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ART. I.—ON THE JURISDICTION OF THE ENGLISH COURTS OVER SCOTSMEN.

BOTH in past and present times many varying views have been taken of the Treaty of Union; some agree with that conceited and sententious individual Andrew Fairservice, who attributed to the 'sad and sorrowful Union' every symptom of depravity or degeneracy which he remarked among his countrymen, 'more especially the inflammation of reckonings and the diminished size of pint-stoups;' others again prefer the opinion of that more sagacious personage, Bailie Nicol Jarvie, who foresaw that the incorporating Union of Scotland with England would open wide fields for Scottish enterprise and energy all the world over, and would lead to the commercial greatness of his own beloved city of St. Mungo. But whatever view be taken on the subject generally, no one can refuse to acknowledge that the persons who negotiated the Union on behalf of Scotland took every means in their power to secure the permanence and stability of the two great national institutions—the Scottish Church and the Scottish system of Law and Judicature. As is well known, anxious provision is made regarding these matters in the Treaty of Union, Article 9 of which not only provides for the maintenance and preservation of the Courts of Scotland with the full authority which they have always claimed and exercised, but expressly enacts that 'no cause in Scotland shall be

cognoscible by the Courts of Chancery, Queen's Bench, Common Pleas, or any other Courts in Westminster Hall,' and that 'the said Courts, or any others of the like nature, after the Union shall not have any power to cognosce or alter a cause or sentence of the Judicatories within Scotland, or stop the execution of the same.' It was indeed both right and necessary that these institutions should be thus protected, connected so closely with the constitution of the State as they then were. Scottish education, commerce and agriculture have been able to look after themselves, and would have done so whatever provisions were made in the Treaty of Union; but the judicial system of a country, unless it had been secured by solemn contract, on entering into union with a larger and more powerful State, would inevitably have suffered grievous damage. The provisions thus made served till within recent years to secure Scotsmen against being taken before the English courts, and preserved to them the benefits of their own laws in all ordinary cases. It is true, indeed, that the Court of Chancery every now and again exercised its jurisdiction as opportunity afforded over Scottish persons and Scottish estates. It did this just as it might have done, and in point of fact has done, with regard to other and entirely foreign countries. But the opportunities for the exercise of its jurisdiction were exceedingly rare till the modern facilities for travelling, and for intercourse between the two countries occasionally brought about circumstances which enabled the Court of Chancery to enforce its assumed jurisdiction over Scotsmen by the threat of the legal compulsitors of imprisonment of the person or the attachment of funds.

We shall revert to the topic of Chancery jurisdiction, hereafter, and in the meantime will confine ourselves to the history and present position of the assumed jurisdiction of the English Courts over Scotsmen in the province of common law. This province embraces almost all the ordinary business affairs of life, all actions arising out of contracts of whatever kind, buying and selling, chartering ships, becoming parties to bills or other mercantile documents, and in short almost every transaction by which one man can become debtor to another.

The Chancery jurisdiction, again, embraces such matters as the administration of estates, the guardianship of pupils and minors, or as they are termed in English law 'infants,' the interpretation of trusts and wills, the administration of the laws relating to public companies, patents and other matters that from time to time have been relegated to the Chancery Courts either by statute or by custom.

To return to Common Law. It may well be asked how has it happened that the encroachments of the English Courts on those of Scotland was reserved to the present day, when national sentiment seems to be so strong and pronounced; and how it is that the Courts of Scotland have been unable to protect their own countrymen against these encroachments? To understand this we must go back to the passing of what is known as the Judgments Extension Act of 1868, in itself a useful and valuable measure if it had been limited in its operation by sufficient safeguards. It was, in short, a measure for making the judgments of the Courts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, available all over the United Kingdom without the necessity of bringing new actions. Formerly, if one Scotsman got a judgment against another, and the defender went to live in England, there required to be a new action raised in England founding upon the Scottish judgment; and so in the case of England and Ireland; but the Judgments Extension Act provided that by registering any judgment of the Supreme Court of any one of the three kingdoms, for debts, damages, or costs in the Courts of the country where it was to be enforced, it received the same effect as a judgment of the Court of that country. The advantages of this are obvious, and that the measure was a right one, looking to the close relations of the three countries there can be no doubt. At the time it was passed, however, neither the English nor the Irish Courts possessed the anomalous jurisdiction over Scotsmen which, as we shall see, was afterwards conferred on them by the rules enacted under authority of the Judicature Acts. At that time the only jurisdiction besides that claimed by Chancery which might sometimes be used oppressively was

the jurisdiction founded on arrestments possessed by the Scottish Courts over Englishmen and other persons not resident in Scotland. But very properly a clause was inserted in the Judgments Extension Act, (we believe on the suggestion of some of the Scottish Chambers of Commerce), providing that a judgment pronounced in absence in an action proceeding on an arrestment to found jurisdiction in Scotland should not have the benefits of the Act. This of course necessitated the enforcing of such a decree in the Courts of England or Ireland as the case might be; and these Courts thus had in their power to refuse to enforce it. But it is, after all, not surprising that no general clause was inserted in the Judgments Extension Act to limit its operation to judgments pronounced in virtue of the then existing jurisdictions of the various Courts.

The original common law rule in England was that the Courts would not permit the service of a summons on any one who was not resident in or could not be found within the territorial jurisdiction of the Court. This rule, however, was found to lead to inconvenience in many cases, as for instance where persons had entered into contracts in England and undertaken to fulfil them there, and then had gone, perhaps temporarily, abroad so as to avoid being served with a summons, till it should suit their convenience to return. Accordingly in 1852 a Bill was introduced which afterwards passed into the Common Law Procedure Act of 1852, and it contained a clause permitting service out of the jurisdiction. Thanks to the care and vigilance of the present Lord Justice Clerk, Lord Moncreiff, who was then in Parliament, the question was raised as to the effect of this upon Scotland and Ireland, and in the course of the passage of the Bill through Parliament the clause was amended to the effect of exempting both those countries from its operation. In 1854 another attempt was made to draw Scotsmen within the jurisdiction of the English Courts by the provisions of an Act of Parliament, but it was again defeated. The successful resistance of these attempts to extend the jurisdiction of English Courts over Scotsmen was evidently still in the recollection of the framers of the Supreme Court of Judicature Act passed in 1873, for no

attempt of the kind was made during the passage through Parliament of that statute. But in the early part of the session of 1875 a Bill was introduced to repeal the clause of the Act of 1852 which exempted Scotland from the operation of that Act. This was detected just in time after the Bill had passed through committee; but the Convention of Scottish Royal Burghs having called the attention of the Lord Advocate for Scotland and the Solicitor-General for Ireland to the Bill, it was thrown out. But strange to relate the legislative settlement of the question which had taken place in 1852 and had virtually been ratified in 1854, 1873, and 1875, was overset without Parliamentary discussion in the last of these years. This was accomplished by embodying a provision sanctioning service of writs in Scotland and elsewhere abroad without exception in one of the 'Rules of Court' contained in the schedule annexed to the Judicature Act of 1875. Scottish Members of Parliament naturally supposed that they had no concern with the private rules of the English Courts, and that nothing therein contained would be likely to affect them or their constituents. The rule accordingly entirely escaped notice, and being in the schedule of an Act of Parliament had virtually the force of law, though owing to its position it passed without observation through Parliament. Thus it was that the jurisdiction of the English Courts of common law was extended over Scotsmen without the voice of their representatives being heard in Parliament on the question. Here the mischievous effect of the Judgments Extension Act, 1868, came in; for, by giving to judgments of the English Courts the force of judgments of the Supreme Courts of Scotland, that Act precluded the Scottish Courts from reviewing or suspending these judgments, and thus deprived Scotsmen of the protection of their own Courts of Law. It will shortly be seen how completely the provisions of the Treaty of Union were evaded by the combined operation of the legislation of 1868 and 1875.

It is unnecessary to quote here the rule which effected the change, but the purport of it is, that while it does not expressly give the English courts jurisdiction over Scotland, it authorises

service out of the jurisdiction (in Scotland and elsewhere) to be made in almost every conceivable case which can arise between an Englishman on the one side and any person else on the other, so that it practically enabled the English Courts to subject Scotsmen to their jurisdiction in all ordinary actions, and if the Scotsman did not appear judgment was pronounced against him by default, which, after being registered in terms of the Judgments Extension Act could be enforced against him by poinding and imprisonment, as if it had been a decree pronounced in the Court of Session.

The effect of the new rule soon began to be felt, and caused great dissatisfaction both in Scotland and Ireland, and in the beginning of May, 1876, a large and influential deputation from Scotland and another from Ireland, waited upon the Home Secretary and upon Lord Chancellor Cairns. The Lord Chancellor was compelled to admit that there had been an abuse of the power to serve summonses out of the jurisdiction, and promised to make an alteration on the rule which he thought would be sufficient to obviate the grievances complained of for the future. He accordingly got a new rule enacted which provided that any English judge in exercising his discretion as to granting leave to serve writs out of the jurisdiction should have regard to the amount or value of the property in dispute, the existence at the place of residence of the defendant, if resident in Scotland or Ireland, of a local court of limited jurisdiction competent to deal with the question and to the comparative cost and convenience of proceeding in England or in the place of the defendant's residence, and requiring all particulars necessary to enable the judge to exercise his discretion to be set forth in affidavits. This amendment turned out to be of no use in mitigating the evil. In the first place the English judges, as they themselves avowed, always exercised their discretion from the point of view of the English plaintiff and not of the Scottish defendant; and as to the affidavits which were relied on as likely to secure a just exercise of the discretiou, it is no exaggeration to say that they were drawn up and sworn to quite regardless of truth. They seemed to have been framed by English solicitors simply with the view

of obtaining the service they wished, and being regarded as mere matter of form, were sworn to as true, although the statements in almost every one of them that came to be considered by the courts turned out to be absolutely false.

In case this should be thought to be an exaggeration, it may be stated that in almost every one of these affidavits it was sworn that there was no competent court of jurisdiction near the defendant's residence, and this was said in cases which might have been tried in the ordinary Sheriff Court or the Court of Session; and the affidavits invariably wound up with the assertion that the case could be more conveniently tried in London than anywhere else, adding occasionally the most preposterous reasons, as, for instance, that it involved questions of mercantile and maritime law, as if, forsooth, there were no courts in Scotland capable of dealing with such questions. In this connection we may refer to the remarks of two judges—one a Scotch judge, Lord Young—who in the case of *Comber* v. *Maclean* remarked that some of the statements in the affidavits were wilfully and deliberately false, and to the remarks of the late Lord Justice Lush in the case of *Fowler* v. *Barstow* who pointed out that the affidavits of the plaintiff Fowler only required a *mens rea* to be proved to subject him to an indictment for perjury. In both these cases, which were very gross ones, the Scottish defendant managed to upset the order for service granted by the English courts, but only after a long and expensive litigation in London which went no further than settling the question as to where the case should be tried, and in both of which of course the injured Scotsman had a heavy account of extra judicial expenses to pay out of his own pocket to his solicitor in London.

It may be understood that with practices of this kind, Lord Cairns's amended rule proved absolutely valueless, and the result was that so long as the rules of 1875 and 1876 were in operation, Scotsmen were constantly subjected to the very greatest hardship and inconvenience by being forced to litigate their causes before the English courts. Whatever was the cause of action, the English plaintiff seemed to be always able to obtain service of the summons on a Scottish defendant. In

the Parliamentary return procured by Mr. Dick Peddie, which we shall afterwards refer to, it appears that rent, freight, demurrage, board and tuition, wages, carriage of goods, fees of architects, surveyors and solicitors, work done and services rendered of various kinds, commissions or premiums, money lent, goods sold, money due on guarantees and bills of exchange, were among the varieties of alleged debts for recovery of which the English Courts asserted their jurisdiction over Scotsmen.

One or two instances may show how the rules worked in practice. In one case a grain merchant in Dumfries purchased from a miller in Liverpool a quantity of meal at the price of £28. The purchase was effected by letters passing between the parties. When the meal came to Scotland it turned out to be very bad, and the grain merchant refused to have it. Forthwith the Liverpool miller raised an action against the grain merchant in the High Court of Justice in England for the £27 and six guineas of expenses. The Dumfries grain merchant objected to this, and tried to get the order for service discharged, and a contest of affidavits on each side was then entered into, the principal question discussed being the comparative cost of trying the case in the Debts Recovery Court at Dumfries, where it could have been settled for a few shillings, or in the High Court of Justice in England. The ultimate result was that the case was sent for trial at the County Court at Liverpool. But by this time our Dumfries friend had sufficient experience of litigation in English Courts, and in disgust at the whole business gave up what he believed was a just defence, agreed to keep the worthless meal to feed his pigs with, and paid the £28 and expenses. These expenses, after a liberal abatement by his own agents, amounted to £50; and this sum, be it remarked, was incurred in discussing though not settling the question, whether a claim could be more cheaply tried in England or in Scotland.

So much for leaving the question of jurisdiction to the discretion of the English courts. Another case in the grain trade which arose about the same time, furnishes an instructive example of the further progress of such cases. A firm of grain merchants

in Morayshire sold a cargo of grain to a firm of maltsters in Lincolnshire. The grain was delivered and received without objection. The price had been prepaid, but after delivery the maltsters alleged, rightly or wrongly, that the grain was not according to guaranteed quality and raised an action of damages in the High Court of Justice in England. The Morayshire grain merchants found that they must defend themselves in the English Courts, or have a decree in absence pronounced against them and enforced by registration in Scotland under the Judgments Extension Act; and so they appeared. The case was sent for trial to the York assizes—it does not very well appear why, unless it was an indication that Scotland was to be in future administered in matters judicial as a part of the English Northern Circuit. The defendants were informed by their solicitors that the case would very likely not come on for trial at the assize but that they must have counsel and witnesses there in case it should come on. In these circumstances the Morayshire firm thought it was better to compromise than to be at the risk and expense of taking some fifteen witnesses, being the various farmers from whom they had purchased the grain, some hundreds of miles to York and home again without anything being done, and the great part of which expense they must have lost even if they ultimately gained the case. The expense actually incurred by them amounted to over £100. They accordingly compromised the case at a heavy, and as they believed, an unjust loss to themselves. The order for service of the summons in this case was obtained on an affidavit which admitted there was a court at Elgin twelve miles distant from where the defendants resided but suggesting that the case should be tried at York, which was about forty or fifty miles from the plantiffs' residence, and about four hundred miles from the defendants.

Numerous similar cases occurred in all sorts of trades. The well known firm of M'Millan & Sons, Dumbarton, were made to answer in the London courts for some disputes about steamers constructed for the 'Monarch' Line, built at Dumbarton, and delivered in the Clyde, because the contract had been signed in London. Similarly a shipbuilding firm at Campbeltown

were made to answer in the English Courts though nothing connected with the ship which was built was done in England except the writing of the letters by the persons who ordered it. But it was held there as in other cases that the contract having been partly entered into in England gave the English Courts the right to try the question under the rules above mentioned. Another very notable case was the case of *Minton & Company* v. *Hawley*, where the defendant who resided and carried on business entirely in Edinburgh, was served with a summons in the High Court of Justice for the sum of £33 3s. 5d. said to be due by him to the plaintiffs, the well-known tile manufacturers of Stoke-upon-Trent. This case was brought before no less than four tribunals on the mere preliminary question of where it ought to be tried. The defendant's cost in defending himself in the English courts, on the question of jurisdiction alone, amounted to over £31, nearly as large as the whole sum in dispute, and of which he recovered only £24. To the extent, therefore, of about £8 of judicial expenses, besides those incurred by his own solicitors, he was out of pocket by the unfair and ultimately unsuccessful attempt to subject him to the jurisdiction of the English Courts.

It would, however, be endless to produce illustrations. One direction in which the hardship was very severely felt was, that while in Scotland sums under £12 could only be sued for in the Small Debt Courts, where the expenses are limited to a few shillings, in England such cases are competent before the High Court of Justice. In one such case an innkeeper in Kelso was sued in the High Court of Justice in London for £8, being the alleged amount of an account for goods ordered by him personally from the plaintiff, who was a merchant in the neighbouring town of Berwick-upon-Tweed. Service out of the jurisdiction was, nevertheless, promptly ordered by the English court, although Kelso is only a few miles from Jedburgh where there is a resident Sheriff, and where the case might very well have been tried in the Small Debt Court. Although the account was grossly overcharged, the defender preferred to pay it and the bill of costs rather than contest the case in London. And in the return we have

alluded to, there appeared one case where the sum concluded for was £7 14s. In our own Supreme Courts an action for this amount would be incompetent, but the English creditor coolly summoned his supposed debtor to the High Court of Justice in London to defend himself against this paltry claim and at the same time informed him that if he intended to resist it, he must first of all pay down £2 18s. in name of costs of said proceedings. In such cases the canny Scotsman, however good his defence, would probably pay the sum and costs to be acquitted of the whole affair, rather than be engaged in a London law suit.

It will be seen from these cases that in several respects very great hardship and injustice was inflicted on Scotsmen by being rendered subject to the jurisdiction of the English courts. They were liable to be sued in the Supreme Courts of England at relatively enormous cost, for petty sums for which they could only have been competently sued, according to the law of Scotland in the popular and inexpensive Small Debt and other Sheriff Courts; while even in cases which might have been tried in the Supreme Courts of Scotland, the expense of litigation in England was much heavier. Lastly, by being taken before the English Courts, Scotsmen were subjected to a system of law different in some important respects from their own. For instance, according to Scotch law merchants' accounts prescribe in three years from the date of the last item in the account, and after that time the existence of the debt can only be established by the writing of the alleged debtor or by his oath. In consequence of this rule of law, it is a common practice in Scotland to preserve discharged accounts or receipts for only three years, and supposing a Scotsman to have paid an account to an English creditor, and got a receipt in due form, but to have lost it after keeping it carefully for more than three years but less than six, he would most likely before an English Court be found liable in a second payment of the account, supposing the receipt to be the only available evidence of payment. Another material difference between the laws of the two countries is with regard to what is known as 'breaking bulk' in goods, for in Scotland a pur-

chaser is not entitled to use or keep the whole or a part of a parcel of goods, and then sue for damages, on the ground of alleged defective quality; he must reject them at once, or keep and pay for them in full. But this salutary rule has no place in English law, and while the rules we are speaking of were in force, many Scotch merchants complained that they were sued for damages in the English Courts by English traders, who kept the goods and then put forward claims for alleged defects, with a view to getting a discount from the price. Of course, besides all this there was the great hardship of a double litigation being forced in all these cases upon Scotsmen who wished to call in question the jurisdiction of the English Courts—one litigation on the question of where the case should be tried, and the other on the merits of the case itself.

The evil inflicted by these rules was by no means partial or trifling. From the Parliamentary return we have already referred to, it appears that between 1st March, 1877, and 1st March, 1881, 418 summonses in all, were issued against Scotsmen by the English Courts, and it is almost certain that that does not represent the whole cases, because with regard to two of the divisions of the High Court of Justice the number is merely an approximate or assumed one. The sums sued for in these actions were mostly small, more than three-fifths of the whole number being under £100, and the majority are for such sums as would in Scotland have been most probably recovered in the Debts Recovery Court. It may be imagined from this how widespread was the inconvenience and injustice produced by the system in question.

There was of course a great deal of grumbling all over Scotland at this practice. But the subject was never systematically taken up till the end of 1881. On 19th December, 1881, a meeting of delegates from nearly all the legal faculties and societies throughout Scotland was held in the Parliament House, Edinburgh, on the invitation of a committee which the Faculty of Advocates had appointed for that purpose. A feeling was expressed at that meeting that the legal bodies of Scotland were, so to say, *ex officio*, the proper persons to look

after the laws and privileges of their countrymen so far as these were connected with the administration of justice. Resolutions were unanimously come to, to the effect that the new rules of the English Courts had been productive of great hardship, injustice, and inconvenience to Scotsmen, that in operation they involved a breach of the 19th article of the Act of Union and of the well recognised principles of international law, and that a remedy should at once be sought for the grievance by having an Act of Parliament passed exempting Scotland from the operation of these rules or any similar enactments for the future. They further instructed a deputation to wait on the law officers of the Crown for Scotland, and Lord Rosebery, as Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, and lay the matter before them, and to take such other steps as they should be advised for bringing the matter under the notice of the country and of Parliament; and they appointed an Executive Committee to carry out these instructions. The Executive Committee accordingly set about preparing memorials and collecting cases to illustrate the statements therein made, and transmitted copies of all these to Scottish members of Parliament. They also specially laid the matter before the then Lord Advocate, the Right Hon. J. B. Balfour, who took the question up most heartily, and who, in view of a new edition of the *Rules of Court* being then under consideration of the Lord Chancellor and a committee of English judges, had various interviews with the Lord Chancellor on the subject, besides submitting the views of Scottish lawyers and the community in Scotland generally regarding the operation of the rules of 1875 and 1876, in a series of very able notes. The Committee, however, did not rest satisfied with this. They drafted a bill which, with some alterations, was ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, on 9th May, 1883. It was backed by the following Scottish members—Mr. George Anderson, then M.P. for Glasgow, Mr. Cochran-Patrick, then M.P. for North Ayrshire, Mr. Buchanan, M.P. for Edinburgh, Mr. James Campbell, M.P. for Glasgow and Aberdeen Universities, Mr. Bolton, M.P. for Stirlingshire, Mr. Arthur Elliot, M.P. for Roxburghshire, and Mr. Armitstead, M.P. for Dundee.

This modest bill, which was only twenty-two lines in length, provided for the practical abrogation of the rules complained of, so far as Scotland was concerned. It was warmly supported by almost all the Scottish members, with the result that the Government declared themselves in favour of a second reading of the bill. A hope was at the same time expressed that the new rules about to be published by the Lord Chancellor would obviate the grievances complained of, without the necessity of an Act of Parliament. It was believed at the time, and probably with good reason, that this announcement was of some effect in inducing the Lord Chancellor to alter very considerably the rules for service out of the jurisdiction so far as Scotland was concerned. At all events, these rules as published in July, 1883, were so framed that it would not be easy to take exception to any of them so far as the Common Law Courts are concerned. There were possible ambiguities here and there, but these have mostly been decided favourably to Scotsmen in cases that have arisen since then; and it may be therefore said that at this moment there is practically no very substantial grievance regarding the service of common law summonses upon Scotsmen.

It may be well to insert here the rules relating to service out of the jurisdiction, as showing the footing on which the matter now rests, and as setting forth the only cases in which the English Courts can order service of summonses upon persons resident in Scotland.

'1. Service out of the jurisdiction of a writ of summons or notice of a writ of summons may be allowed by the Court or a Judge whenever—

'(*a*) The whole subject matter of the action is land situate within the jurisdiction (with or without rents or profits); or

'(*b*) Any act, deed, will, contract, obligation, or liability affecting land or hereditaments situate within the jurisdiction is sought to be construed, rectified, set aside, or enforced in the action; or

'(*c*) Any relief is sought against any person domiciled or ordinarily resident within the jurisdiction; or

'(*d*) The action is for the administration of the personal estate of any deceased person, who at the time of his death was domiciled within the jurisdiction, or for the execution (as to property situate within the jurisdiction) of the trusts of any written instrument, of which

the person to be served is a trustee, which ought to be executed according to the law of England ; or

'(*e*) The action is founded on any breach or alleged breach within the jurisdiction of any contract wherever made, which, according to the terms thereof, ought to be performed within the jurisdiction, unless the defendant is domiciled or ordinarily resident in Scotland or Ireland ; or

'(*f*) Any injunction is sought as to any thing to be done within the jurisdiction, or any nuisance within the jurisdiction is sought to be prevented or removed, whether damages are or are not also sought in respect thereof ; or

'(*g*) Any person out of the jurisdiction is a necessary or proper party to an action properly brought against some other person duly served within the jurisdiction.

'2. Where leave is asked from the Court or a Judge to serve a writ, under the last preceding Rule, in Scotland or in Ireland, if it shall appear to the Court or Judge that there may be a concurrent remedy in Scotland or in Ireland (as the case may be) the Court or Judge shall have regard to the comparative cost and convenience of proceeding in England, or in the place of residence of the defendant or person sought to be served, and particularly in cases of small demands to the powers and jurisdiction, under the statutes establishing or regulating them, of the Sheriffs' Courts, or Small Debts Courts in Scotland, and of the Civil Bill Courts in Ireland, respectively.

'3. In Probate actions service of a writ of summons or notice of a writ of summons may by leave of the Court or a Judge be allowed out of the jurisdiction.

4. 'Every application for leave to serve such writ or notice on a defendant out of the jurisdiction shall be supported by affidavit, or other evidence, stating that in the belief of the deponent the plaintiff has a good cause of action, and showing in what place or country such defendant is or probably may be found, and whether such defendant is a British subject or not, and the grounds upon which the application is made ; and no such leave shall be granted unless it shall be made sufficiently to appear to the Court or Judge that the case is a proper one for service out of the jurisdiction under this order.'

As showing the vigilance that requires to be exercised in scanning proposed Acts of Parliament dealing with legal process, in order to see that they do not injuriously affect the rights of Scotsmen, it may be noted that during what may be called the agitation regarding the Common Law Rules, there were no fewer than four bills before Parliament which called for the notice and the interposition of

the Committee of Scottish legal bodies already referred to. These were—first, the Inferior Courts Judgments Extension Act. This Act, as introduced into Parliament by Mr. Monk on behalf of the Associated Chambers of Commerce, would have given the Inferior Courts of England the same mischievous power over Scotsmen as was conferred upon the Supreme Courts by the Judgments Extension Act of 1868. The then Lord Advocate, the Right Honourable J. B. Balfour, however, to whose assiduity and firmness in dealing with this and cognate matters his countrymen are deeply indebted, succeeded in introducing a clause into the bill exempting from its application all judgments obtained against persons over whom the Inferior Courts of the United Kingdom had no jurisdiction, according to the Rules of International Law. Second, the English Bankruptcy Bill. This bill, as originally introduced, contained a clause which would have given the English Bankruptcy Court jurisdiction in almost any case where an English creditor chose to sequestrate a Scottish debtor, and if it had passed in that shape, there can be little doubt that enormous numbers of Scottish sequestrations would have been taken to England and administered there. Fortunately upon the Grand Committee, to whom the bill was remitted, there were several Scottish members well acquainted with the subject, among others Mr. Asher, then Solicitor General for Scotland, and Mr. George Anderson, late M.P. for Glasgow. Mr. Asher, as a Scottish lawyer, naturally took a lead in the matter, and succeeded not only in having the obnoxious clause amended, but in introducing other clauses similar to those which had been found beneficial in the Scotch Bankruptcy Statutes, and among others a clause facilitating the transference of sequestrations from England to Scotland, where that might be found to be proper and convenient, just as is provided in the Scottish sequestration statutes with regard to England. Third, the Patent Bills, with regard to which at one time there seemed to be some danger of the jurisdiction of the Scottish Courts being invaded: and fourth, an absurd Act regarding declarators of legitimacy, which was introduced into the House of Lords, but was very soon rejected, owing to the action of

Lord Watson and the Lord Chancellor, whose attention he had directed to the matter.

It is now time that we should turn to the conflict that has arisen between the Courts of England and Scotland in connection with the Chancery jurisdiction of the English Courts. The best known cases in connection with this subject are the cases relating to the administration of the estates of the late Sir William Maxwell of Pollok and Keir, and of the late John Orr Ewing of Glasgow; and as regards the custody of a minor, the case of *Stuart* v. *Stuart*, which related to the disposal of the person of the present Marquess of Bute while in minority. It must be noticed, however, that the jurisdiction claimed by the Court of Chancery over the estates of deceased Scotsmen, or the persons of Scotsmen in minority is not of recent origin, but has for long been recognised in Chancery practice, not only with regard to the estates and persons of Scotsmen, but with regard to the estates and person of any foreigner. It has further to be noticed that the Chancery judgments in such cases are not enforcible in Scotland under the Judgments Extension Act, and therefore can only be enforced by an appeal to the Scottish Courts, or by the much more direct and powerful method of doing legal diligence by fine or imprisonment against the persons of those interested in an estate, or against such minors as are sought to be subjected to the order of the Court, if these persons can be found within the jurisdiction of the Court of Chancery. It is, however, perfectly certain that this jurisdiction would have existed and would have been enforced, as far as the Court of Chancery itself could do so, even although Scotland and England had remained absolutely separate and distinct kingdoms. The real grievance which Scotsmen have a right to complain of is, that when the Courts in Scotland, following Scots law and the rules of general International law, have decided not to enforce the orders of the Court of Chancery, the litigants who desire to have these orders enforced can appeal to the House of Lords. The result in almost every case has been that the House of Lords has to a greater or less extent upheld the Chancery proceedings. It therefore would seem as if there was a necessity for some Act of Parliament being passed

which should distinctly lay down that unless all parties interested were agreed, there should be no administration of the estates of deceased Scotsmen by the English Courts, after confirmation of these estates had been granted in Scotland, and that the Courts of Scotland should have the sole and exclusive jurisdiction in all matters relating to such estates except with regard to such portions thereof as might be situated in England, or unless the deceased had left a will expressing his desire to have the whole or part of his estate administered in England; and further, that the Courts of Scotland should have the sole power of regulating the custody of pupils who are domiciled in Scotland, and whose ordinary place of residence is there. Such an Act is all the more called for because nowadays, owing to the great facilities for travelling which exist, and the constant intercourse that goes on between England and Scotland, the Court of Chancery can enforce the abnormal jurisdiction which it claims in a great number of cases by getting hold of trustees in England and forcing them, by imprisonment or otherwise to obey its orders or by getting hold of the persons of Scottish minors while resident in England for temporary purposes such as education.

It might perhaps be well here to explain what an administration suit is, for, until the Orr Ewing case, the Scottish public were happily ignorant of that sort of action altogether, although they might have read in works of fiction and elsewhere of estates being thrown into Chancery, frequently with the result of never re-appearing again, or re-appearing in a state of bankruptcy, or in the shape of a deficit and a claim of costs. An administration suit, then, simply consists in this, that the Court of Chancery, by its judges, chief clerks, and clerks, undertakes the whole management of an estate, as a rule sells and realizes the whole moveable estate, and invests it in Consols, and manages landed or other estate which cannot be disposed of, under regulations which cause enormous expense and trouble. Thus in the Stirling-Maxwell case, in which the estates of Keir and Pollok were taken under the grandmotherly care of the Chancery Division, the trustees were unable to make the smallest payment in

connection with these estates without the express authority of the Court, given by means of the masters or the chief clerks of Chancery. It is the duty of these officials to go over the accounts and vouchers of the estates with the solicitors of the parties, and to certify to the judge what payments if any have in their opinion been rightly made, and what ought not to be allowed. The judge then makes an order in accordance with the clerks' certificate or hears counsel for and against the allowance if necessary. This procedure is obviously costly and tedious. It involves the employment of English in addition to the Scottish solicitors, and necessitates the services of a solicitor or his clerk whenever an account is to be passed, or any trifling matter to be brought before the chief clerk. All this of course forms a charge on the estate, and the accounts and vouchers required are of the most minute and detailed character. Not a blacksmith's or joiner's account on the estates mentioned could be paid without passing through this process. The consequence of course is great inconvenience in the management of estates, and, we need hardly add, very great expense.

