full of local colour, much that he wrote was European in texture and in incident. He was a profound lover of nature, but Bryant was often superior to him in the treatment of forest, and plant, and bird life. In poetry of the affections, Longfellow undoubtedly took the higher place among his American contemporaries. Here he was always superbly strong and sympathetic, and his love lyrics are quite among the brightest of his shorter pieces. They reveal a nice delicacy of touch, and are suggestive of purity and sweetness only, the methods of the fleshly school of singers being utterly uncongenial to his nature.

He was born in Portland, Maine, on the 27th February, 1807, and came from Puritan ancestry. The home of his childhood, noted as having been the first brick house in his native city, had been built by his mother's father, General Peleg Wadsworth, in the years 1784-86. 'Now quite in the heart of the business quarter, it was then on the extreme outskirts of the town, in the midst of fields. Hither Zilpah Wadsworth, the boy's mother, had come when seven years old; here she was married; here she returned now with her husband and two boys, in 1808, to pass the rest of her life. She was the third of eleven children of Peleg Wadsworth and Elizabeth Bartlett, who had, after their marriage, removed to Portland from Duxbury in Massachusetts, whither their ancestors had emigrated from England.' Stephen Longfellow, the poet's father, was a college bred man, one of Harvard's sons, the classmate of Dr. Channing, Judges Story and White, and a barrister of high repute and spotless integrity. At an early age he took a strong position in his profession, and in 1814, as a 'Federalist' in politics, he was sent to the Massachusetts legislature. He was also the representative of his State for one term in the National Congress. Though Stephen Longfellow was not a man of letters, he had a passion for literature and music, and his first care was to provide books of the

better class for the use of his family. Young Longfellow may be said to have been born in a library, of which the English classics, the poets and essayists of the time, Don Quixote, the Arabian Nights, and Ossian formed no inconsiderable part. The future poet was deeply impressed with the Scottish bard, and, we are told, he used to go about the house reciting favorite passages and often whole poems from the minstrel. But of all the books which he was able to read in his very young days, no work appealed to him with greater intensity than the *Sketch Book* of Washington Irving, which at once awakened literary aspirations in his mind. It was of the *Sketch Book* that he wrote 'Every reader has his first book—I mean to say, one book among all others which in early youth first fascinates his imagination, and at once excites and satisfies the desires of his mind. To me, this first book was the *Sketch Book* of Washington Irving. I was a schoolboy when it was published and read each succeeding number with ever increasing wonder and delight, spellbound by its pleasant humour, its melancholy tenderness, its atmosphere of reverie—nay, even by its grey-brown covers, the shaded letters of its titles, and the fair clear type which seemed an outward symbol of its style. How many delightful books the same author has given us. . . . Yet still the charm of the sketch book remains unbroken; the old fascination remains about it; and whenever I open its pages, I open also that mysterious door which leads back into the haunted chambers of youth.' The poet's schooldays began when he was but three years of age, and he was not more than six when he entered the Portland Academy, 'a handsome boy, retiring without being reserved. There was a frankness about him that won you at once. He looked you square in the face. His eyes were full of expression, and it seemed as though you could look down into them as into a clear spring.' His first letter was written to his father in 1814, and it is published in this Life, as the beginning of the series which continued for many years to pass between parent and son. The boy writes:

'Dear Papa,—Ann wants a little Bible like little Betsey's. Will you please buy her one, if you can find any in Boston. I have been to school

all the week, and got only seven marks. I shall have a billet on Monday. I wish you to buy me a drum.

HENRY W. LONGFELLOW.'

At school he got on well. He was a favourite with his classmates, and though he had no love for rude sports, he delighted in bathing in a little creek on the border of Deering's Oaks, and, says Elijah Kellogg, 'he would tramp through the woods at times with a gun; but this was mostly through the influence of others; he loved much better to lie under a tree and read.' This is what Longfellow thought of his master:

'I remember the schoolmaster at the Academy, and the mingled odour that hovered about him of tobacco, india-rubber, and lead pencil. A nervous, excitable man. When we left school I went with a schoolmate to take leave of him, and thank him for his patience with us. He thought we were in jest; and gave me a stern lecture on good behaviour and the trials of a teacher's life.'

His vacations were spent in long journeyings about the neighbouring towns and villages. On one occasion, while engaged in a trip of this sort, he learned the story of the Indian fight at Lovell's Pond. The episode emphasized itself into his mind, and he wrote a poem on the subject. He was thirteen years of age, and from this effort is dated the beginning of his literary career. The Battle of Lovell's Pond was sent, with fear and trembling, to the *Portland Literary Gazette*, which promptly accepted it, and published it in its issue of November 17, 1820, in the Poet's Corner. The four stanzas give no promise of the poet's future, though the sentiment may be applauded. His sister was the only sharer of his confidences, and she was as much excited as he was over the fate of the bantling. Says the editor:

'We may imagine the impatience with which they watched the unfolding of the damp sheet in their father's methodical hands, and the rising vapour as he held it before the wood fire to dry. Slowly he read the paper, and said nothing—perhaps saw nothing—of the verses, and the children kept their secret. But when they could get the paper—the poem was there! Inexpressible was the boy's delight, and innumerable the times that he read and re-read his performance, each time with increasing satisfaction. In the evening he went to visit at the house of Judge Mellen, his father's friend, whose son, Frederick, was his own intimate. In the circle gathered about the fire, the talk turned upon poetry. The judge took up the

morning's *Gazette*. "Did you see the piece in to-day's paper? Very stiff, remarkably stiff; moreover, it is all borrowed, every word of it." The boy's heart sank within him, and he would gladly have sunk through the floor. He got out of the house as soon as possible, without betraying himself. Shall we blame him that there were tears on his pillow that night? It was his first encounter with "the critic," from whom he was destined to hear much, not always complimentary, and of whom he had more than once something not very complimentary to say.'

Mrs. James T. Fields tells this story in a slightly different way in a recent number of the *Century Magazine* (April 1886). She says the conceited old judge called on his son to bring forward *his* statelier lines on the same subject.

In 1821 Longfellow went to Bowdoin College, and found himself a member of the class which included Nathaniel Hawthorne, Abbot, and one or two others, who in after life became famous. He was ever a hard student and careful observer. He read much, and constantly sent home to his parents brief criticisms on what he had read. Thomas Gray he admired greatly, and his letters to his mother on the 'Elegy' and other poems which caught his fancy, are full of interest and decided charm. His letters to his father, too, show how keenly alert his literary aspirations and sympathies were. His parents encouraged his tastes, and he made excellent progress, graduating fourth in a class of thirty-eight. He wrote a good many verses while at college, and most of these appeared in 1824 and 1825 in the *U.S. Literary Gazette*, edited by Theophilus Parsons. In the fifteenth number of this serial appeared 'Thanksgiving,' by H. W. L., and it was followed in succeeding numbers by sixteen others. In November, 1824, the editor wrote to Longfellow:

'Sir,—Messrs Cummings, Hilliard & Co., have handed me some verses sent by you to them for the Editor of the *U. S. Literary Gazette*. In reply to the question attached to them, I can only say that almost all the poetry we print is sent us *gratis*, and that we have no general rule or measure of repayment. But the beauty of your poetry makes me wish to obtain your regular aid . . . Would you be kind enough to let me know what mode or amount of compensation you desire. For the prose we publish we pay one dollar a column.'

Of the poems published in this periodical, five were afterwards deemed worthy of being included in the poet's first volume, the

work. Very soon after his appointment, he took up his residence in Brunswick, Maine. 'He occupied,' says his brother, 'rooms in one of the college halls, taking his meals in a private family. He at once devoted himself zealously to his duties of teaching. Finding no French Grammar which suited him, he translated and printed for the use of his pupils the grammar of L'Homond, which had the merit always in his eyes of containing all the essentials in a small compass. He had always disliked large books. In the same year he edited for his classes a collection of French *Proverbes Dramatiques*, and a small Spanish reader, *Novelas Españolas*, taken from the *Tareas de un Solitario* of Jorge W. Montgomery—a copy of which had been given him by Mr. Everett in Madrid.' He held the chair five and a half years, when George Ticknor, who had been favourably drawn towards him by his contributions to the *North American Review*, which dealt largely with the romance literatures, offered him the professorship of Modern Languages, in Harvard University, which carried a salary of $1,500 a year. In the meantime, in September 1831, he had espoused the hand of Mary Storer Potter, the second daughter of Judge Potter of Portland. 'Her character and person were alike lovely.' They were tenderly devoted to each other, and very soon after their marriage they began housekeeping at Brunswick, in a house which still stands under its elms in Federal Street. Of his study he writes in his diary:

'June 23. I can almost fancy myself in Spain, the morning is so soft and beautiful. The tesselated shadow of the honeysuckle lies motionless upon my study floor, as if it were a figure in the carpet, aud through the window comes the fragrance of the wild brier and the mock orange. The birds are carolling in the trees, and their shadow flit across the window as they dart to and fro in the sunshine; while the murmur of the bee, the cooing of doves from the eaves, and the whirring of a little humming-bird that has its nest in the honey suckle, send up a sound of joy to meet the rising sun.'

Before leaving home Longfellow had published *Outre-mer*, which found great acceptance with the public. In 1835, Prof. Ticknor resigned his chair at Harvard, and to fit himself for his enlarged sphere of action, the poet accompanied by his wife, undertook a second journey abroad, leaving America in April,

and visiting in turn, England, Scandinavia, Germany and the Swiss cantons. He spent three weeks in London, breakfasted with Sir John Bowring, dined with the Lockharts, and met among others, Jane Porter, Mr. Babbage, Lady Morgan, Hayward the translator of Faust, Mrs. Blackwood, Lady Seymour, and Lady Dudley Stuart, daughter of Lucien Bonaparte. At the house of the latter, he heard Rubini and Grisi sing. Emerson had given him a letter to Carlyle, and writes Mrs. Longfellow :—

'Mr. Carlyle of Craigenputtoch was soon after announced, and passed a half-hour with us, much to our delight. He has very unpolished manners and a broad Scottish accent, but such fine language and beautiful thoughts that it is truly delightful to listen to him. He invited us to take tea with them at Chelsea, where they now reside. We were as much charmed with Mrs. C. as with her husband. She is a lovely woman, with very simple and pleasing manners; she is also very talented and accomplished, and how delightful it is to see such modesty combined with such power to please.'

At Rotterdam, Longfellow's wife fell ill, in November, and after suffering a few days she died. The poet felt the first real pang of sorrow which he had ever experienced, and shortly afterwards he wrote to his father, 'every day makes me more conscious of the loss I have suffered in Mary's death; and when I think how gentle and affectionate and good she was, every moment of her life, even to the last, and that she will be no more with me in this world,—the sense of my bereavement is deep and unutterable.' But he had work to do, and though his heart was sore, he did not falter, or give way to despair. From Rotterdam he went to Heidelberg, where he formed the acquaintance of Bryant and his family, and spent the winter and spring of 1836. Towards the end of June he journied to the Tyrol and Switzerland. In the latter country he met Miss Appleton, then in her nineteenth year, the lady who a few years later, became his second wife. In December 1836, Mr. Longfellow assumed the duties of his chair at Harvard. The staff of the College was especially strong in distinguished men at that time: Josiah Quincy was President, and with him were associated Henry Ware, senior, John G. Palfrey, Joseph Story, Simon Greenleaf, Charles Sumner, Charles Beck, and C. C. Felton. Jared Sparks,

the historian, Francis Bowen, Benjamin Pierce, Prof. Hedge, Andrews, Norton and Washington Allston, poet and artist, lived in Cambridge then. Later came Hawthorne as a visitor and friend, and Lowell and the others followed. The *North American Review* was in the zenith of its fame, and most of these writers were among its more brilliant contributors. They formed a coterie, reviewed each others books, and earned the sharp criticism of Poe, whose bitter attacks on Longfellow and his friends are remembered yet. The society of Cambridge was very delightful, and the story of the poet's life, passed amid such agreeable surroundings, is told in letters and extracts from his daily journal. His duties as Professor, after a time, grew irksome, and there is frequent mention in his diary of the trials he underwent. Still, he held his post for eighteen years, and it was not until 1854 that he retired, and made room for Mr. Lowell, though as early as 1850 he wrote: 'I seriously think of resigning my professorship. My time is so fully taken up that I have none left for writing. Then my eyes are suffering, and the years are precious. And if I wish to do anything in literature, it must be done now.' Few men, he says later on, have written good poetry after fifty. But the poet himself exposed the fallacy of this conclusion, for he was past that age when he produced 'Miles Standish,' 'The Saga of King Olaf,' 'The Tales of a Wayside Inn,' 'The Translation of Dante,' 'Hanging of the Crane,' and 'Keramos.' In June, 1853, we find more complaints about the arduous character of his work, 'Six hours in the lecture-room like a Schoolmaster.' 'I must retire,' he says again; but he did not retire yet, and on April 19th, 1854, he wrote, 'at 11 o'clock in number 6 University Hall, I delivered my last lecture—the last I shall ever deliver here or elsewhere.' Six months afterwards, he received a letter from the President accepting his resignation, and the poet was at last free from his drudgery.

In 1839, he published his romance, *Hyperion*, and the poems included in 'Voices of the Night,' and three years later there apappeared 'Ballads and other Poems,' followed in 1843 by the 'Spanish Student,' a drama cast in the Shakesperian mould, vigorous in conception and individuality, but incapable of representation on the stage. In this year, too, he married Frances

Elizabeth Appleton, daughter of Nathan Appleton of Boston. She was a woman of stately presence and cultivated intellect. Underwood, who met her often, describes her as the 'possessor of every grace of mind and person that could charm the heart of a poet.' She is said to have been the original of 'Mary Ashburton' in the story of *Hyperion*, and like that young lady she twice withstood a siege to her heart before she yielded. Eighteen years of happiness blessed the union, and five children were born to them, but at the last, Mrs. Longfellow was the victim of a terrible tragedy, which well nigh crushed the heart out of the poet. The Journal breaks off suddenly at the 8th of July, 1861, and 'the break,' says the biographer, 'marked a break in his very life; an awful chasm that suddenly, and without the slightest warning, opened at his feet.' The sad story is thus related:

'On the 9th of July his wife was sitting in the library with her two little girls engaged in sealing up some small packages of their curls, which she had just cut off. From a match fallen upon the floor her light summer dress caught fire; the shock was too great, and she died the next morning. Three days later her burial took place at Mount Auburn. It was the anniversary of her marriage-day, and on her beautiful head, lovely and unmarred in death, some hand had placed a wreath of orange blossoms. Her husband was not there—confined to his chamber by the severe burns which he had himself received. These wounds healed with time; time could only assuage, never heal, the deeper wounds that burned within. He bore his grief in silence; only after months had passed could he speak of it, and then only in fewest words. To a visitor who expressed a hope that he might be enabled to "bear his cross" with patience, he replied—"Bear the cross, yes; but what if one is stretched upon it?"'

From that dreadful moment the poet was never quite himself, and five years passed away ere he wrote verses of his own again. Eighteen years afterward, looking over an illustrated book of Western scenery, his attention was arrested by a picture of that mysterious mountain upon whose lonely, lofty breast the snow lies in long furrows that make a rude but wonderfully clear image of a vast cross. 'At night, as he looked upon the pictured countenance that hung from his chamber wall, his thoughts framed themselves in the verses that follow. He put them away in his portfolio, where they were found after his death.' These verses, never before published, bear the date July, 1879:

THE CROSS OF SNOW.

In the long, sleepless watches of the night,
  A gentle face—the face of one long dead—
  Looks at me from the wall, where round its head
The night-lamp casts a halo of pale light.
Here in this room she died, and soul more white
  Never through martyrdom of fire was led
  To its repose; nor can in books be read
The legend of a life more benedight.
There is a mountain in the distant West
  That, sun-defying, in its deep ravines
    Displays a cross of snow upon its side:
Such is the cross I wear upon my breast
  These eighteen years, through all the changing scenes
    And seasons, changeless since the day she died.

The letters and journals are especially rich in reminiscences, hints about the progress of the poet's work, chit-chat about passing events, and pleasant accounts of literary men and women. The editor, for the most part, prints only agreeable ana. Where something unpleasant is to be said about any one, the name is withheld in nearly every instance. Longfellow's nature was very lovable, and he disliked to give pain. When he said no, he always tried to say it as softly as he could. His brother appreciating this trait in his character, suppresses everything that might, in the slightest way, hurt the feelings of any one living. In the diary we have much concerning the poet's books. These notes are delicious always. Of 'Evangeline,' we find this account by the editor. The story has been told before, but we may give it here:

'Mr. Hawthorne came one day to dine at Craigie House, bringing with him his friend, Mr. H. L. Conolly, who had been the rector of a church in South Boston. At dinner, Conolly said that he had been trying in vain to interest Hawthorne to write a story upon an incident which had been related to him by a parishioner of his, Mrs. Haliburton. It was the story of a young Acadian maiden, who at the dispersion of her people by the English troops had been separated from her betrothed lover; they sought each other for years in their exile; and at last they met in a hospital where the lover lay dying. Mr. Longfellow was touched by the story, especially by the constancy of its heroine, and said to his friend, if you really do not want this incident for a tale, let me have it for a poem; and Hawthorne

consented. Out of this grew Evangeline, whose heroine was at first called Gabrielle. For the history of the dispersion of the Acadians the poet read such books as were attainable; Haliburton, for instance, with his quotations from the Abbé Raynal. Had he been writing a history he perhaps would have gone to Nova Scotia to consult unpublished archives. But as he was writing a poem, a tale of love and constancy, for which there was needed only a slight historical back ground, he took the authorities which were at hand. Later investigations and more recent publications have shown that the deportation had more justification than had been supposed; that some, at least of the Acadians, so far from being innocent sufferers, had been troublesome subjects of Great Britain fomenting insubordination and giving help to the enemy. But if the expatriation was necessary, it was none the less cruel, and involved in suffering many who were innocent of wrong.'

In the journal is this entry, '7th December, 1845. I know not what name to give to—not my new baby, but my new poem. Shall it be "Gabrielle," or "Celestine," or "Evangeline?"' Two years later, on the 15th of October, Longfellow wrote in his diary, 'Evangeline published.' He employed the English dactylic hexameter, because, as he told Barry Cornwall in his letter accompanying a presentation of the poem, 'I could not write it *as it is* in any other; it would have changed its character entirely to have put it into a different measure.' Conolly published Hawthorne's review shortly after the work came out, in his newspaper, and the novelist sent a copy to Longfellow, who thus charmingly acknowledged the gift:

'I hope Mr. Conolly does not think I spoilt the tale he told, in any way of narrating it. I received his paper containing your notice of the book, and thank you both for such friendly service. Still more do I thank you for resigning to me that legend of Acady. This success I owe entirely to you for being willing to forego the pleasure of writing a prose tale which many people would have taken for poetry, that I might write a poem which many people take for prose.'

He cared very little for the critics, and what they said. He did not resent Poe's attacks until long afterward, and then only slightly and without malice. Once he told William Winter that whenever he encountered anything unpleasant about him in his newspaper, or in articles sent to him marked and scored, he would look at a few lines, and then quietly throw the offensive thing into the fire, and it never troubled him again. Margaret Fuller's

criticism, he characterized as a 'bilious attack.' He allowed himself to say no harsher words.

The bores, the autograph hunters, and the idle people who stole precious hours from him, figure frequently in these volumes. He rarely refused to give his autograph, and sometimes he wrote out whole poems when asked. Letters poured into him by the hundred, asking all sorts of favours. From——he receives a poem and a letter '*demanding* that I shall read and criticise it for him. I will not do any such thing, unless Congress pass a special law requiring it of me.' The newspaper correspondents worried him too, and infested every nook and corner of his home, destroying all privacy, and proclaiming to the world the colour of your gloves and the style of your shoe-tie.' A vendor of essences approached him in the twilight of an autumn evening and 'offered a great bargain; namely that he would give me a dollar's worth of his essences, and I should write for him a poetical epistle to Jenny Lind asking charity in his behalf. Stupid dolt! It took me some time to make him comprehend the indecency of his behaviour. Truly an ignoble Yankee is a very ignoble thing.'

Longfellow was no politician, though he took some interest always in the public affairs of his country. He was friendly to the cause of the Abolitionists, and Whittier pressed him in 1844 to run for Congress as the candidate of the Liberty party. Of course, he refused. The German and French Revolutions, the Mexican war, the anti-slavery crusade, and the Civil War in America, excited him very much. He took a warm personal interest in the fortunes of his friend, Charles Sumner. Webster's 'abominable speech' in 1850 provoked the sharp words, 'is it possible, is this the Titan who hurled mountains at Hayne years ago.' 'Yet,' he continues, 'what has there been in Webster's life to lead us to think that he would take any high moral ground on slavery?' Eliot's vote for the Fugitive Slave Bill, he stigmatizes as 'a dark disgrace to the city' of Boston. The war of 1861 found him sad indeed. To that bloody fray he sent one of his sons, who was wounded, but did not die. He inserts in the journal:—

'January 28.—Six States have left the union, led by South Carolina. President Buchanan is an antediluvian, an après moi le déluge President, who

does not care what happens, if he gets safely through his term. We owe the present state of things mainly to him. He has sympathized with the disunionists. It is now too late to put the fire out. We must let it burn.

February 15.—The dissolution of the Union goes slowly on. Behind it all I hear the low murmur of the slaves, like the chorus in a Greek tragedy, prophesying woe, woe!'

In this gloomy fashion he goes on, saying now, 'at the gateway of the State-house two youths of twenty, with smooth, fair cheeks, stand sentry. Ah, woe, the day.' And again 'The burden seems too great for me to bear.'

Longfellow was genial always. He shrank from publicity and notoriety, and often would not go to places where speeches were to be made, lest he should be called on to speak. The society of sympathetic souls, his intimates, always filled him with happiness. The German poets impressed him strongly and coloured his literary tastes. His enthusiasm for Jean Paul, and Goethe, and Heine, was as unbounded as Carlyle's. The poetry of Spain and of Italy too, was his delight, Lope, Calderon and Dante being favourites of his from a very early time. Bishop Tegnér, he declared, was the only great poet that Sweden possessed, and his heroic poem of *Frithiofs Saga* drew from him unqualified praise. Of living English poets, Tennyson and Browning impressed him most, and he read their work, as published, with zest and pleasure. In these volumes we have many glimpses of literary men and women with whom Longfellow formed friendships, though the editor must have curtailed the list. Bryant, as we have said, he met at Heidelberg in 1835, but though letters occasionally passed between the two poets, they did not not see each other often. Hawthorne was a classmate, but his real intimacy with Longfellow did not begin until 1837, when *Twice Told Tales* was sent to the poet with the author's compliments. The book was promptly reviewed by Longfellow in the *North American Review*, and from that time until the romancer's death, the friendship of poet and novelist remained unbroken and leal. Their correspondence is quite among the best things in the book. Many bright letters are published. Hawthorne seems to have opened his heart to his friend, and whether despondent or happy, he told him all. 'As to my literary efforts,' he writes gloomily on one occasion, 'I do not think much of them: neither is it

worth while to be ashamed of them. They would have been better, I trust, if written under more favourable circumstances. If my writings had made any decided impression, I should probably have been stimulated to greater exertions. But there has been no warmth of approbation, so that I have always written with benumbed fingers. I have another great difficulty in the lack of materials, for I have seen so little of the world that I have nothing but thin air to concoct my stories of; and it is not easy to give a life-like semblance to such shadowy stuff.' But Hawthorne often talked in this strain of his literary performances. He was always in doubt, always fearful of their success, and he never quite understood his own power and genius. Longfellow's friendly notice in the *Review* sent him into ecstasies, and he wrote to the poet:—'Whether or no, the public will agree with the praise which you bestowed on me, there are at least five persons who think you the most sagacious critic on earth, viz., my mother and two sisters, my old maiden aunt, and finally—the sturdiest believer of the whole—my own self. If I doubt the sincerity of any of my critics, it shall be those who censure me. Hard would be the lot of the poor scribbler if he may not have this privilege.' *The Scarlet Letter*, Longfellow pronounced 'a most tragic tragedy,' *The House of Seven Gables*, he called 'a weird wild book, like all he writes, with passages and pages of extremest beauty,' and of the *Marble Faun*, published in England by the title of *Transformation*, he wrote 'a wonderful book; but with the dull pain that runs through all Hawthorne's writings.'

Longfellow's intimacy with Emerson was thoroughly sweet. There is much about the latter in the Journals and Letters. In the entry March 8, 1838, we note these words about the Concord Seer's lecturing on the Affections, 'He mistakes his power somewhat, and at times speaks in oracles, darkly. He is vastly more of a poet than a philosopher. He has a brilliant mind, and developes, and expands an idea very beautifully, and with abundant similitudes and illustrations. Jeremiah Mason said a sharp thing the other day when asked whether he could understand Mr. Emerson. His answer was: "No, I can't; but my daughters can!'"

Longfellow thought Emerson one of the finest lecturers he had ever heard, 'with magnificent passages of true prose-poetry. But it is all *dreamery* after all.' Eight years afterwards he went to hear the lecture on Goethe, which he thought 'very good, but not so pre-eminent as some of his discourses. There is a great charm about him—the Chrysostom and Sir Thomas Browne of the day.' Emerson took tea with him ten days after these words were written, and this is what is recorded in the journal:—'He was rather shy in his manner, but pleasant and friendly. We all drove down to hear him lecture on Napoleon. Very good and well spoken. We like Emerson—his beautiful voice, deep thought, and mild melody of language.' Of the lecture on Inspiration, Longfellow says, under date January, 1849:

'Another of Emerson's wonderful lectures. The subject "Inspiration," the lecture itself an illustration of the theme. Emerson is like a beautiful portico in a lovely scene of nature. We stand expectant, waiting for the high priest to come forth, and lo, there comes a gentle wind from the portal, swelling and subsiding, and the blossoms and the vine leaves shake, and far away down the green fields the grasses bend and wave, and we ask when will the high priest come forth and reveal to us the truth? And the disciples say, "he is already gone forth, and is yonder in the meadows." "And the truth he was to reveal?" "It is nature: nothing more."'

Emerson's poems are thus noticed in the diary, December 26, 1846:

'Received from Emerson a copy of his poems. F. read it to me all the evening and until late at night. It gave us the keenest pleasure, for though many of the pieces present themselves sphinx-like, and "struggling to get free their hinder parts" they offer a very bold front, and challenge your answer. Throughout the volume, through the golden mist and sublimation of fancy gleam bright veins of purest poetry like rivers running through meadows. Truly a rare volume, with many exquisite poems in it, among which I should single out "Monadnoc," "Threnody," the Humble Bee," as containing much of the quintessence of poetry.'

There are four interesting letters from the philosopher to the poet, all of them in a highly complimentary vein and excessively literary in form. 'Kavenagh' pleased Emerson exceedingly, though the temperate conclusion caused him a little disappointment. Of Hiawatha he writes more fully, saying:

'I have always one foremost satisfaction in reading your books—that I'm safe. I am in variously skilful hands, but first of all they are safe hands. However, I find this Indian poem very wholesome; sweet and wholesome as maize; very proper and pertinent for us to read, and showing a kind of manly sense of duty in the poet to write. The dangers of the Indians are that they are really savage, have poor, small, sterile heads, no thoughts; and you must deal very roundly with them, and find them in brains. And I blamed your tenderness now and then as I read in accepting a legend or a song when they had so little to give. I should hold you to your creative functions on such occasions. But the costume and machinery on the whole is sweet and melancholy, and agrees with the American landscape. And you have the distinction of opening your own road. You may well call it an Indian Edda. My boy finds it like the story of Thor. I found in the last cantos a pure gleam or two of blue sky, and learn thence to tax the rest of the poem as too abstemious.'

'Hiawatha' was severely criticised by the reviewers, some of them dealing with the work in a 'fierce and furious' fashion which reminded the author of the days when 'Hyperion' first appeared. But Bancroft, Prescott, Bayard Taylor, Hawthorne, Fields, and many other literary men praised it, and their generous words seemed to solace the poet.

Whittier does not appear in the book often, though he is mentioned in kindly terms whenever referred to. Longfellow's poems on slavery won his heart, and as before stated, he tried to induce him to enter politics on behalf of the cause they both supported. But 'partisan warfare,' wrote Longfellow in response to the appeal, 'becomes too violent, too vindictive for my taste, and I should be found but a weak and unworthy champion in public debate.' A pleasant paragraph in the journal on Dec. 4, 1857, says 'met Whittier at the publisher's. He grows milder and mellower as does his poetry.' Lowell was Longfellow's near neighbour in Cambridge, his successor at Harvard, and life-long friend. The references to him, which we find in the diary are scant and tantalizingly brief. When Longfellow was engaged in the final revision of his translation of Dante, Prof. Lowell's services were constantly in requisition. The Dante Club, composed of Lowell, Charles Eliot Norton, then Professor of the History of Art at Harvard, and Mr. Longfellow used to meet once a week at Craigie House. A canto would be read from the proof sheet. 'We paused,' says Norton, 'over every doubtful passage, discussed the various readings, considered the true

meaning of obscure words and phrases, sought for the most exact equivalent of Dante's expression, objected, criticised, praised with a freedom that was made perfect by Mr. Longfellow's absolute sweetness, simplicity and modesty; and by the entire confidence which existed between us.' Longfellow performed his task—a real labour of love, with perfect sympathy. While at work, he wrote to a friend, 'how different from the gossip is the divine Dante with which I begin the morning. It is the first thing I do—the morning prayer, the keynote of the day.'

James T. Fields, the poet's publisher and friend, is frequently alluded to, and charming letters appear at intervals. Fields was a delightful man, genial in disposition and as full of tenderness as a woman, generous to a fault in all his dealings with authors, and admirable in every relation of life. When he died in 1881, Longfellow wrote in his memory, 'Auf Wiedersehen'—till we meet again. We see something of Dr. Oliver Wendell Holmes in these volumes, but the editor might easily have given us more of the gentle 'Autocrat.' Many letters passed between the poets, and books were often exchanged between them. Of Tennyson too, we find very little. Longfellow spent two days with the Laureate at his home in the Isle of Wight, but of his impressions he says nothing. 'Enid' and 'Guinevere' he admired greatly, and thought the former superior to the latter. The 'Princess,' he read with satisfaction; the 'Idylls,' he 'devoured.'

Longfellow managed to see a good deal of Thackeray when the satirist visited America on his lecturing tour in 1852-3, though he seems to have become more friendly with Dickens, and Clough he 'liked exceedingly.' Lowell gave a supper to Thackeray on the 5th of January, 1853, the guests invited to meet him being Felton, Clough, Dana, Dr. Parsons, Fields, Edmund Quincey, Estes Howe, and Longfellow. They sat down at ten, and did not leave the table till one. 'Very gay, with stories and jokes,' is the comment.

> 'Will you take some port?' said Lowell to Thackeray.
> 'I dare drink anything that becomes a man.'
> 'It will be a long while before that becomes a man.'
> 'Oh no,' cried Felton, '*it is fast turning into one.*'

The journal continues, 'As we were going away, Thackeray

said, "We have stayed too long." "I should say," replied the host, "*one* long and too short,—a dactylic supper."' There is much pleasant matter about Dickens, whom the poet found always congenial. As early as 1842, he described him to his father as 'a glorious fellow,' 'a gay, free, and easy character; with a fine bright face, blue eyes, and long dark hair.' Their friendship lasted nearly thirty years, and many letters were exchanged. In those printed here, there are some interesting allusions to Dickens' American books, the *Notes* which created such a storm, and *Martin Chuzzlewit.* Landor gave Longfellow a dinner, but the latter thought his host 'a rather ferocious critic.' Thomas Campbell, whom he met at Samuel Rogers', disappointed him, so far as his outward man was concerned. 'He is small and shrunken, frost-nipped by unkindly age, and wears a foxy wig. But I liked his inward man exceedingly. He is simple, frank, cordial, and withal very sociable.' Freiligrath figures often in the Life, and the letters to and from him are deeply interesting and bright. Jules Janin, Longfellow visited in 1842, at Paris. The famous critic asked him to dine, and he found him dressed in a green coat and light trousers. 'At dinner, we had his wife, a pretty woman, and her mother, and a silent lawyer, whose name I did not hear, not being introduced. After dinner we had whist, and I came away after a three hour's visit. Janin is a merry, nonchalant, easy person; evidently having no sympathies, yet very happy in his own little world. He dislikes the society of literary men; says he never sees them, and never wants to see them. While we were at dinner an author of dramatic pieces was shown in. Janin received him quite cavalierly, did not ask him to take a glass of wine, nor to sit down, which he did without being asked.'

Of course there are many allusions to Charles Sumner, George S. Hillard, Motley, Sam Ward, George W. Greene, and Prof. Ticknor, and the journals are full of brief references to the men, women and books of Longfellow's time.

Many of the better known poems have a history, and the editor explains the conditions under which some of them were written. These details are often curious, and seldom uninter-

esting. Under date March 15, 1838, we read, 'I always stop on the bridge; tide waters are beautiful. From the ocean up into the land they go like messengers to ask why the tribute has not been paid. The brooks and rivers answer that there has been little harvest of snow and rain this year.' On Oct. 18, same year, we find, 'This is a glorious autumn day. The coat of arms of the dying year hangs on the forest wall—as the hatchment on the walls of a nobleman's house in England, when he dies.' The 'Psalm of Life,' which was constructed on German models, was composed 'one bright summer morning hastily, upon the blank portion of a note of invitation.' The poet's heart was full, and he kept the poem by him for some months, before he gave it to the world. It was a voice from his very soul, and he could not send it out then, for his own heart was bleeding over a private grief. The Psalm produced a marked impression on the popular mind. Sumner knew of a class-mate who was saved from suicide by reading it. As late as the time of the Franco-German war, General Meredith Read relates this incident:

'In the midst of the siege of Paris, a venerable man presented himself to me, bowed with grief. He said, "I am Monsieur R. Procureur-General of the Cour de Cassation. I have just learned that my son has been arrested by the German authorities at Versailles on an entirely unfounded charge. He is to be sent to a German fortress, and may be condemned to death. I am here alone and helpless. I feel that my mind will give way if I cannot find occupation; can you tell me of some English book which I can translate into French?" I promised to do so and he left me. Within an hour or two, however, I received a line from him saying that he had found what he required. A few days afterwards he came again to see me; but now erect, his face bright with hope, his voice clear and strong. He said, "I have been translating Longfellow's Psalm of Life, and I am a new man; I feel that my mind is saved, and that faith and hope have taken the place of despair. I owe it all to Longfellow!'

The 'Beleaguered City' was suggested to the poet by a volume of Scott's *Border Minstrelsy*, which he had found in his friend Ward's library. He opened it at one of the notes recalling the tradition about the city of Prague: 'similar to this was the "Nacht Lager," a midnight camp, which seemed nightly to beleaguer the walls of Prague, but which disappeared on the recital of certain magical words.' The 'Wreck of the Hesperus' was written in 1839: 'News of shipwrecks horrible on the coast.

Twenty bodies washed ashore near Gloucester. One lashed to a piece of the wreck. There is a reef called Norman's Woe where many of these took place, among others, the schooner Hesperus. I must write a ballad upon this.' And he did. As the poet sat musing, and smoking his pipe, about midnight, the wreck of the Hesperus came sailing into his mind. He jotted down some lines, then went to bed, but he could not sleep. He got up and wrote the ringing verses, the clock striking three when his task was done. The 'Skeleton in Armour' appeared in 1849. The vision encountered him as he was riding along the beach at New Port, on a summer's afternoon. A short time before a skeleton had been dug up at Fall River, clad in broken and corroded armour. It made a profound impression on the poet, who connected the skeleton with the round tower, usually known to the people living in the vicinity as the old wind mill. These materials formed the theme of his ballad. 'Excelsior' owes its origin to accident. The poet happened to see the word on a torn piece of newspaper, one autumn night in 1841. It at once once fired his imagination, and there sprang up in his mind 'the picture of a youth scaling the Alpine Pass, bearing in his hand—surely not the broad trailing banner with which the 'illustrators' have furnished him, but rather some slender pennant affixed to his alpenstock, sufficient to bear his chosen motto. This, the poet, made a symbol of the aspiration and sacrifice of a nobly ideal soul, whose words and aim are 'an unknown tongue' to the multitude; and who, refusing to listen to the cautions of experience or prudence, or to the pleadings of home affections, of woman's love, or of formal religion, presses on to a higher goal. That goal he does not perfectly attain in this life, but in dying still presses on to a higher beyond. The Latinity of the motto was questioned by some of the poet's friends at the time, and afterwards by critics, who thought it should be either *excelsius* or *ad excelsiora.* He at first thought *excelsior* justified by good Latin usage, but finding that this was not really the case, he explained it more satisfactorily as part of the phrase '*Scopus meus excelsior est*'—my goal is higher. In truth he was not responsible for the borrowed Latin; and evidently the word *excelsior* was the word the poem needed. He

wrote the lines on a slip of paper, which happened to be the back of a letter received that day from Charles Sumner. The 'Old Clock on the Stairs,' begun 12th November 1845, was based on the remarkable sermon preached by Jacques Bridaine, the French missionary at St. Sulpice in Paris, in 1754. Eternity was compared to the pendulum of a clock, which ceaselessly murmured '*Toujours, jamais, jamais toujours.*' The charming lyric,—quite in Longfellow's best vein,—'The Arrow and the Song,' came to him as he stood with his back to the fire, one day before church time. Asked to write an ode on the introduction of Cochituate water into Boston, he declined, but made the following entry into his journal:

> Cochituate water, it is said,
> Tho' introduced in pipes of lead
> Will not prove deleterious;
> But if the stream of Helicon
> Thro' leaden pipes be made to run,
> The effect is very serious.

The poet's last visit to Europe was made in 1868-9. He visited the lovely English lakes in that sweetest of all months, June, then went to Cambridge as the guest of the master of Gonville and Caius College, and on the 16th he was publicly admitted to the honorary degree of LL.D. Arriving in London on the 26th of June, he was soon the recipient of a flood of hospitality; calls, cards, invitations, letters of welcome flowed in on him. He breakfasted with Mr. Gladstone, Sir Henry Holland, the Duke of Argyll; lunched with Lord John Russell at Richmond, dined with various hosts, received midnight calls from Bulwer and Aubrey de Vere. Through Lady Augusta Stanley came an invitation that the Queen would be sorry to have Mr. Longfellow pass through England without her meeting him, and a day was named for his visit to Windsor. The Queen received him cordially, and without ceremony in one of the galleries of the court. He also called by request, on the Prince of Wales. Many distinguished men entertained him, and his visit became a real ovation. After a brief tour through Europe, he returned to London, then a day at Oxford where he received the degree of D.C.L., followed by a journey through Devonshire, and then to Edinburgh, the Scottish

lakes, and the Burns region,—the whole tour occupying eighteen months.

After Mr. Longfellow's return home, his journals grew briefer, and his letters shrank more and more into notes. The editor gives very few of these after 1870, and the concluding pages of the Life treat of men and circumstances in the briefest fashion. Some of the more notable visitors of the poet are named, but little of interest seems to have been connected with their visit, though among the number were Thomas Hughes, Anthony Trollope, Wilkie Collins, Charles Kingsley, Dean Stanley, Lord and Lady Dufferin, Lords Houghton and Ronald Gower, the Duke of Argyll and Salvini. The Emperor of Brazil, Dom Pedro, dined at Craigie House, and named the guests he wanted to meet. They were Agassiz, Holmes, Emerson, and Lowell. Ole Bull, at the close of 1879, came from Norway, to spend the winter at Mr. Lowell's house, and often delighted Longfellow with his music. Other visitors he had, many of them bores, who robbed him of his precious hours, and plagued him for autographs.

In January, 1870, he began a second series of the 'Tales of a Wayside Inn.' In May he prepared a supplement to the *Poets and Poetry of Europe*, making for it several new translations of his own. In November, same year, he is writing the 'Divine Tragedy,' the long-contemplated, long-postponed first part of the Christus Trilogy. This caused him many doubts and hesitations, but it was published in December, 1871. Immediately after this he began the drama 'Judas Maccabeus,' a tragic subject, 'but it has unity and a catastrophe to end with.' Twenty years before, he had noted it as a possible subject. In eleven days the work was completed. In the early part of 1872 he was engaged in preparing notes for the 'Michael Angelo.' The drama was finished in its first form in sixteen days, but he kept it by him, as was his habit, for additions and changes, and it was not given to the world until after his death, ten years from the time that he had begun it. 'Three Books of Song,' and 'Aftermath,' appeared in 1872-3. On the 4th of January, he read to Mr. Fields 'The Hanging of the Crane'—a delightful picture of simple domestic life. The proprietor of a New York story paper

paid him three thousand dollars for the right to print it in his journal; and later, it appeared in a volume illustrated by Mary Halloch (Foote). In the autumn of the next year, the 'Masque of Pandora' followed, containing the important poem of 'Morituri Salutamus.' 'Keramos,'—a poem on a potter's wheel—was first published in *Harper's Magazine*, the publishers paying one thousand dollars for it, and subsequently it appeared in a volume (1878).

The biographer mentions an incident in connection with Longfellow's poem on Burns, written in 1880, which may amuse the reader. After the lines were published, two letters reached the poet from Scotland, on the same day. One gratefully thanked him for his 'wonderful verses, which will touch the heart of every true Scotsman.' The other warned him that his poem was 'an effort to hold fellowship and friendly intercourse with one in the place of eternal woe.' The ground of this extraordinary statement, says Samuel Longfellow, being a rather questionable story that Burns, when on his death-bed, having been urged 'to express his trust in Christ,' had replied, 'In a hundred years men will be worshipping me.' 'This prophecy,' adds the Scottish correspondent, 'is being fulfilled in many quarters. Your poem is an instance of it.' 'Ultima Thule,' published in 1880, was the last volume issued under the poet's eye. Of the verses in this book, writes Mr. Lowell, 'never was your hand firmer.'

But towards the close of 1881, intimate friends of the poet noticed that he was in failing health, though few thought that the end was near. At Christmas, he was well enough to go to Boston, and the day after he wrote a sonnet addressed to his books, in which he compares himself, as he looked at them on his study walls, to an old knight looking at the arms which he can no longer wield:—

'So I behold those books upon their shelf,—
My ornaments and arms of other days,
Not wholly useless, though no longer used;
For they remind me of my other self,
Younger and stronger, and the pleasant ways
In which I walked, now clouded and confused.'

On his 75th birthday he looked cheerful, and appeared to be feeling well. A few days afterwards, on the 18th of March, however, he grew seriously ill, and suffered severely from peritonitis, the immediate cause of which was a chill. On the 24th inst. he sank quietly in death, closing a beautiful life, which was full of sweetness, flower, and fruit.

GEORGE STEWART, JUN.

ART. VIII.—THE GENERAL ELECTION—AND AFTER.

ONE thing, and one thing only, may with safety be said of the great political contest the din of which is subsiding, as these pages are being penned. It is the first battle all along the line on the question of Home Rule, but it will not be the last. Mr. Gladstone has not won the battle for the standard he raised; neither has Lord Salisbury won it in such a decisive manner as to guarantee the certainty of his having Parliament emphatically with him in trying his experiment of twenty years' 'resolute government' in Ireland. A long and bitter controversy has been raised as to the meaning of this phrase, but its author has not obtained such a majority as will enable him for any length of time to give effect to any meaning of it in legislation. If Lord Salisbury forms a new Government, he will have to depend, at least to some extent, for its maintenance in power, on Lord Hartington and the solid battalion of Liberal Unionists that has ranged itself behind him and Mr. Chamberlain. Should this 'resolute government' prove to be —as Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Morley insist that it must prove to be—coercion in one or other of its more drastic forms, Lord Hartington and Mr. Chamberlain, who are agreed in wishing to try in Ireland National-Local Self-Government of a more or less comprehensive character and on a more or less extensive scale, would oppose it, unless disorder or rebellion in Ireland could be alleged with truth in justification of it.

Now, even a Democrat, who is willing to look the facts of history in the face, must confess that 'resolute government' if autocratically administered, is quite capable of bringing about at least the appearance of peace in any country in which it is tried. The *Pax Romana* of the ancient world, so long as it was based not only on force and the supremacy of race, but on justice as between man and man was a most important fact, and it is at least allowable to maintain that it was a blessing. The *Pax Britannica* in India, since it too has been based on justice as well as on the Imperial power of this country, is confessed even by Hindoos who are champions of Home Rule, to be superior to the regime of their native princes. Whether Frederick the Great had a right to Silesia, its inhabitants were in the first instance bitterly opposed to being incorporated with the Prussian monarchy. But Frederick administered the strictest justice at the sword's point in Silesia, and the Silesians soon forgot their nationalism, if not their nationality. The one English conquest of Scotland that was even for a time acquiesced in by the conquered people was Cromwell's; and Cromwell proved victorious less by the strength of his invincible Ironsides than by the system of pure and impartial justice which he substituted for the corruption of the Scotch courts, and by his having had the wisdom to establish free trade between England and Scotland, and thus to add to the material happiness of the people of the smaller country. The honest adoption by England and Scotland towards Ireland of a policy of 'Manacles and Manitoba' or the honest treatment of the Irish as 'Hottentots' is quite conceivable as a substitute for the establishment of a Statutory Parliament in Dublin, and it is quite conceivable also that such a policy might lead to the firm establishment of order, and might be accompanied with the administration of equal-handed justice. But, to carry out such a policy with only reasonable prospect of success, Lord Salisbury would require to have had given to him by the constituencies a 'one-man power,' with which any authority attributed to, much less exercised by, Mr. Gladstone, is altogether insignificant. The constituencies may give him such a mandate some day; but they have not done it now. Confronting Mr.

Gladstone, with, roughly speaking, Scotland, Ireland, Wales and the North of England at his back, and restrained by Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, and their followers, Lord Salisbury can hardly venture to try any Cromwellian or Bismarckian 'thorough' in Ireland at present. A fresh appeal to the country will have to be made before he can count upon even a fourth of the twenty years which he requires to set Irish affairs in order.

There is another and still more important reason why the General Election, which has just come to a close, should be regarded as a preliminary engagement and not a decisive battle, as the beginning not as the end. That is the extraordinary number of abstentions which have characterised the contest all over the country. The General Election, which Mr. Gladstone not unnaturally decided upon after the defeat of his Home Rule Bill on the second reading was, it is true, exceptionally hurried. But the issue, which was before the country, had caused great excitement before the announcement of the dissolution, and no effort was spared by Mr. Gladstone and his chief lieutenants on the one hand, and by Lord Hartington, Mr. Chamberlain, Mr. Goschen, Sir Henry James, and their friends on the other, to bring that excitement up to the fever pitch, in the limited but yet sufficient time at their disposal. It is universally allowed that the late Election was a much less humdrum affair than its predecessor of November and December, 1885. The electors who voted either on the one side or on the other, were much more enthusiastic and earnest, than the electors who went to the polls in the end of last year. Yet they were singularly fewer in number. Nor can this circumstance be adequately explained by the various excuses alleged on such occasions, and which may be summed up in the familiar phrase 'an imperfect register.' A careful calculation has shown that all over the kingdom, between a fourth and a fifth of the electors in constituencies in which contests have taken place, have refrained from exercising their privileges. The high water mark of personal callousness to political issues at a General Election, is commonly regarded as amounting to between one-fifth and one-sixth of 'abstentions.'

The difference, therefore, between the fraction which represents the abstentions at the late Election, and the fraction which represents abstentions on ordinary occasions, has to be accounted for. The most natural explanation is in this, as in most cases, the most reasonable one. Electors refrained from going to the poll, because they had not made up their minds on the subject of Home Rule. The democracy of England, Scotland, and Wales, but especially of England, was indifferent at the General Election of 1885 as regards the Irish question, and it has not been sufficiently educated between then and the election of July 1886, to give forth a certain sound. It is this difference between the two fractions already mentioned, this educable remnant of the electorate, that will have the final settlement of the Irish question in its hands. Between the present General Election and the next, unless unforeseen circumstances precipitate another contest in the course of a few months, the educable remnant will be educated; and then the electorate of the country will speak emphatically and finally.

It is permissible, therefore, to indulge in a little conditional prophecy in regard to the more immediate future of the Irish question. Speaking generally and bearing in mind abstentions and the educable remnant of the electorate, it may be said that the democracies of Scotland, Wales, and Ireland—in other words 'the classes' and 'the masses' taken together—have declared for 'the principle' and 'the policy' of Home Rule, in the shape of the establishment of a statutory but subordinate Irish Parliament in Dublin, while the democracy of England has declared against it. Home Rule has become a leading principle with a considerable section, to say the least, of the Liberal party. It has been accepted by that section with enthusiasm, as an application of the general principle that the decisions of nationalities or majorities, if expressed at the polls are to be accepted unhesitatingly and ungrudgingly as final on the questions in which these nationalities or majorities are interested. Home Rule, therefore, will live as a principle held by an important body of Scotch, Welsh, Irish, and (in a less degree) English

politicians. Although Mr. Gladstone may die before it is tried in Ireland as an experiment in practical politics, he has lived long enough to establish it as a solution of the Irish problem that recommends itself to a large number of other than Irish minds. He and his supporters have this advantage over their opponents, that they are united on a positive plan, for the settlement of the Irish question, while Conservatives and Liberal Unionists are, to all intents and purposes, united only on a negative plan—that of refusing to grant what Mr. Parnell, supported by Mr. Gladstone, demands. It is the case, no doubt, that Lord Salisbury, Lord Hartington, and Mr. Chamberlain, the leaders of the Parliamentary sections opposed to Home Rule, are all in favour of some comprehensive scheme of local self-government for the Three Kingdoms, but they have not made any public announcement of agreement on the principles, much less the details, of the scheme. On the contrary, Mr. Goschen, who has been acknowledged by Mr. Gladstone himself to be the back-bone or Goliath of the movement opposed to Home Rule, has in the past expressed himself as absolutely opposed to Mr. Chamberlain's proposals for national councils as to Mr. Parnell's demand for a Parliament.

The chances are, however, that some Local Government Bill for Ireland, if not for the Three Kingdoms, will be brought forward by Lord Salisbury, should Mr. Gladstone, as a consequence of the decision of the constituencies, make way for the Conservative leader before the new Parliament meets. It will receive the support of Lord Hartington and, to a less cordial extent, of Mr. Chamberlain. It will be accepted, without enthusiasm, by the followers of Mr. Gladstone. The Irish Nationalists will, it is not improbable, oppose it. But it is also possible that they may accept it with derisive contempt, and endeavour, as they have threatened before now, to manipulate whatever local government the Conservative party may give them so as to further their special ends. But the proposal may be passed by Parliament in spite of the Irish members. Its passing will probably be a signal for the break-up of the temporary alliance between the Conservatives and the Liberal Unionists. The bulk at least of the latter will naturally

find themselves more in sympathy with their old friends than with their natural opponents in respect of non-Irish questions, and may be expected to coalesce with them in giving a Liberal tendency to such legislation as may be proposed, or in offering resistance to any Conservative tendency that may disclose itself. There cannot fail to be party chaos. Lord Hartington may succeed Lord Salisbury as Premier, or a coalition Government may be tried—if, indeed, it is not tried now—Lord Salisbury and Lord Randolph Churchill working together for a time and for some special purposes with Lord Hartington and Mr. Goschen. But whatever happen in the transition period into which the country is now entering, it will not be fruitful of progressive legislation, and it will be fruitful of discontent. It is at least possible that the Irish leader and his Parliamentary followers will endeavour to counsel their constituents to be moderate in language and forbearing in action, as the best means of maintaining their alliance with the Gladstonian section of the new Parliament, and, which is much more important, of securing the support, in some future struggle, of the English, Scotch, and Welsh democracies represented by that section. But it is quite certain that there will be distress of one kind or another on the other side of St. George's Channel. It is equally certain that any, even the mildest, attempt at 'coercion' will be resented, not in Ireland and by the Irish members only, but by the other Home Rulers in Parliament, and it will therefore not be so easy to enforce it as in former times. When one looks back on the dreary history of Ireland in the past, one is tempted to predict that as it was in the end of the eighteenth century, so it will be in the end of the nineteenth, that the refusal of the claims of the people of Ireland will be followed by an armed rebellion—with the added horrors of a dynamite war against public buildings and public personages.

It is possible that such things may be, but it is so far well that the alliance between the Irish followers of Mr. Parnell and the followers of Mr. Gladstone throughout the three kingdoms tends to deprive them of their formidable character if not to prevent them altogether. Mr. Parnell has nothing to gain and

may lose a great deal by abandoning constitutional for violent methods of attaining the legislative independence of Ireland. He is morally certain, therefore, to enjoin self-control on his followers, and to discourage any thing like an appeal to force, which he knows, and has indeed frankly admitted, must end in failure. An Irish rebellion without the encouragement of the Nationalist party would be the veriest cabbage-garden affair. It is not altogether out of the question that a dynamite war may be attempted by Irish-American desperadoes and with the aid of an Irish-American fund, for it requires very few of the one, and very little of the other to carry it on. But it is absolutely certain that by no section of politicians will such a war be more vehemently denounced than by Mr. Parnell and his followers, whose cause it is more calculated to injure than any other.

There is no saying, of course, what the future may have in store, or what effect such a quite possible event as a great European war, may have on our domestic politics. But it is utterly preposterous to imagine that the Home Rule question, now that it has been raised, can be sent to sleep. Nine-tenths of the Irish members have been sent tc Parliament to keep it alive; four-fifths of the Scotch and Welsh members have been sent to Parliament to help their Irish colleagues in this enterprise. Whether Mr. Gladstone disappears from the scene or not during the life-time of the next Parliament, whether that Parliament be long or short, violent or peaceful, the Irish question will continue to occupy the most prominent place in popular attention, and no attempt to overlay it with other and minor legislation, or even with foreign politics, will succeed. On the contrary, it will become more and more and not less and less the centre of political controversy, and in the country not less than in Parliament. When the next General Election takes place, and whether the new Parliament has a short life or lasts the normal five or six years, the educable remnant of electors, who abstained from recording their votes at the polls within the past few weeks because they had not made up their minds, will declare itself in one way or another, and its decision will be final.

The present writer is of opinion that this final decision will be on the side of Home Rule—such Home Rule, that is to say, as has been defined and conditioned by Mr. Gladstone, and accepted by Mr. Parnell. Of the many reasons that could be assigned for such a belief two will suffice, the one general and the other special or local. In the first place, the Home Rule plan for solving the Irish difficulty is not so much the only one that, in Mr. Gladstone's phrase, 'holds the field,' as the only one that has been proposed, and has received any support, which is in furtherance of those Liberal and democratic principles, whose victory may be slow of coming, but are nevertheless certain to come. It does not follow that there is from the democratic standpoint no other plan for dealing with the Irish question than Mr. Gladstone's. There is such an alternative plan, but the more pronounced Radical leaders, for reasons, only some of which can be guessed at, do not appear to have had it in contemplation and certainly have never broached it.

It has been allowed by Mr. Parnell that the real question in Ireland below or beyond Home Rule, is the Land Question. He has supported Mr. Gladstone in the policy which at the beginning of the year he declared himself an adherent of as regards the government of Ireland, because in one way or another—which way it would be a waste of time to discuss at the present moment — it would tend towards placing the land of Ireland under the control of the majority of its people. But that is, roughly speaking, the goal of all agrarian reform of a democratic character. If such reform is needed for Ireland, it is certainly not less needed for England and Scotland; as for Wales, its people have for some time past been moving in the same direction as the Irish. Yet if ever there was a battle between 'the masses' on the one hand and 'the classes and dependants on class' on the other, the struggle for a democratic solution of the Land Question will be such a battle. It may be said, too, that if ever there was a battle in which it was necessary for 'the masses' to stand shoulder to shoulder if they are to be victorious, it will be in this. There would be nothing extraordinary in the democracies of the Three Kingdoms instead of separating from each other, joining

not in a Home Rule or Federal, but in an obliterating union. At all events it is permissible to believe that a thorough going Land Bill for the Three Kingdoms supported, in overwhelming force, by the democracies of the three Kingdoms would be passed, at least as rapidly as will be a measure of the kind dealing with Ireland alone.

It may be said that Mr. Parnell and his followers would not consent to any proposal of the kind. Is this quite certain? Mr. Parnell has within the past few weeks, shown himself to be a practical statesman to the extent of being willing to agree to a compromise and to take half a loaf as better than no bread. He admits to have abandoned his original idea of 'protecting' Irish industries for a time, and to have given up his original demand for an Independent Parliament in Dublin corresponding to Grattan's, because of the 'advantages' associated with the subordinate Parliament offered by Mr. Gladstone. Supposing, therefore, the English and Scotch Radical leaders endeavoured to demonstrate to Mr. Parnell the enormous 'advantages' of an obliterating democratic union between the Three Kingdoms, it may be considered as absolutely certain that the Irish leader would at least listen to what they said?

But these leaders have made no such proposal to Mr. Parnell. They made no attempt to checkmate or overpower his Nationalistic ideas by opposing to them superior or at least more comprehensive and materially more attractive democratic ideas. The utmost that Mr. Chamberlain, who may still be said to be the foremost of the Radical chiefs that have of late been out of sympathy with Mr. Gladstone, and who, on non-Irish questions are still very advanced politicians, was prepared to give to Ireland was a 'national council.' But this substitute for an Irish Parliament has not inaccurately been described as a 'national council with the nationalism left out.' It was to be merely the apex of a pyramid of Local Government Boards, dealing exclusively with the administrative and other questions which come under the comprehensive head of Local Government, but in no way seeking to gratify, peculiarly Irish ideas, whether Nationalist or Democratic. Nor does there appear to be any

possibility of a Liberal politician of weight suggesting the establishment of an obliterating Democratic union between the Three Kingdoms as a method of solving the Irish problem and satisfying the Irish people without interfering with Parliamentary arrangements in Westminster. It must be relegated—this idea not without some regret—to the limbo of illusions, much as, in the region of ecclesiastical politics, the plan of 'levelling up,' or endowing all religious denominations would seem to have been discarded by practical politicians as a method of gratifying the demand for religious equality, while not depriving the State of all control of religion and of religious teaching. The Home Rule plan therefore 'holds the field' as the one proposal for remedying the troubles of Ireland, which is an application of a Liberal and Democratic principle—the principle that the demands of a nationality are to be respected, and when put forward by men who are indubitably its representatives, ought to be granted. The plan is not perfect—its authors themselves admit this—and the difficulties attending the gratification of the wishes of the minority in Ulster, and the representation of Ireland for Imperial purposes in the Imperial Parliament, must be removed before the plan can be regarded as likely when given effect to, to give general satisfaction. In fact, the solitary advantage attaching to the postponement of a final Irish settlement is to be found in the possibility that these difficulties will yield to the magic of time and patience and reason. In any event, Home Rule is certain, from its inherent political soundness, as an application of a special Democratic and Liberal principle, to grow in popular favour. Nor, perhaps, should the idea be dismissed as absolutely grotesque, of Home Rule being engraven on the Statute Book, like Free Trade, not by a Liberal but by a Conservative minister.

In addition to the general arguments that may be adduced in support of the contention that the General Election, though it may have postponed—this remains to be seen—has not prevented the triumph of Home Rule, there is one of a special and almost local character, the consideration of which ought not to be omitted. As already said, the general result of the Election comes to this, that Scotland and Wales have united

to help Ireland in obtaining Home Rule. To say that these two countries have been actuated by selfish motives in thus standing shoulder to shoulder with Ireland, is no adequate explanation of such a phenomenon; an indictment cannot be framed against a nation for selfishness, any more than you can for any thing larger or worse. On the other hand, there is no denying that 'Irish ideas' have been spreading to some extent both in Wales and in Scotland, and that the people of these two countries have within the last few years been coming more and more to see that the settlement of the political questions which specially affect them, will come more speedily and will be more truly 'final' when it does come, through the establishment of Home Rule than in any other way. Scotland and Wales incline more to the Gladstonian or Home Rule method of relieving the Imperial Parliament of Scotch and Welsh business, than the Chamberlain or Local Government method, which the Prime Minister has described as 'vulgar.' It does not follow that Scotland and Wales will seek so much Home Rule as Ireland, when the time comes for them to prefer their demands to the Imperial Parliament, as their connection with England, both historical and geographical, is much closer. But there is no doubt that the tendency, both here and in the Principality, is more and more towards the establishment, not so much of central Local Government Boards or National Councils, charged with details of administration, and with minor legislation, as of bodies approximating much more closely to national Parliaments, and charged with the settlement of special national questions. Scotland and Wales find themselves, therefore, in the same boat with Ireland; and it is not very surprising that they should now be backing her up in her demand for Home Rule. But the fact that they are in the same boat with Ireland, will certainly tend to intensify rather than to diminish their enthusiasm for Home Rule, which they have shown at the polls within the past few weeks. In the past, Scotland and Wales have anticipated England in embracing certain democratic ideas, which have ultimately triumphed in the fields of political theory and of practical statesmanship, England having undergone a slow

but sure process of education, conversion, and moral conquest. What reason is there for not believing that history will repeat itself?

The impression of the present writer, therefore, is that even if the solution of the Irish problem on Home Rule has been retarded rather than hastened by the late election—upon that it would be rash to dogmatise till it is seen what is the actual attitude of the new Parliament towards the question—the next conflict at the polls will be decisive, and the longer it is delayed the more decisive it will be. Home Rule is the embodiment—not perhaps the most artistic, but in the meantime the sole feasible embodiment—of a great Liberal and Democratic principle, and its victory is certain and independent of all personal and party considerations. This fact is of itself sufficient to dispose of the contention which found favour in some quarters before and during the late conflict, that but for Mr. Gladstone, the Home Rule question would have no genuine political vitality, and, that were he to disappear from the scene, we should hear no more of it. This is a misreading of British political history generally, and of Mr. Gladstone's public career in particular. Mr. Gladstone's success as an apostle in the field of political theory has lain not in the originality of his ideas, but in his vehement and eloquent advocacy of such as he has become persuaded of the truth of. His success in the field of practical statesmanship has lain in his capacity for discovering when certain theories are ripe for application, and in the skill with which he has applied them. He may have hastened the principle of Home Rule by some years, but he would be the first to admit that that triumph, whenever it may come, will be one not of a man but of a principle.

The personal or purely Gladstonian aspects of the late Election may, therefore, be dismissed in a very few words. It has been said that that election was, on the part of the winners in it, an effort to destroy 'one-man power,' and that it has been successful, that as Europe said in the beginning of this century *Assez de Bonaparte*, so Great Britain has now said *Assez de Gladstone*. It would be

alike useless and ungracious to speculate on Mr. Gladstone's motives. That a man of commanding personality, convinced that his ends are righteous, should seek to make that personality felt, that a statesman who has from his youth been immersed in public affairs, should have come to revel in legislation and administration, and be loath to go out of harness — such things are human, and it may be doubted if they are errors. The fact remains plain, palpable, indisputable, that, if Mr. Gladstone has, owing to his espousal of Home Rule, been driven from power, or will shortly be driven from power, never to return—a daring assumption when one thinks of his amazing physical vitality, and the still more amazing moral courage and enthusiasm which sustain and probably prolong that vitality—he has not fallen in the pursuit of personal comfort or aggrandisement or in the defence of class or privilege, but in the furtherance of a popular, a national, a democratic cause. Whether the late election was or was not a 'people's battle,' whether it was or was not in the strictest sense a fight between 'the masses' on the one side and 'the classes and dependants of class' on the other, there never was a conflict of the kind, in which class, caste, and privilege, blood, vested interests, and the long purse were so conspicuously arrayed on the one side, and the working man element in the nation was so exclusively on the other. However the fact may be disguised or overlaid by irrelevant considerations, this election is the first brush between the newly enfranchised democracy and the interests and orders that are, in self-defence, resisting the equalisation of political power and the scientific redistribution of national property. If the 'one man power' has been borne to the ground in this engagement, it is the power of one man who has been chosen by the democracy to fight against these interests and orders. The fact is an absolute guarantee both that this engagement is only t beginning of the campaign, and that 'the one man power'
Rule, revived, although not perhaps in the person of the
weeks. eader of the hour. As for Mr. Gladstone, he
England the period of life when moral successes alone are
ultimately r perhaps even capable of attainment. A few
practical sta.

days or weeks may see him retire or driven from power. But a few years, perhaps even a few months, may demonstrate that he never gained a greater moral success than when he was beaten at the polls in July 1886, may even convert that moral success into a political victory.

WILLIAM WALLACE.

July 15, 1886.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Revelation of St. John. By WILLIAM MILLIGAN, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

This work of Dr. Milligan's is somewhat of a puzzle to the critic. There is so much in it to approve and so much that provokes discussion that to do justice to it in a few lines is impossible. All that can be done here is to notice one or two points and to recommend the reader who is interested in the subject to read the lectures for himself. The tone of the book is calm, reverent, scholarly, as far removed from fanaticism and as different from most books that attempt to explain the visions of the Seer of Patmos as possible. Dr. Milligan has evidently thought long and deeply over the Seer's visions, and has done his best to make them intelligible from his own point of view. Whether that point of view is the correct one is another question, and one on which we can here scarcely touch. It is somewhat surprising to find a writer of such scholarly and intelligent habits of thought still adhering to the All or Nothing Theory. Yet such Dr. Milligan would seem to do. 'If one portion of the divine word may be dispensed with,' he says, 'why not all?' Surely, it is too late in the day to put any such question. It seems to us little better than a rhetorical flourish. The arguments which are here urged for the retention of the Apocalypse in the Canon, strike us as neither the best that can be urged nor sufficient. We are not disposed to exclude it; on the contrary, we are strong for its retention; but had we any disposition to deny its canonicity, Dr. Milligan's arguments would tend to confirm us in it. The difference between the style of the fourth Gospel and that of the Apocalypse may be easily explainable, but the explanation does not seem to us to lie in the direction Dr. Milligan suggests. According to him: 'In the former, St. John was writing narrative and describing facts. In the latter, he dwells upon the spiritual impressions which the facts produce.' Revelation we always thought had to do with facts alone, not with impressions. In his vision in Patmos St. John, we always understood, had vision of the powers of the unseen, eternal world; but perhaps it is less correct to say that in the book of Revelation St. John records what he saw of these than it is to say that he dwells upon 'the spiritual impression' they produced on his mind. The parallelism between the book of Revelation and the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel, as also that between the book of Revelation and the life of Christ is interesting; but what one would like to know is, is it accidental or designed? Notwithstanding that most modern scholars fix the date of the composition of the book in the reign of Nero, Dr. Milligan reverts to the old opinion

that the Apostle composed it in the reign of Domitian. The number seven he regards as the sign for totality, and thus it would appear that in his opinion the seven churches addressed in the opening chapters of the Apocalypse are not the seven churches named, but ideal sections of the church universal. We prefer to regard the book as historical, as descriptive in highly figurative language of things which then were and were immediately about to happen. Had the early Christians not felt that it had an actual meaning for themselves and for their own generation, and had it been in their opinion that purely prophetical book which many have since imagined it to be, we may be tolerably certain it would never have survived to the present. Being historical in the sense we have described, dealing with things which then were and were immediately about to happen, and dealing with them as for the most part manifestations of eternal principles, it could not fail to be also in a measure prophetical, and has a right on this account to be regarded as the prophetical book of the New Testament dispensation. Here we come into pretty close agreement with the view respecting the character and meaning of the book maintained by Professor Milligan. On many particulars we are compelled to differ from him, but we can heartily commend his lectures as an exceedingly valuable contribution to the literature on the Apocalypse, and as one which deserves to be read by all who take an interest in the subject, and even by those who do not.

Historic Aspects of the à priori Arguments Concerning the Being and Attributes of God. The Honyman-Gillespie Lectures for 1884. By J. G. CAZENOVE, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

For the initial series of the Honyman-Gillespie lectures Dr. Cazenove has appropriately chosen a subject with which the name of Mr. Honyman-Gillespie, in memory of whom the lectureship has been founded, is, and probably always will be, very closely associated. As most are aware, Mr. Gillespie devoted the larger part of his life to the elaboration and defence of the à *priori* argument for the existence and attributes of the Divine Being, and what Dr. Cazenove has here undertaken is to give a succinct history of the argument. Probably the only complaint the reader will be disposed to make will be in respect to the brevity of the lectures. Dr. Cazenove writes so clearly and with such marked ability that one could well wish that he had devoted more space to his subject and dwelt on it at greater length. Besides dealing with the history of the argument, which he traces back from Anselm to Augustine and Plato and onward to Descartes and Mr. Gillespie, he notices a variety of criticisms to which the argument has been subjected. Dr. Cazenove himself, as we need hardly remark, accepts the argument as valid. For our own part, looking at the argument simply as a piece of logic, we cannot. Most of the criticisms

which Dr. Cazenove notices and refutes touch only the outskirts of the argument. Nor can we accept Dr. Flint's statement that Anselm has triumphantly refuted the objection of Gaunilo. The real question at issue : does the existence of the idea of a thing prove the existence of the thing itself? has not been proved and is usually avoided. That it suggests the existence of the thing may be admitted, but suggestion is not proof. This, however, is not the place to enter upon a discussion of the subject. Dr. Cazenove, we may observe, has done good service by distinguishing between the *à priori* and *à posteriori* elements in the so-called *à priori* argument ; and still greater service by setting forth the argument and its history with a clearness and brevity rarely equalled, and with an attractiveness which those who have tried their hand at this species of writing can only admire.

St. Paul the Author of the Acts of the Apostles and of the Third Gospel. By HOWARD HEBER EVANS, B.A. Second Part. London: Wyman & Sons. 1886.

This second part of the Rev. H. H. Evans' work consists of a series of appendices to the first, giving additional instances of similarities in phraseology in the Pauline Epistles, the Third Gospel, and the Acts of the Apostles, and parallelisms between their historic data with other matters which he considers go to strengthen his argument. We are sorry to see so much valuable scholarship, laborious industry, and unwearying perseverance, wasted on so vain and unprofitable a task as that to which they have been here consecrated. Not that Mr. Evans' volumes are altogether useless or form utterly unprofitable reading. The similarities in language and in modes of thought and expression and the parallelisms on many points in evangelical history which he tabulates, etc., are both interesting and useful, though not new to Christian students, but they do not, and no number of them can ever establish identity of authorship with respect to these New Testament works in the face of such grave discrepancies and contradictions in matters of fact as we pointed to as existing between the Acts, and St. Paul's Epistles, when noticing the first part of Mr. Evans' book.

History of Interpretation: Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year MDCCCLXXXV on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton. By F. W. FARRAR, D.D., etc. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

The history of the interpretation of the Holy Scriptures is a large, difficult, and melancholy subject. Whether it is possible to deal with it exhaustively and satisfactorily within the compass of eight lectures of anything like a moderate length may be doubted. That Dr. Farrar's attempt is scholarly and able need hardly be said, but in respect to its success there will probably be a difference of opinion. The mode of treatment he has

adopted is partly historical and partly rhetorical. It would have been better if the historical alone had been adhered to. In histories rhetoric is out of place : facts are always more eloquent than words. At the end of each lecture, and here and there in the body of the lectures, Dr. Farrar drops, or rises, into the hortatory style, for the reason we suppose, that considering the character of his audience something of the kind was requisite. In dealing with the history of the interpretation of the Scriptures, the proper plan to have pursued we should have thought would have been to treat the history of the interpretation of each Testament separately. This plan, however, Dr. Farrar has not followed. He has treated the two as one, with the result that the reader gets no very clear idea of the subject. The division adopted, however, is in some respects convenient. It fits in with the number of lectures to be delivered admirably and has other and more substantial merits to commend it, though it has the demerit of omitting one period which the majority of students and readers will be most curious to learn something about. Of the history of the interpretation of Scripture in Apostolic times, and of the way in which the Old Testament is interpreted in the New, Dr. Farrar says nothing. This is certainly an omission which in a book of the kind is difficult to explain. Of course Dr. Farrar deals with the methods of the Apostolic Fathers, but their opinions on the subject are of less importance than those of the inspired writers themselves. The lecture on Rabbinic Exegesis contains a vast amount of curious information, shows large reading, and will undoubtedly interest the student. The same may be said of the lectures on the Alexandrian, Patristic and Scholastic exegetes, but curtailment here might have left more space for the treatment of the ways and methods of exegetes of more recent times. Want of proportion, in fact, is one of the chief faults of the book. Much that is said in the lecture on the Jewish Schools might have been put with advantage into an appendix. Philo is scarcely worth the trouble Dr. Farrar has taken with him. On the other hand, the Mystics of the thirteenth and two following centuries deserve more attention than is here bestowed upon them; so also do Zwingli, Gesenius, Ewald, De Wette, and a number of others we might name, both German and English. Spinoza's influence on the interpretation of Scripture has been much greater than Dr. Farrar seems to suppose. It is scarcely correct to say 'Erigena unhappily was not a commentator.' His commentary on the fourth Gospel proves the contrary. It is quite true, however, as Dr. Farrar forcibly observes of him that 'alone among his predecessors, contemporaries, and successors, he shows independence and originality,' if we except one name. As in most other of Dr. Farrar's works the footnotes form a leading feature. Here many of them are good ; but some of them, so at least it seems to us, might have been left out. But find what fault we may with Dr. Farrar's lectures one is compelled after all to acknowledge their scholarship, their ability, their enlighten-

ment, their breadth and liberality of spirit, and that, notwithstanding their defects, and it was impossible that they should not have some, they form the most masterly work on the subject which English theology has yet produced.

Nature and the Bible: Lectures on the Mosaic History of Creation in its religion to Natural Science. By Dr. Fr. H. REUSCH. Translated by Kathleen Lyttelton. 2 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1886.

Though written from the standpoint of the Roman Catholic Theologian, these lectures may be read by Scientists and Protestants with considerable profit. They are pervaded by a free, liberal, enlightened, and reverent spirit, and the opinions they contain are very different from those which are usually to be met with in works dealing with the relations between the Bible and Science. With several of the opinions Dr. Reusch enunciates we cannot agree, but when he comes to deal with his subject we usually find ourselves in agreement with him. Here he writes with a discrimination and judgment which cannot be too highly commended. The object of supernatural divine revelation, he maintains, is never the extension of our profane knowledge, and the Bible therefore is nowhere intended to give us strictly scientific knowledge. This is by no means, as Dr. Reusch points out, a statement which is new, nor one that has been wrung from theology by modern science. It was inculcated in the Middle Ages. Most writers on the relation between Science and the Bible have ignored it, and hence the confusion and logomachies into which they have fallen. Dr. Reusch keeps it steadily before him and is thus enabled to maintain that Science and Nature are not and can not be opposed to the Bible or faith. The Biblical writers, he tell us, received supernatural enlightenment from God, but the object of this enlightenment and of the divine revelation altogether was only to impart *religious* truths, not profane knowledge, and we may, therefore, without diminishing from the respect due to the holy writers, or in any way weakening the doctrine of inspiration, safely allow that the Biblical writers were not in advance of their age in the matter of profane knowledge, and consequently of natural science. It is somewhat difficult, however, to reconcile with this the statement that by reason of the *inspired* character of the Bible, we may expect to find no errors even in natural science, or the statement of St. Thomas that whatever is not of dogmatic importance is mentioned by the Bible correctly no doubt, because it is inspired. But though now and again a little hampered by his theological prepossessions, Prof. Reusch usually writes with great freedom, and always with ingenuity and ingenuousness. As to Science, he is careful to point out its imperfection, and to emphasise the difference between hypothesis and theory and ascertained fact. His first volume is mainly devoted to an examination of

the first chapters of Genesis. Among the subjects more or less extensively dwelt upon are, Astronomy and the Bible, Geology, the Palæontological history of the Earth, fossils, and the Deluge. The Hexameron, of course, comes in for a large share of attention. As to the Biblical narrative of it Prof. Reusch observes 'no impartial person can read the first chapter of Genesis without seeing that in it God is represented as the Creator of all things; man as the centre of the earthly creation and the Sabbath as the day to be kept holy in honour of the Creator of the world. Any one may learn these things from this chapter, but this is all which any one is intended to learn, for this alone is of religious importance. The rest, the form and development of these truths is not of religious importance, and if only these facts are borne in mind, the construction of each detail is quite unimportant to religion, and only of scientific interest.' The second volume deals chiefly with the theory of descent, the unity of the human race, and the antiquity of man. The work, we need hardly say, is of profound and perennial interest, and it can scarcely be too highly commended as in many respects a very successful attempt to settle one of the most perplexing questions of the day. It is impossible to read it without obtaining larger views of theology, and more accurate opinions respecting its relations to Science, and no one will rise from its perusal without feeling a deep sense of gratitude to its author.

An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. By LOUIS CLOQUET. London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1885.

While painstaking and scholarly, this exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles is emphatically Protestant. Perhaps it is the nature of such works to be controversial, but whether or not Mr. Cloquet has brought into prominence most of the heresies which have prevailed in the ancient or modern Church and has attempted to refute them. As a handbook of theology the student will find the volume extremely useful. There are few controversies on which Mr. Cloquet does not touch, and as his remarks are illustrated by copious extracts from the principal theologians both of modern and of ancient times, the reader is spared much trouble, and has the advantage of having in Mr. Cloquet's exposition a large body of theological information in a very convenient shape. Mr. Cloquet's own views are based on the Scriptures and on the writings of the Primitive Fathers and of the Reformers.

The Larger Life. Studies in Hinton's Ethics. By CAROLINE HADDON. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co. 1886.

'It frequently happens,' Miss Haddon says, 'that an original thinker is not the best expounder of his own ideas.' Of James Hinton it may be said that he never even assayed the task, to any extent. Ever searching

in the mines of thought, he was the finder of many rare gems, which he stored up, not only unpolished, but with much naturally adhering dross still cleaving to them. The time, for him, never came, to attempt to polish them, so that their brilliancy might be visible to all men. How he would have achieved that task none can tell. In *The Larger Life*, Miss Haddon has done valuable service in this direction. She aids us to see the man as he was, and thus, to some extent, to see from his point of view; the point of view of a man grasping with especially vivid earnest conviction the truth, that the root of all sin, sorrow, and suffering, is, 'the old dragon, Self'; and the practical part of whose teaching is but a long commentary on the text—'He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen?' The bases of his philosophy and ethics, his kinship with Hegel or Schopenhauer, his resemblance to Carlyle, are questions interesting only to the few. To the many; the burdened groaning mass of humanity, whose suffering lay so heavy on his heart, that practical part of his teaching is the vital part; the part which illuminates with rays of light and hope, the lowest depths of the darkness of sin and misery. It is easy, as Miss Haddon admits; very easy for those who do not like to follow where his teaching leads, to cavil at his peculiar interpretations, to stumble over his occasional misquotations, ignoring the fact that, save in a few instances, we are reading, not writings carefully prepared for publication, but hastily written notes of different trains of thought, and the conclusions suggested by them; but whosoever reads James Hinton's writings in a candid unprejudiced frame of mind, can hardly fail to see how, occasionally, his strange flashes of thought throw rays of light on some of the darkest problems of our earthly life. Perhaps, as yet, he is the voice crying in the wilderness; but his works have certainly drawn increasing attention within the last few years, and in *The Larger Life*, Miss Haddon has aided to draw still further attention to the fact that they are not merely interesting studies in ethics, or metaphysics, but enunciate principles of human conduct which, if fairly carried out, would soon make a deep and lasting impression on all those countless forms of evil upon which statesmen, politicians, and philanthropists, are labouring with but little success.

Truth in Tale: Adresses chiefly to Children. By W. BOYD CARPENTER, D.D., Lord Bishop of Durham. London: Macmillan & Co. 1885.