It may exemplify the practice of the Court of Chancery to state shortly the facts of the two cases we have alluded to. The late Sir William Stirling Maxwell of Pollok and Keir left a will leaving six executors. By his will he appointed these persons the guardians of his two infant sons, to whom he left nearly all his property, including the estates of Pollok and Keir. The estates were being managed by these executors in the ordinary way, when, owing probably to some trivial disagreement, one of the executors brought a Chancery administration suit, calling himself, as by a fiction of English law he was enabled to do, the next friend of the testator's sons. The other five executors very properly objected to this procedure, and maintained that the Court of Chancery, at all events, should confine its administration order to such personal estate as was situated in England, and that in no wise had they any business to interfere with Scottish landed estates. This pleading was rejected by the Vice-Chancellor, who gave the ordinary administration judgment, whereupon the five executors ap-

pealed, but the Vice-Chancellor's judgment was affirmed by the Court of Appeal, simply on the ground, as stated by Lord Justice James, that the decree was entirely in accordance with the established practice of the Court. 'Decrees have been made constantly in this Court,' he goes on to say, 'with respect to the assets of an Englishman domiciled abroad, or the assets of a foreigner domiciled abroad, if a person is found here who is accountable for them, or who is within the jurisdiction of the Court. I am not aware that it was ever laid down that there ought to be a limitation of the decree in that respect." And the result has been that ever since 1879 the estates of Sir William Stirling Maxwell have been administered in Chancery, and that positively an attempt was made in the Scottish Courts to plead that the trustees could not be made answerable there because of the dependence of the administration suit in Chancery. The Scottish Courts, however, very summarily disposed of this plea, and the English Chancery judges seem to have thought it wise to acquiesce in their decision.

In the case of Orr Ewing the Court of Chancery founded their jurisdiction partly on the fact that some trustees were resident in England, and also that part of the assets of the estate—about one-eighteenth of the whole—was invested in English funds. The administration action was brought at the instance of a Mr. Wellesley Hope, who happened to be the legatee of a legatee of Mr. Orr Ewing, and who, with the view of compelling, as he thought, more speedy payment of his own legacy, threatened a Chancery suit, and finally raised it. He did so, however, under the guise of a so-called next friend to one of the residuary legatees of Mr. Orr Ewing, who was then a minor, with whom, so far as appears from the case, he had no connection in the world, who had several brothers, and whose father was alive. Notwithstanding this the Chancery Division, against the wish of the trustees whom Mr. Ewing had nominated to manage his estate, and of almost all the persons interested in the estate, made an administration order. The trustees ran the gauntlet of all the English Appeal Courts up to the House of Lords, and had the question decided against

them, last of all, by that tribunal, simply on the ground that what had been done was in accordance with Chancery practice, and that the Court of Chancery could enforce its jurisdiction against the trustees who were temporarily or permanently resident in England. It ought perhaps to be mentioned that Justice Manisty, before whom the case first of all came, who had been at the Common Law bar, and who was presumably not tainted with the extraordinary notions prevalent at the Chancery bar, decided the case in favour of the Scottish trustees; but this was the only encouragement they got in the English Courts. Some of the beneficiaries, however, being highly dissatisfied with what had been done, raised an action in the Court of Session asking that Court to declare that under Mr. Orr Ewing's will the trustees were bound to administer his estate according to the law of Scotland and subject to the jurisdiction of the Scottish Courts, and were not entitled to place any of the title deeds of the estate beyond the jurisdiction of the Scottish Courts. The summons proceeded to ask for an interdict against the trustees removing any of the estate or title deeds beyond the control of the Scottish Courts, or from rendering accounts of the estate to or placing the administration thereof under the control of the Court of Chancery. It further asked that the trustees should be removed, that the estate should be sequestrated, and a judicial factor appointed upon it. Lord Fraser, who was the judge in the first instance, substantially granted decree in the terms asked by the beneficiaries, and in a perspicuous and trenchant opinion, he stated his grounds for the judgment he had arrived at. He pointed out that so far as could be discovered no such pretension as that which had been set up by the Court of Chancery in England had ever been asserted by the Courts of any other country, that in particular none of the States of America ever asserted the right to bring into their Courts the estates of a citizen domiciled in another State of the Union, merely because he had dollars invested in the State of the ancillary administration. He further pointed out that the practice of the Court of Chancery was totally opposed to all International law as

expounded by the best writers, British, American, and foreign upon that subject; and he arrived at the conclusion 'that the orders of the Court of Chancery in England are inconsistent with the rules and practice between independent nations, and that therefore the courts of the domicile are bound, in the protection of the interests of the estate within the domicile, to grant interdict against compliance with these orders.' This judgment was appealed to the First Division of the Court of Session who, after hearing the parties, pronounced an interlocutor virtually affirming Lord Fraser's, though formally recalling it, and in addition thereto they sequestrated the estate of Mr. Orr Ewing, and appointed Mr. George Auldjo Jamieson, chartered accountant in Edinburgh, to be judicial factor upon it. They further granted interdict against removing the estate or titles beyond the jurisdiction of this Court. After a good deal of procedure the infant plaintiff, as he was called, and his next friend, were allowed to appeal against this judgment. The case came up to House of Lords, who, be it observed, had formerly affirmed the decision of the Court of Chancery in the first case. Their Lordships took what may be called a middle course. They reversed the judgment of the Court of Session, in so far as it affirmed the exclusive jurisdiction of the Scottish Courts, but they affirmed the practical part of the interlocutor, inasmuch as they held that the Scottish Courts had full jurisdiction to sequestrate the estate in Scotland, on the ground of the persons of the trustees and the trust property being there and they upheld the appointment of a judicial factor, because in the circumstances a *prima facie* case of convenience in favour of a judicial administration in Scotland had been made out. Since this judgment there has been a sort of double administration going on in the Chancery Division in England and under the judicial factor in the Court of Session; but the principles on which the House of Lords will proceed in such cases seem for the time to be settled, and the result seems to be that the only escape from a Chancery administration suit, in the case of a Scottish trust, is to set up a rival administration in Scotland, and the only form

in which this can be done is by getting the estate sequestrated and put under the administration of a judicial factor—in other words, by ousting from the management, the trustees whom the testator appointed to manage the estate, and to look after the interests of the beneficiaries under his will. It can hardly be doubted that this is exceedingly unsatisfactory, and that a legislative remedy is strongly called for. As we have above indicated, it ought to be sufficient to oust the jurisdiction of the English Courts, that the trustees and executors should have taken out confirmation in Scotland, and found security in the Scotch Courts that they will perform their duties properly. Unless the present assumption by the Court of Chancery of jurisdiction over Scottish estates is put a stop to, there is reason to fear that Scotsmen will soon become unhappily familiar with the expense and delays of Chancery suit. Much of the wealth of Scotsmen is invested in England, so that one ground of the jurisdiction assumed by the Court of Chancery will be present with ever increasing frequency. Again the daily intercourse between the two countries, both social and commercial, renders it more and more frequent for Scotsmen to nominate one or more English friends among their trustees and executors, parties, it may be, to whom they are related by marriage, or as in the Orr-Ewing case, relations of their own who have settled in London. The practice in the Scottish Courts in regard to interference with the arrangements made by deceased persons for the management of their estates after their death, is very different from that of the Court of Chancery, and is much more commendable. The Lord President in the Orr-Ewing case thus states the principles on which it proceeds:—

'The great principle in the administration of Scottish testamentary trusts is to leave the administration where the testator himself has placed it, unless from fault or accident the trust has become unworkable, and even in that case the court do not undertake the administration, but appoint new trustees or a judicial factor, who will occupy the same position and possess the same powers of extra judicial administration which the trustees named by the testator occupy and possess. After this explanation, it may seem almost superfluous to say that an administration suit of the kind, used and sanctioned in the English Court of Chancery, is altogether unknown to Scottish practice. I trust I do not exceed the true limit of judi-

cial utterance when I add that it is very fortunate for the people of Scotland that it is so.'

Of course it is not Scotsmen and Scotch estates alone that are treated in this manner by the Court of Chancery. In the case of *Enohim* v. *Wylie* (10 House of Lords, cases 13), the Court of Chancery, against the advice of Lord Westbury, who had some notion of what International law really was, undertook the administration of a large estate situated almost wholly in Russia; and we recently heard of a case where, at the instance of some enterprising next friend (possibly the solicitor's clerk, or some equally disinterested person), a large estate in Australia was ordered to be realised and transmitted to the Court of Chancery in London. But the claim that Scotsmen possess to have the English jurisdiction restricted in this matter rests upon the fact of the two countries being under the same government, and upon the inconvenience that may be entailed upon many of Her Majesty's subjects by the fact that a journey into England, or a short residence there, may be followed by an estate in which they are interested being transferred to the tender mercies of the Court of Chancery, or they themselves being rendered subject to its jurisdiction. In connection with this we may refer to a curious case in which an eminent Edinburgh lawyer found himself placed in rather an awkward position. At a meeting of debenture holders of one of those numerous new American companies, which is commonly reported have cost the people of Edinburgh and the east of Scotland the loss of some millions of money, he made some remarks on one of the promoters of the company, which that gentleman did not consider very flattering. Shortly after this the lawyer in question had occasion to go to America, and took his passage there and back *via* Liverpool, and by the Cunard Line. On his return from his trip, and while taking his breakfast on board the steamer *Servia*, in the Mersey, previous to landing, he was surprised by being served with a writ in an action in the High Court of Justice in England, by a process server who had boarded the vessel in the zealous execution of his duty. At the time the summons in the action was issued, the defendant was on the

high seas, but yet he was therein described apparently by anticipation as 'of Liverpool, in the County of Lancaster,' though his only connection with Liverpool was his using it as the port from and to which he made his voyages. The summons which he was served with was one of damages for slander, and although he appealed to the English Courts to have the order of service set aside, both the Divisional Court and the Court of Appeal rejected his request, and held that he had been properly subjected to the jurisdiction of the English Courts. Now, while undoubtedly it has always been law in the English Courts that a person is properly subjected to their jurisdiction if served with a summons while personally within that jurisdiction, it does seem rather hard that this rule should be enforced with regard to Scotsmen, who have very frequently occasion to be in England, and who can be made answerable before Her Majesty's judges in their own country without inflicting any great hardship on persons having claims against them. The rule of Scottish law, which requires residence for forty days in Scotland prior to the citation of a person not domiciled there, seems to be a fair rule in the circumstances, and should be applied in each of the three kingdoms to inhabitants of the other kingdoms. The parties in the case just referred to subsequently came to an understanding with each other, and the case has not proceeded; but it is a very fair instance of the inconvenience that may arise from there being no restriction in favour of Her Majesty's subjects of the rules of jurisdiction in vogue in the English Courts.

With regard to the guardianship of minors, there are two very striking decisions by the House of Lords. The first of these is the case of *Johnston* v. *Beattie* (10 Clark and Finelly 42). There a Scotsman had appointed guardians to his child, and executors of his will. His widow took the child to England, where it resided till her death. A dispute then arose between the maternal grandfather, who lived in England, and the guardians, who lived in Scotland, as to the custody of the child. There was no property whatever in England belonging to the child, and there was no doubt that the child's legal domicile was in Scotland. The question then

came to be whether the Courts of England would recognise the Scottish guardians or appoint a guardian of their own. Lord Chancellor Cottenham in the Court of Chancery refused to recognise the Scottish guardians, and referred the case to a Master in Chancery to appoint a guardian. The case was appealed to the House of Lords, who by a majority affirmed the Lord Chancellor's judgment, and absolutely refused to recognise the authority of the Scottish guardians.

Subsequently, in the Marquess of Bute's case the House of Lords took a precisely opposite course, and compelled the Scottish Courts to recognise the authority of guardians appointed by the Court of Chancery in England, and this they did *proprio motu*, and without waiting for the decision of the Court of Session on the point. The result was that the Scottish tutor-at-law, Lieutenant Colonel Stuart, was set aside by an interlocutor of the Court of Session pronounced solely in obedience to an order from the House of Lords, and he was ordered to deliver the person of his ward to Major General Charles Stuart, the guardian appointed by the Court of Chancery. It was in that case that the present Lord President of the Court of Session made his well known protest against the remarks of Lord Campbell in the House of Lords, and the suggestion there made that the Scottish Courts had been influenced in their procedure by the case of *Johnston* v. *Beattie*, and also protested against the House of Lords judging in a matter which had not previously been decided by the Court of Session. After pointing out that the decision in *Johnston* v. *Beattie* involved a violation of the principles of International law recognised in Scotland and all the States on the continent of Europe, he goes on to say:—

'The Court, therefore, can hardly have sacrificed any of its dignity by following *Johnston* v. *Beattie;* indeed, I am quite at a loss to understand how the dignity of this Court can have been truly involved — either compromised or enhanced by its proceedings in this case. We are not in use to seek the promotion of our dignity, except by the simple and unpretending discharge of our duty. We have no opportunities for the display of our magnanimity. We must be content to rest our reputation on a faithful observation of our oath of office, which binds us to administer the law of Scotland, and we strive to do so with the lights we have to the best of our ability. We have also

another duty occasionally to perform, which is to carry out the orders of the House of Lords adversely to our own original opinions, and to this duty we address ourselves most cheerfully and with the fullest reliance in the wisdom of that most honourable House. But we are now, I think for the first time, required to execute a judgment of the House of Lords without the possibility of knowing whether, if we had been allowed to consider and decide the case, our judgment would or would not have been in accordance with that of the Court of Appeal.'

The impression left on every reasonable person by a consideration of the cases we have referred to, must, we think, be that the English Courts are very prone to extend their jurisdiction over their neighbours, and that English lawyers, particularly in the Court of Chancery, or, as it is now called, the Chancery Division of the High Court of Justice, have very little appreciation of International law or of the comity due by one nation to another in such questions as the administration of estates and the guardianship of minors. It is, however, not seemly that the courts of two countries so closely connected as England and Scotland should frequently be coming into conflict, for we may be sure that although it is only cases involving large sums of money or the guardianship of some well known person that come before the public, there must be numerous similar cases where hardship is inflicted and suffered but which escape notice in the mass of Chancery business. All this makes it very desirable that there should be a remedy of some kind provided for this state of matters, and that that remedy should not be by way of alterations of the rules of English Courts, which rules may be altered at pleasure of the Lord Chancellor and his Committee of Judges, but by way of an imperial Act of Parliament applicable to all the three kingdoms: such Act, *first*, prescribing distinctly in what cases the Courts of any one kingdom should have jurisdiction over persons resident in any other; *second*, forbidding the administration of estates of deceased persons except under the Courts of the country where the deceased person was domiciled unless *(a)* the testator has otherwise directed, or *(b)* all parties interested are otherwise agreed; and *third*, providing that except with consent of all persons interested or other exceptional cases, minors should be subject only to

guardians answerable to the Court of the minor's own domicile. It would probably also be right that any Act of Parliament to be passed on the subject should contain a clause providing that the other Courts of the Queen should, when necessary, act as ancillary to the Courts of the deceased's domicile with regard to estates or effects in their jurisdiction, thus carrying out a principle of mutual assistance between the Courts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, which already has been recognised with advantage by the Legislature, in regard to the administration of companies in liquidation and of bankrupt estates.

Nothing has been said about Ireland in this article, but it will be remembered that the Irish made common cause with the Scotch in 1876 in protesting against the rules of the English Courts. In the following year, however, or shortly afterwards, the Irish Courts had similar powers conferred upon them, and apparently believing that this arrangement was for their own benefit they have ceased altogether to give any assistance to Scotsmen in their protest against the encroachments of the English Courts. Not only so, but whenever they get the chance they take full advantage of their newly acquired powers. We recently heard of a case in which an Irish ship had been insured in Glasgow in the usual way by underwriters, the number of whom, if we recollect aright, was about a hundred, and each of whom, of course, was liable only for a comparatively trifling sum. In an ordinary case these underwriters would have all been embraced in one summons, but the Hibernian solicitor evidently thought that this was too good a chance to be lost, and actually issued summonses against every one of the individual underwriters, and under the rules of the Irish Courts obtained service out of the jurisdiction against them all. The case was, we believe compromised, but it is a signal instance of how the power of service out of the jurisdiction may be abused. It may be added that the Irish rules still remain the same as they have always been, and that every now and again summonses are issued from Ireland against Scotsmen just as they were by the English Courts before the publication of the amended rules in 1883. Fortunately the

trade between Scotland and Ireland is not very large, and the effect of these rules is not very widely felt; but it forms an additional reason for having one Act of Parliament embracing the whole of the United Kingdom, and laying down equitable rules for all the three countries. In any such Act it would probably be right that the Scotch Courts should give up, with regard to Englishmen and Irishmen, the practice of founding jurisdiction by way of arrestment—a practice which undoubtedly has occasionally given rise to some abuse. It seems absurd that London papers such as the *Saturday Review* and the *Athenæum* should be compelled to answer to actions of slander in the Scotch Courts, merely because there may be money due to them by news-agents in Scotland which has been arrested, or because some copies of their papers have been sold here. It is said that the doctrine of jurisdiction founded on arrestment may be carried so far as, that if an Englishman were to leave a box of toothpicks at an inn, jurisdiction might be founded against him by arresting it, and it is alleged that a member of the late Government expressed his entire want of sympathy with the Scotch members, who were trying to have the rules of the English Courts altered, because, as he stated, he had been subjected to an action in the Scotch Courts, owing to having left an umbrella in a hotel at Oban which was arrested to found jurisdiction. It may very well be doubted whether the Scotch Courts would sustain their jurisdiction upon arrestments of subjects of such trivial value, but even where considerable sums are arrested it would seem right with regard to persons resident in England or Ireland, that that ground of jurisdiction should be given up. Of course it would be retained against persons resident in foreign countries, and jurisdiction founded on arrestment would require to be retained by all the three countries, even with regard to subjects of the Queen in matters relating to ships and shipping if for no other reason than this, that maritime proceedings are truly proceedings against the ship, although in Scotland they take the form of a personal action. Subject to these exceptions, however, this ground of jurisdiction should in our

opinion be surrendered by the Scotch Courts in the case of Englishmen and Irishmen, and the similar jurisdiction which exists in the city of London would also require to be abrogated as regards Scotsmen and Irishmen.

To sum up the remarks we have made, the present state of the question is as follows:—Scotsmen are practically secure against being summoned before the Common Law Courts in England unless they can be served with a summons while personally in English territory, but this security rests on an unsatisfactory, we had almost said an insecure, foundation because it depends on the rules of the English Courts which have been altered before and may be altered again by a committee of English judges. These rules ought therefore, with regard to Scotsmen and Irishmen to be superseded by an Act of Parliament. The Chancery Courts are still fully vested in the jurisdiction which they have always asserted in disregard of the ordinary principles of International law, and in virtue of their old-established practice they still continue to deal as they think fit with Scotch estates or the persons of Scotch minors whenever they can enforce their decrees by legal diligence, and this they will be able in future to do in an increasing number of cases by reason of the close social, and commercial relations existing between the two countries. Legislation is thus urgently called for to prescribe reasonable limits within which the Chancery Jurisdiction is to be confined in the case of Scotsmen and Irishmen. We have already suggested the direction which such legislation should take.

The powers of the Irish Common Law Courts over Englishmen and Scotsmen ought to be restricted by Act of Parliament as has been done by the amended rules of the English Courts with regard to Scotsmen and Irishmen, and the Irish Chancery Jurisdiction ought to be limited in the same direction as has been suggested in the case of England.

The Scottish Courts ought to be deprived in the case of Englishmen and Irishmen of their power to found jurisdiction by the use of arrestments, except in cases connected with ships and shipping.

All these suggested improvements might be readily accom-

plished by one Act of Parliament, which might be prepared by a Committee or Commission appointed by Parliament, composed of a few judges and practising lawyers, drawn equally from each of the three portions of the United Kingdom. There can be no doubt that such an Act would prove a boon alike to the people and the judicatories of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

It is devoutly to be wished that such an Act will be passed soon if there is any danger of the new-born craze for separate Parliaments having its objects realized; for such legislation as we have suggested will certainly become impossible if there are to be separate Parliaments for England, Scotland, Ireland, and Wales, to say nothing of the Island of Skye, which, being separated by the sea from the adjacent Islands of Great Britain and Ireland, and, having its own native customs and peculiarities, has plainly important claims to a separate Legislature—which, once established, would never consent to the recognition within that sacred isle of anything savouring so much of the hated civilisation of the Saxon, and so repugnant to the noble barbarism of the Gael, as the authority of a Court of Law.

ART. II.—MR. SPENCER'S 'UNKNOWABLE.'

1. *First Principles.* By HERBERT SPENCER. Third Edition. London, 1870.
2. *Discussions on Philosophy and Literature, etc.* By SIR WILLIAM HAMILTON, Bart. Second Edition. London, 1853.

MR. SPENCER seems to us to have accomplished one of the most remarkable feats ever achieved either in philosophy or literature. He has written a book on the unknowable. It is perhaps late in the day to turn to it again; still as it occurs in *First Principles*, and as first principles are all the better for being turned over now and again and re-examined, so that we may be

sure that we are not on a wrong tack; it may not be out of place once more to direct attention to this remarkable book, and to subject it again to a careful and searching scrutiny. If any authority be demanded for doing this, we have it to hand in the book itself. Mr. Spencer there tells us that the subject is one of the utmost importance possible.

'The matter,' he says, 'is one which concerns each and all of us more than any other matter whatever. Though it affects us little in a direct way, the view we arrive at must indirectly affect us in all our relations—must determine our conception of the Universe, of Life, of Human Nature—must influence our ideas of right and wrong, and so modify our conduct. To reach that point of view from which the seeming discordance of Religion and Science disappears, and the two merge into one, must cause a revolution of thought fruitful in beneficial consequences, and must surely be worth an effort.' *

There can be no doubt that Mr. Spencer is right. The question whether that which he calls the 'Unknowable' is known, or can be known, lies at the root of all others, and on the way in which it is answered depend many of, if not all, the problems of life, and many of its most important results.

In that remarkable preface prefixed to *First Principles*, Mr. Spencer tells us that the purpose of the book in question is to carry a step further the doctrine put into shape by Hamilton and Mansel; to point out the various directions in which Science leads to the same conclusions; and to show that in this united belief in an Absolute that transcends not only human knowledge but human conception, lies the only possible reconciliation of science and religion. That Sir William Hamilton and Dean Mansel did something notable in philosophy or theology, or that one or other of them taught a peculiar and important doctrine, most readers are aware; but what the doctrine either of them taught is, very few, and not a few who lay claim to be philosophers, seem to have any very accurate idea. The writings of both Sir William Hamilton and Dean Mansel have become historical, and, like many other such, we imagine, are more spoken about than read. It may not be amiss, therefore, to refer to them again so that we

* *First Principles*, p. 24.

may learn what doctrine or doctrines they actually taught in connection with the matter in hand.

First, we will refer to the writings of Sir William Hamilton, as in the order of time he is earlier than Dean Mansel, and indeed may be regarded, in some respects, as the philosophical father of his Oxford Editor. The place where the doctrine he is supposed to teach is to be found, or rather the place where he is supposed to teach the doctrine which Mr. Herbert Spencer desires to carry a step further, is the celebrated essay on the Unconditioned. Sir William, it may be as well to mention, wrote this essay at the earnest solicitation of Mr. Napier, then recently appointed Editor of the *Edinburgh Review*. Properly speaking, it is a criticism of M. Cousin's doctrine of the Infinite-Absolute; and in the course of his criticism, Sir William states his own opinion on the subject which we shall here, notwithstanding its length, transcribe as it is of essential importance that we should have his *ipsissima verba* before us.

'In our opinion,' he says, 'the mind can conceive, and consequently can know, only the *limited, and the conditionally limited*. The unconditionally unlimited, or the *Infinite*, the unconditionally limited, or the *Absolute*, cannot positively be construed to the mind; they can be conceived, only by a thinking away from, or abstraction of, those very conditions under which thought itself is realised; consequently, the notion of the Unconditioned is only *negative*—negative of the conceivable itself. For example: on the one hand we can positively conceive, neither an absolute whole, that is, a whole so great, that we cannot also conceive it as a relative part of a still greater whole; nor an absolute part, that is, a part so small that we cannot also conceive it as a relative whole, divisible into smaller parts. On the other hand, we cannot positively represent, or realize, or construe to the mind (as here Understanding and Imagination coincide), an infinite whole, for this could only be done by the infinite synthesis in thought of finite wholes, which would itself require an infinite time for its accomplishment; nor, for the same reason, can we follow out in thought an infinite divisibility of parts. The result is the same, whether we apply the process to limitation in *space*, in *time*, or in *degree*. The unconditional negation, and the unconditional affirmation of limitation; in other words, the *Infinite* and the *Absolute, properly so called*, are thus equally inconceivable to us.

'As the conditionally limited (which we may briefly call the *Conditioned*) is thus the only possible object of knowledge and of positive thought—thought necessarily supposes condition. *To think* is *to condition*; and conditional limitation is the fundamental law of the possibility of thought.

For, as the greyhound cannot outstrip his shadow, nor (by a more appropriate simile) the eagle outsoar the atmosphere in which he floats, and by which alone he is supported; so the mind cannot transcend that sphere of limitation, within and through which exclusively the possibility of thought is realized. Thought is only of the conditioned; because, as we have said, to think is simply to condition. The *Absolute* is conceived merely by a negation of conceivability; and all that we know, is only known as

——won from the void and formless *Infinite.*

How, indeed, it could ever be doubted that thought is only of the Conditioned, may well be deemed a matter of the profoundest admiration. Thought cannot transcend consciousness; consciousness is only possible under the antithesis of a subject and object of thought, known only in correlation, and mutually limiting each other; while, independently of this, all that we know either of subject or object, either of mind or matter, is only a knowledge in each of the particular, of the plural, of the different, of the modified, of the phaenomenal. We admit that the consequence of this doctrine is—that philosophy, if viewed as more than a science of the Conditioned, is impossible. Departing from the particular, we admit, that we can never, in our highest generalisations, rise above the Finite; that our knowledge, whether of mind or matter, can be nothing more than a knowledge of the relative manifestations of an existence, which in itself it is our highest wisdom to recognise as beyond the reach of philosophy. This is what, in the language of St. Austin—'*Cognoscendo ignoratur, et ignorando cognoscitur.*'

The Conditioned is the mean between two extremes—two inconditionates, exclusive of each other, *neither of which can be conceived as possible*, but of which, on the principles of contradiction and excluded middle, *one must be admitted as necessary*. On this opinion, therefore, our faculties are shown to be weak, but not deceitful. The mind is not represented as conceiving two propositions subversive of each other, as equally possible; but only, as unable to understand as possible, either of two extremes; one of which, however, on the ground of their mutual repugnance, it is compelled to recognise as true. We are thus taught the salutary lesson, that the capacity of thought is not to be constituted into the measure of existence; and are warned from recognising the domain of our knowledge as necessarily co-extensive with the horizon of our faith. And by a wonderful revelation, we are thus, in the very consciousness of our inability to conceive aught above the relative and finite, inspired with the belief in the existence of something unconditioned beyond the sphere of all reprehensible reality."*

It is not necessary to enter into any very lengthy discussion or explanation respecting the above. Its author has set forth his

* *Discussions*, pp. 13-15.

opinion with such force and clearness as to make his meaning almost unmistakeable. It is necessary, however, to make one or two remarks respecting it.

First, it is asserted that we can conceive only the limited and the conditionally limited. Of this there can be no question. To conceive is to form a conception, and to form a conception is to form a mental image or representation, and this can, of course, be done only under the conditions, to mention no others, of time and space.

Secondly, it is said we can know only the limited and the conditionally limited. The truth of this depends on the meaning we attach to the word know, and on the manner in which we regard the limited and the conditionally limited. If the word know is taken as an equivalent for conceive, or for to form a mental image of, it is true; but if it be taken in the usual sense of being acquainted with, or having a knowledge of, it is not. There are many things we may be said, and with truth, to know of which we can form no mental image whatever, as e.g., a man's character, goodness, virtue, &c. Again, if the limited and conditionally limited be regarded as a thing apart or by itself, and the word know be taken in the sense of conceive or to form a mental image of, then it is true that we can know only the limited and the conditionally limited; but if this latter be regarded as simply a part of a whole, and the word know be used in the sense of being acquainted with or having a knowledge of, it is not true. For example, a man may know but a very limited portion of space, yet, even though he cannot conceive it except under a definite form, few will say that he does not know space, or that he has no knowledge of it. Conceivability, we take it, is not the measure of knowledge, nor is perception. Force is a thing of which no one has yet had the faintest perception; yet it will be difficult to find any one who does not know it, or who is without a pretty large acquaintance with it.

Thirdly, the Unconditioned, the Absolute, and the Infinite, of which Sir William Hamilton speaks, are not realities. Though he prints them with capitals, they are simply chimeras of the imagination. The Unconditioned includes the Absolute and the Infinite. The Absolute is the unconditionally limited, 'a whole so

great that we cannot also conceive it as a relative part of a still greater whole,' or a 'part so small that we cannot also conceive it as a relative whole divisible into smaller parts.' The Infinite is that which is boundless or composed of infinite parts. Of either of these, the Absolute or the Infinite, we cannot form, it is maintained, any mental image, for the simple reason that if it were possible to do so, they would be placed under conditions, and their character of being Unconditioned would be thus shown to be illusory.

Fourthly, and we beg the reader to assure himself of this, Sir William Hamilton does not identify his Unconditioned, or his Infinite and Absolute, with the Divine Being. As he speaks of them they are merely, as we have said, chimeras of the human imagination. The capital letters with which he has printed them have, we imagine, misled many, but whether there is any reality answering to the Unconditioned he does not say; all he maintains is that the Unconditioned, the Infinite, and the Absolute, as he defines them, are by us properly speaking inconceivable.

Fifthly, in the second and third paragraphs above cited, Sir William Hamilton has introduced much confusion, and opened the way for all manner of speculative vagaries, by using the terms knowledge, thought, think, generalisation as convertible with conceive, or to use our own phrase, form a mental image of. There is much in these paragraphs which is true, and much which is false. As we may have occasion to refer to them again, we will confine our remarks here to one or two points. It is not true that the conditionally limited is the only possible object of knowledge. Every one has a positive knowledge of space, and every one has a positive knowledge of the Universe, though, for aught we know, they are both infinite. It is true, that thought cannot transcend consciousness if to think is to form a conception: but it is not true that consciousness or even knowledge cannot transcend thought if the same meaning is still given to the term to think. It is true, again, that our knowledge can only be of the relative manifestations of an existence; but it is not true that our highest generalisations cannot rise above the finite; they may touch and concern, as they have a perpetual tendency to do, and as many of them actually do, the infinite.

And further, while it is true that the 'domain of our knowledge' is not necessarily coextensive with the 'horizon of our faith,' it is not true, that our inability to conceive aught above the relative and the finite, cuts off the possibility of our knowing aught higher, or leaves us merely the belief in its existence. Lastly, we shall venture the remark that the Unconditioned does not exist. Existence, except under conditions, is simply impossible, and looked at either from a philosophical or a common sense point of view, the Unconditioned, the Absolute and the Infinite, as defined by Sir William Hamilton, are simply a set of conundrums, well nigh useless for philosophical and theological purposes, and fruitful in all manner of obstructions to philosophical or theological progress.