Of the beauty of these tales and of their fitness to win and retain the attention of children, and to convey to them lessons of the highest possible kind, there can be no two opinions. For this species of writing or preaching the Bishop of Durham has an aptitude amounting almost to genius. It is impossible for those who read them, no matter of what age, to miss the moral they contain or to fail to be interested in them. Besides the simplicity of the language and the selection and management of the

story, one of their chief excellences seems to us to lie in the fact that the moral is not tagged on to the end of the tale after the old fashion, but is clearly and unmistakeably inculcated, though not obtrusively, in the narrative itself. For educational purposes we can scarcely conceive of a better work of the kind to which it belongs.

The Olive Leaf. By HUGH MACMILLAN, D.D., etc. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

Imagination, poetry, and wise practical religious teaching are the principal characteristics of these quiet meditations on nature and man, as they are of all Dr. Macmillan's other writings of a similar kind. They remind one very forcibly of Wordsworth's lines—

'One impulse from a vernal wood
May teach you more of man,
Of moral evil and of good,
Than all the sages can.'

Dr. Macmillan's starting-point is generally, perhaps always, some passage of Holy Scripture, but the 'impulse' to its interpretation usually comes to him from the study of human life or meditation on the ministry or teaching of nature. And here it is too that he obtains his illustrations and that breadth and freshness of thought that give his papers so great a charm. In the volume before us we have some twenty or more papers, all discoursing of those subjects which come home to men's business and bosoms, and discoursing of them in the pleasantest and most attractive way. Some of them read like beautiful prose poems, as, for instance, those under the titles, 'The Olive Leaf,' 'A Tuft of Moss,' 'The Hospitalities of Nature.' Somewhat different, but not less beautiful in its teaching, is the paper entitled 'The Staff and the Sacrifice,' or the one immediately following it on 'The Thirst of God,' the central idea of which is suggested by the question, 'What, too, is the creation of man, but the satisfaction of a want of God?' and which recalls to the reader of Plato Socrates' speech on Love in the Banquet. Altogether, the volume is a charmingly instructive one, full of beautiful thoughts and incentives to high thinking and plain living.

Synoptical Lectures on the Books of Holy Scripture. By DONALD FRASER, M.A., D.D. 2 Vols. Fourth Edition. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1886.

Having run through three editions, these lectures are now re-issued with considerable improvements. For a long time they were unique, and have not yet been superseded. Of their utility their success as a literary venture is sufficient proof. Though dealing with questions of Biblical Criticism, some of which are at present keenly debated, the lectures are not too severely critical. Their aim is edification rather than criticism either destructive or constructive. Dr. Fraser belongs to what is usually called the school of liberal orthodoxy, and of that school his opinions are fairly

representative. When opinion is strong in favour of tradition he follows tradition; when a departure from it is supported by an approved weight of authority he departs from it. The Pentateuch he regards as partly compiled and partly written by Moses. The Solomonic authorship of Ecclesiastes he denies, and fixes its date at not later than 200 B.C. Judges he is inclined to ascribe to Samuel or to the reign of Saul, and maintains that the prophecies of Isaiah were all written by Isaiah the son of Amoz. However, it is not for the discussion of questions like these that the lectures have been written. Their aim is to help the reader to understand the general drift and purpose of each book of the Old and New Testament. Dr. Fraser's work is, from his own point of view, well done, and should prove informing to a large circle of readers.

The Hebrew Feasts in their Relation to Recent Critical Hypotheses concerning the Pentateuch. By W. H. GREEN, D.D. London: J. Nisbet & Co. 1886.

Accepting the Pentateuch as altogether the work of Moses acting under divine inspiration, and believing that its three codes of laws were neither completed at different periods, nor growths or developments, but have been handed down to us in precisely the form in which they were originally delivered to the great lawgiver of the Hebrews at Sinai, Dr. Green here delivers a vigorous assault against the theories of Wellhausen. First of all he gives a fair summary of those theories and states the objections which he is compelled to take to them. Next, we have a brief history of opinion respecting the Hebrew Feasts. Then, two chapters or lectures are devoted to an argument in proof of the 'unity' of Exodus xii. and xiii.; and the remaining lectures, four in number, are occupied with a discussion of the origin and appointment of the various Hebrew Festivals. The argument is conducted fairly and with much reference to the sacred text, but there is little chance of an agreement between the disputants. Neither Wellhausen nor Dr. Green seem to our mind to have proved what they seek to establish.

St. Paul's Teaching on Sanctification. A Practical Exposition of Romans VI. By JAMES MORISON, D.D. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1886.

A Commentary on any portion of Holy Scripture from the hand of so able and veteran a commentator as Dr. Morison is always acceptable. Some of his earlier works we have read with pleasure and considerable profit, though not always able to agree with him on every particular. In the general tone and drift of his present commentary we heartily concur. We doubt, however, whether it contributes anything new, or throws any additional light on the chapter dealt with. The translation is literal, sometimes too literal; for instance, 'walk-about' in v. 4 is no improvement on 'walk' of

the A. V.; it is almost grotesque, and fails to represent the Apostle's idea. In the exegesis Dr. Morison is not always able to shake himself free from the bondage of words and phrases. Admirable as his expositions of the Gospels are, it is doubtful whether he is capable of entering sufficiently for exegetical purposes into the thoughts of so subtle and imaginative a thinker as the great Apostle to the Gentiles. The mystical (or shall we say the imaginative?) element in St. Paul's writings has been a stone of stumbling to many commentators. Like most commentators Dr. Morison interprets St. Paul from his own dogmatic standpoint. Referring to the death which Christians are said, in v. 2, to have died with Christ, he says: 'It is death as the exhaustion of penalty that is spoken of.' St. Paul does not say so. The death spoken by him is not merely an exhaustion of the *penalty*, but so far as the believer is concerned of the *power* of sin,—a very different and much larger and grander conception than Dr. Morison seems to find in the Apostle's words. M. le Cene and the 'host of expositors' whom he represents are, we suspect, on right and not 'wrong' lines, when they set forth as the purport of the first paragraph of this chapter the following heading: 'The baptized ought to be dead to sin for ever. The new life.' By dying with Christ, or being baptised into His death, St. Paul certainly means much more than having 'got forgiveness of sin,' Like all Dr. Morison's works, however, the one he has now published is both scholarly and suggestive.

A Critical and Expository Commentary on the Book of Judges. By the Rev. A. R. Fausset, M.A. London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1885.

Mr. Fausset belongs to the old school of Biblical critics, and ignores the various theories and speculations which have recently been given to the world respecting the origin of the various books of the Old Testament. The Book of Judges, he believes, was written during the life of Samuel, and if not by him, by one of his disciples either during the reign of Saul or in the early part of David's reign. The chief worth of the volume, however, is not in its criticisms, but in its expository remarks. These are full of wise reflections, and bring out the moral and religious character of the incidents related with force and freshness. By the unlearned, and those who do not wish to be troubled with modern theories, but are satisfied with using the Bible for the purposes pointed out by St. Paul as those for which the Holy Scriptures were written, they will be found exceedingly helpful, being brief and practical, and always, as we need hardly say, full of instruction and evangelical truth.

A History of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. By Emil Schürer, D.D. Being a Second and Revised Edition of *A Manual of the History of New Testament Times.* Second Division. *The Internal Condition of*

Palestine, and of the Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ. Translated by SOPHIA TAYLOR and the REV. PETER CHRISTIE. 3 vols. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1885-6.

Of this very important and indispensable work for the study of the New Testament times, Professor Schürer has published the second division before the first, for the simple reason that it was the division of the original work which he first took in hand to revise, and the one whose revision he has first completed. In the process of revision the sections now published have undergone considerable expansion and have been greatly improved. As indicated by the title page, the three volumes the Messrs. Clark have now issued deal simply with the internal condition of Palestine and of the social, political, and religious life of the Jewish people in the time of Christ. In the first volume, the first section describes the general state of culture with special reference to the spread of Hellenism; the second enumerates and describes the Hellenistic towns, their constitution and government, then the towns of the strictly Jewish territory, after which follows an extremely full and elaborate discussion of the history, constitution, and jurisdiction of the Great Sanhedrim at Jerusalem; the next section is devoted to the priesthood and Temple worship; while the fourth deals with Scribism, and is the most interesting and important in the first volume. In the second volume we have six sections dealing with the three sects, Pharisees, Sadducees, Essenes, the School and the Synagogue, Life under the Law, the Messianic Hope, Judaism in the Dispersion, and Proselytes. Large and fruitful use has been made of the Mishna, and many points that have hitherto been obscure are elucidated. But interesting and instructive as these volumes are, they are far surpassed by the third, which, from a literary point of view, is also the best and most valuable. Here Dr. Schürer deals with the inner life of the Jewish people as expressed in the literature of the period under review. This literature he divides into the Palestinian-Jewish and the Graeco-Jewish, or the Palestinian and Hellenistic, and after pointing out the difference and affinities existing between the two groups, proceeds to give an elaborate account of their constituent pieces. Under the first of the groups are discussed such works as Maccabees I., the Psalms of Solomon, the Books of Judith, Tobit, and Enoch, the Testament of the Twelve Patriarchs, lost legendary works and books of magic and magical spells; while in the section devoted to the Hellenistic group, besides the Septuagint, Maccabees II., III., and IV., and the Wisdom of Solomon, the literary opponents of the Jews, to whom Tacitus was largely indebted for his knowledge of the Jewish nation, are treated of, as are also such Jewish apologetic writings as the attacks of Manetho Chaeremon, Apion, and others, called forth. Not the least valuable part of the volume is in the pages devoted to Philo of Alexandria. In short, such

is the copiousness of the new material which the author has brought to bear upon his subject that, if the remaining volumes of the work are revised in the same manner and with equal skill, this new edition of the *Manual* will stand unrivalled as a history of the Jewish people in the time of our Lord.

Gesta Christi: or a History of Humane Progress under Christianity. By C. LORING BRACE. Second Edition, with Corrections and Additions. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1886.

We are glad to see that this very excellent work has reached a second edition, and sincerely trust that it will find a still more extensive circle of readers. That it deserves to be very widely read there can be no manner of doubt. It contains the best evidence of the excellence and divine origin of the Christian religion that can anywhere be met with in the English language. In fact so far as we know it is a unique book. Mr. Lecky touches upon some of the subjects dealt with in its pages, and in other languages there are monographs covering more or less of the ground covered by Mr. Brace and perhaps with a greater fulness of detail, in consequence of their dealing with less extensive periods of history, but we know of no book in which the influence of Christianity is so completely traced as it is here. For Mr. Brace not only deals with the influence of the gospel during the first great period of the History of the Church, he deals also with what to us moderns are and always must be, the more interesting periods of the Middle Ages and Modern Times. To the majority of readers his book will open a new and remarkably instructive chapter in the world's history and in the history of the Christian Faith. The supplementary chapter on the influence of Christianity upon Art in the Middle Ages is a substantial addition which most readers of the original work will be glad to see.

The Church and the People. St. Giles Lecture. Sixth Series. Edinburgh: Macniven & Wallace. 1886.

These lectures will in their present form be doubtless very acceptable to the many hundreds, or we may say thousands who listened to them as they were delivered in a more or less abbreviated form from many of the pulpits of the Church of Scotland. Most of them are able contributions to a controversy which has contributed nothing to the ends of religion, and which most sensible people are hoping will be allowed to die away, in order that the energies consumed upon it may be transferred and devoted to the legitimate work of every section of the Church of Christ, the removal of moral wickedness and the promotion of righteousness and charity of thought and life.

The Growth of the Church in its Organisations and Institutions. Being the Croall Lectures for 1886. By JOHN CUNNINGHAM, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

These lectures are cleverly written and, to a certain extent, may be taken as furnishing a fair idea of the growth of the Church in its organisations and institutions so far as these are dealt with in their pages. Dr. Cunningham is nothing if not controversial, and there is enough of controversy in them to make them, as a rule, fairly attractive, but here and there just a little wearisome. Even a Moderator of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland is not absolutely infallible and must not expect that all his dicta will be implicitly received, or that they can be allowed to pass altogether unchallenged. Several of Dr. Cunningham's seem to us a little too sweeping, and before accepting others we should require grounds more relative than any here furnished. That the history of the Church furnishes an illustration of the doctrine of evolution may be taken as a truism, and we are not aware that any substantial addition to our knowledge has been gained by showing that it does. Dr. Cunningham travels over the old and well-beaten ground, but we fail to see that he has brought out anything that was not known before. That he illustrates the law of development with great force and clearness there can be no doubt, but we should like to have seen the illustrations gathered from a wider survey of the history of the Church. The only organisations and institutions dealt with are forms of Church government, the ministry, the office of teaching, the sacraments of baptism and the Lord's Supper, and the observance of Sunday as a day for rest and devotion. Of the matricula, xenodochia, brephotrophia, and kindred institutions; of schools, colleges and monasteries, etc., we hear nothing, though these were as certainly parts of the organisations of the Church as were the orders of the ministry, and had as much to do with the stability and spread of the Church as preaching had. Dr. Cunningham seems to have forgotten, too, that evolution involves disintegration and dissolution as well as development, and has omitted to show how it has come to pass that the organisations and institutions of the Church once so numerous and many sided are now in Protestant countries so reduced both in variety and number, if not in efficiency. The objection that to have done so would have involved too wide a survey of the facts of history, or would have occupied too much space, seems to us scarcely worthy of notice. What Dr. Cunningham's idea of the Church is we have some difficulty in making out. At times he seems to identify it with an organisation, and at others to speak as if the Church and its organisations and institutions were different things. A little definition might have been helpful, more especially with reference to the *ecclesia* of the New Testament. The statement, 'It is remarkable that Jesus never attempted to organise a religious community' is itself to say the least not a little remarkable. The selection and ordination of the Twelve looks very like an

appointment of officials; so also does the sending forth of the Seventy, to say nothing of the institution of the Lord's Supper, and the explicit command that the Twelve and all who followed them should observe it, or of the fact that when Christ died and before His resurrection a community already existed with its recognised functions and leaders. In common with others we have always regarded Christ as the founder of the Church; not in the sense that he furnished it with a 'paper constitution,' but in the sense that he gathered around him a number of men and women, attached them to himself and to each other, formed them into a definite society, gave them leaders, prescribed for them two institutions, appointed them a distinct mission and scattered in their minds those sentiments and ideas in which the more elaborate organisations of subsequent years germinated. This view is pretty distinctly borne out by the Gospels as well as by the Epistles, and the statement we have referred to, though possibly true in a very obscure sense, seems to us to be crude and misleading. We have marked several other passages of a similar kind. To discuss them here, however, would lead us beyond our limits. We can only add that though the lectures are marked, as was to be expected, by considerable ability, some of the statements, as well historical as theological, betray a lack of that carefulness and precision one has a right to expect from so accomplished a writer as the author of the *Church History of Scotland*, or even from a Croall lecturer.

Old Church Life in Scotland: Lectures on the Kirk-Session and Presbytery Records. Second Series. By ANDREW EDGAR, D.D., Minister at Mauchline. London and Paisley: Alex. Gardner, 1886.

Dr. Edgar here continues his excellent and instructive lectures on matters connected with the ecclesiastical history of Scotland from the Reformation down to the close of the eighteenth century. Though probably scarcely so interesting or popular as the one previously published, the pre-present series is quite as valuable for historical purposes as its predecessor, if it is not indeed more so. The subjects dealt with are the provisions made for the poor, those made for the education of the young, marriage customs, customs connected with baptisms and burials, and what may be called the ecclesiastical history of the parish of Mauchline from 1650 to 1800. The first and second lectures—those dealing with pauperism and education—are unquestionably the best, and, so far as the history of the Scottish people is concerned, the most important. In the first of them Mr. Edgar shows very distinctly what the actual economical condition of the country was during the period under review, and refutes pretty successfully the pessimistic utterances of Fletcher of Saltoun. Anything like our modern Poor Law did not of course exist. The poor were under the care of the Church alone, and so far as it is possible to make out, the Kirk-Sessions or the Kirk-Sessions and Heritors seem to have made fairly ample

provision for them. The sources whence the Kirk-Sessions drew their funds for the relief of the poor were principally assessments and church collections. These seem to have been eked out by benefactions or 'mortifications' and the hiring out of mort-cloths. Some curious calculations are given respecting the amount drawn from church collections, but one would like to have some reliable statistics produced, if any are in existence, as to the number who were in receipt of parochial relief. Fletcher's figures are very high. In this connection, too, some information is desirable as to the effect produced by the dissolution of the monasteries. The second lecture will be read with interest. Of its parochial system of education Scotland has always been proud, and few more instructive chapters can be found in connection with it than the one Dr. Edgar has here written. The lectures on the customs connected with baptisms, marriages, and burials are more legal than historical, though the historical is by no means wanting. Not a few curious things are brought to light in connection with each of the rites dealt with. Not the least interesting passage in the lecture on marriages is the extract from the Kirk-Session Records of Dr. Edgar's parish respecting the marriage of Burns and his rebuke by the Kirk-Session for its irregularity. The Kirk-Session was entitled to fine Burns, but, as the custom often was, left the matter to the generosity of the delinquent. This custom was followed in respect to the poet, and the minute bears that 'Mr. Burns gave a guinea note for behoof of the poor.' Dr. Edgar has done a good work in giving these lectures to the public. They are of much more than parochial interest and afford an insight into the ecclesiastical and social life of the country that is difficult to find elsewhere.

The Apostolic and Post-Apostolic Times; Their Divinity and Unity in Life and Doctrine. By GOTTHARD V. LECHLER, D.D. Translated by A. J. K. DAVIDSON. 2 vols., Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886.

The original edition of this work carries us back to the year 1849 when it obtained the prize offered by the Teyler Association in Haarlem, for the best essay on certain specified topics connected with the life and doctrine of the Primitive Church. Since then it has passed through a second edition, and quite recently it has been revised, altered, and in part re-written. The fundamental idea of the book remains unaltered; but it has here been set forth with greater fulness, and if anything with greater clearness. Dr. Lechler was one of the pupils of F. C. Baur at Tübingen, but his whole aim, or rather one of his principal aims in the two scholarly volumes before us, is to show that the idea which Baur contended for, and which has had so important an influence on the New Testament criticism of the last thirty years is not only not supported by a careful examination of the Acts of the Apostles and the Apostolic Epistles, but is in reality contradicted by them. That there was diversity in the Primitive Church, Dr. Lechler admits and shows; but that there was that decided antagonism

which Baur and his party maintain there was, he absolutely denies ; as also the validity of the whole theory of tendency writing about which during the above mentioned period we have heard so much. Not without good and sufficient ground does he remark that the perception of development had, at the time the controversy was at its height, been missed ; by some, because they were unable to distinguish ; by others, because they had no eye for unity. Orthodox theology saw in Apostolic Christianity an undivided unity, and failed to appreciate the difference between the Apostles individually and between whole groups of early Christian communities. Rationalistic theology, on the other hand, was disposed to find nothing but opposition between the doctrines of the Apostles, and overlooked the agreement which nevertheless existed between them. And hence the true historical process, the development which comprehends in itself both unity and difference, escaped both. In order to work out his idea Dr. Lechler subjects the Acts of the Apostles, the Epistles of the New Testament, and the Apocalypse to a careful examination. For post-Apostolic times the Teaching of the Twelve Apostles, the Epistles of Barnabas, Ignatius, the Roman Clement, and other similar writings are examined. In the present edition Dr. Lechler has adopted Godet's principle, 'une novelle vue suppose une novelle vie,' and instead of treating of the doctrines of the Primitive Church first, as in previous editions, has put the life in the foreground. The work, it is almost needless to say, is one of sterling merit. The spirit in which it is written may be gathered from the following admirable sentences :—'Free critical investigation of and concerning Scripture must in the end be to the advantage of the truth : it will serve partly to confirm old truth, partly to bring new knowledge to light. We are persuaded that a truly free examination will result in a conviction that the gospel of Christ is actually "a power of God unto salvation."'

The Religious Aspect of Philosophy : A Critique of the Bases of Conduct and Faith. By JOSIAH ROYCE, Ph. D. Instructor in Philosophy in Havard College. Boston : Houghton, Mifflin, & Co. 1885.

This is a thoroughly brave, honest and independent work, keenly analytical, intensely skeptical, but reverent and earnest. Its aim is to examine the grounds of faith and conduct and to discover those principles of conduct which are sufficient to satisfy even the most skeptical. While largely negative, therefore, it is in the main positive, and always more or less practical. As an illustration of that turn of mind which rejects authority and seeks to examine and give an account to itself of its own faiths and hopes it is admirable. That it is a thoroughly original work we need hardly say. Though well acquainted with all previous systems of philosophy, more especially on their ethical side, Dr. Royce is by no means held captive by them. He is as independent of Mr. Spencer and contemporary writers as he is of Plato and the Stoics, and subjects their ideas to the most search-

ing criticism. At the same time he is superior to prejudice and acknowledges the existence of truth wherever he finds it. With the Evolutionists he has little sympathy, but whenever he comes across any real service they have done in the cause of ethics or philosophy his acknowledgement of it is ungrudging; as for instance in the following passage: 'We reject wholly the notion that Mr. Spencer or any like teacher has even caught a glimpse of the fundamental ethical problem. Mr. Spencer seems to be in the most childlike ignorance that there is any such problem at all. But we are glad to find that Mr. Spencer once having very illogically accepted a partially correct fundamental notion about the ideal of life, does suggest a good deal about this problem of applied ethics with which we are now dealing. He does tell us some very sensible things about the attainment of this ideal!' Nor does Dr. Royce content himself with the bare assertion of the fact. He proceeds to tell us in a very instructive way what some of these 'very sensible things' are. The fundamental principle of conduct, Dr. Royce finds in the harmonising of the individual will with all other wills, from which he deduces the precept, 'Act as a being would act who included thy will and thy neighbour's will in the unity of one life, and who had therefore to suffer the consequences for the aims of both that will follow from the act of either.' This as he observes, says not merely 'Love thy neighbour as thyself,' but 'In so far as in thee lies, act as if thou wert at once thy neighbour and thy self. Treat these two lives as one life.' In Philosophy this principle and precept are undoubtedly new, but we do not know that they are new to literature or religion. Both the precept and the principle may as it seems to us be read in the saying of Christ, 'Love one another as I have loved you;' but be that as it may, to Dr. Royce belongs the privilege of having first demonstrated their validity. Several of Dr. Royce's chapters are pre-eminently excellent, as for instance, those in which he analyses the various moral ideals, and the one on the organisation of life. The least satisfactory seems to us to be the last, on Religious Insight. So far as the book goes it is good and we are full of admiration for it; but like most, or in fact all, skeptical books, it represents what for the most part is only a transitional state of mind. Excellent as its positive teaching is, it is inadequate to satisfy to the full the deeper yearnings of the human soul, and still less the mind that is 'sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought.' We live by admiration, hope and love, and though Dr. Royce has given us much to admire, the objects of faith and love are but faintly shadowed forth in his book. Still it is a work to be read and pondered, and none, we will venture to say, will rise from its study without great profit. It contains the foundations of a genuine philosophy of religion and the promise of more.

The Trial and Death of Socrates; Being the Euthyphron, Apology, Crito and Phædo of Plato. Translated into English by F. J. CHURCH, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

The inclusion of this little book in the well-known and admirably selected 'Golden Treasury' series is to be commended. Most of it has appeared before, but it is here revised, corrected, and enlarged. The translation, if not exactly literal, is easy, idiomatic, and sufficiently near to the original to give those for whom it is intended as exact an idea of Plato's thoughts, or, at least, of those of them which he puts into the mouth of Socrates, as is possible through the medium of a translation. The introduction is just what it ought to be for the purpose intended. Though not exhaustive, it is full enough to explain such points in the life and teaching of Socrates as turn up in the course of the dialogues to which it serves as a preface, and will be found a very pleasant and instructive piece of reading, both by those who are acquainted with the Platonic dialogues and by those who are not.

Chronicles of Lincluden as an Abbey and as a College. By WILLIAM M'DOWALL, F.S.A. Scot. Edinburgh: A. & C. Black. 1886.

In external appearance this book is all that can possibly be desired. Printer, paper-maker, artist, and binder have put forth their best skill and produced a volume which is in every respect a pleasure to handle and look at. Mr. M'Dowall, too, has done his part with skill. His pages are rich in antiquarian, historical, and genealogical lore. Altogether we have in his exceedingly handsome volume one of the most charming local histories it has been our fortune to meet with for many a day. Neither pains nor expense has been spared in its production, and it deserves to be equally popular with its author's well-known and valuable *History of the Burgh of Dumfries.* The work is all the more welcome as with the exception of what little was to be obtained from the pages of Chalmers' *Caledonia,* no reliable information was easily accessible about Lincluden. Until Mr. M'Dowall took the matter in hand its history was as neglected as its walls. That it did not deserve this neglect the story which he has now told of its chequered fortunes and of the many historical personages who have been more or less intimately connected with them, affords ample and convincing proof. Though not one of the great religious houses of the country, and unequal, perhaps in importance to those of Melrose, St. Andrews, Arbroath, Paisley, or Holyrood, it rose up among a people who were peculiarly situated, during one of the most interesting periods of Scottish history, and is associated with not a few distinguished names and several incidents of national importance. Founded about the year 1164 by Uchtred, son of Fergus the first lord of Galloway, who in the building of religious houses emulated the example of his sovereign David I., that sore saint for the crown of Scotland as he was designated by James VI., Lincluden, unlike the houses built in Galloway by Fergus, which were all intended for recluses of the rougher sex, was opened for a sisterhood of Black Nuns who followed the rule of St. Benedict. The heads of the

establishment were in the first instance in all probability drafted from the famous French establishments of Clugny or Marmontier. Uchtred made provisions for its maintenance and for two hundred and forty years it continued, quietly growing in importance and doubtless acting with silent but beneficent influence among the 'wild Scots' among whom it had been planted by its unfortunate founder. With perhaps two exceptions the names of its prioresses have been forgotten. The remains of the last, if Mr. Stark's conjecture be correct (and Mr. M'Dowall has produced good reasons for supposing it is), were interred in 1440 in Dundrennan Abbey, one of the houses built by Fergus, whither she had sought refuge after the suppression of her own house of Lincluden. The precise reason for the suppression of the Abbey is doubtful; but whether the charges of gross irregularities on the part of the celibates were well founded or not, Archibald the Grim, Earl of Douglas, brought his heavy hand down upon the place, sent the nuns about their business without consulting pope, king, or bishop, and turned the Abbey into a College with its provost, eight prebendaries, and twenty-four bedesmen; and a Provostry it continued to be down to the Reformation. The change was on the whole beneficial. As a Provostry, Lincluden acquired a social and political importance it had not before. For the many incidents and distinguished names which became connected with the place we must refer our readers to Mr. M'Dowall's interesting pages. Among those who are mentioned in them, are, besides those we have already referred to, the almost mythic figures of Ulgric and Dovenald, with the latter of whom Mr. M'Dowall seems to claim with not a little pardonable pride, some sort of connection; Comyn and Robert the Bruce; Devorgilla daughter of Alan and mother of John Baliol; the brave Galloway Duke of Touraine and his wife, the Princess Margaret, who surviving her husband founded a chapel at Lincluden in memory of him and endowed it with farms, bought *cum argente et auro*, with her own silver and gold, and to whom a very beautiful tomb was erected. Not the least interesting of the episodes in the history of the College was the visit in January 1461, of Margaret of Anjou with the Prince of Wales, who fled thither for refuge, after the battle of Northampton. The visit lasted some ten or twelve days. The Queen Dowager of Scotland travelled south in great state with her infant son James III. to see her, and Lincluden was a busy though sorrowful place. Quite as interesting though for different reasons, was the meeting summoned, in December, 1448, by William Earl of Douglas, of the great Border chiefs for the purpose of revising the rules of Border warfare. A grim meeting it must have been; but for a description of it and for 'the ordinances of warr' that were then 'sett doune,' and for many other interesting particulars the reader must consult Mr. M'Dowall's pages. A poet himself and well versed in all matters pertaining to Burns, Mr. M'Dowall has not forgotten to refer to the days Burns spent in the neighbourhood of Lincluden, nor to cite such passages

in his poems as refer to it. We should add that the charters and other ancient documents which Mr. M'Dowall has had occasion to use, are for the most part printed in full, and that he has consulted the convenience of his readers by giving where requisite exact translations.

History of the Scottish Expedition to Norway in 1612. By THOMAS MICHELL, C.B., H. M. Consul-General for Norway. London and Edinburgh: T. Nelson & Sons. Christiana: T. Bennett. 1886.

This is one of those books which while dissipating legends and mistakes, have the further merit of exhibiting the facts out of which the hallucinations they destroy have arisen. Of the legends which have gathered around Sinclair's Expedition to Norway in 1612, Mr. Michell has given a full account in the second part of his able and interesting volume, and in the first he has described that expedition as it actually occurred, so far as the new documents he has been able to obtain from the State Archives of Stockholm and Copenhagen, and the Register House in Edinburgh permit. The narrative afforded by these, it is almost needless to say, is very different from the poetical and legendary accounts hitherto popularly believed both in Norway and Scotland. What it is we will not here say, though the whole story may be told in a few sentences. We prefer to send our readers to Mr. Michell's singularly instructive volume, where they will find all that has been said, and all that can be said on the subject, told in a very simple and entertaining way.

India under British Rule from the Foundation of the East India Company. By J. TALBOYS WHEELER. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

Having written the history of India and several other works of importance connected with the brightest jewel in the British crown, Mr Talboys Wheeler here sets himself to the more popular and probably more grateful task of writing the history of British rule in India. The story is full of marvels and fascination, and, as it need scarcely be said, suffers nothing at the hands of so practised and capable a writer as Mr. Talboys Wheeler. If there is any fault to be found with his treatment of it, it is in respect to its brevity. Beginning with the foundation of the old East India Company, he traces the main lines of the development of British conquest and government in India down to the present day within the short compass of about three hundred pages. To many, however, in this busy age the succinctness of his narrative will be one of its chief recommendations; and certainly as an introduction to his larger works, or to Mill or to the writings of Dr. Hunter, nothing can be more admirable. The style is clear, vigorous, and rapid, and from beginning to end the story reads almost like a fairy tale. For those who wish to obtain a clear idea of what

Britain has done in India and are pushed for time, or even for those who wish to refresh their memories, Mr. Talboys Wheeler's is just the book to read.

L'Europe et la Révolution Française. Par ALBERT SOREL. Les Mœurs politiques et les traditions. Paris: Plon, Nourrit, & Co.

This is, from every point of view, a remarkable work. The subject, in the first place, is one which must, for a long time yet, command the attention of every thoughtful reader; it is, besides, the result of patient research; it is serious without being open to the charge of dulness, and the author's impartiality is one of its distinguishing merits. As the title sufficiently shows, M. Sorel's object has been to describe the attitude assumed by Europe towards France at the beginning of the Revolution, to show how far the different nations were themselves prepared to receive and develope the principles of social and political renovation which the eighteenth century *philosophers* had done their best to advocate, and to account for the fact that France took the lead in that tremendous movement of which we have not seen the final consequences. In filling this extensive *programme*, M. Sorel has availed himself of all the sources of information which contemporary memoirs, pamphlets, and other *pièces justificatives* placed at his disposal, without neglecting the modern works of M. de Tocqueville, M. Taine, M. Léonce de Lavergne, etc. We may say that M. Sorel's leading principle in the composition of his work will destroy many illusions which people still entertain on the international policy of Europe at the beginning of the French Revolution. Of course there was an ideal of government about which Voltaire, Rousseau, Mably, and Diderot talked very glibly, just as Fénelon in his *Telemachus* propounded to the imitation of his contemporaries the republic of Salentum; but whilst extolling that ideal and exchanging high-flown phrases about philanthropy, sentiment, liberty, and the sovereignty of reason, Catherine II., Frederick the Great, and the Emperor Joseph, took good care not to depart from the fundamental principles which since the sixteenth century lay at the root of all government, and thus, when the fatal hour had at last arrived, they found themselves powerless before the storm. The French nation had carried out resolutely and consistently the doctrines which in the remaining states of Europe were regarded as harmless utopias and idle fancies. After the first enthusiasm of the Revolutionary wars had spent itself out, by the most extraordinary of all changes the monarchies of Europe abdicated their constitutive principle in order to treat with France, and a corresponding transformation took place on the part of the nations of the Tricolor, each side thus turning completely round. In order to explain thoroughly the origins of modern diplomacy, M. Sorel has been obliged to treat his subject *ab ovo*, so to say; but no reader will regret having to follow so able a guide in this kind of retrospective journey. The volume is divided into two books,

the former one being a general summary, whilst the latter, dealing with each nationality separately, explains how far it was prepared to enter upon a career of political and social reform; or, on the other hand, to oppose the diffusion of the new theories advocated by the members of the French Constituent Assembly. A concluding chapter deals with the ultimate results of the Revolution, the causes which determined the place of its origin, and the courts which transformed it into a species of military despotism.

Portraits du Grand Siècle. Par CH. L. LIVET.

Madame de Sévigné Historien. Par FR. COMBES. 2 vols., Paris: Perrin, 1885.

We have classed together as subjects of the same article two volumes referring to the same epoch, and, in great manner, introducing us to the same characters. Messrs. Ch. Livet and Combes are well known, we doubt not, to those amongst our readers who feel interested in the age of Louis XIV. and in the society of Versailles at that brilliant period; the former has taken under his especial protection the *Précieux* and *Précieuses*; the latter has sketched in an excellent book the character of the Princess de Ursins, who, together with Madame de Maintenon, occupied so prominent a place during the closing years of the reign. There might be, perhaps, something to say about the expression *grand siècle* used by M. Livet, and Saint Simon, to name no other writer, has done much to strip the age of Louis XIV. of the fictitious glory with which it has long been surrounded; but we shall not quarrel on the title of the volume, and our author has certainly picked out some of the most striking and original figures in a gallery where the only difficulty for a painter is what our neighbours on the other side of the channel would call *l'embarras du choix.* The admirable manner in which M. Livet makes his heroes and heroines sit for their portraits is sure to strike every reader. Another great recommendation is to be found in the fact that most of the personages submitted to our notice are but slightly known to the majority of the English public, and therefore the merit of, at least, comparative novelty, is superadded to that resulting from the qualities of the style. Madame de Chantal, of course, is tolerably familiar to those among our friends who have studied the history of the Gallican Church during the seventeenth century; but, with the exception of a very few admirers of French literature, who has ever heard of Charles de Simiare, Cospèan, and *Antoine* Corneille? M. Livet has taken the materials of his volume from every available source; M. Combes exclusively borrows from Madame de Sévigné. He could not select a better guide, and he has managed to catch some of the brilliancy of the *sémillante marquise* in relating to us what he calls the *romance* of Lauzun and Mademoiselle de Montpensier, the extraordinary career of Cardinal de Retz, and the 'Saturday-afternoons' (we had almost said *the five o'clock teas*) of Mademoiselle de Scudéry. The ground covered by M. Combes is a suffi-

ciently large one, for the turbulent coadjutor of Paris takes us back almost to the reign of Louis XIII., whilst Madame de Maintenon naturally makes us think of the war of the Spanish succession, the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and the persecution of the Jansenists. There are also two chapters set apart for the dark episodes of the reign—the notorious poisoning cases, Madame de Brinvilliers, La Voisin, etc. M. Combes has nothing new to tell us on a topic which is still most imperfectly known, and which does not seem likely to be thoroughly sifted ; but, at the same time, he comments very fully on the details given by Madame de Sévigné, and those who would complete their investigations on that distressing subject should consult the late M. Ravaisson's *Archives de la Bastille*. We cannot conclude this brief and imperfect notice without thanking once more Messrs. Livet and Combes for two of the most interesting series of sketches we have seen for a long time on the reign of Louis XIV.

Louise de Kéroualle, Duchesse de Portsmouth (1649-1734). Par H. FORNERON. Paris: Plon, Nourrit, & Co.

If there is in the whole history of England an epoch which we would rejoice to see blotted out, it is the reign of Charles II. Nothing can exceed in vigour the description Lord Macaulay gives of that despicable king, and yet there is not one word in the noble writer's verdict which can be called exaggerated or written under the inspiration of prejudice. If our opinion needed confirmation we would refer our readers to M. Forneron's volume on the infamous Duchess of Portsmouth, published within the last four weeks, with Lely's portrait as a frontispiece and a facsimile of the heroine's handwriting. M. Forneron has spared no trouble to make his monograph thoroughly complete ; he has consulted all the best authorities, and the volume is very interesting, but at the same time very painful. We find in it the record of England's humiliations ; the king reduced to the position of a pensioner of *le Grand Monarque*, accepting meekly the dictates of a foreign prince, dismissing his parliament according to the caprice and the political views of Louis XIV., and condescending to receive in his palace as agents of the court of Versailles women of the most abandoned character. The Duchess Mazarin, *la belle* Francis Stewart, Lady Castlemaine, the Duchess of Cleveland, are the principal *dramatis personæ* in this book, together with Louise de Kerouallc (variously spelt *Quérouailles, Kéroual, Quérouel*, and *Kéroël*). M. Forneron compares the Duchess of Portsmouth with Agnes Sorel, whose only virtue was patriotism ; but the arrogant mistress of Charles II. had not even *that* merit ; for if during the space of nearly fifteen years she did the work of Louis XIV. and helped to strengthen the territorial unity of France, she certainly was not actuated by disinterested motives. In fact, the long and melancholy story of selfishness, debauchery, cowardice, consciences bought and sold, treason, and crime which makes up the reign of Charles II. supplies also the materials for the volume we have before us. M. Forneron shows us in an

interesting manner the policy of Louis XIV. towards England; his sketches of the leading French diplomatists of the time, such as Courtin, Barrillon, Colbert, and Panponne are all well drawn, but, as we have already said, the general effect is decidedly painful. Nineteen letters of the Duchess of Portsmouth are added by way of illustrative documents.

Eugène Delacroix par Lui-même. G. DARGENTY. Paris: J. Rouam, 1885.

This volume is neither a critical work nor a simple biography, but an attempt to place the great French master before the public as he is represented by himself in his own letters and writings. M. Dargenty, who has made the selections and to whom the necessary setting is due, has also availed himself of such assistance as he could obtain from the publications of M. M. Moreau, Piron, Cantaloube and Jean Gigoux, as well as from various papers by Paul de Saint-Victor, Th. Gautier, Baudelaire, and others, and is to be congratulated on having succeeded in presenting Delacroix in the various aspects of his character and life in so clear and beautiful a light.

Henry Bazely the Oxford Evangelist: A Memoir. By the Rev. E. L. HICKS, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

Mr. Hicks has discharged the duties entrusted to him of compiling a memoir of his friend the well-known 'Oxford Evangelist,' with considerable skill and fidelity. The materials at his command were not very numerous, but as far as possible he has allowed the story to be told by Mr. Bazely's letters and the letters of his friends. Bazely's life was certainly a noble one, and almost every page of the memoir bears witness to his indefatigable and self-sacrificing zeal on behalf of the poor and irreligious. So pure and generous an enthusiasm as his was is rare, and few lives form a finer contrast to the general selfishness. At the same time his scrupulosity, though reasoned and conscientious, forms a somewhat peculiar and not altogether pleasing offset in a character otherwise extremely beautiful. Some of his opinions seem to have been formed in the narrowest school. Organs and hymns in public worship he could not away with. In theological matters he appears to have been a strict Calvinist and to have preferred the somewhat rigid Confession of Westminster to the more hesitating theology of the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England. As for forms of public worship and Church polity he had a decided preference for those laid down in the standards of the Church of Scotland, though the son of a clergyman of the Church of England and educated at Oxford. This preference he showed by becoming a licentiate in the Church of Scotland, and subsequently, after a short period of wavering during which he dissolved his congregation and took orders in the English Church, by being ordained to the pastoral charge of St. Andrew's Scotch Church, Stepney, and by building the Church in Oxford in which

he ministered according to the forms of the strictest Presbyterianism during the later years of his life. His theological or ecclesiastical difficulties, however, Bazely never allowed to interfere with his one great aim of doing good to any who were in physical or spiritual destitution. His money and advice were at the service of all who were in need of them. His abilities as a theologian and a debater were great. He was also singularly ready in reply. 'One who was present on Abingdon racecourse with him' says Mr. Hicks, 'relates that a betting-man remonstrated with Bazely for coming there, saying that a racecourse was not the place for preaching, and that even the Bible said, "There is a time for everything." "Yes," Bazely replied, "and it also says that we are to be 'instant in season and out of season;' last Sunday I preached in my pulpit—that was *in* season; to-day I am preaching *here*—that is out of season." At this ready reply there was a laugh, raised at the expense of the man, and the crowd listened the more readily.' As a preacher, Bazely was a calm steady speaker, appealing to the intellect as well as to the heart, fertile in illustration and abundant in Scripture. Oxford will long remember him.

Shaftesbury (The First Earl). By H. D. TRAILL. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1886.

Mr. Traill has wisely chosen a middle course, and has sought neither to whitewash nor to blacken the character of the subject of his monograph, but to deal out to him a sort of even handed justice. This is as it should be, and Mr. Traill has, generally speaking, succeeded. That all will agree with him is scarcely to be expected. Shaftesbury's motives were not always apparent; nor is it possible at all times to assign the right reason for the movements of his shifty policy. The times in which he lived were peculiar, and even the most authentic documents belonging to them have about them the suspicion of being more or less tainted with prejudice. That Shaftesbury was as bad as Dryden represents him, no one now believes; and few will accept all that Mr. Christie maintains about him. Mr. Traill comes nearer to the truth, we suspect than either. Certainly he has followed neither the one nor the other; nor even Lord Campbell, nor Lord Macaulay. Of Shaftesbury's going over to the Parliamentary party in 1644, he writes—'I see no reason to doubt that Cooper's resignation was "a virtual removal," and that Clarendon's charge against him of having deserted the king through pique is at least partially true. I cannot see how even the most favourable critic of Shaftesbury's career can deny that ambition was at all times his master passion, and that we need scarcely look further than a disappointment of that ambition to find the adequate explanation of any important step in his life.' This last assertion is perhaps a little too sweeping, but there can be no doubt we imagine that in all Shaftesbury did ambition was an important element among his motives. In the matter of the Treaty of Dover, Mr. Traill maintains that Shaftesbury was neither as guilty as Macaulay and Lord Campbell say, nor as innocent as Mr.

Christie would make out. For the 'stop of the exchequer' he refuses to hold him responsible, and in support of his refusal claims among other things the fact that Dryden 'who left no word unspoken that may help his purpose of holding up Shaftesbury to hatred and contempt,' says nothing about the discreditable affair. That he was a time server he admits, but maintains that he was no worse than his rivals. The passing of the Habeas Corpus Act is undoubtedly Shaftesbury's greatest, perhaps his only claim to be considered an English worthy, and we shall not be far wrong probably if we say that it is because of his connection with this 'Palladium of English liberties' as Mr. Traill calls it, that he has been included by Mr. Lang in his series. That Mr. Traill has written an interesting book need hardly be said.

Some Personal Reminiscences of Carlyle. By ANDREW JAMES SYMINGTON. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner, 1886.

In this slim octavo volume Mr. Symington has gathered together a number of notes of conversations and interviews he had with Carlyle, with whom he appears to have been on terms of considerable intimacy. The notes are not very numerous, but are far from uninteresting. They have all, it would appear, been printed before, nevertheless one is glad to get them in their present handsome form. So far as their testimony goes they show Carlyle to have been a much kindlier man than he is generally supposed to have been. The picture they afford of Mrs. Carlyle, however, is scarcely so pleasing. Of the relations between the two Mr. Symington takes a sensible view, and his references to Carlyle's notes to his wife's letters are we think correct. One other point which Mr. Symington's jottings bring out in respect to Carlyle is his intense religiousness. Altogether Mr. Symington's little volume will do much to clear Carlyle's character of some of the unfounded charges which have been brought against it.

The Laird of Lag. A Life Sketch. By ALEXANDER FERGUSSON, Lieut.-Colonel. Author of 'Henry Erskine and his Kinsfolk,' etc. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1886.

Col. Fergusson has collected in this volume a number of interesting facts concerning the notorious Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, for long a name of terror, for longer still an execrated memory in Galloway and Dumfriesshire. The tendency of all the evidence thus brought forward concerning him appears to us to be to represent him, it would be perhaps too much to say in a more favourable, but at least in a less unfavourable light than that which current tradition throws upon him. A man of great energy and ability, and of a stern hard nature, his cruelties would seem to have been the outcome of a rigid determination to enforce, at all cost, the mandates of the law. There is no record against him of any extortion, or attempt to better his own fortunes at the expense of the persecuted Covenanters;

whereas, against Sir James Turner, in the Stewartry of Kirkcudbright alone, there were charges of unjust extortion 'to the extent of £30,000.' Considering the tone of the age this is a good deal to say in favour of Lag, who would also appear to have been, in business unconnected with his official duties, a man to lean upon; not only thoroughly capable, but trustworthy. Moreover he seems to have been staunch to his principles to the last, and to have expiated his fidelity to the exiled royal family by suffering and imprisonment, and by a sorely harrassed and burdened old age. Giving due weight to all the facts brought together by Col. Fergusson it is hard to avoid what appears to be his own conclusion; that had the Laird of Lag's lot been cast in more fortunate times, he might have left behind him the memory of a man who deserved well of his country for faithful, energetic, and valuable services. The reference to the curious modern dispute over the Wigton martyrs; a dispute which certainly has the appearance of having been originated by those who having resolved that a thing *should* not, forthwith set themselves to prove that it could not be true, Col. Fergusson incidently mentions a noteworthy little piece of indirect evidence; the existence of a draft of a petition prepared—though it seems uncertain whether it was ever presented to Parliament—apparently not more than ten years after the occurrence, praying that Sir Robert Grierson of Lag, may be apprehended and tried for his cruelties during 'the killing time,' in which special reference is made to the case of 'Marget Lauchlison,' and 'Marget Wilson.'

Circulating Capital. By an East Indian Merchant. London: Kegan Paul & Co., 1885.

The contributions of a business man to the literature of the currency question always deserve attention, more especially if they throw any new light on the subject; and even if they do not, the errors into which he falls are interesting as showing where science has as yet failed to make its meaning clear to the practical mind. According to an 'East Indian Merchant' political economy, so far from having proved itself a progressive science, has simply gone back since the days of Adam Smith till now; and the task which he has here proposed to himself is to sweep away the cobwebs of error under which Mill, Ricardo, and others have hidden the clear light of Smith. In his remarks on capital he demolishes, to his own satisfaction, Mill's statement that it consists in lands, houses, goods (which term includes gold and silver), and not in 'money,' and triumphantly asks, 'In what does the wealth of the Rothschilds or of the Banks consist if not in money?' A little inquiry might have taught him that of the wealth of the Rothschilds comparatively little is retained in the shape of money—no more, in fact, than is required for purposes of business. The best chapters in the book are those on seigniorage and bimetallism, and are worth reading.

Economic Aspects of Recent Legislation. By WILLIAM WATT. London: Longmans, Green, & Co.

The legislation to which Mr. Watt here calls attention consists chiefly of the two Irish Land Acts, the Agricultural Holdings Act, the Education and Merchant Shipping Acts. Besides dealing with these, he has sections also on the Artizans' Dwellings Act and the Employers' Liability Act. In the general drift of all this legislation he sees an active conflict going on between the principles of Individualism and Socialism. Mr. Newmarch, to whose memory the Essay is dedicated, and who, as is well known, was one of the most strenuous advocates of the doctrine of *laissez faire*, would probably, Mr. Watt thinks, have considered his pages tainted by too great tolerance of State action. Probably he would; but, whether or not, Mr. Watt has written in a very clear and intelligent way, and though he may not always carry his reader along with him, the latter will always feel that the subject is being fairly discussed, and with a very considerable amount of ability.

The Postulates of English Political Economy. By WALTER BAGEHOT, M.A. With Preface by ALFRED MARSHALL, Professor of Political Economy, Cambridge. Student's Edition. London: Longmans, Green, & Co. 1885.

The three papers by the late Mr. Bagehot on 'The Postulates of English Political Economy,' which appeared first in the *Fortnightly Review* and were afterwards incorporated in the volume of *Economic Studies* which Mr. R. H. Hutton issued some time after their author's death, are here reprinted in a handy form for the use of students. In the preface he has contributed to the volume, Professor Marshall pays a high and just tribute to the abilities of Mr. Bagehot as a Political Economist, and points out the loss which Political Economy sustained by his death. It is not necessary to enter here into the merits of the papers before us. It is sufficient to register their issue in a separate volume. To the readers of Mr. Bagehot's works, their suggestiveness and value is well known.

Greater Greece and Greater Britain, and George Washington the Expander of England. By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., etc. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

Mr. Freeman has here printed the lecture he delivered at the close of last year in Edinburgh, and his public lecture at Oxford on the birthday of George Washington in February last, and as an appendix to them has added the greater part of his article on Imperial Federation which appeared during last year in the April number of *Macmillan's Magazine.* The subject, which in all three pieces is virtually the same, is one to which attention has frequently been called in the pages of this Review. Mr. Freeman, as we need hardly say, has no new scheme of Imperial Federation to pro-

pound. His object is rather to criticise the idea of it and to show the difficulties in the way of its realisation, and this he does with great candour and acuteness. We cannot here of course enter into any criticism of his opinions, but we are free to admit that many of the difficulties he points out are well grounded, and that the views he throws out respecting incorporation as the alternative to federation are worth considering. Small as the volume is, it cannot but be regarded as an extremely valuable contribution to one of those important questions of the day which must soon call for settlement.

John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science. HERBERT B. ADAMS, Editor. Third Series, XI-XII. Fourth Series, I-VI. Baltimore, 1885-6.

Too much praise cannot be given to these excellent historical and political studies. They are all admirable examples of careful research and statement, and contain a large amount of interesting and valuable information which but for the zeal and conscientious industry of their authors might, and in all probability would, soon pass into oblivion, or become in some instances extremely difficult of access. The third series is concluded by a very able paper on the origin and administration of the city of Washington by Mr. J. A. Porter. The numbers for the fourth series are—'Dutch Village Communities on the Hudson River,' by Irving Elting; 'Town Government in Rhode Island,' by William E. Foster; 'The Narragansett Planters,' by Edward Channing; 'Pennsylvania Boroughs,' by William P. Holcomb; 'An Introduction to the Study of the Constitutional and Political History of the States,' by Dr. J. Franklin Jameson; and 'A Puritan Colony in Maryland,' by Daniel R. Randall. To students of constitutional and political history there is not one of these papers that will not prove both instructive and full of suggestion.

Public Opinion and Lord Beaconsfield 1875-1880. By GEO. CARSLAKE THOMPSON, LL.M. 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

Though but one name appears on the title-page of this book as its author, it would appear that it was originally intended to be the joint production of Mr. Carslake Thompson and Mr. Seymer Thompson. The latter, however, was compelled through the pressure of other engagements to withdraw from the work, and to leave the completion of it as well as the responsibility for its authorship to the former. The labour involved in its production has been considerable, and though its popularity may suffer somewhat on account of its want, in parts, of condensation, of its solidity and value either for present reference or for the use of future historians, there can be no doubt. Its subject is one of fundamental importance and deserves all the care Mr. Thompson has bestowed upon it. As described by him, the book is an attempt: (1.) to discuss the functions which the

genius of the English constitution assigns to Public Opinion; (2.) to discuss the methods of evaluation of Public Opinion in general, and to analyse English Public Opinion on the Eastern Question in particular; and lastly to show that in the events of 1876-8 Public Opinion was deprived under Lord Beaconsfield of its due influence on the foreign policy of England. In short, the two volumes form an elaborate and bulky indictment of the whole of Lord Beaconsfield's policy leading up to the Treaty of Berlin. In the prosecution of his work Mr. Thompson has searched far and wide, and consulted not only the leading newspapers of the day, but Blue Books, Parliamentary and extra-Parliamentary utterances, Review Articles, Political Memoirs, diplomatic despatches, and almost every other source capable of rendering him any assistance. The first of the three parts into which he has divided his work necessarily takes the form of a political or semi-philosophical discussion; but the plan adopted in the others, generally speaking, is this: Mr. Thompson first gives his own reading or interpretation of events as they arise from day to day, and then supports it with copious extracts from one or more of his many indications of public, Parliamentary, or diplomatic opinion or action. Into the numerous ramifications of his argument we cannot here follow him. It must suffice to say that he has done his work carefully, skilfully, and with a praiseworthy desire to be thoroughly impartial. In many parts his volumes are profoundly interesting, and from beginning to end suggestive and instructive. If they lead the newly created democracy to throw off the trammels of authority, to set aside the opinion of their so-called leaders, and to think freely and independently, and without prejudice on the various matters submitted to them, Mr. Thompson will have done a very considerable and much needed service.

The Theory of the State. By J. K. BLUNTSCHLI. Authorised English Translation. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1885.

The adoption of Bluntschli's *Allgemeine Statslehre* as a text-book at Oxford and Cambridge has made a translation of it indispensable. The translators have done their work with commendable skill, having succeeded not only in rendering Bluntschli's German into intelligible and idiomatic English, but also in the more difficult task of representing the technical terms of German law and politics by fairly exact English equivalents. The notes they have added, particularly those on points of English and Roman history, are judiciously introduced, and while supplying what was lacking in Bluntschli's information, serve to increase the value and usefulness of an already useful and valuable work. For the purpose for which it has been adopted the book is probably the best to be had, though from an English point of view it is scarcely all that can be desired; nor is it all that it ought to be as a text-book for English students. Writing from a German point of view and with his German prepossessions, though usually candid and fair enough as a critic, Bluntschli is frequently too exclusively

German, and one finds too little in his pages respecting the state and politics which lie nearest to those on whose behalf his work has been primarily translated, though probably quite as much as one is entitled to expect to find in a foreign work of its kind. The method Bluntschli professes to follow is neither the purely historical nor the purely philosophical, but a combination of the two. The advantages and disadvantages of following the one or the other exclusively are distinctly pointed out, but it is difficult at times to see that either the historical or the philosophical, or even a combination of the two, is followed. Taken as a series of descriptive passages the chapters on the conception and idea of the State are excellent, but here and there both the historical and the philosophical element are somewhat conspicuous by their absence. Little effort is made to show the process by which one form of the State has passed into another; and little or none is made to account for it, except in the case of the States of the middle ages, and even here the treatment is defective. The organic or psychological idea of the State undoubtedly contains an important element of truth, but as the translators remark in their preface, it is here pushed to an almost amusing extreme. Still, notwithstanding these and other defects, the book is superior to anything of the kind in English and deserves the encomiums which have been passed upon it on the Continent. It brings together a vast mass of materials in a handy form, is clearly and tersely written, and, though some of its theories will scarcely bear examination, contains many sound reflections and principles. It is a book to be read not only by the student in his closet, but also by all who take an interest in the making of politics, and particularly by those who are engaged in shaping the destinies of a country.

A Note on some Glasgow and other Provincial Coins and Tokens. By DAVID MURRAY, M.A., &c. Illustrated. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1885.

The four plates illustrative of this 'Note' are executed with rare skill, and in their way are simply perfect. The text, like all that Mr. Murray has written, exhibits great research and accurate scholarship. All that he has to say respecting the history of copper coinage in Britain is extremely interesting, and in several directions eminently instructive. His 'Note' extends only to some forty pages, yet it is surprising how much information he has packed into it respecting pennies, halfpennies, farthings, tradesmen's tokens, and mules. Within the same compass it will be difficult to find as much, and we heartily commend this valuable little work to the attention of our readers.

Scotland in Pagan Times. The Bronze and Stone Ages. By JOSEPH ANDERSON, LL.D. Edinburgh: David Douglas. 1886.

In this volume we have the last of the four courses of lectures which its author delivered on the Rhind foundation in connection with the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland in the years 1879-82. The first and second courses, it will be remembered, were devoted to the monuments and remains of early Christian Scotland, and the third to Scotland in the Iron Age. In the volume before us the remains of the Bronze and Stone Ages are dealt with. With the publication of it therefore the series is completed. As in its companion volumes we have here six lectures. Three of them are occupied with the remains of the Bronze Age, and three of them with those of the Stone Age. Following the method he has adopted from the beginning Dr. Anderson first describes the objects found, and then by a careful process of induction exhibits the indications they afford of the life and civilization of the people to whom they belonged. The first of the three lectures on the Bronze Age describes the underground burials of the period and various objects which have been found in them; the second deals with such well-known and perplexing remains as the stone circles of Stennis and Callernish, standing stones and such peculiar arrangements of stones as occur at Yarhouse, Garrywhin, and Camster; while in the last of the three lectures we have an elaborate description of weapons, implements, and ornaments of the period, with an account of its gold hoards. The lectures on the Stone Age deal in the same minute and exact way with the chambered cairns of Caithness, Argyle, Orkney, and Inverness, and their contents. Maeshowe here of course comes in for a large share of attention, as do also other less known burial places of the Stone Age. Of the merits of these lectures it is needless to speak. They are characterised by the same masterliness of arrangement, clearness of description, and accuracy of induction as those by which they were preceded; and with them form the most scientific and therefore the best and most reliable account yet in existence of the remains, life and civilisation of the inhabitants of Scotland during pre-historic and early Christian times. The volume we should add is profusely illustrated.

Ecclesiastical English: A Series of Criticisms showing the Old Testament Revisers' violation of the Laws of Language, illustrated by more than 1000 *quotations.* Part II. of 'The Revisers' English.' By G. Washington Moon, Hon. F.R.S.L. London: Hatchards. 1886.

In this volume Mr. Washington Moon again takes up his parable against the Revisers, and seeks to convict them of having perpetrated in their versions of the Old and New Testaments numerous violations of the laws of the English language. There can be no doubt that in many instances his criticisms are perfectly just, but in others many may be disposed to think that his remarks savour a little of hyper-criticism. His observations on the Revisers spelling are usually good. 'Stories' for 'storeys' is certainly

a mistake, but 'drave' is just as good as 'drove' and the Revisers, we imagine, were at liberty to use which they chose. Their knowledge of the English language and its laws, notwithstanding their blunders, was as large and accurate, we suspect, as Mr. Moon's. His criticisms on the use of the word 'tell' (to count), and 'let' (to hinder) are useless. The question with which he concludes his remarks on the former of these words suggest, though of course he does not mean that it should, that the Revisers ought to have made 'Thou *tellest* my wanderings' 'Thou *weighest* my wanderings,' and 'He *telleth* the number of the stars' 'He *weigheth* the number of the stars.' It is an old saying that those who live in glass houses should not throw stones. Mr. Washington Moon's English is sometimes no better than that he complains of. Here for instance is a sentence in which he is criticising the faultiness of the Revisers' rendering of Is. lix. 21. 'Here, in the latter part of the sentence,' he says, 'the words *saith the Lord* are redundant as they occur in the former part of it; but if for emphaticness it was thought necessary to repeat them, they should have followed the words *from henceforth and for ever*, seeing that those words refer, not to the expression *saith the Lord*, but to the eternity of God's covenant with his people.' In a new edition of his volume Mr. Moon might with advantage to his readers explain what words he means by '*those* words.' But we must content ourselves with saying that though Mr. Moon's criticisms are not always to be trusted, in very many instances they are sound, and that he has done a good work by calling attention to the mistakes by which the Revised Version is somewhat profusely marked.

Fragmenta Herculanensia: A Descriptive Catalogue of the Oxford Copies of the Herculanean Rolls together with the Texts of several Papyri accompanied by Facsimiles. Edited, with Introduction and Notes, by WALTER SCOTT, M.A. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1885.

This handsome, elaborate, and remarkably erudite work may be said to divide itself into four parts. In the first we have a catalogue of the Oxford facsimiles of the Herculanean Rolls, showing, to use the words of the Editor, what has hitherto been done, and what still remains to be done, towards utilizing the materials contained in the collection. The Oxford facsimiles are given first in the order in which they occur in the seven bound volumes of the Oxford collection, and then certain papyri which are known to form parts of the same work, or are closely connected by the similarity of their contents. In the second part we have the restored texts of the two rolls, pap. 157·152 and 26. The Naples facsimiles of these have already been published, and the Oxford facsimiles are here reproduced to accompany the text—those of 152 throughout and those of 26 where there seemed a likelihood of recovering the sense. The text of

three of the best preserved and hitherto unpublished rolls in the Oxford collection forms the third part; and in the fourth we have the Oxford facsimiles of pap. 1050 (Philodemus περὶ Θανάτου) and 817 (Carmen Latinum) printed from the plates engraved at Palermo in 1806-9 for Hayter's intended but unpublished edition. The discovery of these rolls is an old story and carries us back to the year 1752, when they were found in the house of Cæsar's father-in-law, L. Calpurnius Piso Cæseninus, at Herculaneum. At first they were mistaken for lumps of charcoal, which, in the state in which they were discovered, they closely resemble, and their real character was not made out until a number of them had been destroyed. Others of them were subsequently destroyed in unsuccessful attempts to open them. The honour of inventing a successful method of treating them, the method in fact which with some slight modifications, is still in use, belongs to a monk named Piaggio. The first result of the application of his method was the recovery of a considerable part of a book by Philodemus περὶ μουσικῆς. In 1800 the Prince of Wales, afterwards George IV., undertook with the consent of the Neapolitan government to have the unrolling and copying of the papyri carried on at his own expense, and sent out the Rev. John Hayter to superintend the work. Of Hayter's success Mr. Scott has given full and fair account, as also of the use made of the result of his mission. An account is also given of the attempts made to open a number of the rolls presented to the Prince of Wales by the Neapolitan government. Four of the rest in their unopened state were, in 1810, along with Hayter's lead pencil facsimiles and engraved plates, presented by the Prince to the University of Oxford, with a caution against undue haste in dealing with them, a piece of advice which, as Mr. Scott observes, the University cannot be accused of disregarding. As to the contents of the collection and its nature and origin Mr. Scott agrees in the main with De Petra and Comparetti. 'Of the Greek rolls,' he observes, 'a very large proportion are certainly, and a still larger proportion probably, the work of the Epicurean professor, Philodemus; and the rest are, almost without exception, such books as he would necessarily wish to consult, being the works either of Epicurus himself and leading Epicureans, or, in one case at least, of a notable opponent like Chrysippus. On the other hand, not a single Greek roll has been found which can be shown to be of later date than Philodemus. These facts would of themselves make it highly probable that the collection was formed by him; and the probability increases to something like certainty when we find that several of Philodemus' own works were present *in duplicate*.' The Latin rolls belong apparently to a later date. Of these only twenty four in all have been discovered. Only one of them is even partially intelligible and contains the Carmen Latinum de Bello Actiaco, and must consequently have been written considerably after the date at which Philodemus wrote. Mr. Scott's notes and introductions are excellent. The same may be said of his attempts to reconstruct the texts

of the papyri. We regret that we cannot here enter more fully into the merits of his work. It exhibits a vast amount of labour and scholarship, and some time must elapse before its significance can be fully appreciated.

Lay of the Last Minstrel. Edited with Preface and Notes by W. MINTO, M.A. Clarendon Press Series: Oxford. 1886.

Professor Minto has formed a very just conception of the requirements of junior students when reading this most popular of Scott's poems, and deserves great credit for the skilful manner in which he has attempted to meet them. The preface is excellent both in matter and manner, and exactly what is calculated to give the student a clear idea of the character and machinery of the poem and to interest him in it. The notes are for the most part Sir Walter's, but have been judiciously selected. They have the merit of not being overburdened with the dry bones of philology, and of being just the sort of notes to throw light upon the text and add to its interest.

The Choice of Books and other Literary Pieces. By FREDERIC HARRISON. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

These literary pieces, dealing with subjects varying from the choice of books to the character and work of St. Bernard, 'the last of the Fathers,' are written with all the point, and vigour, and imaginative colouring which usually characterise the writings of the most distinguished of M. Comte's English disciples. Mr. Harrison is nothing if not a preacher, and it must be owned that his preaching is usually of the most attractive, if not of the most convincing kind. The first paper, which gives its title to the volume, has many points of excellence, and some faults, particularly that of being incomplete. The only writers with whom Mr. Harrison deals are the poets and novelists. There are many others of a different kind about whom we should like to have had his opinion. The study of their works we imagine is quite as requisite for a sound education as that of those of a more imaginative cast. It is quite true as Mr. Harrison remarks, that the Divine Comedy is 'the review in one vast picture of human life as a whole, and human civilization as a whole; all that it had been, was, and might become, as presented to the greatest brain and profoundest nature of the Middle Ages;' but how much the enjoyment of Dante depends upon a large acquaintance with books to which Mr. Harrison will probably deny the name of literature. The first half-dozen pages of the paper contain what may be take as a fair representation of the impression which the present fecundity of the press produces on a man of letters. To most readers who are not men of letters we are afraid they will wear the appearance of a jeremiad. Mr. Harrison blames modern readers for indulging in magazine articles and reading books about books instead of the books themselves. Not a few will probably feel disposed to turn round upon him with the charge that he has been art and part in the fault.

Among the many translations mentioned we miss any reference to Professor Jebb's *Sophocles*. The translation is only in course of publication it is true, but it deserves mention as promising to be at least equal to any of those enumerated. The dialogue on Culture is lively. Among the remarks it suggests is the one, whether true or otherwise, that there are writers whose opinions Mr. Harrison has as much difficulty in understanding as they have in understanding his. While thoroughly agreeing with much that is said in the essay on Froude's *Carlyle*, there is much in it from which we dissent. The criticisms on the book seem to us to be much over done. 'Foul odours, as from a charnel house, have been suddenly opened on us,' is a statement which cannot be justified. Nor can we accept the statement that Carlyle believed latterly in nothing and in no one but himself. There are manifest proofs we think to the contrary. The paper on Bernard of Clairvaux is an interesting if curious study. Mr. Harrison approves Bernard and condemns Abelard. Bernard unquestionably did many good things and was a great power in his day, but we doubt whether after all his influence was on the whole directly in the interests of humanity. If a rigid conservatism is, it was. On the other hand, while we have no great opinion of the character of Abelard, we cannot accept the statement that his influence was wholly mischievous. If new books are to be avoided because they beget new thoughts, as Bernard is reported to have said they are, Abelard was a teacher whom the less he was known the better. But if he who helps to break the bonds of dogmatism and to make men think for themselves is a benefactor, Abelard has as many claims to be considered one as Bernard, perhaps more. But differ as the reader may from Mr. Harrison, he will scarcely find a page in these literary pieces which is not suggestive. They form one of the most readable and instructive books we have seen for some time; a further instalment of them is much to be desired.

The 'Kingis Quair.' By KING JAMES I. of Scotland. Modernised by WM. MACKEAN. London and Paisley: Alex. Gardner. 1886.

Mr. Mackean has a very high and commendable admiration both for the memory and the *Kingis Quair* of James I. His admiration is combined with intelligence and reverence and he has not ventured to meddle in any way with Professor Skeat's excellent text of the poem. His modernisation of it consists in simply glossing the archaic words or such as may not be readily understood by the reader, in the margin. For the most part, in fact with very few exceptions, his interpretations are excellent, and even where exception may be taken to them they can not fail to be of service to the reader whose acquaintance with the old Scottish dialect is imperfect. Mr. Mackean has prefixed to the text a brief but well-written account of the poet-king. He has made the mistake, however, of making him responsible for the death of Cranmer instead of laying to his charge the fault of allowing the execution of Paul Craw.

The Cruise of Her Majesty's Ship Bacchante 1879-1882. *Compiled from the Private Journals, Letters and Note-books of Prince Albert Victor and Prince George of Wales.* With additions by JOHN N. DALTON. 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

Apart altogether from the names which appear on their title-pages, these two handsome volumes possess quite sufficient merit to command the attention of a very considerable number of readers. Though they make no claim to literary form, they are simple and direct in statement, abound in incidents of voyage and travel, and contain a large amount of accurate and valuable information respecting various parts of Her Majesty's dominions. Their principal attraction, however, is undoubtedly personal. Written by the two sons of the Prince of Wales (the 'Queen's Piccaninnies' as they themselves tell us they were called by the West Indian negroes), their interest in this connection is great and deserves the attention of all classes of Her Majesty's subjects. The indication they afford of their authors' characters and training are numerous and will be read with attention and pleasure. The voyage of the two young Princes was by no means a holiday cruise. The time they spent at sea was a period of hard work and discipline. It was intended to be so; for, as Mr. Dalton tells us, when the Prince of Wales determined to send them to sea, it was chiefly with a view to the mental and moral training they would receive as midshipmen in Her Majesty's navy. In every one of the Queen's ships, each officer, man and boy, has his special and individual duties to perform every hour of the day and night, with a routine that should be as precise and unvarying as clockwork. And as long as the young Princes were on board they were treated exactly as the other midshipmen and performed all the duties which usually fall to their lot; they took their turn in all weathers by day or night at watch-keeping and going aloft, at sail drill, or boat duty. There was no difference, Mr. Dalton assures us, not even the slightest, of any sort or kind made between them and their gunroom messmates. Of this there is ample evidence on almost every page of the volumes before us. There is ample evidence in them, too, that the Princes entered with spirit into the purpose of their voyage. Their interest in every detail of their duty is evident, and while picking up whatever information they could, they were at great pains to master the more important questions which are affecting the welfare of the places at which they touched. Mr. Dalton's share in the compilation of the volumes is considerable. The additions he has made to them will probably give rise to differences of opinion. Most of them touch upon questions still in debate, and though he has striven to be impartial, it is not difficult to see in what direction his opinions and sympathies run. The passages he has contributed are clearly marked off from the rest; but the principle on which the other parts are arranged is not altogether obvious. The first

person singular occurs from time to time, but the first person plural is of much more frequent occurrence, and one would like to know who was the writer of this or that particular passage, and to be able to assign it to its author. The diaries which form the foundation of the book are usually written in the plural. These diaries were kept by the Princes all the time they were away from home. They were written up every evening by their authors before turning in, both at sea and ashore, wherever they happened to be staying. Those portions of them which cover the time the Princes were in Egypt and Palestine were written out afterwards from rough notes and jottings made on horseback, or during the mid-day siesta, from what Brugsch Bey or Captain Conder had been telling them when face to face with the objects visited. In the compilation of the book Mr. Dalton has also drawn largely on the letters the Princes wrote home and from the note-books in which they set down the information they had heard from the lips of others, or gathered from the large and well selected library with which the ship was with great forethought provided. Such passages as Mr. Dalton has drawn from these sources he has given as they were actually written and has wisely abstained from any attempt to smooth down their inequalities or imperfections. The book, therefore, excepting Mr. Dalton's share in its making up, may be regarded as the Princes' book. We regret that we cannot here follow them in their cruise, and still more that we cannot indulge ourselves and our readers in the luxury of extracts. The passages ready to hand are numerous, for while there are but few of the entries in the diaries which are without interest, there are many which are both entertaining and instructive. One feature of the volumes which deserves special notice is their variety. The lands visited were numerous, and the subjects touched upon are equally so. Among the pleasantest portions of the book are those which cover the visits to the West Indies, Buenos Ayres, Australia, Japan, and the Holy Land. Everywhere the Princes prove themselves, for their years, shrewd observers. Here and there throughout the volumes there occur some very plain and strong statements on questions of importance, and occurring where they do we are glad to see them. The Princes appear to have made good use of the ship's library, and numerous quotations are given from a variety of writers. There is one passage in the Princes' diaries which, though it seems to be modelled on one we have see elsewhere, we must cite it, as it shows more distinctly than any thing we can say the manner of spirit with which its authors were animated, and in which they have looked at some of our foreign possessions and frequently written of them. It occurs when speaking of the great naval fights of Rodney and the other West Indian heroes of the last century. 'Truly here

> " The spirits of our fathers
> Might start from every wave
> For the deck it was their field of fame
> And ocean was their grave "—

Start and ask us, their sons—" What have you done with these islands

which were won for you with precious blood?" And what could we answer? We have misused them, neglected them, till at the present moment, ashamed of the slavery of the past, and too ignorant and helpless to govern them as a dependency of an over-burdened colonial bureau in London, now slavery is gone, we are half-minded to throw them away again and "give them up," no matter much to whom. But was it for this that these islands were taken and re-taken, till every gully and every foot of the ocean bed holds the skeleton of an Englishman? Was it for this that these seas were reddened with the blood of our own forefathers year after year? Did all these gallant souls go down to Hades in vain, and leave nothing for the Englishmen but the sad and proud memory of their useless valour?' The work is amply supplied with maps, all of which, except one, were drawn by the Princes themselves as part of their duties as midshipmen. The illustrations are numerous, but neither so numerous nor so well executed as we should have expected.

Wanderings in China. By C. F. GORDON CUMMING. Illustrated. New Edition, 2 Vols. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons. 1886.

All that we need do here is simply to accord a very cordial welcome to this excellent re-issue of a very delightful and charming book. To speak of its merits is needless. Always interesting and often amusing, its pages are crowded throughout with new and entertaining facts gathered at first hand in one of the strangest countries of the globe, by one who has the rare faculty of accurate observation in a very high degree and the still rarer faculty of recording what she has observed in clear, true, and exquisite English. Miss Gordon Cumming has written many excellent books of travel but amongst them this deservedly occupies a highest place, and is justly regarded and accepted as one of the best books on China which have yet appeared. The autotype illustrations are remarkably well done. The portrait is excellent.

Complete Glossary to the Poetry and Prose of Robert Burns, with upwards of Three Thousand Illustrations from English Authors. By JOHN CUTHBERTSON. Paisley and London: Alexander Gardner. 1886.

Great credit is due to Mr. Cuthbertson for the pains he has taken to make this singularly elaborate work as complete as possible. Glossaries to the works of Burns are numerous enough, but never before have so many of the words and phrases which occur either in his poetry or prose been registered and explained. After a very careful examination, we doubt whether a single word of importance, or even a single Scottish word occurring in either, has been entirely overlooked. Compared with other glossaries of Burns's works, Mr. Cuthbertson's is by

far the fullest, and, we may add, the most interesting. He has aimed, however, not merely at compiling a glossary, he has aimed also at the somewhat more ambitious task of illustrating the vocabulary of Burns from English authors, and of showing to Englishmen that most, if not all, the words used by Burns have in some shape or other been used in their own literature. To any one possessing the requisite knowledge and leisure, this was, of course, easy, as most readers of Shakespeare, Spenser, Chaucer, Langlands, and more especially of the *Cursor Mundi*, *York Plays*, and Hampole will readily conjecture. But to Mr. Cuthbertson belongs the credit of having first attempted the task ; and, considering the hold which Dr. Jamieson's theory as to the origin of Lowland Scotch has upon the Scottish mind, the credit is not small. Of course, he has made considerable use of the dictionaries and vocabularies of Grose, Cotgrave, Thoresby, Bailey, Halliwell, and Jamieson ; and, besides the better known authors, he has drawn his illustrations from the publications of Ritson and Weber, and from such writings as *Ywain and Gawain*, *Cursor Mundi*, *Arthur and Merlin*, *The Geste of Kyng Horn*, Mr. Small's *Early English Metrical Homilies*, and Dr. Morris's *Early English Alliterative Poems*. In a first work of this kind, extending to close on five hundred pages, it was scarcely possible that some defects of more or less importance should not be found. Mr. Cuthbertson professes to quote from English authors ; but, as he is well aware, some of the authors he cites are claimed by many as Scottish, and a few words in the preface defining what he means by 'English authors,' or on the relation between Lowland Scotch and English, more especially the old Northern English, would have been serviceable to very many by whom the volume is sure to be used. Another point we have noticed is the use of passages in which only the verbal form of a particular word occurs, to illustrate a noun, or of a passage in which the substantive form occurs to illustrate a verb. For instance, 'aught' is rightly defined as meaning possession, and the phrase 'in a' my aught' is rightly cited in proof. But

> 'An erl would in that castile
> That *aught* the lordship ilkadele

does not illustrate it, inasmuch as 'aught' is here a verb. The same may be said of the word as it occurs in two out of the other three passages cited as illustrations. Sometimes a passage is quoted which is no illustration at all ; as e.g., under the word 'blather' which is rightly glossed by the word 'bladder.' But to quote the lines—

> There's nothing gained by being witty ; fame
> Gathers but wind to *blather* up a name

in illustration of it, is nonsense, as 'blather' has here a totally different meaning. Mr. Cuthbertson we observe repeats Sir John Sinclair's insufficient or we might say inaccurate definition of 'bunker,' and seems to imagine that a bunker is necessarily a seat. It may or may not be a seat. In a room a bunker is probably speaking, a chest or box or structure built into or to a

wall; very often it is built in the recess of a window, in which case it may have doors in front or it may not, but whether or not the space covered over together with the top forms the bunker. Besides winnoch or window bunkers, there are meal bunkers and coal bunkers. There are also bunkers which golfers are careful to avoid. 'Brechame' or brechan Mr. Cuthbertson tells us 'is altogether unknown in Ayrshire.' Whether it is or not at the present moment we do not know. A word formerly used in Ayrshire in the same sense was 'hochem.' But here we must stop and simply express our belief that readers of Burns will find this a most instructive and delightful work.

Hazell's Annual Cyclopædia 1886. Edited by E. D. PRICE, F.G.S. London: Hazell & Co. 1886.

The aim of this work is to provide readers and all who consult it with the latest information on such subjects as are now, or are likely soon to be, in the public mind. It contains some two thousand articles, which have the merit of being brief, condensed, and so far as we have examined them, accurate. There can be no doubt that it will soon find its way into favour as a book of reference. It is handy in size, and clearly printed. The subjects and references explained are generally those which most newspaper readers are in the habit of inquiring about, and often in vain. Its political and legal articles are numerous, and carefully written.

Sketches of the History of Christian Art. By LORD LINDSAY. 2 vols. Second edition. London: John Murray. 1885.

There are few students of art by whom the re-issue of this work, which, as we need hardly say, has long been out of print and scarcely procurable, will not be received with feelings of the greatest pleasure and gratitude. Nearly forty years have elapsed since it made its first appearance, but though quite a library dealing with Christian art and its history has in the meantime been written, it has not yet been superseded. In fulness of detail, accuracy of information, and in several other important respects, it will scarcely bear comparison with the more recent works of Mrs. Jameson, the Messrs Crowe and Cavalcaselles, and Mr. Ruskin, yet in breadth of treatment and as a handbook for the student of the history of Christian art as a whole, it has merits and excellences of its own, and we are not acquainted with any work of a similar nature in which they are so admirably combined. It is not without its defects, but these are chiefly of theory, and though they are here and there obtruded on the attention, they are so obvious and often of such slight importance in comparison with the great merits of the work that they can scarcely be said to detract from its value. The tendency in the present is towards division of labour, and few recent writers, with the exception of Mr. Ruskin perhaps, have ventured to deal with more than the history of a single branch of Christian art. Lord Lindsay, on the other hand, has undertaken to survey the history of

Christian art in all its principal branches of architecture, sculpture and painting. His 'Sketches,' while critical and in a measure biographical, have the merit, now somewhat rare in histories both of art and literature, of being historical as well. Writing of Lord Lindsay in 1847 Mr. Ruskin said, 'as a contribution to the History of Art, his work is unquestionably the most valuable which has yet appeared in England. His research has been unwearied, he has availed himself of the best results of German investigation, his own acuteness of discernment in cases of approximating or derivative style is considerable, and he has set before the English reader an outline of the relations of the primitive schools of Sacred art which we think so thoroughly verified in all its more important ramifications, that, with whatever richness of detail the labour of succeeding writers may illustrate them, the leading lines of Lord Lindsay's chart will always henceforth be followed.' We have some doubts as to the wisdom of reissuing the work without an attempt being made to correct any of the errors into which Lord Lindsay was led, some of which are pointed out in the article from which we have cited the above passage, yet we cannot be too thankful that a work which we have long prized as in many respects the best of its kind in the English language, has at length been restored to the public, more especially as the study of Christian art is continually acquiring a larger interest and a more important position.