To the reader, and especially to the Agnostic reader, these last assertions may seem too strong. We hope, however, to show in the sequel that they are true. As for the last, that the Unconditioned, the Absolute, and the Infinite are, as conceived or described by Sir W. Hamilton, well nigh useless for all philosophical and theological purposes, and fruitful in obstruction in all manner of philosophical and theological progress, this we think is shown by the history of thought during recent years. The most considerable results of Sir W. Hamilton's essay have been a great number of violent assertions, an immense amount of useless argumentation, and no end of confusion and logomachy.

As for our other assertion, that the Unconditioned, the Absolute and the Infinite, as described by Sir W. Hamilton, are nothing more than a set of conundrums or speculative puzzles, in proof of this we claim the whole of the long extract we have given above. 'A whole so great that we cannot also conceive it as a relative part of a still greater whole; and, a part so small that we cannot also conceive it as a relative whole, divisible into smaller parts,' an infinite series of increments and an infinite series of divisions—what are all these but metaphysical puzzles? That the first pair are realities, or that either of the second is possible to the human mind, Sir W. Hamilton never seems to have dreamt. His purpose in setting them down was to show that the first pair are inconceivable, and that the second are impossible. In fact, he seems to us to have regarded his genus of

the Unconditioned very much as we do ourselves, not as realities, but as impossible abstractions. That he did not identify his Infinite and Absolute with the Divine Being, there can, we think, be no doubt. He certainly speaks of it as real, but at the same time while positing its existence for the sake of argument, he pronounces it a species of image or conception the mind of man is incapable of framing. Nor can there be any doubt that he does not deny that the Divine Being can be known, apprehended, and made the object of thought or knowledge. What he denies is, that God can be known *as the infinite and absolute;* for the simple reasons, on the one hand, that to know Him *as the infinite* it is requisite to frame an infinite conception, which for the human mind is as impossible as it is self-contradictory; and on the other, because knowledge implies relations, and whatever is known ceases to be absolute or unconditioned. It is to be regretted that he has not been more accurate in his use of terms; but anyone who will keep the distinction we have already insisted upon between to know and to conceive, to have the knowledge of and to form a mental representation of, clearly before his mind will be saved a world of trouble and perplexity.

With Dean Mansel Sir W. Hamilton's Infinite and Absolute becomes the 'Absolute and Infinite Existence.' The inquiry into the nature of this and its relation to relative and finite existences, the Dean admits is not necessarily an inquiry into the nature of God. Yet for the Christian, he assures us, the two inquiries necessarily become combined into one. God, he tells us, is an Absolute Being, and an Infinite Being; in fact according to Dean Mansel, He is the Unconditioned. 'To conceive the Deity as He is, we must conceive Him as the First Cause, as Absolute, and as Infinite. By the *First Cause* is meant that which produces all things, and is itself produced of none. By the *Absolute* is meant that which exists in and of itself, having no necessary relation to any other being. By the *Infinite* is meant that which is free from all possible limitation; that than which a greater is inconceivable, and which consequently can receive no additional attribute, no mode of existence which it had not from all Eternity.'* Dr. Mansel here speaks as a Theologian and a

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* *Limits of Religious Thought*, p. 31.

Philosopher. Mr. Herbert Spencer and the whole band of Agnostics follow him. The latter have another reason, as we shall shortly see, for believing that God cannot be known; but in the above passage is their principal one. The passage therefore deserves careful consideration.

First of all, it is to be regretted that Dr. Mansel has not followed the wise practice of the 'Heathen philosophers,' and kept the consideration of the two problems, that of 'the nature of Absolute and Infinite existence and its relation to relative existences,' and that of 'the nature of God' entirely apart. The inquiry into the one, he admits, is not necessarily an inquiry into the other; and such being the case, why should the two be joined? The reason he gives is that, 'to the Christians the two, though in themselves distinct, become necessarily combined into one.' In our opinion they do not; for, whatever else it may be, Dr. Mansel's 'Absolute and Infinite Existence' is not the Christian God, and in fact has no existence, for the simple reason that 'an Absolute and Infinite Existence,' or an 'Unconditioned Exis, tence,' cannot be found either in the sphere of reality or in the sphere of possibility, being, as we have already remarked, a contradiction in terms, and, as we now add, a flagrant contradiction, nothing more than an inane fiction of certain speculative philosophers. Next we may remark, that Dr. Mansel confounds God as He is supposed to have been with God as He is, and assuming that He was 'Absolute' assumes also that He is 'Absolute.' At the same time he gives to the term 'Absolute' an altogether different meaning. With Sir W. Hamilton the Absolute is 'the unconditionally limited.' In the hands of Dean Mansel it becomes not only a concrete existence, but an independent and solitary existence, or a solitary self-existing Being. 'If we believe,' he says, 'that God made the world, not by a necessary process from all eternity, but by a free act commencing in time, we must, also believe that before that creation God existed alone, having no relation to any other being, and therefore as the One Absolute Being. In the words of Bishop Pearson, "Deus in se est ens absolutum, sine ulla relatione ad creaturas: fuit enim ab æterno sine ulla creatura, et potuit, si voluisset, in æternum sine crea-

tura esse."'* Whether the Divine Being ever existed as the Bishop here describes Him we do not know. If some of the principles Mr. Spencer has so admirably expounded in the second part of his *First Principles* be true, the probability is He did not, and will not. The implication of some of the discoveries of Science, and in fact of the whole doctrine of evolution seems to be that there never was a time when the Divine Being was not surrounded by His creatures, and that there never will be when He will not. But be that as it may; one thing is certain the description given by Bishop Pearson is not applicable to the Divine Being now; inasmuch as He is not 'sine ulla relatione ad creaturas,' but stands to them in an almost infinite number of relations. And such being the case what becomes of Dean Mansel's 'One Absolute Being?' Clearly he is not the God of Christians, nor is he the Divine Being. For aught that appears, such a being does not exist. Similarly also with Dean Mansel's 'Infinite Being'—'that which is free from all possible limitation, that than which a greater is inconceivable, and which can receive no additional attribute or mode of existence which it had not from all eternity.' This also is a mere fiction. It is not God. For as the Creator and Sustainer of all things He is limited, or is in relation with His creatures, and cannot therefore be the being whom the Dean here contemplates. In short, his 'Absolute and Infinite Existence' is no existence at all. It is merely an intellectual conundrum. Though we are compelled to conceive of God as the First Cause, we are not compelled to conceive of Him either as absolute or infinite according to the definitions given of these terms by Sir W. Hamilton and Dean Mansel, but as we conceive of all other causes, in relation to other forms of existence and as an object of knowledge. The necessity for conceiving God as the Absolute and Infinite with which the latter sets out does not in fact exist. For, as we have already remarked, existence itself is a condition, and to talk of an unconditioned conditioned is nonsense.

In the preface, to which we have already referred, Mr. Herbert Spencer proposes in his book on the 'Unknowable' to carry a step further the doctrine put into shape by Hamilton and

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* p. ix.

Mansel, *i.e.*, to point out the various directions in which Science leads to the same conclusions, and to show that in this united belief in an Absolute that transcends not only human knowledge but human conception, lies the only possible reconciliation of Science and Religion. Before going further, therefore, let us recall what it is that Hamilton and Mansel have done. The first has shown us that to form a mental image of anything which is either unconditionally limited or unconditionally unlimited is for the human mind impossible, that every conception or mental representation is and must be of some shape or form, and therefore that to conceive of God, or to know Him *as the infinite* is also impossible. And that he is right we think there can be no doubt, inasmuch as every conception as well as all knowledge is finite, though not necessarily not of the Infinite. In the hands of Mansel the speculations of his teacher become a little mixed and confused with other speculations. With him the Absolute is no longer the unconditionally limited, but that which exists in and by itself with no relations to aught else. And again, the Infinite is not only that which is free from all possible limitations but that also 'which can receive no additional attribute or mode of existence which it had not from all eternity.' And further, it is assumed by Mansel that this absolute and infinite existence of which he speaks, is the Divine Being, that to conceive Him we must conceive Him under these three contradictory categories, First Cause, Absolute, Infinite; and that these being contradictory, the Divine Being is inconceivable and unknowable. All depends, however, upon what is here assumed. In our opinion the Divine Being is not Dr. Mansel's Absolute and Infinite, for the all sufficient reason that being the First Cause or 'that which produces all things and is itself produced of none,' He is neither absolute nor infinite in Dr. Mansel's sense; nor are we under any necessity to 'conceive Him' as such. The only necessity we are under, in order to obtain any knowledge of Him, is to bear in mind that He is the First Cause, and to trace His operations wherever we can. The knowledge we thus acquire may not and will not be sufficient to entitle us to say that we know Him *as the Infinite* or *as the Absolute*; but on the other hand, it will not entitle us to say that He is a Being whom we do not know, or are

incapable of knowing, or who is, and must be, to us unknowable. That He is such a Being, however, is what Mr. Spencer assumes, and in the book we have referred to he proposes to confirm the doctrine from Science. In our own opinion, however, he fails to do this. What he really does is to assume that the unconditioned, or infinite and absolute, of the Hamiltonian philosophy is God, and then to show from Science that being such He is unknowable. We have said enough, however, to show that this assumption is wholly gratuitous, and that the infinite and absolute of Hamilton and Mansel have no existence outside the imagination of philosophers.* All the labour spent upon it seems to us to be perfectly useless, and in fact pernicious.

So far as a sound and practical philosophy is concerned the problems in connection with the questions before us are threefold:—1. Is there a First Cause? 2. Can this First Cause be known? 3. What is His character, or if the reader chooses, What is Its character? And to these problems, with the aid of Mr. Spencer, we will now direct the reader's attention.

The first may be dismissed in a few words. Most philosophers, and Mr. Spencer among them, are agreed that a First Cause does exist. For the proof of His existence, at least for the proof that the positing of His existence is a necessity of the human mind, we need only refer to Mr. Spencer's chapter on 'Ultimate Religious Ideas,' where it is shown that the belief in it 'has nothing to fear from the most inexorable logic, but on the contrary is a belief which the most inexorable logic shows to be more profoundly true than any religion supposes.'

Assuming this, therefore, and thankfully acknowledging all that Mr. Spencer has done for the refutation of Atheists, Pantheists, and others of that kind, and what he has done can scarcely be overrated, let us turn to our second question—Can this First Cause be known? Our first business is to ascertain what answer is given to it by Mr. Spencer. His ostensible answer — an answer he has repeated so often that one is

* Mr. Spencer adds the doctrine of the inscrutableness of things in themselves—a doctrine which few will doubt, and one which by no means required a philosopher to prove its truth.

almost wearied of hearing it—is that this First Cause, this Ultimate Reality cannot be known; but our own opinion is that though his ostensible answer is in the negative, the real answer he gives, is an affirmative. We say this with a certain amount of diffidence. We know the position Mr. Spencer occupies and the numerical greatness of his following. Nevertheless we shall venture to appeal from Mr. Spencer's ostensible answer to his actual words. These, we think afford abundant evidence that though he pronounces the Ultimate Reality perfectly unknowable, he over and over again admits, implies, asserts, and proves, that it is actually known.

That Mr. Spencer denies that this Ultimate Reality, or First Cause is, or can be, known, every one is aware. We shall proceed therefore at once to show from one or two of his works that though he answers No, he frequently answers Yes, and that in reality his doctrine is not Agnosticism, but, on the contrary, so far at least as the First Cause is concerned, Gnosticism, or the doctrine of its knowableness.

And first of all we are met on the very threshold by the fact that he has been able to posit the existence of this Ultimate Reality or First Cause. This, we should say, is in itself pretty good evidence that he knows at least something about it. In like manner the fact that he has written some hundred and twenty closely printed pages about its unknowableness is still stronger evidence to the same effect. How a philosopher of such weight and ability as Mr. Spencer should ever have been able to write so much about a subject, and then to call it 'the unknowable,' has always been to us a mystery. It may not be amiss to remark, however, that a thing is not made unknowable simply by calling it unknowable; and further, that we cannot affirm that it is unknowable without first having at least the knowledge of its existence—a knowledge it must be observed which is quite sufficient to lift it out of the category of the unknowable, and to place it among things known. It may be as well, perhaps, to venture another remark, and that is, that that which seems to us to be 'utterly inscrutable,' may not be so; a little more search or scrutiny may prove that it is not inscrutable at all, but as open as the heavens. We are aware that these remarks may seem

commonplace and even truisms; but they are worth making and worth remembering.

As to the remark that we cannot affirm that anything is unknowable without first having at least the knowledge of its existence, we would call special attention to it, as it seems to us, and in reality is, the turning point of the whole question. That question, it must be borne in mind, is not the *conceivableness* of the Ultimate Reality or First Cause; that is to say, we are not inquiring whether we have the power to form an adequate and accurate conception or mental image or representation of it; but whether we can know it, form an acquaintance with it, have any knowledge of it. Now that our remark is true, and that the Ultimate Reality or First Cause is no exception to the rule the observation contains, there can, it seems to us, be no question. Mr. Spencer seems also to be of the same opinion. Before citing his words, however, we should like to call attention to some remarkably apposite sentences on the subject written by Dr. Bradley. They occur at the end of the chapter on 'The Negative Judgment' in his extremely able, and in fact admirable work *The Principles of Logic.*

> 'We may conclude this chapter,' he says, 'by setting before ourselves a useful rule. I think most of us know that one can not affirm without also in effect denying something. In a complex universe the predicate you assert is certain to exclude some other quality, and this you may be fairly taken to deny. But another pitfall, if not so open, yet no less real, I think that some of us are quite unaware of. Our sober thinkers, our discreet Agnostics, our diffident admirers of the phenomenal region—I wonder if ever any of them see how they compromise themselves with that little word "*only.*" How is it that they dream there is something else underneath appearance, and first suspect that what meets the eye veils something hidden? But our survey of negation has taught us the secret, that nothing in the world can ever be denied except on the strength of positive knowledge. I hardly know if I am right in introducing suggestive ideas into simple minds; but yet I must end with the rule I spoke of. We cannot deny without also affirming; and it is of the very last importance, whenever we deny, to get as clear an idea as we can of the positive ground our denial rests on.' (P. 120).

Precisely so. If the 'Unknowable' were really the unknown and unknowable, we should know nothing about it and should be totally unable to affirm or deny anything respecting it. It would never enter into our thoughts; we should not even dream about

it; much less should we be conscious of it; while to write some hundred and twenty pages in order to prove that it is unknowable, would be little short of a miracle. On the other hand, the fact that we can deny it proves that we are at least conscious of it, or have some acquaintance with, or knowledge of it.

But let us hear Mr. Spencer on the subject. We take the following from his chapter on the relativity of all knowledge. On this subject we agree with Mr. Spencer. We believe that all knowledge is relative and cannot be anything else. Our contention is that the Ultimate Reality is not Mr. Spencer's 'Absolute'; that is, it cannot be described as 'the unrelated,' inasmuch as it is related to all things; and further, that it is an object of human knowledge or consciousness, and not as Mr. Spencer calls it, the unknown and unknowable; and in this, notwithstanding all that he has said to the contrary, Mr. Spencer in the following passage we make bold to assert agrees with us.

'Every one of the arguments by which the relativity of our knowledge is demonstrated, distinctly postulates the positive existence of something beyond the relative. To say that we cannot know the Absolute, is, by implication, to affirm that there *is* an Absolute. In the very denial of our power to learn *what* the Absolute is, there lies hidden the assumption *that* it is; and the making of this assumption proves that the Absolute has been present to the mind, not as a nothing, but as a something. Similarly with every step in the reasoning by which this doctrine is upheld. The Nuomenon, every where named as the antithesis of the Phenomenon, is throughout necessarily thought of as an actuality. It is rigorously impossible to conceive that our knowledge is a knowledge of Appearances only, without at the same time conceiving a Reality of which they are appearances; for appearances without reality is unthinkable. Strike out from the argument the terms Unconditioned, Infinite, Absolute, with their equivalents, and in place of them write, "negation of conceivability," or "absence of the conditions under which consciousness is possible," and you find that the argument becomes nonsense. Truly to realize in thought any one of the propositions of which the argument consists, the Unconditioned must be represented as positive and not negative. How then can it be a legitimate conclusion from the argument, that our consciousness of it is negative? An argument, the very construction of which assigns to a certain term a certain meaning, but which ends in showing that this term has no such meaning, is simply an elaborate suicide. Clearly, then, the very demonstration that a *definite* consciousness of the Absolute is impossible to us, unavoidably presupposes an *indefinite* consciousness of it' (pp. 88-89).

Altogether this is a remarkable passage. It reminds us strongly of the words we have just quoted from Dr. Bradley. It proves that we can not deny 'our power to learn what the Absolute is' without assuming and knowing that it is, or that our denial of its knowableness rests on the positive knowledge, to use Dr. Bradley's phrase, of its existence; and yet it is written to support the doctrine of nescience! But let us look at it. The emphasis of the paragraph is clearly on its last sentence, and the suggestion is that because we have but an indefinite consciousness of the Absolute or Ultimate Reality (and of the two we must frankly confess that we prefer the latter phrase), we cannot know it. But an act of consciousness, we should say, whether definite or indefinite, is an act of apprehension, is, in fact, knowledge; rudimentary and vague it may be, yet knowledge all the same. The difference between them is only one of degree. Further search, more light, profounder scrutiny may make the indefinite definite. Indefinite consciousness is in all probability, perhaps we shall not be far wrong if we say is certainly, the beginning of all knowledge. At all events that which is even but indefinitely known cannot be said to be unknown; still less can it be called the 'unknowable.' Though consciousness may not be the measure of conceivability, it certainly is of knowableness. What we are conscious of we know, and may go on to know; even though we cannot by searching find it out to perfection.

We are brought round to the same result when we follow Mr. Spencer along another line. One of his main principles is that all our ideas or beliefs germinate in experience. 'Entirely wrong as they may appear,' he says, 'the implication is that they germinated out of actual experiences—originally contained, and perhaps still contain, some small amount of verity.' This implication is contained, too, we are told, in religious as well as in scientific beliefs. To suppose that they are one and all, however multiform they may be, *absolutely* groundless, 'discredits,' to use Mr. Spencer's words, 'too profoundly that average human intelligence from which all our individual intelligenees are inherited.' And as with our common beliefs, ideas, or conceptions (Mr. Spencer is not particular as to which term we employ), so with

our idea of the Ultimate Reality. This too has germinated out of actual experience. But assume that it has, and we are far from denying that it has, what is the admission or implication? Experience surely implies knowledge; it may be slight, vague, perhaps confused, yet still knowledge—knowledge sufficient to admit of the existence of the subject of the idea being posited and no longer taken as non-existent or hypothetical, but as an actual fact of experience; sufficient, therefore, to translate the object of thought or experience, *i.e.*, the Ultimate Reality, from the sphere of the unknowable into the region of the positively known. This, we should say, is incontestible. Mr. Spencer admits it. In his chapter on the relativity of knowledge he takes Hamilton and Mansel to task for omitting to observe it.

But this is not all. Mr. Spencer goes considerably further. Scattered throughout his works are such phrases as 'beyond the phenomenal manifestations is the Ultimate Reality manifested;' 'this Ultimate Reality and its manifestations;' 'an Unknowable Existence manifested to us in phenomena;' 'an indestructible consciousness of Power behind Appearance.' In *First Principles* the concluding sentence of the chapter on 'Ultimate Religious Ideas' is as follows:—'If Religion and Science are to be reconciled, the basis of reconciliation must be *this deepest, widest, and most, certain of all facts—that the Power which the Universe manifests to us is utterly inscrutable.*' The italics are ours; and we have ventured so to print Mr. Spencer's assertion, because in the mouth of an Agnostic and on the lips of one who is devoting himself to prove that the Ultimate Reality is unknown and unknowable, it is to say the least somewhat startling. For our own part we have been alternately amused and angered by it. For what is this deepest, widest, and most certain of all facts? On the one hand, that the Ultimate Reality is 'utterly inscrutable;' but on the other, that it is manifested to us by the universe! To manifest or make manifest we have always understood is to make plain, clear, known; and yet this Ultimate Reality which the Universe everywhere manifests to us is utterly inscrutable! A more self-contradictory assertion we have never seen and has not been made.

We have said enough to show that Mr. Spencer, notwithstanding his assertions to the contrary, admits and proves that the Ultimate Reality is not the unknowable and unknown, but is known and is everywhere manifested to us by the universe. As for the grounds on which he denies its unknowableness, we have already referred to most of them. It may not be amiss however, to refer briefly to them again. First of all, there is the assertion that the Ultimate Reality is unknowable because it is inconceivable, or because we are unable to form an adequate conception or mental representation of it. To this we reply: Conceivableness is not the measure of knowableness. We know many things of which we can form no adequate mental representation, and in fact no mental image or conception of at all. Nor does the fact that the only conceptions we can form of some things are merely 'symbolic,' prove that the things themselves are unknowable. To use the illustration we have used before, our conceptions of the universe and the earth are 'symbolic,' but what man in his senses and having a due regard to the meaning of words, will assert that we do now know, or have no knowledge of them. Even if our symbolic conceptions are utterly fictitious, all that can be argued from their fictitiousness is, not that the things they stand for are unknowable, but merely that the experiences out of which the conceptions germinated, have been misinterpreted. The objection founded on the doctrine of the relativity of knowledge applies only to conceptions. The Ultimate Reality, again, is not 'the Infinite and Absolute,' or 'the Unconditioned.' That, we repeat, is simply a fiction of the philosophic imagination. The Ultimate Reality is related to all things as their cause and origin. Nor, further, is the explicable the measure of knowledge; a thing may be knowable and known though inexplicable. There are two objections brought by Mr. Spencer against the knowableness of the Ultimate Reality or First Cause which deserve special attention; because if valid they would forbid us to apply the term knowable to anything, even to ourselves. The first is that it is unknowable because we cannot know it in itself. That we cannot know it in itself may be admitted; but we should like to know what there is that we can know in itself. Press the demand that we must know the

thing in itself, or that we must have a knowledge of its noumenon, before we can predicate knowableness of it, and the term know with all its derivatives and equivalents must be blotted out of the language of the whole human race. The second objection we refer to is, that the Ultimate Reality is unknowable because we can only know its appearances and manifestations. But admitting that our knowledge of it can only be the knowledge of its appearances or manifestations, in what way does our knowledge of it differ from our knowledge of anything else? Is not all our knowledge, even our most scientific, a knowledge of appearances or manifestations, or of things as they manifest themselves to us? And admitting that it is, and no one we should think, not even Mr. Spencer, will deny that it is; admitting too, that the Ultimate Reality, the First Cause, or that Great Power which lies behind and at the root of all appearances, is everywhere manifested to us in and by the phenomena of the universe, what is the implication but this, that the Ultimate Reality, though unknowable in itself like all other objects of human thought, is nevertheless like them knowable by means of its appearances or manifestations, and like them may be found out to a greater or less degree of perfection by observation and study? In fact the admission that the Ultimate Reality is manifested to us by the Universe and that its phenomenal manifestations can be seen and known are to Agnosticism suicidal. Mr. Spencer, we repeat, is not an Agnostic, but a Gnostic; that which he protests is unknowable he admits, if he does not prove, is as much an object of knowledge and may be known and is known in the same way as anything else. Altogether, though approaching the subject in a somewhat different spirit and from a different point of view, he is in wonderfully close agreement with one who, when writing of the men around him, said 'That which may be known of God is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them. For the invisible things of Him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being perceived by means of the things that are made, even His everlasting power and divinity.' *

* Since the above was written, we have come across the *Outlines of Cos-*

To the third question we have proposed—*what* is this Ultimate Reality or First Cause? our answer must necessarily be brief. The answers which Religion has given to it are various. Each of them has germinated, to use Mr. Spencer's phraseology, in experience, and though in some respects probably erroneous, contains a soul of truth. Whether the conception of the Divine Being underlying the writings of the New Testament forms an exception —and in our opinion it does—we shall not stop to discuss. Our

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mic Philosophy, by Mr. Fiske, the most able of Mr. Spencer's American followers, and the most lucid interpreter of his system. The book is an excellent one, and deserves to be much more widely known in this country than it apparently is, both on account of the lucidity of its exposition and its many literary graces. Mr. Fiske sees the difficulties connected with the employment of the term 'the Unknowable'; nevertheless he adheres to its use, and blames those who object to it. Towards the end of the second volume (pp. 469-70) he observes :—

'There are few philosophical terms which have more thoroughly brought out the inveterate tendency of men to mistake the counters of thought for its hard money than this term "Unknowable." Alike from Idealists and Positivists, from theologians of every school and from penny-a-liners of no school, we hear long arguments based upon the vague connotations which the word "Unknowable" calls up without any reference to the precise sense in which the symbol is used in Mr. Spencer's philosophy—nay, without even a suspicion that the symbol may have a precise value in some measure purified from such connotations. At this stage of our exposition . . . it is enough to remind the reader that Deity is unknowable just in so far as it is not manifested to consciousness through the phenomenal world—knowable just in so far as it is thus manifested, unknowable in so far as infinite and absolute—knowable in the order of its phenomenal manifestations; knowable in a symbolical way, as the Power which is disclosed in every throb of the mighty rhythmic life of the universe; knowable as the eternal Source of a Moral Law which is implicated with each action of our lives, and in obedience to which lies our only guaranty of the happiness which is incorruptible, and which neither inevitable misfortune nor unmerited obloquy can take away. Thus, though we may not by searching find out God, though we may not compass infinitude or attain to absolute knowledge, we may at least know all that it concerns us to know, as intelligent beings. They who seek to know more than this, to transcend the conditions under which alone is knowledge possible, are, in Goethe's profound language, as wise as little children who, when they have looked into a mirror, turn it around to see what is behind it.'

If 'Idealists and Positivists,' 'theologians of every school,' and 'penny-a-liners of no school,' and all others who object to Mr. Spencer's use of the term Unknowable in reference to the Deity, are in need of any justification for their 'long arguments based upon the vague connotations which the word "Unknowable" calls up,' they have it here. Mr. Fiske admits all that most of them contend for, and almost all that we contend for our-

business here is not with the answers given by Religion, but with the answer given by Science. And on this point we must, to a certain extent, frankly acknowledge our agreement with Mr. Spencer. As yet Science is not in a position to make its answer to the question explicit or exhaustive. Though it may find out God; nay, though it has already found Him, it has not yet found Him out *to perfection*, and in all probability never will nor can. Still there is one answer which Science is always able and always bound to give; the answer, namely, that He is such as His manifestations declare Him. In short, the admission that the Power which underlies all things as their originating and informing cause, is manifested to us by the Universe, and the admission that the Ultimate Reality is manifested to us in phenomena that are accessible and intelligible to us, are admissions not only that that which Mr. Spencer declares to be utterly inscrutable is not inscrutable, but also that its character may be discovered and known. The character or qualities of all things else are known simply by means of their phenomenal manifestations, or as they are manifested in phenomena; and if the Ultimate Reality is manifested to us in the same way or by similar means, surely it also, though like them it cannot be found out to perfection, can be known and understood, and in a measure is. To say that it can not and is not is to use words in an unnatural sense, and to

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selves. But our main contention is that the term Unknowable ought never to be applied to the Deity except in a high and dry philosophical sense and with the qualification that He is also known as every other object of knowledge is known, by means of its manifestations to consciousness; in other words, that instead of being the Unknowable, He can be and is known, that though He cannot be found out to perfection, He can be found out according to the measure of our powers, and that to reserve the term the Unknowable exclusively for the connotation of Him is misleading and confusing, and may with equal accuracy or inaccuracy be applied to every object of thought. And of this we need no better proof than is afforded by the passage just cited. The admission that the Divine Being is 'knowable in so far as He is manifested to consciousness through the phenomenal world' and 'as the Source of a Moral Law which is implicated with each action of our lives,' takes away every right to call Him the Unknowable except in a very restricted sense, and affirms in the most positive way His knowableness.

apply one rule to the knowledge of the Ultimate Reality and another to the knowledge of all things else.

In the preface to which we alluded at the outset, Mr. Spencer proposed to carry on the work begun by Sir W. Hamilton. In our opinion he has succeeded. The confusion created by Sir W. Hamilton and carried on by Dr. Mansel, in his attempt to identify the Divine Being with the 'Infinite and Absolute' or 'Unconditioned,' he has made worse. On the other hand, he has done good work in the cause of Science and in the cause of Theology. In his voluminous writings he has gathered together and recorded a vast number of the phenomenal manifestations of the Ultimate Reality, and has contributed largely to their correct and final interpretation. In this way, much more than by his direct arguments, he has done much for the ultimate reconciliation of scientific and religious thought. In other words, he has contributed largely, perhaps more largely than any other writer, though some may think contrary to his own intentions, to the solution of the problem which he declares utterly insoluble. Occupying himself in all he has written with the interpretation of the phenomenal manifestations of that great Unseen Power which the Universe everywhere makes known to us, the tendency of his works is after all purely theological, and the final outcome of his philosophy and researches will and can not be aught other than a Theology having for its foundations the discoveries of Science in the world of matter and in the world of mind.

ART. III.—BYZANTINISM AND HELLENISM.

NOW-a-days, it necessitates a certain amount of culture and demands a certain mental effort, to enable an inhabitant of Western Europe to realize the state of society in which the Byzantine Empire was compelled to play a part. At present the question is no longer how Christendom is to be defended against Asiatic hordes, but how England and Russia are to partition between them the work of subjecting Asia. European civiliza-

tion has no longer to face any enemy from without; the danger to her life is one which she has bred in her own vitals, that spirit of revolution which is as a worm that dieth not within the frame of modern society itself. Hence the difficulty, to those reared amid such a state of things, of bringing home to themselves what was meant by the invasions of barbarians of which I have already spoken. Not long ago, we should have had to seek in Greece the few aged survivors who still live to remember the Turkish rule, and the outbreak of the War of Independence in 1821, as the only men in Europe who knew by experience what the Asiatic savage is in invasion, the only men who had not only seen all they possessed in this world destroyed, but also their wives—and their children—murdered, enslaved, and dishonoured. But the Bulgarian atrocities and the Thessalian massacres have since rendered such an appeal needless. Still, however, for those born under happier skies it is hard to pass in imagination to the times and the places when the barbarians broke into provinces where commerce and industry were flourishing, to enact their work of ruin and devastation. It is hard to picture creatures without a moment's regard for the religion, the honour, or the life of their wretched victims, giving the rein to their will over everything they found in their way. The very rumour of their approach spread like an earthquake of terror. 'The land is as the garden of Eden before them, and behind them a desolate wilderness.' Wherever they settled, prosperity and peace were replaced by barbarism. This is the picture which must be realized before it is possible to realize also with what the Byzantine Empire was called upon to contend.

Moreover, there is no use in denying, with regard to the Empire itself, that whatever may have been the advantages which it sometimes gained in the struggle, the very contact with such adversaries was beyond all doubt harmful. It was impossible that a state of everlasting contention against foreign enemies destitute of any element of civilization, or sometimes even of any capacity for it, should prove a mean for developing among the subjects of the Empire those political virtues for the want of which Western writers are so fond of condemning them. If we are to judge the subjects of the Byzantine Empire, not indulgently but justly,

either by a political or a moral standard, it is necessary to keep in view what were the causes which produced their faults. Above all, it is necessary to view them side by side with their own contemporaries in other countries. It is not fair to compare them with that glorious antiquity after which they came, or to contrast them with whatever we may admire most in the political or moral development of the European world of to-day, which they preceded, and the foundations of which were so largely their work. However, principles of historical criticism of this sort have hardly begun to guide the judgments of Western writers. Most of them are still quite contented and happy in going on in the old rut. They have simply to yield, and do yield, to the injustice and onesidedness which, under the stimulus of prejudices begotten of circumstances utterly passed away and passions which have aimlessly survived their very *raison d' être*, have succeeded in investing the very name of 'the Lower Empire,' in the Western mind, with an idea of certain despicable characteristics.

The fact is, that the blame for creating this popular idea of the Byzantine Empire must rest in great measure upon two eminent writers, both of whom were inspired by the philosophy of the last Century, and both of whom did a great deal to call the attention of modern Europe to the history of the Greek Empire. The two writers I mean are Montesquieu and Gibbon. It would be an impertinence on my part to arraign the work of these great authors, were it not for three facts. These are, firstly, the admitted truth that history is like every other science, in this respect, that she moves towards perfection by progressive development; secondly, that it has only been within this Century that the true science of historical criticism has even begun to be applied to history in general; and, lastly, that the Byzantine era is precisely one of the least known and most obscure of the fields of historical study. And so it is that at the present day Montesquieu and Gibbon mould the judgment formed upon the Byzantine world by a great many people, who know nothing about Mediæval Greece from any other source.

Montesquieu gave far less attention to the Byzantine period than to the Roman. This it is easy to perceive by reading even superficially his *Considerations sur les causes de la*

grandeur des Romains et de leur décadence. As long as he is dealing with the Roman period, his arguments are vigorous and his conclusions are impregnable. They are based upon facts which he had studied and mastered. But as soon as he reaches the Byzantine epoch, a change is perceptible. It is the same writer, but his subject seems now to be beyond his control. And then the reader, feeling the remarkable absence, in the last pages of the book, of the clearness and attractiveness which charmed him in the earlier portion, thinks that the fault is in the topics handled. This impression is confirmed by the contemptuous tone adopted by the writer. The fact is that Montesquieu's treatment of the history of the Byzantine Empire is both superficial and prejudiced. He informs us generally * that 'from the period of Phocas onwards, the history of the Greek Empire is a mere tissue of rebellion, conspiracy, and treachery . . One revolution begot another, until the effect became itself the cause. The Greeks had seen so many different families mounting the throne one after another that at last they became indifferent to them all, and fortune had found Emperors in men of so many divers sorts and conditions that no origin was too vile and no deserts too slight to suffice to cut off all hope." In his last chapter he says, 'the Emperors were led by the nose by the monks and priests, who became all-powerful after their triumph over the Iconoclasts . . . and if,' he concludes, 'anyone will compare the Greek clergy with the Latin clergy, and the conduct of the Popes with that of the Patriarchs of Constantinople, he will see on the one side men as wise as those on the other were silly.' These quotations are in themselves quite enough. As for the reasons by which Montesquieu proposes to explain the fact that the Byzantine Empire lasted for more than a millennium, they are simply self-contradictory. The principal seems to him to be the chemical invention used especially in naval warfare, and commonly known as the 'Greek fire,' and the second is maritime and commercial supremacy. But if the Greek sailors and soldiers had been cowards and fools, of what use would the Greek fire have been in their hands? Who

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* Chap. xxi.

won and kept the supremacy of the seas? And would commerce have flourished in the absence of the elements of power, of order, and of enlightened administration?

The concluding pages of Montesquieu's work contain many observations which are lucid and pointed. What he did not choose to see was, that, just as Old Rome had her rise, her greatness, her decline, and her fall, New Rome also had a rise, a greatness, a decline and a fall of her own, quite independently of the other,—that the work which Byzantium had to do for the human family was a work quite other than and different from the work of Old Rome,—and that the history of an Empire which endured for a thousand years cannot be exhaustively taught by being crumpled up in a few contemptuous sentences, especially when that history presents an amount of diversity and complication such as the history of no other Empire probably involves.

The truth is, that it has only been by enveloping the shallowness of his historical judgments upon Christian and Imperial Constantinople in the glittering phantasmagoria of a witty style and an audacious dogmatism that Montesquieu has succeeded so largely in inducing posterity to swallow his aphorisms.

No such reproach can be cast at Gibbon. That great writer, with much skill and—making all due allowance for the peculiarities of his style—with manly and incisive eloquence, has drawn the history of the Byzantine Empire, in that monumental work, whose dimensions are yet all too cramped for the extent and variety of his matter. The value of this celebrated book, however, is injuriously affected by his partiality and the manner in which he has allowed his judgment to be biassed by his prejudices.

Gibbon indeed may be said to have written the history of the Eastern Empire with the express aim and object of propounding and supporting his own preconceived ideas. The fundamental principle of his theory of history is that Christianity was the cause alike of the ruin of antient civilization, of the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, and of all the misery and darkness of the Middle Ages. In fact, in the last pages of his work, he says formally and in so many words:—'I have described the triumph of barbarism and religion.' The conjunction which couples the

two last substantives is a sufficient demonstration of what his theory of history was. He viewed the Christian and Hellenized polity which occupied the throne of the Cæsars at New Rome as chiefly responsible for the result he bewailed, and consequently he never loses an opportunity of decrying the Mediæval Greek world. It is a curious evidence of his prejudices upon this subject, and of the way in which he allowed himself to act upon them, that, sometimes, in the very same page, and whether he is narrating military events or political intrigues, he calls the very same people 'Romans' when they conquered or dealt honourably, and 'Greeks' when they were defeated or acted treacherously. When he uses the word 'Greek' it is his regular custom to qualify it by some depreciatory adjective. This habit grew upon him to such an extent that at last he found himself unable to keep within the limits of the historic facts with which even the last and lowest moments of the Byzantine Empire could supply him, to justify his systematic attacks; and he accordingly took refuge in the habitual amplification of the facts into the boundless and convenient regions of conjecture, by the use of 'if' and 'perhaps.' Thus it is that, when he speaks of the annual religious celebration which glorified the memory of a Martyr's triumphant death, he writes that, 'as soon as the doors of the church were thrown open . . . if they approached the balustrade of the altar, they made their way through the prostrate crowd, consisting, for the most part, of strangers and pilgrims, who resorted to the city on the vigil of the feast; and who already felt the strong intoxication of fanaticism, and *perhaps* of wine.' This sort of insinuation really seems to reach its climax when, as he is describing the last siege of Constantinople, the scenes of agony which followed its capture, the butchery and the slavery inflicted on those who had taken refuge in the Church of the Uncreated Wisdom, he says:—'The loudest in their wailing were the nuns, who were torn from the Altar with naked bosoms, outstretched hands, and dishevelled hair, *and we should piously believe, that few could be tempted to prefer the vigils of the harem to those of the monastery.*' This last pleasantry is, to my mind, horrible.

It is perhaps possible to account for some of the repulsive traits

of Gibbon by ascribing them to peculiarities in his own psychological temperament. There are, in fact, some men, who feel an actual pleasure in the very idea of destruction. It has an attraction for them, it causes them a sensation of joyful excitement. There are probably no finer pieces of writing in Gibbon than the xxii.nd and xxiii.rd Chapters, in which he gloats over the efforts of the Apostate Julian to annihilate the work, and to exterminate the worshippers, of the Galilean Whom he had denied. Next to these in literary merit is perhaps Chapter l., in which he pourtrays, as with an enchanted pen, the life of Mohammed and the genesis of Islam. It is with a similar admiration that he narrates the acts of Zingis Khan, with the remark that 'it is the religion of Zingis that best deserves our wonder and applause.'

However, Gibbon's theory of history, where it appears biassed by admiration for success and worship of mere strength, is but one instance of a feature only too characteristic of the English mind. Not only the way in which Gibbon has written of us, but many a phase of the sentiment and action of the English people towards us, can be explained by the same trait. I shall not take upon myself to describe it. One of themselves, even a prophet of their own, has said what it is, to my hand. Gibbon is not alone in supplying an exhibition of it in his treatment of Greece. Carlyle and Froude have applied it to Poland and to Ireland; and here is what a writer in the *Edinburgh Review* for January, 1873, says about it, in discussing Mr. Froude's *English in Ireland*:—'The dominant principle that Mr. Froude carries into the consideration of our relations with Ireland for the last seven centuries, is what is known as the Imperial idea—that is, that a strong, bold, courageous race has a sort of natural right to invade the territory of weak, semi-civilised, distracted races, and undertake the task of governing them in the best way possible, without any consideration for their rights or feelings. The conception is akin to the passion of the hour for men of blood and iron. We are taught that vigour and fortitude are to compensate always and in all circumstances for rapacity and faithlessness; that force of character must cover a multitude of sins; that the feeble are as

bad as the false; and our admiration is claimed for the deeds of an Attila or a Tamerlane rather than for those of a Wilberforce or a Howard. This is the familiar philosophy of Mr. Carlyle, who glorifies force and justifies all its crimes. Mr. Froude is evidently one of his most ardent disciples. . . . It is not many years since the former likened Ireland to a rat and England to an elephant whose business "it was to squelch the rat on occasion." In his life of Frederic Wilhelm he tells us that just as when a man has filled the measure of his crimes, we "hang him and finish him to the general satisfaction," so a nation like Poland, fallen into the depths of decay, must be disposed of by some similar process. The misfortune is, however, that though you can finish a man on the gallows, it is impossible to finish a nation in the same way. We shall presently trace the fruits of this teaching in the work of Mr. Froude. If we are to accept the historic guidance of either, we must submit to have evil turned into good at the bidding of genius, and the verdicts of history wantonly reversed, while the faculty of discerning the true from the false will be everywhere sensibly weakened. The doctrine of force is profoundly immoral, and opposed to every principle of English freedom, and to every generous impulse of sympathy with the oppressed.'

This witness is true.

But, besides all this, I do not believe that Gibbon was superior to that traditional antipathy which began to make itself manifest as soon as the natives of Greece and of Italy came face to face, an antipathy which the religious differences of the two Romes ultimately brought to a climax, and the conduct of the Crusaders has rendered lasting up to the present hour. As Gibbon himself says, speaking even of the Fourth Century:—'The natives of Italy affected to despise the servile and effeminate Greeks of Byzantium, who presumed to imitate the dress, and to usurp the dignity, of Roman Senators: and the Greeks had not yet forgotten the sentiments of hatred and contempt, which their polished ancestors had so long entertained for the rude inhabitants of the West.'

From that time forth appeared the first indications which threatened religious division. These differences were fostered as

much by antipathies of race as by the claims to supremacy made by the Popes of Rome. The separation occasioned by the struggle between Ignatius and Photius was indeed healed, but the rent caused by the excommunication of Michael Keroularios has proved to be one which time has hitherto failed to close for any enduring period.

I am not going to undertake an examination of the question of the Schism. The modern historian Paparregopoulos has treated it with the talent and impartiality which are habitual to his pen, As for myself, I only mention the subject because it is one of the causes of the mutual hatred which has existed between the East and the West. The abuse which we first find in Latin writers, and which Old and New Rome continued throughout the whole of the Middle Ages to exchange with fresh additions and renewed violence, does no credit to either side. Supposing that some philosopher belonging to some newly-created and altogether alien race, and absolutely free from prejudice one way or the other, could ever be called on to form a perfectly unbiassed historical judgment upon the controversy between the Greeks and the Latins, upon no evidence except the contemporary monuments of each side, he would probably find it hard to decide which of them best deserved the abuse of the other. It is the misfortune of the Greek party that no such ideal historian has ever arisen to make such an examination of the real facts. If Western Christendom had fallen during the Middle Ages, and Eastern Christendom had survived, so as to have had the telling of the story all her own way, and the world had been unable to learn anything about it except what it could obtain from Byzantine sources, traditions, and points of view, it is the reputation of the Latins instead of that of the Greeks which would have suffered. But the fact has been the other way. The East fell four hundred years ago and was thereby silenced. The West survived; and has had all the talk its own way ever since. It has used the opportunity in the full spirit of the rancour which already animated it. This rancour is a sufficient explanation not only of the ill-feeling with which Greece is regarded by the Western parts of Europe and the comfortable indifference with which they contemplated the agony of her slavery, but also of the

downright hostility which appears whenever any difference of interests gives an excuse for indulging the antipathy originally begotten or fostered by these old-world controversies. At the same time, it may be admitted that this historical question is not —at least consciously—the sole cause of the abundant anti-Hellenic literature with which so numerous a body of writers have undertaken during so many years to enlighten the European public. But anyhow, from Luitprand of Cremona down to the Governors by whom the Venetian Republic was represented in Greece, and from Gibbon down to the Special Correspondents of the Turkophil press, we are, unfortunately, surrounded by proofs of the ill-will with which Western Europe regards our race. In some of the modern works, indeed, the very outrageousness of the violence and the childishness of the expressions used, make the attacks less vexatious. But let us try to apply to them all the famous line of the great Italian—

'Non ragionam' di lor', ma guarda e passa.'

After all, we must not forget such parallel cases as the rivalries of race which have divided and do still divide the other European nations among themselves, such as the antient enmity between England and France, and the hatred between the French and Germans. We must remember that sentiments of exclusiveness and jealousy of foreigners are the characteristics of what we have been taught to call the civilized world. We can only hope for an increase of knowledge and a spread of civilization in the best sense of the word, and that, as means of inter-communication are multiplied, the contact of nations one with another may gradually efface the result of traditions begotten in ignorance and in barbarism. As far as we are ourselves concerned, we may well welcome as a forecast of such a transformation the impartial judgment which we now begin sometimes to find in the more learned and critical of the Western writers, when discussing Byzantine Hellenism.

But here we may well ask the question, How far is Hellenism responsible for the faults of Byzantinism?

I do not propose to call in question here the measure of

solidarity which united Hellenism with Byzantinism. I do not intend to say anything against the historical scheme of the k. Paparregopoulos, which is full of political meaning. In performing his work of narrating the history of our race, from the earliest known period down to the present day, he has treated the Byzantine Empire as an integral part of that history. But I wish to call particular attention to a fact which the historian in question has himself not failed to notice, and of which we must not lose sight, viz., that during the Byzantine period Hellenism was subject to a remarkable modification.

The conquests of Philip and Alexander the Great, and the consequences which had followed them, had had the effect of widely extending the sphere of Hellenism in the East. This extension received a new and much wider impulse from the unity of Government which the Roman Empire was able to impose upon what was then reckoned the whole civilized world. Then came Christianity, which borrowed from Hellenism its language, and so much else besides, and again most powerfully contributed to spread the influence of Greek letters and culture far beyond the limits which Geography would have naturally assigned to them. In the end, the Greek language was spoken as far as the Danube on the North, and Armenia and the Euphrates on the East, and all these Greek-speaking countries were gradually united into a a sort of mixed world, which constituted the Byzantine Empire.

This diffusion of Hellenism, however, was accomplished at a cost to the pure Hellenic element somewhat similar to that suffered by a glass of undiluted wine when poured into a pitcher of water. The pitcher contains, indeed, a larger amount of liquid, and of a liquid in which are clearly perceptible the colour and taste of wine; but the colour is pale and the taste insipid. It has needed the chemistry of ages, it has cost the distillation of centuries of grief and suffering, to eliminate again from the feeble dilution of the Empire the pure Hellenic element as it is once more this day, freed from Byzantine adulteration, strong and sound.

What is certain is, that it was only after the decline of the Byzantine Empire had begun, that the Byzantine people began to call themselves Hellenes and their Monarchs Emperors of the Hellenes.

Until then, the autocrats were termed *Augusti* and *Emperors of Rome*, and their subjects were styled *Romans*. This custom has proved so deep-rooted that it not only still survives as the universal usage of the East,* but even in such writers as Byron we find the Hellenic language termed Roman ('Romaic'). At the same time, the inhabitants of Hellas proper were not called Hellenes but *Helladikoi*, and the ancient and glorious word *Hellen* was employed (by a usage possibly imitated from the New Testament) in a depreciatory sense, to indicate an *idolater*. Moreover, it was the East which was, as it were, the body constituent of the Empire, and, although some few of the Emperors married Athenian women, they were themselves by origin all either Thracians, or Armenians, or Isaurians, or Cappadocians; there was not a single Athenian or Spartan among them, or one sprung from any other purely Hellenic stock.

But while the true Hellas, properly so called, was thus thrust into the background, the use of her language preserved and propagated the spirit of Hellenism. Of this new Hellenism Constantinople was the capital, as she became also the centre where the antient traditions were preserved. The learned, who there studied the master-pieces of the classical intellect and endeavoured in vain to imitate them, were the true heirs of Greek antiquity, imperfect as might be the ties of race which joined them to Perikles or Philopoimen. Those who, when Constantinople fell, fled from the ruin, bearing with them the treasures of the wisdom of their antient forefathers, well deserved the name of Hellenes by which they styled themselves. It was likewise no violation of historical continuity, while it was a proof of the solidarity which Byzantinism had effected with Hellenism, that during the slow ages of slavery, the longing of the Hellenes gathered round the Church of the Eternal Wisdom.

But it is time now to look at this solidarity, which undoubtedly united Byzantinism and Hellenism, and to examine it in the light of scientific history. It is time to draw the line between the two

* Among the Arabic-speaking inhabitants of Syria, the adherents of the Orthodox Church are styled *Romans* to distinguish them from Catholics, and, among the latter, Uniats of the Greek Rite are termed *Roman* Catholics to distinguish them from the Latins.

elements, and to assign to each what portion of the whole is its due.

If such an examination be made with both knowledge and justice, the result will be to show that it was not its Hellenic element which was responsible for the shortcomings of the Byzantine Empire. The truth was, that the Roman Empire was dying out, when it had the good fortune to be absorbed in the life of Greece, and derived from that union a renewed energy, which gave it another millennium of existence. The protraction of the Roman Empire for that additional period was a blessing to civilization and to mankind. On the other hand, Hellas indeed for a while regenerated the worn-out frame of the Italian autocracy by thus sharing with it the blood of her own strong vitality, but the transfusion cost her an epoch of exhaustion and prostration from the effects of which she has not yet completely recovered. And this exhaustion meant, in her case, the repression, for a while, of some of her most precious characteristics.

What, however, were exactly the faults of the Byzantine Empire? And how far were these faults essential and not incidental?

The principal fault which has been found with the Empire of which New Rome was the capital, has been that there was no *people.* It is said that the political edifice rested upon only two foundations, viz., the Imperial Court and the Patriarchal Court; an Emperor waited upon by a gang of eunuchs on the one side, and an Hierarch supported by an army of monks upon the other—nothing between the two—no patriotism, no nation, no people.

Now, it is quite true that the constituent elements of the Byzantine Empire were very different from those which had formed the strength either of the old Greek States or of the old Roman Commonwealth. The State was no longer composed, as in them, of a body of free citizens. There had been no more free citizens since the day when Rome, finding herself mistress of the world, had been pleased to commit her power to the hands of one Imperator, and her victorious eagles darkened with the shadow of

their wings the surface of what was then considered the whole civilized world. It is quite true that the theory of the Imperial Monarchy at Constantinople was, from the very beginning, a compound of the traditions of the Elder Rome on the one hand, and of the ideas of an Oriental despotism upon the other. But it ought not to be forgotten that this Imperial Monarchy, although it was absolute, was not unlimited. 'The authority exercised by the Senate,' attests Finlay, 'the powers possessed by Synods and General Councils of the Church, and the importance often attached by the Emperors to the ratification of their laws by *silentia* and popular assemblies, mark a change in the Byzantine Empire, in strong contrast with the earlier military Empire of the Romans. The highest power in the State had been transferred from the army to the laws of the Empire—no inconsiderable step in the progress of political civilization. The influence of those feelings of humanity which resulted from this change, are visible in the mild treatment of many unsuccessful usurpers and dethroned Emperors.' The Emperor himself, in his Coronation Oath, swore 'to abide and perpetually be found a faithful and sincere servant and son of Holy Church, and moreover her defender* and avenger, and to be kind and loving toward his subjects, and to abstain from bloodshed and mutilations and the like, as far as he should be able, and to consent to all truth and justice' (Kodinos. De Officiis. cap. xvii.)†

As a matter of fact, the Church, the Senate, and the prevailing respect for Law, were always able to oppose a barrier, which was usually insurmountable, to the individual vagaries of autocracy upon the part of the Emperors. And more than this. Any one who studies the history of the dynastic intrigues and internal dissensions of the Empire, will observe that the mass of the people did not always stand aloof from politics, that they never abdicated altogether their rights in the direction of public affairs, but took an active part in nearly all these changes,

* δεφένσωρ.

† Concerning the Byzantine polity in general, see Paparregopoulos. IV. Introduction.

and, moreover, that the cause espoused by them was generally the rightful one. Thus it came to pass that many of the worst Emperors were deposed by the popular indignation, and that most of those who were raised to the supreme dignity by the voice of the popular choice were among the best Princes who did honour to the throne of Constantine. I may cite as an instance of the one sort, the first dethronement of the insane savage Justinian II.; and of the other, the elevation of Anastasius II. Of the latter, Gibbon says :—'The free voice of the Senate and people promoted Artemius from the office of secretary to that of Emperor; he . . displayed in a short and troubled reign the virtues both of peace and war.' And of the event of 1071, when the two Nikephoroi, Bryennios and Botaneiates, were contending for the supreme power, he says again :—'The name of Bryennius was illustrious; his cause was popular; but his licentious troops could not be restrained from burning and pillaging a suburb; and the people, who would have hailed the rebel, rejected and repulsed the incendiary of his country. This change of the public opinion was favourable to Botaniates, who at length, with an army of Turks, approached the shores of Chalcedon. A formal invitation, in the name of the patriarch, the synod, and the senate, was circulated through the streets of Constantinople; and the general assembly, in the dome of St. Sophia, debated with order and calmness on the choice of their sovereign. The guards of Michael would have dispersed this unarmed multitude; but the feeble Emperor, applauding his own moderation and clemency, resigned the ensigns of royalty.' Since, moreover, I have named the Second Justinian, I cannot abstain from citing the pregnant remark which the account of his restoration draws from the k. Paparregopoulos, (III. 366) 'The ease with which Justinian succeeded in invading the capital, and which is equally to be observed in the case of Apsimaros and of other Pretenders to the throne of Constantinople, as opposed to the futility of the wars waged against it through so many centuries by so many strange nations, is on the one hand a proof that the native Pretenders always had a party within the walls who facilitated their entrance, and shows

on the other, the hearty unanimity with which the people and the army combined to drive back the foreign invaders, and the strength of the public opinion which existed among the people themselves.'

The popular voice made itself especially heard in the Hippodrome, where it was all the more powerful on account of the guilds into which the people were divided. It was there, to use the language of a French writer,* that 'the Byzantine people made and unmade Emperors; there that justice was administered and the guilty punished, and that triumphs were celebrated over barbarians and rebels; there that the masses gazed upon the wonders of art and of nature; there, in short, that their superstitious and their religious feelings, their love of glory and their love of the beautiful, found free scope.' When the populace found themselves gathered in the Hippodrome and there realized their own power, they forgot the sports, and proclaimed their own will, with the frequent result of obtaining it. Their will was not always wise or right, and such a form for manifesting it cannot be taken as a model. 'We look in vain in the Hippodrome of Constantinople for any representative of the Pnyx or of the Roman Senate. But if Gibbon had had as wide an experience as history has afforded since his day of what popular and social movements may become, he would not have selected the Byzantine people of Constantinople as peculiarly open to the reproach of being 'devoid of any rational principles of freedom.' The true question is, whether they displayed that indifference to the fate of their country which is too often imputed to them—and which, when it really exists, is the last symptom of a nation's decadence. As a proof that the interest in public matters felt and shown by the people of Constantinople was shared in the other parts of the Empire, it is enough to cite the rebellion of the Greeks against Leo III. in 727, and their march upon the capital under Agallianos, styled 'the mobleader (τουρμάρχος) of the Helladikoi.'

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* M. A. Rambaud, in his article on *Le monde Byzantin et l' hippodrome*, in the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, of Aug. 15, 1871. See also on this subject, Paparregopoulos, III. 116, *et seq.*

The Byzantine people cannot indeed be justly represented as destitute of the sentiment of their own national existence. But it is at the same time unfortunately true that the system of Government under which they lived did not afford a sufficiently wide and regular sphere for the development of their natural activity. The Constitutional polities which are the fashion now-a-days, supply plenty of opportunities by which the voices of the injured or of the ambitious can make themselves heard. It was not so under the political system of the Byzantine Empire. Hence we find that when, in exceptional circumstances, the discontent or indignation of some province or of some party was determined to find an outlet, the natural consequence of the system was that it did so in Church controversies, in local rebellions or in military mutinies, which usually led to the proclamation of a new Emperor.

But it is said that the Byzantine people had no patriotism. The high and intense feeling of the antient patriotism which the Greeks of this century again so nobly displayed during the War of Independence, was not and could not be the sentiment of the subjects of the Empire. They were the inhabitants of divers and distant countries, although all alike were more or less Hellenized. They looked to Constantinople as a centre, and on religion as the chief bond of unity. For them the idea of Fatherland was concentrated in the Imperial Labaron and in the Cross with its Greek inscription—'ἐν τούτῳ νίκα'—'Herein is victory.' The Labaron and the Cross were the double standard, for which they were ready to die in the field, and on which they centred their national feeling. In such a sense as this, there was certainly patriotism at Byzantium. It was the love of that second Fatherland of which the late M. Thiers spoke when he said, on May 4, 1873,—'There are two Fatherlands. One is the soil. The other is the moral and public order, the great political and social truths. These form a Fatherland not less important than the material earth on which we have been born.'

Now let us take up the next count of the indictment. The Byzantine world is accused of having taken too much interest in religion.

I am not going to attempt to justify or even to defend the excessive place occupied by theological questions in the life of Byzantine society. Never-ceasing disputes, now about a word and now about a syllable, have not added to the glory of the Empire, nor did the importance of the part assumed by monks contribute little to its decline. Perhaps these controversies assumed a position of greater comparative importance at Constantinople because a people confessedly so intellectual and so cultured found in them a field for the exercise of mental activity which was not opened to them by printing or newspapers, or telegrams from all parts of the globe, or General Elections, or Parliamentary Debates. Probably, however, this had little to do with the matter. In the midst of all these distractions, we do not find that religion ceases to be an object of public interest. I might cite the Vatican Council, or the Cultur Kampf. I might point to the English newspaper press, a few years ago, ringing with controversy about the ecclesiastical hymn commonly called the *Creed of St. Athanasius.* I abstain from commenting at length upon the fact that in the Middle Ages, and for long after, such discussions in Western Europe were more important, or at least led to more violent action, than they do now, or than they then did at Constantinople. I will not enlarge upon the history of the Albigenses, or upon the story of Jeanne d' Arc, upon the Wars of the Reformation in Germany, or the persecutions of the Jews, or the records of the Spanish Inquisition, and a good many other phenomena presented at different periods by the Western States of Europe, which show what has been the treatment of questions of conscience when brought into connection with the storms of human passion.

And yet, the question of truth in religion, which touches the life of every individual citizen not only in things temporal but also in things eternal, and which profoundly touches the State as the agglomeration of individuals, touched the Byzantine State and the worldly life of the Byzantine subject far more deeply than it touches most States and most individuals. They had to make the Church strong. Her unity was universally regarded as forming, along with the unity of the

State, the very foundation upon which rested the prosperity and even the preservation of the latter. 'The Greeks,' says Montreuil 'felt towards their religion an attachment which amounted to fanaticism; their religious beliefs were the centre around which all their other ideas were grouped; and the bond of religion was more powerful than any other in inspiring the Hellenic nationality with a lively and enduring unity, while it never ceased to supply fresh force to the hatred excited by the Latins.' But the Latins were not the first adversaries against whom the Church had to contend. The classical paganism itself still existed till the latter part of the Ninth Century, when the Mane at last embraced Christianity in the reign of Basil I. (the Macedonian.) Next came the heresies, which were not less menacing to the civil and ecclesiastical unity, even where they did not, as in the blackest cases, threaten the existence of Christianity itself. Lastly, arose a new and implacable adversary in the shape of Papal Rome, which gave a semi-religious character to every attack which was made by the West. The intimate union of ecclesiastical questions with those of both domestic and foreign policy was a fact to which it was impossible for the public to remain blind or the government indifferent. While, however, this national or political element was certainly a feature in the religious questions which agitated Byzantine society, it is impossible from a purely religious point of view to deny the services rendered by that society to the cause of the Christian religion, or to dispute that the action taken in such questions was generally dictated by the very highest motives, and that the faith and love which found their centre in the New Rome have to-day their wide and their abiding results in the existing condition of the Christian world.

The heresies, and the Councils which were needful to crush them, offer, alike and together, a very interesting study, even if viewed from a stand point merely psychological, of the intellectual phenomena presented by the Greek mind. The heresies owed their origin to the radical and instinctive desire to philosophize. In this sense they may be regarded as the last product of the schools of heathen thought. Hence they

offer, on the one hand, an interesting study in the development of intellectual activity, and constitute, on the other, a curious monument left by the progress of the human mind in its transition from one phase of speculation to another. Montreuil says, 'The Greeks are by their very nature philosophical and speculative. The search for abstract truth is to them more attractive than the pursuit of reforms, or the regulation of manners. They are a race eminently literary. They have always been thinkèrs rather than statesmen. They seized accordingly upon that side of Theology which most appealed to their natural genius. The heresies which arose among them were begotten by the same spirit which is manifest through the whole history of their race. It is a case of Theological Science subjected to the criticism of pure reason, and dogma analyzed by brilliant and impetuous logic. Religious controversies, centred upon the discussion of Divine Being and upon the explanation of Divine Mystery by the light of the laws of natural phenomena, assume in the Greek schools a character purely scientific. The Communion of the Eastern Church was shaken by the question of two Natures and two Wills, two Natures and one Will, or one Nature and one Will in Christ Jesus. Even the heresy of the Iconoclasts was a case in which the proclivity towards Idealism found an incidental expression in connection with externals.'

But the unity of the Church was saved by the Councils. These assemblies protected her from the heresies, defined her doctrine, and ratified her organization. The territory of the Byzantine Empire was the scene in which the Councils met. Their conduct was animated from first to last by the keenness of the Greek intellect, which, now clothed in its Byzantine phase, here offered to the service of the Gospel the same natural and national gifts which had once produced all that was best in the thought of the old Hellenic world. Nor was the confutation of heresy the sole consequence of the Councils. 'It was by them,' says Chateaubriand, 'that there was first developed the idea and presented the example of One Universal Society, whose members exist in all countries, consist of all races, and are loyally subject to all lawful govern-

ments, but which is itself independent of all civil governments—a Society which is of all peoples, and of no people, which sends delegates from any part of the planet to meet together to speak of nothing but of the relation between man and God.'