Ghiberti et son École. Par CHARLES PERKINS. Paris: Jules Rouam. 1886.

Mr. C. Perkins has here written an admirably minute, exact, and interesting account of one of the ablest of the Florentine artists. His pages are amply illustrated, and altogether his work forms a very excellent and desirable edition to M. Rouam's well known Bibliothèque internationale de l' art. The conduct of Ghiberti, more especially in relation to Bruneschelli, was not always all that one could have desired, but his devotion to art and his ability are unquestionable. The bas-reliefs he executed for the famous gates of the Baptistery of St. John have always been regarded as among the very finest productions of the Italian renaissance. He seems to have been born almost for the sole purpose of creating them. As M. Rio has remarked they form the commencement of a new epoch in the history of painting, or at least in that of design, which was at once raised to a degree of elegance and purity to which no previous artist had approached. Raphael himself did not disdain to study Ghiberti or to profit from his manner of draping, grouping, and managing his figures. In architecture Ghiberti was less successful, and much inferior to his friend and rival Bruneschelli. That he was not a great sculptor is proved by his work at Orsammichele. His chief merits are beauty of workmanship and extreme delicacy of finish—merits which are necessarily much more effective in smaller than in larger works. Cellini, not without good grounds, claims Ghiberti as being first and chiefly a

goldsmith. The influence of his early education in the workshop of the goldsmith Bartolucci, is manifest in a greater or less degree in all his works, and to a large extent determines their character. Still he has the rare merit of inventing a new and in many ways meritorious departure in art. It is almost needless to say that Mr. Perkins' work is not only a biography, but a criticism, all the known works of Ghiberti being subjected to a very careful examination. Not the least admirable of its features is the exceedingly vivid picture which Mr. Perkins gives of the times and of the relations existing between Ghiberti and his rivals in art. In an appendix, copious extracts are given from Ghiberti's writings, which are valuable as containing the earliest notes we have in the history of the Italian art of the Renaissance period.

Les Musées D' Allemagne. Par ÉMILE MICHEL, 15 Eaux-fortes et 80 Gravures. Paris: Jules Rouam. 1886.

The art galleries whose treasures have here been chosen for description are those of Cologne, Munich, and Cassel. The same thing was done for them some years ago by M. Viardot, and afterwards by M. Burger, but the accounts given by these though good for their day are now out of date, and not altogether free from error. The Museum of Cologne has been chosen as being especially rich in the works of the earlier masters of the northern schools, Munich for its examples of Ruben's work, and Cassel for its Rembrandts. At the same time the works of other masters have not been neglected, those of Claude Lorrain, Murillo, Perugini, Raphael, Titian, among others being carefully described. M. Michel has the advantage of being at once an artist and a writer, and has thus been able to bring both theoretical and practical knowledge to bear upon his work, and has spared no effort to make it as complete and exact as possible. While devoting large space to art-criticism, he has taken care to correct the errors of those who have preceded him. Special pains seem to have been taken to make the work as attractive as it is instructive. Taken as a whole, the illustrations are superior to those of any volume we have yet seen of the series to which the work belongs, the Bibliothèque internationale de l'art, and are really excellent, more especially the etchings, of which we cannot speak too highly. Altogether, the volume is a very sumptuous one and exceedingly creditable to all concerned in its production.

Les Della Robbia leur vie et leur œuvres d'après des documents inédits suivi d'un Catalogue de l' œuvres des Della Robbia en Italie et dans les principaux Musées de l'Europe. Par J. CAVALLUCHI et EMILE MOLINIER. Paris: J. Rouam, 1884.

Claude Lorrain sa vie et ses œuvres d' après des documents inédits suivi d'un Catalogue des œuvres de Claude Lorrain, conservées dans les Musées et dans les Collections particulières

de l'Europe. Par Mme. MARK PATTISON. Paris: J. Rouam, 1884.

Besides beauty of typography and illustration these two volumes of the Bibliothèque internationale de l'art have this in common that they are both written from original and inedited sources. On this side of the Channel Lady Dilke's work is already well known, and we need only mention for the benefit of those of our readers who have not yet had the good fortune to see it, that it is the only reliable life of the great French landscapist that has yet appeared. The accomplished authoress of *The Renaissance in France* has had the advantage of being in a position to correct the errors of previous biographers of Lorrain, and to add materially to our knowledge of his personal and artistic life. What Lady Dilke has done for the first of French landscape painters, M. M. Cavallucchi and Molinier may be said to have done for the Della Robbia. Vasari's errors respecting this family of artists are neither few nor slight. Many of them have already been pointed out by such writers as M. Barbet de Jouy, Dr. Bode and the Marquess Delaborde, but M. M. Cavalluchi and Molinier have the merit of having told us all that is at present known respecting this remarkable family. The first and second chapters of the work are devoted to Luca della Robbia, the third to his nephew and pupil, Andrea, and the remainder to Andrea's sons, Giovanni, Luca and Girolamo, the last of whom, as our authors say, had 'la gloire de transporter en France l'art des della Robbia et de travailler pour le protecteur des arts par excellence, pour le roi François Ier.' For Luca's birth the years 1399 or 1400, instead of Vasari's 1388, is given. That he had Leonardo di Ser Giovanni for his master is held as doubtful, and our authors seem to favour the opinion of Baldinucci that he was educated by Ghiberti. In his work, too, they see the influence of Donatello as well as of the famous sculptor of the gates of the Baptistery. Vasari's story of his journey to Rimini they altogether discredit. The arguments which are here adduced against his statement that Luca invented the method of working in glazed terra-cotta are to our mind conclusive. Suffice it to say that the volume is very carefully written, and will more than repay perusal. The catalogue given at the end is full and complete. Several of the illustrations are of quite exceptional beauty.

Biographical Dictionary of Musicians: with a Bibliography of English Writings on Music. By JAMES D. BROWN, Mitchell Library, Glasgow. Paisley and London: A. Gardner. 1886.

The greatly increased interest in music which has been shown by the public in recent years has given occasion for the publication of quite a library of books tending to elucidate and popularize the subject, and among such works the Biographical Dictionary now before us is one of the most valuable and interesting. Within the compass of 650 pages the

author has packed a huge body of facts relative to the biography of every musician of past and present times, who have interest for those who are in any way musically inclined. It is stated in the preface that 'prominence has naturally been given to British Musical Biography,' and a cursory examination has convinced us that in this department the work is the most complete of its kind in existence. The space devoted to eminent foreign musicians is also very large, and adequate and important notices are given of every prominent name from Guido to Wagner. The general plan of the work is synoptical rather than discursive, and accordingly its interest is chiefly for practical musicians, though every person interested in musical art will find much of great value in its pages. In one respect the work is emphatically the only book of the kind, and that is in regard to the large number of Scottish musicians mentioned. The extreme interest existing in this section may be judged when we mention that all the composers of reel and strathspey music, like the Gows, Mackintosh, Marshall, and Mackenzie; song-writers, like R. A. Smith, Peter Macleod, and John Thomson; singers, like Sinclair, Templeton, Kennedy, Wilson, and Paton; writers, like Graham, Hogarth, Liston, Malcolm, Bremner, and Gunn; and instrumentalists of every kind, are noticed at length and with a large accession of fresh facts. It has a further interest for Scotsmen in the space devoted to writers on the organ question, though we venture to think this division less exhaustive than some of the others. Poets, too, whose verses have been largely used by composers are noticed in connection with music. These and other useful features combine to make Mr. Brown's work very valuable indeed. The notices of American musicians are also numerous, and range from the earliest composers of psalmody down to the latest prima donnas. At the end of the book, in what he terms a 'Biographical Subject Index,' Mr. Brown has given a list of the principal works dealing with such subjects as Aesthetics, Bag-pipe, Banjo, Bells, Biography, Carols, Choir-training, Church-music Collections, Church-music literature, Composition, Dictionaries, Flute, Guitar, Harmony, Opera, Organ, Psalmody, Singing, Violin, etc. In any future editions this list might be profitably extended. But, apart from a few trifling misprints from which few books reference are ever free, Mr. Brown's volume is decidedly the most perfect English work on Musical Biography now existing, both in regard to the accuracy and the fulness of its information, and we heartily congratulate him on its completion, and on its very handsome appearance.

The Cornhill Magazine. Vol. VI. London: Smith, Elder, & Co. 1886.

The special feature of this volume of the *Cornhill* is the excellence of its shorter stories. These are one and all remarkably good even for the *Cornhill*, but amongst them attention may more especially be directed to 'The Gold Wulfric,' 'The Wingham Case,' and 'The Deadleigh Sweep.' A very amusing paper, though probably above the level of the average Magazine

reader, is 'Boys' Blunders.' 'Confidential Agents,' and Cas'alty Corner,' are instructive as affording an insight into some of the more obscure passages in human life. Travels and adventures are well represented by 'The Story of the one Pioneer of Terra del Fuego,' 'Some Faroe Notes,' and 'In the Rekka Höhle,' a somewhat exciting piece of adventure which almost cost the narrator his life. There are good papers on Balzac, 'A Kentish Boswell,' 'A Novelist's favourite Scheme,' and 'Some Coincidences of Literature.' Soles and Turbots are pleasantly discussed, as are also Sea Serpents. Other scientific papers are 'Tallies and Scores,' and 'Grey Wethers' which is also antiquarian.

Immortality: A Clerical Symposium (Nisbet & Co.). The question at issue is what are the foundations of the belief in the immortality of man? and the debate is carried on by Canon Knox-Little, Prebendary Row, Dr. Hermann Adler, Principal Cairns, Professor Stokes, the Rev. Edward White, and others. As to the quality of the debate nothing need be said. The names given above are a guarantee for the ability with which it is conducted. We have already called attention to the advantages to be derived from these symposia, and need only add that the present volume is equal in interest to any of its predecessors in the series.

The Rev. J. M. Wilson's *Nature, Man, and God* (Sonnenschein & Co.) will bear condensation. It deals, however, as its title indicates, with topics of the greatest interest and importance, and in many parts will be found suggestive. Mr. Wilson is a clear and accurate thinker, and capable of doing good work in the line he has here marked out for himself.

The Evening of our Lord's Ministry (Religious Tract Society) is a posthumous volume by the late Dr. Stanford, and consists of a series of homilies on texts chosen from our Lord's utterances during the last days preceding His crucifixion. The volume is therefore the first of the series of which the two remaining volumes, entitled *Voices from Calvary* and *From Calvary to Olivet*, have already appeared. Like all Dr. Stanford's writings, the homilies here printed are the fruits of a ripe scholarship and large Christian experienc.

For the new edition of his *Threefold Basis of Universal Restitution* (Williams & Norgate) the Rev. George Peill has written a preface of over forty pages in which he meets the arguments of his critics and controverts some of the positions of Hegel, Mr. Herbert Spencer, Mr. Leslie Stephen, and other writers from whom on the subject discussed in his volume he differs. The threefold basis on which he rests his argument is the constitution of man, the nature and perfections of God, and the nature and purpose of the Redemption. We cannot here follow Mr. Peill along his able arguments, but to those who wish to see what can be said on the subject from Mr. Peill's point of view, his work may be commended as a well-reasoned exposition.

The same subject is dealt with by the Rev. John Cooper in the second and third part of his *New Moral Creation* (Macniven & Wallace), from much the same standpoint, but more especially from the point of view opened up by the Redemptive work of Christ, the destructibility of evil, and the character of God. Besides this, Mr. Cooper deals with other topics affecting Christian belief. His aim all through his able and lucid volume being to commend Christianity to the reason as well as to the heart.

The Religious Anecdotes of Scotland, edited by William Adamson, D.D., and published by Mr. T. D. Morison, Glasgow, is a book of well selected anecdotes from Scottish religious biography, and also from such biographies as those of Carlyle, Burns and Sir David Brewster. Most of the phases of the religious and spiritual life are illustrated in its pages, and to those who have a taste for this species of reading, the work will doubtless prove highly entertaining and instructive. It ought to obtain a wide circulation. —Though it is somewhat out of place, we may here mention that the same publisher has sent us a very handy reprint of Sir Thomas Dick Lauder's *Wolfe of Badenoch*. It says not a little for this 'Historical Romance of the Fourteenth Century,' that though it was published during the time that the public mind was completely under the spell of the then unknown author of *Waverley*, it was able to hold its own, and has since passed through a considerable number of editions. Mr. Morison has wisely printed it without abridgement.

Common Prayer for Children (Hopkins, Glasgow), is designed for use in Church services, in Sunday schools, and in family devotion. It is a handy little volume and has much to commend it. The services are well constructed, the prayers are short and simple, and a tone of reverence is sustained throughout. The hymns in the Hymnal appended to the prayers are well chosen. Altogether the little manual is a praiseworthy effort in a right direction.

From the Religious Tract Society, we have received volume seven of *Present Day Tracts*, a volume which compares favourably with any of its predecessors in the series for ability and is perhaps more varied than any of them in its contents. Dr. Henri Meyer deals with the Christ of the Gospels, Dr. Bruce with the Tübingen School, while among others we have a paper on Man, physiologically considered, by Professor Macalister, and another on some points of Contact between Revelation and Science by Sir William Dawson.—*The Life of Lives* by the Rev. W. S. Lewis, M.A., is an attempt to tell the story of the life of Jesus according to the first Gospel. Mr. Lewis writes simply and effectively and carries his readers with him with unflagging attention.—*Every Day Life in South India*, or the Story of Coopooswamey, is an autobiography written by a converted Hindoo, and gives a charmingly simple and graphic description of every day life in the villages of Southern India.—Encouraged by the success of his Luther, Gordon, and Wesley Anecdotes, Dr. Macaulay has

now issued a volume, uniform with those referred to, of Whitefield Anecdotes. The plan followed is the same as that adopted in the other volumes. No attempt is made to give a formal biography of Whitefield, but the principal events in his life and the chief features in his character are illustrated by a series of well chosen and interesting stories.—Over thirty years ago, the Religious Tract Society issued a series of monthly sixpenny volumes dealing with various classes of literature. Some of the volumes had a large sale, and in all over a couple of million copies were sold. A new series very similar in shape and size to the old one, but, unless our memory fails us, of much more general interest, has recently been started. Among the volumes belonging to it, we have received *Adventures in Mongolia*, *The Life of Latimer*, *Wit and Wisdom of Thomas Fuller*, *Olive's Story*, *The Life of Oberlin*, *Adventures in New Guinea*, and *Pilgrim Street*. The stories are of course complete, as are several of the other volumes, but such as the first and second we have mentioned consist of interesting chapters taken from the larger works of their respective authors. The series is a very satisfactory attempt to produce at a low price a sound and healthy literature for the million, and deserves to succeed. The sixpenny volumes have a handsome appearance. An edition is also issued in paper covers costing half as much.

From Mr. R. Barclay Murdoch, Glasgow, we have received an excellently printed and handy edition of Barclay's celebrated *Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the same is held forth and preached by the people, in scorn, called Quakers*. Few who read the volume will feel for its author less than warm admiration. There is more solid and saving divinity in it than there is in many a more bulky and pretentious work. Quakerism is and always has been a noble protest on behalf of a great principle of the Christian faith, and for this, if for no other reasons, and there are not a few others, the famous *Apology* deserves even yet to be widely read.

Mr. Alexander Macbain's *Celtic Mythology and Religion* (Inverness) consists for the most part of papers contributed some time ago to the pages of the *Celtic Magazine*, and is an attempt to popularise the subject of Mythology and to apply principles to the elucidation of Celtic beliefs, tales, and traditions. Accepting the theory that mythology is a dramatic view of the course of nature and a personification of its forces, Mr. Macbain endeavours to give an intelligent account of the Celtic pantheon and to explain its various deities in connection with other Aryan mythologies. His attempt is praiseworthy. The subject is exceedingly intricate ; and accepting his view of mythology his explanations are satisfactory. For our own part we can accept neither the orthodox view of mythology, nor Mr. Lang's hypothesis, though we readily grant that much may be said in favour of both. Mr. Macbain's book, however, is deserving of great praise. The department with which it deals is still for the most part a *terra incognita*.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

De Gids (April).—An attempted comparison of Heine and Carlyle by Dr. W. G. C. Bijvanck leads to no striking result. They both entered the world about the same time and they found themselves in the same intellectual circumstances and faced by the same problems, though in different countries; both were great students of Goethe. Both were of tragic disposition, both had a tendency to interpret the word by mockery. The difference between them will be found in the reserve they practice. Carlyle is reserved about himself, his own personal matters, Heine reserves his opinions, which our own humourist is far from doing. —A paper on H. Spencer's teaching on the origin and nature of religion, by Dr. C. B. Spruyt, is one with which reasonable friends of religion may be pleased. He finds Spencer wanting in poetry and imagination and therefore when he speaks of religion, dealing with a subject he does not and cannot know,—This number concludes with a notice of Dutch books of stories of the naturalistic school.—In a series of papers on Mohammedanism in the May, June, and July, numbers, Dr. C. Snouck Hurgronje speaks of the present state and the future of Islam, in connection with Mr. van Bemmelen's 'Egypt and Europe.' Mr. B. believes Islam to be ripe for a reformation on the basis of a return to the Koran; and with his view the writer disagrees. In a careful historical study he shews that the *Koran* does not contain the main body of the teaching of the Prophet; and that the teaching varied during the Prophet's life, and never was set forth in a uniform system with a view to the wants of the future, nor even completed before his death. He denies the possibility of distinguishing between the essential part of Islam and its accidents, or that there was any 'period of concordance' after the Prophet's death, when his followers were agreed about his teaching. While regarding the prospect of a reform of Islam as a dream, Mr. S. H. yet considers that that religion need not be too great a hindrance to civilization in Egypt and other lands. He concludes his studies by impressing on Europeans who have to do with Mohammedans the urgent necessity of studying their religion.—The June number contains recollections of Conrad Busken Huet (1826-1886) who died in Paris in April, by Professor H. P. G. Quack. Huet began life as a preacher at Haarlem, and was early distinguished for his advanced opinions. Gifted with a clear and incisive style he did much by popular religious publications to help the new light; but the critical and literary bent of his mind was too strong to allow him long to remain a preacher, and in 1863 he became an editor of the *Gids*, to devote himself entirely to letters thenceforward. In the editorship of this journal he proved an "enfant terrible," and his indiscretion in naming exalted personages led to the breaking up of the editorial staff, Huet going to edit a paper in Java, and the *Gids* receiving new leaders. His "Land of Rubens" and "Land of Rembrandt," fervent works on the history, literature and art of Belgium and Holland, will do most to preserve his memory; but he was the most incisive and readable of Dutch writers, and as a critic did much to strengthen and elevate the literature of his country. The sketch of him by Prof. Quack is followed by a posthumous paper of his own on the German novelist and poet Scheffel, the author of "Ekkebard" in which a clear sound judgment and a happy discursive literary quality shew a great critic, removed in the fulness of his power.—In the July *Gids* the same Prof. Quack has a paper entitled "Social Righteousness" in which he defends the view that the distribution of wealth in modern society stands in need of serious reform. The discontent of the lower classes on the continent is traced to the spread of education and the extension of political power, which tend to make men equal, while in comfort and enjoyment a glaring irregularity still remains. The state having undertaken in factory legislation and otherwise to maintain the right of the workmen must go farther. Everywhere it is felt that there is a question

of righteousness between employers and employed, which the existing laws do not meet, which must be met by new arrangements. The problem of capital and labour is rather ethical than economical. Prof. Quack complains that the rich now make a less public-spirited use of their property than their ancestors in former centuries—a complaint which is surely not well-founded—and would have it remembered that no capital could have been accumulated without the help of the state and of preceding inventors and scientific men, as well as of the labourers, so that part of the accumulation may be held to be due to the public. The only practical suggestion of the paper is that in addition to the institution of private property there should be an institution of public property for the benefit of the poor: he does not however describe in detail how the public property should be administered; only mentioning with approval the ideas and proposals of Mr. Chamberlain.—In its political review of the last few months the *Gids* does not sympathise with the government of this country, but writes from the liberal unionist point of view. The changeful tactics of Mr. Gladstone are fully described, and while the writer considers that the only final solution of the Irish difficulty will be found in separation, he does not consider the government policy, placed before the country as it has been, to be worthy of acceptance.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (April).—Herr Gottfried Keller's serial, 'Martin Salander,' is followed by a very elaborate essay of which Herr H. Brunn has made Raphael's Madonna the subject. The paper undoubtedly shows a thorough mastery of the subject, but it is so minute in its examination of details as to be unintelligible to those who have not before them a print or photograph of the famous picture.—The writer who modestly signs R. S. seems to us to have made a mistake in giving his interesting contribution the title 'Aus dem Restaurations Zeitalter.' The period of the Restoration awakens but little enthusiasm now-a-days, whereas the sketch here given is full of instruction, and, what is more than instruction, edifying details. It records the strange friendship between Alexander I. of Russia, and the French Quaker, Etienne Grelu de Mobilier, commonly known in England as Brother Stephen Grillet, and Grillet's visit, in company with his friend Allain, to St. Petersburgh. The history of the Bible Society founded in the Russian capital is incidentally mentioned, and few anecdotes are better suited to point a moral than the episode of the Czar's first acquaintance with the Bible.—Under the title 'Das Sittliche in der Sprache,' Herr W. Wundt goes somewhat deeply and abstrusely into the philosophy of words, devoting special attention to the expression 'egoism' and to the connecting link between 'sittlich' and 'Sittlichkeit.' He also branches off into an examination of the theory that a state of original innocence, as taught by the Bible, is consistent with the fact that most vices are designated by negative expressions.—A contribution which will appeal more directly to English readers is that from the pen of Herr Anton Schönbach, who is interesting though, necessarily, not highly original in his brief sketches of the leading contemporary American novelists, or at least of two of them, Howells and James—The next item gives an account of the various institutions, from Convalescent Homes to Savings Banks, which private enterprise has established, in Germany, for the benefit of the people.—The number closes with some very acceptable details concerning Goethe's mother.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (May).—Although the dramatic fragment, 'Twixt the Cup and the Lip,' with which the present number opens, bears the well known signature of Paul Heyse, it has but little to recommend it; it is both unnatural and unpleasant.—'Kingship amongst the Ancient,' is from the pen of Professor Ernst Curtius; we need, therefore, scarcely add that it is well worth reading. An editorial note at the beginning of the essay and the writer's own words at its conclusion, tells us that it was delivered as a discourse in the Hall of King Frederick William University on occasion of the anniversary of the emperor's birthday; it would have been quite as interesting and quite as appropriate on any other day in the year.—In a lengthy second instalment Herr Anton Schönbach concludes what, as a whole, is a most conscientious piece of work and bears testimony to a thorough knowledge of American literature.—The next article is

an obituary notice. It records the death and briefly sketches the career of Julian Schmidt to whose admirable critical essays we have so often called our readers' attention. The veteran writer died on the 27th of March. He was born at Marienwerder in 1818, and had just completed his sixty-eighth year. His chief work is 'A History of German Literature from the Death of Lessing.'—It is remarkable that the last article from the pen of Julian Schmidt—it was received by the Editor of the *Rundschau* less than twenty-four hours before the writer's death—has, if we may be permitted the expression, become an obituary notice since its publication; it is devoted to Professor Leopold von Ranke and is well worthy of the two memories which it thus brings together.—Herr Otto Brahm has an interesting paper on Ludwig Börne the Frankfurt 'feuilletonist' whose most striking characteristics were his want of appreciation for Goethe—not to give it a harsher name—and the bitterness with which he resented the persecution to which, as a Jew, he was subjected to. We scarcely think that Herr Brahm has established his theory that all the hard things Börne wrote about his native country were dictated by patriotism.—'Die frühen Leute,' which may be freely rendered by 'Early Birds,' is a charming bit from the pen of Herr Julius Rodenberg whose optimistic imagination manages to find charms in a winter's morning in Berlin.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (June.)—A further instalment of a couple of chapters of Herr Gottfried Keller's serial, 'Martin Salander,' opens the number.—It is followed by 'The French Colony in Berlin and the Academy of Science.' The details which it contains concerning such members of this learned body as were descended from the Hugenots who settled in Brandenburg in 1685 are not without interest. That Professor du Bois-Reymond should have chosen this as the subject of a discourse for the anniversary of the Emperor's birthday might seem strange to us did we not know to what straits academical orators are reduced who, year after year, have to supply a 'Rede' at once learned and loyal for the celebration of the 25th of March.—Dr. Cohn's monograph on 'Jean-Jacques Rousseau as a Botanist' is well worth perusal. It shows us Rousseau under perhaps the most favourable light which could be thrown upon him. If the author of 'Lettres sur la Botanique' never got beyond the amateur stage, he had the great merit of pointing out to what advantage the study to which he himself devoted so much time could be turned in the education of children.—In a paper on the study of Sanskrit, Herr H. Oldenberg traces the progress of philological research during the last century, and shows of what immense importance to history and literature has been what he, not inaptly, terms the conquest of the Veda.—Another very lengthy, though not final, instalment of the 'Reminiscences of Gustav Nachtigal,' and a reproduction of the lecture delivered by Herr Grimm at the first general meeting of the Goethe Society, close the number.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN. Viertes Heft, 1886.—Herr Dr. Henke, Gymnasium Director of Barmen, opens this number with an admirable contribution to the literature of the Sunday question. This subject has of late years been occupying the attention of the German public to a very unusual extent, and, as elsewhere when it emerges, not a little bitterness of feeling has been displayed on both sides of the controversy. Is the Sunday a divine or a human institution? Is it the continuation, with the alteration of the day, of the Old Testament Sabbath, or did the Old Testament Sabbath lose its validity with the system which Christianity supplanted? Does the observance of Sunday rest on the same basis as the Jewish Sabbath, or on merely ecclesiastical ordinance? Is it of divine, or merely of human authority? These are the questions which are being debated, and on which so much ink and temper are being lavished in the Fatherland. Dr. Henke takes his readers here to the testimony of History, and shows how Sunday observance originated among the Christians; what were the opinions regarding it entertained by the early Christian teachers; what were the stages of development its observance passed through; what laws were passed to regulate that observance; whence these laws originated; and what purposes were intended to be served by them. He then traces the history of the Sunday upwards, and dwells at considerable length

on the opinions of the Reformers regarding it. In this way he lifts the controversy out of the sphere of mere prejudice and passion, and shows how the observance of the day arose, and the real purposes it was meant to serve. Professor C. Müller of Halle gives an excellent account of the origin and growth of the Waldensian movement up to the dawn of the fourteenth century. A paper follows discussing Luther's relationship with Basel, and giving a letter hitherto unpublished of the Reformer to the council there. Prof. H. Weiss of Tübingen reviews Dr. J. A. Dorner's *System der Christlichen Sittenlehre*, published last year under the editorship of his son, by W. Herz of Berlin.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Drittes Heft, 1886).—This number is almost wholly taken up by an elaborate article from the pen of Herr Paul Gloatz, who is well and favourably known in the more orthodox theological circles of Germany by his work on 'Speculative Theology.' He deals here with the no less thorny subject of 'Miracles and Natural Law.' His paper, however, has nothing in common with Professor Drummond's popular work, 'Natural Law in the Spiritual World.' Herr Gloatz is not a popular writer. His style must for ever preclude him from the suffrages of the people. His sentences run, for the most part to enormous lengths and are terribly involved. The bulk of his paper here is given to tracing the history of opinion as to the existence of natural law, first in heathen philosophies and religions, and then in monotheistic religions and the philosophies nourished by them. It is not difficult for him to establish the fact that in all times past the belief in miracles co-existed with the knowledge—such as it was—of a natural law and order in the universe. It is of interest, however, to have the opinions of thinkers of so many ages and diverse cultures brought together in this kind of way, though we fear it may not help any, who are inclined to hold in doubt the miraculous, to overcome their doubts, to have this array of testimonies from the past as to the compatibility of miracle with law presented to them. In a few pages at the end of his article H. P. Gloatz asserts and seeks to vindicate his own opinion that the belief in natural law is not necessarily destructive of the faith in miracles, and that they are not unreasonable who continue to maintain both.—Under the title of 'On the Nile and on the Bagradas in 191 and 197,' Herr Ernst Nöldechen contrasts the teaching of the gentle Clement of Alexandria and the fervid Tertullian of Carthage, and their treatment of the life surrounding them respectively in these centres of heathenism. Dr. G. Buchwald has unearthed and here gives two contributions to the controversy that once vexed the church at Dessau as to whether a Christian might listen to and look on plays that treated of Biblical matters; and Herr Schlatter of Bern reviews Mangold's recent work on the Epistle to the Romans.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (April).—Dr. Delbrück heads the table of contents with an essay on 'The Importance of Inventions in History.' He deals mainly with the invention of printing and of gunpowder. The thesis which he endeavours to establish is that, instead of being causes of civilisation, inventions are the results of it. Arguing in this sense, he shows with what restrictions and limitations we are to accept the statement that the invention of gunpowder killed feudalism, and the invention of printing produced the Reformation.—The anonymous article which follows explains and comments upon Wellhausen's theory that the Pentateuch—or, rather, the Hexateuch, for he considers the Book of Joshua to be connected with the five Books of Moses—is posterior to the Captivity, and is to be looked upon as the starting point, not of the history of Israel, but of Judaism—that is, of the religious community which survived the nation destroyed by the Assyrians and Chaldeans.—'Berlin und sein Verkehr' contains interesting details with regard to the development of Berlin, and presents a very complete picture of the commerce and industry of the Prussian capital.—'French Masks' is the title which Herr Constantin Rössler gives to a paper criticising two recent works, *Au Pays de la Revanche* and *Le Prêtre de Nemi*. Of the former, he maintains that it is written by a Frenchman, and that it is to be read backwards throughout. M. Renan's work is also looked upon as the result of Prussophobia, a disease which such articles as the present are not calculated to cure.—The political letter naturally deals with the English crisis.

Amongst other interesting—perhaps we should say amusing—bits, it has an exposition of Mr. Chamberlain's views with regard to the Land Question. We are told that 'he wishes to oblige landlords to sell their land, at a low rate, to private individuals, and hopes, by this means, to win over the Irish buyers as allies of English Radicalism in the Parliament in London. Mr. Gladstone can only be congratulated on having got rid, it is to be hoped for ever, of this man.'

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (May).—Herr Erwin Nasse gives proof of a thorough grip of his subject in the exhaustive essay which he devotes to the consideration of the 'Development and Crisis of Social Individualism in England.' His chief object is to show that in England the State limits its intervention to the protection of the socially weak and dependent, and to affording them facilities for free co-operation towards common ends. He also points out how and to what extent such a system is more advantageous than that of State-initiative and State-help, which obtains in Germany.—Graf Pilati, in the next contribution, sets forth the system of endowment of schools in the Province of Silesia, a subject which, though ably treated, is not of absorbing interest.—The result of 'A Glance at the French Military System' is an exposition of the changes and improvements which have taken place in the French army of late years. The spirit in which the article is written may be understood from its concluding words: 'Machiavelli has said that favourable circumstances should never be waited for, because circumstances are never wholly favourable; he who must act should act quickly.'—The concluding article is given up to a consideration of the 'Progress of the Cultur Kampf.'

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (June).—The third of this quarter's numbers is more than usually heavy. The opening article is, in reality, the only one which appeals to any but German readers. It is from the pen of Dr. Biese, who has set himself the task of indicating the many points of resemblance between the Alexandrian period of Greek literature and the Renaissance. The importance attached by the writers of both epochs to natural scenery is particularly dwelt upon and illustrated by a number of interesting quotations.—The next contribution deals with a purely legal question—to wit, whether members of the Reichstag may be called upon as witnesses in a law court, on the strength of statements made by them in the House. The writer inclines to the opinion that this exemption has no foundation on Article 30 of the Constitution, which has been invoked in support of the claim set up by Herr v. Schalscha.—Of the remaining articles, that which bears the signature of the well-known novelist G. Freytag, and contains a record of the late Julian Schmidt's connection with the 'Grenzboten,' is the only one to which we have to call special notice.

WESTERMANNS MONATS-HEFTE (June).—The lighter contributions to this month's number are 'The Monks of Fontana,' from the pen of Herr Adalbert Meinhardt, and 'Ariadne' bearing the signature of Herr Gottfried Böhm. Neither is very interesting, though the latter is readable.—In an instructive paper Herr Ernst Ziel sketches the career of Ferdinand Freligrath, a poet of considerable merit. He was born at Detmold, the chief town of the diminutive principality of Lippe-Detmold, on the 17th June, 1810; he died in March, 1876. Like Hood, whose poems he translated, he began life in an office; and, indeed, was occupied with mercantile pursuits the greater part of his life. About 1848, he meddled with politics, the result being imprisonment and exile. As a poet, Freligrath holds a middle place between the sensualism of Heine and the Oriental quietism of which the 'West Indian Divan' is the best known specimen.—In his 'Contribution to a Knowledge of the South Sea.' Herr Woldt in the first place retraces the history of ancient and modern discovery in the Pacific, and thence goes on to a descriptive sketch of the islands of the Samoan archipelago.—The next item on the table of contents is a monograph devoted to Rudolf von Ihering, Professor of Law in Göttingen.—Herr Paul Meier records his 'Impressions de Voyage' in a paper which he entitles 'From Athens to Olympia.' It is the conclusion of a sketch begun in the May number, which, owing to negligence or accident, was lost in transmission, and of which we are consequently unable to give our usual summary.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS.—No. 2, 1886.—Taking occasion of the interest aroused in France by the Franco-Tonquin War in matters Chinese M. C. Imbault Huart, a vice-consul of France, gives here an account of the Chinese war-god 'Kouan Ti,' and the recent rise in his popularity. He traces his origin back to a hero of the closing years of the second century of our era, and the opening years of the third, 'Kouan Yu.' The biography of this hero is given from the pages of the 'Annals of the three Kingdoms,' the 'San-Kouô-tche,' and M. Huart then shows how legendary matter has come to adorn his history and glorify his person. M. Jean Réville, the Editor in an admirable paper 'on the complexity of Myths and Legends,' comes between the combatants who have been lately crossing swords, in the pages of this Revue and elsewhere, on the methods of explaining the genesis and growth of myths, and shows by well chosen examples how manifold are the causes that contribute to their birth and formation, founding thereon a caution against any of the methods being followed to the exclusion of the other, and especially against the passion with which one school inveighs against the other. Mr. Andrew Lang furnishes a short reply to the article in last *Livraison* on his 'Custom and Myth' by M. Ch. Ploix. In this he states briefly his contention and his position as against the philologists in Mythology. M. A. Carrière gives a summary of the contents of Professor Kuenen's new edition—the first part, at least, the only part yet published—of his *Historico-Critical Investigation into the origin of the books of the Old Testament.* An English translation of this part has recently been published, and it need hardly be said that M. Carrière's notice of the work is highly appreciative. M. Leon Sichler continues from last number his translation of the Russian version of 'The Girl with the Amputated Hands.' Several works bearing on religious history are noticed, and the usual summaries of papers read before learned societies, articles in Reviews, etc., follow, with the chronique of the two months, March and April.

L'ART (April).—The first of the two numbers for this month opens with the conclusion of the notice which M. Noël Gehuzac devotes to the Stein collection. The present instalment deals more particularly with Le Brun, of whose style M. Stein had gathered numerous and valuable specimens. — In an article on 'Maitre Charles Carmoy,' M. A. Heulhard brings together a few details which he has been able to gather concerning an artist mentioned in terms of praise by Rabelais and Palissy, of whom, however, no work is known to exist.—The conclusion of M. Champfleury's amusing and quaintly-illustrated 'La Caricature au Japon' is the next contribution.—The number closes with a paper in which M. Emile Haussac treats of those minute *bassi-relievi* technically known as 'plaquettes,' and used to adorn the most various objects, from caps to saddles, from sword-hilts to inkstands.—In a short but excellent paper, which heads the second number, M. Pierre Ganthiez shows how comparatively insignificant and totally unworthy of the subject is the part which mountain scenery plays in landscape painting, and endeavours to assign some reasons for the indifference of artists to that which has proved such a source of inspiration to Byron, Shelley, and Lamartine, to Michelet, John Tyndall, and Elisée Reclus.—The artist-monk Guido Guersi is the subject of the second article, which is from the pen of M. C. Goutzwiller. In this first instalment the writer deals solely with the famous paintings which are now to be found in the Museum of Colmar, but formerly belonged to the Abbey of Issenheim.—In the last part of his paper on the 'Plaquettes of the Renaissance Period,' M. Emile Molinier points out that in more than one case sculpture borrowed its subjects from these minute works of art.

L'ART (May).—In the second part of M. Goutzwiller's 'Guido Guersi,' we discover his reason for connecting the name of the Italian monk with the Issenheim paintings. On the authority of a scrap of Latin which states that Guido Guersi 'auctor est iconis ad altare majus,' he propounds the theory that this 'preceptor' of the Monastery of Issenheim, whose name is perfectly unknown in the annals of art, is the painter to whom these old masterpieces are due.—The next and only remaining article deals with the 'Salon of 1886,' but opens with a protest against the rejection by the president and council of the Royal

Academy of a work by the eminent sculptor M. Auguste Rodin.—The second May number contains an extract from an important work by M. A. Jullien, *Richard Wagner, his Life and Works*, which is to be published in a few months' time. The present fragment sketches the history of Wagner's 'Lohengrin,' and is well calculated to awaken interest in the volume, of which it is, to a certain extent, a sample.—A notice of the Laurent-Richard collections of paintings, and a continuation of the 'Salon' make up the number.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (April).—In the first of the three 'articles de fonds' which compose the present number, M. F. Bouillier asks and answers the question. 'Is there a philosophy of history?' According to his views, there is no philosophy of history if, under this designation, we are to understand a special science distinct from all others and raised above them, a science initiating us into the secret counsels of God with regard to the world and to humanity. In support of this he argues that the reasons for the movements of humanity are to be found in the intelligence, the liberty, and the responsibility, of humanity itself and not in some supernatural cause, some cosmic agency, some fatal evolution of the universe. But, he allows that there is a philosophy of history as there is a philosophy of the natural sciences, a philosophy which is composed of the highest generalisations within the domain of each science.—The second contribution is devoted to an analysis of Lotze's system of metaphysics.—The concluding paper is the first part of a lengthy study of the 'Psychological Bases of Religion.'—Amongst the proceedings of the Society of Physiological Psychology one paper of singular interest deals with 'Personality and Handwriting.' It records a number of graphological experiments performed by means of hypnotical suggestion. The result, as shown by fac-similes of the several styles of handwriting of the same subject under various suggested personalities is truly astonishing.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (May).—In a very interesting paper M. J Delboeuf relates a number of experiments performed by him with the view of ascertaining whether, and under what conditions hypnotised subjects are capable of remembering the actions suggested to them during their artificial sleep. The conclusion at which the writer arrives is, that the dreams of hypnotic sleep may be recalled in the same way as those of natural sleep and under the same conditions, that is, providing there be a link connecting the actions of the waking with those of the sleeping state. Thus he has invariably succeeded in making his subjects remember all they had done during their sleep by awaking them whilst performing the last of a natural series of actions gone through by them, so that the last act of the hypnotic was also the first of the waking state, and thus served as a connecting link between them.—The second and last of the articles based on original and independent inquiry, which constitute the first part of the *Revue*, is the conclusion of M. Paul Lesbazeille's essay on 'The Psychological Bases of Religion.' His conclusions may be reduced to the following propositions: (1) It is in the data of psychology, not in those of cosmological philology and still less in those of metaphysics that the origin of religious is to be sought. (2) The laws of mental evolution are alone able to enlighten us as to the nature, the importance and the *rôle* of religions considered as factors in social evolution. (3) The foundation of religious manifestations is neither objective nor representative, but subjective and practical. (4) Myths are personifications of the conditions of collective adaptation. (5) Religion is a useful thing, in the same way and for the same reason that conscience is; it fulfils a determinate function in the life of humanity, without being free from the general laws of mental organization, or able to lay claim to unlimited duration.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (April).—A second instalment of the serial 'Hélène,' a new novel by M. Theuriet, occupies the first pages of the number.—It is followed by an extract from the 'Souvenirs' of the late Duke de Broglie, shortly to be published by his son. This interesting chapter of what promises to be a most valuable addition to the history of the early part of the century deals with the events of the years 1814 and 1815, and closes with the trial and execution of Ney.—In an article which art-students will read with both profit and pleasure M. Eugène Müntz traces realism back to its origin in the fifteenth century, giving,

in a clear and masterly sketch, the history of the two schools, the Florentine and the Flemish, from the rivalry of which it may be said to have sprung.—Aided by his rare knowledge of ancient history, M. Victor Duruy traces, in a most scholarly and deeply interesting essay, the various phases of development of religious thought amongst the Greeks, and indicates the many points of contact between the religion of Plato and the religion of St. Augustin.—In a more matter of fact contribution, M. Louis Wuarin treats of 'Anglo-Saxon Socialism,' and expounds the doctrines of its latest prophet, Henry George.—A philosophical paper from the pen of M. Alfred Fouillée sets forth the theory of natural selection as applied to the origin of pleasure and of pain and points out the moral or metaphysical consequences which arise from a study of the relations of pleasure and pain with life.—An article on Heine, based on the biographies of him which have appeared within the last two or three years, and a review of the Duke d'Aumale's 'Histoire des Princes de Condé' close the first number.—In the second, there is comparatively little of very general interest.—In continuation of his 'Souvenirs Diplomatiques,' M. G. Rothan records the relations between France and Prussia, from 1867 to 1870, and, turning to Italy, deals with the court of Rome and the Convention of the 15th September 1867, with Mazzini and with Garibaldi.—'The Separation of Church and State,' is discussed by M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulien is a paper which will probably disappoint such English, and more particularly such Scottish readers, as the title may attract. Instead of finding arguments to suit their own particular views they will see that in France, where separation of the Church from the State means the repeal of the Concordat, the question is thoroughly and essentially different from that of disestablishment as understood in this country. Incidentally, however, the writer does touch upon English 'disestablishment,' but the most that he has to say in its favour is that owing to the number of different sects in this country, and the absence of any one immensely preponderating sect, it might be less injurious than it must necessarily prove in France, should the experiment be tried.—Though the pernicious influence of alcohol is no new subject, M. Jules Rochard, of the Academy of Medicine has managed to treat it with considerable originality. He compares and contrasts the effects of fermented with those of distilled drinks, and brings a startling array of facts and figures to show how infinitely worse are the results of even moderate indulgence in spirits to anything ever produced by the use of wine, beer or cider.—M. le marquis G. de Saporta contributes one of those delightful articles by means of which he has done and is doing so much to popularise science by presenting it under its most attractive aspects. In the present paper he sketches the state of Provence in the early days of the world, when it was an island, and before successive revolutions had fitted it to be the abode of man.—The concluding article is from the pen of M. Emile Daireaux. It contains some very interesting details concerning cattle-farming in America and Australia, and considers the probable effects of the importation of frozen meat from the *ranches* and *runs*. He is of opinion that, for the present and for many years to come, home-breeders have nothing to fear from competition in these quarters.

Revue des Deux Mondes (May).—Besides M. André Theuriet's 'Hélène which the present instalment bring to a conclusion, we have, as continuations of articles mentioned in former numbers, the Duke de Broglie's 'Souvenirs' and M. G. Rothan's 'Souvenirs Diplomatiques.' As subdivisions of the latter, which treats of the relations between France and Prussia from 1867 to 1870, we find, 'The Violation of the Convention of September' and 'The Policy of M. Rattazzi.—M. Th. Bentzon, whose name, in connection with English and American literature, we have had frequent opportunities of mentioning, contributes a very interesting study which he entitles 'Les Poétes Américains,' and in which, taking Mr. Stedman's work on the same subject as his guide, he briefly sketches the career and examines the works of Bryant, Whittier, Emerson, Longfellow, Poe, Holmes, Lowell and Whitman.—The bold and brilliant, but very one-sided article contributed by M. Albert Duruy, and bearing the title 'Public Instruction and Democracy' is a sweeping condemnation of all that has been done of late years in France with regard to education. It may

be amusing, but it gives us no favourable notion of either his impartiality or his consistency to hear him inveigh against the present government because it countenances or even favours the inculcation of republican ideas by means of the various text-books used in the schools which it maintains. M. Ludovic Carrau appeals to classical students in a charming essay on Socrates and the old Sophists.—Sir Henry Sumner Maine's 'Popular Government' is reviewed by M. G. Valbert, who, whilst fully admitting the author's sagacity and power, finds fault with him for having pointed out the evils of popular government without attempting to suggest any remedies for them.—The second number opens with the first part of a new novel by M. Emile Pouvillon, who seems to have devoted himself to the study of certain very unpleasant and by no means interesting country types. So far it is true, Jean-de-Jeanne is a slight improvement upon his former contribution.—Under the title of 'Realistic Literature' M. Eugène-Melchior de Vogüé publishes the preface of a work on Russian novels which is shortly to appear, and of which several chapters have already found a place in the pages of the *Revue*.—In a very interesting historical sketch M. Albert Sorel records the negotiations which took place at Pillnitz, in August, 1791, between the Emperor, the King of Prussia and the brother of the King of France and throws considerable light on one of the most striking and singular episodes of the period, the failure of the measures which had been taken with a view to succouring Louis XVI., both before and after the catastrophe of Varennes.—M. Gustave Larroumet contributes another of those masterly essays in which he condenses with singular felicity the result of modern research into the life and surroundings of Molière. The present paper which deals with Jean Poquelin, Molière's father, will serve as a key to more than one passage in Molière's comedies notably in the *Avare*.—The sketch of the 'Relations between France and Prussia from 1867 to 1870' drags its somewhat weary length into a seventh instalment dealing with Rattazzi's fall, the intervention of France in the Roman states, and Mentana.—In a lengthy article M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu considers the alleged causes of the present depression of trade throughout the whole world, and examines the remedies proposed for it, one of which, State interference, he particularly deprecates.

Bibliotheque Universelle et Revue Suisse (April).—M. Adrien Naville's psychological gossip respecting 'Attention and Distraction' will interest many others besides psychologists. It brings a clear light to bear on the practical importance of these mental habits in everyday life, and touches on a question in the education of the young which is in a great measure overlooked.—The third paper in M. Abel Veuglaire's series, 'Les Armes Combattantes en France et en Allemagne,' deals with the cavalry—its constitution, value, armament, and future prospects—and its complement, the horse artillery. The discussion, which is enlivened by the experiences and opinions of several distinguished military men, is the most attractive in the series up to the present.—'Mexico and the Civilisation of the Aztecs' is a topic of perennial freshness. It lies on the border of history and legend, and all that science can teach us respecting it but adds to its strangeness and mystery. M. A. de Verdilhac approaches his theme under the guidance of the research of M. Lucien Biart and M. Dabry de Thiersant, the latter of whom holds that America was peopled by way of Behring's Strait, that the Mexicans are really Mec-Scythi, or Sons of the Scythians, that the names Carab and Nicaragua are related to Kharism (Turkestan), and that in the Aryan root *pir*, expressing the idea of fire and light, we have the source of both Persia and Peru.

Bibliotheque Universelle et Revue Suisse (May).—Probably the most popular contribution to the present number is 'The Literary Movement in Spain,' wherein M. E. Rios gives an excellent account of the most noteworthy theatrical novelties of the last two or three years. Don Jose Echegaray still stands head and shoulders above his compatriots, and his latest works, *The Plague of Otranto* and *Glad Life and Sad Death*, have met with immense success, though to our insular tastes the *denouement* of the former would seem a trifle too melodramatic. Curiously enough, in an age when French dramatic art is compelling imitation even in Turkey and Russia, the greatest Spanish

dramatist is not merely didactic, but emphatically orthodox.—M. Paul Stapfer, in a first instalment, attempts a critical estimate of the voluminous labours of Victor Hugo. So far, it does not seem to us that the writer has touched either the greatest qualities or the most obtrusive defects of Hugo's genius, and few, we imagine, will endorse his opinion that French poetry has never surpassed such a passage as the following, in which Ruth, lying awake at the feet of Boaz and watching the crescent moon, 'se demandait

> 'Immobile, ouvrant l'œil à moitié sous les voiles,
> Quel dieu, quel moissonneur de l'éternel été
> Avait, en s'en allant, négligemment jeté
> Cette faucille d'or dans le champ des étoiles.'

—M. Numa Droz concludes his sketch of the Landamman Heer.—Madame Hélène Menta's novel, 'Hortense,' which has been running through the last three numbers, is a striking and powerful bit of fiction.—M. Constant Bodenheimer gives an instructive account of the recent strikes in Belgium, and places these phases of the labour question in light which will be new to most readers in this country.

Bibiotheque Universelle et Revue Suisse (June).—To those who are unacquainted with the *Life and Correspondence of Louis Agassiz* published last year by his widow, we recommend the sketch of the great naturalist's career which M. Aug. Glardon contributes to the *Bibliothèque*. In this first instalment the education and early struggles of the Swiss pastor's son are charmingly told. One of the most interesting sections records the investigations conducted by Agassiz on the glaciers of des Diabrets, of Aletsch, and particularly of the Aar with a view to establishing the theory started by the celebrated geologist de Charpentier, to account for the erratic blocks to be found scattered about the Alps and the Jura. The present section closes with the departure of Agassiz for America.—The second part of M. Paul Stapfer's article on Victor Hugo is a criticism of the poet's genius. The writer shows that the enthusiasm which he displayed in the first portion of his essay and which he frankly acknowledges, has not blinded him to Hugo's faults. His characteristic love for 'immensity' of every kind, moral and physical is analysed with considerable keenness and attributed to a want of thought in a writer who prided himself on being a 'poète pensif.'—M. Léo Quesnel, dealing with 'Imperial Federation' explains the various systems of administration in the British colonies according as they are 'crown colonies' or 'responsible colonies.' He also sets forth at some length the views expressed by the Marquis of Lorne in his work on this subject. The article is to be continued.—M. G. van Muyden has a readable paper on 'La Navigation de Plaisance à la Voile,' a title which, being translated, means 'yachting.'—In the way of light literature there is a further instalment of Mme. Menta's 'Hortense,' and an excellent novelette to which Mme. Mairet has given the title of 'L'Ami Jean.'

La Nuova Antologia (April 1st).—In this number, G. Chiarmi concludes his article on Burns, to whom he dictates an enthusiastic appreciation, and, of whose poems he gives many unrhymed translations. F. Bertolini, in a paper founded on inedited documents relating to the revolution of 1831, characterises that period as the initiative of Guiseppé Mazzini's mission of which he says it is even now premature to determine the influence on the resurrection of Italy; it is beyond denial that Mazzini rendered Italian unity popular, and associated it for ever with the House of Savoy.—O. Marucchi writes an interesting article on the garrison of ancient Rome, apropos of the recent discovery of ancient barracks near the Lateran.—E. Mancini gives a full account of the work of M. Pasteur, whom he calls one of the glories of our century. L. Luzzati writes on the strikes in Belgium, saying that a double movement is to be observed in Europe, that is, the constantly increasing demagogism of the working classes, and corresponding conservatism among the *bourgoisie*, which movement probably menaces a speedy and painful struggle. —E. Novelli writes a paper proving that a bust contained in the library of the monastery of St. Onofrio in Rome, is not, as was hitherto believed, that of John Barclay whose name it bears, but a fine

portrait of Tasso by one of the celebrated Italian sculptors of the time, and expressing the hope that it will be removed from its present obscurity and set up in some public place.—(April 16).—V. Grachi contributes a study on the want of humanity among the ancient Romans, founding the article on the Annals of Tacitus.—G. Mazzoni commences a paper on the life a works of Sainte-Beuve.—G. Boglietti gives an account of two late Italian politicians, Guiseppe Ciornisi and Ercole Ricotti, describing their influence on Italian affairs.—C. Ferrari gives a description of the latest discoveries regarding periodical phenomena in vegetation.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (May 1st).—A short article on Garibaldi and the thousand at Salemi, is contributed in honour of the twenty-sixth anniversary of the unity of Italy, by S. Corleo.—The paper on Sainte-Beuve is continued.—A paper follows on the depression of British trade.—Signor Bonghi has an important article, showing the necessity of restraining the interference of the Italian deputies with the administration, and of promulgating new social laws. He also considers the advisability of protection in regard to certain agricultural products. He discusses the communal laws and proposes administrative suffrage. 'It is necessary' he says, 'to equalise the rights of the moneyed classes, with those of the moneyless, and to take care that the latter class does not overbear the former. He demands determinate action with regard to Colonial policy and declares that it would be criminal to remain inert in face of the late massacres in Africa. Better organisation in State affairs is needed and just action on the part of the government.'—(May 16th).—Here we have an account of Emma Hamilton, in an article entitled 'Nelson at the Court of Maria Carolina of Naples,' by G. Boglietti.—G. Zanella writes an article in which he compares the Sicilian poet Giovanni Meli, with the ancient poet Theocritus of Syracuse.—E. Mancini discusses the theme of life in minerals, founding his remarks on a work by Professor Pilo, in which, with perfect logic and singular breadth of view, are traced the first lines of a future mineral biology. The writer of the article describes the conception of 'life' which makes it an incessant transformation of matter, and explains the grounds of Professor Pilo's assertion that 'crystals live.' In phosphorescent phenomena, magnetic attraction, etc., Pilo recognises a true crystallised etiology. Mineralogy ought now to enter on a new period, that of mineral biology. Pilo's novel theories may appear paradoxical, and will certainly encounter lively opposition, but they are only the consequences, the integration, of the characteristic work of our century, the scope of which is the evolution of being, which has given us the fecund hypothesis of Darwin, and the newer and vast ones of Nägeli. Even those who are opposed to the fundamental unity of nature vindicated by the new school, cannot deny its merits in accurate research, important theories and broad views. Science will no doubt profit by the bold and original ideas propounded by Pilo.—The Italian version of Herbert Spencer's 'Factors of Organic Evolution' is continued.—Luigi Palma carefully examines Mr. Gladstone's project for Ireland. The tenor of the article will be sufficiently indicated by the last sentence. 'Gladstone has praise-worthily faced the great problem of justice and political wisdom, but until he succeeds in effectually reconciling the local legislative autonomy of Ireland with imperial and parliamentary union, he cannot be said to have fulfilled the hopes conceived. Though he fall, his work cannot perish ; it will inevitably be taken up again. But the solution hitherto proposed by him is not acceptable, and should it nevertheless be accepted by means of the power of his name, it will only prepare new torments and tormenters for Great Britain and Ireland.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (June 1).—R. Bonghi has an excellent monograph on Cavour, founded on the recent publication, *Letters of Cavour*, collected and edited by L. Chiala.—A. Graf commences a paper in defence of Pietro Aretino, who, he says, has been attacked on all sides for more than three centuries.—Colonel Baratieri takes the opportunity of the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of the corps of Bersaglieri to describe its origin and aim.—'Shall we preserve or restore our ancient monuments?' is a question answered at length in favour of the former course by a contributor.—An Ex-Minister writes an article entitled 'After the Elections.'—(June 16.)—This number opens with a review

of Mary Robinson's new poems. The well-known critic, Enrico Nencione, commences by giving a sketch of the modern conditions of English poetry, and the influences that have acted upon it, from the Elizabethan poets down to Browning and Swinburne. Speaking of Elizabeth Browning, of whom the critic says Mary Robinson reminds him, M. Nencione considers Poe in the right when he called that eminent woman 'incomparably superior to any living or dead poetess.' In Mary Robinson the critic praises an absence of the dilettantism that generally prevails among the rising English poets. She possesses the voice of sincere passion, her verse is musical, and even when she handles old themes she gives new life to them by her marvellous variations. In her poetic pictures she adopts with equal facility the tender colouring of Wordsworth and the brilliant hues of Heine, and perhaps Heine and Rosetti have been the masters from whom she has derived the most. The 'Italian Garden,' without a shade of imitation, reminds the reader of the 'Buch der Lieder.' The 'New Arcadia' is inspired by a generous sentiment; the prelude is sincere and penetrating, but M. Nencione finds that the poem does not entirely correspond to the prelude. Mary Robinson is too young for such a tragic theme, and most of the poems stray away from the first conception. 'The power, audacity, experience, and eloquence with which Dickens and Victor Hugo were gifted,' says the critic, 'would hardly have sufficed to depict the new horrible Arcadia. Mary Robinson is too young, too feminine, too lyrical and melodious for the arduous task, and, in fact, the book ends in personal lyrics.' 'The *Italian Garden*,' says M. Nencione, 'is a volume of splendid but sad verses. The Tuscan landscape, on which is painted a drama of love, is depicted with marvellous fidelity.' M. Nencione attempted to give a faint idea of the book by translating some of the poems, but found it absolutely impossible. 'Certain verses of Rosetti's, certain strophes of Mary Robinson's, are precious pearls, which, translated, melt into water; they are too ethereal, spiritual, and musical, and the rhyme is too essential; they are delicate flowers that cannot be plucked without destroying them.'—V. Marucchi writes on the 'New Restorations at the Lateran.'—A. Mosso commences a long article on the 'Physiology and Pathology of Hypnotism,' a theme which is just now occupying a good deal of attention in Italy.—A. Graf continues his paper in defence of Pietro Aretino.—B. Stringher writes on 'Great Britain and the World's Competition.'

La Rassegna Nazionale (May 1st).—Here is published a lecture delivered at a meeting of the Philosophical Society in Florence by G. Rizzi on the characters in 'Hamlet.'—G. Rondini's third part of the 'Popular Traditions of Siena' points out their peculiar nature, their influence on art, and their historical and ethnographical significance.—R. Corniani contributes a paper on magisterial reform; and G. Bernadi one on the policy of the Italian Minister of Public Works.—(May 15th).—In an article by C. Gabussi, entitled 'Rome a Sea-port,' the project of turning that city into a maritime one is carefully discussed.—G. Cimbale's papers on Nicola Spedalieri's apologies for Christianity are concluded; as also the article on the Pope's Encyclical, and the papers on Economical Reform in Tuscany.—There follows an article by R. Mazzei in defence of the opinions of the magazine, and one by S. on the rebellion of the *Zelanti*.

La Rassegna Nazionale (June 1st).—V. Arsidei commences a paper on the constitution of senates with a view to the reform of the Italian Senate.—L. Grottanelli's 'Last years of the Sienese Republic' is concluded, and also V. Miceli's 'The Conception of Politics.'—More chapters of 'Bulgarian Crisis' follow.—G. Martucci gives fragments from Goldoni's Memoirs in an article on 'Goldoni in Rome.'—(June 16.) J. Isola's chapters on 'Auguste Comte's Positivism' are continued; and L. Boschi's 'Tonquin' is concluded. Then we have a lecture delivered at Florence on 'La Donna Gentile,' the special 'gentle lady' in this case being Candida Quirina of Siena, the beloved of Ugo Foscolo.—More chapters of the 'Bulgarian Crisis,' and of V. di Giovanni's work on 'Religious and Philosophical Criticism.'—C. de Stefani has a paper on the 'Present State of Geographical Science in Italy,'

showing that it has greatly progressed since the unity of the country, and promises good fruit.

ARCHIVIO STORICO PER LE PROVINCE NAPOLITANE.—The 4th and last fasciculus for 1885 contains the conclusion of the Neapolitan Diary from 1700 to 1709. Among the details is a long account of the eruption of Vesuvius on the 2nd August, 1707, when the bust of San Gennaro was first carried in procession till within sight of the mountain on which the flow of lava ceased, and, in celebration of this miracle the citizens rejoiced for nine days, 'processions of young men and women with bare feet and crowns of thorns on their heads, and carrying crosses and heavy stones' going to the Archbishop's palace; after which on the ninth day, he performed a public benediction in the cathedral. On the 1st October the same year the capitulation of Gaeta is noted. On the 1st October, 1708, the birthday of Charles III. is celebrated with fountains of wine and towers of eatables in front of the Royal Palace. On the 30th March 1709, new taxes are imposed on salt, etc., on which the people make public demonstrations against the government while acclaiming the king, and, after some days disturbance the taxes are reduced.—The notes of the Anjou Treasury are continued from April, to June, 1282.—N. F. Faraglia writes an account of the life and works of Fabio Colonna, who was born in 1566, and died 25th July 1640. This man of science introduced many terms in botany which are still used, and had great influence on many branches of study. He was buried in the Church of the Annunziata at Naples, but after the destruction of that church by fire all traces of his tomb were lost. The article is followed by notes containing many inedited letters by Fabio Colonna.—The next article discusses the date of the founding of the Longobardian principality of Salerno.—B. Capasso gives an account of the new volumes of the Anjou Register, formed of many documents and parchments which had been lost and forgotten among the State Archives in Naples.

LA CIVILTA CATTOLICA (April 3).—The leading article demonstrates that the cause of the Pope is surely advancing to one of those victories in which God's providence is manifested.—(April 17.) Some papers are here commenced on Socialism in Italy, the present one treating of its evils, and pointing out that it is the consequence of the revolution in Italy, and that the corrupt work of liberal nationalism is being favoured by the Government. 'Atheism,' says the writer, 'is the religion of Socialism, and the system which starts from a denial of God ends in the principle that property is a theft. From this proceeds all the rest.'

LA CIVILTA CATTOLICA (May 1).—The second paper on Socialism in Italy points out that the sole remedy would be to re-Christianise society, and a return to the healthy principles of religion and morality.—(May 15.) The leading article treats of young Italy and the old Papacy, contrasting the one with the other, and showing the decay of the new anti-Papal Italy and the glorious vitality of the divine institution of the Papacy.—Each number contains continuations of the articles begun in the present year.

LA CIVILTA CATTOLICA (June 5).—The leading article, on 'A Constitutional Dilemma' says, that, as Italy cannot purge herself of the immeasurable perversion of parliamentary government, it is necessary to prepare for a democratic revolution, before passing to the consequent reaction.—(June 19).—The above theme is continued, and the writer expresses his inability to understand how men of genius like many of the Italian Liberals, can seriously wonder at the degeneration of monarchical parliamentary government into democracy, and of democracy into socialism; and that they can still hope that an authority that is founded on an absurdity can be perpetuated.

THE

SCOTTISH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1886.

ART. I.—LANDED ESTATE AND FARMING IN THE SOUTH-WEST OF SCOTLAND.

A VERY few years have elapsed since it was the ambition of the successful merchant, trader or lawyer, to acquire a landed estate, to become a local magnate or justice, the energetic cultivator of large turnips, a breeder of pork, and the founder of a family having a habitation and a name 'in the county.' The ambition was a laudable one; to a certain extent it still exists, and, it is to be hoped, will continue to exist. But it is beyond doubt that a great and serious change has occurred. The serious depression in agriculture which has now made itself felt for many years, the very moderate return derived from an investment in land, the difficulties which occur with and the demands of tenants, together with the numerous legislative changes which have recently been carried into effect, have all tended to dispel the desire to become a landed proprietor. Not long ago the writer of this paper was present when in the course of an after dinner conversation, an elderly gentleman asked across the table a young man of large fortune, whether he had an estate. 'No,' was the reply (with great energy), 'and a ——— good thing too; all I possess is a house of six rooms.' Such is merely one instance of the feeling now existing. Landed estate still retains its rights, but is shorn of most of its privileges. Until re-

cently the law of entail was in full force, now it is practically at an end,—a change which, on the whole, must be considered beneficial. It is doubtful whether the same can be said for other legislative changes. The abolition of the landlord's preference for rent (a privilege still existing in every civilized country except Scotland), the restrictions on freedom of contract, introduced by the Ground Game Act and the Agricultural Holdings Act, and the imposition of heavy additional taxation, have had a strong tendency to deprive landed property of its charms. These changes once made cannot be gone back upon; it is be hoped that time will soften their asperities, and vindicate the wisdom of those who made them. Landed estate, particularly in beautiful neighbourhoods, must continue an object of desire to all who are in affluent circumstances, and it is unnecessary here to refer to the manner in which the affections of those who have been brought up in an old home, cling to every hill and glen, field and meadow with which they have been long familiar. An investment in consols may be more profitable, but it can never offer that permanent and real satisfaction which is afforded by the ownership of land.

The object of this paper is to give a short account of the condition of landed estate and agriculture in the South-West of Scotland, to examine slightly the causes of the prevalent depression, and to attempt to forecast the future that may be anticipated for the landed proprietor and tenant. The writer makes no pretensions to speak with authority, nor to offer lessons to those who are practical agriculturists; his only claim to be heard arises from a connection with the management of estates in the West and South-west for a considerable period of years.

Few persons probably quite realize the extraordinary changes that have taken place in the value of land within the last century, and the ups and downs which have occurred in the rent of farms. The tendency until ten years ago was in the main strongly upward; it is now rather strongly downward, and the question is, Have things got to the worst, and are they likely now to mend? On the whole, Ayrshire, and indeed the South-west generally, has not suffered so severely

as most of the other parts of Scotland, and the fluctuations in values have not been so extreme. Still they have been experienced here in a considerable degree, and it may be useful to refer to a number of cases. It is, of course, almost antiquarian to mention instances of a hundred years ago, but they are not without interest. The writer was acquainted with a lady of a considerable Ayrshire family in whose marriage settlement it was provided that she should have the choice of the mansion-house, offices, garden, and about forty acres of land rent free, or *thirty pounds a year.* Within her lifetime the annual value of the property so settled upon her might more appropriately be stated at three hundred than thirty pounds. We give below*

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* It is agreed and ended betwixt the persons afternamed viz. Colonel William Dalrymple of Glenmure on the one part, and James Arthur in Benstoun on the other part, in manner following. That is to say the said Colonel William Dalrymple, (in virtue of the power and faculty contained in the Contract of Marriage betwixt William now Earl of Dumfries, and Lady Annie Gordon, Countess of Dumfries, his spouse), has sett and by these presents setts and in Tack and Assedation letts to the said James Arthur and his heirs and executors, (secluding assigneys from all benefits hereof), all and haill the lands and mailling of Benstoun, with houses, biggings, yeards, mosses, muirs, meadows, and whole pertinents of the same, as the same are presently possest by the said James Arthur himself, lying within the paroch of New Cumnock, Kingskyle, and Sheriffdome of Ayr, and that for the space of nineteen years from and after the term of Whitsunday, one thousand seven hundred and ffourty four years, which is hereby declared to be the commencement of this present tack : And from thence furth to be peaceably laboured and possessed by the said James Arthur and his forsaids during the foresaid space with free entry and ish thereto and therefrom without molestation. Which Tack above written, the said Colonel William Dalrymple obliges him his heirs and successors, to warrant to be good and sufficient to the said James Arthur and his forsaids, at all hands and against all deedly as law will. For which Causes the said James Arthur binds and obliges him, his heirs, executors, successors and intromettors with his goods and geir whatsomever thankfully to content and pay to the said Colonel William Dalrymple, his heirs, executors, or assigneys, or to his Factors and Chamberlains in his name, the sum of Fourteen pounds eight shillings and tenpence and two-thirds of one penny sterling, yearly, at two terms in the year, Martinmas and Whitsunday by equal portions : Beginning the first terms payment thereof at the term of Martinmas Imvije and ffourty four years for the half year

copy of a lease of the farm of Benston in New Cumnock Parish, (the brevity of which may be favourably contrasted with the prolixity of modern documents,) wherein the rent stipulated is under £15. The farm is now occupied by descendants of the same tenant at the yearly rent of £230, and, it is believed, even in these hard times, in circumstances of much greater comfort than was enjoyed by their ancestors. In the letters of James Boswell, the celebrated biographer of Dr. Johnson, it is stated that the rental of the large estate of Auchinleck, in Ayrshire, about the year 1750, amounted to £1200, which, taking the

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immediately preceding, and sofurth thereafter at the said terms during the space of this Tack : Together with the number of thirty loads coalles leading in summer yearly, and six good hens in January or ffebruary yearly : As also to pay the whole cess to be imposed upon the said lands yearly during the foresaid space, the half whereof is to be allowed in his yearly rent, and to pay and perform Multure and Service to the Heirs of Skerringtoun used and wont, and to pay the ordinary officer ffee yearly, and to pay and perform boon work and Service used and wont due furth of the saids lands yearly and to uphold the houses on the lands hereby sett in a sufficient tenentable condition and leave them so at his removing therefrom, and both parties oblige them and their foresaids to perform the premises to others in every article under the penalty of ffifty pounds Scots to be paid by the party failzier to the party observe or willing to observe attour performance, and they consent to the registration hereof in the Books of Council, and Session or any others competent, that letters of horning on six days charge 'and other diligence needfull may pass hereon and constitut.

Their Prors, etc., In Witness Whereof these presents (written on stamped paper by John Macroskie, (Writer in Cumnock), are subscribed by both parties as follows, vizt. : by the said Colonel William Dalrymple at Edinburgh, the second day of December, one thousand seven hundred and ffourty two years, before these Witnesses George Mulcaster and Laurence Cuninghame, both servitors to the said Colonel W^{m}. Dalrymple and by the said James Arthur, at Cumnock the sixteenth day of the said month of December Jmvjj and ffourty two years fors^{d}., before these Witnesses, William Fergusson, Edinburgh, and the said John Macreskie, Writer, hereof.

(Sgd.) George Mulcaster, Witnes.	(Sgd.) Wil. Dalrymple.
(„) Laurence Cuninghame, Witnes,	
(,,) Will. Fergusson, Witnes,	(,,) James Arthur.
(,,) John Macroskie, Witnes.	

same property into account, has now probably increased to £7000 or £8000. The writer has now before him a factor's cash account for the year 1795, in which the factor charges himself with so much rental in money, 379 hens, 408 chickens, 699 loads of coal, besides numerous sundries, but winds up with a significant and serious list of 'arrears' amounting to three-fourths of the rental, showing only too clearly that the poor tenant 'bodies' were 'scant o' cash.' Similar experiences, however, of large increases of value are familiar to nearly all. The reverse side of the picture is not so familiar. For many years during the war time at the commencement of this century, the value of land continually increased, farmers made considerable fortunes, and farms were greatly in demand. At that time Dr. Coventry was in high repute as a valuator; he went in for high rents, and demonstrated to a certainty that no diminutions of values could take place. Most people fail to remember that during the period in question many farms were let at higher rents than they command now. But with the advent of peace came a change, and about the year 1820 farms formerly keenly in demand became u nmarketable. About the same time several of the best farms in Carrick lay vacant for years. This depression was of long continuance; capital was scarce, prices of produce and of stock were alike low, there was little enterprise, and the farmers were generally of small means. In one estate with which the writer is acquainted, of a total rental of £10,000 there was annually arrears of £5000 or £6000.

If, therefore, we look back upon the state of affairs as it existed in Ayrshire and the part of Wigtonshire adjoining it, we find that from 1820 to 1840 there was practically very little animation in agricultural affairs, and apparently but few improvements were carried out. The prices of grain, dairy produce, and stock, remained during the whole of the 20 years in a state of stagnation, and although the farmers got along in a tolerably comfortable way, they were obliged to live in a very hard fashion as compared with the mode of living prevalent among the same class in the present. It is not very easy to get authentic information as to the prices of stock or dairy produce during

the period referred to, but as a rule they were undoubtedly low. About the middle of it, between the years 1830 and 1840, grain crops obtained a considerable advance in value. In 1836, a year of exceptional drought, the fiars of wheat for Ayrshire are stated at £2 8s. 1d. per quarter, and of the boll of meal of 140 lbs. at £1 2s. 11d. The prices appear to have continued high up to the beginning of 1840, when for a period of five years low prices were again the rule. With the development of the iron industry, which took place in Scotland about this time, quite a revolution set in throughout the whole of the west of Scotland in the demand for all sorts of agricultural produce. This was, in point of fact, the first cause by which many farmers were enabled to extricate themselves from the difficulties in which they had been involved, and from which there arose a much more cheerful feeling throughout the whole of the district. The development of railways followed, and, as every one now fully recognises, has had a most important influence on the value of landed estates and the condition of the agriculturist. From 1845 to 1848 was, in fact, a time of great inflation, and was followed, as such periods always are, by a period of equal depression.

The writer of the present article began to be connected with the management of land about the year 1850. At the time, although great interest was taken by many proprietors in the development of their estates and the furtherance of agriculture, there still existed a great deal of depression which continued for several years. The effects of the repeal of the corn laws had begun to make themselves more keenly felt, and from 1849 to 1852 prices of nearly every kind were low, and rents in consequence were moderate. A strong impulse towards the improvement of land had, however, been given by the Government loan of a large sum for works of drainage. Scotch proprietors in general, and perhaps more particularly those of the South-west, were not slow to take advantage of the boon thus offered by the Government, and large sums were applied for. The loans thus obtained proved a great advantage both to proprietors and tenants. The money was advanced without difficulty and with very little expense, the

proprietor having it in his power to make an application personally without the intervention of an agent, when a provisional certificate was issued, and he then carried out the work at his own hand, subject to inspection by a practical man appointed by the Lands Commission. As soon as any considerable portion of the work was completed, a certificate of advance could be applied for, which was recorded in the Register of Sasines, and thereafter the money was obtained without difficulty. The total expenses were extremely moderate, and the capital was repayable by a rent charge of 6½ per cent. for twenty-two years. The actual rate of interest (the remainder being applied to redemption of capital) was about 3 per cent., and in many cases the proprietors were able to arrange with their tenants to pay the whole rent charge, so that the outlay was gradually redeemed without outlay by the proprietor. He of course gave his security, and was obliged to run the risk of the success or failure of the experiment. The works of drainage so effected proved very beneficial, though it is unquestionable that they were in some respects imperfect, owing to the prevalence of an erroneous idea that it was possible to secure an effective system of drainage by placing the drains 30 to 40 feet apart, and at a depth of from 3½ to 4 feet. Such a system might have answered in open porous subsoils, but in a great portion of the land in the West of Scotland, which has a clay subsoil, it proved a failure. But though much of the drainage so carried out had not the permanent good effect which was anticipated, there can be no doubt that it lent a stimulus to agriculture, and laid the foundation for works of drainage on a better system. About the same time the green crop system of husbandry was largely extended in Ayrshire. Its introduction, it was believed, would have the effect of a permanent improvement of the land. The best farmers, accustomed to more generous localities, were strong advocates for it, and looked upon it as the foundation of all good husbandry; but for a large portion of the soil in the West of Scotland it turned out to be altogether unsuitable, and those farmers who adhered to the old system of taking two crops of oats, without the intervention of a green

crop, proved really the most successful farmers. About 1852, it was no uncommon thing for a farmer to put in from 20 to 25 acres of green crop who does not now cultivate more than 3 or 4 acres; and seeing how necessary it has become to manage land at as little expense as possible, and to devote it principally to grazing purposes, there can be little doubt that the wisdom of our ancestors has in this case proved the rule to be followed.

It seems right to mention that in the period of which we are now speaking, the custom was adopted on many estates of taking a rent of the nature of a produce rent, which varied according to the value of grain and dairy produce. A considerable number of the best farms were let for a payment of so many bolls of wheat and so much money, a system which is not at all peculiar to the south-west of Scotland. What probably was peculiar was the system of making the rent dependent, to some extent, on the price of cheese and butter, as there were no public averages to be obtained of the value of these commodities. On one large estate in Ayrshire with which the writer is intimately acquainted, the system followed was to convert the money rent into a produce rent, composed of one half cheese taken at an average of 9s. per stone of 24 lbs., or in other words 4½d per lb.; one fourth meal, taken on an average of 15s. per boll, and one fourth money. Thus a tenant in making a bargain for a farm of the value of say £100 a year had the option of taking it either at that sum, or of a produce rent of 110 stones of cheese, 35 bolls of meal, and £30 of money. It was stipulated that the cheese should vary only from 8s. to 10s. per stone, or from 4d to 5d per lb., which was probably rather a low range of variation, and the meal was to be taken according to the fiars prices, but not to be less than 12s. nor more than 18s. per boll. On some other estates, in the neighbourhood of Paisley, the rent was in a measure fixed by the prices of butter, and the custom was to obtain a return from a few of the shopkeepers in the town. On other properties, again, the rent was fixed according to the principle of 'upholding;' that is to say, when a bargain was made for a farm, say for example of £100 a year, it was stipulated that that rent should be payable only so long as the price of cheese

was not under 5d per lb., and that if it fell to be lower, the tenant should receive a corresponding reduction. These arrangements, now that there is a feeling abroad in favour of reverting to some such system, are all of considerable interest. It may be noted, however, that those farmers who adopted the money rent at the time referred to, had very much the best of the bargain, and that the greater number who selected the produce rent found the result ultimately disadvantageous. Although it still exists upon some estates, this system of produce rent has to a very considerable extent died out, the farmers having come to the conclusion that it is better to adopt a stated, or to call it by its old fashioned name, a 'christened' rent, rather than to run the chance of the rise and fall of the markets.

The period of which we have just spoken — from 1850 to 1860—was in the main characterised by a great increase in the value of land, owing in no small degree to the demand for farms caused by the Crimean War. During the middle portion of it grain farms were in good demand, good prices were obtainable, the seasons were favourable, and in the present writer's opinion there has been in the West no better time for letting the ordinary class of farms. It is not improbable that this opinion is not generally shared, yet those who are able to look back to about 1854, when there was both a fair market for dairy produce and a good price obtainable for all kinds of grain, will remember the great demand that existed for moderate arable farms. The price of stock, it is true, had not then advanced to anything like the amount it afterwards arrived at, but all other kinds of articles which the arable farmers had for sale were in very good demand. It is probably not too much to say that the class of farms now referred to advanced in value about twenty per cent., and, as already mentioned, they have never since commanded, and do not now command, the same rent. These prosperous times continued up to the year 1860, when the fiar price of meal for Ayrshire was slightly over a pound, and for wheat forty-eight shillings per quarter, which, though not nearly so high as attained in 1854 and 1855, was unques-

tionably a good price. During the same time a very great advance, which will be afterwards more particularly referred to, had occurred in the value of sheep and wool, so that hill farmers were extremely prosperous, and the demand for stock-farms suddenly shot up. Indeed, it may be stated that from about the year 1859 until recent times, land throughout Scotland rose very highly and rapidly in value. There appeared to be a constant demand for all classes of land, and there was little or no appearance of any such revolution as has been lately experienced. It is necessary, however, to notice a depression which set in about 1861. This depression, although it may be regarded as partial, was for the time being extremely severe. A succession of wet and cold seasons had diminished the fertility of the soil. There was but little to sell on many farms, and only a bad price was obtainable. Bad seasons have been experienced since, but on the whole the period referred to may probably be ranked among the worst for all classes of ordinary arable farms that has occurred during recent years. The best classes of farms were not so badly affected, and least of all were those near the sea shore. The consequence was that this last class of farms continued well in demand, and were profitable to their occupiers. At the same time, the farmers in the hill land continued to be prosperous, so that in point of fact it was principally small men possessed of little capital, but who have throughout distinguished themselves by carefulness, economy, and industry, who suffered most severely. About the year 1865 a change for the better fortunately ensued, and from that time up to the year 1878 the prosperity of agriculturalists in this district of Scotland may be said to have been unchecked. It must not be overlooked, however, that proprietors in general were almost too ready to spend money upon their properties, and that they incurred a very large expenditure in buildings and other estate improvements. It may be taken as an axiom which cannot be too carefully kept in mind by proprietors, that expenditure upon landed estate is easy to make, but very difficult so to make as to secure a permanent return. In not a few instances buildings have been erected which, instead of being any convenience or benefit to the

tenant, are really quite the reverse. It is only natural that the tenant should desire to be well housed and to have everything around him comfortably appointed; but the fitness of things should never be disregarded, and a large house is frequently the means of leading a tenant into expense which he can ill afford. Instances are not wanting of houses being erected with the view of being a comfort to the tenant, which became practically of no use, and where apartments, intended for drawing-rooms and libraries, were applied to the possibly better purpose of keeping grain and potatoes.