Thus, Christianity owed to the Byzantine Government the protection which enabled her to define the dogmatic system of her belief. It was equally under the protection of the Byzantine Government that the world was able to assume the form of Christian Society, and the Church to direct and regulate the activity of her lay element. It was under this same protection that the machinery of the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy was put into shape, that doctrinal teaching received its unity, and the Christian world the sacred legislation of the Canons. It was the Byzantine Government which settled the relations between Church and State. When the Catholic Bishops of Prussia, on May 26, 1873, petitioned their Government in protest against the new legislation then attempted in Germany, they had to complain that 'these laws invade the rights and liberties of the Church, they reverse the fundamental principles upon which the relations between Church and State have been based throughout the different nations of Christendom *ever since the time of Constantine the Great*, and which recognize the State and the Church as two distinct powers, both instituted by God, and neither of which ought to trespass upon the sphere assigned to the other in common peace and harmony.' It was the Byzantine Empire also which resisted from the very first, the political pretensions of the Popes. If we are of opinion that Christianity is the principal foundation of modern civilization, we certainly owe some gratitude to the Empire which enabled it to assume an organized form, and which contributed so much to diffuse it.

It is needful to keep these things in mind before pronouncing judgment—and especially an unfavourable judgment—upon the position occupied by ecclesiastical matters in the Byzantine Empire. Moreover, the mutual attitude of Church and State, under that Empire, had not the character commonly attributed to it. The combination of these two elements, of of which some writers are so fond of talking, was not chronic-

It was not the normal state of things for the Patriarch to be the tool of the Emperor, or for the Emperor to be the slave of the Patriarch. On the contrary, history has preserved the record of plenty of cases where the jealousy of the civil or of the ecclesiastical powers for their respective independence, brought them into something very like collision. In fact, the truth is that the annals of the Byzantine Empire bear more traces than do those of many modern European nations of a continued effort to put in practice the celebrated principle enunciated in Italy by Cavour :—'*Chiesa libera in Stato libero*—a Free Church in a Free State.' For instance, the Patriarch Polyeuktos forbade the marriage of the Empress Theophano with the Emperor John I., (Tzimiskes) with whom she had been an accomplice in the murder of her husband, Nikephoros II. (Phokas); the Patriarch Nicolas continued firm in refusing the Holy Communion to Leo VI. (the Philosopher) after he had contracted a fourth marriage, in defiance of the Canons of our Church, with Zoe Karbonopsina; the Patriarch Ignatius publicly passed over the Cæsar Bardas, in consequence of his sin with his half-sister, when the Prince, then in the plenitude of unlimited power, came up to communicate at the Altar. Many more such examples could be cited, following, in great measure, from attempts of the State to intrude within the sphere of Ecclesiastical authority. The point of view from which such things were regarded can perhaps hardly be better summed up than in the words addressed to the Emperor by Theodore of the Studium when the autocrat had taken to meddling in the Iconoclastic controversy :—'O King, unto thee hath been committed the civil State and the army. See thou to them. Leave the Church to Pastors and Teachers.'

Nevertheless, I have already admitted that I think that the population of the Empire sometimes devoted an excessive amount of attention to the discussions of Theologians, and that there were periods when the development of monasticism was anything but beneficial to the State. Such was the case when the number of monasteries was increased to excess, and their walls were filled with citizens who were thus allowed to elude the fulfilment of their duties to the State. The monastic habit itself became degraded, when the

Civil Power enforced its adoption as a punishment, to ensure the withdrawal from the world of those of whom the Government desired to be rid. The clergy became a danger to the State, when they found many to listen to the doctrine, that all war is sinful because it leads to homicide; and, when conquered armies sought in their sins the sole explanation of their disasters, the hour of decadence had struck. In the face of such things I cannot dispute the opinion of Gibbon, when he says that the clergy became one of the main causes of the fall of New Rome, and that some of the fruits of forms of devotion which found protection under the shadow of monasticism 'seriously affected the reason, the faith, and the morals of the Christians. Their credulity debased and vitiated the faculties of the mind; they corrupted the evidence of history; and superstition gradually extinguished the hostile light of philosophy and science.'

It is impossible, therefore, not to feel some sympathy with those of the Emperors who endeavoured to benefit society by imposing restrictions upon monasticism. The history of the Iconoclastic persecution is well related by the k. Paparregopoulos, who explains the causes which led to this reforming movement, and the reasons why it failed. Bnt although the persecution was unsuccessful, it did not last for a century and an half without leaving marks more or less apparent both in the current of history and in the organism of society, without as well as within the limits of the Empire. The discussion of this extremely interesting subject would, however, carry us outside the bounds of the present discussion. I must content myself with remarking that the restoration of these pictures to the prominent public position, which they have ever since held in the external forms of the Orthodox Church, was followed at Constantinople by a great increase in the influence of the the clergy.

On the other hand, it cannot be denied that it was the Iconoclastic persecution, which was mainly responsible for the separation of Central Italy from the other domains of the Empire; and it is remarkable that in this way it may be regarded as the parent of the Temporal Power of the Popes of Rome, an element which from that time forth has never ceased to form so powerful a factor in the history of Christendom.

This is certainly a most singular result to have been produced by a school of thought, which may be regarded as the earliest important forerunner of Protestantism, as Gibbon himself characterizes it in his LIV.th Chapter—a circumstance which throws a quaint light upon his remark in the LIII.rd to the effect that the Byzantine world did nothing for civilization. As for the persecution itself, although finally defeated, it at any rate left the practices of respect, shown towards the objects in dispute, defined by a limit which reconciles piety with reason. We read in the Synaxarion that when St. Theodora, after the death of her persecuting husband Theophilos, kissed the picture of the Blessed Virgin, 'she proclaimed publicly that she worshipped (προσκυνεῖ) and kissed the images relatively and not in adoration, not as if they were gods, but as likenesses of which she was fain to behold the originals.'

At the same time, historic truth demands for the members of the monastic Order the just praise which they earned by spreading Christianity among the barbarous nations, and, with the Christian religion, spreading and preserving Christian civilization. The Byzantine monks went forth to preach the Gospel, but, as they toiled in this Divine work of mercy, they composed Alphabets and taught Letters and Arts. It was they who raised and guided the barbarous populations who surrounded the Empire, to the development of social organisation. Thus, for instance, the Slavonic language was reduced to writing by the two Greek monks Cyrill and Methodius; and Greek monks were the teachers of Ulphilas, the principal Apostle and civilizer of the Goths. This extension of Christianity and of civilisation affected the Empire itself, not only by becoming a means of exercising influence over foreign nations, but also by forming in itself a bond of internal unity. The champions of monasticism have certainly the right to plead these things as a set off against any unhappy results produced at a late period by some developments of the system. The free Greece of to day, moreover, can never forget her everlasting debt to the monasteries of her Church, which were centres of national life and national culture, as well as of national religion, during the ages of her bondage.

Anyhow, such evil effects of the exaggerated growth of

monasticism and of the perversion of religious sentiment were slow to appear. Ages upon ages of life and of struggle rolled by before the robust form of Constantinople was disguised under any clerical habit. It is true that in her closing days demoralized legions attributed their defeats to the anger of God; and the last of the Palaiologoi was fain to recruit with foreign auxiliaries the dwindling ranks who defended his falling capital; but armies enough had already fought gloriously and successfully under the Cross and the Labaron through centuries enough and against enemies enough to clear for ever in the eyes of history the honour of the Byzantine forces. 'The Byzantine soldiery,' says M. Rambaud, 'was recruited from among the most warlike races of both the Greek and barbarian population of the Empire. They enjoyed the superiority over every enemy against whom they had to contend, both as regards tactics and arms. They were braver than they often get the credit of having been. They knew how to fight when they could not count upon victory. The continual invasions brought against them constant hordes of new enemies with new modes of warfare and new terrors. But Byzantine soldiers never refused the challenge. Under Heraclius and John Tzimiskes, they glowed with enthusiasm: under Leo VI. they knew how to face their fate and do their duty.'

It is quite true that the Greeks were at first overcome by the invasion of the Latins, but the fact that their resistance to them was ultimately crowned with success is a proof that they had not been deprived of military capacity by the catastrophe which the assault of the Crusaders had brought upon the Empire. On the contrary, the wàrlike ability shown by the National Government established at Nice, in contrast to the paralytic incapacity of the Latin dynasty enthroned at Constantinople, demonstrates that in the very hour of their weakness the Byzantine people were still comparatively strong, and is the simple explanation of the ease and speed with which they resumed possession of the antient capital.

While, however, the Byzantine Empire possessed a military organisation and a class of the population subject to enlistment, the army formed a separate body in the general class of the people. The citizens and the soldiers were distinct, the ordinary

run of the labouring and trading classes had ceased to look upon themselves as the natural defenders of their own hearths and of the independence of their country. This feeling greatly facilitated the recruitment of foreigners and prevented the natives from looking upon such enrolments as either a trespass upon their rights or a danger to their independence; to them they appeared rather in the light of a convenience and a means of escaping the performance of a tiresome duty. The employment of these auxiliaries had indeed some advantages which the k. Paparregopoulos has pointed out, (III. 17.) But when a nation delegates to mercenaries the duty of protecting it, it is opening a path to the loss of its own independence. Mercenaries fought on the Carthaginian side at that battle by the Metaurus which crushed for ever the haughty rival of the Elder Rome.

Thus it came to pass that under the dominion of the Byzantine Government the ordinary private subject became more and more inclined to leave to the army the defence of the frontiers and often of his own very home. As regards the internal policy of the country, he learnt to leave everything entirely to the Court of Constantinople. He thus became more and more estranged from all affairs of State, and the domain of religion afforded for the exercise of his natural activity a field which was both useless and dangerous. The system of centralisation which was the basis of the Byzantine Government, did a great deal to hasten the fall of the Empire. Constantinople became a sink into which the wealth of the provinces was drained, and which claimed to their detriment an overwhelming share of the attention of the Emperor. Treasures which would have served to render armies efficient and provinces happy were often squandered to furnish amusements for the inhabitants of the capital or to feed the luxurious splendour of the Imperial Court. Thus it was that political life ceased to exist in those very spots where its development had once been the most intense. The nations who constituted the population of the Empire became no longer capable of opposing even moral obstacles to neutralise the causes of internal decay. The material resources which enabled them to resist external foes were exhausted by the protracted centuries of conflict. They were subjected at length

to the common law of destruction, and had to drain the cup of bitterness to the very dregs.

The history of the Byzantine Empire ought to be a lesson of great price for modern States. It is a lesson in especial which ought to be before the eyes of my fellow countrymen. They love to take the antient past as their only rule and their only model, but to apply the lessons of that epoch of glory is a task less practical than to profit by those of the Middle Ages. It is true, that it is the aim of the Greek world of to-day to purify itself from everything foreign, to fall back upon its own resources and to keep its eyes constantly fixed upon its own origin, with small heed to the twenty centuries which separate it from the time of Perikles or of Alexander. But it has been precisely in these centuries that has been formed the Hellenic world which exists to-day, the new, the Christian Hellas. The Byzantine Empire also was reared upon the Christianized Hellenism, and it is by carefully observing what were the causes which produced the rise, the greatness, the decline, and the fall of that Empire that we shall see how to steer clear of the rocks upon which it made shipwreck. Thank God, it cannot be asserted that the decline and fall of the Greek Empire were due to any fault in the people. The people lacked no quality which creates the greatness of States. The fall of the Empire was the result of causes within, which hindered the due exercise of the virtues of the people, and of attacks from without, which it met manfully as long as it had strength left to stand, but before which it fell at last exhausted, conquered, but not dishonoured, not like a slave offering his neck to the hangman, but like a soldier who dies upon the field of battle with his sword in his hand and his face to the enemy.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΒΙΚΕΛΑΣ.

Art. IV.—ST. MAGNUS OF THE ORKNEYS.

'PRAISE, glory, and reverent honour be unto God Almighty, our Maker and Redeemer, for His manifold goodness and mercy, which He hath granted unto us, who dwell in the uttermost parts of earth, and, as the learned have written that it seemeth unto them, as though we were gone out of the world. But though it be so, it hath pleased God to show forth His goodness upon us in this thing most excellently, that He hath suffered us to come unto the knowledge of His Blessed Name and hath given unto us thereafter those who were strong pillars, the holy standard-bearers of His Church, with whose sanctity the whole North, both afar off and near at hand, is lighted up and shineth. These are holy King Olaf, and his august kinsman Halward, who adorn Norway with their sacred relics; Magnus, the illustrious Earl of the Isles, who enlighteneth the Orkneys with his holy power, and to whose honour this history here following hath been written; with whom are numbered the blessed Bishops, John and Thorlac, who have illuminated Iceland with the glory of their famous and worthy acts. Whence it is manifest that albeit our dwelling in this world be set far apart from other nations, we are not far from the mercy of God; and unto them we owe thanks, honour, and reverence all the days of our lives.'

Such is the commencement of the Greater of the two Sagas which record the life of the martyred Earl of the Orkneys. His name is still a familiar one in his native land, and the magnificent pile raised in veneration of his memory strikes and impresses the eye of every traveller who approaches Kirkwall. The Cathedral of St. Magnus is indeed one of the architectural glories of Scotland, and possesses a special and mournful interest as being one of the two Cathedral Churches which alone remain entire in their original grace and beauty; but, by too many, little is known of the Saint in whose honour this glorious fabric was raised by his loyal and grateful people.

Until lately, the history of the Martyr was little known save

to the readers of Torfæus—not as numerous a body as even that author, especially in the absence of better authorities, might well have found. The Greater Magnus Saga—an Icelandic text which is in great part a translation of the life written in Latin by Master Robert twenty years after the martyrdom, on the occasion of the enshrinement of the relics, was again translated into Latin and published at Copenhagen in 1780, and was republished in London by Pinkerton in his *Vitæ Sanctorum Scotiæ* in 1789. The public has since been indebted to Messrs. Hjaltalin and Goudie for their learned and interesting translation of the Orkneyinga Saga, edited by Dr. Joseph Anderson in 1875; and another most valuable addition will, it is to be hoped, shortly be made to English literature by the publication of Sir George Dasent's new translation of the same Saga, and also of both the Greater and Lesser Magnus Sagas, with Appendices, containing, among other things, a collection of the liturgical monuments connected with the martyred Earl. It is to the personal courtesy of the eminent scholar last mentioned that the present writer is indebted for the use of the materials upon which the following pages are mainly founded. The keen pleasure which the perusal of only this small portion of Sir George's labours has afforded conveys a lively idea of the whole which awaits us, and personal thanks for the kindness shewn must be largely mingled with the gratitude with which every member of the public will have cause to greet the appearance of the entire work.

In order to follow the story of St. Magnus and to gain more knowledge of the country he ruled, we must first glance briefly at some of the chief events in the history of the Northern Islands. Up to the middle of the Sixth Century, but very little is known of them. Classical writers, it is true, mention their existence, but their allusions only serve to show that hardly anything else was known about them. Julius Solinus, in the First Century of the Christian Era, remarks that they are uninhabited. It is supposed that the wave of Celtic population which swept over the North of Scotland gradually extended to them, and this theory is corroborated by the similarity of weapons and other remains found in the Orkneys and

Shetlands to those discovered on the mainland of Scotland. If the language of the poet Claudian is to be taken seriously, there was also a Saxon occupation of them, at least temporarily, in the middle of the Fourth Century, but Nennius records that an hundred years later they were harried by the Teutonic pirates Octa and Ebissa.

Although it appears probable that the Northern Archipelago was evangelised at a very early date by Irish missionaries, we have no record of this fact, and it is in Adamnan's Life of St. Columba that we first find distinct mention of the Orkneys, and of the mission of Cormac and his fellow-monks to these Islands. They were at that time subject to the suzerainty of the King of the Picts, from whom Columba besought protection for the missionaries. From this date up to the time of the Norse conquest in 872, it seems certain that a great portion at least of the inhabitants embraced the Christian faith. The evidences of this are fourfold—1. The dedication of the early ecclesiastical foundations; 2. The discovery of monumental stones, sculptured in the style peculiar to the earliest Christian monuments of the North of Scotland, and inscribed with the Ogham character; 3. The bells found in the Islands, of the square form belonging to the early ages of the Church; 4. The names that occur in the local topography, and which bear witness to a previous Celtic Christian settlement—for example, in Rinansey (St. Ninian's Isle), Daminsey (St. Adamnan's Isle), in the Orkneys; St. Ninian's Island in the Shetlands; and in the constant recurrence of the name *Papa* in different places. That the memory of St. Columba was fresh in the hearts of the people may be inferred from the fact that in the south parish of South Ronaldsey alone—the spot where probably his monks first landed, there were three chapels dedicated to the Saint. From the scanty records that have survived, we gather that the Islands remained under the alternate sway of the Pictish and Dalriadic Kings from the time at least of St. Columba, until the Norse invasion. In 872, with Harald Harfagri and his Northmen, a flood of heathenism swept over them, and for more than a hundred years Christianity was banished from

their shores. At length, about the year 994, Earl Sigurd—fourth in succession to that Sigurd on whom Harald bestowed the Earldom of the Islands—was converted by Olaf Tryggvisson, King of Norway, and his people with him. Although it would appear from the history of this event that their conversion was at first due to policy rather than to conviction, yet after some years the faith was firmly re-established.

The first Church known to have been built in the Orkneys after the Norse conquest is Christ Church, Birsay, hereafter to be mentioned as the first burial place of St. Magnus. This church, of which some existing foundations are possibly the remains, was erected by the Saint's grandfather, Earl Thorfinn, one of tho most famous of the Earls in the Norse line. He reigned, according to the Saga, for '70 winters,' and about the year 1050 made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. It is supposed that the Church was built after his return from Palestine. Earl Thorfinn died in 1064, and was succeeded by his sons Paul and Erlend as joint rulers of the Earldom. Earl Paul and his wife Ingibiörg had but one son, Hakon, while Erlend and his wife Thora were the parents of four children, St. Magnus, Erling, and two daughters. Paul and Erlend ruled peaceably for many years, and were brotherly and well agreed in the joint exercise of their power, until their sons grew up. Then troubles began. Hakon and Erling were turbulent, overbearing youths; and Hakon, in especial, showed early signs of the havoc his proud selfish nature was to cause in after days. In right of his mother's royal descent, he considered himself superior to his cousins in rank, and strove to rule over them.* In consequence, dissensions arose not only between the cousins, but also among the people, as Erlend's many friends could not bear to see his children despised. At length Paul and Erlend interfered to settle matters between the disputants, and a meeting was held in order that peace might be made, but it soon appeared that, as was natural, each Earl supported his own son's interests, and they could not agree, but parted in anger. The

* Earl Paul's wife was a grand-daughter of King Magnus, the son of St. Olaf.

Earls, however, soon made friends, and things went well for a time. Then fresh troubles arose, till at last Hakon was persuaded to leave the Islands, and in his absence peace was restored to the land.

As some of Hakon's doings during his wanderings resulted in events of deep importance to his cousin, we must follow him to Norway before considering the early days of the Saint. Hakon 'first fared East to Norway' to visit his kinsman, King Olaf the Great. He did not remain here long, but proceeded to Sweden, where he was well received by King Ingi, and made welcome by his maternal grandfather, Hakon, and his other kinsmen. Christianity was still young in Sweden, and although King Ingi was earnestly endeavouring to root out every vestige of heathenism, the people clung to some of their ancient superstitions, and Hakon, who appears also to have had some little leaning to the practices of his forefathers, determined to seek the assistance of a certain spaeman of the country, to learn what the future had in store for him. The account of the interview is curious. After ascertaining Hakon's name and kindred, the wizard suggested that it might be better for him to ask the assistance of his kinsman, King Olaf, instead of coming to one in whom his relations no longer believed. Hakon answered by owning plainly that he was not worthy to receive help from Olaf, adding, that in point of merit, he did not think there was much to choose between himself and the wizard. 'It hath come into my mind,' said he, 'that here neither of us twain will need to look down upon the other for the sake of matters of virtue or belief.' The wizard then bade him return in three nights' time to receive his answer. In the second interview the sorcerer stated his belief that Hakon would become sole ruler over the Orkneys, though the time might seem long in coming, and that his children also would probably rule there; he added that Hakon would 'let that wickedness be done for which he must either make atonement, or not, to the God in whom he believed,' and concluded by saying that his querent would take a journey further out into the world than he could get to see, but would probably return to die in the North. After this Hakon remained

a short time longer with King Ingi, and then returned to Norway. During his absence Olaf had died, and had been succeeded on the throne by Magnus Barelegs. At his Court Hakon heard news from the Orkneys, to the effect that Earl Erlend and his sons were now the chief rulers in the islands, and greatly beloved of the people, so that Earl Paul had little authority. Hakon thought also that he perceived that his own presence was not greatly desired by his countrymen, and he feared that if he returned, his kinsmen would hold the Earldom against him. He therefore determined to seek help from King Magnus, hoping, according to the warlike ideas of his age, that if he could persuade Magnus to conquer the islands for the glory of the thing, he would place him in power. So he took opportunities of saying before the King what a fine thing it would be for a Prince to call out his forces and take possession of the Islands as Harald Harfagri had done, hinting that once in possession of the Southern Islands, it would be easy to make harrying expeditions into Scotland and Ireland, and from thence to try the power of the Northmen against the English. As often happens, ambition brought its own punishment—King Magnus heartily agreed to the proposed expedition, but by no means intended to gratify his kinsman's wishes, of which no doubt he had his own suspicions. He spoke out plainly, bidding Hakon understand that if he conquered the Western Islands he should probably keep them for himself. At his words Hakon 'grew cold, and said little more about it,' but the deed was done.

Before relating the results of this expedition, so disastrous to St. Magnus' family, it is needful to turn to the few details we possess of the Saint's childhood and youth. It would be difficult to fix the exact date of Magnus' birth, but judging from after events, we may conjecture that it took place probably about the year 1075. From his earliest childhood he was remarkable, and showed promise of his future sanctity. He was, as his biographer tells us, 'old in good behaviour, shareless of childish life in his deeds, gladspoken and blithe, gentle in his loving words, and yielding and reasonable in his conduct and in all his doings.' Docility and obedience seem to have been his ruling characteristics as a child, for the Saga dwells on the

obedience and attention he paid to his parents and masters. He was sent to school at an early age, to receive religious instruction, and to learn the secular knowledge considered necessary for a lad of his time and rank. As he grew up, he continued also to advance in virtue, 'in sweetness of temper and soberness of life,' so as to be a cause of edification to all about him. But this youth, who was destined to be so brave a soldier of Christ, was allowed, like many other saints, to pass through a time of sin and humiliation between his innocent childhood and the steadfast virtue of his manhood. When Magnus was 'about full grown of age' he for a time suffered from the influence of bad companions, and for some winters joined in their life of robbery and plunder, and, to use the words of the Saga, 'stood by at manslaughters along with others.' It is supposed that this most probably occurred at the period when Magnus and his brother and cousin were all together in the Orkneys before Hakon's voyage to Norway, and the narrative which now commences certainly shows us that by the time of the Norwegian invasion, Magnus had turned aside from all unlawful pursuits, and had begun again to tread the narrow path from which he never afterwards strayed. The words of the Greater Saga concerning his conversion are an ascription which is everlastingly true. 'This is the change of Thy right hand, O Thou Most High! Thou art strong to strengthen, gracious to help, ready to better, mighty to save.'

In pursuance of the design above mentioned, King Magnus Barelegs presently came from the East out of Norway with a great multitude of ships and force of warriors. When he came to the Orkneys he seems to have effected his purpose without difficulty, for we have no record of any battle, but simply of the fact that 'he seized the Earls Erlend and Paul, and forced them away from the isles, and sent them East to Norway; but he set his son Sigurd over the Orkneys, and gave him councillors, for he was not older than nine winters. King Magnus settled that the sons of the earls should fare with and attend him; Magnus and Erling, the sons of Erlend, and Hakon Paul's son. Magnus, the son of Earl Erlend, was a tall man of growth, quick and gallant, and strong of

body, fair to look on, light hued, and well limbed, noble in aspect, and the most courteous in all his behaviour; him King Magnus made his waiting-swain, and he always served at the King's board.' The King made the three cousins, Hakon, Magnus, and Erling, thus accompany him on his Southward voyage.

On his way South, the Norwegian monarch devastated the islands of Harris, Lewis, Uist, and Skye. He also landed at Iona, and, as it would appear, with no friendly intentions, but the Holy Island was saved from his plunder. One of the Sagas tells how, going to the little chapel of Columcille (St. Oran's) he opened the door and was about to enter, when he suddenly stopped, either struck by remorse or by some supernatural wavering, then closing the door, he forbade anyone to enter, and gave the inhabitants peace.

After his expedition to the islands, the King proceeded South to the Welsh coast and fought a great battle in Anglesea Sound against the Earls of Chester and Shrewsbury, the latter of whom was killed, probably by an arrow shot by Magnus Barelegs himself. This battle is chiefly interesting to us from the following incident. Whilst the King's men were arming themselves for action, the young Magnus took his seat on the fore-deck as was his custom, but did not arm himself. The King enquired wherefore he did not prepare for battle like the others, to which the Saint replied that he had no quarrel with any man there, and therefore would not fight. Then the King bade him go below out of men's way if he was afraid to fight; but Magnus remained where he was, and taking a psalter, sang out of it while the battle raged, seeking no shelter from the storm of shafts and arrows that fell around him, and although many close to him were killed or wounded, he received no hurt.

The king did not enter into the high motives which influenced his young kinsman's conduct on this occasion, and from that day took a dislike to him. This was so evident, that after a time, Magnus, seeing that 'it would neither be for his honour nor his soul's sake' to remain longer with the King, took counsel with himself, praying that God would direct him. Having determined to escape, he left the ship one night and swam to shore. The fleet had now returned to the coast of Scotland, and

there he lay hid for some time in the woods, to elude the search made after him, but ultimately made his way in safety to the Court of the King of Scots.

We know very little about the period of Magnus' exile. All we can gather is, that his time was spent partly at the Scottish Court, and partly in visits to a certain Bishop in Wales, whose name is not recorded. The monarch of Scotland at this time was Edgar, the fourth son of Malcolm Canmore and St. Margaret, who had only recently been placed upon the throne with the assistance of William Rufus, who became his brother-in-law in the November of the year 1100. The character of Edgar is thus described by St. Ailred of Rievaux: 'He was a sweet-tempered, amiable man, in all things resembling Edward the Confessor; mild in his administration, equitable and beneficent.' It is not an improbable conjecture that these features may have endeared him to the Martyr, and in the absence of greater certitude as to dates, it is possible that Magnus may have remained with him until his death, January 8th, 1106, when he was succeeded by his brother Alexander I., a man of a very different temperament. It is certainly to this period that the writers of the Northern histories ascribe the most remarkable advance made by Magnus in the spiritual life.

In the meanwhile great political and personal changes were passing in the world to which the Orkneys belonged. The Earls Paul and Erlend both died in exile in Norway, and in the spring of 1099 King Magnus Barelegs gave Gunnhilda, daughter of Erlend and sister of Magnus, in marriage to Kol Kalisson, with a considerable dowry. In the year 1102 the Norwegian King was killed in battle in Ulster, and it is supposed that the Saint's brother Erling fell at the same time. When the young Prince Sigurd received news of his father's death, he left the Orkneys to take possession of his paternal throne conjointly with his brothers Eystein and Olaf. The opportunity sought for by Hakon seemed now at hand. He accordingly visited the Norwegian Court, and obtained from Sigurd the title of Earl and such authority in the Islands 'as his birth might claim.' This expression shows that the King did not intend to

deprive Magnus of his share of the Earldom; but Hakon thought little of his cousin's rights, and sailing for the Orkneys, took possession of the whole realm, slaying the steward of the King of Norway who had charge of the half of the Islands which by inheritance belonged to Magnus. The latter made his way into Caithness, where the people received him with joy, and chose him to be their ruler, giving him the honoured title of Earl. When the Saint heard of his cousin's conduct, he took counsel with his friends and agreed with them to wait for a time until Hakon's anger and greed had cooled, before taking any steps to obtain his rights, desiring only to seek his inheritance in the spirit of right and justice. When, however, the time arrived that it seemed prudent for him to return home, he went to the Orkneys attended by a goodly company from Caithness, and was well received by his friends and kinsmen. Then he asked to take his inheritance in the Islands, and this pleased the people, who bore him much affection, but Hakon prepared to fight, rather than give up the realm. However, by the aid of mutual friends, it was agreed that if the King of Norway approved Magnus' claim, Hakon should give up half the country to his cousin. Magnus therefore went over to Norway, and the King made him welcome, and willingly granted his petition. After this decision, Hakon was contented to share the rule with Magnus, and for some years peace was restored to the Islands.

These years form—from an earthly point of view—one of the most prosperous periods of the Martyr's life, a resting place as it were, between the trials of his youth and the later conflicts which awaited him. What he was as a Prince and a ruler of men, is written in the Orkneyinga Saga:—'The holy Magnus, Earl of the Islands, was a most excellent man. He was of large stature, a man of noble presence and intellectual countenance. He was of blameless life, victorious in battles, wise, eloquent, strong-minded, liberal and magnanimous, sagacious in counsels, and more beloved than any other man. To wise men and good he was gentle and affable in his conversation; but severe and unsparing with robbers and vikings. Many of those who plundered the landowners and the inhabit-

ants of the land he caused to be put to death. He also seized murderers and thieves, and punished rich and poor impartially for robberies and thefts and all crimes. He was just in his judgments, and had more respect to divine justice than difference in the estates of men. He gave large presents to chiefs and rich men, yet the greatest share of his liberality was given to the poor. In all things he strictly obeyed the divine commands; and he chastened his body in many things, which in his glorious life were known to God, but hidden from men.'*

Very different in character from his holy cousin, Hakon cared little to punish evil among his followers, and, greedy both of money and power, he rather urged them to warfare than restrained them. Hakon was filled with envy at the popularity of his cousin, and when, after these years of peace, wicked counsellors, especially two named Sigurd and Sighvat endeavoured to sow discord between the Earls, Hakon lent a willing ear to their suggestions, and began to plan with them to overthrow Magnus' power, and even to plot against his life.

At this point the Greater Magnus Saga makes a circumstantial and detailed statement, which is supported neither by the Orkneyinga nor the Lesser Magnus Sagas. It is to the effect that when Magnus became aware of the designs against him and saw that his cousin desired his ruin, he determined to absent himself from the Islands, thinking it best for an while to give place unto wrath. He chose therefore some of his most trusty men to accompany him, and travelled to the court of Henry of England. Here he made known his history to the King, who welcomed him, and soon grew to love and revere his saintly guest, and took advice with him in affairs of State, listening willingly to his advice. Magnus was loved and honoured by all at the English court, so attractive was his cheerful kindliness of demeanour and the marked holiness of his life. He and his followers remained as Henry's guests for a year, but the atmosphere of the Court was uncongenial to Magnus' pure soul, and 'may be,' says the writer, 'that God had revealed to him

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* Orkneyinga Saga, xxxiv.

that he should close his toils within a short time, and so offer to God the pure flower of his chastity by the triumphant death of his martyrdom. For to be set free from the body, and live with Christ, is far more glorious than to be held in the defilement of this world.' After taking an affectionate farewell of Henry, Magnus visited the holy shrines in the neighbourhood, and then turned his steps homeward. In his absence Hakon had once more usurped his cousin's place, and had taken forcible possession, not only of the Islands, but also of Caithness. He was established at the latter place when news reached him that Magnus had returned to the Orkneys and sought to win back his possessions. His cousin's return aroused all Hakon's worst feelings, and he planned to come unexpectedly upon Magnus and slay him; but the day when, through the apparent triumph of evil, Magnus was to win his crown, had not yet come. According to his biographer, God still saw some 'rust of worldly behaviour' in His chosen servant, and left him a little longer in his exile, till earthly trial and temptation should have purified him entirely and fitted him to enter into his reward. It came about, therefore, that peace was once more made between the cousins, and for some time longer Magnus ruled his people and redoubled his efforts in the service of God; but Hakon, under the cover of friendship, let the bitterness of anger and envy take root in his heart, so that when the moment of temptation came he fell an easy prey to the suggestions of his own evil heart and to the counsels of others no less wicked than himself.

Among Hakon's followers, two have already been named as taking the lead in striving to make mischief between the Earls, and these men, Sigurd and Sighvat, with their companions, by their wicked reports, brought about so great a misunderstanding that Hakon and Magnus called out their followers, and met each other in warlike guise at Hrossey. This meeting took place in Lent of the year 1116, and ended without bloodshed, as the well-disposed friends of the Earls interposed to make peace.

It was arranged that Hakon and Magnus should have a final meeting on the Island of Egilsha after Easter. Each earl was

to come with only two ships and the same number of men on each side, and they bound themselves by oath to keep the agreements their friends should make for them at the Easter meeting. After this was determined upon, the cousins and their men returned home. Magnus, well pleased with these preliminaries of concord between them, being himself 'thoroughly whole hearted and of good conscience, without all mistrust,' but Hakon who had made the agreement with treachery in his heart, did not intend to fulfil the conditions, and was even now plotting his cousin's destruction. On Easter Monday, which fell that year on April 15th, the Earls and their followers set forth for the place of meeting. Magnus had summoned to his aid the men he knew to be most friendly both to Hakon and himself, and embarked his company in two long ships. The weather was fine and the sea calm, but as they rowed towards Egilsha, on a sudden a large wave rose close to the ship in which the Saint was, and broke over the place where he sat. All who were there marvelled greatly that such a wave should fall on them when the sea was smooth and the water deep, but Magnus said, 'It is not strange though ye wonder at this, but my thought is, that this is a foreboding of my life's end; may be that may happen here which has before been spared, that Earl Paul's son would work the greatest wickedness, may be that Hakon is plotting treachery against us at this meeting.' The Saint's comrades were greatly alarmed at his words, and implored him to beware of Hakon, and not to expose his life by continuing his voyage; but Magnus replied that he must certainly proceed to the place of meeting as agreed, and not have to reproach himself with having broken his word for a mere foreboding of evil; and then, expressing his desire that God's will might be done in their voyage, he added that if he had a choice, he would rather suffer wrong himself, than do evil to another, concluding with these words, 'So may God let my kinsman Hakon get forgiveness, though he may do wrong to me.' While the Saint and his followers were making their way to Egilsha in this wise, Hakon was making his preparations for the coming interview in very different dispositions. He summoned a numerous

band of warriors to accompany him, and filled seven or eight large war-ships with his followers. The Earl did not conceal his intention that this meeting should so settle matters between himself and his cousin that in future one of them alone should enjoy supreme power over the realm. Many of his men, and in especial Sigurd and Sighvat, were all pleased at Hakon's words, but there was one man on board, the son of Havard Gunni, and an intimate friend of both Earls, who, when he heard of Hakon's evil intentions, leapt overboard, and swam to a little island where no man dwelt, for he was determined to take no part in any treachery against Earl Magnus.

Magnus and his company were the first to reach Egilsha, but as they approached the island they could see Hakon's ships in the distance, and the Martyr then perceived that his cousin indeed intended to break the conditions and make him the victim of his treachery. The Saint's followers also, fearing that in very truth their master's foreboding was about to be realized, offered to fight Earl Hakon's men, but Magnus would not let them imperil their lives for him, repeating that if peace could not be made between himself and Hakon, he would be willing to suffer himself rather than to do injury to others.

On landing at Egilsha, Magnus' first act was to seek the Church, and there he spent a large part of the night in earnest prayer, committing his case to Almighty God, and begging for light and grace to do His will. The Church which thus witnessed the last earthly hours of the Saint, and in which he received the Holy Communion upon the following morning in immediate preparation for the conflict of Martyrdom, appears to be almost certainly that which is still standing, although in a roofless and mutilated condition. Professor Münch is indeed of opinion that it dates from the earliest days of Christianity in Orkney.* If so, it is not improbable that the island may have been selected for the meeting of the Earls on account of its sacredness, as containing one of the earliest memorials left in Orkney of the preaching of the Gospel of peace on earth as

* The learned Professor also inclines to the opinion that the very name of *Egilsha* is a mere corruption of *ecclesia*.

well as of glory to God in the highest. And this consideration, along with the fact of its being committed almost in the very light of the Resurrection morning, adds a peculiar circumstance of horror to the crime about to be perpetrated.

The Church of Egilsha affords one of the only three instances in Scotland of a round tower after the Irish manner, the others being Brechin and Abernethy. This tower has been partially pulled down, but was then at least sixty feet high. At the top were four windows facing the cardinal points, and it was roofed with a conical stone roof; its external diameter at the bottom is about fourteen feet. The towers of Brechin and Abernethy are, at least at present, isolated, but that of Egilsha is built into the West end of the Church, with which it seems to be contemporary. This Church, which is known to have formerly been roofed with stone shingles, consists of a nave and chancel, the former almost thirty and the latter nearly sixteen feet in length.* The construction of the chancel, which has a stone vault, above which has been an attic entered from a door over the chancel-arch, suggests the probability that the nave had a flat wooden ceiling.

†On the following morning, being Easter Tuesday, Earl Magnus, as already mentioned, caused Mass to be sung, and at it received the Holy Communion. What must have been the feelings of the Saint on this occasion it would seem like an impertinence, were it not an impossibility, to conjecture. As the earthly warfare was now drawing to such a close, the Martyr must have listened with an emotion altogether indescribable to the words of the risen Saviour read by the Church in the Gospel for that day:‡ 'Peace be unto you, it is I, be not afraid.'

The Mass was hardly ended when four of the followers of

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* See Dr. Anderson's *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, pp. 34-37.

† The authors of the Sagas tell us, that for the account of the Saint's last day and his conversations with Hakon, we are indebted to the report of one of Magnus' followers, a trusty and truthful man called Holdbodi who was with the Earl to the end.

‡ So in the Arbuthnott Missal, and the same seems to have been the immemorial custom of all the Latin Churches using a Petrine Liturgy.

Hakon arrived at the Church. The authorities differ as to whether they found the Saint still there. The Greater Magnus Saga states that they entered with great tumult and violence, seized him, and carried him bound before their master. This account is accepted in the Aberdeen Breviary. On the other hand, the Lesser Saga and Orkneyinga Saga agree with the living local tradition of Egilsha, that the Martyr had left the Church, seemingly in an attempt to conceal himself, accompanied by only two companions, one of whom was Holdbodi. It is said that he was engaged in prayer, but that as the search for him proceeded (probably when discovery had become inevitable), he came forward and surrendered himself. All are agreed as to his demeanour at this moment. In contrast to the fury of his captors the Saint was calm and cheerful, 'as glad and merry when they laid hands on him, as if he were bidden to a banquet, and with such steadfast heart and soul that he neither spoke to his adversaries with any bitterness, wrath, or broken voice.'

When they reached Hakon's presence, Magnus was the first to speak, and addressed his cousin in these words—'Thou doest not well, kinsman, that thou holdest not thine oaths, and it is much to be looked for that thou hast done this more by the ill-will of others, and their egging on, than by thine own badness. Now, I will offer thee three choices, that thou may'st take one of them, rather than that thou should'st spoil thine oaths and let me be slain, thy kinsman, and guiltless, as some will say.' Hakon agreed to hear his cousin's proposals. Then Magnus suggested three ways in which he himself should be sacrificed and Hakon gain supreme power, the object of his ambition. First, he offered to make a pilgrimage to Rome or to the Holy Land, to make atonement both for himself and Hakon, taking with him two ships manned by trusty followers, and containing necessary provisions, and promising never to return to the Orkneys. This proposal was immediately rejected by Hakon and his men. Then the Saint said, that knowing his life and the lives of his companions were in their power, and considering that he had been guilty in many things against Almighty God, and must

make reparation to Him, he would propose that he should be sent to their mutual friends in Scotland, and kept there in ward, with two of his own men to bear him company, and never return to the Orkneys unless Hakon gave him leave to do so. The Saint's enemies found many objections to this second proposal, and refused to act upon it. Magnus then offered them one more alternative, hoping to save his cousin from the guilt of bloodshed, and here we will use his own words, 'Now is that one (choice) alone left, which I will offer thee, and God knows that about this, I look rather to the salvation of thy soul than to the life of my body, for after all it beseems thee less to quench my life. Let me be maimed in my limbs, or let my eyes be plucked out, and set me in a dark dungeon, from which I may never come out.' To this, surely one of the most heroic proposals ever made by one man to another, Hakon replied that he was well satisfied, and desired nothing further, but his men declared that they would not agree to torture Earl Magnus, but that they would either kill him, or their own lord, Hakon, so that from that day one only of them should rule the Earldom. When Hakon heard these words, he said that, for his part, he would rather rule the country than die so quickly; and Magnus knew that his hour was come. He betook himself therefore to prayer, covering his face with his hands, and offering his whole self and his life to God.

A scene now ensued between Hakon and his standard-bearer, whom he commanded to play the part of executioner. The man, whose name was Ofeig, indignantly refused. The Earl then forced Lifolf, his cook, to do the bloody work. The poor wretch began to cry. The Saint, who seems to have regarded him with a mixture of contempt and compassion, said:—'Thou shalt not weep, for there is fame for thee in doing such deeds. Be thou of steadfast heart, for thou shalt have my clothes, as is the wont and law of the men of old. Thou shalt not be afraid, for thou doest this by force, and he that forces thee to do it hath greater sin than thou.' So speaking, he took off his kirtle and gave it to him; after which he asked and obtained a few minutes for prayer. These he spent lying upon his

face upon the ground. He prayed earnestly for the pardon of his murderers, as well as for the forgiveness of his own sins, and finally commended his spirit into the hands of his Maker, whose Angels he invoked to meet it. He then rose from his knees and faced Lifolf with the words, 'Stand thou before me, and hew me on the head a great wound, for it beseems not to behead chiefs like thieves. Strengthen thee, O man, and weep not, for I have prayed God that He will pardon thee.' So speaking, he made the sign of the Cross, and bowed himself to the stroke. Lifolf gave him a heavy stroke upon the head with the axe. Then Hakon bade him strike again, and Lifolf hewed another blow in the same place. The Saint thereupon fell forward, first upon his knees, and then upon his face, dead.

Hakon, whether from hatred of his cousin's memory, or from shame at his own evil deed, would not allow Magnus' body to be buried in a Christian manner, but apparently caused it to be hidden in the ground on the spot of his martyrdom. It did not long remain there, however, as the Saint's mother, Thora, of whom we hear too little in the Saga, so dealt with Hakon that he granted her leave to remove her son's remains. It had been settled that after the peace-meeting at Egilsha, the two Earls should go together to a feast at Thora's house on the island of Paplay, and strange as it may appear, Hakon proceeded thither with his followers as if nothing had occurred. Thora, seeing, no doubt, that she was powerless to prevent this ill-timed visit, and hoping to win the favour of Christian burial for her son, put aside her own feelings and welcomed her guilty nephew. During the feast, and when the wine had taken some hold on Hakon, Thora approached him, and beseeching him so to deal with her petition as he would have Almighty God to deal with him at the day of judgment, implored him to give her leave to to bury Magnus in Church. Hakon seems to have been touched in the moment with sorrow at what he had done, and shedding tears, bade Thora bury her son where she wished. Thora chose Christ's Church, Birsay, as the place of her son's sepulture. Soon after the holy body was laid there, it was told that an heavenly light was often seen to shine over the tomb, and a sweet fragrance perceived by those who approached it.

Those who invoked the Saint obtained their request, and the sick who visited his grave were cured of their ailments; but as long as Hakon lived, the people feared to spread these wonders abroad.

Hakon, meanwhile for some time showed no symptoms of repentance for his sin, but took possession of the whole Earldom, and made those who had been Magnus' followers swear fealty to him, laying heavy burdens on those who had been most devoted to his cousin's interests. It is said that the men who had taken the most prominent part in treachery against St. Magnus met with sudden and terrible death, and possibly Hakon took warning by their fate, for after some years had elapsed, he made a pilgrimage to Rome and to the Holy Land, in atonement for his sin; and that his repentance was sincere, we may gather from the fact that he returned to the Islands a changed man, and for the remainder of his life appears to have ruled his people well and peaceably. When Hakon died, he was succeeded by his son Paul, and during his reign the glory of St. Magnus was fully manifested and his sanctity recognised. William, called the Old, who was then ruling as first Bishop of Orkney, invited all the chief inhabitants of his See to meet him in Christ Church. A large multitude joyfully obeyed the summons, and in their presence the remains of the Saint were removed from the lowly grave in which they had lain for twenty years, and placed in a shrine over the altar. This took place on December 13th, St. Lucy's Day, and the Bishop appointed that this day and also the anniversary of the Saint's martyrdom, April 16, should both henceforth be kept holy throughout the diocese. From Birsay the shrine was shortly afterwards removed to Kirkwall, and placed over the altar in the church there. This church must have been that dedicated to St. Olaf, said to have been built by Earl Rögnvald Brusison, in honour of his sainted foster-father.* It appears to have been the only

* The fact that the Saint's body was placed in St. Olaf's Church, derives additional interest when we consider that the names of these Saints seem to have been specially united by the devotion of the people. In the account of one of St. Magnus' miracles, we find St. Olaf invoked conjointly with

church then existing in Kirkwall, and it seems probable that the town owes its name to the sacred building, Kirkwall being derived from Kirkiu-vagr or Creek-of-the-Kirk. Kirkwall was but a poor hamlet at this time, but the fame of the Saint's shrine attracted people to the place, and the town rapidly increased.

Less than forty years had passed from the date of St. Magnus' Martyrdom, when the first stones was laid of the Church erected in his honour. The founder of this glorious pile was Earl Saint Rögnvald II. his nephew and ultimate successor. In his endeavour to secure that half of the Earldom to which he considered himself the lawful heir, Rögnvald met with much opposition. In one of his seasons of greatest difficulty, his father Kol recommended him to make a vow to his kinsman, St. Magnus, promising that if he should obtain his rights he would build a stone church in his honour at Kirkwall, 'more magnificent than any in these lands,' and endow it, so that it should be fitly established, and the Saint's relics removed to it, and likewise that the Bishop's See should be removed thither from Birsay. Rögnvald's prayer was granted, and when he came to power he generously fulfilled his vow. It is said that Kol himself designed and superintended the building, and that after his death Bishop William continued the work till his own decease. After this time we have no record of the progress of the building till the 16th Century, when it is said that Bishop Edward Stuart (who succeeded in 1511) added the pillars and pointed arches of the East end, and Bishop Robert Reid, who came to the See in 1540, has the reputation of having completed the Western extremity of the nave, with its porch and windows.

This traditional history, however, is rendered extremely unsatisfactory by a contemplation of the actual building. To enter here into a disquisition on these points, or even an architectural description, is of course impossible. It may be said that if Kol

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him, and one of the reasons tending to prove that the ancient Church of St. Magnus the Martyr in London was dedicated to our Saint Magnus is the fact that in close neighbourhood to it is the Church of St. Olaf.

was indeed the designer, his abilities were very remarkable; and even if the plan was not his own, he deserves almost equal credit for his judgment in the selection of an architect. The whole building as it at present stands, is only 217 feet long, by 47 broad (89 in the transepts), and 71 from the floor to the vaulting; the nave between the pillars is only 16 feet broad. And yet, 'the first thing,' says the late Dr. Neale, 'which strikes the visitor, on entering the Cathedral, is its enormous size. I do not think that either York or Lincoln gave me the idea of greater internal length'—an effect which must have been very much greater when not obstructed, as at present, but enhanced by the successive vista of the rood-loft, the altar-screen, and the shrine.* The earliest portion of the building seems to be the West part of the chancel which, with an apse, must have had an internal length of about 50 feet, but the apse has been destroyed and the Church prolonged in the Gothic style. Similarly, the five Easternmost bays of the nave, giving an internal length of about 80 feet, may be of the time of Bishop William. But here, again, the Church has been prolonged. It may therefore be conjectured that the Cathedral, as originally designed, would have consisted of a nave and chancel, ceiled with a flat wooden roof, intersected by transepts and a lantern surmounted by a square tower, and ending in an apse covered by a semi-dome, the whole being about 130 feet long internally. The front of the altar was probably designed to coincide with the chord of the apse, and the shrine to stand upon pillars behind it. After the prolongation of the church, it would appear as if the site of the altar (perhaps already consecrated) had not been changed, but that the shrine was moved somewhat Eastward, so as to stand under the centre of a very remarkable piece of oblong vaulting which here forms the ceiling. The relative positions must therefore have been very similar to those of the altar, and the shrine of the Confessor, with an aisle running round behind, in Westminster Abbey.

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* According to a section given by Sir Henry Dryden, the effect is enhanced by a sham perspective in the choir, caused by the vaulting sinking a little Eastward—a rather base trick, of which the Cathedral of Poitiers probably offers the main example.

Unfortunately no details have come to us of the consecration of the Cathedral, or of the solemn translation of the Saint's remains to their stately shrine. It seems probable that this took place previous to Rögnvald's visit to the Holy Land in the year 1152, and Bishop William, as we know, assisted at the ceremony. The Episcopal See was removed to Kirkwall also during his lifetime.

Both the Magnus Sagas contain a long and detailed list of miracles believed to have been wrought, up to the time of their compilation, upon those who commended themselves to the prayers of the Martyr. The usual method seems to have been, if possible, to make a pilgrimage to Kirkwall, and to remain all night at the shrine. Sometimes we hear of the beautiful and beneficent figure,* clad in glistering raiment, appearing to the sick as in a dream and laying its hands upon them, and thereupon they awoke healed.

* Such is the unvarying description of the appearance of St. Magnus which attests the constant tradition of his noble and winning comeliness. One of the latest, however, is subsequent to the probable date of the composition of either of the Sagas, and is that belonging to the dream said by the Norwegians to have been dreamt by Alexander II., just before his death, in 1149. 'King Alexander, then lying in Kiararey (Kerrara) Sound, dreamed a dream, and thought three men came to him. He thought one of them was in royal robes, very stern, ruddy in countenance, somewhat thick, and of middling size. Another seemed of a slender make, and of all men the most engaging and majestic. The third again, was of very great stature, but his features were distorted, and of all the rest he was the most unsightly. They addressed their speech to the King, and enquired whether he meant to invade the Hebrides. Alexander thought he answered that he certainly proposed to subject the islands. The genius of the vision bade him go back; and told him no other measüre would turn out to his advantage. The King related his dream and many advised him to return. But the King would not; and a little after he was seized with a disorder, and died. The Scottish army then broke up; and they removed the King's body to Scotland. The Hebrideans say that the men whom the King saw in his sleep were St. Olave King of Norway, St. Magnus Earl of Orkney, and St. Columba.'—*Norwegian Account of Haco's Expedition against Scotland in* 1263. Even Homer sometimes nods, but the reader will probably hear with a start of amazement that there is a blunder in Dr. Reeves' Adamnan. However, in citing the above passage (p. 14.), he actually speaks of 'the vision which Alexander II. saw in the island of Kerrara, when on his way against Haco in 1263.'

The Bishops of Orkney of course continued to belong to the Scandinavian hierarchy, as long as the islands remained under the dominion of Norway. When, on the marriage of James III. with the Princess of Norway, in 1468, the Orkneys and Shetlands came into the possession of the Scottish crown, the bishopric became one of the suffragan Sees of the Archbishopric of St. Andrews. For a short hundred years from this time Scotland continued to honour her Saints, and the glory of St. Magnus remained unchanged, but when the storm of the Reformation swept over the land, St. Magnus' Shrine was destroyed like so many others, and though the Church itself was spared and still bears witness to the faith of the early Orcadians, the story of its origin has fallen into the background, and among his fellow-countrymen the Saint's memory has grown dim. Nature, however, —more faithful than man—still seems to testify to the glory of St. Magnus, upon the ground watered by his blood. 'That spot on which Saint Magnus was smitten,' says the Saga, 'was stony and mossy; but a little after his worthiness towards God was revealed, so that since there is there a green field, fair and smooth; and God showed by this token that Earl Magnus was slain for righteousness' sake, and that he had gotten the fairness and greenness of Paradise in the land of the living.' Mr. J. W. Cursiter, F.S.A. Scot., visited Egilsha on Dec. 7, 1886, and writes from Kirkwall, on the same day, the following description of the spot:—'It is slightly above the surrounding ground, the rock almost at the surface, which is closely covered with green moss, short natural grass, and very short young heather. . . . The spot, and for at least 6 yards all round, has never been cultivated, and shows certainly green among the surrounding shorn fields. In addition to the murder, the only story attaching to it which survives is—"That one will *always* find an *open flower* growing there"—and to-day, after 10 days of occasional snow and strong gales, we found there several daisies, *fresh*, but not so numerous as to be striking in describing the herbage of the spot.'*

*** Mr. Cursiter's letter, for which the writer of these lines desires here publicly to acknowledge deep obligation and to offer the most grateful**

Certainly to few memories seems more applicable the exquisite passage from the Book of Wisdom (iv. 7-15.), assigned during the Middle Ages to be read on the anniversary of his death—

'But if the righteous be cut off early by death, he shall be at rest.
For honour standeth not in length of days,
Neither is it computed by number of years.
The understanding of a man is his eldership,
And the spotless life is venerable.
He pleased God, and was beloved,
And he was taken away from living among sinners.
His place was changed, lest evil should mar his understanding,
Or falsehood beguile his soul.

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thanks, is so extremely interesting and valuable, that it seems well to give here the following additional extracts from it.

'We had a bitterly cold day in a large open boat . . . and found that there are at present two spots pointed out as the site where St. Magnus was beheaded. We were accompanied to both places by one of the oldest and most intelligent natives of the island, David Robertson, tenant of South Tofts, over 80 years of age.

'The spot of which I sent you the bearings, as given me by Mr. ——— some time ago, we have no hesitation in characterising as the fictitious one, and was never associated with the tradition until about 20 years ago, and that was fixed by ———, we believe, on insufficient evidence, . . . without consulting the natives, but by his interpretation of the accounts which he had read.

'The only spot previously pointed out, and believed in by the inhabitants, is a good way further from the Church, very similar in appearance, and in somewhat similar direction from the Church, and in our opinion the correct one. I shall try to describe it.

['It is slightly above the surrounding ground, the rock almost at the surface, which is closely covered with green moss, short natural grass, and very short young heather.] It is not so much a "knoll" as the termination of a short ridge which slopes more abruptly on the East and South sides; along the crest of this ridge a shallow zig-zag cut was made long ago, to convey water to a mill on the South end of the island; which mill was demolished or disused some few years ago. The tradition states that St. Magnus from the Church saw Hakon's ships off Vaady on the S.W. of the island, tried to make for Howan, S.E., and when thus far on the way saw Hakon's men come over a slight rising-ground at Warsett (to the S.W.),

For the bewitching of folly darkeneth goodness,
And wandering desire leadeth astray the guileless understanding.
He was made perfect in a little while,
And finished the work of many years.
For his soul pleased God,
And therefore He made haste to lead him forth out of the midst
of iniquity.
And the people saw it and understood it not;
Neither considered this,
That the grace of God and His mercy are upon His saints,
And His regard is unto His elect.'

In his own day and for long afterwards the blessed example of this servant of God shed its brightness over all that part of the world to which his native islands belong. It

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and in the hope of being unobserved lay down on the East side of the termination of this ridge, which is the only place near at hand where hiding might have been obtained (I consider an elevation of 2 or 3 feet might thus be interposed between them and him), but he was perceived, set upon and killed there.

'It is situate about 350 yards S.S.E. ¼ S. of the Church, and 250 yards W. by S. of the farm-house of Feally Ha'. The wart on the top of Knitchenfield (a hill) in Ronsay lies W. ½ N.—and the top of Kierfea (another hill in Ronsay) N.W. ¼ N. These bearings taken to-day exactly *by compass*. . . .

'From enquiries to-day we were able to fix 1792 as the year in which the top of the round tower was removed, and were informed that the top of it was of quite a different sandstone from that of which its wall is built, and the stones taken away to be used as whetstones for the old shearing-hooks of that period.

'The schoolmaster told me that his enquiries led him to think, with regard to the *two* spots, that St. Magnus was killed at the Southerly one, and buried for some time near the Northerly one . . . .'

Mr. Cursiter, in a later communication, says that all sources of information which he has been able to consult are unanimous in supporting the authority of Mr. David Robertson as to the local tradition, and the correctness of the opinions transcribed above. Mr. Cursiter is indeed inclined to doubt whether it may not be by a mere mistake that Mr. —— is locally credited with having advocated the substitution of the new spot North of the school for that which has always been recognised as the true one by the natives of the island.

is not for the sake of the merely antiquarian interest attaching to a sermon which was esteemed in the Orkneys more than seven centuries ago, but as a monument of the feeling which the Martyr evoked among his own contemporaries, that these pages are closed by extracting, in its entirety, from the Greater Magnus Saga, a discourse delivered upon St. Magnus' Day by the same Master Robert who compiled his earliest biography on the occasion of the enshrinement of his relics twenty years after his victorious death.*

'This day, dearest brethren, is the day of the death of the blessed Earl Magnus the Martyr, the day of his rest, and of his eternal gladness. Let us rejoice and be glad upon this illustrious day. He, beside whose holy remains, and under whose care and guardianship we dwell, and for whose sake we hope, doth invite us unto solemn kindliness and especial thanksgiving; for it was on account of the nobleness of the example and the holiness of the life of this glorious Martyr that the seemly ordinances of his own bright kindliness and holy laws first flourished in the coasts of the kingdom of the Orkneys, and brought forth manifold fruit in good living. He it was who cast down the throne which Lucifer had exalted for himself in the sides of the North, and who raised up instead thereof the tabernacle of the God Almighty. He it was who by his exhortation utterly plucked up the tares, and caused green things to spring up unto a sweet harvest of life-giving fruit. He it was who turned the bitter leaven of the Orkneys into the praise and sweetness of holy living. And upon this day he overcame this world and the prince of this world, and went up above this world a radiant conqueror, gifted with a crown of glory from the hand of his and our Holy Lord Jesus Christ. Upon this day he was set free from the bondage of fleshly corruption, he was received up into the heavens, and entered into the joy of [his Lord], being in all things made like unto the saints. Upon

* We have not extracted this sermon from Sir George Dasent's translation, but have made it from the Latin version in Pinkerton, as we think that Sir George, from want of familiarity with the Vulgate, has failed to recognise several of the Scriptural quotations or allusions.

this day he laid aside the earthly garments of this changeful life, and went up higher than man's weakness may reckon. Upon him, therefore, is bestowed greatness in heaven, honour and blessedness in the presence of all the saints. So did the blessed Earl Magnus, this illustrious witness for God, go up bright with worthiness, rich with the fulness of happiness, triumphant in glorious victory, adorned with a crown of his own blood. . . .* It remaineth, my dearly beloved, that we lay aside fleshly lusts, that we beware of loving things unlawful, that we vanquish and overcome the assaults of sin. Let us with all the strength of our mind follow after the footsteps and life of this glorious Martyr. As far as our weakness will allow, let us walk in the way of his life, let us keep firm hold upon the example of his doings, let us try to make our lives like his life, albeit it appeareth and is made manifest day by day, by those great and wondrous works and famous marvels, which God Almighty doth grant unto the North both by land and by sea for the sake of his excellent prayers and praiseworthy works, that his life and holy righteousness are things more meet for us to honour and wonder at than to compare with our own weakness. He hath appeared on earth to guard us and to ask for us healing and grace from God Almighty. We, therefore, who are pressed down under the heavy load of our own sins, ought constantly to honour him for his excellent leaning to due obedience and thanksgiving, so that it may please this illustrious Martyr, Earl Magnus, to beseech for us for the sake of his worthy deeds and prayers, that we also may come to be made partakers of the eternal glory whereon he entered upon the day of his suffering, through the gift of the Lord Jesus Christ, Who is Himself the glory and the salvation, the help and the health, the joy and the honour of all His own holy and righteous servants, and Who liveth and reigneth with the Father and the Holy Ghost, One God in Three Persons, world without end. Amen.'

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* A few words are here omitted in which the existing texts give the date wrongly, doubtless through a mistake of copyists.

NOTE.

ON THE POSSIBLE RELICS OF ST. MAGNUS.

About the beginning of this century some stones were removed from the large pier on the north side of the choir of Kirkwall Cathedral; *i.e.*, that pier which seems to belong to St. Rognvald's work and from which the apse probably sprang. This pier was then discovered to contain a cavity, in which were some human bones. It was conjectured at the time that these might possibly be the remains of St. Magnus. They were restored to their resting place, where they lay forgotten till they were accidentally re-discovered during the repairs in the building in 1849, when they were once more carefully deposited in the pillar.

It must be admitted that the conjecture as to the identity of those bones is very plausible. It is almost impossible to conceive any hypothesis otherwise accounting satisfactorily for the facts. On the other hand, it is extremely natural to suppose that, at the time of the Reformation, the guardians of the relics might have placed them surreptitiously in this secret place of safety, in order to protect them from such a contingency as that which befell the body of St. Margaret at Dunfermline from the hands of the mob. No doubt the notion would have been that the disturbance would blow over, and the relics could then be quietly restored to their shrine. There are indeed one or two parallel cases; *e.g.*, it is the constant assertion of the Benedictine Order in England, that the body generally believed to be that of Cuthbert in Durham Cathedral is not genuine, but a substitute, placed in the shrine by the monks at the time of the visitation of Henry VIII's Commissioners, and that the real body is concealed in some part of the Cathedral, the exact locality of which has since been handed down by a tradition carefully confined to three members of the Order at a time. Again, the Abbey of Reading believed itself to be in possession of one of the hands of the Apostle James. This hand disappeared at the Reformation. Within the present Century a mummied hand, seemingly that of an Oriental, was found built up in one of the walls of the Abbey. It was for some time at a local Museum and is now in the possession of Mr. Scott Murray of Danesfield, and it is difficult to imagine that it can be anything except the relic in question.

In September 1867 the pier was again opened, and the bones were carefully examined by Drs. Logie and Kirkpatrick, after which they were again scrupulously replaced. There was with them a small quantity of oak wood, seemingly the remains of the box in which they had been enclosed. Besides the remains of the skull and lower jaw, of which we shall speak hereafter, there are :—

1. Three vertebræ,
2. Part of the os sacrum,
3. The left malar bone,
4, 5. Right and left humerus,

6, 7. Right and left femur (18½ inches in length);
8. Right tibia and fibula,
9. Left tibia,
10, 11. Right and left os calcis,
12, 13. Right and left astragalus,
14. One bone of great toe,
15, 21. Six tarsal bones and one bone of finger.