In a subsequent part of this article, an attempt will be made to enter more minutely into the effect of the times in regard to the different classes of farms in this portion of Scotland; it is unnecessary, therefore, to refer more particularly at present to what may be termed the good times prior to 1878. In that year the failure of the City of Glasgow Bank occurred in the month of October, and had an immediate effect upon the agricultural interest. Cheese and dairy produce became almost unsaleable, and it was fortunate indeed for the farmers of Ayrshire that a great number of them had disposed of their stock before the failure of the Bank took place. It is scarcely to be conceived that such would have been the case, but it isa fact that the collapse of this bank produced so profound a feeling of distrust throughout the district, that all trafficin these articles practically ceased. It would not be too much to say that the reduction in value was something like 30 per cent., and that in many cases no market could be obtained. A large quantity of American cheese, with which the market chanced to be stocked, had to be sold for what it would bring, and, of course, helped seriously to enhance the depression. Fortunate indeed was it for the agriculturists that most of them had been able to lay aside something from the profits of previous years, and that they were thus in a position to meet the losses they began to experience. The unfortunate change which then came over the position of the farming interest throughout Scotland has remained more or less ever since. Farmers, however, were naturally not slow to draw attention to their grievances, and to inform their proprietors that the rents were too

high; and thus arose the necessity for considering the question of abatements, always a matter of the greatest difficulty, but one which can probably scarcely be avoided in estate management. The large arable farmers, and perhaps particularly those in the Lothians, were of course among those who took the lead in endeavouring to procure remissions of rent. An article which appeared in a leading Scotch newspaper at the time is worth quoting to show what was the feeling that existed. A large proprietor having declined to listen to the suggestion that he should make some concessions to his tenants, had argued, that if would-be tenants of farms continued, as they were, more numerous than the farms, rents were sure to rise; and that in all probability they would rise higher than they consistently should with regard to the tenants' profits. Farmers, he maintained, had no right to complain if they were put under any disadvantage by there being too many of them, or by there being too many people who were anxious to be of them. When he had a farm to let, he chose not the highest bidder, but the man who was likely to prove the best tenant, and had sufficient capital; and having chosen his tenant in this way, he thought he should be held to his bargain. He did not find tenants come to him in a good season saying that they had more profits from their farms than they knew what to do with, and he saw no reason why he should give a diminution of rent in a bad season. A bargain, he said, was a bargain, and men who took farms ought to know what they were doing. After remarking that the point to be most taken to heart by the farmers was that with regard to the diminution of rent, the writer of the article went on to say:—

'It may be questioned whether there is any worse cause of mischief in the farming interests than these diminutions. They are departures from a bargain in a way which is nothing but hurtful to farmers who know their business. They imply to begin with that rents are too high or else that the farmer is destitute of self-respect. If he holds his land at a fair rent, he can on the average of years make a fair profit if he sets his good years against his bad years, and in the end he comes out very well. If however he wants remissions of rent in bad times, it follows that the rent he has agreed to pay is only that which good years will bear,

which is the same thing as saying, that it is too high. The effect then of diminution of rent in bad years, is to keep rents at an unduly high point and to bring into the farming business men who are either reckless or moneyless. Tenant farmers will be wise to take this phase of their difficulties into careful consideration. No doubt many of the remissions of rent are made from the best motives in the world, but they should be looked upon as so called charitable gifts which like many other gifts of the kind do an immense amount of mischief. Few men perhaps under the pressure of a bad season would refuse such remissions but none the less the receipt of them has a pauperising effect. There are people who in talking of the relations which they think ought to exist between landlord and tenant, will speak of sympathy and the kind consideration which landlords ought to have for tenants. That is all very well, but men need not sympathise with each other less because they stick to the bargain they have made. They are more likely to be good friends when each fulfils his engagement to the other than when one assumes the part of superior and the other dependant.'

We have quoted this article at some length because it has always appeared to us to state forcibly and well the argument against periodical remissions of rent, although the present writer cannot say that he fully agrees with the propriety of the view which it advocates being adopted.

There can be no doubt whatever that remissions of rent are objectionable, and that it would be very much better if it were possible to do without them. It is true also that at least until lately a degree of recklessness existed among the offerers for farms, and that the question the offerer put to himself was not so much, what can I afford to pay over an average of years, as what sum will take the farm. It is believed that but few of those in the management of property ever thought of accepting a man as tenant simply because he made a high offer, but the difficulty arose from the fact that the man who made the best or nearly the best offer was constantly the most desirable as a tenant both in respect of experience and capital. It would not therefore have been fair to have declined his offer simply because the person who had the farm to let thought the offer too high, a matter upon which the offerer ought to have been a much better judge than the person having the farm to dispose of. Besides, it must not be overlooked that when a bargain is made for a lease of 15 or 19 years, there must always be

fluctuations in value which cannot be taken into account or contemplated. The prudent may, it is thought, have looked forward to a considerable diminution in the value of grain stuff, but it is scarcely possible that even the most prudent ever anticipated a fall so low as that which has been actually experienced, owing to the great breadth now under crop in India and elsewhere, and to the facilities which exist for carrying it at a low rate to the home market. Recently the writer was informed by a friend who had just returned from Bombay, that on going to the port of exportation he passed through what might be described as miles of sacks of wheat awaiting shipment. This wheat is grown almost without expense either for labour or rent, and is carried to England at an unprecedentedly low figure. But even admitting that some such forecast may possibly have been made with respect to grain, it is far from probable that anyone ever anticipated anything at all like the large importations of cattle and sheep which are now made into this country. Another change that was scarcely anticipated is the importation of dairy produce from America as well as from France, Sweden, and other parts of the Continent. The condition of the iron industry, formerly so important in Scotland, is another most important factor in the diminution of value, and at present causes much anxiety to all who take the future of that industry into consideration. Putting all these things together, we imagine that the landlord will do well to hesitate before parting with a good tenant suffering severely from the general depression. If he takes the condition of affairs into careful consideration, he must see the propriety of lending a helping hand at an exceptional time. The difficulty is to do so with discretion, and to overcome the natural reluctance to part with the tenant. That feeling, though in some respects to be admired, is one that ought to be overcome, as nothing can have a worse influence in the long run than to bolster up and retain in their position tenants who have lost their energy as well as their capital and are allowing everything to go to the bad. We are of opinion, therefore, that while remissions of rent cannot be dispensed with, they ought to be avoided as much as possible, and to be given

effect to with careful discrimination. It is an easy matter for a man otherwise wealthy to concede as much as fifty per cent. to his tenants, and he will no doubt be praised for doing so; but, at the same time, it is an injustice to others, and of very doubtful benefit even to the men who receive the concession. The present is an anxious time to those proprietors who are dependent upon their rental, and who are generally (it is feared) burdened with mortgages, and certainly with heavy taxation. It is a simple theoretical remedy to advise them to sell, but that course is not in practice open to the great majority of them, and it would be most undesirable to sever the tie which happily exists between many proprietors even of moderate estates and men who have occupied their farms for a long series of years. There seems, in the meanwhile, no remedy but the adoption of strict economy and carefulness of management on both sides. A change for the better may be long in coming, but it is hoped and believed that it will come, and that the present depression, like many others, will come to be regarded as a thing of the past.

Farms in the South-west of Scotland may be divided into three classes, viz., Dairy farms, Stock farms, and Arable farms. Of course, in many instances they are of a mixed nature, but the division is sufficient for all practical purposes, and to these three classes we now propose to direct the reader's attention.

A peculiarity of this part of Scotland is that although it may be said to be a highly cultivated district, it contains a very large proportion of small farms. From a return prepared a few years ago, and which is probably in the main still accurate, it appears that there were in Ayrshire somewhere about 2500 farms, of which no fewer than 760 were let at a rent not exceeding £100 a year; about 1500 let at a rent between £100 and £200 a year; 250 at between £300 and £600 a year; and only about 30 at a rent exceeding £600 a year. In Renfrewshire the proportions were much the same. Galloway and Dumfriesshire had a considerably higher proportion of large farms, and not so many small dairy possessions.

I.—Dairy Farms.

The branch of industry comprehended under this head may

be regarded as the leading one in the district, and will probably continue to be the most important. It is confined to what is practically a small area, and has the advantage of being capable of successful management with a moderate capital and little expenditure. There are three sub-divisions of dairy farms—(1) those in which the tenant makes butter, a comparatively limited number; (2) those from which the milk is sent for sale into towns in the immediate neighbourhood or despatched by railway to Glasgow; and (3) those which are mainly confined to the manufacture of cheese.

With regard to the first of these sub-divisions, butter-making is an art in which, unfortunately, but few excel. The manufacture of fresh or sweet butter, when successfully carried on, is as profitable a mode as any of disposing of dairy produce, but it requires a knowledge of the art, the vicinity of customers, and the building up of a connection. It is not likely therefore that this branch of dairy industry will be very largely extended even although it offers in some respects peculiar advantages. The milk selling dairies on the contrary are likely to increase in number. The most profitable way of managing a dairy is beyond doubt to sell the whole of the milk to customers in the neighbourhood of the farm; if customers are to be obtained. The difficulty lies in the fact that the trade is apt to be overdone, and in the farmer finding himself left with a portion of his produce on hand at a time when he can turn it to little account. The sale of milk to Glasgow and one or two other large towns has, however, been a great resource to the dairy farmer. A great number of farms have easy access to a railway and it is a special advantage to get the whole of the milk off the premises with little labour. The price of late has sunk to a low figure even in large towns, owing no doubt to the unusual amount of competition combined with depression among the working classes. Good pure milk is, however, almost a necessity of life, and it is much to be regretted that in such towns as Glasgow there are not greater facilities for bringing the producer and the customer into direct connection. Under the provision of recent statutes farms from which milk is sold, require to be inspected and certified as fitted

for such sale in respect to cleanliness, ventilation, water supply, and the like, before the tenant can be licensed to sell milk. A similar rule applies to milk shops. The proprietors of these in large towns have probably the best of the bargain; and it is thought that a syndicate of farmers who would establish a few shops under their own control for the sale of their own produce exclusively, would most likely find it a profitable speculation.

The third subdivision of dairy farms is the one which represents the staple industry of Ayrshire. The Dunlop or Ayrshire cheese has long been famous in its way. Farmers who manufacture this class of produce may be styled the representative agriculturist of the district. They are men whose whole life has been associated with cows and dairy management; their wives and daughters have been brought up to it from their earliest years; and their carefulness of management and economy are wonderful. The small amount of hired labour with which these farmers manage their farms is really astonishing; and it is highly creditable to them that during long periods of depression they have been able to hold their own. These men and their success form a practical protest against the craze (now probably passed away) for doing away with small farms and putting large areas of land into one hand. Outsiders may describe them as unintelligent and wedded to their old customs, sometimes even as cunning and grasping, but the writer of this article has great satisfaction in bearing testimony to the sterling worth and character in the main of the small tenantry with whom he has been acquainted.

As just mentioned the Dunlop cheese was the original product of Ayrshire and Renfrewshire, and its manufacture is still continued on many farms. But a considerable nnmber of years ago a great step in advance was made by the introduction into the locality of the Cheddar method of making cheese. It cccurred to some of the then leading members of the Ayrshire Agricultural Association, that it would prove of great advantage if a more careful and scientific mode of manufacture were introduced and a class of produce made which could compete with the high class English cheese. Accordingly a deputation was sent to England,

who at first, it is believed, had in contemplation the introduction of the Cheshire mode, but after careful enquiry they recommended for trial the manufacture of Cheddar cheese as made in the neighbourhood of Bath. The recommendation was keenly taken up throughout the district, many landlords afforded their tenants the benefit of instruction from a practical English maker, and the introduction of the new system proved so decided a success, that it is not too much to say, that no improvement in agriculture has of late years been of the same benefit to the tenantry of this part of Scotland. Like other improvements it has had its own difficulties to contend with; but one of the highest testimonies to its excellence is that those who still continue to make the old Dunlop cheese (for which some places are still the best suited) adopt most of the changes introduced by the Cheddar method. The Cheddar mode of manufacture has now spread widely and is nowhere carried to such perfection as in the large farms situated in the best part of Galloway. These farms lie along the coast from Stranraer round by Wigtown and Kirkcudbright and are extremely favourably situated for the production of high classed cheese. They have the advantage of carrying large herds of cows. The pasture is early and of a sweet description, and instead of there being dairy women the actual making is mostly entrusted to men. In many cases the Cheddar method has been carried to such perfection that the cheese is fit to be placed upon the London market, and when exhibited at the annual leading show at Kilmarnock, the Galloway cheeses have almost invariably taken the first rank. Those manufactured in Ayrshire appear to take longer to ripen, and it is not likely that they will ever be able to compete with the best class of Galloway manufacture, owing to the various local advantages which the latter possess. For the credit of Ayrshire it may be stated, however, that a large proportion of those who have most distinguished themselves in Galloway in this department, were originally trained in Ayrshire, and have imported their skill from the one county into the other. It is no discredit to the great bulk of Ayrshire farmers to be unable to compete successfully with their Galloway brethren, and it says not a little in their favour that the best class among

them are often able to press them very close. It may be remarked that it is year by year becoming of the utmost importance to endeavour to produce a first class article, as even in bad times it commands a ready sale, and is not subject to the same competition from foreign import. The difference in value between the two classes, that is, between first class and moderate cheese, may be stated at present at at least 8s. per cwt., representing about 30s. for each cow kept on the farm.

Within the last year or two a considerable effort has been made among the landlords and tenants in the South-west of Scotland, by means of the formation of a Dairy Association, to improve the manufacture of cheese. This Association was formed in the year 1884; and it is not a little singular that in order to obtain the best possible instruction and advice, the Association had to have recourse to America. Arrangements were made by which first of all Mr. Harris and afterwards Mr. Drummond were brought from that continent to afford instruction throughout the district, and this system is still being continually developed. These instructors, although meeting with their own difficulties, and being probably, like many other instructors, too full of the merits of their own system, have unquestionably done a great deal of good. They have insisted upon the most careful attention in the manufacture, the provision of thorough water supplies, the observation of the most scrupulous cleanliness, and the introduction of the best class of houses both for making and keeping the article. Farmers in general have shown the greatest desire to avail themselves of the opportunities of instruction and development thus offered to them, and in a good many cases the result has been very satisfactory. It has quite recently been determined to establish dairy schools throughout the district, from which, also, it is hoped much benefit will be derived. These dairy schools are to be placed on different farms, and if properly taken advantage of, they are certain to promote and stimulate the manufacture of the best classes of dairy produce. It is too early to speak of their success, but it may confidently be predicted.

It may be interesting in connection with this subject to give here a statement of the average price of cheese which has been obtained in Ayrshire for the last 38 years. The average is taken

from the smaller and more representative classes of dairies, and does not include the best class, the object being to give the fair average price available in ordinary circumstances :—

Year.	Price per Lb.	Price per Ayrshire stone of 24 lbs.		Price per Cwt.		
	D.	S.	D.	£	S.	D.
1848	4	8	0	1	17	4
1849	$3\frac{22}{24}$	7	10	1	16	$6\frac{8}{12}$
1850	$3\frac{22}{24}$	7	10	1	16	$6\frac{8}{12}$
1851	$3\frac{17}{24}$	7	5	1	14	$7\frac{4}{12}$
1852	$3\frac{18}{24}$	7	6	1	15	0
1853	$5\frac{10}{24}$	10	10	2	10	$6\frac{8}{12}$
1854	$4\frac{21}{24}$	9	9	2	5	6
1855	$5\frac{16}{24}$	11	4	2	12	$10\frac{8}{12}$
1856	$6\frac{4}{24}$	12	4	2	17	$6\frac{8}{12}$
1857	$5\frac{17}{24}$	11	5	2	13	$3\frac{4}{12}$
1858	$5\frac{3}{24}$	10	3	2	7	10
1859	$6\frac{3}{24}$	12	3	2	17	2
1860	$6\frac{7}{24}$	12	7	2	18	$8\frac{8}{12}$
1861	$5\frac{6}{24}$	10	6	2	9	0
1862	$5\frac{6}{24}$	10	6	2	9	0
1863	$5\frac{21}{24}$	11	9	2	14	10
1864	$6\frac{1}{24}$	12	1	2	16	$4\frac{8}{12}$
1865	$6\frac{11}{24}$	12	11	3	0	$3\frac{4}{12}$
1866	$7\frac{4}{24}$	14	4	3	6	$10\frac{8}{12}$
1867	$5\frac{10}{24}$	10	10	2	10	$6\frac{8}{12}$
1868	6	12	0	2	16	0
1869	$7\frac{2}{24}$	14	2	3	6	$1\frac{4}{12}$
1870	$6\frac{11}{24}$	12	11	3	0	$3\frac{4}{12}$
1871	$6\frac{3}{24}$	12	3	2	17	2
1872	$6\frac{18}{24}$	13	6	3	3	0
1873	$7\frac{13}{24}$	15	1	3	10	$4\frac{8}{12}$
1874	$7\frac{6}{24}$	14	6	3	7	8
1875	$6\frac{12}{24}$	13	0	3	0	8
1876	$5\frac{16}{24}$	11	4	2	12	$10\frac{8}{12}$
1877	$7\frac{7}{24}$	14	7	3	8	$0\frac{8}{12}$
1878	$5\frac{13}{24}$	11	1	2	11	$8\frac{8}{12}$
1879	$5\frac{2}{24}$	10	2	2	7	$5\frac{4}{12}$
1880	$7\frac{2}{24}$	14	2	3	6	$1\frac{4}{12}$
1881	$6\frac{16}{24}$	13	4	3	2	$2\frac{8}{12}$
1882	$6\frac{12}{24}$	13	0	3	0	8
1883	$6\frac{15}{24}$	13	3	3	1	10
1884	$6\frac{5}{24}$	12	5	2	17	$11\frac{4}{12}$
1885	$4\frac{21}{24}$	9	9	2	5	6
1886	5	10	0	2	6	8

The average produce per cow on farms of the class we are at present dealing with, may be stated at about 15 stones each. The quantity produced has a tendency to rise, which cannot be ascribed altogether to the climate or farm, as farmers are now much more liberal in the use of home-feeding than they were at one time. It is scarcely necessary to say that the Ayrshire breed of cows is that almost universally employed all over the district. Much attention has been given for many years to improving the breed, and no class of animal could be better fitted for use throughout the district. They thrive wonderfully well even upon upland pastures, and yield a large quantity of milk, sometimes it must be confessed of rather thin quality. Where the milk is to be sold or turned into cheese, they are undoubtedly the best breed. They are not so well fitted for the production of butter, and it may be here mentioned, as an interesting experiment, that when recently a good Ayrshire cow was tested against a fair Jersey—both animals being kept upon the same feeding—the Ayrshire cow gave in the course of a week 24 gallons of milk which, on being churned, produced 7 lbs. of butter, while the Jersey cow gave 20 gallons of milk which, on being churned, produced fully 13 lbs. of butter. The result, so far as butter is concerned, was very much in favour of the Jersey cow; but it need scarcely be said that it is a delicate class of animal, not fitted for the ordinary dairy farmer in this country.

II.—Stock Farms.

It is probably unnecessary to enter minutely into any account of this class of farms, as they are in no respect peculiar to the district of Scotland which is the subject of this article, except in so far as part of Ayrshire has become celebrated for the breed of black faced sheep. There are a great many excellent stock farms both in the same county and in other parts of the district, but it is much to be regretted that the men who occupy this class of farms, after enjoying a period of unexampled prosperity, have of late years been subjected to severe suffering, and perhaps the present year, following upon a winter of unexampled severity, will be actually the worst that has been experienced during the present

generation. The fluctuations in value to which this class of farms has been exposed, have been very violent, and it is feared it may be a considerable time before matters settle down in a proper and satisfactory groove. The introduction of sheep of good class is of comparatively recent date. At the commencement of the century the most of the land now under sheep was probably occupied by black cattle, and men are still alive who were accustomed to drive their stock annually to Barnet Fair, near London, a journey made on horseback, and occupying several weeks. It is singular to reflect that comparatively few years have elapsed since the same system was carried on in Scotland for the disposal of stock as exists at present among the backwoodsmen of Australia. Wool, always an available staple, has been subject to really extraordinary fluctuations; and the writer may be allowed here to quote from an agricultural paper an interesting notice in which the history of the chief of them is given:—

'A century ago the value of good average lustre wool was almost exactly 14s. 6d. per tod * and the value appears to have gone on increasing until 1791 when 20s. per tod was reached. Prices subsequently fluctuated very much, and a backward movement reduced prices to 16s. 6d. per tod in 1797 as against 20s. per tod in 1792. Several rises and falls took place in succeeding years until 1802, when an upward bound brought values to 31s. per tod which must at that time have seemed a very excessive price. Prices again fell, but a revival taking place rates were maintained from 28s. to 33s. per tod up to 1813, and in 1814 a sudden bound took place and values rose to 44s., in 1815 to 50s. a remarkably high bound. The relapse came no less suddenly for in 1816 32s. per tod represented the value of good grown wool. After these fluctuations a period of calm attended the prices of wool, and from this time up to 1832 the value was little altered, the range being from 28s. to 32s., but in the autumn of 1834 wool jumped up suddenly to 46s. per tod and the value remained above 40s. for a considerable time, but in 1843 a great drop took place and only 25s. 6d. could be got for excellent wool. The next three years brought up the level of prices to between 30s. and 32s. per tod, but during the years 1847 and 1848, a fall brought rates to 27s. While in 1849 the extraordinary low limit of 22s. per tod was reached. Next year 26s. was secured, and in the year after that, (1851) the price was 30s.; in 1863 an upward movement brought prices to 52s.; and in 1864 the rates touched 65s. per tod, being the highest price reached

* A tod of wool is 28 lbs,

in the century for wool. The succeeding year brought back values to 59s. per tod; and in 1866 they had fallen to 43s. 6d.; and the fluctuations were but little marked until 1870, when there was a sudden drop to 36s. Next year figures were 47s per tod, and the year after that, 1872, 58s. From that time the history of the wool market has been in the main on a gradual decline. There was it is true a rise of 7s. per tod, in 1879 to 1880 namely from 27s. to 34s. per tod, but in 1881 26s. represented the value of fine grown English wool, 1882 showed only 24s. per tod, and 1883 again brought the level of prices to the remarkably low figure of 22s. per tod, the lowest point recorded since 1849 and with the exception of that single depression which lasted only for one year the most remarkable decline in values which has been experienced in the present century.'

These excessive fluctuations in value are really startling, but it is to be feared that a very low price has now been permanently established. In the present year there has been a substantial increase in the price of fine classed wool, but the farmers who have only black faced wool to sell, have experienced little benefit, the ordinary price still remaining at the very low figure of 5½d per lb. In addition to the low prices thus obtainable, the hill farmer is now suffering from a very low market value for his sheep. During the good times of ten or fifteen years ago the prices of all kinds of sheep ruled extremely high, but these are now sunk to less than half their former value. As an instance shewing more forcibly than anything else the fluctuations in the value of this class of property, there may be here mentioned the case of a good grass farm in the upper part of Ayrshire familiar to the writer. The farm in question was let about the year 1858 at £600, and was considerably improved both by proprietor and tenant at the beginning of the lease. When the lease was about to expire, in 1874, the farm was let to a well known agriculturalist in the district at the rent of £1280. The alterations in times and values proved, however, too much for him, and three years ago the farm had occasion to be let again, when the rent became £830. Owing to the death of the tenant who then entered upon occupation, the farm has now been let again, but at the rent of £620, or about the same amount as it fetched 30 years ago. It is feared that this is merely an instance of what may be experienced in a large number of similar possessions, and taken in conjunction with the violent fluctuations above shown in the price of wool, may serve

as a lesson showing the necessity for caution in the renting of such land. It is within the writer's knowledge that great fluctuations of the same kind have been recently experienced in Galloway and Dumfriesshire. He may note a single farm as an instance which in 1874 rose from £80 to £200 in rent, and has now gone back to £80 again. These vicissitudes are far from agreeable to landlords, but it is to be feared there is no help for them. The lesson really taught by them is to make a strong effort to keep to a just medium in values and rents.

III.—Arable Farms.

As already mentioned the arable farms of the district are now practicably confined to the best class of land situated either upon the coast or in exceptionally favourable localities. In nearly every case the keeping of a dairy is combined with arable cultivation, but it cannot be said that there is any peculiarity in the cultivation practised in the district, excepting in regard to the early potato culture. That culture is peculiar to a part of Renfrewshire and Ayrshire; and it may be interesting to give some account of the method adopted by the best agriculturalists in the district. The following account has obtained by the writer from a practical agriculturalist, and is here given for the information of those who may be interested in the subject. The opinion of the agriculturalist in question is that the best white early potato is what is called 'Dons.' The earliest potato he has grown is 'Beauty of Hebron,' a salmon coloured potato, but which owing to its colour does not take so well in the market. There is another heavy cropping early potato named 'Gooderich,' but it is not considered to be very certain. So much with regard to the kind of seed used. In order to give the potato every chance to be ready for the earliest markets, the seed is started in boxes 30 inches long, 21 inches wide, and 3 inches deep, with corner posts 6 inches long having a rail across. The rails across the top of the corner posts act as handles to the boxes when they are placed one over another. The boxes have a free circulation of air through them. The manner of boxing is as follows. The 'seconds' or 'middlings' of the kind selected are dressed over

an inch and a quarter riddle and if ripe are put into the boxes when dug, say in September or October. If the seconds of the early grown ones are taken, they are put into thin pits and covered with straw, to allow them to ripen, and are then put into boxes, say in September. The boxes are filled with the potatoes only, and are put on the top of one another in a place where there is no danger of frosts, and where they may have a little heat if necessary in winter. As a rule there is more difficulty in keeping back the shoots than otherwise, and if the potatoes are kept moderately warm and sprung about half or three quarters of an inch about 1st February, and then put into a cool place to harden before being planted, they are all the better. With regard to the manures used, dung or seaweed is generally applied on the top and ploughed in with a thin furrow in the back end, and if on lea (which is always preferable for growing early potatoes) it is better to be put on as early as possible to wash into the grass. It is considered scarcely practicable to grow potatoes on lea for any length of time without heavy manure unless a great deal of feeding stuff is consumed on the grass. Generally speaking, where land is used principally for growing potatoes, it is two years potatoes, dung if possible being applied in one of the two years, and two years grass, sown out after potatoes. As to planting, with boxed potatoes this should not be done too early, say the second week of March. The drills ought to be made twenty-six inches wide, as it is important that potatoes for early use should be planted in shallow drills and covered deep after planting. In this way a week of difference in raising may be made. The boxes with potatoes are taken to the field and planted out, two planters taking one box. Peruvian guano of good quality is the best manure for early potatoes, but it cannot always be relied upon. Latterly a compound manure made up of phosphatic guano along with sulphate of ammonia and sulphate of potash, has been found the most beneficial. This is applied at the rate of eight to twelve cwts. per imperial acre according to the quantity of heavy manure applied, and costs at present about £9 per ton. The great object of course is to have the crop as early as possible in the market, and if this can be managed a good price is obtainable even at present, such as £30 per acre.

The above mode of cultivation is available only over a very limited area and cannot be described as applicable to arable farms in general. As already mentioned it is in Ayrshire an industry of importance and tends to keep up the value of good land suitable for that class of culture. On the whole, such farms will probably maintain their value fairly well. They have undoubtedly within the last ten years or so somewhat decreased in value but such decrease may be fairly stated at not more than ten per cent.

It seems unnecessary to say much as to the causes of the present depression which, as has been shown, exists more in connection with stock farms than in the ordinary class of farms in the district. The smaller farms have proved the mainstay of agriculture, and although the condition of the agriculturists who manage them cannot be described as prosperous, it is at least fair. The fluctuations in value of such farms have not been severe. In a great number of cases particularly upon large estates, the rents have not varied much for the last generation, and on the whole, taking into account the large expenditure on improvements made by many proprietors, they are probably not higher now than they were thirty or forty years ago. The great inflation in value of stock farms appears for the present to have come to an end with but little prospect of a change for the proprietor. It is believed, however, that even in respect to this class of farms a better feeling will shortly prevail, and that matters will so arrange themselves that proprietors will receive a steady rent, and tenants be fairly thriving, though without much chance of making fortunes. The occupation of the farmer, though of great interest and popularity, will probably never be a very profitable one. Hitherto the farmer has experienced, and, it is to be hoped, will continue to experience whenever times require it, much consideration from his landlord. It is to be hoped, also, that the good feeling which exists between landlord and tenant will never be severed. It is best for both to look forward to the future in humble confidence that what has been will be, and that fairly prosperous times will again set in.

CHAS. G. SHAW.

Art. II.—ON INLAND TRANSPORT.

IT has been said that there is no greater national benefactor than the man who makes two blades of corn grow where one grew before. It is not, indeed, easy to fix a limit to the power of human industry, when wisely employed as the handmaid of nature. Soil and climate are usually regarded as the chief determinants of the vegetable produce of a country. But in the selection of the crops best suited to a given soil and climate lies much of the secret of agricultural prosperity. And climate can be ameliorated, and soil actually created, by the care of man. The Italian peasant toils up a steep hill-side, carrying in a basket or in a bit of sacking the few shovel-fulls of earth which are all that are necessary for the roots of the olive; and thus makes the bare rock yield, not water, but oil. It has been the custom of those who have done so much to establish the reign of beggary in Ireland to lay the blame of the small returns now obtained from the soil of that most fertile island on the climate. In 1812 Mr. Wakefield told a very different story. The result of his careful enquiry, together with those of Sir Robert Kane, of Professor Low, of Professor Johnstone, and of M. Moreau de Jonnes, is to the effect that the natural fertility of Ireland exceeds that of England by at least 10 per cent. Wheat has yielded, in Waterford, 4,200lbs. per acre; potatoes, at Athboy, in Meath, 72,100lbs. per acre; and along the shores of the Shannon, the flax crop, which under proper culture rather enriches than impoverishes the soil, enabled the farmer—before the era of the Land Law—to realise from £25 to £30 per acre. These recorded rates of produce compare very favourably with the 32 bushels of wheat which the Belgian farmer raised on the average from an acre of his carefully tilled soil in 1882: not to mention the miserable Russian return, in 1883, of only 5¼ bushels per acre.

But whatever man does to multiply the yield of corn and oil, and to aid nature in the bestowal of her bounties, a certain proportion of his industry must always be devoted to the distribution of the produce of the soil. With every step in that geo-

metrically increasing growth of population which forms the great solvent of all ancient institutions, the need for giving special attention to distribution increases. In farms of small extent, and in the case of what is called on the continent *la petite culture*, the area of land required for roads and communications is said to be as much as one fifth of that actually under crops. In some of the terrible famines that have devastated large provinces of India within the last half century, corn has rotted on the ground in some districts, for want of the means of transport, while within 100 or 200 miles distance the people have been actually starving. Thus while the carrier, or distributor of produce, comes into the field later than the agriculturist in point of time, his services are none the less necessary for the support of human life. Without the farmer, of course, there would be nothing for the carrier to transport; but without the carrier the produce of the farmer has but a local and restricted value.

We know comparatively little of the modes of transport anciently in use in countries where population became as dense as was occasionally the case. Imperial Rome was fed with corn from that rich Egyptian soil which a vacillating policy has watered with so much blood, with the natural result of reaping a harvest of famine. We have occasional complaints of the inadequacy of the Tiber as a channel of access to Rome for the African transports. There are reasons, both of a geological and of an engineering character, for the conjecture that the site of Rome has sensibly subsided since the foundation of the city; so that the current of the river below the Ripetta was formerly more rapid than at present. But although the Roman never rose to much excellence as a navigator, wherever his eagles flew he has left his record as a road maker. The Via Appia, built of solid blocks of lava some two feet square, although no longer the line of communication between Rome and Puteoli, is in many parts of its course in as substantial repair at this moment, as it could have been when St. Paul was met in his journey over it by his friends at Appii Forum.

In the provinces, the Roman roads formed an essential feature of a great system of organised conquest. The comprehensive plan of the Roman roads in Britain contrasts very forcibly with the

haphazard manner in which the web of railway communication has been spun during the last half century. It may indeed be said with truth that Stephenson followed in the track of Telford, and that the canals and roads made by Telford owed their position to the physical features of the country, as marked by the river courses. But if the plan of first selecting the main centres which were to be linked by roads of iron, and then laying down the most direct feasible lines between these centres, had been adopted in Britain (as it was by Sir John Burgoyne in Ireland), a very large amount of unnecessary expenditure would have been saved on the English railways. Such was the Roman method. Their rulers selected, with admirable skill, the points that commanded the strategic occupation of the country, and ran roads—for the most part as straight as arrows—from post to post. From London, thus early indicated as the metropolis, radiated direct roads to Sandwich, to Colchester, to Harwich, to Shrewsbury, and to Bath. The Great Eastern and Western Road that ran through and united the valleys of the Thames and of the Avon was prolonged, after crossing the Severn, along the Welsh coast to Caermarthen, on the Towy. Three great parallel lines of road ran in a north-easterly and south-westerly direction across the country. Of these the westernmost connected Newport, Shrewsbury, Chester, York, and Pretorium, near Flamborough Head. From Chester a line ran to Segontium, on the Menai Straits; from Manchester there was a road to Carlisle, and the estuary of the Solway; a road ran from York to Hexham; Exeter, Dorchester, Salisbury, Winchester, and the sheltered waters about Portsmouth, were linked by another great route. In a word the principal lines of march were laid down with a thorough strategic knowledge of the country; and the permanent service of military supplies, as well as of military communications, was provided for by the substantial public works which subserved the later developments of commerce. Very rarely, and only to turn some physical obstacles, or (in one instance, that of Silbury Hill) apparently to avoid the desecration of a sacred site, did the roads from post to post deviate from the straight line; and the substantial mode of workmanship employed was such as to render these noble ways available for transport at all seasons of the year.

We have but little light as to the methods and the dates by and at which the inter-communications of this great military skeleton were filled in. But there is no doubt that, at the close of the eighteenth century, the roads throughout England were in a condition every way inferior to that in which the Romans left those of them which they had constructed or repaired. Our annals are full of stories of the perils and delays that beset the travellers in Britain when the House of Hanover mounted the throne; and so late as the close of the great struggle with Napoleon Buonaparte —we have it on the personal authority of Sir James Macadam —the guard of the Royal Mail, if he saw a waggon a-head, had to blow his horn 'to make the wagon get out of *his* rut.'

To Mr. Macadam, the father of Sir James, is due the common sense invention that led to the perfection which the English roads had in some parts attained by 1830 or thereabouts. Coming to Bristol from Scotland, Mr. Macadam became a local magistrate and a commissioner of the turnpike roads; and found opportunity of introducing in his district the method on which he had satisfactorily experimented in Scotland. His theory was, that it was waste of labour to build a road, or to base it on rude stonework. The earth, in any event, had to carry the traffic; and if it could only be kept dry the less weight thrown upon it the better. The aim of the new method, therefore, was to provide a hard covering for the roadway track, that should be impervious to water and to turn off the rain that fell on the surface into lateral ditches; and the best material for constructing what came to be called by the expressive name of 'road metal' was found to be small portions of hard stone, broken so as to offer facets and angles which, under the wheels of the vehicles using the road, became consolidated into a sort of mortarless concrete. The only substantial improvement that has been introduced on the plan of Mr. Macadam has been to consolidate a newly made road, as soon as laid, by a heavy roller, instead of committing this duty to the vehicles, which naturally shun those parts of the road where their grinding and consolidating action is most required.

How far the excellent *breccia* roads of Italy may claim precedence of the invention of Macadam is not quite clear. Along the coast of the Adriatic, from Foggia to Brindisi, runs a mag-

nificent highway, which might readily be mistaken for an English road. One or two mile stones, of the very shape and size once familiar on our own roads, but as old as imperial times, enable the student to identify the present road as that over part of which Horace travelled, in his memorable journey to Brindisi. But the admirable quality of the stone with which the district abounds, a stone which has taught every country mason to become a sculptor, may have had much to do with the method of road making. The excellent gravel that is found in some parts of our own chalk districts, as for instance from Watford to Tring, must have been formed into carriage drives long before our date. And the hard and easily shivered serpentine which forms the nucleus of the Lickey Hill, between Worcester and Birmingham, naturally makes such excellent road metal on the Macadam plan, that it is difficult to conjecture that it could have been applied to road making in any other manner.

However that may be, of the originality of Macadam's method there is no room for doubt. Shortly after he had induced his brother magistrates to leave to him the management of the roads, it chanced that the Postmaster-General, looking over the time bill for the then ensuing winter for the Bristol mail, observed that no extra time was allowed for the stage into, or out of, Bristol. Calling for an explanation of an anomaly which he naturally thought was a mistake, (as the summer and winter time bills materially differed about the year 1815), his lordship was informed that over this particular bit of road the mails ran at the same pace in summer and in winter. The Postmaster-General said no more, but ordered his carriage, posted to Bristol, and walked over the line in question. He returned with the like silence to London, and summoned the Bristol magistrate to an interview. 'I have sent for you, Mr. Macadam,' he said, 'because I want to make you superintendent of all our mail roads;' and, after some demur, Mr. Macadam, calling his sons to his aid, undertook the duty.

By the smooth hard surface given by Macadam to the roads, together with the improvements made in carriage springs, and in the build of mail coaches and other vehicles, and by the care bestowed on the breeding and keeping of horses that united

strength and speed of action, road travelling in England was brought to a state of perfection that reached its acme about 1830. In 1835 the night and day Devon and Cornwall mails, known as the Quick-silver mails, maintained a speed, one of 10, and the other of 11 miles per hour, changes and stoppages included, over a sharply accentuated country. Over the more level parts of their course, the Shrewsbury and Cheltenham coaches, the Hirondelle and the Hibernia, and the Shrewsbury and London coach, the Wonder, made a steady running of sixteen miles an hour. Such, fifty years ago, was the contest for the blue ribbon of the road.

Such speed, of course, was reserved for passenger travelling. Goods vans and waggons enjoyed the benefit of the excellent roads made for the mails. But the chief inland transport of heavy goods, for considerable distances, half a century ago, was by water. It was in 1750 that the Duke of Bridgewater engaged Brindley to design and construct the inland waterway that yet bears the name of the Bridgewater Canal; a noble monument, at once of the courage, perseverance, and insight into the future of the Duke, and of the inventive and practical genius of the engineer. At the present day, 127 years after its commencement, although improved in some details (the Barton aqueduct has twice been widened), the Bridgewater Canal may be taken as a model work, and exists on the lines laid down by Brindley. It is characterized by the two bold and noble features of a rapid ascent from the waters of the Mersey at Runcorn by a chain of 10 locks, known as Neptune's staircase, (which is now doubled); and of a long stretch of unbroken level from the summit thus attained to Manchester.

The high state of excellence to which travelling on the ordinary road was brought by 1830 led to the attempt to unite the speed at which the horse can draw a moderate load with the smoothness of water carriage, and the great economy secured by the absence of road and vehicle friction on a canal. Experiments were made by Sir W. Fairbairn for the proprietors of the Forth and Clyde Canal which gave the result, then regarded as a complete anomaly, that the tractive force exhausted was 10 per cent. less at ten than at eight miles an hour. The reason of this

apparent anomaly is now known, and the value of depth as an element of diminution of resistance to navigation has been shown in theory, and amply illustrated by practice. But the projectors of the Suez Canal, and of certain much needed links in the inland water ways of this country and of France, have as yet failed to derive the advantages which are rendered possible by the discovery.

In fact, the great revolution in our means of transport, which is due to the development of the locomotive, turned attention for a while from the cheaper and more capacious appliances of water transit to the rapid service effected on the railway. It was in the year 1767 that the Colebrook Dale Iron Company first profected the wooden rails (the use of which for diminishing road friction is as old as the Assyrian Empire) with iron. The rails for this purpose were cast in lengths of five feet, being four inches wide, and one and a half inches thick, pierced with three holes, through which they were fastened to the oak rails on which they lay. A subsequent improvement was to cast the rails with a flange (or in the shape, in cross section, of a capital L), in order to keep the wheels from leaving them. Stone blocks were, in many cases, substituted for wooden rails as supports. The gauge, or width between the flanges (which were on the inner side of the rails), was from two and a half to three feet, and the wagons employed had narrow cast-iron wheels, and no springs. In 1838, the greater part of the coal consumed at Cheltenham was brought over a tramway of this description from the Forest of Dean.

The substitution of wrought for cast-iron rails, and the removal of the flange from the rail to the wheels, were the next important improvements. The increase of traffic between Liverpool and Manchester led, in 1825, to the construction of a railway between these two important towns; and the question of the best mode of traction, whether horse-power, stationary engine-power, or locomotive engine-power, then came forward for solution. A prize was offered by the directors of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway for the best locomotive; and the trials between the engines sent in for competition at Rainhill, in 1829, were the throes of the birth of the railway system. In the course of certain repairs and alterations made by Mr. Stephenson after

the first day's running, the efficacy of the blast, which had indeed been before advocated by Mr. Gurney, became unexpectedly apparent, and the limit of speed was thenceforth no longer to be fixed by the power of propulsion, but only by the degree of safety afforded by the flange, and by the resistance of the atmosphere.

As soon as it became clear that a speed of twenty to thirty miles an hours, or even more, could be certainly and economically commanded by the locomotive, the public rushed forward to take a share in the fruits of this unprecedented physical revolution. Parliament and the Government alike neglected the duty of laying down lines for the direction of the new enterprise, so as to ensure the best service for the public; a neglect in which the Administration of the United Kingdom presented a disastrous contrast to the foresight of Continental statesmen, and for which we are now heavily suffering. It became evident that the passenger traffic, from which little or nothing was at first anticipated, would form the most lucrative part of the business of the railways. But railways were made, not where the advantage of the general system of internal communication should have prescribed, but wherever a company could be got up, and an Act of Parliament obtained. In 1845, projects for 20,687 miles of railway, requiring a capital of £350,000,000, were brought before Parliament; and Acts of Parliament for 3,573 miles, with a capital of £130,000,000, received the Royal assent. Many of these lines were competitive, or in duplicate; and the waste of capital involved by the Parliamentary system (or no system) of authorising these public works has been estimated at a third of the total outlay. The want of statesmanship that sanctioned this profuse and ill-balanced expenditure has formed a permanent feature of the management of the English railways ever since. At the present time, while the railways of Continental Europe range in cost from £20,000 to £26,000 per mile, those of the United Kingdom have cost £42,560, and those of England and Wales £47,700 per mile of line.

It has thus come to pass that in England, the cradle of improved locomotion, both by land and by water, the cheapest mode of transport has been handed over to the tender mercies of its natural enemies, and the most rapid and costly mode has been so

hastily adopted, without due regard for its commercial features, that millions are each year added to the capital of our railways without in any way improving their financial position. Although from 1854 to the present time the mileage traffic of the English railways has increased by 40 per cent., the net per centage on capital is substantially unchanged. But from 1841 to the present date the net earnings on capital on the great French railways have increased by 70 per cent., rising from 3·11 to 5·56 per cent. on capital—the English returns remaining stationary at 4¼ per cent.

The cause of this grave defect in the outcome of the English railway system is the fact that the lines were laid down, and have ever since been worked, rather as private trading enterprises than as component parts of a well-ordered system of national service. In France the need of water communication, as auxiliary to the economical working of the railway, was insisted on at the date of the earliest railway concessions, and has lately been the object of renewed attention, and of a very large national expenditure. In England it seems to have been taken for granted that the capacity of a railway for transport was equal to that of a canal, which is far from being the case, although the speed attainable is so much higher. But there has been no attempt made to determine what that capacity is; nor has all the light that the experience of fifty years has thrown on the subject of the narrow limit of the capacity of a pair of tracks yet induced the proprietors of our railways to insist on the reduction to figures of this very A B C of the prosperity of their property.

The observer who watches, from some commanding point of view, the movement over the landscape of the silvery columns of steam that denote the passage of the locomotive, or who views more closely the rush of a train of twenty or thirty carriages at the speed of a race horse, may naturally regard the capacity for traffic of the iron road as practically unlimited. On one condition, indeed, the capacity is considerable, although it hardly amounts to a tenth part of that of a good canal. But if all the trains, on each track, run at the same speed, and stop at the same intervals, they may follow each other so closely, that the limit to the duty to be performed is set rather by the feasibility of collecting and discharging the loads at the termini, than by

the exigencies of the road itself. It is thus possible to convey a greater number of passenger trains, of which the freight loads and unloads itself, than of any kind of merchandise.

The heaviest useful weight that is any where moved over a roadway in a continuous stream of traffic, is that of a column of infantry. Neither cavalry nor artillery is so compact. A column of 4 in a rank, with ranks 5 feet centre to centre, moving at the rate of 88 yards per minute, is equal to a movement of 20 tons per minute at this speed. If this be continued for ten hours per day, and for 330 days in the year, it is equal to an annual duty of nearly 4,000,000 tons.

On the Metropolitan Railway, the gross weight of the loaded trains moved (not including the weight of the engines), has been calculated at three times the above, or rather more than 12,000,000 tons per year. But of this, less than 700,000 tons is net or paying weight; the tare of the passenger carriages being very high. Again, this includes the double duty of the up and down lines of way, so that the useful effect is only one-tenth that of the marching column; the speed, from terminus to terminus, being from four to five times as great.

Without saying that the above is the greatest possible traffic for which a double railway can afford passage, the duty performed on the Metropolitan line is by far the heaviest in the world. And the co-efficient of working cost, or fraction of the gross income that is consumed in working expenses, is lower on this line than on any other in England; being about the same per centage that prevailed on the Great Western Railway before the cost of working was increased by undertaking the non-remunerative mineral traffic.

This rapid succession of trains, however, can only occur under exceptional circumstances. The Metropolitan Railway forms a main line of the internal traffic of the largest and richest city in the world, to provide accommodation for which has cost so enormous a sum—viz., £639,000 per mile—that heavy traffic and light working cost (in proportion) barely earn a net five per cent. on capital. The ordinary duty of an average English railway is only about one-sixth of the amount of the work done on the Metropolitan Railway. That of a French railway is something less than one-sixth.

The largest amount of duty performed on any line of mixed traffic in England is under 4,600,000 tons of loaded train per mile in the year. But this heavy traffic (which occurs on the Lancashire and Yorkshire Railway) has required so large an outlay of capital to provide for its accommodation, that only five per cent. net income on capital is earned by the trains. A heavier duty is performed on the Taff Vale Railway; but this was laid out as a mineral line, and is worked substantially at a single rate of speed. The capital cost is thus low, and the returns are excellent; as is also the case on the mineral railway from Maryport to Carlisle.

It thus appears that there are two limits to the earning capacity of a railway. One is the physical limit of the amount of loaded train that can be sent over a pair of rails in a given time, regard being paid to the power of loading and unloading. The other is the limit of the net return on capital, which is dependant on the three elements of capital cost per mile, rate of freight and of fare, and co-efficient of working cost. On the English railways, the cost per mile is the highest in the world. The freights and fares are also unusually high, and the co-efficient of working cost is increased from 40 to 52 per cent., by the mixed mode of carrying on the traffic. Thus the French railways, with charges 15 per cent. lower than the English, pay their proprietors 30 per cent. more income on their capital.

The false economy of the attempt to make one pair of tracks serve for the conveyance of a fast passenger and a slow mineral traffic is capable of proof by comparing the annual earnings either of the locomotives, regarded as the true bread-winners, or of the servants of the railway companies. Thus in France, the gross earning of every locomotive averages £6,069 per annum. In England it only averages £4,385. Amongst English engines, again, a locomotive on the Metropolitan Railway earns £12,176 in a year; while a passenger engine on the London and North-Western Railway, with its mixed traffic, earns £9555. On this great line, on the other hand, the non-passenger locomotives earn only £3,504 each in the year; and if the company were to distinguish the earnings of the goods and of the mineral loco-

motives, those of the latter would be found to be comparatively very small.

If instead of comparing the gross annual earnings per locomotive, we compare those of the servants of the railway companies, we have similar results. On lines worked homogeneously, or at a single speed, whether they carry passengers or minerals, each servant of the company may earn from £350 to £400 per annum. On the Metropolitan Railway in 1883, every person employed earned £395; on the Maryport and Carlisle each person earned £312. On the eight principal trunk lines of mixed traffic, on the other hand, in the same year, each person employed earned on the average only £185; the lowest rate, £170, being on the Midland. On these lines three classes of traffic are run, at three different speeds, so that in spite of the greatest care and skill in the interspacing of the trains, a maximum loss of time is incurred in the useful occupation of the lines, which have to be trebled or quadrupled in the busiest parts of their course. The railways which confine themselves mainly to two kinds of traffic show an intermediate power of earning. On the London and Brighton, the South Eastern, and the London, Chatham and Dover lines, each servant of the company earns on an average £243 per annum.

That the constant inflation of capital, which eats up all the increase of profit from the rapidly increasing traffic of the English railways, is due to the ill-judged policy of grasping at all freight that can be gained, without establishing any debtor and creditor account of the loss and earning of the different kinds of traffic, is illustrated by a comparison with the French Railways. At the close of 1863 the average cost of a mile of railway was £32,000 in the United Kingdom, and £32,400 in France. The cost of the former has steadily increased, while that of the latter has diminished, since that date; and in 1881, when the cost of each mile of conceded railway of general interest in France had been reduced to £28,773, that of each mile in the United Kingdom had risen to £42,017.

In 1877 the gross revenue of the six great French systems of railways averaged £2,887 per mile. In the same year the gross revenue of the English railways averaged £2,881 for passengers and

goods, to which has to be added £805 for minerals. If this latter traffic earned a net profit of 10 per cent., which is very improbable, we should still find a capital outlay of £14,000 per mile incurred in order to obtain a net income of £80 per mile.

Three main principles of financial success have been established by the traffic experience of the last half century. They are plain and simple, and might have been anticipated—as was the case in one instance, by the genius of Mr. Brunel—on mathematical grounds. They can only be neglected at the cost, not only of the railway proprietors, but of the country.

Of these, the first is, that the cost of traction, and to a great degree the whole cost of transport, diminishes as the unit of despatch increases. In accordance with this rule, we have seen a steady increase in the size of our ships, and in the length and weight of our railway trains. The vessels that passed through the Suez Canal in 1883 averaged two and a half times the tonnage of those that passed in 1870. On the London and North Western Railway the cost of traction per ton of loaded train is now one fourth of that which was carefully ascertained in 1840; the weight of the trains being now four times what it then was. Two horses draw fourteen people or more in a London omnibus, where sixty years ago two horses were required to draw the lumbering hackney coach that was the only available public vehicle for even a single fare. On the Aire and Calder Canal the mineral train boats introduced by Mr. Bartholemew have reduced the mileage cost of inland transport to that of a long sea passage. The shipowners are becoming so fully aware of the economy to be secured by the use of large vessels, that docks have been opened 24 miles down the Thames, on the view that the saving to be effected in ocean transport by the use of giant vessels will pay for the additional railway carriage incurred in order to avoid the higher and shallower waters of the river.

The second great principle in question is, that the economy of speed, by any given method of transport, depends on the proportionate amount of mechanical power, and of human or animal labour, employed in the transport effected. For direct traction, indeed, the limit of the speed attainable by horse power is well known; but even at the low speed to which navigation is limited

on the canals of Holland and Belgium, steam power is 40 per cent. cheaper than horse power. But with the locomotive and the fast steamboat, the practical limit to speed is the resistance of the atmosphere, and that of the water, which increase with the speed in known proportions. The cost of this increase is measured by the additional consumption of coal. But together with the increase of cost thus occasioned, and thus ascertainable, has to be borne in mind the saving of money spent in wages that attends on increased speed—that is to say, on the occupation of less time. A balance between these two elements of cost may be easily obtained by arithmetic or by graphic delineation. On the English railways the cheapest speed at which to run is about thirty miles per hour—increasing with any departure from that rate in either way, and being equal at fifteen, and at fifty, miles per hour. This, however, is the terminus to terminus rate, for the cost is sensibly increased by every additional stoppage.

Thus the problem of the economy of speed in transport involves two distinct questions. One is, what is the cost and what the value of a given increase of speed either by land or by water carriage. The other is, what is it worth the while of the freighter to pay for difference of speed. These questions are now, to some extent, in the course of being threshed out. But a necessary element of the satisfactory solution of the entire problem is, that the freighters should have the free choice of the means of transport, and should not be compelled to pay for the higher speed attainable by rail by the exertion of any interference with the service of the canals.

The third condition of the most economical method of transport is to prevent the loss of net earning which is caused by the introduction of different rates of running speed on the same line of rails. Connected intimately with this, is the necessity of keeping distinct debtor and creditor accounts for each of the three main divisions of railway transport. On the New South Wales Railway, perhaps alone amongst English lines, the net and the gross earnings of each description of merchandise are accurately known. Even in such a case as that of the conduct of fast and slow traffic, by coach and by waggon, on the highways, such a mode of book-keeping has

always been regarded as essential. Much more is this the case on a railway. Over a length of ten miles of track 6 trains may be despatched per hour, if they run at the same speed, whether of 15 or of 30 miles per hour. But if the trains are speeded alternately at 15 and at 30 miles per hour, it will be unsafe to despatch them at shorter intervals than 25 minutes, instead of ten minutes.

Ample practice illustrates this truth, which can be explained on mathematical principles. In the single speeded traffic of the canal, the tramway, the omnibus, and the passenger or mineral railway, net profits of from 5 to 16 per cent. on capital are now attained. On the English railways, which carry 22 per cent. of a slow mineral traffic, that reduces their earning capacity with regard to capital as before shown, only $4\frac{1}{6}$ per cent. net profit on capital is earned, while the French railways, which only allow the introduction of two rates of running, the *grande* and the *petite vitesse*, earn five and a half per cent. net profit from a scale of freights and fares considerably lower than that of the United Kingdom.

These considerations, deeply as they affect the prosperity of the English railway shareholders, have at the same time a far wider scope. It is evident that the large sums which have been expended by the railway companies in order to acquire control of the canals, so as to divert their natural traffic on to the rails, have been not only wasted, but expended to the deterioration of the net earning powers of the railways themselves. As to that, it has been urged that the railway proprietors ought to be the best judges of their own affairs, and that if they choose to carry traffic at a loss, the country may be the gainer. The reply is, that the country does not gain, but loses, by the employment of any means of production or of distribution which is wasteful or unnecessarily costly.

The average cost of moving a ton of goods for a given distance on an English railway is now one fifth more than in France, and two fifths more than in the United States. It is about three times the cost of an equal duty performed on a canal, at a lower speed. But in addition to the above working cost, the charge necessary to pay interest on capital is higher on the railways of the United

Kingdom than in France in the proportion of 78 to 44. It is not, therefore, so much a question of the rates at which the railway companies will carry, as of those at which they can carry, with any hope of dividend. And mean time the foreign manufacturer, who is able to carry his raw material, as well as his finished goods, at a rate so much cheaper than his English rival, has an immense advantage over the latter. Already we find important industries, such as that of the steel manufacture, driven from their ancient seats to the borders of the sea, or of navigable rivers. The steel makers who could not live at Sheffield, or at Dronfield, may indeed prove to thrive at Workington, whither they have removed. But what does such a fact indicate as to the great bulk of our manufactures? England might conceivably endure, or even after a time be benefited by, the displacement of the great centres of population. But what would be the suffering, and what the loss, to Manchester, Oldham, Birmingham, and all the great inland homes of manufacture? Their displacement, owing to the high cost of transport, would be no less than a revolution.

It is a revolution that has already commenced in the cases of Workington and of some other places, and it is one which, even if trade survive it, will manifestly be most ruinous to our railways. But it is the natural consequence of our allowing the latter to control and to close our canals, and to publish no separate accounts of their different classes of business.

The actual state of public education on the subject of transport in Great Britain, while it is far in arrear of that prevailing in France, Germany, the United States, and other parts of the world, has yet made a material advance since the publication, in 1882, of the Report to the President of the Wolverhampton Chamber of Commerce on the comparative cost of transport by railway and by canal, which has been reprinted by the Select Committee on Canals. The change in the manner in which the value of water transport is regarded by manufacturers has been signally illustrated by the history of the great struggle for obtaining the legislative sanction of the Manchester Ship Canal. In November, 1882, when the proposal for this work was brought before public audiences at Manchester, the incredible fact was stated, and was

uncontradicted, that it cost more at that time to convey a bale of cotton from Liverpool to Manchester than it did in 1829. The general cost of transport, as has been said, according to the French statists, was reduced by the introduction of the railway system to something like one-fifth of its former rate. In England, the reduction was somewhat less; but at the present time the actual cost (independent of interest on capital) of conveying a passenger by the Metropolitan Railway is less than a third of that required for the transport, for an equal distance, by omnibus. It is true that in 1829 the Bridgewater Canal provided a water route for the conveyance of merchandise between the two great industrial centres. But it was stated in evidence by the late Mr. Peter Spence of Manchester, a witness of undeniable authority, that such had been the nature of the compact entered into by the Railway and the Canal Companies that it was possible to send cotton from one of these towns to the other by horse transport over the common roads for a less cost than that of the freight charged by the carrying companies. To the question why, if such were the case, a regular van service had not been organised, the reply was that, in that case, the companies would at once lower their freights, with the certainty of recouping themselves for any loss when they had starved out their new competitors.

The public has never yet grasped the fact that a combination which might be perfectly effective against a mode of transport essentially more costly than carriage by railway, must utterly fail if attempted against a mode essentially cheaper than such carriage. The subject of canal transport has been perplexed by the confusion—not altogether made in ignorance—between different orders of canals. And the Manchester directors, who have fought so well sustained a battle in a cause in which the work-folk of Lancashire have taken so deep and so intelligent an interest, are now probably suffering from their very pardonable mistake of inviting M. Ferdinand de Lesseps to Manchester, in the hope that he would prove an energetic and powerful advocate of their scheme. M. de Lesseps, indeed, in no way responded to the expectations formed by his hosts. He took advantage of the opportunities afforded to him merely to beg for English subscriptions to his Central American Scheme. But the public,

thinking that all ship canals must be much the same; noting perhaps that the Manchester directors entirely ignored the clear and convincing exposure of the nature of the Panama speculation, which had been made in the *Edinburgh Review* in April 1882; and observing how, in spite of the costly organisation of the *claque* in behalf of this project, the report of M. Rousseau in the spring of the present year had dealt a death blow to the enterprize, may have had some slight excuse for reflecting the discredit of a hopeless speculation on a *bonâ fide* and practical scheme.

An inland canal possesses indeed but little, except the fact of being a water way, in common with an interoceanic canal. The first great principles in which a canal, of any description, differs from a railway or ordinary road, are, however, of primary importance. They are these: on a canal the chief expenses are fixed, depending on distance and on time, that is to say rated at so much per mile per year. On a railway the chief expenses are in proportion to the work done; the net revenue forming approximately the same proportion of the total revenue, whether that be more or less. Thus the maintenance and transit charges on the Suez Canal were approximately the same in the years 1870-75, 1876-81, and 1882-83. But the receipts of the company from navigation rose from £206,000 in 1870, to £2,653,000 in 1882. The receipts increased more than ten fold, while the working charges remained stationary. On the railways of the United Kingdom the gross earnings per mile increased by 40 per cent. from 1854 to 1882, but the working expenses increased in the same proportion, and the net earning per cent. on capital remained substantially the same.

The second main point of contrast between land-borne and water-borne traffic is presented by the condition of the tare or dead weight. By land-carriage the dead weight often equals or exceeds the paying weight; and on railways the net or paying weight is not more than a third part of the total weight transported by the locomotives, independent of the great weight of the locomotives themselves. In water-carriage the dead weight is balanced by the water that it displaces, and the calculations of cost and returns are based on the net weight alone.

In the third place, by land carriage the resistance which has to be overcome by the propelling power is directly measured by the weight of the goods and vehicles—that is to say, by the gross weight conveyed. But the resistance which has to be overcome by water is measured, not by the weight, but by the size of the vessels transported, being caused by the friction of their outer surface in passing through the water. Thus, as the size of vessels is increased (if the area of the waterway of which they make use be increased in the proper proportion), the resistance increases as a series of squares, while the cargo transported increases as a series of cubes.

It is thus evident that, for equal weights of cargo, the cost of transport by water is only from one-third to a lower proportion of that by land; and that there is no such sharp limit of capacity in the former case as exists in the latter. If a canal and a railway start on equal terms as to traffic, the latter soon attains its maximum limit, and can then be made to serve for the transport of a larger annual quantity of goods or passengers only by a proportionate increase of capital. The canal, on the contrary, has an elastic limit of capacity, which reaches to at least ten times that of a pair of railway tracks. And, apart from the cost of haulage, which, as before stated, is regulated by the size of the vessels, the costs incurred by the canal owners will not be appreciably more in a year for the larger than for the smaller traffic. There is thus a complete series of mechanical reasons for the well-known fact that, while the earning power of railways, per cent. on their capital, is narrowly and sharply limited, rarely exceeding five per cent. (and then only in special cases), the net earning power of a canal is almost wholly undetermined, having been known, in favourable instances, to range from 25 to 125 per cent. on the original capital.

In most inland canals the cost of construction is so small, in proportion to the accommodation afforded, that if the natural increment of traffic be allowed to accrue, the investment becomes year by year more lucrative. The engineer of an inland canal follows the indications afforded by a physical study of the country, and by the natural course of trade; and the proportion between

capital expended and traffic accommodated is one that it is easy to anticipate with accuracy.

In an inter-oceanic canal, on the contrary, the object of the engineer is to counteract, by a bold effort, the physical conditions of the locality, and to divert the traffic from its natural course to a shorter route; which, from the very nature of the case, it must involve much cost to construct. The balance between the cost of capital and the traffic to be anticipated, is thus, in this case, far more difficult to ascertain beforehand, than in the case of an inland route; and the utmost prescience, experience, and good faith are demanded in order to justify such a project. In the instances of the ship canals projected within the last twenty years by French speculators, the absence of these important requisites has been most remarkable.

'The entire cost of the Suez Canal, together with a smaller canal drawing fresh water from the Nile, with entrances to both seas, and piers and lighthouses at each end, allowing for contingencies, was estimated by M. de Lesseps at £6,480,000; a sum which, to cover interest during construction, was raised to £8,000,000.' (*Edinburgh Review*, vol. clx., 1882, p. 423.) The actual cost, to the year 1882, with a width only half that required by the concession, was a little more than £20,000,000; of which no less than £5,649,000, or 88 per cent. of the original estimate for the work, had been expended in financing, interest, and management. It is difficult to imagine how the remaining large figure of £143,585 per mile could have been honestly expended on a work of such extreme simplicity, the greater portion of which consisted in merely dredging a ditch through the drifting sand that had choked the original waterway between the Mediterranean and the Gulf of Suez.

So extravagant an excess over the estimate on which the enterprise was based would have been attended with disastrous consequences, but for the unexpected development of the ocean borne traffic which sought the route of the canal, without altogether abandoning that of the Cape. A net tonnage of 436,000 tons in 1870, rose to a net tonnage of 5,775,861 tons in 1883. Cheered by the rapid and unexpected rise in the dividends, the shareholders very naturally overlooked the trebling of the esti-

mates, the scamping of the work, the inadequacy of the canal to give passage to more than nine vessels per day, the enormous salaries and other expenses of administration, the prodigious profits made by the contractors, and the half million of money paid to the projectors who, under the magnificent title of trustees, had contributed the noble sum of £260 to the preliminary expenses of the undertaking. Success covers a multitude of faults—and, from a shareholder's point of view, 16 per cent. dividend is very brilliant success.

Such as it was, however, it encouraged the founders to commence their next speculation on a much bolder scale. The story of the Panama Canal has been recently told, up to a certain point, in a little book, by Mr. J. C. Rodrigues, which has been published by Messrs. Sampson Low, & Co. It is one which, were it not for the undeniable vouchers adduced, would be simply incredible. Europe has seen no such scandal since the time of Law. M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, in the *Economiste Français*, in August, 1885, gave a study of the scheme; and the editor expresses the fear that it will prove 'the most terrible financial disaster of the nineteenth century.' As the foisting upon the public of a ruinous scheme is one of the most effective modes of preventing the action of *bonâ fide* and remunerative enterprises, it is highly important that the real features of the Panama project should be accurately known.

'The idea of piercing the Isthmus between the two Americas is,' says Mr. Rodrigues, 'almost contemporaneous with the first knowledge of the Isthmus itself.' We must refer to the work quoted for the history of the various schemes down to the time when, in May 1879, a 'congress' of 135 persons, of whom 74 were Frenchmen, was held at Paris, and reported, in the absence of any approach to adequate survey, on the possibility of making a level canal from sea to sea through the Isthmus of Panama. The difficulty of piercing one of the secular barriers of the earth, in a deadly climate, by works involving a cutting of between 300 and 400 feet in depth, was aggravated in this case by the fact that the eastern portion of the line proposed is swept by the torrential floods of the Chagres and other rivers, the water of which has been known to rise as much as 40 feet in a heavy rain storm. The

estimate of the cost of the works which was brought before the Paris assembly by M. Ribourt, previously engineer to the St. Gothard Tunnel, was £37,200,000, not including any allowance for contingencies, for barracks, or for hospitals. The estimate of the Congress, based on the experience of the cost of the Suez Canal, was £41,720,000, allowing 12 years for the execution of the work. But the quantity of cutting allowed by M. Ribourt was less than one third of that which is now admitted to be necessary. The first appeal to the public to find that sum proving unavailing, M. de Lesseps, still in the absence of any proper surveys, 'rectified' the estimate, reducing it to £21,200,000, and 'constituted the company,' with a capital of £12,000,000 in £20 shares; leaving it to providence to make up, thereafter, the deficit. Out of the capital thus raised the enormous sum of £1,304,000 was devoted to the repayment of the preliminary expenses of M. de Lesseps and his friends, and to the remuneration of the Concessionnaires. A further sum of £400,000 was handed over to an American committee, on what consideration we leave it to M. Rodrigues to explain. In 1882 M. de Lesseps borrowed further £5,000,000 at 5 per cent.; in 1883, £12,000,000 at 3 per cent.; and in 1884, £6,825,840 at 4 per cent. The capital for which the company were responsible was thus raised to £36,614,816, but a rebate of upwards of £8,000,000 had been incurred in the issue of the debentures, leaving a little over £28,000,000 applicable to the construction of the line and other expenses.

We have seen that M. de Lesseps' 'rectified' estimate for the undertaking was £21,200,000. By the end of 1884 he had incurred liabilities to the amount of £36,614,816, realising (including the then unpaid calls on the original £12,000,000) a little over £28,000,000. On the 27th May, 1885, he addressed to the French Minister of the Interior a request to be allowed to raise a further loan of £24,000,000, for which the sanction of the Government was required because it was proposed to attract subscribers by a lottery. At this time, with a proposed capital of £60,747,700, not ten per cent. of the estimated amount of excavation had been executed, and that, of course, consisting of the lightest and cheapest part of the work.

On receiving this application, the Minister referred it to the

Minister of Public Works, who decided on sending M. Rousseau, an engineer-in-chief of the *Ponts et Chausseés*, to Panama, to examine and report on the project. Up to this time no attempt had been made in France to verify or to contradict the statements of M. de Lesseps. The idea of investigation by an impartial and competent engineer was so distasteful to M. de Lesseps, that he at once invited Rouen, Marseilles, and other French, and some English, towns, to send 'delegates,' whom he would personally conduct to the spot, and to whom he extended the same lavish hospitality that had been displayed at the commencement of the Suez enterprise. The expedition sailed, and returned to France, but not a word has been heard, of a definite and satisfactory character, as to the opinions formed by the 'delegates.' Meantime M. Rousseau executed his commission, and returned to France; but the report which he presented to the Minister of Public Works was not allowed to see daylight. A *projet de loi* for authorising the lottery loan was drawn up, and signed by M. Grévy and by the Ministers of the Interior, of Finance, and of Public Works. Instead of either reproducing, or honestly abstracting, the report of M. Rousseau, the *exposé des motifs* signed by these Republican officials stated that 'M. Rousseau, in his conclusions, admits the possibility of piercing the Isthmus of Panama.' It was not until the *projet de loi* was brought under the discussion of a committee of the Chamber of Deputies that it leaked out that M. Rousseau had reported that the canal could not be completed for the estimate, even when swollen to three times its original amount; and that M. Jacquier, the newly appointed director of works of the company, had stated that, within the limits of time and expenditure assigned, it would be impossible to make a canal on the level. On this the committee decided that the whole question should be investigated; whereupon M. de Lesseps withdrew his application for the authorisation of his lottery loan, and is now borrowing money in detail 'by means of new obligations.' The wanton mode in which the powers bestowed by the shareholders on the directors is exercised is illustrated by the fact that, for a payment of 439 francs down, the depositor is to receive a

bond for 1000 francs, payable in 42 years, and bearing an interest of 30 francs per annum.

So much as to cost, assuming (which is doubted by competent judges), the physical possibility of executing the canal at any cost. As to return, if the canal were opened, a matter which has been treated by M. de Lesseps as lightly and carelessly as the estimate of cost, Mr. Nimmo, the Chief of the Bureau of Statistics at Washington, has investigated the matter with the gravity due to its importance. He has drawn up a comparative statement of the respective lengths of voyage, between countries on either side of the Isthmus, by the Cape of Good Hope, by Cape Horn, by the Suez Canal, and by the Panama Canal (if open). Taking those cases in which the last named line would be really the shortest, Mr. Nimmo found that, in the year 1879, there were six categories of vessels that might have chosen the Isthmus route, if available; the total number amounting to 2,818, with an aggregate tonnage of 2,938,386 tons. From the total thus arrived at, however, Mr. Nimmo deducts five groups of vessels, amounting in all to 1,337, with a tonnage of 1,313,607 tons, leaving a balance of 1,441 vessels, measuring 1,674,704, tons which might be fairly expected to use the canal if available. Mr. Nimmo estimates the value of the commerce which would naturally take the route of the Suez Canal as 3½ times as much as that which would go *viâ* Panama. 'Only 7·3 per cent. of the foreign commerce of the United States, 2·76 per cent. of that of the United Kingdom, and 1·53 per cent of that of France, might,' Mr. Nimmo considers, 'have used the Panama Canal if available in 1879.'

Mr. Dingler stated, on behalf of the Panama Company, to the committee of the Chamber of Deputies, that it was intended to charge 15 francs per ton for passage through the 45 miles of the Panama Canal—the charge for the 100 miles of the Suez Canal being 10 francs per ton. This rate, applied to the tonnage determined by Mr. Nimmo, would give an annual income of a little under a million sterling. What the maintenance of such stupendous and unexampled works would cost, there are no means of even guessing. But apart from this, the only grave and serious estimate that

has been brought before the world does not promise a gross income equal to more than 1⅓ per cent. on the 60 millions now admitted to be inadequate for the completion of the work. The present annual charge for interest and amortisation, supposing the new sum of £24,000,000 to be raised, is £2,723,278. Thus without allowing a farthing for working expenses there would be a deficit of 1¾ millions per annum on the undertaking, if it were completed in the course of the present year.

It raises a feeling of strong indignation in the breast of any honest man who practically knows how rich a store of wealth may be conferred upon a country by the construction of a road, a railway, or a canal, under proper conditions, to witness the history of such a conspiracy against the welfare of legitimate enterprise as we have just indicated. The figures are as unmistakeable as they are undeniable. Any man may be over sanguine; any man may make a mistake: but to persist in promising the impossible; to maintain the same assertions year after year, in spite of the yearly contradiction afforded by fact; to collect, by promise of ample return, the hard won earnings of the peasantry; to fly day light, to shun investigation, and to prepare a vast ruin, the extent of which is day by day assuming wider proportions—this is beyond the range of over sanguine hope, or of pardonable mistake. Above all, the ugly fact of the large sums taken from the first subscriptions by the projectors stamps the conduct of this disastrous affair with an ineffaceable tarnish. One million three hundred thousand pounds to concessionaries and promoters; £400,000 to the *Comité Américain;* £8,000,000 of rebate for attracting subscriptions;—burning figures of this nature and magnitude demand a judicial investigation. And when the defrauded subscribers once open their eyes to the only too manifest facts, if they have patience at the same time to read the *exposé des motifs*, prefixed to the *projet de loi* for the lottery loan, it is not the Canal Directors, nor even the French Ministers, alone that will have to take shelter from the storm. It is by no means improbable that the Republic itself will fall before the blast of public indignation.

It is not in Great Britain that the chief interest will be ex-

cited by the collapse of the Panama Canal. Those persons in this country who have given any attention to the scheme may be divided into those who, having read the article on the subject in the *Edinburgh Review*, were fully prepared both for the book of Mr. Rodrigues, and for the report of M. Rousseau; and those who, believing, on the assertion of M. de Lesseps, that the American canal was both more easy to make, and more profitable an investment, than the African canal, will hold on to that comfortable faith until they awake to find that it is not the barrier of the Cordilleras that has been destroyed. The chief interest we feel in the matter is aroused by the unfortunate effect that the growing public suspicion of the true state of the Panama speculation has had on the totally different scheme of the Ship Canal to Manchester. It would have been well for Lancashire if the promoters of the latter enterprise had from the first disclaimed any parity between two such widely contrasted schemes.

It is, indeed, difficult to imagine a contrast more diametric than that which exists between the proceedings of the French and those of the English projectors. With the former the estimates of cost have been disgracefully inadequate. With the latter they have been so ample that the work has been contracted for considerably below them. As to traffic, the French estimates have been as wild as those respecting cost of construction. The Lancashire traffic is existent; its amount is accurately known, as is its annual increase; and the result of opening a cheaper line of communication in the very course now followed by the traffic, can not be matter for serious doubt. The total traffic in and out of the port of Liverpool amounts annually to above 15,000,000 tons of cargo. The proportion of the shipping trade of the country that, according to population, could be allocated to the Ship Canal, as forming the shortest and cheapest route for it to the sea, has been calculated at 21,000,000 tons per annum. If Manchester be constituted a port, it will be one nearer, by thirty miles, to the great manufacturing districts of Lancashire, to the West Riding of Yorkshire, to Cheshire, Staffordshire, and Derbyshire, than any other. A district of densely populated country, covering an

area of 7,500 miles, and containing a population of upwards of 7,000,000 persons, would find its readiest course to the sea through the Manchester Canal.

On the Suez Canal, in 1881, the receipts were at the rate of ·85d. per ton gross per mile, out of which less than 6 per cent. was expended on maintenance and working expenses, including the annual dredging of some 2,000,000 cubic yards of sand. These expenses are calculated on a tonnage of 5,800,000 tons. At an equal rate of mileage charged on the distance from the open sea to Manchester, the amount of toll would be about 3s. 6d. per ton. The directors have estimated their receipts, including dock receipts (which do not form an appreciable feature of the Suez Canal revenue), at 5s. per ton. At this rate, which is less than half the present cost for the corresponding service by railway, a traffic of three million tons, out of the twenty-one million of tons now carried at double the cost over the same district, would yield a revenue of £750,000 per annum. To this has to be added the present net revenue of the Bridgewater Canal, which amounts to £60,000; or 4·8 per cent. on the price at which that undertaking has been purchased by the Ship Canal Company. The result is a dividend of 7·7 per cent. on the whole authorised capital of the Company, less the £1,250,000 paid for the Bridgewater Canal. And as the traffic increases from the moderate allowance of eight ships, each averaging a little over 1000 tons of cargo per day, the working expenses will be substantially unaltered, and increase of traffic will directly measure increase of profit.

The third point in which the Lancashire project contrasts very strikingly with both the French schemes, is that of the transparent and honest disinterestedness of the promoters. Ten per cent. of the profits of the Suez Canal were allotted to the *fondateurs*, and M. de Lesseps has called attention to the fact that the *parts de fondateur*, which represented this interest, and which were issued at 5000 francs each, were worth, on 15th November, 1880, 380,000 francs each. On the Panama Canal, hard cash has been not unnaturally preferred to share of profits; and we have seen how, under the heading of preliminary expenses, paid-up shares to *concessionnaires*, cash to *concession-*

naires, and *Comité Américain*, the sum of £1,784,000 has been *prelevé* on the capital of the Panama Canal Company by M. de Lesseps and his nominees. The reward claimed by the projectors of the Manchester Canal Company is of another order. It consists in the answer of a good conscience only. Time, toil, and heavy subscriptions, have been their contributions to a national scheme. Their remuneration, except that which they may hereafter share with the merchants and manufacturers of Lancashire and the other districts accommodated, is *nil*.

It may be anticipated that the failure of Messrs Rothschilds to obtain a prompt subscription to an undertaking of so remarkable a solidity will be found ultimately more disastrous to the influence and profits of such great capitalists than to the true interests of the canal. Unless a great banker or broker takes a considerable and publicly stated portion of the capital which their firm proposes to issue, they are better left alone. Had Messrs. Rothschilds announced that they had subscribed for one or two millions of the Manchester Canal capital, there can be little doubt that they would have placed the whole stock on the market at a premium. By acting as mere agents, they probably rather discredited the scheme than otherwise. Their commission, whatever it was, would be secure; and the public could not fail to note that they had not enough of the courage of the directors to head the subscription list in proportion to their means. The directors will, no doubt, take the lesson taught by the late Emperor of the French, who found, in a direct appeal to the investing public, at once an escape from the heavy charge of the capitalists, and a much more prompt and ready response, in the way of subscriptions, than he would have been likely to obtain through their intervention. For those who wish to take a speculation, (as the first M. Rothschild phrased it), like a shower bath; in one moment, and out, with a benefit, the next, the agency and the name of a great banker or broker may be of use. For those who have faith in an industrial enterprise, who find their own money, awaiting return from the *bonâ-fide* proceeds of the undertaking, and who call on their neighbours and friends to follow their example, the less they have to do

with the great speculators of the Stock Exchange the better for the solid establishment of the scheme.

There is yet another feature in which the project of the Manchester Canal presents a glaring contrast to both the Suez and the Panama schemes. As to the latter, indeed, we have never held that it comes within the province of practical engineering. But shadowy as were the chances of its construction, we must not forget the despatches of Mr. Blaine and of Lord Granville in 1882; the international tension that then was felt; or the certitude that that tension would be reproduced if the Government of the United States became convinced that there was any probability of the opening of the passage, as to which they are in a position to know much more than do the shareholders. As to the Suez Canal, it is on evidence that one of the main levers by which French capital was attracted to that enterprize was the promise to make the Mediterreanean a French lake, and to strike a blow at British commerce. Nor do we hold that Lord Palmerston was unjustified in regarding the construction of the canal as involving possible danger to this country. In case of a war affecting India, so long as all intercourse had to be carried on by way of the Cape, this country had an advantage over every probable foe. But with a short cut opened, which at any inconvenient time could be closed, our position is altogether different. And it is only by acting with such prompt energy, as well as strategic insight, as was displayed by Lord Wolseley in the year of the battle of Tel-el-Kebir, and by taking and holding military possession of the canal in case of war, that great and possibly fatal disaster can be prevented in the not impossible contingency of a Franco-Russian alliance.