Whoever reads this catalogue cannot fail to be at once struck by the *inconsistently* imperfect state of the skeleton. The ravages of time by themselves would have affected the corresponding parts of the body equally, and the larger bones would have remained after the slighter had crumbled away. But here we have such things as an isolated bone of a finger and a toe, and three vertebræ. This seems to argue that the body was one from which it had for some reason been the practice to take away portions. Now, the only known class of bodies subject to such treatment is that of Saints, which are habitually dismembered in order to give away fragments as relics. In the case of St. Magnus, the Bollandists mention that a part of his body was sent to Aix-la-Chapelle in 1372.

The most remarkable phenomenon was presented by the lower jaw, which did not belong to the rest of the body, but to that of a much older person. This circumstance again forms a strong ground for believing in the genuineness of the rest of the remains, since it proves that the body was one from which there had been some motive for abstracting portions and substituting something else in their stead. Such thefts have been notorious and constant ever since the veneration of the bodies of Saints came into practice. The stir created within the present Century by the theft from St. Peter's at Rome, of the skull believed to be that of the Apostle Andrew is probably within the remembrance of some of our readers. Another remarkable historical case is that of the theft of the body of St. Mark from Alexandria, by the Venetians, who, seemingly disturbed in conscience at the idea of entirely spoiling the Egyptians, actually took with them the body of an equally genuine, but humbler, martyr, which they left in place of that of the Evangelist.

The above remark may also perhaps apply to the cranium, which certainly seems not to be that of St. Magnus, whatever may be the case with the rest of the bones. The phrenological development is very low and inconsistent with his known historical character. But this is the least argument against it. (*a.*) It presented no sign whatever of the wound by which death was inflicted, and which the Sagas seemingly intend to describe as having actually split the skull. (*b.*) There was on the top the mark of a very severe wound, such as might have been inflicted with the back of a battleaxe, and which must almost certainly have caused concussion of the brain. (*c.*) There was also a distinct trace of an old sword cut on the top of the head, but a little to the right of the indentation. These two wounds,

especially the first, had evidently been inflicted years before death, as appeared by the new deposition of bony matter on the injured portion of the skull. The life of St. Magnus is too well-known for it to appear possible that the occasion of such wounds should have been passed over by his biographers. If therefore the rest of the bones be those of the Martyr it seems necessary to conclude that the cranium as well as the maxilla has been a fraudulent substitute made at some period during the Middle Ages, and which could probably have been done with the greater impunity since the skull was probably enclosed in a bust of the precious metals.

ART. V.—THE FISHERIES QUESTION—A CANADIAN VIEW.

II.

THE history of this question was brought down in my first paper to the Reciprocity Treaty of 1854. By that Treaty we were relieved of the troublesome duty of watching the American poachers; all our coasts were thrown open to the Americans, and the three-mile limit was, for the time, abolished; under certain restrictions they were given rights of fishing in our bays, and on the inshore grounds, equal to those of our own people; and in return we were permitted to take into the United States certain articles of produce free of duty. In addition, American waters north of the 36th degree of North Latitude were opened to British fishermen. This last donation proved of no value whatever. The Treaty was to remain in force for ten years, and further, for twelve months after either party should have given notice of its wish to terminate the engagement. It was signed 5th June, 1854, and received the assent of the United States Senate 3rd August following.

Lord Elgin will always be gratefully alluded to by Canadians for his skill and diplomatic ability in securing this valuable settlement of our daily recurring difficulties with the American fishermen, and, through their lawlessness, with the American people and Government. We had now ten years of peace and prosperity. There is a consensus of opinion, both in the United States and in Canada, that the Treaty was highly beneficial to

both parties; and the fact that each declared the other the greater beneficiary is tolerably good evidence that it was a fair and equitable arrangement. Nova Scotia grumbled a little; so also did New Brunswick; yet the broad fact remains that an immense trade sprang up between Canada and the Americans, by which the prosperity of both parties was greatly enhanced during the eleven years of the life of the Treaty. But our restless and grasping neighbours took an early opportunity of putting to death both the peace and the prosperity it conferred. On 17th March, 1865, Mr. Adams, the United States Minister in England, in pursuance of a Resolution of Congress, approved by the President of the United States, informed the British Government that he was instructed to give notice that at the expiration of twelve months from that day the Reciprocity Treaty was to terminate.

It will be asked, 'If the treaty had proved beneficial to both parties, why was it abrogated by one of them?' It is, of course, impossible accurately to measure the strength of the various motives which probably induced this abrogation, but so far as Canadians were at the time able to judge from the utterances in Congress and in the American Press, there were several reasons for the action of the United States. In the first place, the popular feeling in favour of Protection as against a Free Trade policy had been growing with increasing strength during the eleven years the Treaty had been in existence. In the second, the interests of those engaged in the fisheries had suffered from the Canadian competition. Both the fishing fleets of Gloucester and other American towns, and the rich fish merchants of Boston and other centres of the great industry had felt severely the presence of the Canadian fishermen, who fished by the side of the Americans at a much less cost, and accompanied them to the American markets, where they were able to undersell them. The number of this class was comparatively small, but it was a wealthy class, and money has always had an exceptionally powerful influence in the corridors of the Capitol at Washington. In the third place, the Civil War broke out, the *Trent* difficulty arose, the *Alabama* raid took place, the Canadians, many of them, openly expressed sympathy with the South, and hundreds

of Southrons found refuge in Canada during the war. The Americans, it is believed, desired to punish us for our kindly dealings with the exiles; and besides all this, they evidently thought that, as we had largely benefitted by the Treaty, a withdrawal of its advantages would go far in fostering the feeling of annexation which had been feebly exhibited in some unimportant sections of the Canadian population. Influenced doubtless by all these considerations, the formal notice of abrogation was given, and under it the Treaty terminated on 17th March, 1866. As a consequence, the Convention of 1818 revived, and its provisions continued in force until the Treaty of Washington of 1871. It may be mentioned that during the year after the formal notice, the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, with the approval of the British Government, sent delegates to Washington for the purpose of obtaining either a continuance of the Treaty, or a settlement of trade arrangements, which would meet the loss which these Provinces feared would fall on them if the old state of affairs were renewed. The delegation held several conferences with the American Committee of Ways and Means, but it soon became apparent that there was no desire at all on the part of the United States authorities to renew commercial intercourse with Canada on any basis of fair, reciprocal trade. The delegates accordingly returned from their fruitless visit in November, 1866.

Before proceeding further, let us look at the actual position of the parties at this moment. The Convention of 1818 had been the subject of constant and often excessive irritation between Britain and the Colonies on the one part, and the American fishermen, people, and Government on the other. The Reciprocity Treaty had worked well, bringing peace and prosperity to all parties. It was abrogated by the Americans themselves. Britain and the Colonies had joined in a strenuous attempt to obtain either its renewal, or some fair system by which an interchange of commercial benefits might be secured. The Americans would hardly listen to our overtures, and had haughtily refused even to propose an alternative scheme. They had refused everything and offered nothing. They had deliberately, and with an ill-concealed hostility to Britain and us, preferred the jars of the Convention

of 1818 to the peace and beneficial intercourse of a new and more liberal policy.

An intelligent business man would surely now have been convinced, that the time had arrived when the feeble and tortuous course heretofore adopted by Britain, should be exchanged for one just to her Colonial snbjects, fair to the American fishermen and people, and firm in the eyes of the nations. She had sacrificed the rights of the Colonists, encouraged the American fishermen in their poaching proclivities, and degraded herself in the eyes of the whole world—and all for nothing. Now, she was put back to the position she occupied in 1818, and the British reader is doubtless prepared to learn that, again free, she adopted at least a manly policy. But he will be disappointed. The old irresolution reappeared. Without any expressions of a wish for further indulgence on the part of the Americans, the British Ministry actually offered them a continuation of the free fishing during the season of 1866,* although on the 20th of February, 1866, a Royal Proclamation was issued by Lord Monck, the Governor General of Canada, notifying American fishermen of the termination on the 17th of the next month of the privileges they had for eleven years enjoyed under the Treaty:—that is to say, Canada informed the United States that they, the United States, had formally terminated the Treaty. A common lay mind, unafflicted by red tape would have supposed that this duty should have been performed by the United States authorities, but the abyss of diplomatic absurdity seems unfathomable. The Americans did not desire this concession—they never asked for it, and in practice spurned it. The proposition was that American fishermen should be allowed during 1866 to fish in all Provincial waters, upon payment of a nominal license fee, to be exacted as a formal recognition of right. This absurdity was laughed at. The American fishermen cared nothing for rights:—all they wanted was fish, and they well knew from the experience of the past that their poaching would be winked at, as of yore, by the comfortable red tapists in Downing

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* This short period was mentioned, because it was hoped that in the meantime a new treaty would be obtained from the Americans.

Street. To this British proposal the Canadian Government sent to the Colonial office a vigorous protest. To the men composing the Canadian Cabinet, several of whom were inhabitants of the Maritime Provinces, and possessed of an intimate knowledge of every matter connected with the fisheries, including a painful experience of the injustice which had for many years been inflicted upon the Canadian fishermen by the wretched policy of the British authorities—to these men this new pandering to American greed was simply nauseous. Their protest, though drawing heavily on our space, is given below in full. If it were merely historical it might be disposed of in a few lines, but its sound sense, and its forcible enunciation of the principles which ought to govern Britain in her dealings with the Americans in this question, are as valuable in 1887 as they were in 1866, because at this moment the authorities of the United States are renewing the policy they have ever pursued in this matter, and the warning against their dealings, conveyed in language as strong as the etiquette of diplomatic usages permits, is just as necessary now as it was then. The protest is in the form of a Minute of Council of the Canadian Government, and is as follows:

'The Committee of Council have given their best consideration to the despatch from the Secretary of State for the Colonies, dated 3rd March, on the subject of the course to be adopted on the termination of the right of of American citizens to use the inshore fishing of the British North American Provinces.

'The Committee desire to assure Her Majesty's Government of their earnest wish to avoid any step that would be likely to produce collision with the American fishermen, and consequent difficulty with the United States. They have no disposition to use the apprehension of national differences arising out of the fisheries, as a means of influencing the United States to replace their trade relations with British North America on a satisfactory footing. They believe that the advantages of a free interchange of the productions of the two countries, will ere long, become so apparent as to induce the United States to modify or recede from their present policy. But even if this be not the case, they prefer submitting to all the inconveniences of the present interruption of trade, rather than to seek its restoration by the adoption of a policy which might involve the risks and sacrifices attendant upon war. Her Majesty's Government may therefore feel assured that, so far as Canada is (and it is confidently affirmed the other Provinces are) concerned, the question of the fisheries will be dealt with in a spirit of

conciliation and liberality, so far as the maintenance of national rights will permit.

'The intrinsic value of the fisheries is not very generally known in England, nor the important influence their possession must hereafter exercise on the destinies of British North America. The "take" of fish by Provincial fishermen, irrespective of Newfoundland, now amounts annually in value to, from 4 to $5,000,000, employing upwards of 20,000 men and boys, and providing a nursery for hardy seamen, which will in the future make British North America the predominant maritime power on this continent.* This trade, even subject to the competition of American fishermen has had a very rapid growth, and now forms the staple of the export of Nova Scotia and Newfoundland. In Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, the market for the coarse grains, potatoes, and dairy produce (forming the bulk of their agricultural production) has been in the United States; and being now in a great measure closed, it is evident that a change of industry must to a certain extent take place. This opportunity is offered in the inexhaustible fisheries on their shores; and it is evident that any additional value which may attach to the catch of fish will tend to stimulate this industry, and to reconcile the people to the losses which will necessarily attend a change of production.

'The United States do not possess on their coast any fisheries of much value, and though they still hold in common with other nations the right of deep sea fishing, still the mackerel and herring fishing is now almost wholly within the three mile coast limit, and the catch of bait is entirely inshore. The exclusion of American fishermen from the inshore fishing will, therefore, give the Provinces, the entire control of the mackerel and herring fisheries, and a great advantage in the cod-fishing, and it cannot be long before the former fishermen will prove unable to compete with the latter, even with the high duties levied by the United States on fish. It is also to be observed that a very large trade in fish now exists between the United States, and the foreign West Indies, which a very slight increase on the cost of American caught fish must transfer to the British Provinces.

'The Committee have only thus far treated the question as affecting the Maritime Provinces; but it is proper to remark that the most valuable fisheries are in the waters of Canada, and form the principal means of livelihood to the bulk of the population on the St. Lawrence, and the Bay of Chaleurs below Quebec. Canada desires to preserve these fisheries, not only for her own people, but in the interests of the Maritime Colonies with whom she hopes speedily to be united,† and their preservation and development must in the future be an object of the highest interest to the Con-

* This was written in 1866. These figures are now materially changed, as will be seen by the statistics given in the first of these papers. See *Scottish Review*, October, 1886.

† This occurred 1st July, 1867.

federation, as a source of national strength and defence, the more essential from the extended line of sea coast which will have to be protected.

'The action of the United States having forced upon the Provinces the search for other markets, the control of the supply of fish becomes of immense importance, and, if wisely used, the staple of commerce will tend to open new channels of trade, by enabling our merchants to make up assorted cargoes cheaper than can be done by American traders to the same foreign countries.

'It has been much questioned whether the concession of inshore fishing to the United States was not, from a national point of view, a mistake ; and even from its material aspect, much more than an equivalent for any favours given to the Provinces by the Reciprocity Treaty. But the very proper anxiety to avoid national complications, has always furnished sufficient reasons for acquiescence in the settlement then made of the question, and from the same cause, the Canadian Government now desire to treat the subject with the utmost discretion.

'Upon a failure of the negotiations for a continuance of reciprocal commercial relations with the United States, the Canadian Government felt it necessary at once to issue a proclamation warning the citizens of the United States that their right of inshore fishing had ceased. This step was considered to be urgent, as the Spring fleet of American fishermen was getting ready for sea, and it was considered that it would have been a harsh proceeding to allow them to leave their own ports without timely notice, and then have imposed the penalties of law for an offence not intentionally committed. These penalties in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia amount to a confiscation of the vessel and cargo, and the laws imposing them have now revived, having been in abeyance pending the duration of the Reciprocity Treaty. In Canada no special legislation exists on this subject.

'It has now become necessary to consider the further steps to be taken, and the Committee have given their best consideration to the suggestion in Mr. Cardwell's despatch, that for the current year (1886) no interference with American fishermen should take place, in view of the hope of a change of policy in the United States on the question of Reciprocal trade.

'The Canadian Government receive this expression of the opinion of Her Majesty's Government with the utmost respect. But they doubt whether its adoption would not in the end produce most serious evils. They fear there is no reasonable hope of satisfactory commercial relations being restored with the United States within this year. They think the prospects of attaining this result in the future will be greatly diminished if the United States fishermen continue to exercise the rights given by the late Treaty. The withdrawal of their privileges a year hence will create more irritation than now, as having the character of retaliation. The step, if taken now, is plainly and publicly known to be the consequence of the act of the United States. They, and not Great Britain, have cancelled the

agreement, and voluntarily surrendered the right of fishing. The course suggested would certainly be regarded by the American people as evidence of weakness on the part of Great Britain, and of an indisposition to maintain the rights of the Colonies; while it would disturb and alarm the Provinces. The determination to persist in encroachments, and in resistance to law, would be stronger by the impunity of the past year; and the danger of collision, when exclusion becomes necessary, would thus be much increased; while the value of the right of fishing, for the purpose of negotiation, would be diminished precisely in proportion to the low estimate which the Province would thus appear to have placed upon it.

'The Committee would also respectfully submit to Her Majesty's Government, that any apparent hesitation to assert an undoubted national right will certainly be misconstrued, and be made the ground for other and more serious exactions, till such a point is reached as neither country can recede from with honour.

'The Canadian Government could not consistently with what they regard as the true interests of the country, consent to leaving the rights of Canada to her own fisheries in abeyance, or in doubt. But they feel the importance of enforcing the recognition of this right of sovereignty in such a manner as will deprive the United States of all just ground of complaint, and of avoiding, so far as practicable, those questions which caused past difficulties. They have therefore invited the Maritime Provinces to unite with Canada in the issue to American fishermen of joint licenses to fish in all Provincial waters at a moderate fee, to form a fund for the maintenance of a joint marine police. Any vessel attempting to fish without license, will either be required to procure the license from the cruising officer, or will be removed from the fishing grounds. The instructions to be given to the officers will be, to avoid harshness or undue zeal; and if causes of difficulty arise, they will, it is thought, be such as to leave the United States Government no ground of complaint.

'The system of license will continue for the current year; but it is proposed to notify the fishermen in all cases, that it will not be renewed for the future—being only adopted from a desire to avoid exposing them to unexpected loss, their arrangements having been made before the expiry of the treaty, for this season's fishing.

'The Committee trust that Her Majesty's Government will approve of the course adopted, and they earnestly recommend that several small vessels of war be added to the North American Squadron, and that Her Majesty's naval officers be instructed to assist the Provincial authorities in the performance of their duties; as it is believed that the presence of such a force will greatly diminish the risk of illegal resistance by the American fishermen, to which they might be tempted if they supposed they had only to deal with the Provincial Marine police force.'

The Minister of Marine and Fisheries at the time, the Hon. Peter Mitchell, born and educated in New Brunswick, familiar

with all the minutiæ of the fishing industry, was probably the author of this Minute. Suppressed indignation is visible between the lines. In 1886 when, no longer encumbered by the responsibilities of office, he expressed the sentiments he doubtless held in 1866,* and which the trammels of office prevented him from embodying in their full strength in the Minute. But the Canada of 1887 is not the Canada of 1866. The tones of her voice have increased in depth, and they will now fall with effect on the drowsy ear of Downing Street. The Americans, too, will be taught that in the next settlement of the question they will be confronted by a powerful Canadian sentiment which will mould British diplomacy. As I write, the following appears in the leading journals of Canada.

'The *Tribune's* London correspondent says: The American Government, while desirous of coming to some amicable understanding on the points in the fishery dispute, is understood to consider the present an unfavourable time for entering upon the discussion. When Great Britain shall have brought Canada to reasonable views, and when Canadian irritation has subsided, a good understanding between the two countries may be embodied in a suitable treaty.'

Of course, the United States Government is not responsible for the opinions of newspaper correspondents, but this pretty piece of impertinence is so consonant with the past conduct of the American authorities that it is doing them no injustice to suppose that they are in sympathy with the policy it suggests. It is the old policy — the policy which it has been the object of these papers to lay bare—but a policy to which Canada will not again submit. No Canadian Ministry would now dare to write the submissive sentences which occur in the Minute of 23rd March, 1866. It was humiliating to Mr. Mitchell to be compelled to write as he did, and mortifying to the other members of the Cabinet to be obliged to adopt the Minute, but in those days the Imperial hand was heavier than it is now, in dealing with the Colonies. Public opinion in Canada would now condemn, in no measured terms, a repetition of the weak policy of 1866, and no Government sanctioning it would stand for a single day. The Americans will soon discover

* See *Scottish Review*, October, 1886.

this, and though they will set out in the negotiations with their old assurance and assumption, they will quickly find that behind the constitutional inertness and love of ease of the British Cabinet, there now stands the vigorous and determined sentiment of a powerful Colony, alert as to its rights, and fully resolved to maintain them. With this new element they must now reckon, and Canada can afford to wait with equanimity for the final results. She is not now by many degrees as dependent on the trade of the United States as she was twenty years ago. Her reciprocal free trade with the Americans was of great value to her. But this was ended, as we have seen, by the wish of the American Government. Canada was suddenly compelled to alter her trade relations, and seek new markets for her productions. This blow, which appeared at first to be a national disaster, has turned out, by developing the latent talent and energy of the Canadian people, to be a blessing in disguise. Some American statesmen hoped it would drive us into annexation, but it has had precisely the reverse effect. It created indignation first, and then a determination to expand our industries, and, 'taking the war into Africa,' to challenge American products in the foreign markets of the world. Our courage and perseverance have met with marked and merited success. Canada soon sent her goods and natural products to Europe, South America, and Australia; her manufactures were stimulated by the instant success of her first ventures; and her foreign trade has increased rapidly both in volume and value. The Colonial and Indian Exhibition, opened in London last spring, has been a revelation both to Britain and the nations of the world. Canada, by universal consent, stood first in that great collection of the natural and industrial wealth of the East Indies and the British Colonies. The extraordinary variety and excellence of her manufactures astonished all; her agricultural wealth, as indicated by her exhibits, has taught the British people that henceforth they must draw most of their food from Canada, and the Americans that by their Chinese-wall policy they have nurtured into power a competitor who will hereafter meet them face to face in every market of the globe, and share with them the rewards of equal skill, equal enterprise,

and superior excellence. The foreign trade of Canada is, of course, only in its infancy, but by means of that great highway, the Canadian Pacific Railway, one of the marvels of the age, she is at this moment sending her productions to the Pacific Coast, where they speedily find their way to China, Japan, and Australasia. A few days ago,* the first sod was turned on a new factor in the development of the wealth of Canada—the Hudson's Bay Railway. This road will form a portion of a great route from Britain to Asia, and will open up a trade between the North-Western States of the American Union and our own great North-West and Europe, which, in a few years, will run up into many millions a year, and add immensely to the commercial strength and importance of Canada. It will be a helpmate to its great prototype, the Canadian Pacific Railway, and to these two factors Canada looks for an expansion of her industries which will entitle her to sit among the nations of the world as an equal with them, though still exulting in her connection with Britain as one of the brightest jewels in the Imperial Crown.

In the protest of the 23rd of March, 1866, Canada was joined by Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Newfoundland, but in vain. Downing Street so ruled, and the wretched license system was adopted, but upon the distinct understanding with the Colonial Office that it should continue for one year only. We shall presently see how this important agreement was kept by the British Government. The actual working of this senseless system was this,—the American fishermen thronged our waters with their fishing fleets, fished wherever and in whatever way they pleased, elbowed our fishermen out of the best grounds, sailed away to their own ports laden with the choicest products of our private property, and found a ready market unopposed by the Canadian fishermen, who, though they had fished side by side with the fortunate Americans, were unable to take their catches to the best markets—the American ones—for there they would have been met with a prohibitive duty. We need not wonder, therefore, at the indifference of the American Government

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* Friday, 8th October, 1886.

They reckoned, with a skill made perfect by a long experience of British Ministers, on the inertness of the Colonial Office, on their own power of 'bluff,' and on the abilities of their fishermen, and their reckoning was correct. They dangled before the British Minister the bait of a new treaty, and he, they knew, was quite as gullible as the poor cod who will swallow any bait, even though the hook be in full sight.

The licensing system was, as has been said, by distinct agreement to continue only for the season of 1866. In that period 354 licenses were taken out by the American fishermen, though their fleets numbered nearly 1500 vessels. The year passed and no treaty was in sight. The wretched system was continued during the season of 1867, and the fishermen, seeing that the whole affair was a solemn farce, increased the number of their vessels, but decreased the number of their licenses to 281. Still there was no treaty. It is almost incredible, but the license system was again extended over 1868. The licenses now fell to 56. But the depth of British gullibility had not yet been reached, for the system was again extended over 1869. By this time the Americans had come to the conclusion that a license was all but useless, and though nearly 1500 of their large and fully manned vessels were ranging over the richest grounds of the despairing Colonists, and filling their ample holds with wealth virtually stolen from our people under their very noses, during the whole of this year but 25 licenses were taken out. Still no new treaty was in sight. Not a line of it had been written, and the result was precisely that which the Canadian Cabinet in March, 1866, had predicted. In fact, there is not a tittle of evidence that the Americans ever intended to enter into a new treaty so long as, by hoodwinking the Colonial Office in Downing Street, they could get their fish for nothing. The extraordinary fatuity of the British Cabinet in these dealings is illustrated by the simple fact that during these four seasons not a single American vessel was detained, even though it was notorious that whole fleets were poaching on our limits, and that after repeated warnings. Downing Street persuaded itself that this policy, unjust and ruinous to the hardy and loyal Colonist, would be received with

an amount of gratitude by the Americans, which would compel them to enter into an equitable commercial treaty. Confiding Downing Street could not see that, as things were, the sharp American was quietly reaping richer harvests than he had ever been able to secure before, that under such conditions he would prefer to go on for ever, and that while he was hauling into his rapidly filling vessels the rich rewards of his poaching, he was, as it were, looking across the ocean at Downing Street, and making faces at the drowsy drones who were wiling away their lives in that Sleepy Hollow. A more ingenious device for deterring the Americans from entering into a new treaty could not have been imagined.

In the meantime the Canadian Government, after their vigorous protest of March 1866, regularly in 1867, 1868, 1869, and 1870, pointed out to the Colonial Office, in language as strong as the courtesy of diplomatic relations permitted, the ruinous effects of the policy. One very important effect of it was that the Colonists were actually going out of the trade of fishing altogether, and a great and invaluable nursery for seamen was being gradually but most effectually destroyed. Owing to the almost prohibitory tariff imposed by the United States on fish imported in Colonial vessels, the Colonists ceased building them; they ceased fishing except for local wants, and in order to support their families and themselves they took service as fishermen on American crafts. Another serious consequence of the policy was that it was quietly and slowly, but surely, destroying that feeling of nationality which it is important to cultivate in the Colonies. The Colonists found themselves compelled to become 'hewers of wood' and 'drawers of water' to the Americans; they saw citizens of a foreign nation covering their territory, both on water and land, using their most valuable possessions as their own, exhibiting their preponderating wealth in their superior vessels and fishing equipments, and actually appearing to the world as the real owners of the country and its fishery riches. They saw, too, their own energies cramped, their rights literally given away to foreigners, and their chief industry taken from them and handed over to these grasping invaders. What heart had they to glory in being Britons, or to look with pride on

the Union Jack flying on the ramparts of Halifax, when they saw the American stealing from them the very bread which gave them life, and spoiling them of their goods, under the protection of that very flag which should have been to them the emblem of paternal protection and defence? How was it possible that the all-important sentiment of nationality could live under such conditions? The 60,000 hardy fishermen of the Maritime Provinces were being driven into the arms of the United States, for where they found material prosperity, there, in the nature of things, their feelings would finally centre. This vicious system of giving a foreign element privileges in our own country, which it was able so to manipulate as to secure for itself advantages over our own people, simply worked its natural result, and the Maritime Provinces are at this moment suffering from it. But a close enquiry into the dealings of British statesmen with the Colonies almost compels one to wonder how it is that Britain has any at all. The truth seems to be that Britain has retained her Colonial possessions, not through or by the assistance of the wisdom of Downing Street, but actually in spite of its follies and overweening self-esteem. The strong common sense of her Colonists, and the dominant love and pride of country which every Briton carries with him wherever he may go, have built up the immense Colonial system of Britain despite the narrow-mindedness of her statesmen. The first laid out the lines on which each Colony would be most wisely governed; the second enabled the Colonist to see only his great country as his guiding star and centre of action, blind to the self-sufficient and fussy nobodies who fancied that they, and not the Colonists, were forming the glorious structure. The insufferable assurance of Downing Street in professing to be able to guide the various Colonial vessels of State more wisely than the able men who have, it would almost seem, by a special Providence, always been found in these possessions, would in each case have brought ruin, instead of prosperity. Even in these later days, the mischievous interference and weakness of the Colonial Office is felt in South Africa, and in Australia, as well as in Canada.

Continuing our narrative, the astute Americans kept the bait of a new treaty dangling before the Colonial Office as long

as they possibly could. During 1869, they announced that negotiations would be opened with Canada. They were nominally opened in that year, but it quickly became evident that there was no honest intention to submit any proposition which Canada could accept; and at last, on 4th December, 1869, the bait having become stale, offensive and useless, President Grant threw it away, and in his Annual Message boldly declared that

> 'The question of renewing a Treaty for Reciprocity of Trade with the United States and the British Provinces on this continent, has not been favourably considered by the Administration. The advantages of such a Treaty would be wholly in favour of the British Provinces, except possibly a few engaged in the trade between the two sections. No citizen of the United States would be benefitted by Reciprocity; our internal taxation would prove a protection to the British producer, almost to the protection which our manufacturers now receive from the tariff. Some arrangement, however for the regulation of commercial intercourse between the United States and the Dominion of Canada may be desirable.'

The mask having now been thrown away, the British Government felt itself compelled to adopt the policy which Canada had from the first suggested—a policy of justice to her own people, and firmness against the injustice of the Americans. Orders were immediately given to Admiral Wellesley to dispatch a force to the Canadian waters sufficient, with the local Marine Police, to effectually protect the Colonial fisheries from the poaching to which they had been for years exposed. It need not be said that Canada warmly and largely supplemented the British contingent of armed vessels detailed for this purpose. The result of these vigorous measures was the seizure and forfeiture of many American vessels before the end of the season of 1870. The United States Government, seeing that Britain was at last aroused, and that the end of poaching had come, now opened *bonâ fide* negotiations for a new treaty. These resulted in the well-known Treaty of Washington, signed 8th May, 1871.

What was the position of the parties at the moment prior to this signature? A very simple one. Britain owned all the British North American Coasts with all the fishing rights involved in that ownership. The United States owned absolutely no part of these coasts, had no right to land on them, and no right to fish within the three mile limit. The Treaty of 1783

had long been abrogated. The Convention of 1818 was also abrogated. The Reciprocity Act of 1854 too was abrogated. In short, no agreement as to the fisheries now existed, and the Washington Treaty was, as an American would express it, written on a 'clean slate.' When signed it became the only agreement between the parties. Its fishery stipulations, with which alone we are dealing, are plain and remarkably simple. Though the Americans have talked and written volumes professing to explain these provisions, the truth is that no man of ordinary common sense can misunderstand them, unless he deliberately sets his mind to do so. The pith is in Article XVIII., of which these are the words:

'It is agreed by the High Contracting Parties that in addition to the liberty secured to the United States' fishermen by the Convention between Great Britain and the United States, signed at London on the 20th day of October, 1818, of taking, curing, and drying fish on certain coasts of the British North American Colonies therein defined, the inhabitants of the United States, shall have, in common with the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, the liberty, for the term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII. of this Treaty, to take fish of every kind, except shell-fish, on the sea-coasts and shores, and in the bays, harbours, and creeks of the Provinces of Quebec, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick, and the Colony of Prince Edward's Island, and of the several islands thereunto adjacent, without being restricted to any distance from the shore, with permission to land upon the said coasts and shores and islands, and also upon the Magdalen Islands, for the purpose of drying their nets and curing their fish; provided that, in so doing, they do not interfere with the rights of private property or with British fishermen, in the peaceable use of any part of the said coasts in their occupancy for the same purpose.

'It is understood that the above-mentioned liberty applies solely to the sea fishery, and that the salmon and shad fisheries, and all other fisheries in rivers and the mouths of rivers are hereby reserved exclusively for British fishermen.'

The words of the Convention of 1818 were given in the Article published in the last number of this REVIEW, but that the whole compact may be before the reader, it is here repeated.