With the Manchester Ship Canal, on the other hand, the political bearing is wholly and expressly English. So freely have we given away the fruits of British invention, British skill, and British energy; so philanthrophic has been our legislation in the way of securing the greatest advantages for every nation but ourselves, that the products of our industry, driven almost everywhere from their former foreign markets, are contended with even in Birmingham

itself by foreign manufactures. It is no longer a question whether the English manufacturer *will* pay the freights necessary to earn dividend on railways that have cost twice as much per mile as those of the rest of the world; it is a question of what he *can* pay. Month by month that question is receiving more grave and menacing replies. In one after another of our great industries the leading houses have come to the conviction that their works can not be carried on—so as to live by them—in our inland towns. It is only by obtaining free access to the sea that certain raw materials can be imported, or manufactured work exported, so as to contend on anything like equal terms with foreign producers. And this change can be effected only in one of two ways. It must be either by shifting the centres of production to the sea coast, as has been done or is doing with the steel works of Dronfield, the screw manufacturing works of Wellington, the ordnance works of Elswick, the flax industry of Leeds—or by bringing sea-borne craft to the centres of production, as is now attempted by the projectors of the Manchester Canal. No combination of carrying interests, no railway ring, no effort on the part of the Railway Companies, no Board of Trade legislation, can materially effect the march of this revolution. The difference in the actual cost of transport by land and by water is so material as to form a considerable element in the power of Great Britain to compete with the rest of the world. Foreign statesmen understand this subject, speak plainly about it, and act on their knowledge. They adhere to the time-honoured maxims of business, and consequently see their national manufactures increasing as ours decline. In the decade 1873-1882, there has been an increase of 17 per cent. in the imports of the United Kingdom, accompanied by a decrease of 2 per cent. in the exports. During the same period the exports of the United States have increased by 28 per cent., those of Russia by 35 per cent.; those of Holland by 39 per cent.; those of Germany also by 39 per cent.; and those of Austro-Hungary, by 70 per cent. These are not imaginations or inferences, but solid, substantial, menacing facts. While we are helplessly disputing as to the charges which our Railway Companies

have been permitted to levy on our trade, we are paying no heed to the fact that this trade itself is rapidly leaving us, and that the income of our railways is in the third year of its decline. To keep up the modest rate of 4¼ per cent. interest on our railway capital, we now require £78 for every £53 that is spent in actual working expenses. The corresponding sums required for interest abroad are, in France, £44; in Belgium, £45; in the United States, only £15. It is of no use to shut our eyes to these facts. Our railways are, in the more busy lines, taxed to the utmost of their capacity for traffic. They can carry no more, earn no more, except by further outlay of capital (which does not increase the return per cent.), or by throwing on the canals that costly and cumbrous traffic which they ought never to have forcibly diverted from its natural channel. It is now late in the day to do this; but it is as certain as any thing in the future can be, that the decline which the recently announced dividends of the mineral trunk lines continue to display, must continue so long as they carry different kinds of traffic, at different rates of speed, over the same tracks.

If one of the great lines which now reduce to the utmost their carrying capacity by the heterogenous nature of their traffic, were at once to make a stand—to refuse to carry minerals and bulky freight that cannot afford to pay for speed, and to run all their trains at one, or, at the outside, at two, rates of speed, and at remunerative rates only, there would be at first a reduction of 22 per cent. on the gross returns. There would be a corresponding, and probably a greater, reduction in expenditure. There would be an immediate stop put to the steady growth of capital. And, provided that the decline in our national prosperity be arrested, and the natural increase of production due to increase of population be not, as is at present the case, prevented by empirical legislation, a slow but sure and continued increase in net profits would set in, and our railways, worked on the true principles of mechanical science, and of honest and rational business, would fulfil the bright hopes of their early founders, and do justice to the prevision of the Messrs. Stephenson, who said that they looked

forward to the time when no poor man would be able to afford to walk.

Art. III.—THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

[The eminent Greek writer to whom we were indebted for the permission to publish, in April last, a translation of his pamphlet upon 'The Greek Question' has now allowed us to lay before our readers, in a series of three articles, an English rendering of his book Περὶ Βυζαντινῶν. The attention excited by this work upon the Continent is attested by its having already appeared in a German version, 'Die Griechen des Mittalters und ihr Einfluss auf die Europäische Cultur,' executed by the late Professor W. Wagner, and in a French translation, 'Les Grecs au Moyen Age,' by M. Émile Legrand; but it has never before been rendered into English. The translator has, with the sanction of the k. Bikelas, whose thorough knowledge of English (best witnessed by his translations of Shakspeare) has enabled us to have the advantage of submitting the proof-sheets to him, somewhat amplified the historical allusions, for the convenience of the reader, but has in every other way endeavoured faithfully to represent the author's ideas, however frequently or widely he may himself differ from them.]

My present object is to give as clear an idea as I can of what I believe the Byzantine Empire really to have been. I have certainly no intention of attempting to compress into a few pages the abounding history of that Greek and Christian State which withstood all shocks for more than a millennium, or of entering deeply into all the important phases which it underwent. I propose only to call attention to some general conclusions to which a study of the history of Christian Constantinople leads, and to discuss how far the real facts justify the low esteem in which that autocracy is now so commonly held.

As a matter of fact, what impression does the very name of the Byzantine Empire usually convey? How have we been taught to picture to ourselves the historical reality which it indicates? There is no use denying that in the popular imagination the Byzantine Empire appears as a political monstrosity, in which one incapable Emperor succeeded another, each putting out the eyes of his predecessor, and which was

remarkable for the absence at once of courage and of military capacity, except on the part of the foreign mercenaries who were alternately the venal tools and the exacting taskmasters of a detestable Government—a polity in which the union of Church and State formed a grotesque hybrid, utterly destitute of real religious feeling, but where every one was incessantly occupied with childish theological disputes—a State in which the spectacle of a people and a nation was replaced by that of eunuchs governing slaves—a society where the learned, when not exchanging personal vituperation in the course of religious controversy, occupied themselves in composing poems in the form of an egg or of a swallow—a world, in short, which consisted in civilization run to seed. In a word, the Byzantine Empire is regarded as fully deserving the contemptuous appellation of the *Lower Empire*, by which Western Europe has learned to designate it.

But is this what the Byzantine Empire really was? Surely, the fact that it lasted for a considerably longer space of time than that during which the kingdom of England has as yet even nominally endured, is in itself enough to prove the contrary. This duration cannot be attributed either to security purchased by inaction or to immunity from causes of dissolution and ruin. On the contrary, the history of the Byzantine Empire is an history of unceasing and unwearied activity. Without, from the hour of her foundation to that in which her sun finally sank in blood, Christian Constantinople was engaged in constant struggles against successive hordes of barbarians. She did not always triumph in the strife, but, even when she was beaten, she did not succumb, but carried on the contest still; and the fact that she was able to do so is alone a sufficing proof of the strength and vitality of her organization. Within, she had to fight heresy after heresy, but succeeded nevertheless in raising the edifice of the Church upon solid and enduring foundations; and at the same time, by preserving and completing the Roman legislation, she established the principles of Jurisprudence recognised to-day throughout so large a portion of the civilized world. And yet, all the while that the New Rome

was thus engaged upon the double work of ecclesiastical and legal construction, her lettered society was careful to keep alive the lamp of antient culture; it is true that Byzantine literature could not rival the productions of earlier ages, but it preserved none the less the tradition of the intellectual splendour of Greece.

Nor can the Imperial Government be accused of neglecting material interests. Even if we did not possess historical proofs of the supremacy of the Greek world, throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, in those things which make the well-being of a State, it would be enough to look at the ruins of public works which still survive the deluge of savagery, to assure us that the subjects of the Empire had no ground for casting on their rulers the reproaches in which Western European writers are so persistent.

No one, indeed, will be prepared to put forward Byzantine Society as presenting an ideal type of civilization or political morality. That society had, no doubt, its features of vice and of shame. Like every other social body, either antient or modern, it bore within itself the elements of decay and dissolution. It had its times of decadence. But it had also its epochs of greatness; and, in the full tide of its prosperity, it possessed the most perfect political organization known in its day. Its existence guaranteed the preservation of the most precious interests of real civilization. And this remark is true, of every moment of its long existence.

The Byzantine Empire was predestinated to perform in especial one great work in human history. That work was to preserve civilization during the period of barbarism which we call the Middle Ages. For the discharge of that task no abundant originality was needful. The mission of Christian Constantinople was not to create but to save; and that mission she fulfilled for the benefit of the Europe of the future. It is not just on the part of the modern world which has thus profited, to refuse to its Benefactress the tribute of its gratitude; and still less so, when it caricatures history in order to lessen the apparent burden of its indebtedness.

When Constantine the Great, in realization of the project con-

ceived by Diocletian, transported the seat of Empire to the shores of the Bosphoros, and there established a new capital which derived new life from a new religion, he hoped to render the government stronger and the dynasty more secure by removing both from the revolutionary atmosphere of legions and camps. This end was attained even more perfectly than Constantine can well have foreseen. While the Empire still remained for nearly a century one and undivided, under himself and his successors, the Western half already began to show symptoms of approaching dissolution. But when, after the death of Theodosius the Great in 395, the Imperial power was definitively partitioned between his sons Arcadius and Honorius, it forthwith became evident that the two moieties of the Roman world were reserved, both by nature and by fortune, for destinies entirely different. Old Rome was dying. New Rome, on the contrary, the New Rome which was both Christianized and Hellenized, had before her a long vista of life and energy. For eighty years after the accession of Honorius, the Western Empire fell rapidly, and in 476, the deposition of Romulus Augustus, his eleventh successor, brought the line of the Emperors of Old Rome to a tame and obscure conclusion, when the unity of the Empire was again nominally restored in favour of Zeno, who, two years before, had ascended the throne of Constantinople.

During more than a millennium, from the accession of Arcadius in 395 till the heroic death of Constantine XIII. in 1453, the Eastern Empire was governed by a succession of eighty-one lawful Emperors. The larger number counted by historians, (and which indeed owes a good deal to numismatology,) is obtained by reckoning Princes such as Constantine XII., who were merely proclaimed Augusti, or Pretenders like Constantine VIII., whose ephemeral success does not justify their enumeration among the real Monarchs, with whom alone it is needful to concern ourselves in such a sketch as the present. Of the eighty-one autocrats who actually reigned seventy-three can be assigned to one or other of ten dynasties, or, to speak more correctly, groups, the members of each of which respectively, if they did not always succeed one

another from father to son, were at least mutually connected by some such tie as marriage, adoption, or tutorship. In other words, each of these dynasties is a group of persons who succeeded one another upon the throne either by right of blood, or of the Imperial will, and by the consent of the regnant family, of which they were thus the representatives and, in a sense, the members and continuators.

Thus the House of Arcadius embraced four Sovereigns and lasted till 457, when the dynasty closed with the death of Marcian, the widower and successor of his daughter St. Pulcheria. The line of Leo I., (surnamed the Thracian, and the Great) similarly came to an end in 518 on the decease of his third successor, Anastasius I. (Dikoros*), who had espoused Ariadne, widow of Zeno, his son-in-law. The third dynasty was that founded in Justin I., and lasted through five reigns and eighty-four years, ending in 602 by the murder of Maurice, son-in-law of Tiberius II., who had been associated in the Empire by Justin II. When the crimes of Phokas, the murderer of Maurice, had at last worn out the patience of the Byzantine world, he was in his turn deposed and slain in 610, by Heraclius, the founder of a fourth dynasty, which numbered six princes and lasted a century, including the ten years during which the reign of Justinian II. (Rinotmetos†) was interrupted by those of Leontius and Tiberius III. After the execution of the tyrant Justinian in 711, the throne was occupied in succession during a space of little more than four years by Philippicus (Bardanes), Anastasius II., and Theodosius III., before the abdication of the last made room for Leo III. (the Isaurian). The family of Leo reigned till 802, when the Athenian Empress Irene, the fifth monarch of his line, the widow of his grandson, Leo IV. (the Khazar‡) and one of the most remarkable women in European history, was dethroned and banished to Lesbos. The sixth dynasty, founded by Nikephoros I., lasted only eleven years, and in 813, Michael I. (Rangabes) his son-in-law, and the third Prince of

* So called from his eyes being of different colours.

† On account of his nose having been cut off by order of Leontius in 695.

‡ His mother was a daughter of the Khan of the Khazars.

the House, was deposed and retired into a monastery. The career of the successful usurper Leo V. (the Armenian) was short. He was assassinated in Church on Christmas Eve, 820, and the seventh dynasty was founded by Michael II. (the Stammerer). He was followed by his son, his daughter-in-law, and his grandson, but the latter, Michael III. (the Drunkard), was murdered in 867. Basil I. (the Macedonian), who had been Michael's chief chamberlain, had repudiated his own wife to marry the Emperor's mistress, in exchange for whom he had given up to him his own sister, and who had finally planned his assassination, immediately took possession of his throne. From the accession of this monarch, one of the most extraordinary characters in history, the Imperial dignity became really hereditary. Seventeen Macedonian Emperors succeeded one another till Michael VI. (the Warlike), who had been selected as her successor by the Empress Theodora, was defeated by Isaac I. (Komnenos) in 1057, and thereupon abdicated and retired into a monastery. Three different branches of the Komnenoi then successively held the Imperial title for a series of eighteen reigns. The last of these branches was that of the Angeloi. Isaac II. (Angelos), was deposed and blinded in 1203 by his brother Alexis III., but restored by and with his son, Alexis IV. In the January of the succeeding year, Alexis V. (Doukas, surnamed Mourtzouphlos*) a son-in-law of Alexis III., put Alexis IV. to death, and Isaac II. died of grief. Constantinople was stormed by the Crusaders in the ensuing April, and Alexis V., having been taken prisoner, was carried thither from the Peloponnesos, and executed in the same year by being thrown from the top of the column of Theodosius. Hereupon the Crusaders established their own Latin dynasty, and the throne of New Rome was accordingly filled by a ricketty series of six Western Emperors, of whom indeed the third, Peter, died in prison in Epirus without ever reaching his capital. This Latin succession passed in the female line from the House of Flanders to that of Courtenay (of the same family as the present Earls of Devon,) and included John of Brienne, guardian and

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* On account of the close junction of his shaggy eyebrows.

father-in-law of the last of the dynasty, Baldwin II. In the meanwhile, the Greek Imperial family had retired to Nice, where Theodore I. (Laskaris) was crowned Emperor. He and his son and grandson, John III. (Batatzes), and Theodore II., were the terror and scourge of the Latin intruders. At last, in 1258, on the accession of John IV., the youthful great-grandson of Theodore I., his guardian, Michael VIII. (Palaiologos) was associated with him in the Empire, and in 1261, they reconquered Constantinople; Baldwin fled; and Michael inhumanly deposed, blinded and exiled his defenceless colleague. The dynasty of the Palaiologoi is the tenth and last of those which reigned over the Eastern Empire. It consisted of a series of eight Princes including John VI. (Kantakouzenos) associated for a time with John V. Finally, on May 29, 1453, Constantinople was taken by the Turkish Sultan Mahomet II., and the Roman Empire ended. The Emperor Constantine XIII. was killed fighting at the gates, and by his heroic death placed a last crown, a crown of imperishable glory, upon the autocracy which had derived its origin from Julius and Octavian. 'The body,' says Gibbon, 'under an heap of slain, was discovered by the golden eagles embroidered on his shoes.' The Imperial bird had never taken a nobler flight than was his last.

It will be seen by this summary that the course of the ten Byzantine dynasties was only broken by seven isolated Princes, whose combined reigns amount to a period of about thirty years. At the same time, it must be admitted that the Monarchs who constituted the ten dynasties themselves did not too often reign in peace, and that the transmission of the crown from one head to another among them was frequently effected by crime and violent revolution. Of the seventy-six Emperors* and five Empresses who occupied the Byzantine throne

15 were put to death,†
7 were blinded or otherwise mutilated,
4 were deposed and imprisoned in monasteries, and
10 were compelled to abdicate.

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* Not counting the Latin Emperors, of whom two died in prison.

† Without counting Nikephoros I., who was taken prisoner and murdered by the Bulgars, nor Constantine XIII., killed by the Turks.

This list, comprising nearly half of the whole number, is a sufficient indication of the horrors by which the history of the Empire is only too often marked, and it may be frankly admitted that these dark stains, disfiguring pages which but for them would be bright with the things which were beautiful and glorious, go some way to excuse, if not to justify, the obloquy which Western writers have been so prone to cast upon the East. But it is not by considering the evil only, any more than the good only, that it is possible to form a just judgment upon an historic epoch. To judge the Byzantine Empire only by the crimes which defiled the Palace would be as unjust as if the French people were to be estimated by nothing but the massacre of St. Bartholomew, the Reign of Terror, and the Commune of 1871.

The dynastic crimes and revolutions of New Rome were not a constant feature in her history. On the contrary, the times of trouble and anarchy were episodes between long periods of peace. They arose either from quarrels in the Imperial family itself, which degraded the dignity of the Crown, or from the contentions of Pretenders struggling among themselves till one or other had worsted his rivals and was able to become the founder of a long dynasty. Thus, two centuries elapsed from the time of Arcadius before Phocas, as the murderer of his predecessor, was in his own turn put to death by Heraclius. Heraclius himself died upon the throne, but his reign was followed by a series of tragedies. In the century succeeding his death, five Emperors were murdered or executed, and six deposed, of whom four were blinded or otherwise mutilated. The strong dynasty of the Isaurians then assumed the Crown, but in little more than half a century the Empress Irene, when she deposed her own son Constantine VI., and put out his eyes, began a new series of crimes which continued with little interruption till the murder of Michael the Drunkard, eighty years later. His assassin, however, Basil the Macedonian, was the founder of a dynasty which reigned for nearly two centuries.

The most deplorable epoch in the history of the Byzantine Empire, the period in which assassination and mutilation most

abounded, was that in which it was exposed to the influence of the Crusaders, and thus brought into contact with Western Europe. In the twenty years between 1183 and 1204, six Emperors occupied the tottering throne of the East; all of them were deposed, two of them were blinded, and all were put to death except Isaac II., who anticipated the executioner by dying in prison. I do not point out the coincidence of circumstances in order to throw upon the Franks the whole responsibility for this series of tragedies. But I cannot help remarking that the continual and uninterrupted contact of the Empire with the barbaric elements by which it was surrounded, from the beginning to the end of its existence, supplies an explanation though not a justification of these lamentable episodes in its history. The Byzantine people, although in every respect the superiors of their contemporaries, were unable entirely to escape the influence of their neighbourhood. As the guardians of classical civilization, they strove to keep above the deluge of barbarism by which the rest of the world was then inundated. But it was a flood whose waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, and sometimes all the high hills were covered, even where might have rested the ark in which the traditions of antient culture were being preserved.

Modern writers are not unfrequently given to accusing the Byzantine Empire of cruelty. They seem to forget that the contemporary manners and jurisprudence of Western Europe were marked by a ferocity which nothing in Byzantine despotism ever approached. To listen to these gentlemen, one would imagine that the legislation of their own countries, both while the Eastern Empire endured and long afterwards, was a model of humanity and sweet reasonableness. It needs no research to find examples to the contrary, nor would there be room to recount them, but a few specimens float through my mind at once. Take for instance the executions of Dolcino in Italy, of Hugh le Despenser (the younger) in England, of the murderers of James I. in Scotland, and the whole history of the processes against the Templars or the lepers in France. Long after the Byzantine Empire fell,

the peculiar English sentence for High Treason was fully carried out until within the last century, and has been pronounced in Ireland within my memory. Similarly, I might point to the legislation of England with regard to religion, and especially to its application during the sixteenth century. The executions of the family of the last Inca of Peru by the Spanish Government, or of Damiens by the French, are little more than a century old, and I need not go on to cite even later instances, the *noyades* of Nantes, for example. That much that went on in the Empire justifies the charge of cruelty, I admit. But I ask Western writers to consider how the histories of their own countries will show by comparison, before they cast the first stone at Constantinople.

Putting aside such matters, and returning to the main question, the history of the Greek Emperors, taken as an whole, leaves no doubt that the end which Diocletian and Constantine sought to attain by transferring the capital seat of the Roman Empire, was more than realized. That history shows also the instinctive tendency of the Byzantine people to be ruled by sovereigns reigning through lawful hereditary succession, a tendency which becomes especially apparent during the last six centuries of the Empire's protracted existence. This Legitimist sentiment, so marked in the New Rome, was certainly not derived from the Old. On the contrary, the absence, in the Old Rome, of any constitution strong enough to secure the regular succession to the Crown, was one of the very things which contributed to paralyze her and to hasten her fall. At Constantinople, on the contrary, there was from the very beginning an effort to correct this evil, and an effort which was continued until the principle of legitimate hereditary right was established.* It is probable that this strong feeling in favour of Monarchy, and especially of hereditary Monarchy, which is a characteristic mark of the Eastern world, was the cause and not the effect of the peculiar State ceremonial, half Asiatic, half Roman, which was so distinctive a feature of the Byzan-

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* See Rambaud, *L'Empire Grec au dixième siècle*, p. 23.

tine Court. The Emperor Constantine VII. (Porphyrogennetos*) and George Kodinos, the Kuropalates, have left us elaborate works upon this subject. It is one which is sometimes treated with a smile of contempt. If, however, we consider how in England the scrupulous retention of certain old-world official customs and costumes, which are often absolutely ridiculous in the eyes of foreigners, is accompanied by the most perfect exercise of liberty, both political and personal, we shall probably pause before ascribing to the antique formalities of the Byzantine Court the decline and fall of the Roman Empire. ‡ Moreover, if we are to judge the Byzantine Court by its fruits, we shall not see in it the habitual abode of frivolity and effeminacy. I am certainly not going to make myself the advocate of the herd of eunuchs whose presence dishonoured the Imperial Palaces, nor seek for a moment to justify the crimes which were committed within their walls. But neither, on the other hand, will I forget that manly virtue was never long lacking to the Byzantine throne, that the greater number of the Sovereigns who occupied it showed themselves not unworthy of their exalted station, and were no dishonour either to the pages of their country's history or to the people whose life they represented. I shall not go through the list name by name. I shall only cite, in support of my contention, one or two in a century; but I venture to think that they are names which are in themselves enough to cover every period of the Byzantine history with honour.

Thus, in the sixth century, reigned for forty years Justinian I. As a conqueror, he restored to the Roman arms their antient lustre; as a sovereign, he adorned by his great buildings not only his capital, but cities planted in his remotest provinces; ‡ as a legislator, he took that place in the history of

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* Constantines VI. and VII. were so-called because born (A.D. 771, 905) in an apartment of the Imperial Palace panelled with porphyry, which was specially destined for the use of the Empresses upon these occasions.

† That learned and at the same time attractive work, Κωνσταντινούπολις, by the k. Skarlatos D. Byzantios, contains (vol. III., chap. 10) a very able picture of Byzantine manners. See also *Paparregopoulos*, v. 26 *et seq.*

‡ On this point, especially consult Procopios, Περὶ κτισμάτων.

Jurisprudence which he still holds to-day. The seventh century is filled by the great name of Heraclius, who, in his victorious wars against the Persians, resumed and continued the work of Alexander the Great. His great-grandson, Constantine IV. (the Bearded) was faithful to the glorious traditions of his progenitor, and by his brave resistance to the repeated expeditions of the Arabs against Constantinople, stemmed the tide of Mohammedan conquest and earned the title of Deliverer of Europe.* In the eighth century, Leo III. the Saviour of Constantinople and Reformer of the Empire,† founded the new dynasty of the Isaurians, and gave a new impulse to the Byzantine world. The efforts made by Leo and his son Constantine V. (Kopronymos‡) to remodel the State failed, and the enemies of their Reform have sought to darken their fame by destroying the contemporary records, but their forms loom none the smaller amid the obscurity which overshadows the history of their epoch. In the ninth century, Basil I. (the Macedonian), the founder of the dynasty which bears his name, crowned the work of Justinian I. by his final codification of Roman Law, and exalted the power of the Empire, which enjoyed, under himself and his successors, a lengthened period of greatness and prosperity. In the tenth century, the need of self-defence against the Mohammedans and the Bulgars called to the throne such men as were Nikephoros II. (Phokas), John I. (Tzimiskes), and Basil II. (the Bulgar-slayer). In the twelfth century, three successive monarchs of the House of the Komnenoi, Alexis I. (Komnenos),

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* See *Paparregopoulos*, III., 322-340.

† By Finlay, Leo III. is regarded as the true founder of the Byzantine Empire, so far as this portion of the Roman Empire may be so distinguished from its earlier phase.

‡ However revolting may have been the vices and crimes of this Prince, nothing but disgust and contempt can be felt for the inventors and propagators of this filthy nickname, founded on an accident said to have occurred when he was in the baptismal font. However, a world which has learnt to execrate his memory, has since applied it to him so habitually that his name is almost never heard and would rarely be understood, without it.

his son, John II. (the Good*) and his grandson, the heroic Manuel I. (Komnenos), in the midst of every species of plot and distraction, saved the dignity of the throne and preserved the safety of the State. In the thirteenth century, Theodore I. (Laskaris), and John III. (Batatzes) rallied the national forces in the midst of calamities, and cast lustre upon the weakened majesty of the Imperial Crown, till the day when Michael VIII. (Palaiologos) by the re-conquest of Constantinople, opened the way to a new period in the history of the Eastern Empire.

These are not the only Emperors who have left upon the pages of history names which time will never obliterate. If ignorance and spite have long combined to cast obscurity over their renown, the impartiality of more modern writers is at length beginning to do justice to their memory.

Nor is it only to the throne that we must look in order to find the great names of Byzantine history. Through the whole course of the Empire's existence, there were never lacking eminent subjects who do honour to mankind and have preserved the best traditions of the classical ages. In every period there arose illustrious soldiers, able statesmen, good and saintly ecclesiastics, and, last but not least, men of learning to whom the Hellenic nation owes at least the almost unique advantage of possessing in its own language, its own annals, for an unbroken stretch of more than twenty centuries.*

Let us now consider what was the incessant succession of

* Kalo-Joannes. The adjective has sometimes been translated 'the Handsome' and the origin of the surname disputed. He was personally very ill-favoured, in striking contrast to the rest of the Komnenian race ; from which it would seem that if intended physically the nickname was a sarcasm. It is, however, generally interpreted of the noble qualities of his mind and heart, and the word (καλός) which is already applied to moral excellence by classical writers, has continued to the present day to be used more and more exclusively in that sense.

* Space does not permit me here to enlarge further upon the foregoing topics. I must be allowed to refer the reader once more to that great national work, the Ἰστορία τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Ἔθνους, of the k. Paparregopoulos. There it will be seen how the Empire when in need never failed to produce a man equal to her wants.

enemies, who never left the Byzantine Government a moment of respite from attack. By looking at them we shall be better able to form a fair judgment as to what must have been the strength and vitality of the Empire itself, and what the extent of the services which by its unflinching and unflagging war of defence it rendered to Europe, or, to speak more truly, to the cause of civilized humanity.

The first adversaries against whom Byzantium had to contend were the Goths. About eighty years before the foundation of Constantinople, these savages crossed the Dniester and the Danube, and ravaged far and wide. After a variety of successes and defeats, they occupied Dacia. Constantine the Great brought them into subjection, and they remained loyal to his lineal heirs, but when these came to an end, they rebelled, and were again subdued, after a longer struggle, by Theodosius the Great. After his death they recommenced their invasions and over-ran and devastated Greece under Alaric. At length, however, they were checked by the Imperial armies, and determined to cross into Italy. The East was thus delivered from this plague. It is out of place here to follow their career of adventure across Western Europe. It is enough to remark that if they had taken root and founded States in the East, as they did in Italy, Gaul, and Spain,—if the Byzantine world had been engulfed beneath the flood of their immigration,—the history of the human race would have been a different one to that which it has been. If the East had been barbarized by the Goths as was the West, and the Eastern Empire had been destroyed, from what materials would the European Renaissance have sprung?

About a century and an half after Alaric, Belisarius and Narses, the Generals of Justinian, crushed the Gothic power in Italy, and destroyed the Vandals in Africa. These military triumphs were a powerful aid to the regeneration of social life and order in the former country, by promising them protection; in the North, however, the Byzantine supremacy was not long-lived; in the Central provinces it disappeared towards the close of the eighth century, at the time of the Iconoclastic persecution; but in the South it lasted on into the eleventh century,

when the definitive rupture between the Eastern and Western Churches was a cause not less powerful than the Norman conquests in effecting the complete severance of Italy from Greece. It must, nevertheless, be owned that the obstinate adherence of the New Rome to the traditions of the Old, and the consequent interference of the Byzantine world in affairs purely Italian, was one of the main causes which accelerated the decline and fall of the Empire. On the other hand, the civilizing influence exercised by the representatives of the Imperial power, the Exarchs of Ravenna and the Governors of Southern Italy, had a larger share than is often assigned to it in gradually polishing the rough elements and preserving culture in the West.

After the Goths, came the Huns. These hordes, gradually advancing from Asia into Europe, made their appearance in the fifth century, under Attila, who, after defeating the Roman troops sent to stem the tide of his conquests, ravaged Thrace and Macedonia, and imposed an humiliating peace upon the Government of Constantinople, which happened to be represented at the moment by a child and a woman, namely, Theodosius II. and his sister, the Empress Pulcheria. When, however, in course of time, the husband of the latter, the Emperor Marcian, ascended the throne, and Attila sent to demand the continuance of the tribute, he was met by the stern reply, 'I have iron for Attila, but no gold.' Whether this haughty answer, and the unflinching firmness of Apollonius, the Imperial Ambassador, would have been justified by the result of war, is a question which was perhaps fortunately not brought to an issue. Attila moved away Westward, spreading devastation and terror around him, till the day when Aetius broke the power of the Huns upon the plain of Chalons-sur-Marne.

Next after the Goths and the Huns, came the Avars. This tribe poured down from the region of the Volga, in the sixth century. In the time of Justin II. and his successors, they devastated the Byzantine provinces, sometimes as avowed enemies, sometimes under the treacherous pretence of alliance. Priscus, the General of the Emperor Maurice, at last subdued

them, in the year 600. But, twenty-six years later, they advanced, in alliance with the Persians, to the very walls of Constantinople, and plundered the suburbs. The siege, however, was in vain; the Avars retired, and never afterwards played an important part in the history of the Empire; but the deliverance of the capital is still commemorated by the Church in the use of the Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος, which was composed to celebrate it.

And now it is time to speak of the Slavs. The consequences of the contact between Byzantium and the Slav tribes were much more permanent than those produced by the incursions of any other barbarous nation; in fact, they are still to be seen at the present day. The first Slavs who attacked the Empire were the Antai. They had seized Dacia, but were subdued by the great Justinian. Nevertheless, they and other Slav tribes continued to move forwards till they even entered Greece itself. From this time onwards, sometimes as allies and sometimes as enemies, sometimes as subjects and sometimes as prisoners, the Slavs scattered themselves about the Empire, and at last took permanent possession of the settlements in which they are still to be found. From the sixth to the eighth century, there were frequent Slav invasions of Greece, and it is upon this fact that Fallmerayer based his famous theory to the effect that the Hellenes are extinct and that Hellas is now peopled by a Slav population.

Since I have here mentioned the above celebrated fad, I hope I may be allowed to remark parenthetically that I think my fellow-countrymen have given it a great deal more notice than its importance demands. It would really seem as if some people thought it a kind of patriotic duty to refute the whimsical fancy in question, and to denounce its author, upon every possible occasion. Even supposing, for the sake of argument, that Fallmerayer had been right in asserting that Hellas was submerged by a flood of Slav immigration, it would have been no disgrace to the Hellenes to receive an accession of foreign blood. On the contrary, many nations great in modern history owe to such an admixture the union of qualities which has raised them so high.

Whether, moreover, the Slavs overspread Greece or not, no one who has any knowledge of the actual phenomena could testify to anything but that their absorption has been complete. The entirely and exclusively Hellenic character of all the features, physical and intellectual, presented by the present inhabitants of the country, is a most striking fact, almost unique in history, a glorious mark of our race, and a wondrous proof of the intensity of our national vitality.

But to continue the list of barbaric invaders from the North. Since we have spoken of Slavs, it is impossible not to speak of the Russians. The Russians first appear upon the stage of history in the ninth century, when the Scandinavian Rurik, with his Warings or Varangians, took possession of Slavia. When Rurik came Southwards to Kieff, the Russians began their attacks upon the Empire, from the Dnieper.* Four times in two centuries did they set sail against Constantinople, but these attempts all failed. The first was in 864, in the reign of Michael III. (the Drunkard); the second in 907, in that of Leo VI. (the Philosopher); the third and fourth in 940 and 944, in the time of Romanus I. (Lakapenos); on the last occasion the Russian Grand Prince, Igor, was scarcely able to escape with a few of his ships. After the deposition of Romanus, Olga, the widow of Igor, who had not long survived his defeat, came to Constantinople, where she was baptized in 956, and by her Christianity was introduced into Russia. From this time forth, the Russians were generally friendly to the Empire, and the 'murderous nation of godless Russians' as they had hitherto been termed, are henceforth designated by the writers of Byzantium 'the most Christian nation.' About the year 960, the Grand Prince Vladimir, the son of Olga, and first Christian Monarch of Russia, married the Princess Anna Posthuma, younger daughter of Romanus II. These relations with the Empire gradually introduced civilization into Russia, where the survival of Byzantine forms and traditions in many things as well as in the Imperial device of the two-headed eagle, is even now more marked than in any other country of

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* Called the *Danopris* by Constantine VII.

the present day; her political and religious systems are taken from Constantinople, and so is her mission with regard to the barbarian nations of Asia.

Along with the Slavs we must reckon the Bulgars, although these latter appear in reality to be a Turkish tribe, and to have nothing in common with the Slavs except the fact that they speak (at present) a Slavonic dialect. After to a certain extent subduing the Slavs, they moved forward from the Volga to the Danube, and in 559 invaded Thrace and menaced Constantinople: but the city was saved by the aged Belisarius. Thenceforth, they were a source of continual trouble to the Empire. They seemed to have reached the zenith of their power in 811, when they captured and murdered the Emperor Nikephoros I., and destroyed his army. About a century later, they beseiged Constantinople again, and for a time the Byzantine Court was compelled to accord to their chieftain the title of βασιλεύς, which they had hitherto restricted on principle to their own Emperor and to the ruler of Persia, while they styled the Sovereigns of Europe ῥῆγας (*reges*) and 'εξουσιαστάς, and other Princes simply ἄρχοντας. The results of alliance between the reigning Houses of New Rome and of Bulgaria, the constant intercourse with the subjects of the Empire, and the humanizing influence of Christianity, seemed to have mitigated the savagery of the Bulgars, when, towards the close of the tenth century, there broke out a war more frightful than ever. After a bloody struggle which lasted thirty years, Basil II., hence called the Bulgar-slayer, completely shattered their power in 1018, and Bulgaria was made a Byzantine province. But an hundred and seventy years later, in the time of Isaac II. (Angelos), they rose in rebellion again, after they had acknowledged the religious supremacy of the Pope. Nevertheless, while the Latin dynasty were reigning at Constantinople, John, *Kral* of the Bulgars, fought on the Greek side against the Franks. Such is an epitome of the history of the Bulgars. Unhappily, they are again to be found to-day arrayed in hostility to the Hellenic element in the peninsula.

The Magyars or Hungarians are another Turkish tribe, who,

after defeating and partially assimilating the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, filled Europe with alarm, until their power was destroyed by the German Emperor, Otho the Great, in the middle of the tenth century. The Government of Constantinople encouraged the attacks of the Magyars upon the Slavs, but they were dangerous allies, and, until the last days of the Empire, never ceased to furnish auxiliaries to its enemies as well as to itself.

Space fails me to write of the Petzenegoi, the Komans, the Khazars, and the Ouzoi. We may as well turn away at once from the contemplation of that particular class of foes who came down from the North, during six centuries, to threaten and jeopardize the Byzantine Empire. In the end the Empire succeeded, often by arms, at other times by diplomacy, but most of all by the influence of religion, commerce, and civilization, not only in protecting itself against the dangers of these successive inroads, but in laying, amid these hostile and barbarous tribes themselves, the foundations of civilization and even of future greatness. Thus these tribes, either by conquest, by submission, or by alliance, became resolved into a number of small States, scattered around and sometimes even within the Empire, stretching from the Caspian to Sicily and from the sea of Azof to Syria, but all of them States whose progress was guided by the influence of Constantinople.

The Oriental enemies of the Empire were of a different sort. The Byzantine Power had not there to deal with barbarous tribes, which might indeed first be conquered, but could afterwards be assimilated to the Imperial State by the influences of civilization and Christianity. In the East, New Rome was called to wrestle with mighty nations, possessed of an highly organized polity and animated by a special religious faith. Europe and Asia were thus brought face to face in implacable contrast and collision; the Empire of Constantinople was the representative of Europe, and the modern world owes to it a lasting debt of gratitude for the long contention by which it continued the traditions of classical Hellas in the same regard.

The continuity of these traditions was specially marked in the struggle of the Empire with Persia. The Sovereigns of that

country, as the successors of Darius the son of Hystaspes, regarded the Strymon as their proper frontier. The Emperors, on the other hand, considered themselves the representatives of Alexander the Great. The collisions between these opposing forces were terrible. Whole armies perished. Rich and fertile provinces were reduced to deserts. The combatants sometimes fairly wore one another out, and, in the moment of exhaustion, concluded some treaty which promised a duration of peace; but the wounds inflicted in the last battle were hardly healed, before the war was renewed with more carnage than ever. The deadly conflicts of so many centuries might surely have convinced both the Greeks and the Persians that it was an idle task to try and alter the boundaries assigned to each by nature. But it was not so. Neither conqueror nor conquered was willing to abstain from renewed strife. Vain was the triumph of Julian (the Apostate) and equally vain the victory of his rival, Sapor. It was in vain that Belisarius earned in battle with the Persians his earliest laurels. In the end they were overcome by Heraclius, who, after a long and glorious struggle, imposed peace upon them in 628. 'Since the days of Scipio and Hannibal,' says Gibbon, 'no bolder enterprise has been attempted than that which Heraclius achieved for the deliverance of the Empire.' The peace he forced them to accept, they never broke, but the reason was that they had ceased to exist before they had had time to recover strength for another fray. Four years later, in 632, while Persia was still prostrated from her defeat by Heraclius, and farther enfeebled by internal dissensions, she was finally conquered by the Arabs, then in the outburst of their strength. And from this point the Asiatic enemies of Christianity were no longer the Persians, but Mohammedans, the Arabs first, and afterwards, the Turks.

Persia had not yet been destroyed and Heraclius was still fresh from his victory over her, when he was confronted at Edessa by the ambassador of Mohammed, who summoned him to embrace the new religion. Against the prophet and his followers he was not successful. Jerusalem was captured by Omar, in 637. The next year Egypt fell into the hands of Amrou, after Alexandria had sustained a siege of fourteen

months. Nine years later, the Arabs under Abdallah conquered the remaining countries of Roman Africa, and, in sixty years more, under the command of Mousa, they destroyed the kingdom of the Goths, and took possession of Spain. From Spain they passed into France, but the tide of their conquests in that direction was at length arrested for ever by Charles Martel upon the plains of Tours, in 732.

But while Mohammedanism was thus pouring into Western Europe, Constantinople formed a barrier on the East which it utterly failed to surmount. Constantine IV. (the Bearded) had hardly begun to reign when the Arabs assailed his dominions, and in 672 the Imperial city itself sustained a beleaguerment of five months. The attempt was vainly repeated for seven consecutive years, and was followed in the end by a peace of thirty years' duration, but in 717 the Arabs again subjected the capital to a futile siege, which lasted thirteen months. If only they had succeeded in their first attempts, and conquered the European provinces of the Byzantine Empire, they would have been able to advance Westward and unite their forces with those of their brethren who were moving Northwards out of Spain. In that event, we should have had to-day no victory of Charles Martel to celebrate as the deliverance of the Christian world, and the probable result would have been that delineated by Gibbon: 'A victorious line of march had been prolonged above a thousand miles, from the Rock of Gibraltar to the banks of the Loire; the repetition of an equal space would have carried the Saracens to the confines of Poland and the Highlands of Scotland; the Rhine is not more impassable than the Nile or Euphrates, and the Arabian fleet might have sailed without a naval combat into the mouth of the Thames. Perhaps the interpretation of the Koran would now be taught in the schools of Oxford, and her pulpits might demonstrate to a circumcised people the sanctity and truth of the revelation of Mahomet.'

In 823 the Arabs from Spain conquered Crete, and when, an hundred and thirty-eight years afterwards, it was reconquered by Nikephoros II. (Phokas), that prince found it so thoroughly Mohammedanized, that it required the plantation of new

colonies and a new evangelization before the island could be reclaimed to Hellenism and Christianity. The terrible example of the work wrought by the Arabs in this instance is a sufficient proof of how great was the danger from which not only the Hellenic world of the East in particular, but also Christian Europe in general, were saved by the efforts of the Byzantine Emperors. Constantine IV. (the Bearded), Leo III. (the Isaurian), Constantine V. (Kopronymos), Lachanodrakon under Leo III. (the Khazar), Basil I. (the Macedonian), Kourkouas under Romanus I. (Lakapenos), and, above all, Nikephoros II. (Phokas), and John I. (Tzimiskes), by their calm heroism and their military genius, succeeded not only in checking the Arabs but in weakening them. The day came, however, when a new enemy broke the power of the Caliphs, and took their place as the mortal foe of Christianity. That new enemy was the Turk.

The Turks first appear in history towards the middle of the sixth century. Their relations with Justinian and his successors were friendly, and Heraclius was assisted by them as allies in his wars against the Persians and Arabs. They afterwards adopted the Mohammedan religion, and then joined the banner of the Caliphs, who allowed themselves to be much influenced and guided by the commanders of the Turkish battalions forming their guard. In 1037, Togroul, the son of Seljouk, founded the dynasty thence called Seljoukide, and in 1068 his nephew Alp-Arslan invaded the provinces of the Empire, and took prisoner the Emperor Romanus IV. (Diogenes). Twenty years later, the Turks conquered Asia Minor and expelled the Fatimite Caliphs from Jerusalem.

The capture of the Holy City by the Turks was the cause of the Crusades, which, instead of achieving the permanent deliverance of the Holy Places, effected the impoverishment and ruin of the Byzantine Empire.

The struggle between the Empire and the Ottoman Turks lasted more than two hundred years. The effort of the Turks was, by continual and violent incursions, to exterminate, if possible, the Christian inhabitants of the country, and thus to weaken it, with a view to ultimate conquest. As a matter of

fact, by dint of habitually massacring the peasantry, making slaves of the survivors, and reducing the cultivated tracts to a condition of wilderness, they succeeded after a while in extinguishing the Greek population and doing away with the Greek language, in the interior of Asia Minor. The Imperial armies, now growing feebler and feebler, strove in vain to repel these sudden invasions and to protect the territory and subjects of the Empire. Nevertheless, the internal divisions among the Turks were so serious and their wars against the Mongols so unfortunate, that it is possible that the Byzantine Government might in the end have succeeded in getting the better of them, if the young Christendom of the West had been willing to become the ally and helper of the venerable Christendom of the East. But it was not so. On the contrary, Constantinople found in the Latins, not allies, but enemies. Blinded by religious and commercial rivalries, by the question of the Papal Supremacy, and by the material interests of the Italian Republics, Western Europe failed to see that the line of defence which was imperilled was really her own, and that by being themselves the first to rend and degrade the Imperial purple, the Crusaders were only hastening the moment when the Turks should trample it down in mire and in blood.

Thus it came to pass that the Eastern Empire ultimately fell before the unceasing attacks of its Asiatic foes. Equally unceasing was its strife with the enemies who assailed it from the North and West. In the case of these latter, however, there always existed a certain tie which even the storms of war could never utterly break. This tie was the common profession of the Christian Religion, which always left open the door, in some sort, for the hope of a reconciliation. On the other side, it was quite different. Between Constantinople, Christian, Hellenic, and Imperial, on the one hand, and the despotisms of Pagan or Mohammedan Asia, on the other, there was a great gulf fixed. With them, no community of life could ever be possible. The Arabs took the place of the Persians, and the Turks took the place of the Arabs. But from the beginning to the end, the Asiatic enemy, whoever it was, was always inspired by one and the same

feeling, and one and the same motive. The feeling was an intense passion of religious hatred; the motive, a rabid longing to annihilate that Christian State which formed a barrier between them and the destruction of Europe. But it was thanks to that barrier, that Christian Europe was saved, first from a persecution of extermination conducted by Persian fire-worshippers, and then from a slavery where the religion of the Koran would have been propagated by the sword of the Arabs. And it was thanks to that barrier, that Western Europe had the time given her so to develop her strength, that, long after Constantinople herself had fallen in the struggle, a martyr in the cause of the human race, she was able to shatter the Turkish navies upon the waters of Lepanto and to rout their hordes before the walls of Vienna. Unhappily, however, the fall of Constantinople was in great part the work of that very Europe which owed and owes her so much. It is true that the death-blow was given by the battle-axe of Mahomet II., but this blow was only fatal because the victim was already half-dead, and it is the Crusades which are responsible, more than anything else, for reducing her to that condition. What were they then, these Crusades, which moved Christendom, both Eastern and Western, to the very depths of its being, and were fruitful of consequences which the world is still experiencing to-day?

The preaching of Peter the Hermit kindled in Western Europe an irresistible conflagration of religious excitement. Latin Christianity seemed to be about to emigrate bodily into Asia for the purpose of rescuing the Holy Sepulchre. It may possibly be the case that the movement owed a good deal of its success to the hereditary nomad instinct, transmitted to their descendants by the barbarian hordes which had convulsed and colonized Europe some five or six centuries previously. However that may be, the present migration was destined to repair all the ruin which these tribes had inflicted upon the civilization of the West, by bringing back to it once more, from the surviving representative of Imperial Rome, the tradition of the classical culture of which it had been deprived.

The Crusades wear a very different aspect according as

they are viewed from an Eastern or from a Western standpoint. To the Western eye they present themselves in all the noble proportions of a great movement based upon motives purely religious, when the Europe which has since attained such vast developments, not in one continent or one hemisphere only, but in New Worlds besides, first appears, the self-sacrificing champion of Christianity and of civilization, in the vigour of her strong youth and the glory of her intellectual morning. It is natural that a certain honourable pride should still inspire any family of the Latin aristocracy which can trace its pedigree to those who fought under the banner of the Cross. But when the Easterns beheld swarms of illiterate barbarians looting and plundering the provinces of the Christian and Roman Empire, and the very men who called themselves the champions of the Faith murdering the Priests of Christ upon the ground that they were schismatics, it was equally natural that they should forget that such a movement had originally been inspired by a religious aim and possessed a distinctively Christian character.

The cruelty and violence of the Crusaders roused at once the indignation and the disgust of the subjects of the Empire. From the very beginning, the Latins and Greeks regarded one another with mutual distrust. They looked upon each other not only as heretics, but as political adversaries. For this reason the attitude of the Crusaders in dealing with the Byzantine population was originally one of hostility. Their appearance upon the stage of history is the first act in the final tragedy of the Empire. The tact and skill of the Emperor Alexis I. (Komnenos) were able to turn the First Crusade, in 1096, to the temporary profit of his country, but both that expedition and those which followed it, in reality shook New Rome to her very foundations, shattered her forces, and drained her resources. The climax was reached in the capture and sack of Constantinople in 1204. The outrage upon the Majesty of the throne, and the concomitant dismemberment of the Empire, dealt it a blow from which it never again entirely rallied. 'If,' says Paparregopoulos, speaking of the First Crusade, 'the Emperor Alexis had been able to em-

ploy against the Turks the land and sea forces which he at length found himself compelled to turn against his pretended allies, and the troops whom he had been obliged to send with them into Asia Minor and Syria; if he had been able to reserve for the struggle against Mohammedanism, the resources of which he was plundered by the looting and extortions of the Crusaders, he would have been able to get rid of all danger from the unbelievers far more effectually than was done by the ephemeral success of the Latins.'

History has yet to treat the attitude of the Crusaders in the East from a point of view of judicial impartiality. The images of these events are still shown to us through the glass of Western prejudices. 'The Latins,' admits Finlay, 'would not allow that their disasters were caused by their own misconduct and imprudence; they persisted in attributing all their misfortunes to the treachery of the Greeks; and though Alexis delivered many from captivity, the Crusaders generally regarded him as an enemy.' According to these accounts, it was always the Byzantines who were in the wrong; they were liars and traitors; and they had no cause to regard the Crusaders with suspicion. But the Western historians, whether they be those who strive to rise above national prejudices or those who allow themselves to be carried away by them, are alike unable entirely to conceal the barbarism and self-seeking, the unceasing quarrels, the faithless disregard of oaths and treaties, and the total absence of any capacity for the direction of either military or civil affairs, which so abundantly mark the conduct of the Crusades, and especially of the earlier. Was it possible that such armies could long withstand the Mohammedan hosts, or save that Empire against which they themselves actually plotted? And were not the Emperors right, after a thorough experience of what they were, in doing what lay in their power to get rid of company so doubtful?

In the First Crusade, the Franks did not assume possession of the Imperial throne, not because they would not, but because they could not. But when the turn of the Fourth Crusade came, they were more accustomed to things Eastern, and they had the luck of finding the Empire in a state of weakness and

paralysis, the outcome of the unceasing wars of Manuel I. (Komnenos) and the series of revolutions which had followed him. Under these circumstances, the Latin conquest of Constantinople was easy. However, the Latin conquerors remained in possession of the Imperial throne for only fifty-seven years, and during that time a glorious succession of gallant Emperors gathered together in exile the now recovering forces of Greek nationalism, and turned them upon their Christian adversaries, until the day came in 1261, when Michael VIII. (Palaiologos) reconquered the city of Constantine. From that moment the division between the East and West became more marked, and their mutual estrangement has been lasting. From time to time, attempts were made at reunion, but they were made without confidence on the one side and without sincerity upon the other. The fundamental element in every proposal which emanated from the West was the recognition of the Papal Supremacy. There were some Emperors who, in moments of national weakness and peril, accepted the claims of the Latins, but the mass of the people were never willing to purchase by such a sacrifice the help of Western Europe. On the contrary, when they called to mind the Frankish conquest, with its burnings, its devastation, its banishments, and its religious persecutions, they feared the Western alliance, and came to say, with Lukes Notaras, 'better a Turk's turban than a Cardinal's hat.' It was a mistake, of course; and a mistake which was dearly paid for. And yet, after all, who knows? Supposing that the Frankish conquest had been lasting—supposing that an enduring political edifice had been raised upon the foundation of a Latinized Byzantine Empire—supposing that the Bosphoros had been for ever cleared of the Turks by the arms of the Western immigrants who would then have settled there as permanent masters—the consequences might have been even more fatal to the free development of the purely Hellenic genius than has been the Ottoman sword. It is true that those fair lands which the Turks have blasted for four hundred years would not have suffered so long if the Franks had been their owners instead. But when the inhabitants of these lands are viewed from the

purely ethnological standpoint, as *Hellenes*, they may to-day owe something even to Mahomet II. It might perhaps have been that in an Hellas, definitively occupied and ruled by Westerns, the Hellenes would have lost the traditions and memories of their own antient glories, and that to-day they might not have been what they are, but an hybrid mixture of Eastern and Western races, speaking a language reduced to a corrupt dialect, and emasculated of those elements which, amid all the calamities of their nation, have been at once their safety and their honour.

The invasion of Byzantine territory by the Normans may be regarded as an incident cognate with the Crusades, although, as a matter of chronological sequence, it began somewhat earlier. After their conquest and occupation of a portion of Northern France, these barbarians adopted the use of the French language, but they did not relinquish their own customs, their nomadic instinct, and their hunger for conquest. In the year 1016, a Norman army poured into Italy and seized the provinces still ruled by the Eastern Empire. Between 1081 and 1084, Robert Guiscard made two expeditions against Greece, but although he began by defeating Alexis I. (Komnenos) he did not succeed in establishing any permanent foothold. About sixty years later, the Normans attempted a new expedition against the Empire. They captured Corfu and harried the mainland. But the Emperor Manuel I. (Komnenos) repulsed them, carried the war into Italy, and compelled them to sue for a thirty years' peace. Meanwhile the same race conquered England. The difference of their fortunes in the two countries is a sufficient proof of the comparative superiority of the Byzantine Empire at the time.

The Norman incursions paved the way for the Frank occupation of Greece proper, which followed the seizure of Constantinople in 1204. This occupation lasted two centuries, but it has left hardly any abiding trace, and introduced no important change in the destiny of the country. Neither did it do anything to retard the progress of the Turkish conquest. And then Constantinople fell, and the whole Hellenic world passed into Turkish slavery. Western Europe looked on with uncon-

cern at the appalling catastrophe. It was in vain that the last of the Palaiologoi cried to them for help. 'Christendom' says Gibbon, 'beheld with indifference the fall of Constantinople. . . Some states were too weak and others too remote; by some the danger was considered as imaginary, by others as inevitable: the Western Princes were involved in their endless and domestic quarrels; and the Roman Pontiff was exasperated by the falsehood or obstinacy of the Greeks. Instead of employing in their favour the arms and treasures of Italy, Nicolas V. had foretold their approaching ruin; and his honour was engaged in the accomplishment of his prophecy. Perhaps he was softened by the last extremity of their distress; but his compassion was tardy; his efforts were faint and unavailing; and Constantinople had fallen before the squadrons of Genoa and Venice could sail from their harbours. Even the Princes of the Morea and of the Greek Islands affected a cold neutrality: the Genoese colony of Galata negociated a private treaty; and the Sultan indulged them in the delusive hope that by his clemency they might survive the ruin of the Empire.'

Thus perished Constantinople, Christian and Imperial. Up to her last hour she had never ceased, for more than a thousand years, to fight. In the fourth century she fought the Goths; in the fifth, the Huns and Vandals; in the sixth, the Slavs; in the seventh, the Persians, the Avars, and the Arabs; in the eighth, ninth, and tenth, the Bulgars, the Magyars, and the Russians; in the eleventh, the Koumanoi, the Petzenegoi, and the Seljoukian Turks; in the twelfth, thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth, the Ottomans, the Normans, the Crusaders, the Venetians, and the Genoese. No wonder that at last she fell exhausted. The wonder is, how she could keep herself alive so long. But it was by this long battle that she succeeded in saving from destruction, amid the universal cataclysm which overwhelmed the classical world, the civilization of the antients, modified by the Christian Religion. The moral and intellectual development of modern Europe are owing to the Byzantine Empire, if it be true that this development is the common offspring of antiquity upon the one hand and of Christianity upon the other.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΒΙΚΕΛΑΣ.

Art. IV.—THE BAYREUTH FESTIVAL.

THE play-bills of the Bayreuth Festival were printed with black borders, out of respect to the memory of the Royal Patron, under whose protection the performances had been originally announced to take place, whose refined taste so deeply appreciated the music of Wagner, and who found in its conceptions a relief under the malady which has since hurried him so terribly into the grave. The garden of the house in Bayreuth presented by him to the Master now holds the Master's tomb. The body of Liszt sleeps beside that of John Paul Richter under an heap of withering wreaths in the midst of the wilderness of flowers which forms the Bayreuth Cemetery. But at the scene of representations so grave and thoughtful as those of the Wagner Theatre, these elements of gloom seem less a reminder of the *Vita brevis* than of the *Ars longa*. The work gloriously survives its maker. While yet in his own hands it was in itself an even more striking testimony to the comparative immortality of the creations of Art as compared with the fleeting bodily vitality of those in whom they spring. The great Arthurian cycle, originally developed by the Cymric Celts in the form of historical legend and heroic myth, based upon their struggles against the Saxon and English invaders of Britain, has lived to conquer the Teutons themselves, and inspires the genius alike of Tennyson and of Wagner. Nor is it the less interesting to the Scotch reader that the romance of Gottfried von Strasburg who gave to the episode of Tristrem its chief German form, cites the author of our own *Sir Tristrem*, generally believed to be Thomas the Rhymer, under the name of Thomas von Britanie — an appellation which shows that, whatever may now be the theories of some writers upon Scottish ethnology, the inhabitants of Bernicia were recognized, by the Germans of the Thirteenth Century, as being Cymric.

Bayreuth, which has the good fortune to be the scene of the Festival, is a small uninteresting country town. The surrounding views, with the exception of some favoured spots, such as the grounds of the Fantaisie Villa, and the occasional beautiful effects of colour over the fields, the low hills and the fir-woods, are rather

below the average of Bavarian landscape. The place itself conveys an impression of having at some time possessed a greater prosperity than at present. Among other features, it possesses a quarter which still bears at least the name of a Jewry. The earliest houses seem to be of the end of the Fifteenth or beginning of the Sixteenth Century, and there is a large plain Gothic Church with two towers surmounted by bulbous spires and joined by a singular aërial bridge, of the same period. From this date onwards there are buildings of different epochs and of various pretensions, up to the earlier part of last Century, when the town would seem to have reached its zenith of prosperity. There are a few large modern erections, and near the outskirts the extensive garden and unpretentious house given to Wagner by the late King.

The Wagner Theatre itself is outside the town, and stands on a rising ground in the midst of a park of its own, which is already very pretty, and will in time be beautiful. The Theatre is the only building in it, with the exception of two eating-houses, one larger than the other, to meet the absolute needs of the public. Without reckoning those who may be in the boxes or gallery, who are comparatively few, the thirteen hundred and more persons who are seated in the body of the Theatre were required to be in their places by four o'clock, when the drama began. In the case of *Tristan und Isolde*, the First Act lasted only an hour and a half, but in the case of *Parsifal*, two hours. A pause then took place until half-past six. There was afterwards another pause, from about a quarter to eight till half-past. The whole ended towards ten o'clock. During one or other of the two pauses the spectators had time to eat an hasty meal, and were warned that the representation was about to be resumed, as it was originally heralded, by blasts of trumpets from the front of the Theatre, suggesting in their theme the music of the Opera which was in performance.

The Theatre is a plain building, not ugly, mostly of an half-timber construction. There is hardly any attempt at decoration within or without, the whole aim being simply practical. Internally, 1345 seats are arranged in a gradation of 30 slightly semicircular rows, which rise rather steeply one above another, like the seats of a classical theatre, and are so placed that every one

of them commands a view of the stage almost equally good. For the still greater convenience of the spectators, however, women as well as men were asked to take off their hats and bonnets. Behind the seats, at the end of the whole house, is a single line of lofty boxes, and, above them, a low gallery. The sides of the auditorium are occupied by a series of plain Corinthian columns upon bases, those nearest the proscenium projecting farthest from the wall, so that the general shape of the mass of seats is remotely like that of an half-open fan. Between these columns are the many doors, by which the whole interior can be emptied in one or two minutes. The doors were shut before the commencement of each Act; no one was allowed to come in late. Upon the columns are a number of glass globes lighted by the electric light. This is almost entirely turned off while the representation is proceeding. Nearly all the light then comes from the stage, which is illuminated from above, as in nature, so that the actors throw shadows upon their own feet. The footlights are hardly perceptible. During the performance the house is therefore much too dark to read; and the reflection from the stage makes barely visible the long rows of silent and motionless heads. The curtain, of a creamy white, with long broad perpendicular stripes of purplish brown, and a sort of red and gold dado, is not raised, but pulled aside, where it hangs in soft folds. The general effect is as though the spectator were looking from a dark room, through an open window, into the open air. The orchestra is invisible. The acoustic properties of the building, which has a flat cieling, slightly painted with the design of an awning, are admirable. The most absolute silence is enforced during the whole performance. As the light disappears, a general 'hush' is followed by complete stillness: not till then are the first notes heard. Any attempt at a whisper after this instantly provokes intense—though mostly silent—tokens of indignation. The effect of this intense stillness of the assembly is very striking, especially in the pauses which are sometimes made to enhance the impression made by the music in the more solemn passages. At the conclusion of each Act, however, there was usually a sort of struggle, of varying result, on the part of the less cultivated portion of the audience, to applaud. It seems a pity that

stronger measures could not be taken to secure against this barbarous, though well-intentioned, outbreak, which disturbs the mind when most imbued with the ideas excited by the music, and indeed caused a very distressing shock in such moments as those which necessarily follow the conclusion of the First and Third Acts of the *Parsifal*. It may be remarked that the people who applauded at the conclusion of the Acts were exactly those who showed the most tendency to defraud and outrage the public by the brutality of speaking during the representation.

Tristan und Isolde and *Parsifal* were the only two dramas performed this year, the former being enacted every Sunday and Thursday, and the latter every Monday and Friday. This arrangement seems somewhat unfortunate, as the religious character of *Parsifal*, and the allusion to the sacred mystery of the Grail, make it far more suitable than *Tristan* for representation upon Sunday and Thursday, and this objection is certainly not sufficiently counterbalanced by the isolated though deeply significant fact that the time belonging to the Third Act in the former composition is the morning of Good Friday. Both dramas are alike taken from the Arthurian cycle.

To give the story of Tristrem and Isonde as in the classic romances, or rather, myth, would have been clearly impossible. The subject would then have been adultery, and it would have had to have been treated with the licentious immorality in which the brilliant pages of *Sir Tristrem* are steeped. Wagner has accordingly eliminated the gross element, and only preserved the one great thought of the affection of him whose name has descended to us through thirteen centuries as that of one of the Three Faithful Lovers of Britain.* Consequently, in the treatment adopted by

* The other two were; Caswallawn, son of Beli, the faithful lover of Flur, daughter of Mugnach Gorr; and Kynon, son of Clydno Eiddin, the faithful lover of Morvyth, daughter of Urien of Rheged. In the Triads, Tristrem is also mentioned as one of three Compeers of Arthur's Court, as one of the Diademed Princes, as one of the three Heralds, and as one of the three Stubborn Ones, whom no one could turn from his purpose. In a farther triad he is represented as able to transform himself into any shape he pleased. Lady Charlotte Guest's *Mabinogion*, p. 312, 313. It is an inter-

Wagner, no mention is made of a completed marriage between Isonde and Mark of Cornwall, and the treachery and dishonour of Tristrem are sufficiently emphasized by the attempt to secure, both during his charge as Ambassador entrusted with the nuptial treaty, and after the arrival of the bride, the affections of the woman who has been, by his own means, contracted to the King his benefactor. This skilful arrangement enables the composer to create the high and self-sacrificing character of Mark, wounded by the baseness and ingratitude of Tristrem, but ready to surrender his own rights and secure the happiness of others rather than punish the man who has played him false and compel his betrothed to a marriage with one whom she loves less. Thus also the night interview of the lovers is simply represented by a duet.

To redeem the character of Tristrem and Isonde, full resort is had to the classic expedient of the philtre. According to the Auchinleck *Sir Tristrem*, this incident, it may be remembered, is as follows:—

> 'Her moder about was blithe
> And tok a drink of might
> That loue wald kithe,
> And tok it Brengwain the bright
> To think:
> "At er spouseing anight
> Gif Mark and hir to drink."
> Ysonde bright of hewe
> Is fer out in the se.
> A winde ogain hem blewe
> That sail no might ther be.
> So rewe the knightes trewe,
> Tristrem, so rewe he,
> Euer as thai com newe—
> He on ogain hem thre—
> Gret swink.
> Swete Ysonde the fre
> Asked Bringwain a drink.
> The coupe was richeli wrought,

esting fact that Tristrem and Isonde were also one of the three pairs of lovers first received into literary favour by the German poets of the Twelfth Century. The others were: Flore and Blanchfleur, and Æneas and Dido.

Of gold it was, the pin ;
In al the warld nas nought
Swiche drink as ther was in.
Brengwain was wrong bi thought,
To that drink sche gan win
And swete Ysonde it bi taught,
Sche bad Tristrem bigin,
To say.
Her loue might no man twin
Til her ending day.'

It may fairly be questioned whether Wagner would not have done better for a position, which after all demands some consideration, if not for possibility, at least for the constitution of the human mind, if he had followed the Rhymer in making the administration of the philtre accidental, instead of venturing the series of violent situations with which, after an overture expressive of the disturbance of the lovers' hearts, the Opera opens. Isonde is on her voyage from Ireland in a pavilion on ship-board, attended by Brengwain. In despair at the hourly-approaching prospect of the forced marriage with Mark, exasperated by the remembrance that Tristrem has killed her uncle Morold whom she had desired to marry—an idea to us at once disgusting and ludicrous, but not so to the German mind—and that she herself unknowingly healed the wound received by him in the combat, and yet with a mind distracted by a personal passion for Tristrem himself, she has not spoken for a day and a night. Driven to desperation by hearing a sailor sing of his love left behind in Ireland, by the refusal of Tristrem to come and speak to her, and by a jeering song sung by the crew upon the theme of his slaughter of Morold, she determines upon suicide, against all the entreaties of Brengwain, but cannot bear that Tristrem should survive her. Her mother has provided her with a sort of medicine-chest, containing specifics for different occasions, and, among others, a love-philtre to be shared with Mark, and, finally, as a solution of situations which may otherwise be insoluble, a dose of poison. As the ship nears the land, and the cheers of the sailors hail its arrival, she obtains an interview with Tristrem, and, in a scene of great beauty, persuades him to share with her the deadly cup. But Brengwain has, in horror, secretly

substituted the love-philtre. The story resumes its classic course. The cup once drained, the fated beings are destitute of self control. The position has all the pathos of that of the Chevalier des Grieux, in the inn-yard at Amiens, 'I advanced without the slightest reserve towards her, who had thus become, in a moment, the mistress of my heart.' They can reason no more, they can only feel.

The Second Act, which represents the nocturnal meeting of the lovers in the garden of Isonde, is undoubtedly the principal one of the Opera. Horns sounding in the distance announce that Mark is gone for a hunt by night, and the Queen-elect, despite the warnings of Brengwain that her passion has been betrayed by Melot, the intimate of Tristrem, extinguishes the torch which warns him to keep at a distance, and feverishly signals him by waving her veil. The scene which ensues suggests the suspicion that Wagner, in a moment of poetical inspiration, composed a duet between lovers, and afterwards wrote an Opera to surround it, selecting for the subject the most purely passionate of the stories of the Arthurian cycle. It is—especially after the point at which Tristrem and Isonde sit down together in the arbour—of such exquisite beauty, that the hearers were sometimes not without audible signs of emotion. This great episode is violently broken by the arrival of Mark and his courtiers. The noble reproaches of the injured King are, as already remarked, so composed by Wagner as to place him in the most favourable light. Tristrem has nothing to answer. The dawn is now streaking the distant sky with red. The musical theme of the duet returns. In the blind impetuosity of his thraldom, he falls back from the powerless murmur of guilt into the strain of passion and openly, solemnly, reverently, tenderly, kisses Isonde again. This insult provokes an outburst from Melot, from whom, almost unresisting, Tristrem receives a wound.

In the Third Act, Tristrem is in his own castle in Kareol, tended by his friend Kurvenal, who, however, realizing the danger of the wound, has sent for Isonde who is alone able to heal it. The greater part of the Act is occupied by the ravings

of Tristrem, and the dialogue of Kurvenal with him and with the shepherd who is upon the watch to signal the arrival of the ship. At length he announces its approach, but the emotion is too violent for Tristrem. Left alone for an instant, he springs from his bed, and tears off his bandages, and when Isonde arrives, he can only recognize her and expire in uttering her name. As she lies fondling the corpse, in the vain hope of exciting some signs of life, Mark follows her, having hastened after her in another ship, to give his consent to the union of the lovers. But it is too late. The senses of Isonde are going. For a while she thinks she sees and feels the hero rising into nobler worlds and carrying her with him; and then falls upon his body.

Of the actual theatrical setting of this drama there is little to say. It excited less than *Parsifal* the feeling of regret that music so noble should be hampered at all by the artificial accompaniments of the stage. The deck of the ship, and the sea-view over and beyond it, in the First Act, were very beautiful, but it may be regretted that as the approach to the land was represented towards the close by introducing a view of the coast unseen at the beginning, the illusion was not perfected by making the piece of scenery move. The Second Act is remarkable, like other scenes in this Theatre, for the extraordinary excellence with which the overhanging boughs of the trees are represented, and which is really often undistinguishable (did not one know it to be false) from natural foliage; and the same remarks both as to sea-view and to foliage apply to the last Act, but in this again, some arrangement should be made for causing the ships to appear within a very limited outlook, such as an harbour; there is no time for them to come from the horizon, where the shepherd seems to descry them, before the passengers land. And it would certainly heighten the effect to the spectators if the moving masts could appear. As to costume, the darkness which shrouds the details of Irish and British life in the Sixth Century would justify almost anything, and there seemed to be an attempt at conjectural correctness; but the architecture of Britain must at that time have been the classical style introduced by the Romans, and nothing can palliate the introduction of German Gothic.

It has been necessary, in speaking of the Bayreuth Festival, to touch to some extent upon *Tristan und Isolde*, since that Opera formed one of the representations. The real importance, however, centres in *Parsifal*. The widow of the composer has forbidden the performance of this work, even as an Oratorio, in any other spot than the Bayreuth Theatre. This decision may be to be regretted, but the fact is so; and those who desire to hear *Parsifal* must go to Bayreuth, and to Bayreuth at the appointed times, for the purpose. It is true that this composition would be impossible in the conditions of an ordinary Opera, to which indeed it is not analogous. It is essentially and purely a religious drama, and may be compared with those plays which were composed during the later Middle Ages and Renaissance for the purpose of being acted in connection with the Festival of Corpus Domini, and of which those by Calderon form so remarkable an example. The allusions are of the most sacred character. Such themes and such a treatment would be insufferable to the tasteless frivolity which only last year left the Opera House at Covent Garden to be turned into a circus. On the other hand, those who would resort to hear *Parsifal* do so in order to enter into the thought which is its essence, and to raise the imagination upon the wings of its music to grasp the ideas which it has been created to express. To such an audience the surroundings of a common theatre would be prohibitory; it is only the serious and simple circumstances of the Bayreuth Theatre, the concentration of every effort and of every detail upon the most perfect possible interpretation of the poet's conception, which render tolerable any scenic performance of this wondrous masterpiece.

The story of *Parsifal* has in common with that of *Tristan* the element of belonging to the Arthurian cycle. But instead of this mere connecting fact with the myths which touch upon the story of the Holy Grail, or such a distant allusion as that which passes like a thrill through the last Act of *Lohengrin*, the reliques of the Saviour's Passion themselves form the centre round which the whole action turns. In constructing this action, Wagner has followed the old, or rather, oldest writings of the Legend of the Grail, Wolfram von Eschenbach in his *Parzival*,

and the author of the French romance of *Percivale*,* and made Sir Percival, and not Sir Galahad and Sir Lancelot, or Sir Galahead alone, as in the later romances, the hero of the drama. According to the story as here unfolded, two of the most sacred of the reliques of the Passion, viz., the Holy Grail itself, the Cup of the Last Supper, and the Spear of the Centurion, which pierced the Divine Side, have been permitted to pass through the ministry of Angels, into the keeping of the Christian champion, Titurel. By him they have been deposited in the Castle of Mount Salvato, where they are surrounded with watching and worship by a religious body of Knights, who form a monastic community, save when summoned forth upon the service of Faith and Charity—the ideal upon which the Orders of the Temple and of the Hospital were actually based. The story of the drama is that of an attempt made to destroy this community, through sin, by one who holds the doctrine of Balaam, who taught Balac to cast a stumbling-block before the children of Israël, to eat things sacrificed unto idols, and to commit fornication; and then the restoration of the tottering sanctuary by the purity and devotion of Sir Percival. The action thus assumes a domestic character, as it were internal to the family of the monastery, and the religious habit of the members constantly appears upon the scene. They are divided into the three ranks of Knights, Squires, and Pages—all alike are clad in grey tunics, girt with leathern girdles, over which the Knights and Squires wear a dull scarlet mantle. This mantle, in the case of the Knights, is marked with a white dove upon the right shoulder, and a sword hangs by their side. One of them is termed the King, but his dress differs in nothing from that of his brethren. His main duty is to unveil before them, in the great Hall of the Castle, the Holy Grail. When this is done, amid hymns of

* The germ of the legend seems to be in *Peredur* in the Mabinogion. In the French we have first in date the *Legend of Joseph of Arimathea*, or the *Little Saint Graal*, by Robert de Borron, then Walter Map's *Great Saint Graal*. From this sprang the original form of *Percevale*, in which the Knight of the Quest has not originally anything to do with the Round Table: and next, *Lancelot du Lac* and the *Quest of the Saint Graal*, a quest of which Galahad and Lancelot, and not Percival as in the earlier compositions, are the heroes.

praise and thanksgiving, a ray of miraculous light irradiates the Sacred Cup in token of the Divine favour, and, unbrought by earthly hands, every man's cup is found filled with wine and a portion of bread set before him.* This miraculous food is the support of the community. The hallowed Spear may no longer be borne in earthly warfare, and can injure no more in common things, but (by a profound allegory), it is represented as still able to cause in the sinner a wound (as of guilty remorse), which nothing save itself can heal. In the blessed domain of Mount Salvato, the curse of creation is done away: no death is inflicted, and all living creatures are in friendship with man. Even since Titurel himself has descended by age into the grave, and his son Amfortas reigns in his stead, his body still quickens with miraculous life every time the Holy Cup glows before the assembled brethren.

The stability of the religious community of Mount Salvato is the object of undying hatred by the magician Klingsor, once a candidate for admission into its ranks, but rejected on account of sin. He makes his abode in a castle reared of baneful illusion,† and surrounded by evil phantoms of women who lure victims to moral ruin. Closely connected with him is the wretched witch Kundry, a woman condemned, like the wandering Jew, to an indefinite life of misery, the fruit of having once laughed at the Saviour. The irregular struggles of her heart for the better things which would bring her peace, are continually foiled by the malignant efforts of the sorcerer, to which she is especially liable after the fits of death-like sleep which chequer her miserable career; and then screams of demoniacal laughter again usher in

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* Those who have passed a Sunday afternoon in Naples may remember the same affecting conception, in the guild who assemble at the outer corner of Sta Lucia, bearing a picture of the Sacrament, and collect alms from the passers by, to provide for the poor the bread which perishes.

† The unreal and illusory character of sinful enjoyment, which probably finds its deepest expression in the language of Buddhist thought, and which Wagner makes so essential a feature in the diabolical portion of *Parsifal*, is an element which seems to run through all legends of sorcery and records of witch-trials. Hence the French proverbial expression, *beauté du diable*, for beauty, which is doomed almost at once to perish.

a new lapse of wrong. Clothed by him in the fantasmal likeness of a siren, she has succeeded in effecting the ruin of Amfortas, and Klingsor has possessed himself of the Sacred Spear itself of which the King had thus become the unfaithful keeper, and inflicted upon him with its point a wound of unsleeping pain which no touch but its own can heal.

The overture of *Parsifal*, of excessive beauty, leads the mind to the disturbed condition of the brotherhood, soon mingled with the pealing of the hallowed trumpets which the hearer learns afterwards to associate with the manifestations of the Grail. The scene upon which the curtain opens is one of singular artistic perfection. It is as though nature itself revealed the forest bathed in the light of the rising sun, whose beams glitter on the distant surface of the lake, while the morning reveille sounds in the distance from the towers of Mount Salvato. The silent prayer with which the new day is begun by the old knight Gurnemanz and the two squires who have passed the night in the forest, marks from the commencement the religious character of the action. The wounded Amfortas is being carried down to seek some relief by bathing in the lake, but before his arrival the group are startled by the hasty entrance of Kundry. She returns from Arabia with a balm which she has sought in partial repentance, to mitigate the consequences of her own crime, but sinks down, worn out, to sleep, with the piteous appeal that where even wild beasts are safe, the heathen and the sorceress may find rest. While she sleeps, and the King bathes, a wild swan, hailed as the white omen of good, hovers over the lake, and Gurnemanz relates to the Squires the history of the mystic wound, and how when Amfortas knelt in prayer for pardon before the shrine of which he had been the means of alienating and outraging one of the great reliques, a vision had appeared from the Grail, and a voice had bidden him wait for one sent to bring him deliverance, who in innocence should out of folly be made wise through pity. Suddenly the swan falls wounded to death by an arrow, and the brethren, in horror at the profanation, fall angrily upon the archer, who is Percival. Brought up in rough innocence, never having heard even his own father's name, utterly untaught, the sacredness of the spot was unknown to him, and he had shot the

bird from mere boyish instinct of sport, unconscious of the deeper and more sympathetic feelings with which the community regard pain and death among the lower creatures, and the thought of the analogy between physical and moral evil which is to them familiar. Touched by their rebuke, he breaks his bow and arrows in childish sorrow. In the end, Gurnemanz, thinking that to one so guileless, the Holy Grail may make some manifestation of its Power (though Percival himself asks, What the Grail is?) and partly struck by the enigmatic utterances of Kundry, who awakens for a moment before sinking into a deeper sleep, determines to lead him to Mount Salvato. From this point begins that latter portion of the First Act which involves the revelation of the Sacred Cup, and is one of Wagner's noblest and most affecting compositions. While mystic music heralds their approach to the Shrine, the scene in the Theatre itself moves forward through trees and rocks gradually wrapt in darkness. It is perhaps a pity, since so vast a mechanical contrivance was to be set in motion, that the idea of rising could not have been conveyed. The effect in any case is very striking. If the eye be caught in a particular way, the spectator experiences the singular impression that the forest and the mountain are still, but that the Theatre and audience are in motion. When, amid the boom and clangour of Church bells, the light dawns again, one of the most remarkable material resources of the building is discovered. The onlookers are gazing, not upon the painted semblance, but upon the reality, of a great octagonal hall in the late classical or early Byzantine architecture, which is sufficiently harmonious with the time. The roofs seem to be in gold mosaic, the columns of marble, and the pavement of inlaid work. The arches of the central octagon itself are surmounted by a pillared triforium, above which rises the octagonal dome. Beneath the dome, a hollow round table, surrounded by wooden benches, and covered by a white cloth embroidered with red orphreys, bears a row of silver cups. In the centre, raised upon a flight of three steps, is a smaller covered table, shaped somewhat like an Altar, and behind this a couch for the wounded King. In the background is the gilded grille surrounding the grave of Titurel. The Knights now enter in procession through the aisles

and take their places around the circular table, singing an hymn, which is succeeded by another from the unseen chorus of the Squires in the triforium, and again by that of the boys, like a song of Angels, from the height of the dome, celebrating directly the original cause of the sanctity of the Grail. The covered shrine which contains the holy vessel itself is then borne in in procession and placed upon the central table. Amfortas follows it, carried upon his litter, and is laid upon the couch. But no action is taken, and a pause ensues. Suddenly the voice of Titurel from the grave demands the unveiling of the Sacred Cup. Maddened by unceasing pain, Amfortas hinders the lads from obeying, dreading that the power of the relique may serve to protract his life of suffering, and calling only for pardon and for death. In reply, the pure voices of the boys from above repeat the promise of the vision, and the Knights exhort him to patience. The voice of Titurel again commands the ceremony, and the Squires obey. The coverings of the shrine are one by one slowly removed, and at last the hallowed vessel stands exposed upon the table. All kneel in silent and motionless prayer, while darkness shrouds the hall, and the unseen chorus above again rises in praise of the holiness of the relique. Suddenly, supernatural light breaks from above over the table, and a glow appears in the Grail itself, which seems to burn in the midst. Amfortas now fulfils his office, and holds up the Cup to the sight of his brethren. As he replaces it, the miraculous illumination dies away in the Grail and in the hall, and the daylight returns, showing the cups filled with wine and the table spread with bread. The relique is again covered, and the Knights eat the meal, amid a fresh sacred chorus, beginning this time from the height, and, when the Squires have finished, completed by themselves in thanksgiving. The banquet ended, all rise, exchange the kiss of peace, and retire again, amid the renewed sounding of the bells, in the order in which they came. Percival has all the while been gazing as it were stupified at the august ceremony. When Gurnemanz speaks to him, he seems to understand nothing about it, and the old man thrusts him angrily out of the hall. Once more, however, a fresh chorus from above

speaks of hope and peace,* and the curtain is closed amid a renewed movement of the religious music.

The profound impression which this scene leaves upon the hearer, it is difficult, if not impossible, to describe. For some time after it closes, it is irksome to speak or to turn the thoughts to anything else. Its vitality—which is intense—is in the music, and it would be as well, if not better, heard with the eyes shut. Such being the case, it is almost waste of words to criticize the details of its presentment upon the stage. The only result is to show that such creations transcend the material capacities of scenic representation. As a matter of fact, at Bayreuth, the choruses in their ascending heights are not so placed. They are marched across the stage, and have to sing from the sides. The worst feature is that—probably owing to the difficulty or expense, or both, of procuring the boys,—the part of the Pages is taken by women, a circumstance which, besides the vocal disadvantage, produces the ludicrous anomaly of what are obviously women disguised as boys, in the midst of a monastery of men. For some reason difficult to guess, the miraculous appearance of the bread and wine, which would have been easily within the range of mechanical art, is omitted; the bread and wine are brought in in procession, in wicker baskets and silver pitchers, behind the Grail, and distributed by the Squires after they have been held up to the relique and it has been again covered. The Knights also do not make any semblance of eating but seemingly carry off the loaves in their pockets, after each taking a draught of wine. The shrine containing the Grail itself is also a mere box, veiled with a reddish purple cloth, and carried by one young man in both hands; it certainly ought to have been a large shrine borne shoulder-high, as in representations of the carrying of the Ark of the Covenant. It must be admitted, however, that everything else is admirable, especially the effects of light. The means, whatever they are, by which the glow of intense brightness in the Cup is produced, are quite invisible.

The scene of the Second Act is laid in the mass of evil illusions which constitutes the stronghold of Klingsor, and the over-

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* So in the performance.

ture expresses the fermentation of passion and excitement by which he triumphs. The magician is alarmed lest the purity of Percival should ultimately work the full restoration of Mount Salvato. The lad, out of mere boyish curiosity, is now approaching the enchanted castle, and Kundry is summoned up by sorcery to undertake his moral corruption. Painfully roused from her death-like lethargy, she rises, a veiled phosphorescent shape, like the 'materializations' familiar to Spiritualists, and from which indeed the idea of the appearance is probably derived. A scene of violence ensues, for she sickens over the task, but the jeering arguments of her evil genius at last sting her to despair; the throes of disgust and remorse grow feebler, and at length convulsive peals of demoniac laughter announce his success, and the poor creature sinks again into the darkness. The unreal building vanishes, and Percival is seen standing upon the brink of the garden of sensual indulgence. It is difficult to gauge the full meaning of this picture as presented at Bayreuth. It is like a third-rate transformation-scene. Lack of money may possibly have had something to do with its mechanical meanness, but hardly with what appears its rough artificialism and garish vulgarity. On the other hand, and putting aside the consideration that such figures as glaring cactus-flowers about three feet in diameter have the effect of dwarfing to the appearance of fairies the girls who enact the nymphs, it is not difficult to imagine a design to convey the notion of essential unreality, and that such a world, however disguised in music and sentiment, is but the region of grossness after all. When Percival descends, wondering, into the garden, the nymphs by whom he is surrounded are not of the type which might have been expected, and which some theatres—unnecessary to specify—seem ready enough to supply. They are tastefully and modestly dressed as living flowers, each clad, as it were, in one large inverted blossom, and, dwarfed by the gigantic scenery, bear a striking resemblance to the fairies of the late Richard Doyle. The music and action are rather plaintive and playful than erotic. It has been observed that the mind of the Blessed Angelico of Fiesole was of a cast so saintly that he is incapable of representing wickedness, and, when he attempts it, becomes merely grotesque.

It may be thought that the refinement of Wagner rendered him incapable of depicting the coarse, and that in entering upon such a theme, he can only be childish. Whether this be so or no, a little consideration will show that in a drama of sustained religious thought such as *Parsifal*, the realistic of this kind would have been impossible, and the idea, as by the garden itself, is only duly to be conveyed through half-mystic indications which are sufficient for the mind. Moreover, the character of Percival, as known to Klingsor, has to be considered. Nothing should be introduced that can begin by startling and alarming his boyish innocence. The aim is rather first to captivate the senses by a seemingly harmless show, underneath which lurks destruction. Such as they are, the living flowers strike him only as the botanical ones might have done. He regards them with a harmless boyish pleasure, which after a little while gives place to annoyance at their importunities, which he does not understand. The first experiment, which is to be regarded rather as a preparation of the mind than any serious attempt, has failed. Percival is about to leave the spot when a voice calls him, which reminds him of his mother. The nymphs withdraw tittering. Kundry, transformed into the phantasm of a siren, is now seen lolling upon a seat of flowers under the gaudy branches. He asks her if she is a plant that grows there? Thereupon begins the famous Temptation-Music. This also is of the most refined kind. The licentiousness is that of Haidee, not of Inez. Kundry begins by talking of his mother and of all her love and sorrow, ending by her lonely death since his departure. Percival is deeply touched. The sorceress proceeds to speak of those new affections which, as men grow up, arise beside and partly take the place of those which have passed into the silence of another world. She tells him of the tenderness and love of woman. Percival, strongly affected by her sympathy, is now kneeling at her knees. Believing the moment to have come to assail the fleshly instinct, she slowly impresses on him a kiss of burning passion. Confused for an instant by the strange sensation aroused, Percival rises instinctively disturbed, and separates from her. Suddenly he realises that this was it which was probably fatal to another

victim whose suffering he has beheld, and, with a strong cry of dread, utters the name of 'Amfortas!' Trembling with excitement, he recalls the agony of the King, which he now begins to comprehend, but the train of thought suddenly leads him to that which gives peace, the recollection of the Holy Grail. The mysterious Castle and the holy relique rise before his mental vision. The theme of its sacred music now shapes the utterances of his memory. For the first time we hear that as he gazed as though dumbfoundered upon the august solemnity, he had heard a voice—whence he knew not, and whose meaning he understood not—bidding him go rescue another holy thing now held in profanation. He blames himself for this idle straying—and suddenly falls upon his knees calling for pardon and strength in prayer. Kundry rises and approaches him, but his mind is now roused to an agony of terror, and he thrusts her from him. The witch then actually appeals to religion. She does not disguise her own wretched history. She adjures him, in mercy and in pity towards even one so lost to have compassion on her. His touch can make her clean. Percival, now seeing the truth in clearness, answers her that her redemption cannot flow from the same spring which is the source of her misery, that to her indeed he can offer a message of deliverance, but it is not by making him a sharer in her own condemnation, but through repentance, and by a change of heart which shall begin by healing Amfortas. The last and despairing temptation that if thus enlightened by her very kiss, she is ready to make him as a god, knowing both good and evil, falls unanswered and unheeded. She bursts into a whirlwind of demonaic fury, full of imprecations and curses, and finally shrieks to Klingsor to bring the Spear. The magician, believing from her cry that Percival has fallen, aims at him the hallowed Spear with which the Centurion once pierced the Saviour's Side, and which now, withdrawn from carnal warfare, can cause in the sinner the ever-gnawing wound which only itself can heal. The holy weapon quivers in the air. The lad merely takes it in his hand, and as the sacred theme of the Grail music again breaks forth, makes with it the sign of the Cross. In the twinkling of an eye the whole fabric of evil illusion

passes away with a crash, leaving the true desert of withered barrenness displayed, and the baffled sorceress prostrate on the earth. And as Percival goes away, bearing the Holy Spear, he pauses for a moment to remind her that she knows where only she can meet him again.

Into the Third Act, which presents the final exaltation of Percival, would seem to have been poured all the expression of the highest feelings of which the colossal genius of Wagner was capable. Under the curse of the sorceress, Percival, instead of returning directly with the Holy Spear to Mount Salvato, has been wandering, but, while toiling in battles of righteousness, and faithfully guarding the sacred relique, has, in his innocence, out of folly been made wise through pity. Kundry has learnt to repent. But the brotherhood of Mount Salvato is breaking up. Amfortas, in the vain search for death to end his misery, altogether refuses to unveil the Grail. For himself it brings no remedy, he still survives to suffer, but the life which it supported has just been quenched in Titurel. The Knights are no longer called out on high errands, and are scattered in search of bread. To the hearer, however, the overture, which at first speaks of the decay and sorrow of Mount Salvato, speaks hope also as it recurs at last to the holy theme of the Grail. The scene opens on the hut by a spring whither the aged Knight Gurnemanz has retreated. The morning reveille is again sounding from the Castle. It is the morning of Titurel's funeral, to which the scattered Knights have been bidden to assemble, but it is also the morning of Good Friday. That this profound idea is mocked at Bayreuth by a very poor arrangement of mechanical scenery, which, if it represented anything, would represent an impossible late summer or early autumn, is a matter which, in view of the thought, may be passed over at once. When Percival himself, at a later moment, mournfully contrasts the glory of the spring morning with the mental gloom of the Day of Agony, Gurnemanz bids him view the phenomenon of nature with the thought that, on the Day of Reconciliation, sinless creation is smiling unconsciously upon redeemed man.

Gurnemanz is attracted by the groans of Kundry, who has crawled by inspiration to the blessed domain, and is lying worn

out in a thicket. She is utterly changed, and attired in the robe of a penitent. She seeks nothing but the humblest work,* and sets about bringing water from the fountain to the cell. Presently Percival enters, in black armour, and with his face hidden, still carrying the Holy Spear, which he plants in the earth. Gurnemanz does not know him, and reminds him of the sanctity alike of the place and of the day, which forbid the bearing of carnal weapons, in reverence of Him Who suffered defenceless for us. Percival sits down, lays aside his shield, and bares his head, then kneels long in prayer before the sacred weapon. He rises filled with inspiration, but still partially unconscious through humility, and moves slowly forward to that which is the climax of the whole drama—his Kingly appointment, through the power of moral victory, to work deliverance for others. Gurnemanz, who has recognized him while he prayed, greets him and tells him of the affliction of the sanctuary. Percival, groaning aloud in his humility, seats himself beside the well. Gurnemanz and Kundry strip him of the armour of earthly warfare. She washes his feet and the old man sprinkles water on his head. Suddenly the penitent brings out a phial of ointment, anoints Percival's feet, and wipes them with the hair of her head. Presently he takes the phial and hands it to Gurnemanz, bidding him anoint him; and Gurnemanz taking the phial, anoints him King in Mount Salvato.

Percival immediately baptizes Kundry.

She sinks upon the earth, prostrate in tears of thanksgiving. When, after a time, she rises, he gives her an holy kiss. Then the bells of the Castle begin to sound for the funeral of Titurel. Gurnemanz brings forth the robe of the Order, which he himself has not been wearing since his voluntary exile, and invests Percival in it. Thus clad, he takes the Holy Spear, and, followed by the ancient Knight and the repentant woman, goes forth to assume the seat of his Kingdom.

Upon this sublime conception of Wagner, it is almost needless

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* This is the celebrated occasion on which Wagner keeps the *prima donna* upon the stage during an whole Act, without her uttering more than two words, but the acting of Fräulein Malten, in particular, is so deeply impressive than it seems as if no language could add to its effect.

to make any remark. The unction of Percival, by a little band which rises above all assemblies, suggests irresistibly the thought of the crowning of David in Hebron, but the yet more significant act of the repentant woman reminds the hearer that every disciple who is perfect shall be as his Master.*

The whole body of the stage scenery is then again mechanically changed as in the First Act, but inversing the order. The darkness fades away, and the great hall of the Castle is again before the eyes of the spectator—but no tables are now spread to receive the miraculous banquet. The Knights, their helmets no longer covered by their hoods, and followed by the entire community, enter in funeral procession bearing the corpse of Titurel, which is set down before the table of the Grail. With the covered shrine carried before him, Amfortas is brought in upon his litter and laid upon the couch. Cries of reproach are addressed to the King, but when the bier is uncovered he only adjures the spirit of that father whose death he has himself caused, to obtain through its prayers his deliverance by death, from suffering. The whole community once more demand that he shall fulfil his office and expose the relique. But the prospect of the last relief is too near—he throws himself forward among the Knights, bares his breast, and bids them slay him—uncover the life-giving Grail, he will not. At this moment Percival, Gurnemanz and Kundry, enter the hall unperceived, and the new King touches Amfortas' wound with the iron which once pierced the Saviour's Side. The wound is instantly healed. Then, as Percival holds aloft in triumph the blessed weapon, a miraculous crimson glow, memorial of the Divine Blood, appears upon it. As it fades, he commands the uncovering of the Grail. All sink upon their knees. Darkness shrouds the hall. The ceremony proceeds as usual, amid its sacred music. Suddenly, blinding sheets of light descend upon the motionless and adoring assembly. The Holy Vessel glows again in the midst like a gigantic ruby. Percival arises and lifts it up in sight of the brotherhood. A heavenly dove descends

* The very remarkable physiognomy of Herr Vogl emphasizes the impression.

from on high and floats on silvery wings above the miraculous Chalice. Almost unseen, the poor sin-worn woman has crawled on her knees to the foot of the steps, and, when her eyes rest upon the Sacred Cup, her sorrows sleep in death.* Voices of unseen choirs hymn the work of mercy and restoration. There is no room here to criticize the representation. The eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing.

The fact is, however, that a conception so tremendous is hardly fitted for representation upon any stage. The ideas roused by the thought, and by the music which interprets it, are of such a character that any *mise-en-scène*, however perfect, must almost necessarily serve—as an whole—to hamper and cripple the imagination. Those who were so happy as to hear even the mutilated version of *Parsifal* performed as an Oratorio in the Albert Hall two years ago, had an opportunity of more thoroughly appreciating the music which is the life of the creation. Not only was there no spectacle to distract the mind, and the choirs were more perfect, e.g., by the use of male voices, but the vast size of the building enabled the effect of the bodies of singers in the First, and, to a certain extent, in the last Act, elevated one above the other, to be given with full scope.

The intellectual effort of the hearer is, as may be gathered, considerable. The result is somewhat that which is said to occur in patients frequently subjected to the mesmeric sleep. The artificial existence becomes continuous. So his real life becomes centred in the opera. The obtrusive discomfort of existence in Bayreuth sinks into a detail, an annoying dream to be forgotten as soon as possible. Beginning in the middle of the afternoon and ending late at night, the representation consumes a great part of the actual, and still more of the conscious day. And it must be remembered, that, besides the period of the performance, considerable time is necessarily spent in preparatory study ; and that the thought and the conversation—so much of the latter as there is—of those who have formed and are again to form the audience, are naturally saturated by the subject. From the

* According to the text, the corpse of Titurel rises for a moment in its coffin, but this is not done in the performance.

morning, the approaching representation stands out as the object of the day. The things needful are done. The time approaches. The hearer joins the crowds which are streaming up the little hill towards the great dull-red building. Presently he is in his place in the large plain auditorium. A while and the lights are lowered. The audience settle themselves and the buzz of conversation dies away. Darkness ensues. The closing doors shut out the last glimpses of daylight. There is an hush, followed by silence and stillness. And presently the first notes are heard. Another six hours of intense enjoyment has begun.

ART. V.—THE FISHERY QUESTION—A CANADIAN VIEW.

1. *Record of the proceedings of the Halifax Fisheries Commission* 1877.
2. *Sessional Papers of the House of Commons of the Dominion of Canada from Confederation*, 1*st July* 1867 *to* 1885.
3. *Review of President Grant's Recent Message* (1870) *to the United States Congress, relative to the Canadian Fisheries, and the Navigation of the St. Lawrence River.* By the Hon. PETER MITCHELL, Minister of Marine and Fisheries in the Dominion Cabinet, from 1867 to 1874.
4. *Report on the Fishery Articles of Treaties between Great Britain and the United States.* By W. F. WHITCHER, Commissioner of Fisheries, Canada.
5. *Annual Reports of the Department of Fisheries, Canada*, 1867 to 1885.

AS a preliminary to the discussion on which it is proposed to enter in this paper, it will be convenient to supply some data from which a partial idea—for it can be but partial —may be formed of the extent and value of the great industry —the Fisheries on the Atlantic coasts of British North America.

The following figures represent the total value of the fisheries of Canada for the year 1885 :*

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* See *Official Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries.* Canada 1885.

Nova Scotia	$8,283,922	87
New Brunswick	4,005,431	29
Quebec	1,719,459	61
Prince Edward Island	1,293,429	64
British Columbia	1,078,038	00
Ontario	1,342,691	77
	$17,722,973,	18

To this sum must be added the value of the Newfoundland fisheries, estimated in the British case used before the Halifax Commission in 1877, at $6,000,000, making a total of, say $23,722,973, or about £5,500,000 sterling. The Newfoundland figures were probably considerably larger in 1886 than in 1877.

The following table (p. 311), shows the Number, Tonnage and Value of Vessels and Boats; Value of Fishing Material, etc., and number of Men engaged in Fishing in the several Provinces of the Dominion, during the Year 1882.*

Taking in Newfoundland as before, we must add, men 15,000,† and value $6,000,000. As Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland are the Provinces most interested in the Fishery Question; I shall omit all reference to Quebec, Ontario, Manitoba, the North West Territories, and British Columbia. The enormous consequence of the fishing to the four Atlantic Provinces, will be seen when we consider that their populations are as follows:—Nova Scotia, 441,000; New Brunswick, 322,000; Prince Edward Island, 109,000; Newfoundland, 162,000—in all, 1,034,000. Take from these the fisheries, and they would speedily become bankrupt. Every concession of liberty to the Americans to fish on their preserves is so much hard cash taken directly out of their pockets. Broadly speaking, out of a population of a million, sixty thousand people devote themselves entirely to the pursuit of this industry, deriving from it their only means of livelihood, and

* See *Official Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries.* Canada 1885.

† *Report of the Proceedings of the Halifax Commissioners,* p. 300.

THE NUMBER, TONNAGE, AND VALUE OF VESSELS AND BOATS; VALUE FISHING MATERIAL, ETC., AND NUMBER OF MEN ENGAGED IN FISHING IN THE SEVERAL PROVINCES OF THE DOMINION, DURING THE YEAR 1885.*

Provinces.	Men.	Vessels and Steam Tugs.			Boats.		Gill Nets.		Trap and Pound Nets, Weirs and Brush Fisheries		Lobster factories, freezers and other fixtures. Approximate Value.	Total Value.
	Number.	Number.	Tonnage.	Value.	Number.	Value.	Fathoms.	Value.	Number.	Value.		
				$ cts.		$ cts.		$ cts.		$ cts.	$ cts.	$ cts.
Nova Scotia	29,905	711	31,285	1,428,308	12,693	316,677	1,475,913	566,550	916	233,720	464,745	3,010,000
New Brunswick	10,185	196	3,297	78,836	4,879	147,567	430,738	241,360	232	112,690	495,426	1,075,879
P. E. Island	3,535	53	2,044	55,900	1,039	34,625	47,985	24,649	1	1,600	376,369	493,143
Quebec	11,322	160	8,734	340,679	7,949	187,330	207,268	160,423	2,011	126,048	115,878	930,358
Ontario	2,716	23	2,523	63,310	1,045	121,863	710,630	96,222	213	71,765	25,114	378,274
British Columbia	1,830	34	845	54,600	867	44,195	141,850	130,080	....	....	580,930	809,805
Totals	59,493	1,177	48,728	2,021,633	28,472	852,257	3,014,384	1,219,284	3,373	545,823	2,058,462	6,697,459

* See *Official Report of the Department of Marine and Fisheries*, Canada, 1885.

producing yearly five and a half millions sterling. Newfoundland, it may be said, subsists almost wholly on her fisheries.

The inhabitants of the British Isles will cease therefore to express surprise, or exhibit impatience when they see the Canadian or Newfoundlander resenting with warmth any attempt by the grasping and unscrupulous American, to interfere with the means by which he gains a by no means luxurious support for himself and his family. He knows from tradition, from history, and from personal experience, that his possessions, as honestly and as completely his own as the County of Kent in England is the property of its freeholders, have ever since the Americans became independent been their envy and desire. He knows that the most absurd theories of international law, have been devised in favour of their demands for the right to fish in his preserves:—that American statesmen have exhausted all the resources of illogical reasoning and audacious averment in urging these demands upon the statesmen of Great Britain; that by persistence, and the free use of the element so familiar with them in their negotiation with Britain, but so little understood by British gentlemen—bluff—they have over and over again obtained concessions from Great Britain to which they had not a shadow of right, for which they gave no equivalent, which robbed the hardy fishermen of our Atlantic Provinces, and which the easy-going British Colonial Minister could defend only on the weak and degrading plea that he had yielded to importunity, and in the interests of peace and good neighbourhood. The Canadian fisherman has never been able to submit quietly to this policy. He has time after time reproached British Ministries for their spiritless submission to American impudence. He has pointed out to them in language as vigorous as the red tape style of diplomatic platitudes will permit, that they were the custodians of the rights of others, that with their own property they might deal as they pleased, but that with the property of others the simplest principles of common honesty dictated vigorous resistance to all attempts at spoliation. But these protests often fell on unwilling ears. In those days the Colonies counted for little in Imperial policy; the Americans counted for much, and as they

had reduced "bluff" to a system, the weak-kneed Colonial Minister complacently gave away the property of the Canadian, which he was in honour bound to protect. This is strong language, and is perhaps neither diplomatic nor parliamentary; but I shall show from official documents, before I reach the end of this paper, that it is literally and to the fullest extent the simple truth. I am now putting before the British reader the actual feeling of Canada on this subject, and the recent events on our Atlantic Coast compel us to speak out plainly and loudly. If we hold over peace, the inglorious yielding will be repeated, and our 60,000 fishermen of the Maritime Provinces will again become the victims of the incapacity and carelessness of British Ministers, on the one hand, and of American greed and unscrupulousness on the other.

The following extracts may be received in Britain as accurately expressing Canadian opinions on this point. The first gives the utterances of the Hon. Peter Mitchell, a New Brunswicker by birth—a practising barrister for many years in his native Province, where he rose to the position of a member of the Executive Council, and then to that of President, which he held until the Canadian Confederation, 1st July 1867, of which scheme he was a warm supporter. He was appointed Minister of Marine and Fisheries in the first Dominion Cabinet, a position which he held until the defeat of Sir John Macdonald's Goverment in November 1874. No Canadian more thoroughly understands either the history of the Fishery question, or the importance of the industry; and his outspoken defence of Canadian rights, while holding the responsible position of Minister of Marine and Fisheries, clothed in diplomatic language, in 1867, is now continued in 1886, but in the more vigorous style of an acute and determined business man, untrammelled by the restraints of official routine. The liberties granted to the Americans, under the Washington Treaty of 1871, expired on 1st July 1885, but by the indulgence of the British Ministry the term of final expiration was deferred to the spring of 1886. This indulgence had the usual effect of rendering the American fishermen still more pertinacious in their invasion of Canadian rights, and in May last the Dominion Government having be-

come to some extent freed from the pressure of the Colonial Minister in Downing Street, seized an American vessel, the *David J. Adams*, for an infraction of the provisions of the Treaty of 1818. In a conversation last June at Montreal, Mr. Mitchell then expressed himself to an American :—

'This matter must be settled as Canada wants it settled, or not at all. It will not be as England says but as Canada wishes, the Granvilles and Kimberleys to the contrary notwithstanding. England dare not oppose us in this. We know our rights, and will maintain them at whatever cost. I do not infer that Canada desires a tilt with the United States ; on the contrary, the interests of the two countries are so closely allied that it is to our interest to be on the most friendly terms. I do not think there is anything in the present situation to give cause to serious apprehension, and I believe the whole matter will be adjusted amicably ; but in the meantime certain things must be considered. I know American statesmen regard Canada simply as a dependency of Great Britain and will be forced to do just as she says. They were never more mistaken. We have a large country and the time has passed when our rights can be ignored by the Mother Country. The Canada of to-day is not the Canada of twenty years ago, and the English leaders will make the discovery if they attempt to trifle with our interests. . . . What Canada will demand in the event of a conference,' he continued, 'is a free entry for fish into American ports ; also for lumber and other commodities ; in other words, something commensurate with the privileges Canada grants the United States. Unless something is granted by the American Congress, your fishermen will be driven forcibly, if necessary, out of our waters. No party could remain in power a day in Canada that would permit any other course.'

The other extract is from the report of a speech made by Sir John Macdonald, Premier of Canada, on 25th August last, at Winnipeg, Manitoba. Sir John was returning to Ottawa after visiting Victoria, British Columbia, by the Canadian Pacific Railway. In the course of his remarks, after speaking of the natural wealth of British Columbia as represented by her valuable minerals and timber, he added :—

'Then you have, besides these, great fisheries. We speak a great deal of the fisheries of the Atlantic coast ; we think so much of them, and the Americans think so much of them, that they are always quarrelling for the sake of fishing in our grounds. They are not going to do that, gentlemen. With respect to those fisheries on the Atlantic coast, I may say there is no question to settle. It is the law of nations, besides there is a special treaty that Americans must not come within three miles of the coast. We must

keep our fish for our own fishermen. We offered the Americans free trade; but they, for some political purpose or other, or a feeling of irritation against the Mother Country, not against us, put an end to the treaty I had something to do with making. All we said was, Very well, we will allow you to fish in our water as long as you keep your markets open, but if you will not allow our fish to go into your market, we will not allow your fishermen to go into our waters. That is one of the matters we have some cause to be proud of. As one of the Commissioners to settle the Washington treaty I was principally responsible for the arrangement of the fishery clauses, and all the clauses that concern Canada in that treaty. When I came back you remember how I was attacked and sometimes called 'Judas Iscariot' and sometimes 'Benedict Arnold,' for allowing the Americans for money to go and fish in our waters. For a year after that treaty was signed I stood silent in the storm of abuse. . . . We went out before the arbitration took place; and we were told that Canada would not touch a farthing of the wretched money, the 'thirty pieces of silver,' for which we had sold the honor and the territorial rights of Canada. But when Mr. Mackenzie formed the arbitration, he took as his colleague Sir Alexander Galt, who was certainly not a Grit. We got the award—$5,500,000—under the treaty; and, strange to say, those gentlemen (Mr. Mackenzie, for instance), who said they looked with loathing on the idea of taking the money, were very glad of the arbitration for getting the money. Their own Minister of Marine and Fisheries, who was responsible for getting the arbitration and carrying out the result, was honoured by Her Majesty and got a handle to his name and the order of St. Michael and St. George, because Sir Alexander Galt had made a good treaty. Well, he took the title, and we took the money, and the Yankees have never forgiven us for having the best of the bargain. That was perhaps one reason why we got notice to stop the treaty. We got the money, and, strange to say, the gentlemen of the Maritime Provinces who abused very much the arrangement and said they did not want to enter the American market, and that the Americans should be kept out of our waters, these same gentlemen took up the cry, charging us with neglecting our duty because we did not force the Americans to make a new treaty and allow Americans to enter our market without demanding compensation.'

These are the words of the First Minister of the Crown in Canada, and coming from him at the very moment when negotiations are actively going on respecting the Fishery difficulties, betwen the British and American Governments, they are weighty words. That they express the universal sentiment of Canada, without regard to party there can be no doubt; and the English journals which declare, as some have already done, that Britain would not fire a shot at the United States

for all the fisheries of the Dominion, are lamentably ignorant of the temper of Canada on this subject if they suppose she will submit to her rights being again sacrificed, as they have too often been, through the love of ease, or the apathy of a British Ministry.

I propose to show in this paper:

(1.) That the Americans have ever since they became a nation, claimed *rights*—not *privileges* or *liberties*—but *rights* in these Fisheries of the most extravagant and unreasonable nature.

(2.) That they have pertinaciously persisted in these demands, knowing them to be extravagant and unreasonable, hoping by persistence to worry the British Government into concessions to which they had no just claim either by international law, by treaty, or by any rule of morality, or even of good neighbourhood.

(3.) That they have in this way obtained numerous concessions from British Ministries, always without the consent of the real owners, the people of the British Provinces, and also always to their loss and injury.

(4.) That these British Ministries have been faithless to their trust; that they have pandered to the greed and dishonesty of the American fishermen; that they have exhibited gross ignorance of the value and importance of the Fisheries both to the Canadians and to themselves; that they have listlessly, apathetically, and weakly given to the American the bread which belonged to the hard-working and loyal Newfoundlander, Nova Scotian, New Brunswicker, and the hardy fisherman of Prince Edward Island; that they have treated the Canadian authorities with ill-disguised contempt, but that now Canada will insist upon a complete change of this degrading and ruinous policy, and will demand that no new agreement with the American be made without her assent.

The history of these Fisheries is short and simple. But for the clouds of illogical reasoning and extravagant pretension raised by American diplomacy in the interest of American fishermen, the Fishery question would be as brief and as simple as the history of the Fisheries themselves.

France was the first European owner of them. On her expulsion by Great Britain from the northern portion of North America, she, by the Treaty of Paris (10th February, 1763), gave up to her conqueror all these possessions, excepting the little group of islands near the southern coast of Newfoundland, the chief of which are Miquelon and St. Pierre. From that period to the Treaty of 1783, by which the independence of the United States was recognized by Great Britain, the American colonists, being still under the government of Britain, used the Fisheries in common with all other British subjects. In settling the terms of this Treaty, the Americans began their system of extravagant demand. It will doubtless surprise the general reader to hear that they then propounded the doctrine, that the *deep-sea fisherman, pursuing the free-swimming fish of the ocean with his net, or his leaded line, not touching shores or troubling the bottom of the sea, is no trespasser, though he approach within three miles of a coast, by any established, recognised law of nations.* They attempted to force the recognition of this proposition upon the British negotiators. Its extravagance was transparent. Such a rule would entirely destroy the territorial rights which every country possesses in the sea washing its shores. It was rejected absolutely and unqualifiedly by Great Britain, who while admitting the right of the Americans to fish any where in the sea,* resolutely refused to countenance the monstrous claim. The Americans knew it was monstrous quite as well as their opponents, but they hoped by persistent "bluff" to obtain something from the easy going Briton. At this early period the average Englishman knew almost nothing of the value of the Fisheries, he cared less for the few Colonists who were obtaining a wretched livelihood from them, and rather than prolong discussion he was willing to give his grasping opponent something 'to shut his mouth.' This familiar expression is in diplomatic language euphemistically changed into the elegant formula 'in the interests of peace and good neighbourhood.'

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* By this is meant deep sea-fishing and beyond the three mile limit to be noticed hereafter.

But this extravagance was surpassed by another propositior if possible, still more extravagant. It was vehemently insiste(that, as the French had been dispossessed by the assistance o the Colonies, notably by Massachusetts, they were in a certaiı sense tenants in common of the fisheries with Britain, and that though they had rebelled, and had refused to perform th(duties of subjects, still they were entitled to the benefit attaching to loyal subjects—in other words, that though nov independent, they were, so far at least as the fisheries wer(concerned, entitled to equal rights with the subjects of Grea Britain. It can hardly be credited that so unreasonable demand could emanate from a reasonable human being, but i was seriously made and seriously argued with great ability b the Americans; and though instantly rejected by Great Britain it was never abandoned in terms by the United States, bu was strongly urged before the Halifax Commission in 1877, an(is doubtless still in reserve for use by American diplomacy.

Thus at the very outset of their course as an independen power, did the Americans institute the policy of unscrupulou aggrandisement in their dealings with these Fisheries. An(what did Great Britain do? She yielded, and thus on her par instituted the policy of encouragement to the American policy She began the system of concessions on which she has beeı acting from 1783 to 1885, and agreed to Article III. whicl reads as follows:

'It is agreed, that the people of the United States shall continue to enjo unmolested the right to take fish of every kind on the Grand Bank and oı all the other banks of Newfoundland: also in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and at all other places in the sea, where the inhabitants of both countrie used at any time heretofore to fish. And also that the inhabitants of th(United States shall have liberty to take fish of every kind on such part o the coast of Newfoundland, as British fishermen shall use (but not to dr or cure the same on that Island) and also on the coasts, bays, and creek of all other of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America; and that th(American fishermen shall have liberty to dry and cure fish in any of th(unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks of Nova Scotia, Magdalen Islands, an(Labrador, so long as the same shall remain unsettled; but so soon as th(same, or either of them shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the sai(fishermen to dry or cure fish at such settlement, without a previous agree

ment for that purpose with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.'

In order to understand the first clause it must be remembered that Britain had claimed the extravagant right to control on every sea. This is the first instance in which she, in terms, renounced it, so that in effect she here yields nothing which she was entitled to hold. But the next clause gave the Americans not only special privileges valuable in themselves, but far more valuable in the eyes of the calculating and astute Americans by reason of the fact that they gave them a foothold as well on British territory as on British fishing grounds. Of this foothold they made excellent use as will be presently seen. What equivalent did America give for these valuable privileges? Nothing whatever. It is almost incredible, but it is a fact that these privileges were granted without the slightest compensation—whether in the payment of a royalty, or of license fees, or of some corresponding liberty to trade with the United States. Britain absolutely refused to recognise any one, or any tittle of the claims put forward by the Americans, and yet, it would seem, in mere wantonness gave up the rights of the Colonial fishermen as a free gift! It may be asked 'But if the supply of fish was inexhaustible, as it is understood to be, what harm accrued to the Colonist?' This harm, and it was a very serious one:—the most profitable markets for the fish were the American ports, but when the Colonist proposed to convey his catch to those markets, he was met with a heavy duty, while his American companion who had fished by his side, took his fish in free. The result, of course, was that this valuable foreign market was closed to him—all because the British Government had blindly, or carelessly, or ignorantly, sacrificed him to American greed.

This condition of affairs remained undisturbed until the war of 1812. At its close the Americans renewed their old arguments; claimed free fishing everywhere; ignored all territorial rights; and boldly demanded not a renewal of the treaty of 1783, but, as I have said, free fishing in all the waters of the British Atlantic Coast. The eyes of the British Ministers seem by this time to have been opened. They now saw the

grievous error into which they had fallen, and acquired some faint idea that they had been faithless to the trust with which they were charged, as custodians of the rights of the Colonists. An energetic diplomatic fight between the Hon. John Quincey Adams, on the American side, and Earl Bathurst ensued. Circumstances had changed. The Colonial possessions had since 1783 become thickly populated, and there were not so many unsettled bays, harbours and creeks as formerly; the ruinous effects of the one sided free trade, which had so unfortunately been granted to the Americans in 1783, had become so apparent, and so oppressive that Ministers were compelled to reconsider their policy. The spirit of the Colonists was also aroused, but, what was of far more consequence to the Ministerial mind, the English merchants engaged in the Fisheries strongly protested against a renewal of the privileges granted by the Treaty of 1783. At the first meeting of the Commissioners, which was held 8th August 1814, the British stated that their 'Government did not intend to grant to the United States gratuitously, the privileges formerly granted to them by Treaty of fishing within the limits of British territory, or of using the shores of the British territories for purposes connected with the fisheries.'* The United States Commissioners claimed that the Treaty of 1783 conferred no new rights upon the United States:—that it was merely an agreement as to a division of property, which took place on the division of the British Empire after the success of the American Revolution, and was in no respect abrogated by the war. The British Commissioners, on the other hand, insisted that while the Treaty of 1783 recognised the rights of the United States to the deep-sea fisheries, it conferred privileges as to the inshore fisheries, and the use of the shores which were lost by the declaration of war.† It was argued by Earl Bathurst that by the law of nations, when war was declared in 1812 by the United States against Great Britain, every right she possessed

* British Case, *Proceedings of the Halifax Commission*, 1877, p. 56.

† Brief on behalf of the United States, *Proceedings of the Halifax Commission*, 1877, p. 103.

under the Treaty of 1783 was abrogated, and, except so far as it was agreed by the parties that the *status quo ante bellum* should exist, it ceased to exist. The *status*, which is commonly called by writers *uti possidetis*, the position in which the Treaty found them, alone existed after the Treaty of 1814 was concluded.* The British Ministry having, doubtless, the fear of the British merchant—not of the poor Colonial fisherman, before their eyes, adhered to this—undoubtedly the true doctrine, and insisted that as the war of 1812 abrogated, so far as the fisheries were concerned, the Treaty of 1783, and that, as this was the only agreement ever had respecting them, the situation was simply this, that Britain owned all the fishing rights of her North Atlantic coasts, and that the Americans had not a tittle of right in any one of them.

Britain was now free from her unwise agreements with the United States, and was again at liberty to do full justice to her loyal Colonists, and to administer faithfully and manfully the important trusts she had voluntarily undertaken to perform. After much discussion, neither party yielding, it was found impossible to settle any terms as to the Fisheries, and the Treaty of Ghent (24th December 1814) was signed containing no reference to them.

Orders were now despatched to the Governors of the Atlantic Colonies to prevent American fishermen from using British territory for purposes connected with the fisheries, and to exclude their fishing vessels from the harbours, bays, rivers and creeks of all British possessions. The naval officers on the Halifax station were instructed to resist all encroachment on the rights of Britain on the part of American fishermen. So far, Britain was taking the proper course, upholding her own rights to the fullest extent, protecting the Colonial fisherman, and teaching the lawless American that he must obey the law. But the latter had so long been permitted to act as he pleased: he had so deeply imbibed the extravagant doctrines of American statesmen who had from the first, and were even

* Argument of Hon. Mr. Thompson, Counsel for New Brunswick. *Ibid.* 372.

then, stoutly contending that they had equal rights with British subjects in all the Fisheries, that he persisted in encroachment.

But the British Cabinet, still pursuing the unwise policy of offering gratuitous benefits, and following up a friendly intimation which they had given to Mr. Adams during the discussion, proposed to Mr. Munro, the American Secretary of State at the time, through Mr. Bagot, the British Minister at Washington, to allot to American fishermen the use of a district of shore on the Labrador coast, from Mount Joly to the Bay of Esquimaux, near the Straits of Belle Isle. This, Mr. Munro thought insufficient for the purposes of shelter and of drying and curing. Mr. Bagot then offered a portion of the southern coast of Newfoundland, from Cape Ray eastward to the Rameau Islands, which Mr. Munro also declined as inadequate, and in December 1816, Mr. Bagot offered the use to American fishermen, in common with the British, of both these districts. This offer was neither accepted nor declined, the American Government desiring time to obtain information as to the suitability of the localities. During all this time the Americans were poaching—preferring the risk of capture to abandonment of their practices, and trusting rather to the fears of the British authorities than to their leniency, to escape the confiscation of their vessels and equipments. It is not surprising that these fishermen were so bold in defying the British power. They had in fact been invited by British weakness to do so. They had seen the British Government sacrifice the interests of the Colonial fishermen by giving those of the United States the privileges of the treaty of 1783 without the slightest equivalent; they knew that their own Government had claimed equal rights in all the Fisheries with Britain, and they naturally concluded that Britain conceded these privileges believing that her title was a doubtful one, and hoping by the concession to stave off the day when the question must be settled conclusively for all time.* We have seen that the Americans continued to

* It may safely be asserted that at this moment ninety-nine hundreths of the people of the United States, honestly believe this, and we need not therefore be surprised at the warmth exhibited by their newspapers in de-

assert their right to a joint ownership all the while from 1783; that they insisted on it in 1814, and we shall see that in every dealing with the British Government respecting the Fisheries they have shaken aloft these really absurd pretentions, and have succeeded time and again in wresting from British statesmen by means of this 'bluff,' very valuable privileges. So this system of yielding has done no good whatever, but on the contrary has produced serious and extensive evils. It has kept open a question which by resolute defiance on the part of Britain would have been closed a century ago; it has encouraged American statesmen in keeping alive their preposterous demands, and the American fisherman in his determined poaching; it has seriously injured the Colonial fishermen, and it has had the effect of producing periodical disturbances of trade relations which have worked great loss both to American and to British dealers.

As already stated, seizure of American fishing vessels began to be made immediately after the cessation of the war of 1812, and in the month of June 1817, so defiant had the Americans become that twenty of their vessels were seized at one spot, Ragged Island, on the Nova Scotian coast. This large seizure compelled the American Government to take action of some description or other. Accordingly in 1818, the President of the United States proposed to the British Ministry that negotiations should be opened for the purpose of arriving at an amicable settlement of the points in dispute. Commissioners were appointed, Mr. Albert Gallatin, the American Minister to France, and Mr. Richard Rush, the American Minister to Great Britain by the American Government, and Mr. Frederick John Robinson, and Mr. Henry Goulburn by the British. The position of the contestants at this moment, from the American point of view, was thus stated by Mr. Dana, one of the Counsel for the United States in his closing argument before the Halifax Commission in 1877.

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nouncing what they call the high handed proceedings of the British and Canadian Governments in the seizure and confiscation of their fishing vessels. The weak and halting policy of British statesmen should bear all the blame of this.

'Well, in 1814, the parties could not agree, and it went on in that way until 1818, and then came a compromise, and nothing but a compromise. The introduction to the Treaty of 1818 says :—"Whereas differences have arisen respecting the liberty claimed by the United States and inhabitants thereof to take, dry and cure fish in certain coasts, harbours, creeks, and bays of His Majesty's Dominions in America, it is agreed between the high contracting parties"—it is all based upon "differences" and all "agreed." Now, the position of the two parties was this; the people of the United States said, "We own these fisheries just as much to day as we did the day we declared war." Great Britain did not declare war, nor did she make a conquest. The declaration of war was from Washington—from the Congress of the United States, and it ended by a Treaty which said nothing about fisheries, leaving us where we were. The ground taken by the United States was that the common right in the fisheries, irrespective of the three-mile limit, or any thing else, belonged to us still. Great Britain said, "No, you lost them;" not by war, because Earl Bathurst is careful to say that the war did not deprive us of the fisheries, but the war ended the treaty, and the fisheries were appended solely to the treaty, and when the treaty was removed, away went the fisheries. Now, it is a singular thing, in examining this treaty, to find that there is nothing said about our right to take fish on the banks in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and in the deep sea. The Treaty of 1783 referred to that, among other things, and it is well known that Great Britain claimed more than a jurisdiction over three miles. She claimed general jurisdiction and authority over the high seas, to which she appended no particular limit, and her claim admitted of no limit. You were told by my learned associate, Judge Foster,* that in those days they arrested one of our vessels at a distance of sixty miles from the shore, claiming that we were within the "King's Chambers." Nothing is said in that Treaty upon the subject. It is an implied concession that all those rights belong to the United States, with which England would not undertake after that to interfere. And then we stood in this position—that we had used the fisheries, though we did not border upon the seas, from 1620 to 1818, in one and the same manner, under one and the same right; and if the general dominion of the seas was shifted, it was still subject to the American right and liberty to fish.'

These views have been held by all American statesmen, and they were in effect, in language little short of rudeness, reproduced in the annual message of President Grant in 1870.†

The negotiations just referred to ended in the celebrated Convention of 1818. This document, to the general reader,

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* The Agent of the United States at the Halifax Commission.

† *Review of President Grant's recent Message*, by the Hon. P. Mitchell.

is plain and simple, and yet volumes have been written—thousands of speeches have been delivered—numerous learned and voluminous judgments have been pronounced by judges of the highest standing on its interpretation, and Americans have been driven into the use of the most illogical reasoning in their almost frantic attempts to escape from its plain, fair, and reasonable construction. Around it have stormed American speakers in Congress; American writers in books, magazines, and newspapers; American statesmen in formal diplomatic notes; and the mass of the American people in their daily denunciations of British assumption and Canadian impudence. The pith of the Convention is in Article I., which is in these words:

'Whereas differences have arisen respecting the liberty claimed by the United States, for the inhabitants thereof to take, dry, and cure fish, on certain coasts, bays, harbors, and creeks, of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America, it is agreed between the high Contracting Parties, that the inhabitants of the said United States shall have, for ever, in common with the subjects of His Britannic Majesty, the liberty to take fish of every kind, on that part of the southern coast of Newfoundland, which extends from Cape Ray to the Rameau Islands, on the western and northern coast of Newfoundland, from the said Cape Ray to the Quirpon Islands, on the shores of the Magdalen Islands, and also on the coasts, bays, harbors, and creeks, from Mount Joly, on the southern coast of Labrador, to and through the Straits of Belleisle, and thence northwardly indefinitely along the coast, without prejudice, however, to any of the exclusive rights of the Hudson's Bay Company: and that the American fishermen shall also have liberty, for ever, to dry and cure fish in any of the unsettled bays, harbors, and creeks, of the southern part of the coast of Newfoundland hereabove described, and of the coast of Labrador; but so soon as the same, or any portion thereof, shall be settled, it shall not be lawful for the said fishermen to dry or cure fish at such portion so settled, without previous agreement for such purpose, with the inhabitants, proprietors, or possessors of the ground.

'And the United States hereby renounce for ever any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by the inhabitants therefore, to take, dry, or cure fish, on or within three marine miles of any of the coasts, bays, creeks or harbors of His Britannic Majesty's dominions in America, not included within the above mentioned limits; provided, however, that the American fishermen shall be permitted to enter such bays or harbors, for the purpose of shelter and of repairing damages therein, of purchasing wood, and of obtaining water, *and for no other purpose whatever.** But they shall be

* The Italics are the writer's.

under such restrictions as may be necessary to prevent their taking, drying, or curing fish therein, or in any other manner whatever abusing the privileges hereby reserved to them.'

It will be seen that by this new agreement Britain again grants valuable privileges to the Americans, and again to the detriment of the Colonists without compensation, or equivalent of any kind. This, naturally strengthened the idea prevailing in the popular mind of the United States, that Britain still feared to insist on the absolute rights claimed by her. It may be said that the last clause by which the Americans *renounced forever*, any liberty heretofore enjoyed or claimed by them to take, dry, or cure fish within the three mile limit was an equivalent; but they renounced nothing to which they had a right, and therefore they in effect renounced nothing. British diplomatists were still pursuing the old 'go as you please' policy, which had the natural effect of encouraging the Americans in their extravagance of their demands. From 1818 to 1824 they used the fisheries in the Bay of Fundy more than three miles beyond low water mark without interference, but on 26th July of that year the interminable dispute on the three mile limit, as to which whole libraries have been written, commenced. On that day two American fishing vessels, the *Reindeer* and *Ruby* were seized for fishing in the Bay of Fundy. On this seizure the contest began. The British argument was first, that the Americans, by Art. I. of the Convention of 1818 were excluded from, and had given up all rights to the fisheries in the large bays, such as the bays of Fundy, Chaleurs, and Miramichi; second, that a straight line should be drawn from headland to headland, across the mouths of all bays, gulfs or indentions of the shore, from this line the three marine miles mentioned in the Convention should be measured; and that this was the limit within which the Americans were forbidden to prosecute the fisheries. On the other hand, the American Government insisted that the three mile limit should follow the coast parallel to its sinuosities, and should be measured across the mouths of bays only when the distance from headland to headland did not exceed the width from each side of three miles, or six miles in all.

The feeling of the Americans on this point is tersely expressed by the words used by Mr. Secretary Seward, when addressing the Senate of the United States in respect to this Convention: —'Our fishermen want all that our own construction of the Convention gives them, and want, and must have more—they want and must have the privilege of fishing within the three inhibited miles, and of curing fish on the shore.' In other words the Americans demanded equal rights with the British in the private property of the British, without compensation or equivalent. Mr. Tuck, a Senator from New Hampshire, expressed the same idea. In quite as bold and defiant language he said:—

> 'The shore fishery, which we have renounced, is of great value, and extremely important to American fishermen. . . . From the 1st of September to the close of the season, the mackerel run near the shore, and it is next to impossible for our vessels to obtain fares without taking fish within the prohibited limits. The truth is, our fishermen need absolutely, and must have the thousands of miles of shore fishery which have been renounced, or they must always do an uncertain business.'*

Perhaps no authority is so high as that of Daniel Webster, and he, in a State Paper dated 6th July, 1852, while Secretary of State, and when contending that the wording of the Convention of 1818 was not conformable to the *intentions* of the United States, wrote as follows:—

> 'The British authorities insist that England has a right to draw a line from headland to headland, and to capture all American fishermen who may follow their pursuits inside of that line. It was *undoubtedly an oversight* in the Convention of 1818 to make so large a concession to England, since the United States had usually considered that those vast inlets, or recesses of the ocean† ought to be open as freely as the sea itself, to within three miles of the shore.'

Now, what caused this violent eruption? The Americans were now only repeating their old habit. In 1818 they had in as formal and solemn a manner as possible renounced for ever all right to fish within the three mile limit, and now within six

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* There are 11,900 square miles of this shore fishery. *Proceedings of Halifax Commission*, p. 425.

† Bays of Fundy, Chaleurs, and Miramichi.

years after this well considered compact, they suddenly and with their usual effrontery demanded the right entirely to ignore it. Why was this? The answer is very curious, and opens up a highly interesting subject. In 1818 the American fishing industry was confined almost extensively to cod, mackerel and halibut, the cod being the most extensive portion. Cod was a deep sea fishing. It was carried on off Newfoundland chiefly, and, as by the ill advised generosity of the British Government, the invaluable liberty to land, dry, and cure their fish on British territory, was, as we have seen, gratuitously and to the serious injury of the Colonial fisherman, conceded to the Americans in 1783, they carried on the cod fishing to great advantage, and with no interruption. As they had ample supplies of mackerel and halibut in their own waters, their position was excellent, or to use one of their own expressive vulgarisms, they were well 'fixed.' They had their own mackerel and halibut which no Colonist would have been allowed to touch even if he had wished; they had the natural right to catch cod in the deep sea, and they obtained from Britain a right without which this other right would have been almost valueless—the right to land on British territory, where they dried and cured the fish they had caught, packed it ready for market, re-shipped it, and then sailed away to Gloucester or Boston in their own territory, where their great fish depots were established. Here the valuable cargos were entered without duty and sold, and this indispensable food for the millions of the American people was thence sent broadcast over the whole Union. Had a Colonist ventured to take to any American port a cargo of cod caught by him side by side with the American fisherman, he would have been met with a duty so high as to be practically prohibitive, and thus, the final result—again using one of their own vulgarisms—on the whole 'deal' was that they were enabled to strangle the trade of the Colonial fisherman, and force him to supply the cord.

But in 1824 a great change had come. The Americans were ignorant of the action of the ocean currents, and of their effect on the movements of the mackerel and

halibut, which formed a great portion of their fishing industry. In their desire to obtain the largest catches at the smallest expenditure of time and money, they devised and used a very destructive net, known as the purse seine. By this, millions of eggs and of fish unfit for trade purposes were destroyed, and year by year the supply fell off. They were not aware that the ocean currents were quietly at work against them. They supposed the supply to be inexhaustible, and that their coasts were as favourably situated as those of British North America. But the subsequent researches of Professor Hind, a Canadian naturalist, and Professor Baird, an American, established some highly interesting facts which are so interesting that I will here briefly enumerate them. They discovered that all the fish taken on the North American coasts are found within a few miles of the land, or on banks, and nowhere else, the reason being that the cod and its tribe, the mackerel, the herring, and their tribes, being what is known to the trade as cold-water fish, cannot thrive or even live in any but very cold water—water verging on the freezing point being their favoured *habitat*. It was discovered that the great Arctic currents from Baffins Bay, and the coast of Greenland, which bring from the North the immense icebergs which contribute so largely to the coldness of the climate of the British North American coasts, also bring these valuable fish of commerce. These cold streams of water enter the Gulf of St. Lawrence and carry the fish with them; but on the American coast Nature has so arranged that of necessity there can be but a comparatively small supply of this description of fish. It was found in fact that on the American coast there were but three points where these fish spawn—Block Island, George's Bank, and Stellwagen's Bank, in Massachusett's Bay, and that the fish selected these points because it was only at them that the cold Arctic currents impinged on the United States shores. It appeared that the cold water remained at these points during a certain period of the year—that in the Spring the fish go with it, and remain on the shores until these currents recede; but that the Great Ocean River, as the Gulf Stream is styled by Lieut. Maury, in its summer swing approaches very near

the American coast in some places, and touching it at others, separates the surface current from the colder waters beneath where these fish feed, and thus drives them from the American to the colder British shores of the North. Professor Hind further discovered that even in the Gulf of St. Lawrence there are many places where these fish do not live, that zones of water of different temperatures are there found, and that the fish live in the colder zones, for in the warmer ones they cannot exist. Professor Hind also made a curious and interesting discovery, which explains very clearly why the Americans must always obtain these fish from British waters. He observed an extraordinary phenomenon in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. He saw that the tides came into the Gulf through the Straits of Belle Isle, and became divided by the Magdalen Islands into two portions. One portion runs along the southern coast of Labrador, around the island of Anticosti, and up the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, while the other portion passes down to Prince Edward Island, into the Straits of Northumberland. In consequence of the great distance which one portion has traversed, while the other has travelled a shorter road, the tide coming down from the northern coast meets the ebb tide about the middle of the Island, and as a consequence there is really high water always found at that point; and for this reason the Island presents the peculiar appearance it does, having been hollowed out, year after year, by the action of the tides. The effect of this phenomenon—and it is a phenomenon which the Professor states is found only in one or two other spots of the globe—is that the whole of the fish food is carried inshore, and within the three mile limit. The cold water which is essential to the existence of such fish as the cod, the mackerel, and the halibut, is carried inshore in the bight of Prince Edward Island; it is carried inshore along the southern coast of Labrador, and along the northern bank of the St. Lawrence. These fish are thus brought inshore in pursuit of their food, and remain there.*

The use of the destructive purse seine had exhausted the sup-

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* *Proceedings of the Halifax Commission*, 331-421.

ply of fish on their own coasts, and by 1824 the Americans were compelled to seek the fish in British waters. When they arrived, they found that the mackerel, halibut, haddock, and herring were to be had only within the three mile limit; but by the Convention of 1818 they had deliberately and solemnly renounced all right to enter this limit for fishing purposes. Here was a dreadful state of things. The popular feeling among the Americans was that they had been entrapped by the British negotiators of the Convention; and they imputed carelessness to their own. But this was unjust to both. Senator Tuck, in a debate in Congress on 14th August, 1852, said :—

'Perhaps I shall be thought to charge the Commissioners of 1818 with overlooking our interests. They did so in the important renunciation which I have quoted ; but they are obnoxious to no complaints for so doing. In 1818 we took no mackerel on the coasts of the British possessions, and there was no reason to anticipate that we should ever have occasion to do so. Mackerel were then found as abundantly on the coast of New England as anywhere in the world, and it was not until years after that this beautiful fish, in a great degree, left our waters. The mackerel fishery on the Provincial coasts has principally grown up since 1838, and no vessel was ever licensed for that business in the United States till 1828. The Commissioners in 1818 had no other business but to protect the cod fishery, and this they did in a manner generally satisfactory to those most interested.' *

The seizure of the 'Reindeer' and 'Ruby' in July 1824 was the result of the invasion of the three mile limit by the American fisherman in search of the mackerel which had deserted their shores. With their accustomed coolness they hesitated not to poach again. The fact that their Government had renounced for ever the right to fish within the three mile limit had no effect on them, and they continued the invasion as long, and to an extent, as great as they possibly could. Mr. Adams, the American Secretary of State, complained of these seizures. This was the American system, they violated their agreements, and when their vessels were seized in consequence, they put on an air of injured innocence, and complained loudly of the harsh and unjust treatment which they alleged they had received at the hands

* *Proceedings of the Halifax Commission*, p. 144.

of the British cruisers. Mr. Addington feebly replied on 19th February, 1825, and then a lull in the correspondence ensued—the fact being that the Americans continued their poaching with yearly increasing vigour in the face of a yearly decreasing interference by Great Britain. She had fallen asleep again. In January 1836 a circular was issued by the Secretary to the American Treasury to the American fisherman enjoining them to observe the limits of Treaty, but omitting to say what the limits were. As the fishermen had been allowed by the British Government to go where they pleased, or very nearly so, they construed this warning in the way most favourable to themselves, and continued their poaching. We now hear for the first time the preliminary gusts which heralded the 'headland to headland' storm. The first dispute arose in the Bay of Fundy, and it arose, not from any action of the British Government, for its utter disregard of Colonial rights when action did not comport with its love of ease, was still exhibited, but from the action of the authorities of Nova Scotia. Finding the British Ministers were quite content to allow American fishermen to operate wherever they pleased, they thought it time to look after a matter deeply affecting themselves, and in 1839 they seized several American vessels that were fishing in this Bay. A letter from Lieut.-Commander Paine to Mr. Forsyth, Secretary of State, dated 29th December, 1839, sums up the matters in dispute thus:

> 'The authorities of Nova Scotia seem to claim a right to exclude Americans from all bays, including such large seas as the Bay of Fundy, and the Bay of Chaleurs; and also to draw a line from headland to headland, the Americans not to approach within three miles of this line. The fishermen on the contrary, believe they have a right to work anywhere, if not nearer than three miles from the land.'

The inconsistency, or weakness, or vaccillation, or gross neglect of Colonial interests, now exhibited by the British Government is really surprising. Though sturdily, in their despatches to the American Government, insisting on the rule that the Americans had no right to fish within a line drawn from headland to headland three miles out, they yet abstained from enforcing its observance, and thus not only misled the American fishermen,

but worked injury to the Colonists. In fact, the orders to Admiral Sir Thomas Hardy, as stated by himself, were to prevent from fishing only those Americans who were found nearer than three miles from the shore. What wonder then that the American fishermen honestly supposed themselves strictly within their rights when they adopted this rule; or that—knowing the true rule as frequently laid down by the British Ministries—they became indignant when the Colonial authorities of Nova Scotia insisted on the Americans keeping outside of the three mile limit, measuring from a line drawn from headland to headland. Matters were dragging on in this unsatisfactory way until 1841, when Mr. Forsyth wrote to Mr. Stevenson, the American Minister at St. James', desiring him to present formally to the British Government the demand of the United States as to the fishing off the Colonial Coasts. This demand was simply a demand for the right to fish in the Bays of Fundy and Chaleurs, provided the fishermen kept three miles away from the British shores. Mr. Stevenson obeyed the instructions of his Government, and laid the matter formally and fully before the British Government. His communication was acknowledged, and referred to the Colonial Secretary; and there the matter rested until 10th May, 1843, when the American schooner 'Washington' was seized in the Bay of Fundy by an officer of the Provincial Customs, for fishing ten miles from shore, but within a line drawn three miles out from headland to headland. This produced a paper duel, the antagonists being Mr. Everett and Lord Aberdeen. Mr. Everett fired the first paper bullet on 10th August, 1843. Lord Aberdeen seemed in no haste to reply, for his despatch in answer to Mr. Everett is dated 15th April, 1844. On 25th May, 1844, Mr. Everett wrote again. In the August following, the American vessel 'Argus' was seized while fishing off the Coast of Cape Breton, under circumstances exactly similar to those attending the seizure of the 'Washington.' Mr. Everett fired another shot at the Earl of Aberdeen on account of this, on 9th October, 1844; and on 10th March, 1845, Lord Aberdeen wrote to Mr. Everett, informing him, that although the British Government still adhered to their previous construction of the treaty, and denied any right of

American fishermen to fish within three miles of a line drawn from headland to headland across the mouths of the bays on the Canadian coast, 'yet the rule would be relaxed,' etc., etc. It would be tiresome and quite useless to trace the twistings and turnings of the British Ministry on this point. Their vacillation, and disregard of the interests of the Colonists, who were all the while deeply suffering from the inroads of the American fishermen, were still to be seen; and again were the Americans comforted, and encouraged to persist in their poaching. The rule was relaxed, and under a patched-up peace matters ran on more or less smoothly until 1847, when negotiations were opened for the establishment of reciprocal free trade between Canada and the United States, and for the settlement of the Fishery question. These continued until 1854, nothing definite being until then settled. Lord Elgin, however, secured the honour of succeeding where so many had failed. Visiting Washington, on his way to take up the Government of Canada, as Governor-General, he, after a comparatively short discussion with the American diplomatists, signed with them, on 5th June, 1854, the celebrated Convention, known as the Reciprocity Treaty.*

In a subsequent paper, I will conclude the account of the Fishery Question, bringing its history down to the time of writing. WM. LEGGO.

ART VI.—OSSIANIC BALLAD POETRY—OSSIAN'S PRAYER.

THE Book of the Dean of Lismore, from which the first version of the Ossianic Ballad which we publish in our present issue, has been transcribed, is a manuscript collection of Gaelic poetry taken down from oral recitation, more than three hundred and fifty years ago (1512-1526), by Sir. James Macgregor, Dean of Lismore, in Argyllshire, and his brother, Duncan

* A highly interesting and amusing account of the mode by which Lord Elgin secured the Treaty, appeared in *Blackwood* for August last, written by Mr. Oliphant, well known in Canada, while on the staff of Lord Elgin.

Macgregor, who acted as his secretary. The MS. contains 311 quarto pages neatly written in the current Roman hand of the period. The orthography, which is not always uniform, is phonetic, and may, therefore, be regarded as accurately representing the spoken Gaelic of the West Highlands of Scotland at the time the MS. was written, a circumstance which greatly enhances its value for linguistic purposes, although it immensely increases the difficulty of presenting its contents in an intelligible form to Gaelic readers of the present day.

A complete transcript of the Dean's Book, with the exception of those parts that are illegible, was made in 1813 by Ewen Maclachlan, of Aberdeen; and a volume containing a selection of pieces from it, with modern versions and translations, and a valuable introduction written by Mr. W. F. Skene, was published in 1862 by the late Rev. Dr. Maclauchlan, Edinburgh.

In preparing the following transcript of the Dean's version of 'Ossian's Prayer' for publication, care has been taken to secure literal accuracy, every word and letter of the transcript having been compared repeatedly with the original MS., now deposited in the library of the Faculty of Advocates, Edinburgh. In the modern version, several archaic forms have been retained; and it has been found necessary, in some instances, to adopt the Irish orthography, which frequently presents more accurately than does the Scottish orthography, the Gaelic of the Dean's MS. The translation is strictly literal—line for line, and, as nearly as possible, word for word.

The Dean's version of this ballad is the oldest and most accurate with which we are acquainted. There are, however, several modern versions, all of which are more or less corrupt, although several are interesting and valuable. For the purpose of comparison, we print, along with the Dean's version, one of the oldest of these modern versions—that of the Rev. Donald McNicol, who was Parish minister of Lismore, from 1766 to 1802. Our transcript is an exact copy of McNicol's MS., but we add a version with the orthography corrected, and a literal translation.

ALEXANDER CAMERON.

TRANSCRIPT OF *URNAIGH OISIN*,

FROM THE DEAN OF LISMORE'S BOOK (ff. 215 and 141).

A houdir so Ossin McFinn.

215.

Innis downe a phadrik noñor a leyvin
A wil noewa gi hayre ag mathew fane eyrrin
Veyrs zut a zayvin a ossinn ni glooyn
Nac wil noewa ag aythyr ag oskyr na ag goolle
Ach is troygh in skayl chanis tus cleyrry
Mis danow chrawe is gin noewa ag fayne Eyrrin
Nach math lat a teneir vee tew si caythre
Gin keilt gin noskyr wei[t] far rutt is taythyr
Beg a wath lwmsi wee ym hew si chaythree
Gin keilt gin noskyr wei[t] far rwm is may[t]ir
Is farr gnws v[c] neyve re agsin raa ane lay
Na wil doyr si grwnnith vea aggit gi hymlane
Innis downe a halgin skayle ni cathry[t] noya
Versi zwt gi hayre scaylli cath gawrraa
Ma sea skayll ni cathry[t] zeawris tws a hannor
Gin netow gin nagris gin nerkis gin nanehoyve
Ka id muntir neyve is oyssil fayne eyrrin
Vil kroys na gree na deilli sead cleyrri
Ne hynnin is ni fayni ne cosswil eayd ree cheyll
Ne ir zlas glayrre wea geyrre sprey *
Er zraw tenni phadrik na fagsi ni deneth
Gin nis di ree noya ber a steach ni fayni

141-2.

Ga beg a chwle chronayni[t] na in dad one † zath zreyne
Gin nis din re woralych ne rey fa wil a skaye
Ne hay sin di v[c]kowle re math we sin ni faynow
Rachteis fir in doyin na hei[t] wle gin nearri
Is troyg lwm hennor is how in der teissi
Cha chorrymich a wra sin ver how er mi reissi
Barr in chath layddir verri finni ny fayni
Na di hearny[t] chrawe is tow feyn lay cheill
Bog sin a hennor a ne in coyra bolla
Is far dea re hynlay na fayne eyrrin olla
Ga tarnig mi layis is me derri meissi
Phadrik na toyr ayhis er mathew clynni beiskni

* 'sorey'? † 'om'?

Ne hurrinn* zut aythris ossin v^{c} in reayne
Ac nac innyn fir mathis agis flaythis mi heyarni
Di marra aggwm conane far mewlas ni fayni
Ne legfe layd wunnell di chomis a cleyrri
Na habbir sin a ossin is anmeine di wrayrri
Be fest gi fostynich is gaw hugit mi ryilt
Da wacca ni catha is ni braddichi grast
Ne wee ane reid id ter ach meyir ni fayni
Ossin v^{c} ni flaa mest tanmyn a bei^{t}yll
Na cwne ni cath cha nil ag asling sin seill
Da glwnta ni gyir is meith ni shalga
Bar lat wee na warri na wea si chay^{t}ir noya
Troygh sin a hennor is mei^{t}hur ni schelga
Faychin gi honnor za wil si chay^{t}r noa
Na habbir sin a phadrik is fallow di wrayrri
In deggow sin dayny^{t} bar finn is no fayni
Er a lawe v^{c} eweisni ne fallow mi wrairri
Is farr angil din ni hanglew na finn is ni fayny^{t}
Da beany^{t} mir a veissi^{t} a gath zawry^{t} ni beymin
Di zelin in demis ver tow er ayne errin
Dimmy^{t} di worzail er cath di heill
Ne warrin did choy^{t} lawy^{t} ach how nes a teneyr
Da marri mi zenissi ne estin di choyllane
Is zoywo di hemoo in nerrik di choyrra
Da mardeis sin vlli si goyni^{t} ra cheilli
Ne wea mi holli bwe re vii cayth ni fayni
Vii feychit vrrit vrrit vil tus zi cleyrrew
Di huttideis sin vlli lay oskir na henyr
Ta tow in der di heill a hennor gin cheyll
Scur a neis id wreysrow is be fest zim rayr
Da wacca in lwcht coy^{t}oyll a v^{c} fin in nalvin
Ne raacha za gomor re muntir ni caythre noya
Aggis neir low ir dynnoyll nor heg most gow tawra . .
Sannossil ni bray^{t}ry^{t} fane woery zi rynnis
Mathwm zut a cleyrre di skaylli na hynnis
Innis downe

* hurrim ?

URNAIGH OISIN.[1]

(The Dean of Lismore's version, in Modern Orthography.)

Ughdar so Oisin Mac-Fhinn.

Oisin. Innis duinn, a Phádraig,
An onoir do[2] léighinn,
A bh-feil nèamh gu h-áraidh
Aig maithibh Féinne Eireann?

Pádraig. Bheirims'[3] dhuit a[4] dheimhin,
A[5] Oisin nan glonn,
Nach bh-feil nèamh aig t'[6] athair,
Aig Oscar, no aig Goll.

Ois. Ach is truagh an sgeul
'Chanas tus', a chléirich;
Mise dèanamh 'chrábhaidh,[7]
Is gun nèamh aig Féinne Eireann.

Pádr. Nach math leat a' t' aonar
Bheith a' t' shuidhe sa' chathair,
Gun Chaoilte, gun Oscar,
Bheith far riut, is t' athair?

Ois. Beag a[8] mhath leam-sa
Bheith[9] a' m' shuidhe sa' chathair[10]
Gun Chaoilte, gun Oscar,
Bheith[9] far rium is m' athair.

---

[1] 'Oisin' (a fawn), dim. from *os* (deer), cognate with Goth. *auhsa*, Eng. *ox*.
[2] The MS. has 'a' for 'do' (thy).
[3] The MS. has 'veyrs' for 'bheir-sa' (I will give).
[4] The MS. has 'a' for 'do' (of).
[5] In modern Scottish Gaelic, 'a' is always omitted, for the sake of euphony, before the vocative of nouns beginning with a vowel or with *f*.
[6] 'Ag aythyr' = 'ag th' athair' = 'aig t' athair' (at or to thy father).

OSSIAN'S PRAYER.

(Literal translation.)

THE AUTHOR OF THIS IS OISIN, SON OF FINN.

Oisin. Tell to us, oh Patrick,
In honour of thy learning,
Have [they] heaven truly,
The nobles of the Feinn' of Erin?

Patrick. I tell thee of a truth,
Oisin of the valiant deeds,
That thy father has not heaven
Nor [has] Oscar nor Gaul.

Ois. But sad is the tale
Thou tellest, oh cleric;
I do [my] devotions,
And the Feinn' of Erin have not heaven.

Patr. Would'st thou not wish alone
To be sitting in the city,
Without Caelte, without Oscar
Being with thee—or thy father?

Ois. Little pleasure it were to me
To be sitting in the city,
Without Caelte, without Oscar
Being with me—or my father.

---

[7] The article is understood before 'chrawe' = 'chrábhadh.' Cf. 'di hearny' chrawe' = 'do Thighearna chrábhadh,' for 'do Thighearna a' chrábhaidh.' In the Ir. Oss. Society's version, the gen. of 'crábhadh' is not attenuated in these stanzas.

[8] 'Beg a wath liomsi' = 'beag a mhath leam-sa' (lit. little it's good to me).

[9] 'Bheith' aspirated because preceded by 'a' or 'do' (to) understood.

[10] 'Si chaythree' = 'sa' chathraigh' (in the city). In Scottish Gaelic, the dat. is now 'cathair' or 'caithir.'

Pádr. Is fèarr gnúis Mhic nèimhe
R' a faicsiu[11] ré aon lá,
Na bh-feil do ór sa' chruinne[12]
Bheith agad gu h-iomlán.[13]

Ois. Innis duinn, a thailgein,
Sgeul na cathrach nèamhdha;
Bheir-sa dhuit gu h-áraidh
Sgeula cath Ghabhra.[14]

Pádr. Ma 's e sgeul na cathrach[15]
'Dh' fhiafr'as tus', a sheanoir;
Gun íota, gun acras,
Gun airceas, gun ainiomh.

Ois. Ca iad muintir néimhe,
Is uasail Féinne Eireann?
Bh-feil cruas 'n an cridhe,[16]
No 'n díol[17] siad cléirich?

Pádr. Ni h-ionnan a 's na Fianna,
Ni 'n cosmhail iad re 'chéile;
Nior dhleas gléire
Bheith 'g airghe spréidhe.[18]

Ois. Air ghrádh t' éinigh,[19] Phádraig,
Na fág-sa na daoine[20];

---

[11] The MS. has 're agsin' = 're 'aicsin' = 're a aicsin' (to see it). The infinitive is now 'faicsin' or 'faicin' with prothetic *f*. The verb is 'faic,' in Old Gael. 'ad-ciu.'

[12] In 'grwnnith' = 'g-cruinne,' *c* is eclipsed by *g*.

[13] The last syllable of 'iomlán' is long, rhyming with 'lá,' the last word of the second line of this stanza.

[14] 'Gabhra,' the scene of a battle fought between the Clan Morna and the Clan Baoiscne in the third century (283 or 296), is now Garristown, about fourteen Irish miles north of Dublin.

[15] 'Cathry[t]' = 'cathrach,' gen. sing. of 'cathair' (city).

[16] 'Na gree' = ''na g-cridhe,' with *c* eclipsed by *g* in consequence of the nasal termination of the poss. pron. *an* (their).

[17] 'Na deilli sead' may be for 'no d-teiligh siad' = 'no an teiligh siad' (or refuse they)? The corresponding stanza in the Ir. Oss. Society's version

Patr. Better the face of heaven's Son
To behold it for one day,
Than that all the gold of earth
Were wholly thine.

Ois. Tell to us, oh holy man,
The tale of the heavenly city;
I will tell thee truly
The tales of the battle of Gabhra.*

Patr. If 'tis the tale of the city
Thou askest, old man,
['Tis] without thirst, without hunger,
Without want, without stain.

Ois. What more are the people of heaven
Than the nobles of the Feinn' of Erin?
Is there hardness in their heart,
Or reward they clerics?

Patr. They are not like the Feinni,
They resemble not each other—
'Tis not a noble office
To be tending cattle.

Ois. For the love of thine honour, Patrick,
Forsake not thou the men;

---

* In the long version of Cath Gabhra given in the Ir. Oss. Soc.'s Transactions, Oisin gives an account of the battle earlier in the poem; but the fut. 'bheir-sa' represents best the MS. 'versi.'

(Trans., Vol. I., 96) is 'no a n-eitionn siad aeinne' (or refuse they every one)? 'Díol,' however, seems to be the word intended.

[18] The modern version of the third and fourth lines of this stanza is conjectural. The MS. is quite distinct, with the exception of the letter 'p' in the last word of the fourth line; but the meaning of some of the words is doubtful.

[19] 'Tenni' = 't' éinigh,' gen. sing. of 'éineach' (honour, generosity, goodness), with the poss. pron. preceding. The gen. sing. would now be 'éineich' or 'éinich' in Scottish Gaelic, but 'éinigh' in Irish Gaelic.

[20] 'Demyth?'

Gun fhios do Righ nèimhe,
Beir a steach na Féinnidh.

Pâdr. Ge beag a' chuil chrónanach,
No an dad o 'n[1] ghath ghréine,
Gun fhios do 'n Rígh mhórdhalach
Ni rach[2] fo bhil' a sgéithe.

Ois. Ni h-e sin do Mhac-Cumhaill,
Rígh math 'bhi air[3] na Fiannaibh;
Rachdais[4] fir an domhain
'N a thaigh uile gun iarraidh.

Pádr. Is truagh leam [sin], a sheanoir,
Is thu an deireadh t' aoise;
Cha chothromach a' bhreith sin
'Bheir thu air mo rígh-sa.

Ois. B' fhèarr aon chath láidir
'Bheireadh Fionn na Féinne
Na do Thighearna 'chrábhaidh
Is tu féin le chéile.

Pádr. Bochd sin, a sheanoir,
A ni an cómhradh boile;
Is fèarr Dia ré h-aon lá
Na Fianna Eireann uile.

Ois. Ged tharnaig[5] mo fhlaitheas,
Is mi 'n deireadh m' aoise,
Phádraig, na toir athais
Air maithibh Clanna Baoiscne.

Pádr. Ni h-urrainn duit 'aithris,
Oisin, mhic na ríoghain,

---

[1] The letter 'e' of 'one' is indistinct in the MS. The word may possibly be 'om' for 'um' (about); or 'dad om' may be for 'dadom' (atom, mote), which occurs in another version.

[2] 'rey' is probably for 'regh' or 'regha.' Cf. 'doreg' (veniam), and 'dorega' (veniet), in Gramm. Celtica and Windisch's Ir. Texte.

Unknown to the King of heaven
Bring in the Feinni.

Patr. Though small the humming-fly,
Or the mote from the sunbeam,
Unknown to the King majestic
It goes not beneath the edge of his wing.

Ois. Not so with Mac-Cumall,
The good king who ruled the Feinni;
All men on earth might go
Unto his house unbidden.

Patr. 'Tis sad to me, old man,
And thou at thy life's close;
Not just is the judgment
Thou passest on my King.

Ois. Better one stout battle
That Finn of the Feinn' would fight
Than thy Lord of devotions
And thyself together.

Patr. 'Tis pitiful, old man,
Thou speakest words of madness;
Better is God for one day
Than all the Feinn' of Erin.

Ois. Though gone my princely power,
And I at my life's close,
Patrick, cast not reproach
On the nobles of the Clan Baoiscne.

Patr. Thou canst say nothing,
Oisin, son of the queen,

---

[3] The MS. has 'sin,' but other versions have 'air,' which the sense requires.

[4] 'Rachteis' = rachdais,' 3rd pl. fut. sec. Cf. Windisch's Ir. Texte.

[5] With the MS. 'tarnig,' cf. O'Reilly's 'tarnac' (it was finished).

Ach nach ionnan bhur maitheas
Agus flaitheas mo Thighearna.

Ois. Da[6] maireadh agam Conan,
Fear míobhlas na Féinne,
Ni leigfeadh le d' mhuineal
Do choimeis,[7] a chléirich.

Pádr. Na abair sin, Oisin,
Is an-mhín[8] do bhriathra;
Bi am feasd gu foistineach,
Is gabh chugad[9] mo riaghailt.

Ois. Da[6] bh-faca na catha
Is na brataiche greusda,
Ni bhi aon reud a' t' aire
Ach meadhair na Féinne.

Pádr. Oisin, mhic na flatha,[10]
'S misd t' anmain am baoghal;
Na cuimhne nan cath
Cha 'n 'eil ag aisling san t-saoghal.[11]

Ois. Da cluinnteadh[12] na gadhair
Is meadhair[13] na seilge,
B' fhèarr leat bheith 'n a bh-farradh[14]
Na bheith sa' chathair nèamhdha.

Pádr. Truagh sin, a sheanoir,
Is meadhair na seilge,

---

[6] In 'di marra,' 'di' (if), which is the same word as 'da,' in 'da wacca' below, is for 'dian' (Z. 709)=*di-an*, the prep. *di* (of), and the rel. *an* (which). The nasal of the relative is assimilated to *m* of 'marra' = 'maireadh.'

[7] 'Di chomis' may be for 'do chomas' (thy power).

[8] 'Meine' = 'mín,' in Dermaid's Lay.

[9] 'Hugit,' now frequently written 'thugad,' is for 'chugad' (to thee, *ad te*), Old Gael. 'cucut,' the prep. *co* (*to*) reduplicated, and the 2nd pers. pron. suffixed.

But that not alike are your bounty
And the sovereignty of my Lord.

Ois. Had I now Conan living,
The bitter-tongued man of the Feinni,
He would not allow thee*
Thy comparison, oh cleric.

Patr. Say not so, Oisin,
Froward are thy words;
Be evermore in peace
And take to thee my rule.

Ois. If thou hadst seen the battalions
And the embroidered banners,
Not one thing would be in thy thought
But the glory of the Feinni.

Patr. Oisin, son of the prince,
Thy soul suffers for thy folly;
Save the remembrance of the battalions
[Thou] hast no dream in the world.*

Ois. If thou hadst heard the hounds
And the joy of the chase,
Rather would'st thou be in their train
Than in the heavenly city.

Patr. Poor is that, old man,
And the joy of the chase,

---

* These two lines are somewhat obscure.

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[10] 'Da wacca' = 'da bh-faca' = 'dan faca' = 'dian faca.' See note on 'di marra,' above.

[11] 'Flaa' = 'flatha,' gen. sing. of 'flaith' (prince), a fem. *i*-stem.

[12] The 3rd and 4th lines of this stanza are, to some extent, conjectural in the modern version.

[13] 'Da glwnta' = da g-cluinnteadh' = 'dan cluinnteadh' = 'd'an cluinnteadh.'

[14] 'Meith' is apparently for 'meithir' = 'meadhair.' See 'mei'ur' below.

[15] 'Na warri' = ''na bh-farradh' = ''n an farradh.'

Fa chionn gach onoir
Dha bh-feil [16] sa' chathair nèamhdha.

Ois. Na h-abair sin, a Phádraig,
Is falamh do bhriathra;
An teagamh [17] is an déineachd,[18]
B' fhèarr Fionn is na Fianna.

Pádr. Air do [19] láimh, Mhic Ui Bhaoiscne,
Ni falamh mo bhriathra;
Is fèarr aingeal de na h-ainglibh
Na Fionn is na Fianna.

Ois. Dam [20] bidhinn mar a bhidheas
An Cath [21] Ghabhra nam beuman,
Do dhíolainn an dímeas
Bheir tu air Fhéinn' Eireann.

Pádr. Diomach do mhórdhail
Air caitheamh do shaoghail;
Ni mhaireann de d' chomh-lámhaich
Ach thu nis a' t' aonar.

Ois. Da maireadh[1] mo dhaoine-sa
Ni h-éisdinn do chéolan,
Is gheabhadh [tu] do theumadh
An éirig do chómhraidh.

Patr. Da mairdis[2] sin uile
'S a g[3]-cómhnadh r' a chéile

---

[16] 'Za wil' = 'dha bh-feil' = 'dhan feil' = 'dh'an feil.' For 'da,' which may be translated by 'that' or 'which,' see O'Donovan's Gramm., p. 133.

[17] 'In deggow' = 'an d-teagamh,' for 'a d-teagamh' = 'an teagamh.' In the Dean's Book, the nasal termination is frequently retained, although the initial consonant of the following word is eclipsed.

[18] 'Déineachd' is merely conjectural.

[19] 'A' for 'do' (thy).

[20] In 'da beany[t],' the nasal of the relative is omitted.

Compared with all the honours
That are in the heavenly city.

Ois. Say not so, oh Patrick,
Empty are thy words;
In doubt* and in danger,
Better Finn and the Feinni.

Patr. By thy hand, son of Baoiscne,
Not empty are my words;
Better an angel of the angels †
Than Finn and the Feinni.

Ois. If I were as I was
At the battle of Gabhra of wounds,
I would avenge the insult
Thou givest to the Feinn' of Erin.

Patr. Unseemly is thy boasting
At the end of thy days;
There remains not of thy comrades
But thee now alone.

Ois. If my men were living,
I would not listen to thy bell;
And thou should'st get wounds ‡
In reward for thy speech.

Patr. If all those were living
And helping each other,

---

* *Teagamh* signifies also difficulty. † i.e. one of the angels.
‡ Lit. 'thy wounding.'

---

[21] 'A gath' = 'a g-cath' = 'an cath' (in battle).

[1] 'Da marri' = 'dan maireadh' = 'da maireadh,' with *n* of the relative, assimilated to *m* of 'maireadh.'

[2] 'Da mardeis' = 'dan mairdis' = 'da mairdis' (see last note). 'Mairdis' or 'mardais' is the 3rd pl. of the fut. sec. of 'mairim' or 'maraim' (I remain).

[3] 'Si goyni' = ''s a g-cómhnadh' = ''s an cómhnadh' (lit. and in helping).

Ni bhiodh mo thuilleadh[4] buidhe
Re seachd catha na Féinne.

Ois. Seachd fichead uiread uiread,
A bh-feil[5] agads'[6] do chléir'chibh,
Do thuitidis sin uile
Le Oscar 'na aonar.

Pádr. Ta tu an deireadh do shaoghail,
A sheanoir gun chéill;
Scuir a nis do d' bhaosradh,[7]
Is bi feasd dha m' réir.

Pádr. Da bh-faca[8] an luchd-cochail,
A mhic Fhinn, an Almhain,
Ni rachadh dha g-comoradh[9]
Re muintir na cathrach nèamhdha.

Ois. . . . . . .
. . . . . .
Agus nior lugha ar d-tionol[10]
'N uair 'thigimisd gu Teamhraigh.

Ois. 'S an-uasal na briathra
F' an bhuaradh[11] do rinneas;
Maithim dhuit, a chléirich,
Do sgeula na h-innis
Innis duinn.

---

[4] 'Holli' may be for 'tholadh,' aspirated form of 'toladh' (more) = 'tuilleadh,' or for 'h-uile' (all). See 'olla' = 'uile,' in 16th stanza.

[5] 'Vil' is for 'a bh-feil' = 'an feil.'

[6] The MS. has 'tus'' for 'tu-sa' (thou), but the sense requires either 'sibhse' (you) or 'agads'' for 'agad-sa' (at or to thee).

[7] 'Wreysrow' is for 'weysrow' = 'bhaosradh' (vanity, vain glory).

[8] See note to stanza 21.

I would be nowise beholden
To the seven battalions of the Feinni.

Ois. Seven score times as many
As thou hast of clerics,
All these did fall
By Oscar alone.

Patr. Thou art at thy life's end,
Thou foolish old man,
Cease now thy vanity
And ever submit to me.

Patr. If thou hadst seen the cowlèd men,
Son of Finn, in Almu,
Thou would'st not compare them
To the people of the heavenly city. *

Ois. . . . . . .
. . . . . .
And not less was our gathering
When we came to Tara.

Ois. Unseemly are the words
In the strife that thou hast made;
I forgive thee, cleric,
Thy tales do not tell.
Tell to us.†

---

* In this stanza and that which follows, the ballad is evidently defective.

† When a ballad is complete the last word is always the same as the first.

---

[9] 'Za gomor' ='dha g-comor = 'dh' an comor,' for 'dh' an comoradh' (to compare them ; lit. to their comparing).

[10] 'Ir dynnoyll' = 'ar d-tionol' (our gathering) = 'arn tionol.'

[11] 'Bhuaradh' is merely a conjecture for 'woery' in the MS.

URNIDH OSSIAN.

Transcribed from the Rev. Donald McNicol's MSS.

Aillis sgeil' a Phadric,
An Onnair do Lebhidh,
A bheil neibh gu harrid,
Aig Fianibh na Herin.

Bheirimsa Briar dhuitsa
Ossain nan glonn,
Nach heil neibh aig Tathir,
Aig Oscar na aig Goll.

S olc an sgeil, a Phadric,
A haggad 'dhos' a Chlerich
Com am Bithimse ri Crabhidh
Mar heil neibh aig Fianibh Erin.

Nach Doinnigh shin, Ossain,
Fhir nan Briaribh baoile,
'S gum bearr Dia rè aoin uair
Na Fian Erin uille.

Bearr lium aoin Chath laidir
Churrigh Fion na Feine,
Na Tighearn' a Chrabhigh shin
Agus ussa, 'Chlerich.

Ge begg a Chuil' chronanich
Agus monaran na Grèine,
Gun Fhios don Riogh mhoralich
Cha deid fo Bhiligh a Scéigh.

'N saoil u 'm binnin E's Mac Cubhail
An Riogh 'bhagguin air na Fiaiibh
Dhede gach neich bha air Hallibh
Dol na Tsheolle sin gun iarridh.

Ossain ! 's fadde do Tshuain,
Erich a suas 's eist na Sailm
Fon chaill u nish do Lu 's do Rath
'S nach cuir Cath ri La gairbh.

Mo chaill mi mo Lu 's mo Rath,
'S nach mairin Cath a bhaig Fion,
Do'd Chleirsnichd 's beg mo Speis,
'S do Cheoil eisdichd nin fiach liom.

Cha chual u co math mo Cheoil,
Fo hús an Doibhin bhoir gus a nochd,
'S ha u aoiste ann'-gḫlic Lia,
Fhir a dhiligh Cliar air Chroc.

'S trioc a dhiol mi Cliar air Chroc,
Illigh-phadric as olc Ruin
'S egair dhuitsa 'chain mo chruth
Fon nach duair u Guth air hus.

Chualas Ceol os cion do Cheoil,
Ga mor a* Bholis du do Chliar;
Ceoil air nach luigh Letrom Laoich,
Faothir Cuilc† aig an Ord Fian.

Nar a tshuigh Fion air Cnoc,
Heinne mid port do'n Ord Fian,
Chuirridh nan Caddil na Sloigh,
'S ochoin bu bhinn' e na Chliar.

---

* 'A' is written in the MS. over 'do,' which is erased.
† 'Cuilc' is written in the MS. over 'Builg,' which is erased.

Smeorich bheag dhuth fo Ghlean Smail*
Fadhir nan Bárc rish an Tuinn,
Heinnigh midde lethid h puirt,
'S bha shin fein 's air Cruit ro bhinn.

Bha 13 Gaothir dheig aig Fionn
Leiggidh midde ri Gleann Smáil,
'S bu bhinnigh Glasgheirm air Conn
Na do Chlaigs' a Chlerich chaibh.

Cuide ruinne Fion air Dia
A riar Chliar agus Scôil,
Hug e La air pronnigh Oir
'S an ath Lo air Meothir Chonn.

Aig meid Fhiuthir ri Meothir Chon,
'Se dioligh Scoil gach aoin La,
'S aig luthad Eisamail ri Dia,
Nois ha Fion nan Fian an Laibh.

'S gann a chreidas mi do Sceil,
A Chlerich, le 'd Leobhar bán,
Gun bithidh Fion na cho fial
Aig Duinne na aig Dia an Laibh.

Ann an Iffrin ha e 'n Laibh
Feir le 'n Sath bhi pronna Oir,
Air son a Dhimais air Dia,
Chuir iad e 'n Tigh pian fo Leon.†

---

* This line was first written 'Bha Smeorich bheag aggain 'n Gleann Smail,' but is altered as above in the MS.

† 'Bhron' is written above 'Leon' in the MS.

Na 'n bigh Clanne Morni 'steach
'S clainni Baoisge na Fir Threin,
Bheirre midde Fion a mach,
Na bhigh an Teach aguin fein.

Coige Coighinibh na Herin ma sheach
'S hair Leatsa gur mor am Feim,
Cha duga shin Fion a mach,
Gad bhigh an Teich agibh pein.

Nach math an Tait 'Iurne fein,
A Chlerich gan leir an Scoil,
Nach co math i 's flaitheas De
Ma dheothar int' Feigh as Coin.

Bha mise La air Sliabh Boid,
Agus Caoilte bu chruaidh Lann,
Bha Oscar ann 's Goll nan Sleigh,
Donil na 'n Fleigh raoin fo 'n Ghlean,
Fion Mac Cubhil, borb a Bhrigh,
Bha e na Riogh os air Cion.

Tri Micibh ard Riogh nan Scia,
Bu bhor am mian air dol Tshealg,
A Phadric nan Bachil fial,
Cha leigge mid Dia os air cion.

Bu bheic liom Diarmaid o Duine
Agus Fearreas bu bhinn Gloir,
Nam bo chead leat mi gan luaigh,
Chlerich nuaigh a heid do'n Roi.

Com nach cead leom u gan luaigh?
Ach hoir tairigh gu lua air Dia;
Fon ha nois Deirigh air Taois,
'Scuir dod Mhaoigh tshean fhir Le.

A Phadric ma hug u cead
Air beggan a labhairt Duin
Nach aidich u (mas cead le Dia)
Flath nan Fian a ghra air Hus.

Cha dug misshe Comas duit,
Tshean Fhir chuirt agus u lia.
Bear Mac Muire re aoin La,
Na Duinne gan danig riabh.

Nar ro math aig neich fo'n Ghrein
Gu'm bear e fein na mo Tshriach
Mac muirnich nach deitich Cliar
'S cha leiggidh e Dia os a chionn.

Na coabhid ussa Duinne ri De,
Tshein-fhir Le, na brennich e,
'S fadde fo'n hanig a Neirt
As marigh e ceart gu brach.

Choadinse Fion nan Fleigh
Ri aoin neich a tsheoil san Ghrein,
Cha 'd iar riabh ni air neich
'S cha bho dheir e neich ma Ni.

Bheiramaid sheic Cathin Fichid an Fhian
Air Shian Druim Cliair a Muigh
Cha duga mid Urram do Dhia
Na dhaoin chliar* a bha air bith.

Sheic Caithibh fiochid dhuibhse nar Fein
Cha do chreid shibh 'n De nan dul,

---

* 'Triach' is erased in the MS., and 'chliar' is written over it.

Cha bharrin Duinne gar Slioc
'S cha bheo ach Richd Ossain Uir.

Cha ne shin bu chaorich ruin
Ach Turis Fhin a dhol don Roi
Cummail Cathghaure leoin fein
Bha e cluidh air Fein gu mor.

Cha ne shin chluidh shibh uille ann,
A Mhic Fionn fo'n gear gu 'd Re,
Eist ri Raigh Riogh nan Bochd,
'S iar uss' a nochd Neibh dhuit fein.

Comrich an da Aibsdail deig,
Gabhigh mi dho fein an Duigh
Ma rein mise pecca trom
Chuir an Cnoc na 'n Tom a Muigh.

CRIOCH.

Hoir an Eichdrigh 'Mhaistir Donil
Ha Choinigh an Cois na Tuinne *
An Urnigh bha aig Ossain Liaghlas
Nach ro riabh ach na dhroich Dhuinne.

The above stanzas were composed by Duncan Riach M'Nicol, in Glenurchy, commonly called Modern Ossain.†

---

* viz., Lismore.

† This can refer only to the last stanza, which forms no part of the ballad, but was composed by Duncan Riach McNicol, by whom evidently the ballad was sent to the Rev. Donald McNicol.

URNAIGH OISIN.

(McNicol's Version, with the Orthography corrected).

Oisin. Aithris[1] sgeul, a Phádraig,
An onoir do leughaidh,[2]
A bh-feil nèamh gu h-áraid
Aig Fiannaibh na h-Eireann ?

Patrick. Bheirim-sa briathar dhuitse,
Oisin nan glonn,
Nach 'eil nèamh aig t' athair,
Aig Oscar, no aig Goll.

Oig. 'S olc an sgeul, a Phádraig,
A th' agad dhómhs', a chléirich;
C' uim' am bidhinn-sa ri crábhadh
Mur 'eil nèamh aig Fiannaibh Eireann ?

Patr. Nach dona sin, Oisin,
Fhir nam briathra boile ?
'S gu 'm b' fhèarr Dia ré aon uair'
Na Fianna Eireann uile.

Ois. B' fhèarr leam aon chath láidir
'Chuireadh Fionn na Féinne,
Na Tighearn' a' chrábhaidh sin
Agus thus', a chléirich.

Patr. Ge beag a' chuil[3] chrónanach
Agus mónaran[4] na gréine,
Gun fhios do n' Rígh mhóralach
Cha téid fo bhil' a sgéithe.

---

[1] The MS. has 'aillis,' which is only another form of 'aithris,' pronounced 'airis.' Interchange of the liquids *r* and *l* frequently occurs. Cf. 'Cuirm' (feast) and 'cuilm,' 'searbhag' (sorrel) and 'sealbhag,' 'biorar' (water-cresses) and 'biolar.'

OISIN'S PRAYER.

(Literal translation of McNicol's Version.

Oisin. Recount the tale, oh Patrick,
In honour of thy reading,
Have [they] heaven truly,
The Feinni of Erin?

Patrick. I give [my] word to thee,
Oisin of the valiant deeds,
That thy father has not heaven,
Nor [has] Oscar, nor Gaul.

Ois. Evil is the tale
Which thou hast for me, oh cleric;
Why should I be at [my] devotions
If the Feinni of Erin have not heaven?

Patr. Is that not bad, Oisin,
Thou man of the words of madness?
Since * better is God for one hour
Than all the Feinni of Erin.

Ois. Better to me one stout battle
That Finn of the Feinni would fight,
Than the Lord of those devotions
And thyself, oh cleric.

Patr. Though small the humming fly
And the mote of the sun,
Unknown to the King majestic
It goes not beneath the edge of his wing.

---

* Lit. 'And that.'

---

[2] The MS. has 'lebhidh'='leughaidh' (reading), for 'leyvin'='leigh-eann' (instruction, learning) in M'Gregor's MS.

[3] 'Cuil,' a fly.

[4] 'Mónaran,' a mote.

Ois. 'N saoil thu 'm b' ionnan e 's Mac-Cumhaill,
An rígh 'bh' againn air na Fiannaibh ?
Dh' fheudadh gach neach 'bha air thalamh
Dol 'n a shealladh-san[5] gun iarraidh.

Patr. Oisin! 's fada do shuan,
Eirich a suas is éisd na sailm ;
Bho 'n chaill thu nis do lúth 's do rath,[6]
'S nach cuir [thu] cath ri lá garbh.

Oisin. Ma chaill mi mo lúth 's mo rath,
'S nach maireann cath a bh' aig Fionn,
Do d' chléirsneachd 's beag mo spéis,
'S do cheól éisdeachd ni 'm fiach leam.

Patr. Cha chual thu co math ri m' cheól
'Bho thús an domhain mhóir gus a nochd ;
'S tha thu, aosda, an-ghlic, liath,
Fhir a dhíoladh cliar air chnoc.

Ois. 'S tric a dhíol mi cliar air chnoc,
'Ille[7]-Phádraig a 's olc rún ;
'S eucoir dhuitse 'cháin mo chruth,
Bho nach d' fhuair thu guth air thús.

Chualas ceól os cionn do cheóil,
Ge mór a mholas tu do chliar,
Ceól air nach laigh leth-trom laoich,[8]
Faoghar cuilc aig an Ord Fhiann.[9]

---

5 The MS. has 'Tsheolle' for 'shealladh.' For ''n a shealladh-san' (into his presence), other versions have ''n a thalla-san' (into his hall).

6 'Rath' (grace, good luck, prosperity) is translated 'valour' in the Ir. Oss. Society's Transactions.

7 ''Illigh-phadric' is for 'A Ghille-Phádraig' (lit. Patrick lad). ''Ille' is a common abbreviation of the vocative of 'gille' (lad, attendant, servant).

8 'Ceól air nach laigh leth-trom laoich' is probably corrupt. Cf. 'Sgalt-arnach loin Leitreach Laoi' (the song of the blackbird of Letter Lee) in Ir. Oss. Society's version (Trans. I. 4).

Ois. Thinkest thou that he could compare with MacCumall,
Our king over the Feinni?
Every one on earth might go
Into his presence* unbidden.

Patr. Oisin, long is thy slumber;
Rise thou up and hear the psalms;
Since thou hast lost thy strength and prosperous state,
And canst not fight on day [of] fierce [conflict].

Ois. If I have lost my strength and prosperous state
And that there remains not a battalion of Finn's,
For thy holy duties little is my regard,
And listening to thy music is nothing worth to me.

Patr. Thou hast heard nought so good as my music
From the great world's beginning till this night;
And thou art aged, foolish, grey,
Thou that did'st reward bards on hill.

Ois. Often did I reward bards on hill,
Thou Patrick of evil mind;
'Tis wrong in thee that thou hast reviled my form,
Since thou didst not first receive reproach.

I have heard music better than thy music,
Though greatly thou praisest thy clerics,
Music on which the sorrow of heroes would not weigh—
The sound of reed by the Ord Fiann.

---

* Other versions have *'n a thalla*, into his hall.

---

[9] 'Faoghar cuilc aig an Ord Fhiann' is corrupt. Cf. 'S an faoidh do gnidh an Dord Fiann' (and the melody which the Dord Fiann makes) in the Irish version above quoted.

'N uair a shuidheadh Fionn air cnoc
Sheinneamaid port do 'n Ord Fhiann,
'Chuireadh 'n an codal na slóigh,
'S ochóin! ba bhinne e na 'chliar.[10]

Smeórach bheag dhubh bho Ghleann Smáil,[11]
Faoghar nam bárc ris an tuinn—
Sheannamaid an leithid' a phuirt,
'S bha sinn féin 's ar cruit ro bhinn.

Bha trí gaodhair dheug aig Fionn,
Leigeamaid iad ri Gleann Smáil;
'S ba bhinne glasghairm ar con
Na do chluigs', a chléirich cháidh.

Cuide ruinne Fionn ar dia,
A riar cliar agus sgoil;
Thug e lá air bronnadh oir,
'S an t-ath-ló air meadhair chon.

Patr. Aig meud 'fhiughair ri meadhair chon,
'S e díoladh sgoil gach aon lá,
'S aig lughad eisimeil ri Dia,
A nis tha Fionn nam Fiann an láimh.

Ois. 'S gann a chreideas mi do sgeul,
A chléirich le d' leabhar bán,
Gu 'm bidheadh Fionn, no cho fial,
Aig duine no aig Dia an láimh.

---

[10] In Turner's version this stanza is as follows:—

'N tra shuidheadh an Fhiann air chnoc
Sheinnfid gun lochd an Dord Fiann,
Le 'n cuirteadh 'n an codal na slóigh
Le ceól ba bhinne na 'chliar.

[When the Fiann would sit on a hill
They would sound, without fault, the Dord Fiann,

When Finn would sit upon a hill,
We would sing a strain to the Ord Fiann
Which would put the hosts to sleep,
And, ochone! It was sweeter than the clerics.

A little black thrush from Glen Smail,
The sound of the barks against the waves—
Such strains we were wont to sing,
And very tuneful were we and our harp.

Thirteen hounds had Finn,
We would loose them upon Glen Smail;
And sweeter was the noise* of the dogs
Than thy bells, oh holy cleric.

Along with us was Finn, our god,
Who gave gifts to bards and schools;
One day he gave to bestowing gold
And the next to the sport of hounds.

Patr. By reason of his great longing for the sport of hounds,
And he distributing to schools† every day,
And by reason of his little regard for God,
Finn of the Fiann is now in hand.‡

Ois. I scarce believe thy tale,
Oh cleric with thy white book,
That Finn, or one so generous, would be
In bonds‡ of man or God.

---

* Other versions have *brosnaicheadh ar con*, the inciting of our dogs.
† *i.e.*, Bardic schools.
‡ *i.e.*, undergoing punishment.

Which would put the hosts to sleep
With music sweeter than the clerics'.]

[11] 'Gleann Smáil' is 'Gleann Sgáil' (the Glen or Vale of Scal) in the Irish version.

Patr. Ann an ifrinn tha e'n láimh,
Fear le'n sáth[12] bhith bronnadh óir;
Air son a dhímeas air Dia,
Chuir iad e'n taigh pian fo león.

Ois. Nam biodh Clanna[13] Morna 'staigh
'S Clanna[13] Baoisgne, na fir threun',
Bheireamaid Fionn a mach,
No bhiodh an teach againn féin.

Patr. Cóig Cóigeadh[14] na h-Eireann ma seach,
'S ar leat gur mór am féidhm,
Cha d-tugadh sin Fionn a mach,
Ged bhiodh an teach agaibh féin.

Ois. Nach math an t-àit ifrinn féin,
A chléirich dh'an léir an sgoil!
Nach co math i 's flaitheas[15] Dé,
Ma gheabhar innte féidh is coin.

Bha mise lá air Sliabh Bhóid
Agus Caoilte ba chruaidh lann;
Bha Oscar ann is Goll nan sleagh
Domhnall[16] nam fleadh is Fraoch[17] bho'n ghleann:
Fionn Mac-Cumhaill, borb a bhrígh,
Bha e'n a rígh os ar cionn.

Trí mic árd-rígh nan sgiath
Ba mhór am miann air dol a shealg;
A Phádraig nam bachall fiar[18],
Cha leigeamaid Dia os ar cionn.

---

[12] For 'sáth' other versions have 'sámh' (pleasant).

[13] 'Clanna,' the pl. of 'clann' (children), is literally 'Clans.'

[14] 'Cóigeadh' (a fifth, a province). 'Cóig Cóigeadh na h-éireann' were the five ancient provinces of Ireland.

[15] 'Flaitheas' (heaven), for 'flaitheamhnas.'

[16] Other versions have 'Diarmaid.'

[17] The MS. has 'raoin,' but other versions have 'Fraoch.'

[18] The MS. has 'fial' for 'fiar' (crooked), the correct word.

Patr. In hell he is in hand,*
The man who delighted† to distribute gold;
Because of his contempt of God,
They put him in the house of pain, in sorrow.

Ois. If the Clan Morna were within
And the Clan Baoisgne, the brave men,
We would bring out Finn,
Or the house should be our own.

Patr. The five Fifths‡ of Erin, one by one,
And you would think their power was great,
They would not bring out Finn,
Although the house were your own.

Ois. Is not hell itself a good place,
Oh cleric who seest knowledge?
Is it not as good as the heaven of God,
If deer and hounds be found therein?

I was one day on the hill of Bōd §
With Caelte of the hard lance;
Oscar was there, and Gaul of spears,
Domnall‖ of feasts, and Fraoch from the glen:
Finn Mac Cumall, fierce of soul,
He over us was king.

The three sons of the high king of shields,
Great was their desire to go a hunting,
Oh cleric of the crooked staves,¶
We would not let God [be] over us.

---

* *i.e.*, undergoing punishment.

† Other versions have *gudth*, custom.

‡ The five Provinces.

§ The same word as Bute; but 'Sliabh Fuaid' (the Hill of Fuad) seems to be intended.

‖ Donald.

¶ *i.e.*, crosiers.

Ba bheachd leam[19] Diarmaid Ui Dhuibhne
Agus Feargus ba bhinn glór ;[19]
Nam ba chead leat mi 'g an luaidh,
A chléirich nuaidh a théid do 'n Roimh.[20]

Patr. C' uim' nach cead leam thu 'g an luaidh?
Ach thoir t' aire gu luath air Dia ;
Bho 'n tha nis deireadh air t' aois,
Scur de d' bhaoith',[21] a shean-fhir léith![22]

Ois. A Phádraig, ma thug thu cead
Air beagan a labhairt duinn,
Nach aidich thu (ma 's cead le Dia)
Flaith nam Fionn a rádh air thús?

Patr. Cha d-tug mise comas duit,
A shean-fhir chiúirt' agus thu liath ;
B' fhèarr Mac Muire ré aon lá
Na duine a tháinig riamh.

Ois. Nar robh math aig neach fo 'n ghréin,
Gu 'm b' fhèarr e féin na mo thriath[23]
Mac múirneach nach d' éitich cliar,
'S cha leigeadh e Dia os a chionn.

Patr. Na comhaid thusa duine ri Dia,
A shean-fhir léith, na breithnich e ;
'S fada bho 'n tháinig a neart,
Is mairidh e ceart[24] gu bráth.

---

19 Fletcher's version has, in altered orthography :—
' Bu bheachd leam bhi tighin air Diarmaid
'S air Fearghus bu bhinne glór.'
(I wish to speak of Diarmaid
And of Fergus of sweetest speech).

20 The Ir. Oss. Society's version (Vol. IV. 34) has :—
' Is crádh liom Diarmuid agus Goll,
Agus Feargus ba bhinn glór ;
An uair nach léighthear dúinn a luadh,
A Phátraic nuaidh, tháinig ó 'n Róimh.'
(Woe is me Diarmuid and Goll,
And Fergus of the tuneful voice ;

I fain would speak of Diarmaid O'Duine
And of Fergus, of sweet speech;
If thou wouldst let me name them,
New cleric who goest to Rome.*

Patr. Why should I not let thee name them?
But quickly give thy thoughts to God;
Since thou art now at thy life's end,
Cease from thy folly, grey old man.

Ois. Patrick, if thou hast given leave
To us to say a little,
Wilt thou not own [it right], if God permits,
To speak first of the prince of the Feinni?

Patr. I have not given thee leave,
Broken old man, and thou grey.
Better is Mary's Son for one day
Than [any] man that ever was.

Ois. May no one under the sun fare well
[Who thinks] himself is better than my prince
High souled son who refused not bards,
And he would not let God [be] over him.

Patr. Compare not thou man to God,
Thou grey old man—conceive it not;
'Tis long that His power has existed,
And He will remain just for ever.

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* See note 20, p. 356-7.

Since it is not allowed us to name them,
O Patrich, lately come from Rome).

[21] The MS. has 'dod mhaoigh' for 'do d' bhaoithe' (of or from thy folly). Other versions have 'do d' bhaois,' which has the same meaning.

[22] The MS. has 'tshean fhir' (O old man). 'Seanóir' or 'seanair' (grandfather, old man; Lat. senior) is used in M'Gregor's version.

[23] 'Triath,' prince, is pronounced 'triach' in some parts of the Highlands. Hence 'tshriach' in the MS.

[24] For 'mairidh e ceart' (he will remain just), Fletcher's version has 'seasmhaidh a cheart' (his justice will stand).

Ois. Chomhaidinn-sa Fionn nam fleadh
Ri aon neach a sheall sa' ghréin;
Cha d' iarr [e] riamh ni air neach,
S' cha mhó 'dh' eur e neach mu ni.

Bheireamaid seachd cathan fichead an Fhiann
Air Sídhean-Druim-Cliair[25] a muigh;
Cha d-tugamaid urram do Dhia
No dh' aon chliar a bha air bith.

Patr. Seachd catha fichead dhuibhse 'n ar Fiann;
Cha do chreid sibh an Dia nan dúl;
Cha mhairinn duine de 'r sliochd,
'S cha bheó ach riochd Oisin úir.

Ois. Cha 'n e sin ba choireach ruinn
Ach turus Fhinn a dhol do 'n Róimh;
Cumail Cath Ghabhra leinn féin,
Bha e claoidh ar Féinn' gu mór.

Patr. Cha 'n e sin a chlaoidh sibh uile ann,
A mhic Fhinn bho 'n gèarr gu d' ré;
Eisd ri rádh Rígh nam bochd,
'S iarr thus' a nochd nèamh dhuit féin.

Ois. Comraich an dá abstol deug
Gabhaidh mi dhomh féin an diu;
Ma rinn mise peacadh trom,
A chur an cnoc no 'n tom a muigh.

Críoch.

Thoir an eachdraidh 'Mhaighstir Dómhnall,
A tha chómhnaidh an cois na tuinne—
An úrnaigh 'bha aig Oisin liath-ghlas
Nach robh riamh ach 'n a dhroch dhuine.

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[25] The 'Sídh' (fairy dwelling or hill) of 'Drom Cliabh' is probably meant.

Ois. I would compare Finn of feasts
To any that ever looked at the sun;
He never asked aught of any,
Nor did he to any aught refuse.

We would bring seven score battalions [of] the Feinni
Forth on the hill of Druim Cliar;
We would not pay honour to God,
Nor to any clerics that were on earth.

Patr. Seven score battalions were ye, the Feinni;
Ye believed not in the god of the elements;
Not one man of your race remains,
And only the ghost of youthful Oisin lives.*

Ois. That was not what caused our loss,
But Finn's journey on his way to Rome;
Fighting the battle of Gabhra alone,
It brought great ruin on our Feinni.

Patr. 'Twas not that destroyed you all,
Son of Finn, whose end is near;
Hear the saying of the King of the poor,
And this night seek heaven for thyself.

Ois. The protection of the Twelve Apostles
I take for myself to-day;
If I have committed grievous sin,
May it be cast into a hill or a mound without!

End.

The following stanza composed by Duncan Riach N'Nicol, in Glenorchy, by whom, apparently, this ballad was sent to the Rev. Donald M'Nicol, is added in the MS.:—

Give this tale to Mr. Donald,†
Who dwells beside the wave‡—
The prayer which hoary Oisin prayed
Who never was aught but a wicked man.

* The meaning apparently is that he was like the ghost of his former self.
† i.e., the Rev. Donald M'Nicol, the collector of these ballads.
‡ i.e., at Lismore.

Art. VII.—SAVED.

IT may strike the minds of some persons, daunted by interminable discussion in Parliament of Irish complaints or contemptuously unmoved by the fluctuating chances of the Ins and Outs, that the participle printed at the head of these pages is hysterical or exaggerated. But the danger, menacing with sudden imminence within the course of the current year the constitution of the United Kingdom, a danger which the people of England and Scotland, flinging aside differences and rivalries long deemed inveterate, repelled, has been described in words of force by one whose judgment even his bitterest foes have never slighted as hysterical nor his Conservative instincts as exaggerated.

In his historic letter to the Duke of Marlborough, which stood in the stead of prolix and argumentative manifestoes which have since come into mode, Lord Beaconsfield limned this danger as 'in its ultimate results scarcely less disastrous than pestilence and famine.' It was to this danger that the edifice of the constitution was exposed by the stupendous flank movement undertaken by Mr. Gladstone as soon as the result of the autumn elections became known : a movement which he has since sought to justify as the outcome of convictions which for fifteen years have been insisting themselves on his mind, maturing themselves, it is true, in notable simultaneity with the exigency of dependance on the Irish vote, but not the less, he asserts, reconcilable with every thing he has said during his long career. 'Although it is not a very safe thing for a man who has been for a long time in public life to assert a negative, still I will venture to assert that I have never in any period of my life declared what is now known as Home Rule in Ireland to be incompatible with Imperial Unity.'*

The figure of a flank movement is faulty ; what took place resembles the desertion to the enemy of an army under its generals. Many a stricken field had the Liberal and Conservative forces

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* Speech on second Reading of Government of Ireland Bill, 10 May, 1886.

fought as allies against the common enemy, the strife between these two great factions had been, in the main, to settle who should command the campaign and undertake the work of defence; nor had it glimmered even on the raptorial imaginations of London correspondents of provincial journals that the germ of treachery to the Imperial idea lurked in the mind of the Liberal leader.

Nevertheless it arrived—that fateful day. The dawn of the new Parliament echoed to harsh commands, strange trumpet notes reft the early gloom, alarmed and amazed the nation beheld the forces defiling from the position they had been commissioned to defend and watched them as with drums beating and colours flying they wheeled into alignment amid the frantic cheers of their new allies. It looked as if the cause for which we had fought for years was betrayed and lost; the odds against us almost overwhelmed hope. But as dawn drew on to day it became seen that the position was not completely deserted. The bulk of the Liberal host had moved off; but on the old lines still there stood some veteran battalions, still might be descried the plumes of some trusted leaders. The moment was critical—everything depended on the degree of confidence possible between the Conservatives and the Liberal loyalists. Impossible! said many—who is to lead? How adjust rival claims to subordinate commands? whence the authority to appoint to rival posts?

Well, as we know, it was done. A stern fidelity to trust, stimulated by taunts and injurious sneers from former comrades and leaders, distinguished those who have since come to be known as Unionists.

Proximus ardet: in the operations which followed the principal share was borne by the alienated colleagues of Mr. Gladstone. The heavy repulse of the combined Ministerialists and Parnellites on the 7th June, signal and reassuring as the victory was, was far from being conclusive. The campaign of the Polls, which it prefaced, was entered on by the Ministerialists with confidence in heavy reinforcements to be drawn from the newly-enfranchised and from the once hostile Irish. Again the heaviest work was sustained by the Unionists—their losses were the most grievous; one after another their leaders fell, but at the close

victory—decisive, overwhelming—remained with the colours for which they fought. The enemy, shattered beyond recovery, drew off and the Union was saved.

Let metaphor be dropped. The kaleidoscope, the chameleon, the vane, the British climate—whatever might be cited as figuring swift change—may be dismissed as inadequate emblems of that which has taken place in the relations of political parties within three quarters of a year. Last autumn Mr. Gladstone was still the idol of the entire Liberal party and leader of a magnificent majority in the House of Commons. The key note of his appeal to the constituencies was warning against entrusting the imperial interests in Ireland to the Tories, whom by repeated innuendo he charged with complicity with Mr. Parnell and a clandestine alliance with those whose audiences were encouraged to cheer for the Mahdi and other enemies of Great Britain. At that time Lord Randolph Churchhill, scarcely regarded as a serious politician, looked on askance by the elders of his party, emitted occasional utterances which tickled the populace though they scandalised some of his colleagues.

Now—Mr. Gladstone, still vociferously credulous in the future of his newly espoused policy, applauding the speeches and seconding the aspirations of those who in 1881 were expelled on his motion from the House, supported by Mr. Childers and Sir William Harcourt alone of that triumphant galaxy which accompanied him in 1880 to the Treasury Bench, leads into opposition an insignificant minority of his party retires to the Continent before the Session is ten days old and leaves behind him—a pamphlet.

On the other hand—Lord Randolph Churchill, whose hazardous capacity for creating surprises has perhaps more than any other quality endeared him to the electors—has developed in leading the House a dignified sagacity without surrender of incisive speech that has surprised his followers almost as completely as it has disappointed his opponents. For the first time in its existence the Conservative party possesses a leader who has captured the imagination and engaged the confidence of the people. To do that he recognised early the conditions necessary to attaining it. He

witnessed the transfer of an immense share of political power to the masses; he foresaw that whoever among statesmen should aspire to lead in the future, must be in the strict sense of the word a demagogue—a swayer of Demos. Debarred by the principle he had espoused from the vulgar art of captivating the million by appeals to their cupidity, he first arrested their attention by originality, force and (equally indispensable) frequency of speech. The spirited attacks which he directed from time to time from below the gangway against Mr. Gladstone's Government were more brilliant by contrast with the comparative tameness and torpor of the front Opposition bench, whose occupants seemed stunned by the crushing defeat at the polls in 1880. Soon Ministers learnt that in the boyish and somewhat foppish leader of the Fourth Party they had an assailant who dealt shrewd thrusts, and that his biting taunts were sustained by a fund of historical knowledge and a thorough mastery of the forms and traditions of Parliament.

The hostility and *vis inertiæ* which have always to be overcome by an aspirant to political dominance, presented themselves with peculiar intensity in Lord Randolph's path. They were present, it will be recollected, throughout Mr. Disraeli's career, nor did that statesman ever shake himself entirely free from them as long as he was in the House of Commons; indeed the full meed of approbation of his party was actually withheld until his death revealed to them what potent qualities they had lost in losing him. His biting speech and the apparent recklessness of his pen intensified the resistance to Lord Randolph's influence. Even so lately as the General Election in June his address to the electors of Paddington was framed in language which made some of his own party shiver, and lashed the followers of Mr. Gladstone into rage. But he attained the object at which every word in that address was aimed. For every person who read the simultaneous address of Sir Michael Hicks Beach to the electors of Bristol, there were fifty who read Lord Randolph's. To his influence must be attributed the fact, that already the new voters allowed themselves to be weaned from the unwholesome fare spread before them by the same lavish hands from which they

received enfranchisement—fare for which the previous autumn they had shown an avidity in which there was nothing contrary to nature.

To the country labourers of Dorset and the villagers of Suffolk, the Irish Question and the maintenance of the Union, are abstract and unfamiliar questions compared with the promise of three acres and a cow. Not by arithmetic or logic, not by the doctrine of the sanctity of private property, nor by the principles of political economy could the blissful picture of rural content be demonstrated as only a dissolving view, intangible, impracticable. It was, in their vision, defined and brilliant, there was no space on the canvas for Irish pictures. But Lord Randolph's energy and directness of speech sufficed to melt the mirage and show the barrenness of the desert it had veiled.

To the Gallic nature the suspicion of betrayal is ever present; it is otherwise to that of the Teuton, but when the certainty of deception is forced upon him it becomes a cogent force, rousing his indignation and animating all his acts. So, in spite of all the casuistic calculation undertaken by the late Prime Minister since the General Election with the view of minimising the result of the Polls, there can be no reasonable doubt that the directness of the verdict given was owing to the plainness with which the un-English surrender of the Union was proffered in return for Irish support.

In one respect we are inclined to think that Mr. Gladstone was acting under a misapprehension. The success of the Radical party in the autumn elections was very much less than had been reckoned on by its leaders. They had expected to sweep the board; their failure was greatest in the large towns. Precisely here it is that the Irish vote is of most weight: that vote had ostentatiously been ordered to the aid of Conservatives. 'Let us but gain that vote,' Mr. Gladstone reflected, 'and with the English counties at our back we *will* sweep the board.' The vote, at the cost of a riven party, was gained, but its worthlessness, relative to the honest indignation of the masses, may in future complications be freely discounted.

Patience is not easily preserved in dealing with the so-called

historic argument on which Mr. Gladstone's Home Rule Scheme is founded. The parallels of Austria and Hungary, Denmark and Iceland, Sweden and Norway, are all fallacious; it is difficult to suppose that Mr. Gladstone in citing them can have been ignorant that the case of Ireland is not in point. Ireland has been called the Poland of England, and the allusion is a ready trick for drawing Radical cheers either in Parliament or on the platform. But the one great point of difference between Ireland's history and those of the conquered nations to which she is compared consists in the fact *that she never was a nation.* In all the other cases autonomy when conferred, was a restoration; it would be so if the Scottish Parliament were re-established, for Scotland became a kingdom under a single Crown in the eighth century. Even the most partial and anti-English of her historians has never claimed as much for the origin of Irish nationality as was begged in Mr. Gladstone's speech.

It may be of service to quote from a historian whose 'Nationalist' (using that word in the modern technical sense) proclivity is undoubted. Mr. Prendergast writes :—

> 'The Irish nation (in Henry VIII.'s time) was no nation in the modern sense of the word, but a race divided into many nations or tribes, separately defending their lands from the English barons in their immediate neighbourhood. There had been no ancient national government displaced, no national dynasty overthrown; the Irish had no national flag, nor any capital city as the metropolis of their common country; nor any common administration of law, nor did they ever give a combined opposition to the English. . . . The chief or royal tribe in each of the five provinces became allies of the English at the first invasion, as is plain from their receiving the rights of Englishmen to bring and defend actions. They were legally known as the Five Bloods, being the O'Neills of Ulster, the O'Connors of Connaught, the O'Melaghlins of Meath, the O'Briens of Munster and the MacMurroughs of Leinster.' *

This knocks the bottom out of the historic parallels. But even if our conscience were so galled by the 'base and blackguardly' nature of the Union, there is no reason why we

* *The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland*, by John P. Prendergast. Dublin 1875.

should re-establish the Gael any more than his predecessors. The Gael was not the aboriginal possessor of Ireland; by successive waves the Celtic hordes, mysterious in their origin, swept over Western Europe. In Britain and Ireland they overcame the peaceful hunters, the neolithic men who preceded them, the dwellers in caves, the builders of 'long barrows' for their dead, the dark-skinned, long-headed, light-limbed Ivernians, whose features and speech remain to this day in the Basque province, and whose descendants might by patient 'mental consideration' (to use the pleonastic phrase coined lately by Mr. Gladstone) be identified in the West of Ireland. But the Gael commands a good many votes; the Celtic idea is in itself an attractive one, not without romance, so it is decided that Ireland is to be handed over to the Gael (the Five Bloods will have to fight the question of precedence among themselves, it is supposed); 'dear old Scotland' must go too, as soon as she is asked for; and 'gallant Wales' must furbish up her heraldry and give the Sassinach notice to quit. It is a noble vista that has been opened before us, apparently interminable. The Scandinavian will not be outdone by the Celt in patriotism: we shall be treated to a united demand for autonomy from the Hebrides, Orkney and Shetland. The Teutonic population of the Lothians and Border Counties must have their national assembly, and so things will progress right merrily until the old faggot, in the endeavour to unbind which so many European teeth have been blunted and broken, will be cast loose and each individual stick in it will be set up on its own account.

It is not likely that the encouragement held out to Scotland to demand Home Rule will induce serious consideration of it by any but a fragment of the population. Scotchmen, in whose breasts true patriotism burns as steadily as in those of noisier folk, have yet a sober sense of the advantage of union with a richer country, which is deeply engrained in the minds of every class. It found coarse but canny expression in the dying Aberdeenshire father's advice to his son, 'Aye be keepin' sooth, Jock.'

Nevertheless it is dangerous and culpable to fan, for party

purposes, the dying embers of national jealousy and suspicion. Wherever there are people of Celtic blood there is inflammable material, and though these are in a manageable minority in Scotland, it would not be difficult to rouse the bulk of Welshmen to claim autonomy and exclusion of English influence—'Vast in their hopes, noisy, rhetorical, laughers, talkers, sympathetic—such is the character of the early race;'* and such it is still; and to rouse their aspirations to independence, to encourage their natural disinclination to steady work, to foster the sense of grievances inflicted in the Middle Ages is a course to which private interest or morbid ambition have tempted many lesser legislators, but it is one to which those of a higher grade have hitherto happily not been tempted, until the late Prime Minister lent himself to it.†

It would be idle to deny that the question of religion is one

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* Prendergast's *Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland.*

† The Celtic movement is not one that should be ridiculed or lightly regarded. In France the Celtic race has almost swamped the Teutonic blood; Frankish now only in name she exhibits in the frequent and passionate ebullitions of popular political sentiment the outcome of the same racial mobility which caused the early Irish Annals to be one continuous record of bloodshed. In view of the reproductive capacities of the Celt, the large and increasing Celtic population in the New World, and the facilities which exist of easy inter-communication, it is well to note the movement which has been set on foot, having for its practical object the dispossession of the Teutonic race, and to consider the baseless parody of history which is foisted upon credulous audiences. Here are a few sentences extracted from a brief report, in the *Times* of September 23rd, of the Fourth Annual Conference of the Highland Land Law Reform Association, at which three Scottish Members of Parliament assisted.

'Mr. John Macpherson said he was glad to hear that there was a project of union between Highlanders, Irishmen, and Welshmen. The Celtic race had the first claims on the British Government and the *first right to the possession of the country*, for they were its aboriginal inhabitants. . . They derived from God and not from man their right and they meant to stick to it.

'Mr. Stuart Glennie, moved that—whereas Scottish Highlanders, the Irish and Welsh had now common political objects, they should form a Celtic league, of which an elected executive should organize mutual cooperation with respect to their common objects both in the country and in Parliament. This was unanimously agreed to.'

that immensely adds to the dangers of the situation. With the police under the control of an Irish Parliament, it is hideous to think of the scenes that might have been enacted in Belfast during the present summer. Even as matters are, the accounts of a rifle skirmish maintained throughout a summer night in a great commercial city between two forces, whose only quarrel was that one was Roman Catholic and the other Protestant, read more like transactions in a mushroom city of the Far West or the phases of revolution in a shifting South American Republic than any that is possible on British soil within twelve hours of London. It is only necessary to listen to the speeches of Irish members below the gangway to convince oneself that the expulsion or extermination of the weaker party after scenes of horrible carnage, could have been the only result but for the presence of a strong body of English troops. Mr. Morley has said that these would always be at hand to restore order and restrain violence; but they would be called in as a foreign force under similar circumstances to the original settlement of the English in Ireland, when exterior aid was invoked for protection in faction warfare.

The pamphlet which Mr. Gladstone left behind him when he left the leadership of the Opposition in commission, and went abroad in August, has received the attention which it merited. Most eager was its perusal by all who take part in politics, but careful as was the conning of those who still own the leadership of its author, it was even more earnestly pored over by men of other parties to find, if it might be found, some other justification than servile opportunism for the proposals of an eminent British statesman—some refutation of that shamelessness in politics which is to representative government what licentious debauchery is to wholesome nourishment. It is not claiming too much on the score of generosity to a fallen statesman to declare that leading men of all parties sought for and would have accepted gratefully any reasonable explanation of the process of change which had come over Mr. Gladstone's posture towards the demand for Home Rule. Alas! the search was in vain. 'What is true,' says Mr. Gladstone, 'is that I had not publicly condemned it, and also that I had mentally

considered it.' What is equally true—if we grant that what would have passed as condemnation from other lips is to be taken as no more than prèliminary criticism of a growing idea —what is equally true is this, that he permitted the nation at large, and his colleagues in particular, to gather that he was resolutely opposed to a separate legislature for Ireland, and that he dreaded above all things that the Tories would be concussed into granting it. And what does he allege was the final symptom that the harvest was come which prompted him to put in the sickle? This fact 'that the Irish demand put forth on the first night of the session by Mr. Parnell with eighty-four Irish Home Rulers at his back, would be confined within the fair and moderate bounds of autonomy, of an Irish legislature only for affairs specifically Irish, of a statutory and subordinate Parliament. But in this incident lay the fulfilment of one of those conditions which were in my view essential, and which had been heretofore unfulfilled.' The deceit of this passage can be most charitably accounted for by the belief that the writer had first deceived himself. For deception, shallow, clumsy, ill-contrived as that of a guilty school-boy, is what has to be dealt with here. Why, for six weeks before the opening of Parliament a scheme of Home Rule, filling the same outlines as those sketched by Mr. Parnell in his 'ripening' speech, was public property. First described in a New York paper, it was minutely discussed by every journal in this country, never disowned and at length divulged in a speech of nearly four hours by him who had conceived it at Hawarden many weeks before Parliament met. A sorry spectacle this —that one whose lot it has been to sway the minds of millions should stoop to a futile effort to delude them. If we could bring ourselves to believe his explanation, if we could agree with him in denying 'that it is the duty of every Minister to make known, even to his colleagues, every idea which has formed itself in his mind,' we must now accept the fact that in the solemn assertions of belief in their finality which he enunciated in passing his Acts for disestablishing the Irish Church and for amending the Land Laws he had himself no faith, he was imposing wilfully upon Parliament and had

all the time in his mind the conviction that one remedy and one only could be found for Irish discontent, which remedy it was consistent with his ideas of duty to conceal absolutely from all his colleagues. Can any confession be more shameless? Can any conduct tend more to shake the public faith in political probity?

It is humiliating to read the tortuous sentences in which the author of this pamphlet tries to disprove the condemnation of Home Rule by the constituencies, and yet accepts the verdict as 'an irresistible sentence' against the twin Bill of Land Purchase, which until the very end of July it was a moral obligation and a point of honour to read as so many clauses of the Government of Ireland Bill. There is more freedom of individual action, of course, in an Opposition than in a Government, but it will be interesting to see if Mr. Morley and Lord Spencer shake themselves free in drafting future Home Rule measures withequal cynicism from the moral obligation which they have acknowledged of protecting the owners of land from spoliation of the rights limited and secured to them by the Land Act of 1882.

Mr. Parnell's bill for the Relief of Irish Tenants which has just been disposed of, is described by Lord Hartington with equal sobriety and accuracy as 'a Bill for stopping, for a time, the collection of rents all over Ireland, and for rendering the eventual collection of more than half the rents a matter of extreme difficulty.' That Mr. Gladstone supported it surprised no one; but even that master of inconsistency disappointed his followers by grounding his support—not on the supposed urgency of of the case—but on a wilful perversion of Lord Salisbury's description of the terms of reference to the new Land Commission. Lord Salisbury's guarded allusion to the alleged inability of Irish tenants to pay judicial rents was seized by Mr. Gladstone as sufficient to justify the suspension of the landlord's sole remedy for non-payment. His whole speech was a passionate appeal for the pre-judgment of a case which the Prime Minister had described as one that enquiry might possibly shew to be one to justify a strictly limited interference on the part of the State. Mr. Morley, disdaining such a weak

and illogical argument, resumed that which he employed in his advocacy of Home Rule, which consisted simply in a fatalist surrender to the strenuous agitation of the National League. It appears that his sense of this has overcome his sense of justice and honourable obligation, and that he too is prepared, in future dealings with Ireland, to throw overboard statutory obligations written in ink which has hardly had time to dry.

The proposals of the Government with regard to Ireland, so far as they have been outlined, have met with severe criticism, but that would have been plentifully forthcoming whatever was their nature or, with perhaps more reason, if they had not been indicated at all. The allusion to the assertion of the inability of tenants to pay judicial rents under existing agricultural prices, although freely used as the main argument for Mr. Parnell's bill, has also been denounced as an attack on the taxpayers' pockets as direct as Mr. Gladstone's Land Purchase Bill; but even should the enquiry result in a recommendation to assist out of the public funds the payment of that which has been secured to landowners by statute, the risk of such an advance would be, as pointed out by Mr. Chamberlain in debate, no greater than that involved in the collection of any taxes. Under an Irish Parliament it is plain that a vast tribute, corresponding to the whole or nearly the whole judicial rent of Ireland payed to a foreign government, would rest on a very different footing to the interest on a relatively trifling advance by the Imperial Treasury.

But the opposition to the Government during the August and September Session was a hollow affair throughout. Ireland shares, in spite of herself, the desire of England and Scotland for repose from harassing and disturbing legislation. While we have been wrangling about the right of property our property has been diminishing in value. An universal sigh for steady government has gone up; capital is a shy fowl, easily scared; even the Irish farmer is not so hot-headed as not to know that he has secured substantial and valuable property in the land, and their is a growing tendency among his class to settle down and make something of what he has got. Despite the threats of

disturbance during the coming winter, despite of isolated turbulence in the North-west and South-east, some confidence may reasonably be entertained that affairs will not assume a dangerous complexion; the consciousness that a Ministry is in power who will disregard the chapel bell and punish those who ring it, will probably convince the people that the business of a government is to govern, and that their best chance of prosperity and comfort is to submit cheerfully to that government in which they have been admitted to a full share.

It is in this belief that it may be said that the advent of the Conservatives to office, supported by the spirit of self-sacrifice which has shown itself among the Whigs, has saved the country from a great peril. A great step, in the view of those who think thus, has been gained by the co-operation of these two great schools of politics. Their tendency must be more and more to unite in a common policy, and the peril to which the State was exposed by the cruel exigency of party overriding all higher considerations has been, for a long time at least, repelled.

The present Parliament may come to be known in the future as the Parliament of Whips. Never were there so many Whips: the Government, the Gladstonian Opposition, the Unionists, the Irish Home Rulers and the Irish Nationalists, each respond to the monitions of recognized officials; not only so, but the Extreme Left have, since the Election, decided that those who have until now directed their action have not the confidence of the whole rank and file, so they have obtained a commission for a man of their own kidney in addition. But it will also be known as the Parliament which refused to respond to the dictation of party faction.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Philosophy of Religion on the Basis of its History. By Dr. OTTO PFLEIDERER. Translated from the German of the Second and Greatly Enlarged Edition, by ALEXANDER STEWART, M.A., and ALLAN MENZIES, B.D. Vol. I. London: Williams & Norgate, 1886.

To students of theology, Pfleiderer's *Philosophy of Religion* has long been known as one of the best of its kind. To recommend it is almost superfluous. In its old form it was in many respects unrivalled, and there can be no two opinions respecting the improvements it has undergone in the new and greatly enlarged edition from which the present translation has been made. The principal of these improvements are a more extended treatment of the history of the philosophy of religion, including a more detailed statement and criticism of the views of Kant, and the addition of a new section giving a concise sketch of the development of the religious consciousness in its beginnings among the members of the Aryan and Semitic races, and in Christianity. Some attention has also been given to the arrangement of the various parts of the work, and more care has been bestowed upon the style. Altogether, the work has undergone a thorough revision, and has received such material and important additions that there are few who are interested in the subject who will not congratulate themselves on the fact that the translation has been made from the new rather than from the old edition. The present volume (we hope the others are well advanced towards publication) deals only with the history of the philosophy of religion, and only with a part of that history. The history of the philosophy of religion, Dr. Pfleiderer believes, and rightly, begins with Spinoza; but in his introduction he gives a brief yet remarkably compact sketch of the opinions of Meister Eckhart, of the author of the *Theologia Germanica*, of Luther, Böhme, and Giordano Bruno. A sketch of these was necessary. Neither Eckhart, Bruno, nor Böhme attempted a philosophy of religion; yet a clear conception of their position, thoughts, and influence is requisite for a complete understanding of the tendencies that afterwards arose and were represented by such writers as Spinoza, Leibniz, Lessing, Kant, Herder, Fichte, and Hegel. From Spinoza to the present time, Dr. Pfleiderer recognises four distinct periods in the history of the philosophy of religion—the Critical, Intuitive, Speculative, and Recent. The first, second, and a part of the third of these periods are here dealt with. The treatment throughout is admirable, being clear, detailed, fair. As an expositor, Dr. Pfleiderer, in fact, is almost unequalled. His impartiality, freedom from bias, and endeavour to place the opinions of those he discourses of in

the clearest light and truest way are manifest on every page. The chapters on Spinoza, Herder, Goethe, Novalis, and Fichte, are of special interest. So also are those on Kant and Leibniz. That the translation of the present volume has been well done, we need hardly say. The names of the translators are a sufficient guarantee that it has.

Apologetics; or the Scientific Vindication of Christianity. By J. H. A. EBRARD, Ph. D., D.D. Translated by the Rev. WILLIAM STUART, B.A., and the Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1886.

Apologetics, not apology, is the title Dr. Ebrard has chosen for his present work; and with good reason. His present treatise is not an apology for Christianity's existence, but a vindication of its truth and right to exist. Between the two—an Apology and Apologetics he very sharply distinguishes—Christian apologetics, he remarks, is distinguished from mere apology by this, that it is not determined in course and method by the attacks appearing casually at any point of time, but from the nature of Christianity itself deduces the method of the defence of the same. Every apologetics, he goes on to observe, is an apology; but every apology is not an apologetics. Apologetics is that science which deduces from the nature of Christianity itself what classes of attacks are generally possible, what different sides of Christian truth may possibly be assailed, and what false principles lie at the bottom of these attacks. Apologetics is the science of the defence of Christianity. With the main drift of these remarks we heartily concur. One exception we would take to them is that the word defence is too limited in its meaning to represent the entire scope and character of the science of apologetics. And besides, apologetics is among other things a particular method of defending Christianity—which method the definition of the science ought to indicate. A better word than defence is vindication. This word Dr. Ebrard has rightly placed on his title page, and has undoubtedly done well to emphasize the difference between the older and the modern science. The day for an apology for Christianity has gone. Christianity has no need of one. What is now needed is its scientific vindication—the orderly and scientific exhibition and demonstration of its fundamental truths, and their correspondence with the eternal elements in human nature—a process which of course involves the refutation of errors, and the repulse of such attacks as may be formally made against it. All apologetics will therefore contain a permanent and a temporary element—the one determined by the nature of Christianity and the imperishable part of human nature, and the other by the controversies and erroneous opinions of the day. But the chief work of apologetics must always be to set forth that which is permanent, or the eternal contents of Christianity. To what extent Dr. Ebrard has succeeded in doing this, or with what measure of success he has accomplished the task he has set himself in the treatise before us, the time has not yet come to say. In the volume before us

the work is incomplete; but so far as it goes it promises to be one of great value. The first part treats of the eternal contents of the truth of Christianity, according to the facts of nature and the human consciousness, and is divided into two books, the first of which is necessarily devoted to the consideration of the ethical law and its Author, and the second to the examination and refutation of the systems which are opposed to Christianity. In this second book Dr. Ebrard is of course brought into touch with the prevailing philosophies and systems of the day. The translators seem to have done their work with ability.

Theologischer Jahresbericht. Herausgegeben von R. A. LIPSIUS. Band V. Leipzig: Georg Reichardt; London: Williams & Norgate. 1886.

To students of Theology this excellent annual needs neither recommendation nor introduction. Its utility is well known. The present volume contains an inventory of all the principal theological works and review articles which appeared throughout the world during the year 1885, together with notes of progress and criticisms. Old Testament literature has been assigned to Carl Sigfried; that on the New Testament to H. Holtzmann. H. Lüdemann, P. Böhringer, Fr. Nippold, and A. Werner deal with works on Church history. The section on the literature of the history of religion is from the pen of R. Furrer, while R. A. Lipsius, the editor of the work, has had under his own care works dealing with Dogmatic, the Philosophy of Religion, Methodology, Apologetics, etc. Among the other contributors are J. Marbach, R. Seyerlen, O. Dreyer, and A. Kind. The section on Ecclesiastical Art is by Dr. Hasenclever. As usual the work is well printed and is furnished with an exhaustive index.

Advent Sermons, 1885. By R. W. CHURCH, Dean of St. Paul's, &c. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

The least that can be said about these sermons is that they are thoughtful and suggestive. They have other fine qualities; for instance, they are remarkably fresh and eloquent. At the same time they are simple and direct. The habit of allowing his imagination to play freely around his subject enables Dean Church to follow out his thoughts to a variety of unexpected issues, and to show how the principles or truths he deals with touch human society, its interests and its changes, in ways and at points where their presence is rarely suspected. The first sermon, which is on 'Faith amid Changes,' is a fine example of this. The variety of 'changes' introduced is striking, and the need of men for a sure ground of trust is finely brought out. The second and third sermons are on 'The Kingdom of God.' Here, again, we have the same breadth of thought and fertility of illustration. In the first of these there is the very apposite and suggestive remark that in the Bible the phrase, 'the kingdom of God,' 'the king-

of heaven,' 'has applications more or less limited and special, according to the context; just as our phrase, 'the Crown,' carries with it distinct associations, and stands for powers and functions, differing in sphere and attributes, though through them all runs a connecting thread—according as the crown is spoken of in its legal, or administrative, or political, or personal relations. The last sermon—there are but four in the volume—is on 'Hope.' The subject of all four might almost be said to be the 'Sovereignty of God,' were it not that this phrase having become technical is far from indicating their wealth of variety and thought. We can only add that these are rare sermons, and cannot fail to foster an enlightened and noble conception of the Christian Faith.

Die Pilatus-Acten, kritisch untersucht. Von Dr. R. A. LIPSIUS. Neue vermehrte Ausgabe. Kiel: C. F. Haeseler. 1886.

It is a matter of no little moment to be able to determine the exact period in which any of those venerable documents bearing on, or pretending to narrate, Evangelic or early Christian history which have come down to us, and which are classed as apocryphal, was written, and to trace it, if not to the hand that wrote it, yet to the ecclesiastical or other centre from which it proceeded. If it belongs to a very early period and bears witness to the existence of a current belief *then* in the events given us in the Gospels, it lends valuable support to their historic character. It is evident, however, that its value depends on our being able to fix its date, and ascertain the character of the source whence it came. These so-called apocryphal writings are very numerous, and the puerile nature of the contents of many of them is apt to make superficial critics regard them as unworthy of serious attention. They have their importance, however, which careful scholars acknowledge. The Acts of Pilate, more familiarly known, perhaps, as the Gospel of Nicodemus, has not been very widely regarded by moderns as of very great value as a testimony to Evangelic history. Tischendorf, by placing its date so early as the first half of the second century, aroused increased interest in it, and since then considerable attention has been devoted to it. Dr. Lipsius in this brochure subjects the work and its history to a very thorough and searching examination. He compares the various recensions of it that exist, and notes and weighs carefully the import of the differences there are between them. These are, as is well known, very considerable. The two principal Greek versions (Tischendorf's A and B) are characterised by many features of difference, so are the Coptic and Latin versions. A lacks a long section which is in B. The Latin versions do not seem to be translations of the Greek texts that have come down to us. The prefaces and appendices vary considerably, and the text has been added to and curtailed in many instances. Dr. Lipsius strips the text of what appear to be later additions, and, getting thus at what he calls the 'Grundschrift,' he seeks to determine from it the date and object of the original work. He has no difficulty in showing that the grounds on

which Tischendorf based his opinion, that the work was a production of the first half of the second century, are invalid, and that Justin, on whose references to the *Acta Pilata* he rested, did not have the work in question here in view. Nor has he any difficulty in establishing, from its own witness, that it is at least post-Eusebian; while he adduces proof that its existence was unknown to that historian. Its chronology of the Passion of Christ is that which came into vogue through Eusebius. It may have been composed, Dr. Lipsius thinks, immediately after Eusebius wrote his Chronicle, or Chronological Canons, and anyway existed in A.D. 376. He dates it, therefore, between 326 and that year. He considers that its object was to discredit and replace the *Acta Pilata* composed at the time of the Gallerian persecution in the interests of official heathenism, and which had been made a text-book in the public schools by Maximinian. Its testimony to Evangelical history is, therefore, seen to be of no value. Dr. Lipsius has here produced a most careful, critical study, which will be welcomed not only for the masterly argument as against Tischendorf's somewhat hasty conclusions on the work, but also for the many side lights it throws on the literary activity of the early Church, and the means taken by both the Christian and heathen leaders to forward their own cause and damage that of their opponents.

Works of Thomas Hill Green. Vol. II. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1886.

The publication of the philosophical works of the late Professor Green, according to the plan already announced by the editor, proceeds apace. We have here the second volume,—somewhat more varied in its contents than the previous one, consisting of lectures on Kant, lectures on Logic, and lectures on the Principles of Political Obligation. Of these, the lectures on Kant appear to us to be the most valuable of the three: not that we do not everywhere have subtle criticism and close reasoning, but because the criticism and reasoning here shew the author at his best. Kant is a congenial subject, and his philosophy affords full scope for the critical exercise of a kindred and sympathetic spirit. It could not, of course, but be that a man of Green's intellectual acumen should be struck with the leading inconsistencies in Kant's positions. The vacillation of the great German philosopher in his views, for instance, of 'Object,' and his partial, and therefore misleading account of various mental operations and various elements in cognition are animadverted on; but the strictures on Kant's *Ethical* doctrines are, to our mind, the most cogent and noteworthy of any, and we have never seen the points of difficulty in connection with the Kantian moral system more forcibly or more tersely put than they are in a brief section extending over pp. 154, 155. These points of difficulty are laid down as four in number, and they are practically exhaustive:—(1) the opposition of the idea of the moral law to 'experience;' (2) the doctrine that no *result* of any kind can contribute

to, or detract from, the moral goodness of an act; (3) the dictum that the morally good act must be devoid of any *motive*; (4) the demand that the moral law shall be 'objectively necessary,' and yet the admission that hardly any one conforms to it. This is to go at once to the very heart of the matter, and to expose in a nutshell the whole weakness of the Kantian ethics. We are less pleased with the lectures on Logic. They are less sympathetic and more hypercritical; and not unfrequently, we are afraid, the standpoint of the opponent is not quite correctly apprehended. This applies both to Green's criticism of Mansel and to his criticism of J. S. Mill. We have, further, a suspicion that the Professor, in his logical criticisms, occupies too much the standpoint of 'philosophy,' and of philosophy of the *a priori* kind — in other words, forgets the *analytic* character of logic, and demands of this science what it has no right to pretend to, that it shall be both logic and metaphysic. The Political lectures are very striking, and occupy a considerable portion of the volume—pp. 335-553. They are both an exposition and a criticism, with more of exposition than in the two previous cases, though not with less of criticism. 'They were delivered,' as the editor tells us, 'in 1879-80, following upon the course from which the discussion of Kant's moral theory in this volume is taken. The two courses are directly connected, civil institutions being throughout regarded as the external expression of the moral progress of mankind, and as supplying the material through which the idea of perfection must be realised.' This will indicate to the reader the lecturer's standpoint; and the concluding part of the Editorial Note will give, with sufficient clearness, the scope and limits of the course—'The inquiry into the nature of political obligation forms part of a wider inquiry into the concrete forms of morality in general, "The detail of goodness." The lecturer had intended to complete the course by a consideration of "social virtues" and "moral sentiments"; but this intention was not carried out.'

Outlines of the History of Ethics. By HENRY SIDGWICK. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

This volume, an expansion of the article 'Ethics' in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, appears most opportunely, and supplies a distinct want in our philosophical text-books. Unlike Dr. Martineau's *Types of Ethical Theory*, it is of convenient length, and troubles the reader with no excessive detail. At the same time the criticisms and summaries are given in a fair and distinct manner. Professor Sidgwick has peculiar gifts in the matter of sifting evidence and balancing arguments. These he has put to use here, and has produced a highly reliable manual. The summary which occupies the first twenty five pages of the volume is admirably done, and despite an unavoidable sketchiness, affords a perfect 'bird's-eye view' of the subject. To our mind the best portion of the book is that relating to the English ethical school. Here Mr. Sidgwick is thoroughly at home. His account

of Butler in particular is a masterly piece of succinct statement. On the other hand Mr. Sidgwick appears to have read too much of his own thought into Plato. In a critical monograph this might be no fault, but it is objectionable in what professes to be a history. His view of Plato is, however, the unavoidable consequence of his misapprehension of the aims and ideas of the Sophists. The concluding sketch of Green and the English Hegelian movement is all too brief; but it effectually entices one to seek elsewhere for further information. Indeed it is the merit of the book that it fosters reading, and for this it has evidently been designed. To have accomplished this its aim is guarantee sufficient for its opportuneness, efficiency, and success.

Scientific Theism. By FRANCIS ELLINGWOOD ABBOT, Ph.D. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

The annual meetings of the Concord School of Philosophy form a most interesting and hopeful characteristic of contemporary American thought. Mr. Abbot was one of the lecturers in 1885, and this book is based on what he delivered then. The subject of discussion was the question, 'Is Pantheism the legitimate outcome of modern science?' The peculiar value that attaches to Mr. Abbot's work lies mainly in the fact that he attempts to bring realism and idealism into synthesis. He contends that hitherto philosophy has proceeded upon a mistaken basis. It has been supposed that in the genesis of knowledge ideas, to the exclusion of things external, play the chief part. Science, again, comes with an opposite doctrine. The issue is, Mr. Abbot tells us, between 'Phenomenism aud Noumenism.' The former he holds to be the essence of idealism, and he denounces it thus (p. 72)—'Phenomenism is the historical product of the Kantian "*Apriorismus*"; the Kantian "*Apriorismus*" is the historical product of mediaeval Nominalism; and mediaeval Nominalism is the historical product, by a violent and extravagant reaction explicable as historical polarisation, of the earlier mediaeval Realism, which the Catholic Church had borrowed from Plato and Aristotle, and had rendered intolerable in the Renaissance by abusing it to the service of oppressive and unintelligible dogmas.' This is a fair specimen of Mr. Abbot's style. He displays in one conspicuous respect the same failing as his coadjutors of the Concord school; he is too fond of hard technical phraseology. Perhaps this may have the advantage of engendering thought in the reader who has to translate the matter for himself. But it is unfortunate in so far as it repels the majority, making them believe that philosophy is essentially an esoteric pursuit, having but little relation to the work of the everyday world. Again, notwithstanding his denunciation of the idealists in general, and of Kant and Hegel in particular, he is under great obligations to them, more especially to Hegel. The strength of Mr. Abbot's study is largely the result of the historical criticism that he is able to apply. And for this he is indebted neither to positive science, nor to his own scientific realism,

but to the phenomenalism which he condemns. Hegel has taught him history. With regard to the pious opinion that all idealism is phenomenism, Mr. Abbot must surely have misread Kant, to say nothing of the later idealists. He seems to suppose that Kant's *à priori* elements of experience are of the same nature with Descartes' innate ideas. He thus completely fails to apprehend the issue to which Kant, as distinguished from others, —who, by a comprehensive application of the term, may be called Nominlists—brought philosophy. The question was no longer, as with Descartes, or even Berkeley, one of ideas against things, but of how far the very existence of things for a rational being implies some element beyond matter. In so misinterpreting Kant, Mr. Abbot falls into an error which vitiates his entire after reasoning. He takes us back to the standpoint of Locke, and from that goes on to outflank the Hegelian system; and with the usual result. So far from extricating theism from the idealistic phenomenism, he states this as his own doctrine in the most näive fashion. For he states (p. 128) that 'strictly speaking nothing is intelligible but relations.' If that be so, what becomes of the vaunted realism? Relations must exist between two or more things; and if the relations alone be known, it is plain that the things between which they are still remain unknown 'things-in-themselves.' Mr. Abbot refutes Kant only for the purpose of bringing about an apothesis of the weakest part in Kant's entire philosophy. But, while thus differing from Mr. Abbot's account of idealism, and dissenting from his synthesis of science and philosophy, we willingly render tribute to his originality and force. He sees clearly the nature of the problem which confronts modern philosophy. New questions, mainly occasioned by the advance of physical science, loom large on the metaphysical horizon. God, freedom, and immortality are no longer quaint notions which any pious but stupid theologian can define, they must be placed on a rational and real basis in accordance with the requirements of destructive criticism, and after the fashion determined by new methods. We believe that this can only be accomplished by a rational and absolute idealism, and Mr. Abbot's conclusions serve but to confirm this opinion. 'The immanent and infinite rational constitution of the universe *per se*, verified by experience as far as experience can go, is the one grand and decisive proof that *the infinite intelligibility of the universe contains no possible origin but the infinite intelligence of the universe itself*' (p. 155). Despite the reservation of 'so far ar reason can go,' this is a grand conclusion, and one to which seekers aftes God can offer no objection.

Mr. Abbot's book is thoroughly frank. He does not turn his materials so as to favour this or that system, but freely stating and as freely discussing the mighty problem of human existence, he proceeds to show how he thinks it may be solved. In this respect many writers might take a lesson from him. It matters tlitle to what philosophical sect one adheres, for the same questions must be answered by all. Mr. Abbot shirks no difficulty, and whatever fault one may have to find with his formal views,

it is impossible to deny their breadth and scope. The spirit in which he has thought, no less than the results of his thought, command our admiration. His book is one which all interested in the 'spirit of the age' should study. 'Scientific theism' furnishes a principle of universal import. 'For the idea of God which science is slowly, nay, unconsciously, creating is that of no metaphysical abstraction spun out of the cobwebs of idealistic speculation, but rather that of the immanent, organic, and supremely spiritual Infinite Life, revealing itself visibly in Nature's sublimest product—human nature and the human soul.'—(p. 218).

The Methods of Historical Study: Eight Lectures read in the University of Oxford in Michaelmas Term, 1884, *with the Inaugural Lecture on the Office of the Historical Professor.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, M.A., D.C.L., &c. London: Macmillan & Co. History

A professor, especially one so learned and successful as Dr. Freeman, discoursing of his own ruling ideas and the methods he has adopted in the pursuit of his studies, cannot fail to be instructive. To the student of history and to those meditating its study, lectures such as these are of priceless value. They cannot make up for the want of capacity, but they are so full of hints and suggestions that they can scarcely fail to lead those who use them to make the wisest use of whatever capacity they have, and to turn it to the largest profit; and few, whether students of history or literature, will read them, we imagine, without feeling that they have gained larger and clearer conceptions of the functions of history, and of the relation in which it stands to kindred studies. The first lecture is the one which Professor Freeman delivered on assuming the duties of the Professor of Modern History at Oxford. It is noteworthy for the generous but merited references it contains to Professor Freeman's predecessors in office, and its criticisms of the changes introduced into Oxford during the last thirty years, to many of which, as it is perhaps unnecessary to observe, the author has a decided dislike. To a very large extent, to a much larger extent, some may think, than was requisite, the whole of the lectures are controversial. Following Arnold, Dr. Freeman objects to the division of history into ancient and modern as utterly worthless and unnatural, and argues strongly and successfully for the perfect unity and unbroken continuity of history. Those who examine his lectures for minute rules as to how the study of history should be prosecuted will be disappointed, but at the same time, if they have eyes to see, they will find much which is of immeasurably greater value. Here and there, too, they will meet with a surprise. Not the least surprising will be the opinions Dr. Freeman gives expression to respecting several historical writers whose works have, according to a certain class of critics, been 'superseded.' He has a good word to say for Macaulay and Thirlwall, and even for Mitford; nor does he believe that

Grote has been superseded either by Curtius or Mommsen. The book is packed with the learning and wisdom of a life time, and deserves to be in the hand of every student.

History of the Land Question in the United States. By SHOSUKE SATO, Ph. D., Special Commissioner of the Colonial Department of Japan, &c. Baltimore: N. Murray, 1886. His

This work, which occupies three numbers of the current series of 'The John Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science,' is part of the report its author has prepared for the Japanese government in pursuance of the instructions he received to investigate certain questions of agrarian and economic interest in the United States. As its title imports it is historical. After an introduction of some twenty pages, dealing among other things with the various systems of land tenure in Germany, England, and other countries, Dr. Shosuke Sato traces the history of the formation of the public domain of America down to the Garsden purchase and the purchase of Alaska from Russia in 1867. According to a table he has prepared the public domain has an area of no less than 2,894,235·91 square miles, and has been acquired at a money cost of over 88 million dollars, exclusive of the price paid to the Indians for extinguishing their land titles, and other sums incidental to the various purchases. The remaining chapters deal with the administration of the public domain and the legislation affecting it. The history of the latter is given with considerable minuteness, and is brought down to the passing of the Desert Land Act in 1877. Lands of various descriptions to the extent of over six hundred and forty million acres, exclusive of Alaska, still remain, it would appear, unsold; and in the interest of the nation call for wise, economic and judicious administration. But this Dr. Sato believes to be impossible without a pretty radical reform of the land laws, 'which are much abused by unscrupulous land grabbers.' The right policy for the future is, in Dr. Sato's opinion, summed up in two word, and 'these are Reform and Recovery—reform of legal abuses, and recovery of the public lands from railroad corporations.' Dr. Sato writes clearly and forcibly, and for a foreigner with remarkable accuracy. At the present moment, when the land question is exciting so much interest both in the United States and the United Kingdom, his work will be read with interest. It contains many instructive details, and is in every way deserving of the position the editor of the series in which it appears has given it.

Notes on Historical References to the Scottish Family of Lauder. Compiled by JAMES YOUNG under the direction of ARCHIBALD LAUDER. Paisley: Alex. Gardner, 1886.

The editor of these *Notes* has no need to apologise for the publication of his handsome, if slender volume. The more notes we have of the kind

the better for the study of the history of the country. It is in the family that to a very large extent the real history of a nation transpires, or has at least its beginning and determining forces, and the more light any one can throw upon the social and domestic state of the past the more he contributes to a just and complete appreciation of those great and outstanding events in a nation's life to which the term historic has hitherto been almost exclusively appropriated. The Lauder family, if it cannot claim to have been one of the great ruling families of the country, has at least played an important part in its history. It has given no fewer than five bishops to the Church, and has been connected by marriage with such families as the Campbells, Hays, Homes, Douglasses and Ogilvies, while a very great number bearing the name of Lauder have held important offices. The appendix contains a vast mass of interesting information, much of which will doubtless be of service to the student of history.

Histoire de Marie Stuart. Par M. MIGNET, Membre de l'Institut. Nouvelle Edition. 2 vols. Paris: Perrin.

The new edition of M. Mignet's *Histoire de Marie Stuart* just published would not call for any special notice in the pages of this *Review*, as it is merely a reprint, but we are glad of the opportunity which thus offers of paying a tribute of respect to the eminent writer recently removed from amongst us by the hand of death. Together with his friend M. Thiers, with M. Guizot, M. de Barante, and Messrs. Augustin and Amédeé Thierry, M. Mignet stands foremost on the roll of contemporary French historians. The most popular of his works is the *History of the French Revolution*, but we doubt very much whether the vogue it has obtained will be a lasting one, especially since M. Taine's *Origines de la France Contemporaine* has placed before the public a number of details and incidents till then either imperfectly known or singularly misinterpreted. The *Histoire de Marie Stuart* was published for the first time more than thirty years ago (1851); it then attracted much notice, but chiefly on artistic and literary grounds, for the sharp controversy which has been stirred up around the memory of the unfortunate Queen of Scots in connection with M. Froude's violent attacks was still a matter of the future, and although the guilt of Mary Stuart was generally regarded as satisfactorily established, no one had yet arisen to break a lance on her behalf with the energy displayed later on by M. Wiesener, and the legal acumen exhibited by Mr. Hosack. When we say that M. Mignet takes Buchanan as his guide, accepting implicitly the statements contained in the *Rerum Scoticorum Historia*, we shall have revealed his sympathies. Buchanan and Thuanus are constantly referred to by him ; now we know that for the affairs of Scotland the latter of the historians is satisfied with almost copying the former, never taking the trouble of ascertaining whether his authority is trustworthy. We do not mean to take part either on the one

side or on the other in this curious and interesting discussion ; we merely say that M. Mignet, without acquitting Elizabeth of perfidy and of thirst for vengeance, is of opinion that Mary Stuart really deserved her fate. The work we are now noticing is not the only proof of the attention bestowed by M. Mignet upon the progress of the Reformation in Europe ; he has also written about Calvin, Philip II., and Charles V., and leaves behind him, if we mistake not, an immense collection of other documents which he purposed working into a continuous history. Let us hope that these materials may at some not far distant period be found available for publication.

Memorials of the Life and Letters of Major-General Sir Herbert B. Edwardes, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., D.C.L., etc. By his Wife. 2 Vols. London : Kegan Paul, Trench & Co.

It is almost to be regretted that Lady Edwardes did not see her way to write a 'Life' of her accomplished and distinguished husband. With the materials in her possession such a work was possible, and even if but fairly done, would have obtained more readers and a wider popularity, we imagine, than the two bulky volumes before us are likely to do. The contents of these volumes are somewhat miscellaneous. We have poems, private letters, official dispatches and memoranda, extracts from official and other publications, and addresses. The method adopted in arranging them has involved frequent repetitions, which occasionally induce a feeling of weariness or impatience, but the result of the whole is a clear and vivid impression of a very noble and genuinely Christian life spent in the cause of duty, with a zeal and devotion often unrecognised. Edwardes was not a man to publish his own fame, and fame can scarcely be said to have taken him by the hand. It may be said, indeed, that even recently there has been a tendency, and in fact a direct attempt, to ignore his services, and to assign honours which rightly belong to him to others. Not the least valuable effect of these memorials will be to clear the atmosphere of misunderstandings and misconceptions, and to direct attention to the immense services rendered by Edwardes to the country in India during the Mutiny. Though belonging to an old Welsh family, Edwardes was born in Shropshire, in 1819. He was educated at King's College, London, and intended going to Oxford and studying for the bar, but his guardian opposing him, he applied personally to Sir Richard Jenkins, then a member of the old Court of Directors and a friend of the family, for an Indian appointment. Going out in 1841, on his arrival in India he obtained a lieutenancy in the 1st Bengal Fusileers. His celebrated 'Brahminee Bull Letters' attracted the attention of Henry Lawrence, then Resident in Nepâl, who on his appointment to the Sikh Court at Lahore, prevailed on Sir Henry Hardinge, then the Governor-General, to appoint Edwardes, who in the meantime had been placed on the personal staff of Sir Hugh Gough, one of his assistants. Between Lawrence and Edwardes a warm friendship grew up, which was never

broken—Edwardes being commissioned in later years by the relatives of Sir Henry to write his life. At Lahore there was no lack of work, and before he had been long there Edwardes was sent in command of a Sikh force to make, if possible, an amicable financial settlement of Bunnoo, an Afghan valley west of the Indus, which had long been in arrears of revenue, and for a quarter of a century had resisted all the efforts of Runjeet Singh, 'the Lion of the Punjaub' as he was called, to reduce it to obedience. Edwardes proposed the plan of a regular military reduction; his plan was approved, and with the assistance of his five hundred men and two troops of horse artillery, in the short space of three months he levelled the walls of four hundred fortified villages, built a strong fortress in their stead, and ran a military road through the heart of the valley, by these means entirely subjugating it. While engaged in completing his work here, he was suddenly called away to avenge the death of Lieutenant Anderson and Mr. Agnew, who had been foully murdered at Mooltân. With a small force hastily gathered and the assistance of Bhâwul Khan and General Courtland he won the battle of Kingéree, 'the Waterloo of the Punjaub,' then moved on to Tibbee, joined Lake, fought the battle of Suddoosâm, shut up Moolrâj, the leader of the rebellion, in the strong fortress of Mooltân, and kept him there, until General Whish came up and compelled him to surrender. Edwardes greatest works, however, those by which he will always be remembered, are the treaty he negociated with Dost Mahommed, the Ameer of Afghanistan, and the gallant stand he made in the Punjaub during the Mutiny. The documents which Lady Edwards has here printed leave no doubt whatever as to the part which Edwardes played both in connection with the treaty and in the retention of the Punjaub. Nor do they leave any doubt as to the attitude assumed by Lord (then Mr.) John Lawrence. The latter was opposed to the treaty, and during the Mutiny proposed that Peshâwur and the Trans-Indus should be abandoned and Dost Mahommed invited to take possession of them and hold them as a reward for his neutrality. It was Edwardes' determined opposition to this proposal that drew from Lord Canning the celebrated telegram 'Hold on to Peshâwur to the last.' But for the proofs of this we must refer our readers to Lady Edwardes' volumes. We have hinted at scarcely one tenth part of the interesting contents of these memorials. They contain much that is extremely valuable, and none will read them without feeling that Edwardes was one of those men whom any country has good reason to be proud of, and whose lives are worth writing and reading both for the enlightenment they bring, and for the impulses and incentives they give to noble living.

Speculations from Political Economy. By C. B. CLARKE, F.R.S. London: Macmillan & Co.

The speculations in this pleasantly written volume are of somewhat unequal value. They are all on topics at present under political

discussion, and some of them are deserving, slight as they are, of particular attention. The first, on 'Efficiency of Labour,' goes down to the roots of national prosperity, and is worth volumes of the trash with which the labouring classes have for some years past been dosed by their so-called leaders. One point Mr. Clarke is at pains to bring out is, that every rise in wages gained by the workmen, unless springing from or in conjunction with increased efficiency, will tell against themselves; and the lesson he tries to bring home to them is that the one great object of the workman, both as an individual, a trade, and a class, should be to improve the efficiency of his labour. Prosperity, individual and national, he maintains, depends on this; and the most important practical aid to it, he points out, is piecework. Mr. Clarke is a thorough-going free-trader; he advocates free trade at all our ports, in railways, and in land, and is opposed to government interference in all matters of trade or commerce. The pet scheme of small farms and peasant proprietors he smites hip and thigh, and shows that with the single exception of bird farming, the advantage has hitherto been and always will be with the larger farmer. The least satisfactory of the speculations is that on the ransom of the land. The chapter on reciprocity may be read with profit by Fair-traders.

The Law and Custom of the Constitution. Part I.—Parliament. By Sir WILLIAM ANSON, Bart., D.C.L., etc. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1886.

In the work of which we have here the first instalment, Sir William Anson has undertaken to describe the law and custom of the constitution of the United Kingdom, and to give just so much of their history as is necessary, to show how they have come to be what they are. The task he has imposed upon himself is one of extreme difficulty and is beset with many temptations; but, so far as the present volume goes, the manner in which it has been executed cannot be too highly praised. Referring the student to the classical works of Hallam and Stubbs for the fuller treatment of the history of the constitution and to the admirable work of Mr. Bagehot for an account of its practical working, the author indulges neither in criticism nor speculation, but confines himself in the present volume to the simple purpose of showing what the existing law and practice of Parliament are and of giving such notes on their growth as suffice to put those who desire further information on the subject in the way of obtaining it. These notes it was impossible to dispense with, and though for the most part brief, they form one of the principal features of interest in the volume. The first three chapters are for the most part introductory to the whole work. The first of them is devoted to defining the place of constitutional law in jurisprudence; the second contains a brief sketch of the history of the constitution in which the leading features are clearly set out; and in the third some of its peculiarities are noted. Some of the points brought out in these chapters are very striking, and though passed

over without criticism, afford matter for reflection. To take an instance: the function of the State was at first to enforce custom, but 'to a modern House of Commons,' as Sir William Anson remarks, 'it is almost enough that a practice has prevailed for a long time to create an impression that such a practice must need examination and revision.' In the third chapter, where the contradictions between the theory and the practice of the constitution are referred to, it is pointed out 'that our constitution is a somewhat rambling structure, and that, like a house which many successive tenants have altered just so far as suited their wants at the time of their possession, it bears the marks of many hands. It is convenient rather than symmetrical. A similar observation has been made before, but we do not remember to have seen it made in so effective a way. As already remarked, the present volume deals with the law and custom of Parliament and of the legislative branch of the constitution, the treatment of the executive being reserved for the succeeding volume. Having described how Parliament is brought together, adjourned, prorogued, and dissolved, the author proceeds to deal with the three elements of which a Parliament is composed, the Crown, the Lords, and the Commons. These are treated in the reverse order, the Commons, though not the most ancient, being taken first as the most important and most complete. Here the points considered are, who may be chosen for the House of Commons, who may choose, how they may choose, and what are the special privileges possessed by the House of Commons collectively, or by its members individually. In the chapter devoted to the Lords analogous points are considered. The heading of the next chapter is 'The Process of Legislation.' Here Sir William Anson speaks with the same reservations respecting the absoluteuess of the legislative sovereignty belonging to Parliament as Professor Dicey, and after sketching the history of legislative procedure, proceeds to describe the ordinary procedure of the Houses in respect to Public Bills, Money Bills, and Private Bill Legislation. Next are treated the functions of the Crown in Parliiament, then the conflicts which have arisen between the executive and the legislature; and lastly we have a chapter devoted to the consideration of the legal duties of Parliament as a high court of justice. The fulness and clearness with which all this vast variety of topics is dealt leaves nothing to be desired. The book is one which no student of constitutional history can safely dispense with, and which no constitutional lawyer or student of politics will willingly overlook.

Humanities. By THOMAS SINCLAIR, M.A. London: Trübner & Co. 1886.

Humanitätstudien. Von THOMAS SINCLAIR, M.A. Aus dem Englischen übersetzt von HANS SCHIFFERT MÜLLER. Strassburg: Trübner, 1886.

Mr. Sinclair has a sharply skeptical, perhaps we should say, a sharply cynical, turn of mind, and takes no trouble to hide it. In some respects

he is a true child of Humanism, though here and there one fancies there is evidence in his *Humanities* of a slight absence of that sweetness and light which we have been taught to regard as the crown and perfection of Humanism. Be that as it may, with Mr. Sinclair Humanism is the one thing worth living for. For Hebraism, Judaic Christianity, and 'the monstrosities of Peter and Paul,' he has almost a supreme contempt. 'Because of their too excellent logical faculty the Scottish people,' Mr. Sinclair tell us, 'are the most Judaised section of Christendom, and to them at some periods music itself as an art was an unclean thing.' According to the popular reading of Scottish history this is probably true, but a deeper glance into it than is usually taken will show that in the Scottish nature there is a strong Gentile strain and that the conflict between Humanism and Hebraism has been as intense in Scotland as in most places. But to turn to Mr. Sinclair's essays; their titles are: 'A Latin Tractate,' 'The Origin of the Roman Race,' 'Latin Verses and Latin Pronunciation,' 'The Growth of Languages,' 'Humanism,' 'Letters to England.' The underlying theme of all of them is the superiority of Humanism. Mr. Sinclair is a thoroughly original and thoroughly unconventional thinker, and writes with a caustic and trenchant pen. His essays are exceedingly suggestive. To those who wish to look at men and their affairs from another than the conventional point of view we strongly commend all that Mr. Sinclair has written both here and in his previous volume *Quest*, which we noticed some time ago. At the same time we must not be held as committing ourselves to accept all he has said. To the German translation, which, so far as we have examined it, seems to be well done, Herr Müller has prefixed a graceful preface, in which he gives a brief account of the author, and his own reasons for translating the work.

Industrial and High Art Education in the United States. By I. EDWARDS CLARKE, M.A. Part I.—Drawing in Public Schools. Washington: Government Printing Office, 1885.

This report has been prepared by Mr. I. Edwards Clarke in response to a call by the Senate of the United States for all the information in the possession of the Department of the Interior relative to the development of instruction in Drawing as applied to the industrial or fine arts, as given in public educational institutions of the country, with special reference to the utility of such instruction in promoting the arts and industries of the people. It is a somewhat bulky compilation. We have here only the first part, but it extends to slightly over eleven hundred pages. The value of its contents, however, is unquestionable. They are exceedingly miscellaneous, but no one who is interested in the highly important subject with which they deal will wish that the report were shorter, or that the appendices were less numerous or less varied in their character. To say that the report is exhaustive is, to give but a very inadequate idea of its fulness,

while to attempt to give anything like an idea of the vast variety of information which the appendix contain is here impossible. Information has been sought and obtained in all quarters, not only in America, but also in Great Britain and in the countries of Europe. Not the least interesting, if not the most valuable, part of the volume is a series of fourteen papers by the author of the report dealing with the direct and indirect relations of Art to education, industry, and national prosperity. They are written with knowledge and judgment. Three points are distinctly brought out; that instruction in industrial art ought to find a place in any system of national education, that the nation which turns its attention most persistently and with wisdom to the cultivation of this branch of art is destined in the long run to take the lead in manufactures and commerce; and lastly that during recent years, more especially since the Centennial Exhibition, the cultivation both of the fine arts and of industrial has undergone an almost marvellous change. The report we should add is not only for the educationist; it deserves to be read and studied by merchants and manufacturers, and not less by those who take an interest in art.

From Schola to Cathedral: a Study of Early Christian Architecture and its Relation to the Life of the Church. By G. BALDWIN BROWN, M.A., &c. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1886.

Among the many subjects of controversy in connection with Christian art, none is of more importance than the one Professor Baldwin Brown here undertakes to deal with. Up till quite lately the universal opinion was that the forms of the Christian Church were derived from the Pagan basilica. Writing in 1690 Ciampini, in his *Vetera Monimenta*, says: 'After the pattern of the ancient basilicas many sacred buildings were erected by the Christians, and retain to this day the name of basilicas. Many also of these old basilicas were turned to sacred uses, and dedicated to divine service.' The same view has been expressed in such recent works as the new edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and the *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, and in neither of them is there any hint that it has ever been seriously called in question. Yet since Zestermann attacked it in 1847 a somewhat voluminous controversy has been going on, chiefly in Germany, as to what the real origin or origins of the Christian meeting-house was. By one writer or another it has been found in the classical temple, the Jewish temple, the synagogue, the crypt and memorial cella of the cemetries, in the private hall, and even in the atrium, alæ and tablinum of the Roman house. Professor Brown, adopting the same theory as Dr. Lange of Halle, though unable to agree with him in his attempt to rehabilitate the old theory of the acquisition of the Pagan basilicas by the Christians in the age of Constantine, finds the beginnings of Christian architecture in the Pagan scholæ, the lodges, halls, or buildings in which the funeral and other similar societies of ancient Rome were in

the habit of holding their meetings. In the discussion of the problem Professor Brown enters largely into the position of the Christian Church under the Roman emperors of the first three centuries, and brings out many interesting details both in connection with Christian and with Pagan life. In the second chapter he draws largely on the literature of the period, and attempts, not without success, to convey an idea of the various buildings, scholæ, private halls, cemetery chapels and subterranean chambers, in which the members of the early Church were wont to assemble for united worship. The third chapter deals with the basilican form, its use among the Romans and the Jews, its adoption by the Christians and its decoration. This last leads up to some extremely interesting but all too brief paragraphs on 'Early Christian Art.' The origin of the terminal apse, and its importance in Christian places of worship, also come in for discussion, and are dealt with cautiously and in the same spirit of impartiality that characterises the rest of the work. Briefly summing up the results of his argument towards the close of this chapter Prof. Brown remarks: 'The Christians met first in private halls, and when they erected buildings for themselves, these took the form of unpretending lodge-rooms or *scholæ;* they also assembled on occasions in or before the *cellæ* of the cemeteries. At the end of the third and in the fourth century larger buildings were needed, and side aisles were added to the simple halls, which were now lighted in the basilican fashion. Partly as a reminiscence of the *exedræ* of the cemeteries, but chiefly as a natural consequence of the use to which these buildings were put, they received universally an imposing apsidal termination, which gave them a marked architectural character. Accordingly there is produced from a union of all these elements THE CHURCH OF THE FOURTH CENTURY, with its fore-court and fountain reminiscent of the private house, its oblong plan and tribunal or seat for the president, derived from the primitive *schola*, its apse and *confessio* recalling the *cella* of the cemetries; but in its size and grandeur, its interior colonnades, its roof and its system of lighting, a copy of the pagan basilica of the Roman cities.' The fourth chapter deals with 'The Domed Church and Byzantine Art,' while the fifth and last is devoted to the 'Development of Christian Architecture in the West.' We have said sufficient, however, to show that the work is fraught with intense interest, and is destined to exercise an important influence. Some of the illustrations are wrongly numbered, but in every other respect Mr. Brown's pages are admirable.

M. ROUAM'S ART PUBLICATIONS.

Les Styles. 700 gravures classées par époques. Notices par PAUL ROUAIX. Paris: J. Rouam; London: Gilbert Wood, & Co.

Eugène Delacroix devant ses contemporains: ses écrits, ses Biographes, ses critiques. Par MAURICE TOURNEUX. (Bibliothèque Internationale de l' Art), 1886.

Phidias. Par MAXIME COLLIGNON. 45 gravures. (Les Artistes Célèbres), 1886.

Fra Bartolommeo della Porta et Mariotto Albertinelli. Par GUSTAVE GRUYER. 21 graveurs. (Les Artistes Célèbres). 1886.

Dictionnaire des Émailleurs depuis le Moyen-âge jusqu'a la fin du XVIIIe Siècle. Par EMILE MOLINIER. 1885.

Dictionnaire des Marques et Monogrammes de Graveurs. Par G. DUPLESSIS et H. BOUCHOT. A-F & G-O, 2 vols. 1886.

Dictionnaire des Fondeurs, Ciseleurs, Modeleurs en Bronze et Doreurs depuis le Moyen-âge jusqu' à l' époque actuelle. Par A. DE CHAMPEAUX, A-C, 1886.

Les Emblèmes D'Alciat. Par GEORGES DUPLESSIS.

The excellence, both literary and artistic, which has hitherto invariably characterized M. Rouam's art publications, is gradually winning for them a considerable circulation in England. At the present moment it would appear that they have obtained a circulation sufficiently wide to warrant the establishment of an agency for them in London. Whether the statement with which M. Ernest Chesneau opens his work on the education of the Artist, that throughout Europe art is in its decadence be true or not, the fact we have just noticed would seem to corroborate the exception he subsequently makes in favour of England. That art is making its way among us, there can be no manner of doubt. Better tastes prevail and it is becoming rare to find any one who can boast of anything like a liberal education, who does not take a more or less lively, if not enlightened, interest in all manner of art. The volume we have placed first on our list is one which is calculated to meet the wants of many, more especially of those who wish to become acquainted with the leading features of the various styles of art and the history of its development in France. It is a sumptuous folio volume in which most of the various styles of art are more or less fully illustrated. The illustrations are arranged according to epochs beginning with the art of ancient Egypt and coming down to French art under the Empire. Singularly enough the art of Assyria is unrepresented. Greece is scarcely so well represented as it deserves to be, though the Greco-Roman and Byzantine styles are ably and abundantly illustrated. The representatives of the Gothic style are well chosen, though here probably greater variety may be desired. But it is to French art from the time of Louis XII. that attention has specially been directed. In illustrations of this the volume is exceedingly rich. A final chapter contains a number of illustrations from Oriental art including Chinese and

Japanese as well as Arabian. M. P. Rouaix's notices have the merit of being clear and precise, and quite sufficient to mark off the characteristics of the different epochs. At the end of the volume a glossary of art terms is given. M. Tourneux's volume is one of those works which involve an immense amount of labour and are exceedingly useful to the student and the amateur. After a chapter devoted to Delacroix and his critics in which the attitude of the latter towards the master is fairly sketched, M. Tourneux proceeds to give what may be called a complete bibliography of Delacroix's writings and works and of the articles and works which were written about him. Many, in fact most, of M. Tourneux's articles are followed by notes, which to say the least are both informing and interesting. By admirers of the great Frenchman, the volume will be highly esteemed. The two volumes which follow next in our list belong to M. Rouam's excellent series of 'Celebrated Artists.' To write the history of the legend of Phidias is, M. Collignon well remarks, much easier than to write the history of his life. Brilliant as his prestige is, many of the facts of his life are involved in the greatest obscurity. Ottfried Müller, Beulé, MM. de Ronchaud, Michaelis and Petersen, among others, have contributed greatly to a better understanding of the great Athenian sculptor's biography and to the identification of his works; and relying on these, though not entirely, M. Collignon has written an account of Phidias and his work which will undoubtedly commend itself to its readers both on account of its narrative, and because of the light it throws on the condition Greek art at the period with which it deals. With Fra Bartolommeo, the ardent disciple of Savonarola and the friend of Raphael, whose works were executed for the most part under the shadow of the cloisters erected by Michelozzo Michelozzi, and who next to Fra Angelica was distinguished for his gentleness and austerity, M. Gruyer has united Mariotto Albertinelli, who for three years, from 1509 to 1512, was with the consent of the Superior of St. Mark associated with him, notwithstanding the divergent nature of their sentiments, in his work. Fra Bartolommeo is the principal subject of the volume. Albertinelli is only dealt with only as the collaborateur of Bartolommeo. Like the other volumes of the 'Celebrated Artists,' both these are profusely illustrated. The next four volumes on our list are, we believe, the only volumes which have yet appeared of M. Rouam's *Guides du Collectionneur.* If the following volumes are their equals in excellence, the series cannot fail of success. Handier and more useful volumes of the kind we have not seen, and small as they are their compilation must have involved a vast amount of labour and research. In the first M. Molinier gives an alphabetical list of the workers in enamel from the middle ages down to the end of the last century, noting in most instances their country, date and place of birth, principal works, place of work, school, and signatures or signs. The length of the articles is proportioned to the artist's celebrity. Many of them do not exceed a few lines, while to

a few, such as the Limosins, several pages are devoted. Each article is a model of clear and condensed statement. In the avant-propos M. Molinier gives an admirably lucid, and, though brief, comparatively full sketch of the history of enamelling and of the various ways in which the art is applied. At the end of the volume we have an excellent bibliography both general and special, and a list of the principal European collections. M. M. Dupplessis and Bouchot, while not undertaking to give a complete list of the marks and monograms of all the engravers, intend to select for representation those of the principal artist. Here and there in the two parts before us exception may be taken to a name as not that of one of the great masters, but as the authors explain in their introduction, such names have been selected either because their owners have produced one or more pieces of work that deserve to be remembered or for some other equally good reason. The method of classification adopted is that for the most part of Brulliot and Nagler; the marks and monograms have been executed with care; and the notices of the engravers are all that can be expected in a work of the kind. M. Champeaux's work is executed with skill, and will prove invaluable. In almost every case he gives at the end of his articles the authorities to be consulted for further information; the number of those which has consulted himself must, we should say, have been immense. Handier or more useful books than these *Guides* promise to be, we have not seen. M. Duplessis has here compiled a list of all the known editions of that once famous but now little known book, Andrea Alciati's *Book of Emblems*. The number of editions registered is a hundred and twenty-six. For his knowledge of several of them, M. Duplessis has been indebted to Mr. Green, to the value of whose biographical and bibliographical study of Alciati he pays a handsome tribute. Here and there M. Duplessis has added a valuable note respecting some of the more remarkable editions. Prefixed to the work is a preface of some interest. Attention is called to the signs and monograms of the engravers, and facsimiles of several of the quaint old title pages are given.

The Revised Psalter: Psalms and Other Portions of the Revised Version of the Holy Scriptures selected for Musical Rendering. By Rev. A. MACLAREN, D.D., and J. A. MACFADYEN, D.D. Revised for Chanting and set to Music by Rev. W. RIGBY MURRAY. London: Simpkin, Marshall & Co.

This book is intended for use in Non-conformist churches, and the selection of Psalms and other passages of Scripture seems to have been judiciously made. The musical editor has also bestowed great care on his portion of the work. The selection of chants has on the whole been well made. We are afraid, however, that the arrangement adopted in the printing of the work may sometimes lead to confusion. 'The arrangement of the lines and verses as in the Revised Version' has been followed. This may 'assist

the eye and mind of the reader,' but where the arrangement of the printing conflicts with it, it is not likely to assist the singer. As a general rule each line of the psalm corresponds to a member of the chant ; but occasionally two lines of the verse are given to one strain, and in other cases the line is broken up and given to two phrases of the music. This is apt to be confusing. Mr. Murray rightly lays down the principle that the words set to the reciting note 'should be recited at the same pace, and in the same way precisely as they would be in intelligent reading ;' but he contravenes his own rule by introducing an accent, and saying that the accented syllable should be held a trifle longer, while he admits that the syllable so marked is not that which would be accented in good reading. If chanting be musical reading, why call an unnatural halt on some syllable on which emphasis should not be laid. The accent we believe to be a purely imaginary necessity, and we are sorry Mr. Murray had not the courage to discard it altogether, and adhere consistently to his principle that 'the words should be recited in the same way precisely as they would be in intelligent reading.'

The English Illustrated Magazine, 1885-86. London : Macmillan & Co., 1886. Periodicals

Among the longer papers of this volume, those entitled 'London Commons,' 'Days with Sir Roger de Coverley,' 'Through the Côtes du Nord,' 'A Month in Sicily,' and 'In Umbria,' deserve special mention. 'Fashions in Hair' is a series of interesting studies. Mr. Stainland has a number of admirably illustrated papers on 'Lifeboats and Lifeboat Men.' There is a charming paper on 'Charles Kingsley,' and another on 'Charles Lamb in Hertfordshire.' Mr. Syme contributes an excellent paper on Sir Thomas More, and Mr. Laing Meason tells the story of a somewhat perilous adventure in Afghanistan. Some of the page engravings are excellent, particularly the studies of heads, and one or two interiors. The volume is full of varied and interesting matter, and as an illustrated sixpenny the excellence and profuseness of its illustrations make it the most tempting of the monthlies.

The Church and the Franchise (Nisbet & Co.) is an attempt by Mr. Lamb of the Inner Temple to bring home to his readers the responsibility involved in the possession of the Franchise, and to point out the causes of the present disorders in the Church of England. Mr. Lamb's opinions are well and clearly put, and deserve careful consideration.

In Doctor Shedd's *The Doctrine of Endless Punishment* (Nisbet & Co.) we have the doctrine respecting the fate of the wicked treated from the orthodox point of view. The last of the three chapters of which it consists, and which bear the titles 'The History of the Doctrine,' 'The Biblical Argument,' 'The Rational Argument,' were originally printed in the *North American Review*. The other two, or the new chapters, are welcome additions. Dr. Shedd writes calmly and with a profound conviction of the

truth of the doctrine he maintains. He illustrates it with skill and, as we need hardly say, with considerable learning. Altogether, his work is a valuable contribution to an old and well-worn controversy.

After thirty-six years Mr. J. J. Garth Wilkinson has issued a second edition of his biographical sketch entitled *Emanuel Swedenborg* (J. Speirs). The preface to this edition contains brief notices of the principal biographies of Swedenborg which have appeared since Mr. Wilkinson's was first published, notably of the critical and candid work of Mr. William White. Mr. Wilkinson is not a blind follower of Swedenborg, and writes with discrimination and force. His work is handy in size and condensed. Those who wish to understand Swedenborg and his doctrine cannot do better than read it along with the larger work by Mr. White.—From the same publishers we have *The Issues of Modern Thought*, a series of eight lectures by the Rev. R. L. Tafel, A.M., Ph. D., dealing with such topics as What is Truth, Revelation, Faith and Reason, Correspondence and Evolution, Modern Theosophists and their teaching. Mr. Tafel writes with great clearness, and his lectures, though here and there marred by phrases which strike the ordinary reader as curious and technical, are extremely suggestive, and well worth reading because of the new light they throw upon the various topics with which they deal, and the new aspects in which they present them.

In *Christ our Life* (Nisbet & Co.), the Rev. F. Whitfield gives a number of readings or short services and quiet meditations which will be found extremely useful both for private reading and as substitutes for sermons or addresses in cottage meetings.

The same may also be said of the Rev. Andrew Murray's little book from the same publishers entitled *With Christ in the School of Prayer*, in which in thirty-one 'lessons' he deals simply and effectively with the art and doctrine of prayer in their various aspects.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

L'Art (July 1st and 15th).—In the conclusion of his article on Meindert Hobbema M. Emile Michel draws a parallel between Hobbema and the great master of Dutch landscape, Ruisdael, in whom he finds a fecundity, a force of sentiment, a poetical elevation to which his contemporary is foreign. From this he proceeds to a critical examination of some of Hobbema's best productions, amongst others of 'The Windmill' which he considers his master-piece. The second paper is by M. Paul Lafond, and gives a slight historical sketch and a minute description of the chapel attached to the 'Hospital Saint-Blaise,' a

building erected about the second half of the 11th century for the accommodation of pilgrims to the shrine of Compostella.—The remainder of the number is devoted to the 'Salon'.—An excellent etching by M. Edmond Ramus of M. Beraud's portrait of the elder Coquelin accompanies this number.—It is announced that *L'Art* and the whole of the publications of the French Library of Art will in future be published simultaneously in Paris, and 175 Strand, London.—In the second of this month's numbers there is, besides the excellent and splendidly illustrated 'Salon de 1886,' but one article. It bears the title, 'A Preaching Musician' (Un Musician Prêcheur). Did we not see the signature of M. Adolphe Jullien, we should feel inclined to attribute it to Mrs. Weldon, whose bitterness against Gounod scarcely surpasses that displayed in these ill-natured pages.

L'ART (August 1st and 15th).—The Rjjks Museum recently opened in Amsterdam is described by M. Emile Michel, who is obliged to allow that the severe criticism of which, from all sides, it has already been the object, is only too well deserved.—Together with a few notes on Horace Regnault, the young artist whose career was brought to a premature close by German bullets, M. P. Burty communicates some letters, chiefly bearing on the paintings 'Salomé' and 'Prim.' One of these interesting documents closes with a characteristic postscript which is well worthy of being quoted; it was written during the first period of the war: 'Si "Dios quiere" et si nos armées sont victorieuses je vous enverrai mes petits tableaux. Si nous sommes vaincus, je lâche peinture et je m'engage pour manger quelques Prussiens.'—After the addition to the 'lettres d' Artistes et d' Amateurs' of four of Paul Huet's letters, the number closes with a few pages by M. Gruyer on Fra Bartolommeo's sketches.—The number published on the 15th has three pages in conclusion of M. Michel's description of the Rijks Museum of Amsterdam. The remainder is devoted to the concluding notice of the 'Salon.' Besides a great amount of information concerning not only the exhibits but also the exhibitors, it relates a little incident with regard to M. Ringel and the Academy which is a fit 'companion' to the blunder of which M. Robin was the victim, if indeed it was he who was the victim.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No.3. 1886).—There are three articles in this number, all of them by men of note, and each of them full of interest. The first is by Professor Albert Réville, and is on the Emperor Julian. Noting the diversity of opinion expressed by historians and critics as to the character of Julian, he proposes here to reproduce the principal facts of his life and features of his policy, and then seek to determine from these what Julian really was. In the portion of his essay contained in this number, Professor Réville gives a succinct but full resumé of Julian's early life and his conduct of the Gallic campaign up to his assumption of the purple, and the death of Constantine, which followed so shortly and opportunely after it. The second article is by M. Hartwig Derenbourg on 'the Science of Religions and Islamism.' It was the opening lecture of the course begun by him in his capacity as Lecturer on Islamism and the Religions of Arabia in L'Ecole des Hautes Etudes. A new 'section' or 'faculty,' as we should call it, has this year been added by the enlightened liberality of the French Government to those already existing in connection with that Institution—the 'Section des Sciences Religieuses. It consists of ten different lectureships, or chairs. M. H. Derenbourg was appointed to that on Islam and the Religions of Arabia, and here he discusses in his opening lecture (1.) What the Science of Religion is, and what its methods of investigation are; (2.) Islamism itself, the mission of its prophet, and the authenticity and authority of the Koran; and (3.) its theology, its morality, and the secret of its success up to the present day. He dwells, in conclusion, on the benefits to be derived, by those especially who are to occupy offices under Government in Mussulman countries, from a minute acquaintance with the Koran, which forms the basis of a Mussulman's education, and whose language and teaching colour all his thoughts and are ever being reflected in his conversation. The third paper is by Professor Kuenen on the work of Ezra. It is a reply to M. J. Halévy's critical strictures on note IX. of Kuenen's Hibbert Lectures, which appeared in the pages of the *Revue de l'histoire des Religions*,

last September. In his article M. Halévy had characterized the Dutch theologian's note (note IX.) as *un plaidoyer magnifique, plein de distinctions et de pénombre, mais qui a l'inconvénient de passer tojours à côte de la question véritable.* This, and some personalities in the course of the paper, seem to have stung Professor Kuenen, but time having softened their effect upon him, he here supplies the arguments which M. Halévy charged him with not furnishing to support his position as to Ezra's rôle in connection with the Sacerdotal Law, and demolishes, somewhat unmercifully, those which M. Halévy advanced in support of his.

Revue Philosophique (July).—In a work published last year and noticed by us at the time, Professor Stricker of Vienna endeavoured to establish a new theory with regard to 'Language and interior sounds,' He maintains that the representations which we have of language, and of singing depend upon certain impulsions which we communicate to our muscles and by means of which we articulate the words, or sing the melodies which we have in our mind. In the lengthy article now before us, he defends this view against two opponents, M. Paulham and Herr Stumpf. The former of these contends that we may represent words to ourselves as purely auditive or visual images, whilst the latter asserts that we may have in our mind the representation of sounds which proceed neither from auditive, nor visual, nor motor images.—A short but very suggestive paper by M. Ch. Féré, deals with impotence and pessimism. Individual and collective happiness—such are the writer's conclusions—may be summed up in the accumulation of power. Progressive evolution tends to multiply the production or, more exactly, to increase the development of power to the profit of mankind. This progressive development has for its result the augmentation of the general good and the levelling of social conditions. Every individual or collective tendency towards this accumulation, constitutes a virtue, every tendency towards destruction constitutes a vice. Now, if every accumulation of power constitutes happiness, and, if every loss of it produces unhappiness, it follows that happiness and virtue, vice and unhappiness are indissolubly united. To complain of everything would therefore seem to be an acknowledgment that we are fit for nothing; indeed, this is practically what the only true pessimists, suicides, assert. Pessimism is the characteristic of the impotent of every kind, like crime and madness, it is a decay of psychic evolution.—The first instalment of M. Guardia's 'Philosophes Espagnols' is a valuable contribution to the history of Philosophy. It deals with Doña Oliva Sabuco. This very able sketch of the works of a woman who, in Spain and nearly three hundred years ago was bold enough to approach philosophy, medicine, politics and the reformation of abuses, and to dedicate her book to Philip II. himself, is the more acceptable, that, although Oliva Sabuco has had panegyrists, particularly, of course, amongst her own countrymen, her philosophy has never yet been subjected to a critical analysis, such as M. Guardia has here undertaken.—The 'Revue générale' which is now a special feature of this periodical, treats of recent studies on social science. There are also a number of analyses of recent philosophical works, amongst others of Wundt's 'Essays.'

Revue Philosophique (August).—M. Joly opens this number with a paper on 'Sensibility and Movement.' In his introduction he explains that by 'sensibility' he understands 'the pleasure or the pain of which a living being is conscious when it re-acts against external excitation by modifications proper to itself.' From this he goes on to argue at great length that it is not correct to lay it down as an absolute law that pleasure developes movement and that pain corrects it.—Amongst those who have made the phenomena of hypnotism their speciality considerable discussion has of late arisen owing to the very marked differences in the results obtained at the Salpêtrière and at Nancy. M. Charcot's subjects pass through three distinct phases, lethargy, catalepsy and somnambulism, whilst those experimented upon by M. Beaunis show no sign of these three stages. Professor Delbœuf here comes forward with a number of experiments to show that this apparent contradiction is merely a matter of education and imitation, and due to the special training through which the two schools of experimenters unconsciously put their subjects.—M. Noël contributes an article in which he examines into the psychological conditions of the concep-

tion of number. The question is not new, neither is the solution which he gives of it absolutely original. In one respect, however, he differs from preceding euquirers. He lays special stress on the connexion between the idea of space and that of number. Indeed, the immediate object of his paper is to show that this connexion is essential, and that the conception of number is inseparable from the conception of space.—Amongst the various notices which complete the number there is a very full analysis of Seth's 'Scottish Philosophy.'

Revue Philosophique (September).—In continuation of his study on 'Sensibility and Movement,' M. Joly passes on to the consideration of the principal sensible cause of motion: need (besoin).—A second instalment concludes M. Guardia's essay on Oliva Sabuco.—The only complete article in this number is one which M. Tannery devotes to 'Anaxagoras's Theory of Matter.'

Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse (July).—Notwithstanding all that has been recently written and spoken regarding bimetalism in this country, M. Henri Hentsch's contribution to the controversy may be recommended as well worthy of consideration. It is temperate, lucid, and striking. He gives a strong series of arguments to support his conclusion that there is no reasonable ground for the alarm felt in consequence of the abundance of silver, and that, on calm consideration of the matter, we need not be uneasy for the future. A gold standard he believes to be not yet practicable and contends that bimetalism, in spite of its drawbacks, is so indispensable that, if it did not exist, it would have to be invented. In a wise regulation and expansion of the system he sees a solution of difficulties which he holds to be more imaginary than real.—M. Paul Stapfer continues his exhaustive review of the work and genius of Victor Hugo and Mme. Hélène Menta's interesting novelette 'Hortense,' is brought to a satisfactory conclusion.—The first instalment of an exceedingly pleasant sketch, 'Souvenirs d'Artiste' by the well-known French artist Leleux, is prefaced with a sympathetic biographical note by M. Ed. Tallichet.—In a concluding paper on the question of 'Imperial Federation,' M. Léo Quesnel discusses at some length M. Froude's opinions as expressed in 'Oceana,' which have been abundantly reviewed in our own press.—Perhaps the most attractive contribution to the number is the final instalment of M. Auguste Glardon's charming biographical study 'Louis Agassiz.'

Bibliothéque Universelle et Revue Suisse (August).—In 'L'Histoire de la Philosophie,' M. Ernest Naville traces in a very readable and compact sketch the various efforts of mankind, in Europe, to work out some reasonable theory of the existence of the universe. In the present instalment he reaches the sixteenth century.—A new novel 'Le terne fatal,' by M. Honoré Méren opens effectively in Florence, and gives a striking account of the Italian lottery system.—'Les Origines Russes,' by M. Louis Léger, carries us back to the early days when a Slav tribe had settled as the successors of a Finnish people on the shores of lake Thnen and the banks of the Volga and established the basis of Russian nationality.—The concluding instalment of M. Stapfer's elaborate study of Victor Hugo is mainly devoted to the great reform in poetic language and the method of versification, which he effected.—M. Armand Leleux's attractive 'Souvenirs d'Artiste,' is also brought to a close.

Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse (September).—It is a little surprising to find in a Swiss periodical what we do not remember to have met with in our own magazines, an admirable account of Australian literature. Marcus Clarke's powerful novel 'The Natural Life' is almost the only work of fiction that may be described as well-known in this country, and the Australian poets are not even familiar to us by name. After all it is not difficult to account for this state of matters, but it is a little curious that foreigners should seem to be more interested in our colonial literature than ourselves.—M. Emile Julliard describes Constantinople and life amongst the Turks, a subject with which most Englishmen are fairly well acquainted.—M. Naville finishes his masterly sketch of the History of Philosophy; and M. Méreu's story 'Le terne

fatal' rapidly develops in interest.—'Quatre Jours' a narrative of a Russian volunteer left helpless for four days on the battle field, is a remarkable piece of realistic work by M. Garshine.—An estimate of the character and abilities of General Boulanger will be read with interest as coming from a correspondent who, though nameless, is, we are assured by the *Editor*, in a position to form a trustworthy opinion. According to the writer, Boulanger possesses little of the qualities of a great statesman, but with all his defects, he is far above the average of French generals and even French ministers, and appears to be marked out for a high destiny.

La Rassegna Nazionale (August 1st).—Continuing his article on 'the two Empresses,' Signor Brunialti describes the married life of Queen Victoria, quoting largely from Her Majesty's Journal. He describes the political reforms, etc., that have taken place during her reign, and concludes his article as follows: 'we have here all that is comparable in the two very different pictures; Catherine Queen of a vast territory consisting generally of level plains; Victoria mistress of a hilly island, of which twenty times the extent could be comprised within the bounds of European Russia; Catherine mistress of a people of mild and yielding temperament, almost without initiative and bowed down by centuries of servitude; Victoria reigning over a relatively compact population, full of energy and good sense, active and persevering, dutiful to law and proud of its ancient liberties. The one conducts alone the affairs of state, traces the designs of reform, and expresses an entirely personal opinion; the other scarcely shows herself, leaves an almost absolute liberty of action to her ministers, and scarcely comprehends (?) the value of the legislative and economical innovations that are carried out. The one casts off all sense of morality, and surrounds herself with favourites, to whom she allows comparative liberty of action, but nevertheless always subject to her imperious will; the other is a model wife and mother, and treats like a queen the ministers whom the will of her people, expressed by Parliament, places at her side. In Catherine we find all faculties rooted in the intellect, in Victoria they come from the heart. In the one all sacred family affection is silent, religion is an instrument of government, her country is the plaything of her ambition, and her elevated sentiments are either pretence or disguise; in the other an affection for her husband is paramount, so that she lives in his life for twenty years, and another twenty in his memory. Catherine stamped an indelible trace in history; Victoria will leave little but her name to the period of English history which shows the greatest general progress. To those who only value the great events of history, and lay weight on the results of an epoch, without regarding distant consequences, one of these two queens will appear as great as the other mediocre. The greatest figures in Catherine's reign, Potemkin, Poniatowscki, Soltikoff, the three Orloffs, Pannie, Ostermann, are all far below that of the Empress; while Queen Victoria is far from rising above Wellington, Pitt, Palmerston, Canning, Beaconsfield, or Gladstone. But when one considers the causes that led to such different events, and values all the consequences; when one inquires what Russia was at the death of Catherine, and what England was after forty years of Victoria's reign, then indeed one must acknowledge that there is something greater than grandeur, more glorious than glory; that there is an ambition superior to all others, that namely, of modestly contributing to the felicity and glory of a great people, without neglecting one single personal duty, the very different nature of the two peoples, the contrast of their histories, their different treatment by nature, all this does not suffice to explain the still greater difference of the results to which they have arrived: in these results the reigning sovereigns had a part, and that part was most useful when most modest, when it respected the laws of nature, and paid homage to the moral sentiment. In the family circle, in the tranquil quietude of Windsor and Balmoral, surrounded by husband and children, Victoria experienced joys and affections denied to Catherine even in the culmination of her glory, in the triumph of Pruth, and the spectacle of the Crimea. The joys of the heart are more elevated, purer, holier than those of the intellect, and are rarely refused to any. We are mistaken when we think that only those are to be praised, who earn the applause of the crowd and leave an impress on history;

the gospel says just the contrary: 'Blessed are the humble, and the poor in spirit for theirs is the kingdom of heaven,' and sometimes also that of earth. It is told that when Catherine of Russia died, a prolonged gloomy sound was heard in her room, almost as if the spirit of evil that had gained her soul was waiting to take possession of it. The memory of Victoria will endure amid the blessings of all who lived under her rule. because her eccentricities will be soon forgotten, but the virtue of her domestic example, the justice with which she ruled, and the benefit of the great reforms of her reign will be ever remembered.'—(August 16th.).—In concluding his paper on the Bulgarian Crisis, Mr. Grabinski prophecies that some day, which will perhaps arrive sooner than many persons think, the Turkish Empire will fall like a worm-eaten edifice, crushed by the insults of mankind. Then the struggle between Slavs and Greeks will be rekindled more violently than ever, and it is probable that the Greeks will be worsted, for the future belongs to the young and vigorous nations, and the Slavs, rid of the Turkish yoke, will show an energy worthy of a great future, while the Greek race, far from re-realizing the glorious traditions of Athens and Sparta, will only imitate the fatal negligence of the Byzantine Empire.—P. Magistretti commences a very interesting paper on 'Rays of light in the Divine Comedy,' examining the manner in which Dante treats of light in all its aspects, and comparing his treatment with that of other poets.—Then come some fragments of A. Rosmini on the Philosophy of Law.

La Rassegna Nazionale (Sept. 1st.)—J. Isola continues his criticisms of Comte's Positivism.—U. Ugolino closes his description of the Congo and its commerce.—E. A. Fonerto describes some recent publications on Count Cavour.—G. B. Salvioni writes on rural co-öperation in Venetia, describing its progress, and prognosticating the great good it will do. The following figures will give some idea of its extent. At the end of 1885 there existed Loan Societies in eleven communes, consisting of 778 members, and loans were advanced to the amount of £5,120.—A. Morena contributes more chapters on Economical Reform in Tuscany.—The political review, speaking of England, says that it is very probable that her disturbed internal condition contributed to urging Russia to the *coup d' état* in Bulgaria.

La Civilta Cattolica (August 7).—The leading article on Hypnotism continues to them what it is and has been, and promises to prove that its phenomena have not a simply natural character, but that they often hint at some occult and malefic cause.—The contemporary chronicle, speaking of Lord Halifax's speech on Church union, says that men who think and speak in such a way are not far from the Kingdom of God.—(August 27).—The first place is occupied by an article against the idea that the one thing necessary for Italy is the possession of Rome.—The chapters on Hypnotism are continued.

La Civilta Cattolica (September 4) contains more on Hypnotism, and a first article on the difference in conventions between Church and State, and those between nation and nation.—(September 18).—The second article on the one thing necessary for Italy, declares it to be the restoration of the Pope's liberty, and the abandonment of keeping possession of Rome, with or without the Pope.—The chapter on Hypnotism proves from the report of various physicians that the practice is prejudicial to health.

La Nuova Antologia (August 16th.)—E. Pauzacchi contributes a short monograph on Franz Liszt.—G. Piergili commences a paper on 'The Blue Leaf' and the first Roman cists. The 'Blue Leaf' was the surname of the *Conciliatore*, a journal issued in Milan in 1818, which was much persecuted by the police on account of its liberal tendencies.—Alete Cionini publishes some interesting autographs of members of the House of Savoy which are kept in the Civic Museum at Turin. There are two, one of the late King of Italy, and one by the present Queen, which are not without interest. The first has no date, but, being addressed to the Marquis d' Azeglio, when president of the ministry, must have been written between 1849 and 1852. It has no historic or

political value, but serves to show the late King's simple and sincere character. It runs, 'Dear Massimo, Having returned from Pollenza (a royal villa in the province of Cuned) to-day, I advise you of my arrival at Moncalieri. If some minister has a report to present, please let him come to-morrow morning from nine to ten, or from half-past twelve to half-past one. If you have anything urgent to tell me, let me know by the bearer this evening. *Ciao*, dear Massimo, your affectionate, Victor Emanuel.' The second is a few lines from Queen Margaret to Massimo d' Azeglio, merely a quotation, 'To Marquis d' Azeglio, founder of the Civic Museum of Turin, *omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci visentem delectando pariterque monendo.* Margherita, 2nd Dec., 1883, Roma.'—G. Biagi contributes an account of Tullia d' Aragona, who inspired a number of Italian poets of the sixteenth century.—Then follows a translation of Wordsworth's 'Michel' by G. Zanelli.—An 'ex-diplomatist' writes on alliances, and considers it probable that Russia will separate herself from Austria and Germany, in which case the friendship of Italy will become much more valuable to Vienna and Berlin, and the Italian Government ought to take advantage of such a state of things.

La Nuova Antologia (Sept. 1st.).—After four sonnets by the Italian poet, G. Carducci, this number continues the article on 'The Blue Leaf' and the first romance writers. The paper by O. Marrecchi on ancient and modern transformations in Rome, treats of Rome during the Republic and under the Empire, describing the edifices and monuments then erected.—G. Boglietti writes a lucid and effective article on Lombardian patriotism, *apropos* of two recent publications by T. Massarani and R. Boufadini.—Signor Bonghi writes on Leo XIII. and his last acts, describing the Pope's ideal, which Bonghi declares does not resemble that of Christ. He grieves at the absense of the true ideal namely, a Christian Church which would apply the balsam of her comfort and compensations to the evils of lay society, without requiring a price that cannot be paid, namely that of declaring that all the fruit of the intellectual and moral discoveries of at least three centuries, is false.—(September 16th).—commences with a criticism of a recent translation of Heine's Book of Songs, and of Zaidi's rendering of various love-songs and poems by Goethe.—Professor Pellicciante contributes a long and earnest article advocating a military education in Italian schools, during the present imperfect condition of family life in Italy.—Sig. Bonghi has an article on foreign policy in Italy, which policy he desires should not be presumptuous, but also not humble, not concealing but revealing its own opinions; conscious of the dignity of Italy's being not only the most ancient civilization in Europe, but the one most resolute in vindicating, in relation to the peoples, the ideal of truth and justice. It does not matter if Italy be alone in proclaiming that ideal, for in time both the power and credit to accomplish it will come, as they always come to nations, as well as to individuals, who have a persevering character and frankness of speech. Firmly fixed on such a base, Italy should act according to differing circumstances, keeping her conduct and judgment as free as possible, and only holding fast to her right of neither being willing nor able to content herself with her present proportions, in case of the increase of the proportions of the other powers. If Italian foreign policy adhered to such a conception, Italy would be more highly respected by other governments. Italy does not wish to intimidate other nations, but they must be made aware that she has no fear of them.—The political review opines that Bismarck cannot delude himself with the hope that peace can last long; and that, though he occupy the Reichstag with international questions, it will certainly be only with the aim of obtaining from the new assembly new funds for the purpose of strengthening the army.

Deutsche Rundschau (July).—Though only a translation 'The last Battle of the Priest Augustin' is one of the best things in this month's number. It is by Salvatore Farina and is fully worthy of his well-earned reputation.—The next item closes the 'Reminiscences of Gustav Nachtigal,' which have thus run

through no less than five numbers.—It is rather difficult to discover what special object Herr Friedrich Ratzel had in view when writing his paper on 'The Geographical Picture of Mankind.' There is a good deal in it about Herder, because he wrote a work with a somewhat similar title. The remainder is taken up with an exposition of the differences which exist between various races, and which, being merely accidental and not essential, do not, we are told, —surely we might have been told in less than a score pages—affect the theory of the unity of the human race.—An archæological contribution from the pen of Herr Ernst Zitelmann gives a very interesting account of the discovery at Gortyn, in the island of Crete, of an important inscription which, from the explanation of it here given, seems to have been a collection of civil statutes. The value of the inscription may be estimated from the fact that it contains more than 600 lines, and more than 17,000 letters.—In a further instalment of a series of sketches of California, Herr Reyer devotes a chapter to the 'diggings' as they were some thirty years ago and as they are now. He furnishes some interesting details concerning the gold supply of California. Since 1848 it has produced about £250,000,000 worth of gold, for a long time it yielded more than a third of the produce of the whole world. In the first ten years of the gold era £10,000,000 came every year from the Californian diggings. About 1860 this fell to about 6 millions. At the beginning of the present decade it was as low as 2½, and now that the soil is exhausted of its mineral wealth, it is no longer at the diggings, but by agriculture that gold is to be got.—For some years a kind of crusade against foreign words has been waged in Germany. It has got to be looked upon as a mark of independence and a proof of patriotism to avoid the numberless phrases and expressions which formerly made a perfect mosaic of colloquial German. Unfortunately, some reformers have allowed their enthusiasm to carry them the length of endeavouring to proscribe not only foreign words but words of foreign origin and to replace them by home produce. Herr Otto Gildmeister raises his voice in protest against this new abuse. He shows that many words imported from other countries have become so familiar that their German synonyms would scarcely be intelligible, whilst others are absolutely without any German equivalent. The whole tone of his article is adverse to either extreme. It seems strange that so common-sense a view should require such strong advocacy. —In a few very interesting pages, Professor Friedländer communicates his reminiscences of Turgenieff as well as several letters which are well worth reading.

Deutsche Rundschau (August).—For some unexplained reason the present number contains no instalment of the serial 'Martin Salander,' and the novel-reader must be contented with the conclusion of Salvatore Farina's sketch and a short story, 'Leben,' from the pen of Frau Marie von Olfers.—Herr Reinhold Koser contributes a very detailed account of the last days of Frederick the Great, the hundredth anniversary of whose death occurred on the 17th of August. The materials for this paper are taken from the letters of the Cabinet Minister, von Herzberg, who had been staying at Sans-Souci since the 11th of July, as the King's guest, and whose correspondence with Count Finkenstein, with von der Goltz, the Prussian ambassador in Paris, with von Thulemeier who was accredited at the Hague, and with the Princess of the Netherlands, the king's niece, enables us to follow step by step the progress of the fatal illness. Herr Koser has also made use of an account drawn up by the Crown Prince a few weeks after Frederick's death. It may interest the curious in such matters to learn that the last recorded words of the dying monarch were, 'La montagne est passée, nous irons mieux.'—The *Rundschau* does not fail to bring its tribute to the memory of Joseph Victor von Scheffel. Although various circumstances had prevented Scheffel from appearing often before the literary public of late years he was still the most popular of contemporary German writers. This was abundantly proved by the national ovation which greeted him on the 16th of February, 1876, the fiftieth anniversary of his birthday. Throughout the length and breadth of the Fatherland all classes and all parties united in doing him honour. From Koenigsberg to

Constance, from Oldenburgh to Breslau, from colonies and settlements far beyond the limits of the empire, from every part of the globe where the German tongue is spoken, poems and addresses, telegrams and diplomas, poured in upon him. Even 'the man of blood and iron,' the mighty Bismarck himself, wired his congratulations from Berlin. At the banquet given to the poet in his native town of Carlsruhe, the Grand-Duke of Baden sat at the head of the illustrious guests who had come together in his capital to celebrate the jubilee of the most famous of his subjects. As a crowning honour hereditary nobility was conferred upon Joseph Victor Scheffel, and the magic *von* prefixed to his name. But a surer proof of popularity than even this may be found on the title-page of Scheffel's works. Within thirty years of its publication his 'Trompeter von Säkkingen,' the poem in which he first revealed his rare and charming poetical faculty, has gone through one hundred and ten editions; of the collection of songs to which he has given the name of 'Gaudeamus,' a thirty-fourth edition appeared at the beginning of the present decade; whilst his novel 'Ekkehard' has reached a sixty-fifth edition.—In a sketch of at least as much interest to English as to German readers, Herr Albert Duncker supplies some valuable information concerning the English players in the pay of Moritz Landgrave of Hesse. Amongst these actors we find the names of Robert Browne, John Webster, Thomas Sackville, John Breadstreat and Ralph Reeve. Some of the plays performed by them are 'Gammer Gurton's Needle,' 'Faust,' 'The Jew of Malta,' 'Romeo and Juliet,' 'Julius Cæsar,' 'Hamlet' and 'King Lear.' This was about the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century.—Besides reviews and notices we have another essay on the use of foreign words. The anonymous writer protests even more strongly than Herr Gildmeister against the unconditional surrender of terms which, though of foreign origin, have become indispensible for the accurate expression of modern ideas.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (September).—The number with which the *Rundschau* closes the twelfth year of its existence will be found rather heavy by that voracious yet dainty creature 'the general reader.' In the way of fiction it has nothing to show beyond the last chapters of Herr Gottfried Keller's 'Martin Salander.'—Amongst the other contributions we naturally give the preference to the lengthy paper which Herr Heinrich Geffcken devotes to the British Empire and the Colonial Exhibition. Not only does it contain such a description of the exhibition itself as may almost console those who have not had the pleasure and advantage of visiting it, but it also conveys concerning the colonies themselves, such information as will be perfectly new to a very large number of the many thousands that daily flock to it.—A considerable amount of instructive information, though of a vastly different kind, is to be gathered from Herr Weismann's essay 'Ueber den Rückschritt in der Natur,' a title which, for want of a better rendering we shall give as: 'Retrogression in Nature.' The object of the paper is to show that progress is not synonymous with further development. This is illustrated by an abundance of apt and well-selected examples from which it appears that in the case of many animals progress has actually resulted in the loss of limbs or organs which the species originally possessed.—A philosophical study on Pessimism, and a paper on painting, which is not altogether light reading to a layman, complete the list of the 'articles de fonds.'

DE GIDS has had for its pièce de résistance for the last two months a historical sketch of Emilia von Nassau, a daughter of William the Silent.—The September issue has several papers of interest. Professor de Goeje writes on the Arabian Nights Tales; he recognises the affinity of the story of Scheherazade with that of Esther, the names being probably the same, but holds the Tales to be an Egyptian work, embodying certain materials from Persia, and dates it in the second half of the fifteenth century. De Sacy and Lane place it a century later. He gives translations of two Bagdad stories of the twelfth century. He concludes by extolling Lane's translation of the tales, and deprecating the unnecessary fulness and coarseness of Burton's.—Hr. Joan Bohl proves that Dante knew Homer in the original, pointing out that there were no complete

translations of the Homeric poems in his day, while the partial translations were bad, and could not have afforded the knowledge of Homer which Dante shews. —Hr. H. Viotta writes on Franz Liszt, and vindicates his truly religious and beautiful character. He tells a story of Liszt playing at a concert at the Opera in Paris, when the members of the orchestra which was accompanying him became so absorbed in listening to a solo he had to execute, that at the *ritornel* they all forgot to fall in, and in place of the expected '*tutti*,' there was a dead silence.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—Dr. Kuenen writes on a work entitled *Verisimilia*, published this year by Dr. A. Pierson and Dr. G. A. Naber, the former of whom gave up theology for literature some years ago, while the latter is a Professor of classical philology. They take up the work of reconstructing the history of the New Testament as classical scholars who think their outside position gives them a clearer view of the matters theologians find it so hard to settle. They start from the Pauline Epistles, with the statement that as they stand these Epistles are quite unintelligible, and then proceed to treat them as pieces of patch-work, which consist largely of *Jewish fragments*, the work of a liberal Jewish sect existing before Christianity was heard of at all, in which questions of the theory of the Messiah were discussed, and which were afterwards interwoven with pieces of his own writing by a certain Paulus Episcopus, whose name the Epistles then bore. The Acts were written partly with the view of explaining the historical position of this Paulus Episcopus, who by that time had fallen into oblivion; and the Gospels contain the views of all the different Christian sects as to the Christ, whose religion that Paul had brought into vogue. This theory, of which we can of course only indicate the most salient features, has a likeness to that of Dr. Loman, but is carried out with much less learning than that redoubtable champion commands; and Dr. Kuenen disposes of it by simply denying that any such liberal Jewish sect as it presupposes ever existed, or that there ever was such a person as Paulus Episcopus. When we consider the position which the Apostle Paul occupied, and the nature of the questions he had to deal with we cannot expect his writings to be otherwise than difficult; but Drs. Pierson and Naber have exaggerated the difficulties, and treat notions and phrases as unintelligible and absurd which can be shewn to have been the current coin of thought in the Apostolic Age.—The difficulties of the Pauline writings are dealt with by another writer in the two last numbers of this magazine. J. H. A. Michelsen conducts a critical inquiry into the text of the Epistle to the Romans, in which he follows often slight indications of the Codices for new readings, and in some cases puts forward suggestions which have no MS. support. In this way some of the most formidable passages become easy, and Paul loses much of the character which Peter gave him. No dispassionate judge will deny that much may possibly be done for the Epistles in this way; but in this country it will be long ere scholars consent to have their Paul made easy—his difficulties are sacred to us, and it would never do to give up the time-honoured sport of worrying them.

WESTERMANNS MONATS-HEFTE (July).—In the first of this quarter's numbers ample provision is made for readers of light literature. It opens with the first instalment of 'Gertrud Frey,' a tale of which the plot is laid in a village of the Palatinate, at the time of the French Revolution; the signature is that of Herr August Becker.—A second story bears the singular title 'Macdonald's Mother-in-law,' not because it is founded on an episode of Scottish history or is intended to be a sketch of Scottish manners, but simply because one of the characters who figure in it once appeared at a fancy-ball in the garb of the ancient Gael.—As Herr Villinger has labelled his contribution: 'Die Mutter,' a novelette, it also falls to be mentioned here, though all that we can say for it is, that we have never yet had to notice so uninteresting a production in the *Hefte*. —In a very interesting paper which he entitles: 'Kastell on the Saar and John the Blind King of Bohemia,' Herr August von Cohausen not only sketches the career of the prince whose heroic death at Crecy is one of the familiar facts of history, but also relates the many chances and changes owing to which the remains of the warrior who fell in 1346 did not find a last resting-place till 1838.

As might have been foreseen the three ostrich- feathers, with their motto 'Ich dien,' are duly mentioned but—as it will, doubtless, astonish many to learn—only to be consigned to the limbo of popular historical fallacies. Herr Cohausen informs us, on the authority as it seems, of the present Emperor of Germany, who is descended, in the seventeenth degree, from the King of Bohemia, that the well-known motto borne by the Prince of Wales has no connection with the battle of Crecy and is not German. He pronounces it to be Welsh, 'Eich Dyn,' to mean 'Here is your man,' and to have been uttered by Henry II. at Caernarvon, when, taking his infant son in his arms, he presented him to the Welsh as the prince, born in their own country and not speaking a word of English, who had been promised them.—An excellent article on 'Count Tolstoi,' the Russian novelist, is contributed by Herr Scholz, who not only furnishes some interesting biographical details, but also indicates the outlines of the writer's chief works.—Biography claims another item in the table of contents; it is the 'Wicked Baron,' a sketch of the career of Heinrich von Krosigk, who fell near Möckern in 1813, and who had been thus nick-named by the French on account of the mortal hatred which he bore them.—Another very readable article is from the pen of Herr Turk who supplies some interesting details concerning the history, management, and present position of the 'North-German Lloyd.'—The last paper which we have to mention is the second and concluding instalment of Herr Wold's description of the South Sea Islands.

WESTERMANNS MONATS-HEFTE (August).—Herr Becker heads the table of contents with a second instalment of his story 'Gertrud Frey.'—From Herr Berthold Litzmann we get a very complete account of Devrien's 'Luther' composed for the festival which took place at Jena in 1883, as well as an explanation of the motives which have led to the formation of a society 'for the periodical representation' of the play. — A capital paper contributed by Herr M. Giese contains a description of the valley of Ampezzo, with special reference to its geological curiosities.—The article on 'Frederick the Great and Music' appeals to a wider circle than its title might at first seem to indicate, for besides dealing with the king's musical attainments it relates a number of very characteristic anecdotes as to his treatment of the musical celebrities that adorned his court.—'Fontainebleau' by Herr J. E. Wessely is excellent reading; it not only gives an historical sketch of what we may call the rise and progress of the royal residence, but it introduces notices and anecdotes of the famous artists who helped to adorn it as well as of the court beauties who made it the scene of their intrigues. The illustrations to this article are particularly interesting.—Herr M. Folticineano brings to light no new facts in his article on 'Cervantes,' but he has the merit of putting together in attractive form all that is known concerning the adventurous career of the great but unfortunate Spaniard.—In travelling through Italy Herr Ludwig Weissel has had the good sense and the good fortune to deviate from the beaten track so that his descriptive sketch takes us not to Venice, Milan, Florence and Rome, but through the less known but scarcely less interesting districts of Umbria and Tuscany. His first instalment is devoted to Sienna, and his treatment of the subject shows that he has not followed the advice given to travellers by one of his countrymen, which is to 'look at mountains from their foot, churches from the outside and taverns from the inside.'

WESTERMANNS MONATS-HEFTE (September).—The vacancy in the French Academy caused by the death of Victor Hugo has been filled up by the election of Leconte de Lisle, a successor whom he may be said to have chosen himself. For a number of years no election took place at the Académy without at least one vote being recorded in favour of Leconte de Lisle, and this vote as was well-known was Hugo's. It was also an understood thing that if de Lisle, himself an old man, should outlive his persevering protector and admirer, he would succeed to his vacant 'fauteuil.' But who is this Leconte de Lisle who has been thought worthy of a place amongst the 'immortal forty?' Many a Frenchman would, doubtless, be at a loss to answer the question. He is a poet of considerable power, but, in everything, the antithesis of Hugo, and this may

doubtless account for the fact that instead of enjoying the immense popularity of his predecessor, he is known to comparatively few, even in France. Readers of the *Hefte* have therefore all the more reason to feel grateful to Herr Ferdinand Gross for the sketch which he gives them of the new Academician, in which he contrasts his peculiarities of thought and diction with those of the author of 'La légende des siècles,' and, in short, supplies as much information concerning him as will doubtless satisfy most people, and possibly, too, make some wonder at Hugo's persistent enthusiasm.—Herr Pröhle has set himself the task of following Goethe day by day, almost step by step, in the four visits which the poet paid to the Harz district and showing the traces which they have left in his writings. His thorough knowledge both of the Harz scenery and of Goethe's poems has enabled him to produce an article as interesting as it is original.—The various attempts which have been made to construct a universal language have supplied Herr Scultheiss with materials for a most interesting paper of which the practical conclusion is, that in spite of all that has been written in praise of 'volapuk,' we are as far as ever from a solution of the problem.—Of Herr Brahm's 'Heligoland' we can simply say that it is as complete a sketch as description and illustrations can supply.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (July).—This number opens with an excellent essay on the life and works of Hans Sachs, the old German master-singer. Herr Karl Lucae does not do more—as regards the mere biographical matter—than reproduce what may be found in former sketches of the poet's life, but he introduces what other writers have often omitted, though Sachs himself furnishes good material for it, a description of Nürnberg in the fifteenth century. A considerable portion of the paper is devoted to Hans Sachs's work in the cause of Luther and the Reformation, and in this connexion we find not only an analysis of the famous allegory 'Die Wittenbergisch Nachtigall,' but also of the four prose dialogues in defence of the new doctrines. This latter part will be read with interest and profit even by those who are not altogether unfamiliar with 'the Poet of the Reformation,' for owing to the difficulty of procuring either the original edition or reprints of the dialogues, Hans Sachs's English biographers have not been able to do much more than merely mention them.—The article on 'The condition of Agriculture amongst the Germans in Sieberbürgen,' though ably written and important in itself does not appeal to a very wide circle.—The same remark applies to a paper by Herr Franz Zschech who, à propos of the projected construction of three canals recalls the circumstances under which the Friedrich-Wilhelms canal which connects the Elbe and the Oder was opened up.—Rudolf Haym's recently published work on Herder is the subject of an article by Herr Bernhard Suphan whose unqualified praise is very justly bestowed on an excellent biography of a remarkable man.—The next contribution is from the pen of Herr Rössler and is devoted to the eminent historian Leopold von Ranke.—The number closes with a paper in which Herr Wilhelm Altmann traces the rise and progress of the two oldest universities in Europe, those of Paris and Bologna.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (August).—The name of Frederick the Great appears in the title of two articles of which one is contributed by Herr Constantine Rössler and the other by Herr H. Ulmann. In the first of them, Herr Constantine Rössler proposes to review the political events which, for Prussia, have marked the first century since Frederick's death. In reality, it is a laboured panegyric of which the main idea is that whatever success has crowned Prussian policy and Prussian arms is directly owing to the Great Frederic.—Herr Ullmann entitles his paper—which is a reproduction of the lecture delivered by him on assuming the rectorship of the University of Greifswald—'The Historian Johannes von Müller and Frederick the Great.' The connexion between the two is not however a very close one. Müller a Swiss by birth, had acquired considerable celebrity by his history of the Confederacy. Ambitious to distinguish himself in diplomacy he succeeded in obtaining an audience from the King of Prussia, without, however, attaining the desired and

expected result. Later, he undertook, under the auspices of Frederick-William III. a biography of Frederick the Great, but to the great and not altogether unjust indignation of his patron, not only abandoned the work but allowed himself 'to sink into the quagmire of Bonapartist imperialism.'—Beyschlag's 'Life of Jesus,' a recently published work which has excited considerable interest even outside strictly theological circles owing both to the recognised position of the author and to the originality of his views, is critically examined by Herr Scholz.—A very able scientific paper by Herr A Döring examines the claims of Kant and Lambert to a share in the theory of the universe propounded by Laplace in his 'Exposition du système du monde.' Whilst doing full justice to the genius of Lambert, who, after having begun life as a tailor's apprentice, raised himself by his own unaided exertion to a foremost place amongst the scientists of his day, Herr Döring shows very conclusively that there is no real ground for connecting him with either his French or his German contemporary. With regard to Kant he comes to a more favourable conclusion, but he allows that though his theory of the heavenly bodies was published as early as 1775, Laplace was totally ignorant of its existence when he brought out the result of his own researches.—Besides a short article on the 'Crisis in England,' this number contains a long examination into the working of the copyright law in Germany.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (September).—The place of honour is again filled by Herr Rössler who, this time, comes forward with an essay on Gustav Freytag or better on the cycle of novels published under the name of 'Die Ahnen.'—Dr. Max Quarck discourses at great length on a subject which is not of absorbing interest to the general reader, at least in this country, to wit, the result of the Factories Act in Austria.—Our school-books have made us familiar with the heroic self-sacrifice of Arnold of Winkelried who, at the battle of Sempach, opened for his countrymen a way into the Austrian square, through the gap made by his own body as, seizing as many pikes as he could hold, he threw himself to the ground and allowed the Swiss to pass over him. Alas for Switzerland's heroes! Winkelried, it would appear is as apocryphal as Tell. Such, at least, is Herr Emil Theuner's contention in a very able paper which he devotes to an investigation of the question. His enquiry is conducted so systematically as to leave but little room for doubt. He shows us that the chronicles nearest in point of time to the battle of Sempach, are utterly ignorant of Winkelried and his heroic act. He shows us further where the legend originated and how it gradually developed. And, to make assurance doubly sure, he shows us, lastly, that the battle, as related by the best authorities, can have afforded no opportunity for the exploit attributed to Winkelried, the day having been lost to Austria by the impetuous and disorderly charge of her knights against the Swiss pikemen.—Much as has of late been written about the colonisation of East Africa by Germany, Dr. Ludwig Busse has been able to produce a readable article on the subject. His description of the various settlements contains little that has not already been published; the details which he gives of the stratagems employed to deceive England with regard to the destination of the first African expedition are not so well known. The first precaution taken was to make the 'Times' correspondent believe that the expedition was bound for the Congo. This having been successfully accomplished by Herr Leue, secretary of the society for German colonisation, Dr. Peters, Dr. Jühlke and Count Pfeil sailed from Trieste under assumed names and as second class passengers. Having landed in Zanzibar they proceeded into the interior under the pretence of a shooting trip. After this their task was comparatively light. The territory of Nguru was obtained from Mafungu-Biniani in exchange for a few cast-off hussar's jackets. Useguha cost literally only an old song, having been won by the singing of 'Was Kommt dort von der Höhl,' which so delighted the Sultan that he acceded to all that the musical adventurers demanded of him.

THE CHURCH REVIEW (July). This periodical, though not the organ of the American Episcopal Church, has among its contributors many of the most able writers belonging to that church, and claims to represent its thought and culture and varied intellectual and religious character. Some of the articles which

appear in its pages are more or less denominational, but others of them have a wider bearing. To the number of the latter belongs Bishop Huntingdon's carefully written and closely reasoned paper, entitled 'Some points in the Labour Questions,' which occupies the first place. The writer is of opinion that the conflict between Labour and Capital will never be finally settled until the principles of Christianity are more clearly apprehended and more thoroughly applied both by the purchasers and vendors of labour.—'The early Creeds of Asia' is a learned attempt based upon the Oxford translations of the Sacred Books of the East, to trace the origin of the best thoughts of the Hebrews up to their source. The present instalment deals chiefly with Assyrian and Persian thought and concludes that Zoroastrianism was not one of the earliest creeds of Asia, but was at first a protest against the polytheism of the Indo-Iranians and afterwards became corrupted by the Turanian polytheism, from which it was subsequently partly rescued soon after the beginning of the Christian era.

THE CHURCH REVIEW (August).—'The Church of Ireland' by Dr. Campbell Fair has been called forth by certain statements appearing in a previous number of the *Review* and is a fair statement of the case of the Church of Ireland against its disestablishment.—W. Richardson deals with the question: Can the General Convention prescribe the qualifications of members of diocesan Conventions? a question which seems to have been long under discussion in the American Episcopal Church. The next article bears the signature of A. W. Thayer and is of importance to students of the Old Testament. Its object is to show that the popular belief as to the character and ambition of the 'Bene Israel' in Egypt, particularly at the time of the Exodus, is an utterly mistaken one.

THE CHURCH REVIEW (September).—The most notable paper in this number is Dr. Sterrett's article on Hegel's *Philosophy of Religion.* The paper is mainly expository and is remarkable for its lucidity and readableness.—'The Theology of the Hebrew Christians' from the pen of Dr. C. K. Nelson is an attempt to define the character and theology of the *Epistle to the Hebrews.* The writer is scarcely justified in assuming that the ideas set forth by the writer of this epistle were identical with those held by those to whom the Epistle was addressed. The only other paper of general interest in this number is the Rev. T. S. Cartwright's on 'The Philosophy of the Supernatural,' which has for its text Dr. Plate's lectures bearing the same title as the article.

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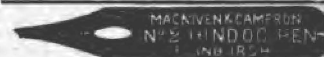

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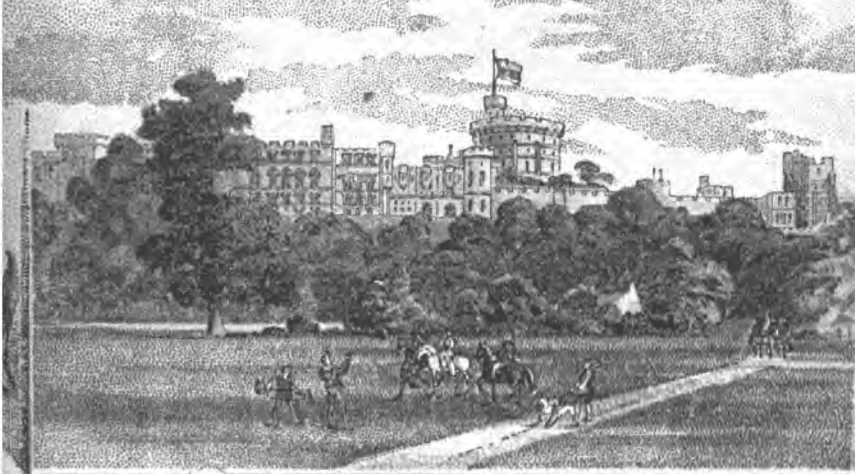

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20	7	9	6	4	3	11	3	2	6	2	11	8
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50	13	0	3	7	9	10	5	14	11	4	18	7
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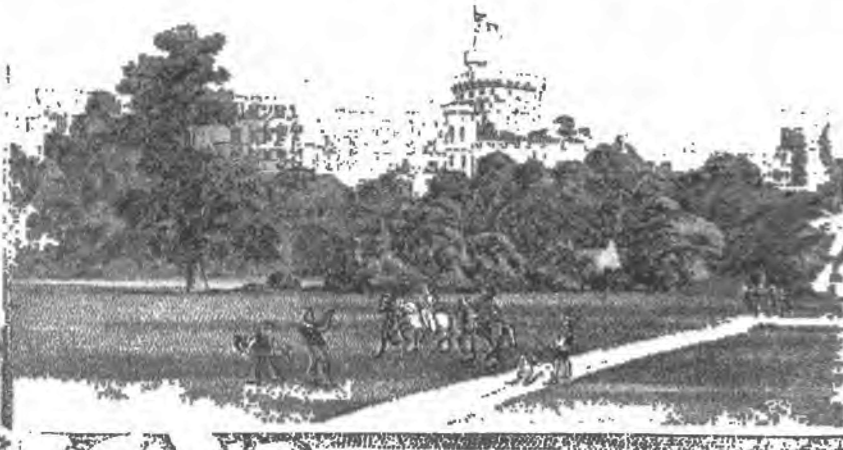

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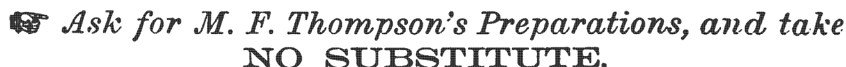

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THE welcome accorded to the Publisher's re-issue of JAMIESON'S SCOTTISH DICTIONARY proves that there is a widely prevalent desire to possess good texts of works that may be regarded as national in their interest and importance. He is therefore encouraged by the success of JAMIESON to venture on a similar undertaking—the republication of GEORGE CHALMERS' *Caledonia*. At the time when the distinguished Scottish Lexicographer was occupied in the preparation of his national Dictionary, another patriotic worker, equally qualified for the department which he undertook, was engaged in the cognate task of recording and illustrating the History and Topography of his native Scotland, and bringing to bear upon it as much sound learning, earnest zeal, and patient labour as JAMIESON was devoting to the Scottish Language. It is not a little to the credit of the Northern Kingdom that she possessed at the same time two such sons, qualified and willing to rear for themselves memorials so conservative of the past and valuable for the future as the SCOTTISH DICTIONARY and the *Caledonia*. Each of these works may be regarded as the complement of the other, and no Library possessing a Scottish department can afford to dispense with either. They mark an important era in the national history. The time at which they appeared was one of transition, when old landmarks, of Language and Topography alike, were being effaced by the rapid march of modern progress. Not a few features of Scottish Language and Scottish Localities familiar to our fathers would have disappeared for ever but for the preservative labours of JAMIESON and CHALMERS. The old order has given place to the new, but as we turn over the pages of these writers the past rises before us in vivid and comprehensive, yet minute, detail.

GEORGE CHALMERS was a voluminous author, but his great work was the *Caledonia*. It is not too strong a statement to affirm that every important work on Scottish History or Topography published since it appeared refers to CHALMERS and owes not a little to his labour. Entering on a field which had been opened up by Father Innes and John Pinkerton, and freely availing himself of their researches, he discovered many treasures which to

them were unknown and inaccessible, and accumulated a store of information which is as complete for Scotland as is the great work of Camden—with which the Caledonia has often been compared—for England. Indeed, as Allan Cunningham testified, "In deep research and heaping together of matter, the *Britannia* of Camden fades away before it." No student of Scotland's Family or Local History, of its Institutional or Archæological Records, or of its Ecclesiastical and Civil History and Topography, can afford to dispense with the results of the immense labour and research contained in this work.

Unlike Jamieson, CHALMERS did not live either to complete the work he set before him, which was to review the entire field of Scottish History, Antiquities, and Topography, or even to see in print all that he had prepared for the press. Three volumes only were published which treat of the Counties South of the Forth, and these are all that have hitherto been available to the general student; but it is well known that a considerable amount of manuscript, perhaps even more interesting and important than any of the volumes published, has lain since the Author's death on the shelves of the Advocates' Library. It is somewhat remarkable, and scarcely creditable to the Book-printing Clubs and Publishers of Scotland, that so valuable a manuscript has not been printed before now. Mr. Allibone, in his *Dictionary of Authors*, in referring to CHALMERS, expresses a desire which has often been felt when he asks: 'Will it be thought impertinent in an American to urge one of the Literary Clubs which do such credit to Great Britain to worthily distinguish itself by publishing the remaining manuscripts of this great work?'

To this desire the Publisher now proposes to give effect by publishing CHALMERS' Caledonia IN COMPLETE FORM.

With this object he has made application to the Curators of the Advocates' Library for permission to print the unpublished portion of the Caledonia, and he is glad to be able to announce that they have given their consent in a very cordial way.

It is intended to issue the work in (probably seven) convenient volumes of 500 pages each. References to the pages of CHALMERS are so frequent in the more recent historical and topographical works on Scotland, that it has been decided to retain the original *paging*.

In paper, typography, and general appearance, the new edition will be similar to the recent re-issue of JAMIESON'S DICTIONARY, and will in these respects be a great improvement on the first.

Much of the value of the original issue of the Caledonia was lost through the absence of a complete INDEX; and the trouble of hunting up special information through its pages has often been complained of. To obviate this a COMPLETE CLASSIFIED AND ANALYTICAL INDEX will, in the new edition, be added to the entire work, and every care taken to make the work easily available for reference.

The large MAP and PLATES of the original will be carefully reproduced.

The copies offered for private subscription will be strictly limited to 400 Demy 4to, at 25s. per vol., and 100 Royal 4to, on WHATMAN'S Paper, at 40s. per vol. No special edition will be printed for America, the Colonies, or the Continent. The Foreign, as well as the Home Supply, must, therefore, be drawn from the above number, and it is reasonable to anticipate that, as soon as the announcement of the issue is made widely known, the entire impression will be at once taken up.

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OCTOBER, 1886.

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