'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, harbours, 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, harbours, 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, harbours, 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 thereof, 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 admitted 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 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.'

The term of years mentioned in Article XXXIII. of the Washington Treaty is ten, 'and further until the expiration of two years after either of the High Contracting Parties shall have given notice to the other of its wish to terminate the same.'

It is unimportant, but it may be mentioned that Article XIX. gave to British subjects free fishing on the American Coasts north of latitude 39°. The Colonial fishermen set no value whatever on this privilege, as they have much better fishing on their own coasts, and, in fact, they never exercised the liberty. By Article XXI. Colonial fish and fish-oil were to be admitted into American ports free. The compensation to be paid by the United States for the privileges thus granted is pointed out by Article XXII., which is in these words:

'Inasmuch as it is asserted by the Government of Her Britannic Majesty that the privileges accorded to the citizens of the United States under

Article XVIII. of this Treaty are of greater value than those accorded by Articles XIX. and XXI. of this Treaty to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, and this assertion is not admitted by the Government of the United States, it is further agreed that Commissioners shall be appointed to determine, having regard to the privileges accorded by the United States to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, as stated in articles XIX. and XXI. of this Treaty, the amount of any compensation which, in their opinion, ought to be paid by the Government of the United States to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty in return for the privileges accorded to the citizens of the United States under Article XVIII. of this Treaty; and that any sum of money which the said Commissioners may so award shall be paid by the United States' Government, in a gross sum, within twelve months after such award shall have been given.'

The reader has now before him the whole agreement, excepting only a few details, which are quite unimportant in the present discussion. The Acts necessary to the carrying out of the provisions of the Treaty were passed by the Imperial Parliament 6th August, 1872, by the Canadian Parliament, 14th June, 1872, by the Legislature of Prince Edward Island (which had not then come into the Canadian Confederation), 29th June, 1872, and by the United States Congress, 25th February, 1873. By a Proclamation of the President, dated at Washington, 7th June, 1873, the 1st of July, 1873, was fixed as the day on which the Treaty should come formally into operation. The twelve years commenced on that day, and ended 1st July, 1885. Some difficulties occurred in the case of Newfoundland, but these were settled; and by a Proclamation issued by the Lieutenant-Governor of that Colony, 1st June, 1874, was fixed as the day on which the Fishery Articles of the Treaty, so far as they concerned Newfoundland, should come into effect. Both Canada and Prince Edward Island anticipated events, and at once opened their inshore grounds to the American fishermen. This generosity was fitly acknowledged by the United States Government as 'a liberal and friendly' act, and peace and prosperity were again assured for at least twelve years.

The essential difference between the Reciprocity Treaty, and that of Washington, was, that under the first the Colonies were remunerated for the use of their fishery grounds by free trade in certain articles with the United States; and under the second,

by a sum of money representing the balance of benefits secured by the United States.

The next step in the history of the Fishery Question is the award of the Commissioners. These were appointed under Articles XXII. and XXIII. The Treaty worked well. Discontent was not exhibited by either of the parties to it. The fishermen, American as well as Colonial, plied their vocations side by side, and thrived. Order among them was easily preserved, and the fishing industries, Canadian and American, yearly increased in extent and profit. It may be added here that this state of things continued during the whole of the existence of the Treaty, and until its final termination, 1st July, 1886, though the United States Government aver that it was one-sided, and that Canada had altogether the best of the bargain. While matters were thus progressing amicably and profitably, the necessary steps were taken to determine the amount of compensation, if any, to be paid by the United States in return for the privileges accorded to the Americans, and this compensation was to cover the whole period of the existence of the Treaty—the ten years with the two years added—at least. The Commissioners were His Excellency M. Maurice Delfosse, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of His Majesty the King of the Belgians at Washington, appointed by the Ambassador in London of his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of Austria; the Honourable Ensign H. Kellogg, appointed by the President of the United States; and Sir Alexander Tilloch Galt, appointed by Her Britannic Majesty. These gentlemen met at Halifax, Nova Scotia, on the 15th June, 1877, when the Conference was convened in the Legislative Council Chamber. M. Delfosse was nominated President, and Mr. J. H. G. Bergne, of the Foreign Office, London, Secretary of the Commission. The proceedings were very elaborate, the utmost care and industry being bestowed on the preparations for the great trial,—second only in importance to the celebrated Geneva Commission which settled the *Alabama* controversy. The British statement of claim was contained in the 'Case of Her Majesty's Government,' which was handed in to the Commissioners at their first meeting, duplicate copies being furnished to

the United States agent, accompanied by a list of the documents to be used in support of the 'Case.' The Conference was then adjourned for six weeks, in order to enable the United States agent to prepare and furnish to the Commissioners, and the British agent, their counter case. On 28th July the Conference again met, when this document was put in, accompanied by a 'Brief for the United States upon the question of the extent and limit of the inshore fisheries and territorial waters on the Atlantic Coast of British North America.' The British agent then put in the 'Reply to the Answer of the United States, accompanied by a Brief in reply to the American Brief.' These documents are models of clear statement and learned and forcible argument embodied in the dignified style of State papers. They formed the 'Record' which the Court was to try.

In order to give the reader some idea of the wide range taken by the disputants in this somewhat novel Court of Equity, it may briefly be stated that the British case dealt with the following among other subjects: The extent and value of Canadian Sea Fisheries, the advantages derived by United States citizens from liberty to fish in British waters, to land for the purpose of drying nets, curing fish, to tranship cargoes and obtain supplies, to form fishing establishments, and from participating in the improvements resulting from Fishery Protection Service of Canada. The advantages derived by British subjects from the possession of liberty to fish in United States waters, and other privileges connected therewith, and the remission of Customs by the United States in favour of Canada, were also discussed. The subjects dealt with in connection with the Newfoundland Fisheries were the advantages derived by United States citizens from the entire freedom of the inshore fisheries, from the privilege of procuring bait and supplies, refitting, drying, trans-shipping, etc.; from the possession of a free market for fish and fish-oil in Newfoundland, together with the advantages derived by British subjects from liberty to fish and the opening of a free market for fish and fish-oil.

The British 'Case' claimed 12,000,000 dollars for the Dominion of Canada, and 2,880,000 dollars for Newfoundland,

as fairly representing the value of the concessions made to the United States over and above the value of any advantages conferred on British subjects under the Fishery Articles of the Treaty.

The positions insisted upon in the American 'Case' are thus epitomized at its conclusion.

'*First.* That the province of this Commission is limited solely to estimating the value, to the inhabitants of the United States, of new rights accorded by the Treaty of Washington to the fisheries within the territorial waters of the British North American Provinces on the Atlantic coast; which comprise only that portion of the sea lying within a marine league of the coast, and also the interior of such bays and inlets as are less than six miles wide between their headlands; while all larger bodies of water are parts of the free and open ocean, and the territorial line within them is to be measured along the contour of the shore, according to its sinuosities, and within these limits no rights existing under the Convention of 1818 can be made the subject of compensation.

'*Second.* That within these limits there are no fisheries, except for mackerel, which United States' fishermen do or advantageously can pursue; and that, of the mackerel catch, only a small fractional part is taken in British territorial waters.

'*Third.* That the various incidental and reciprocal advantages of the Treaty, such as the privileges of traffic, purchasing bait and other supplies, are not the subject of compensation; *because* the Treaty of Washington confers no such rights on the inhabitants of the United States, who now enjoy them merely by sufferance, and who can at any time be deprived of them by the enforcement of existing laws or the re-enactment of former oppressive statutes. Moreover, the Treaty does not provide for any possible compensation for such privileges; and they are far more important and valuable to the subjects of Her Majesty than to the inhabitants of the United States.

'*Fourth.* That the inshore fisheries along the coast of the United States north of the thirty-ninth parallel of north latitude are intrinsically fully as valuable as those adjacent to the British Provinces; and that British fishermen can, and probably will, reap from their use as great advantages as the Americans have enjoyed, or are likely to enjoy, from the right to fish in British waters.

'*Fifth.* That the right of importing fish and fish-oil into the markets of the United States is to British subjects a boon amounting to far more than an equivalent for any and all the benefits which the Treaty has conferred upon the inhabitants of the United States.

'*Sixth.* In respect to Newfoundland, the United States, under the Convention of 1818, enjoyed extensive privileges. But there are no fisheries in the territorial waters of that island of which the Americans make any

use. There, as everywhere else, the cod fishery is followed in the open sea, beyond the territorial waters of Great Britain. No herring, mackerel, or other fishery is there pursued by Americans within the jurisdictional limits. The only practical connection of Newfoundland with the Treaty of Washington is the enjoyment by its inhabitants of the privilege of free importation of fish and fish-oil into the United States' markets. The advantages of the Treaty are all on one side,—that of the islanders, who are immensely benefitted by the opening of a valuable traffic, and by acquiring free access to a market of forty millions of people.'

It ended by denying that any sum should be awarded to Britain, and by asserting that 'the advantages conferred on the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty were vastly greater than any that had been, or may be, realised by the citizens of the United States under the Fishery clauses of the Treaty of Washington.'

The Commissioners then heard the evidence of some hundreds of witnesses, listened to the very elaborate arguments of the exceptionally able men who pleaded the cause of the disputants, and on 23rd November, 1877, made their award. This brief instrument settled, at the cost of a few thousand pounds, differences which under the barbarous system of settling disputes by war would have cost millions of money, and thousands of lives. The concluding proceedings of this remarkable Court of Justice are entitled to the admiring notice of every lover of peace. They are given in the words of the 78th Protocol of the Commission.

'The President then read the following Award :

'The undersigned Commissioners appointed under Articles XXII. and XXIII. of the Treaty of Washington of the 8th May, 1871, to determine, having regard to the privileges accorded by the United States to the subjects of Her Britannic Majesty, as stated in Articles XIX. and XXI. of said Treaty, the amount of any compensation which in their opinion ought to be paid by the Government of the United States to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, in return for the privileges accorded to the citizens of the United States, under Article XVIII. of the said Treaty ;

'Having carefully and impartially examined the matters referred to them according to justice and equity, in conformity with the solemn declaration made and subscribed by them on the fifteenth day of June, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven ;

'Award the sum of five millions five hundred thousand dollars, in gold, to be paid by the Government of the United States to the Government of Her Britannic Majesty, in accordance with the provisions of the said Treaty.

'Signed at Halifax, this twenty-third day of November, one thousand eight hundred and seventy-seven.

(Signed) 'MAURICE DELFOSSE.
'A. T. GALT.

'The United States' Commissioner is of opinion that the advantages accruing to Great Britain under the Treaty of Washington are greater than the advantages conferred on the United States by said Treaty, and he cannot therefore concur in the conclusions announced by his colleagues.

'And the American Commissioner deems it his duty to state further that it is questionable whether it is competent for the Board to make an award under the Treaty, except with the unanimous consent of its members.

(Signed) 'E. H. KELLOGG,
'*Commissioner.*

'Mr. Foster then addressed the Commission as follows:

'Gentlemen of the Commission,

'I have no instructions from the Government of the United States as to the course to be pursued in the contingency of such a result as has just been announced.

'But if I were to accept in silence the paper signed by two Commissioners, it might be claimed hereafter that, as Agent of the United States, I had acquiesced in treating it as a valid Award. Against such an inference it seems my duty to guard. I therefore make this statement, which I desire to have placed upon record.

'Mr. Kellogg next expressed his thanks, and those of Sir A. T. Galt, to M. Delfosse, for the manner in which had fulfilled the duties of President of the Commission.

'The President then announced that the Commission was adjourned *sine die.*'

The United States Government made no objection to the award, and the money was duly paid.*

* It is amusing to think that after all, the Americans again conquered, and that John Bull was paid the 5,500,000 dollars out of his own money. The Geneva award of about 15,000,000 dollars had been paid; the Americans could find proper claims to only about 5,000,000 dollars; and out of the unappropriated balance of 10,000,000 dollars, which should have been returned to Britain, Uncle Sam, with the air of a prince paid the 5,500,000 dollars, leaving four and a half millions still in hand, to meet any future award which John may obtain against him! And the humour of the matter is intensified when we reflect that the five and a half millions never entered the British Exchequer, but were paid over to Canada and Newfoundland, while the fifteen millions came solely out of John's pockets!!

In 1883, the Americans gave the requisite two years' notice, and on 1st July, 1885, the Treaty of 1871 terminated. Of course, the British reader is now prepared to learn that the privileges of the American fishermen did actually end on that day. But he will be disappointed, especially as the award of five and a half millions covered only that period. The depth of British indulgence is unfathomable. A fresh bait was put on the hook by the United States Government, and it was hazily intimated by it that steps would be taken at the next meeting of Congress, to be held during the winter of 1885-6, which, it was hoped, would lead to a new treaty. The bait was swallowed, and Downing Street again agreed to extend the liberties of the Treaty to the American fishermen until 1st July, 1886. When we consider the long train of humiliating and worse than needless concessions to the Americans—concessions yielded at the expense of the struggling fishermen of our Maritime Provinces, this last one 'out-Herods Herod.' Britain may just as sensibly trust to Russian honesty as to American palaver. The one is precisely as reliable as the other. The whole course of American diplomacy with Britain since the Declaration of Independence has been distinguished by a want of frankness and sincerity. The Fishery question is but one of a series of similar stories. The Maine boundary, the Oregon boundary, the San Juan or Havo Straits question, the Fenian outrages, are others; and in each of these cases did the United States Government exhibit a disingenuousness which in private life would consign the culprit to social outlawry. British Ministers ought to have seen that the Americans had no intentions whatever to open up such trade relations with Canada as would be at all beneficial to us, and yet they persisted, on the strength of a faint suggestion that something might be done by Congress in 1885-6, in allowing the Americans for another season to raid on the grounds of the Colonial fishermen, without the slightest compensation either *in presenti* or *in futuro*. It must be difficult for any Briton to hear this without a blush of shame—it is impossible to a Canadian to think of it without indignation. And what did we receive as an equivalent? The bare right to fish in American waters,

which had been clearly established before the Commission to be worth nothing to us, and a right which our fishermen never attempted to exercise. The United States Government were asked to continue the Treaty in all its provisions for the one year. This they declined to do, and the British Ministers actually again allowed full scope to the American fishermen for nothing—thus giving away at least one-twelfth of $5,500,000, or the pretty little sum of $458,333, which should have been paid over to Canada in compensation for the privileges thus gratuituously conferred upon the Americans, to the serious injury of our own fishermen. It is a relief that the end of this humiliating story is almost reached. On the 1st July last the American fishermen, hundreds of whom were already on the grounds, were compelled to believe that, at last, their profitable use of other people's property was at an end. But nothing but seizure would open their eyes. Several vessels were captured by the cruisers, and at once a howl was heard all over the Union. 'Canadian insolence,' 'Provincial impertinence,' 'unfriendly action,' are the epithets applied to long-suffering Canada, and the Americans retort the seizures by seizing and confiscating some British vessels found catching seals off the coast of Alaska, seventy miles from land.

Congress did, a few months ago, appoint a committee to inquire into the Fishery question, with instructions to report at its next sittings, but in the meantime there is no agreement whatever between Britain and the United States relating to any of the fisheries either on the Atlantic Coast of British North America, the Pacific Coast, or in Hudson's Bay. All former treaties and conventions having come to an end, Britain once more stands free and untrammelled. We shall see how she uses her freedom.

Canada does not now wish a new treaty. She now knows that the Americans must buy her fish. They cannot be procured from any other source. Nature has ordained that these fish of commerce shall live only in cold water. The United States' coasts do not supply this. It is found only on those of the British possessions. The American demand increases yearly, and as it increases, the Canadian industry supplying it must in-

crease *æquo pede.* The Americans are trying to bolster up their own small industry by heavy duties on the Canadian catch; but this only increases the price to their own people. It has no effect whatever in keeping out the Colonial fish, for these are absolutely essential to the citizens of the United States. Why, then, should Canada give any privilege whatever to the Americans? Her position is impregnable, and it must remain so, until the Arctic currents change; and this will happen probably when the scheme of the ingenious Yankee is carried out, who proposed to destroy the British Isles by diverting the Gulf Stream, and thus give them the climate of Nova Zembla. The policy of allowing the Americans free fishing under any circumstances is vicious, chiefly for the reasons already suggested. The clumsy and unsatisfactory plan of reimbursing us by a money payment to be ascertained by another Halifax Commission, will not, it is hoped, be repeated, and reciprocal free trade is not to be thought of, at least, at present. Canada can well afford to go on without a new treaty, and she is beginning to discover new channels for her trade which are confirming her in the belief that no new treaty which the United States can afford to make will benefit her. For example, the late British treaty with Spain, which opens the Spanish West Indies to our products on terms similar to those accorded to all imports under the Spanish flag, gives Canada a market for her fish, as well as for numerous other articles, which has heretofore been held by the Americans. These acute business men formerly shipped our fish to Cuba and Porto Rico as American products, and entered them subject only to the small duty imposed on American goods. Canada will now ship her fish direct to these ports, and thus capture the trade hitherto so beneficially held by our astute cousins. We are at this moment treating with Hawaii. Our fish will probably soon find their way to the Sandwich Islands, sent direct by our own fishermen, instead of passing as previously through American middlemen, who first filched them from us, and then sold them to these distant peoples as their own. This process will go on with other countries, and Britain will soon see how short-sighted and injurious her policy, forced upon Canada, has been both to us and to herself.

But new fishery difficulties with the Americans are looming up. They are claiming astonishing rights in the Pacific. A few months ago the United States revenue steamer *Corwin*, for the alleged illegal capture of seals in American waters, seized six vessels, three of them British. The captain of the *Corwin*, it is alleged by American papers, was acting under positive instructions from Washington, commanding him to seize and deliver to the United States District Court of Alaska for condemnation, all vessels found engaged in the capture of seals within Alaskan waters; and these were, by the instructions defined, to include all of Behring Sea, east of the line from Behring Strait to a point west of the most western of the Aleutian Islands. Under this interpretation a vessel might be more than five hundred miles from the mainland of North America, and still a trespasser in Alaskan waters, and liable therefore to seizure.* The complaints which led to the issuing of these instructions were made by the Alaska Fur Seal Company, who lease the seal fisheries from the American Government for the annual rental of 317,000 dollars. It is not pretended that any of the vessels seized were within a marine league of any shore. One of them, the British schooner *Thornton*, was captured about seventy miles south by south east of St. George. This would bring her 150 miles from the chain of the Aleutian Islands, and 300 miles from the nearest point of the mainland. The following is taken from the *Eagle*, and, coming from a leading organ of American opinion, is important.

'The captured schooners were taken to Ounalaska, where they were libelled for condemnation, and their crews were conveyed to Sitka, where the masters and mates, in addition to the loss of their vessels, were tried before Judge Dawson, and fined and imprisoned. In the case of the *Thornton* the captain was fined 500 dollars, and to be imprisoned for thirty days, while the mate of the same vessel was fined 300 dollars. Judge Dawson, in passing sentence, likened their offence to piracy, telling them that they had no more right to go into the waters of another nation to interfere with its industries than they had to go upon another man's land

* *The Brooklyn Eagle*, an influential American newspaper, says of this seizure 'No one who gives the subject his notice can fail to recognise the fact that it is one of the most important questions the Government of the United States was ever called upon to discuss, and that it may involve consequences of the highest moment.'

and appropriate his crops. Although only a district judge, Judge Dawson considers that his jurisdiction extends over the whole of the waters of Alaska, comprising about a million square miles of what would elsewhere be regarded as the high seas. If it should be reported some day in the papers that a Gloucester fisherman had been captured by a Canadian cruiser 300 miles off the coast of Nova Scotia, and that her master and mate, in addition to the loss of their vessel, had been heavily fined and were then languishing in a Canadian prison, there would probably be some indignation in New England. Yet that, as regards the maritime aspect of the case, is substantially what the Alaskan seizures amount to. It is maintained, however, that the circumstances of these cases are modified by the fact that Russia claimed the whole of Behring Sea as part of her territory, and that the waters claimed by this Government were ceded as part of Alaska. Judge Dawson is reported to have said on this point, that Russia had claimed and exercised jurisdiction over all that portion of Behring Sea embraced in the boundary line set forth in the treaty, and that claim had been tacitly recognised and acquiesced in by the other Maritime Powers of the world for a long series of years prior to the treaty of March 30, 1867. He held that the jurisdiction had been transferred, and that the United States had acquired absolute control and dominion over the area described in the treaty, and that British vessels, manned by British subjects, had no right to navigate the waters for the purpose of killing fur-bearing seals. If this is good law, that is the end of the matter ; but is it good law ? Unless we are greatly in error, there are copies of despatches on the files of the State Department, written prior to 1867, in which the Russian claim is distinctly repudiated and denied. Circumstances may have changed since then as to our attitude toward the subject, but the principle has not. And we doubt greatly whether the United States would ever have admitted such a claim if made by another nation. What would be said, for instance, if the British undertook to prevent an American whaler from entering Hudson Bay or traversing the western half of that arm of the Atlantic Ocean which leads to it ? Maritime law and international law are the same whether on the Atlantic or the Pacific, and there is certainly something grotesque in the sight of hundreds of American fishermen hovering on the Canadian Atlantic coast just beyond the three mile limit, and claiming to enter all bays more than three miles wide at the mouth and fish, while on the Pacific Canadian vessels are captured three hundred miles from the mainland, and the claim is made that a bay more than one thousand miles wide at the mouth shall be a closed sea to them.'

This writer ridicules the American claim in the Alaskan waters, and in the same breath laughs at the claim of Britain to exclude foreigners from the Hudson's Bay fisheries. That difficulty with the Americans will yet arise on this question seems

certain. The following extract from the report of Lieuten Gordon, commanding the Hudson Bay Expedition,* dated 2(February, 1886, to the Hon. E. Foster, Minister of Marine ε Fisheries, will be read with interest as bearing on this import matter.

'I desire to again draw your attention to the question of the value of fisheries in Hudson Bay, Hudson Straits and Ungava Bay. In my re of last year I pointed out the importance of these interests and can c add that further experience only confirms my opinion of their great val

'At present the Hudson Bay Company and New England whalers are only people who are engaged in the prosecution of these fisheries. whalers, besides fishing, do a trading business wlth the natives and en into competition with the Hudson Bay Company who have to pay Custc duties on all the goods they import. During the voyage of 1885, I me United States whaling barque bound into the bay, and the fact that tl continue to prosecute the fishing may well be taken as evidence of its munerative nature.

'I would strongly urge that in any negotiations with the United Sta Government had in regard to fishing privileges in the waters of the Domin of Canada, due weight should be given to the fisheries of Hudson Bay a Straits. As these fisheries are capable of being greatly developed, it wo be unfair for them solely to be considered on the ground of the use hithe made of them, nor is it only the whale fishery, for walrus hides being n a valuable article of merchandise, and the American fishermen notoriou careless as to the continuance of the supply, these valuable mammals m soon become as extinct as the whales of the Gulf of St. Lawrence unc like circumstances.

'The White Sea in Russia is analogous to the Hudson Bay in Canad in the White Sea, fishing is only permitted by vessels of an alien flag af the payment of a heavy license fee, and the Russian authorities prescri

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* This was one of those annual expeditions sent by the Dominion Gove ment in 1884, 1885, and 1886, to examine Hudson's Bay and Straits, a report on the feasibility of establishing a route through them betwe Europe and our North-West. These reports, it may be mentioned, ε favourable, and the Hudson's Bay Railway from Winnipeg to Churchi or the mouth of Nelson River is now under construction. It is confiden expected that within three years the road will be finished, and a line steamers established between England and its Hudson's Bay termin thus opening up a short route between Europe and the North-Weste America States and our own North-West. This will give Britain t routes to Asia over her own possessions in North America, that by t Canadian Pacific from Halifax, Quebec, or Montreal, and that l Hudson's Bay.

the methods to be used in capturing the fish. I would respectfully suggest that no foreign vessel be granted the privilege of fishing in Hudson Bay and Straits without the payment of a license fee.'

Neither the *Brooklyn Eagle* nor Lieutenant Gordon is probably a high authority on the international question involved; but it is evident that the Colonial Office will soon be face to face with it, and its past experience with American diplomatists will, it is to be hoped, arm it for the fray. British fishing interests in the Alaskan waters, on the coasts of Queen Charlotte Islands, on the shores of British Columbia, and in Hudson's Bay, combined with those on our Atlantic coasts, will demand close watching and a firm policy. Canada and Newfoundland commend to Downing Street the advice said to have been given by an eminent Bishop to an irreverent young man, who banteringly asked him if he could tell him the way to heaven. 'Yes,' said his Lordship, 'I can. *Turn* to the right, and *go straight ahead*.'

WM. LEGGO.

ART. VI.—EGYPT ON THE EVE OF THE ENGLISH INVASION.

[The following article has been sent to us by a writer in Egypt, whose name we are not at liberty to divulge, but which, if known, would, we are sure, from the social and literary position he occupies, lend weight and interest to his words. The translation—for the article reached us in Arabic—is from the hand of Dr. Robertson, Professor of Oriental Languages in the University of Glasgow.]

BEFORE entering upon the proper subject of our enquiry, it will be necessary to give a brief description of the condition of Egypt and its government from the time that Mohammed Ali Pasha came to the throne till the commencement of the rising under Arabi, which was followed by the entrance of the British troops into the valley of the Nile. This will enable us to show the state of the Egyptian people and their transition from a condition of general comfort to one of great hardship, the ruin brought upon them and their country, and the intimate

relation of the government to their state of civilization during these changes; as well as the growth of the foreign element, and its control over affairs, from the time that Europeans came into Egypt and their influence increased, till they acquired the pre-eminence which they attained, and seized, as by the arts of the fisher, the various public offices, to the injury of the country at large and of the *fellahin* in particular. We pledge ourselves not to make extravagant demands on the patience of the reader, nor to exaggerate in the statements which we are about to make, although, had we sufficient space to allow us to give free scope to the pen, we could exhibit clear details and horrible deeds, the recital of which would make everyone's flesh creep, and the terror of which would make every infant turn from the breast it sucked. Restricted, however, by the necessities and limits of the case, we shall proceed in a straight path to show the true state of matters, so that the mind may be infallibly preserved from darkening error, and the veil lifted from the blots of the past.

It is well-known that the Egyptian Government is completely bound up and intimately connected with the Ottoman Government, which wields the spiritual power over the kingdoms of Islam; and that Egypt only obtained its distinguishing privileges [Constitution] when the power came into the hands of Mohammed Ali Pasha. This Prince used the political concessions which were made to him, as the basis of those magnificent undertakings which became of universal benefit and clothed the country in the garb of comfort and luxury. Nor was he, while reforming his age and clearing the atmosphere of darkening clouds, inattentive to the condition of his subjects, or slack to take measures for their advancement and for the prosperity of the country. On the contrary, he was most assiduous in his labours to produce love in the hearts of all who were overshadowed by the flag of his justice; and, by the firmness of his courage and the greatness of his power, he wiped out those national jealousies which, before the sunrise of his guidance, had thrown the country into a bed of inactivity. He aimed at producing harmony among his subjects, and planted the principles of human brotherhood in hearts that

were mutually estranged and in sects that were widely parted. He lifted from off the Copts the awning of servitude, and placed many of them in secretaries' offices, breaking from their necks the chains of religious inferiority. He removed the restraints of party feeling by directing men's minds to the practice of their common duties. Thus discord was supplanted by universal union; and the love of their race and attachment to their country took possession of the hearts of the whole Egyptian people, who strove after disinterestedness in action, and actuated by a desire for the common good, were united against the corruptions which had hitherto worked ruin. Then affairs in general felt the influence of him that directed them, and the people cast behind their backs their evil passions and follies. For every individual observed that, in whatever he did, and in all his conduct, the profit of his actions came back to himself in the return of advantage to his country, under the shadow of whose abundance he grew up and on the breast of whose resources and blessings he was nourished. This admirable Prince, whenever he was witness of an evil tendency in any direction, used to correct it in his noble person, in order to be a terror to the people lest they should break away from the paths of guidance. Therefore he looked into the cause of the weak and resolved their difficulties by the light of his reason, cutting with the sword of justice the necks of those who prospered by oppression. So his fear fell upon the people and his word became powerful in the world; and no wonder, since he was a shepherd treating his flock with equity and mercy; and as the consequence of his sincere desire for their good, he had the merit of having prosperity guaranteed by his footstep and the world prostrate before his stirrup. When he saw that the pillars of safety were firmly fixed in his country, and the stability of the Province secured after its temporary weakness, he set himself to give the finishing touch of splendour to the kingdom, by cultivating the arts and sciences and by using the appliances necessary for their wider propagation, in order to raise high the beacon of civilization and add glory to his reign. Accordingly he started manufactories and great works, and the country was enabled by their products to dispense

with the precarious dependence upon foreign manufactures. Of these magnificent undertakings we see nothing now but the ruins, which stand confronting the present age, marks for the arrows of destruction, wearing mourning for their builder, and testifying, by the excellence of their situations, to the wisdom of him who contrived them. In a word, there was not a possible path to the advancement of Egypt that he did not follow, nor a difficulty in the way that he did not surmount. The days submitted to his power, the times accepted guidance from his beneficent hand, and under his government the minds of the people were at rest.

But Egypt had hardly put on its festal attire and adorned itself, the people had scarcely begun to feel themselves masters of the country, when the visitation of God came upon them, 'by night or by day.' * The Prince departed to the abode of perpetuity, and after his death the country fell into the fire of the abyss. For the violent commotion, which shook the feet of his successor like an earthquake and shattered the pillars of his kingdom, enflamed in the minds of the Occidentals the fires of greed, and stirred up those hostile feelings which had hitherto been laid. So they entered the country, crowds upon crowds, the Egyptians welcoming them with open breast and beaming face and smiling lip, being impressed with the power of accommodating themselves and making their abode comfortable which was shown by those that resorted to their fertile country and blessed land. And thus these settlers, who were mostly a mixed rabble and the dregs of the nations, throve on the pasture which was wide and desirable; and caused corruption to increase on land and sea, inflicting on the people the heaviest affliction, with every kind of affront and disgrace. They elaborated the system of Loans, by which they deceived the hearts of the simple peasants, who were glad at what their Lord sent, though His good kindness did not deliver them from falling into the snares of ruin spread for those among them who were rich by those deceivers.

This was the condition of things under the third Prince who

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* Sura X., 51.

ruled Egypt after him who had raised it to eminence and restored its landmarks. The reigning family grew in importance. But the Prince was seduced by outward show, and was beguiled by the pomps of life. His heart became more and more addicted to love of ease, and more prone to indulgence. He was led by false counsellors to pull down what his predecessors had erected, and to cut off the means of wealth they had originated; and while he was playing the fool in the long robes of magnificence and luxury, the lashes of affliction and vengeance were falling like rain upon the *fellahîn* from the hands of the foreigners, who stripped them and took to themselves whatever their right hand could seize, though *right* in the matter they had none, ceasing not to rob the villages by force and to fall upon any one who was hit by the arrow of their covetousness.

His successor in the government followed the same path, and went beyond him in excess. He seized the hem of the garments of the fancies of those misleaders who disfigured the fair face of the country and made the noblest of its people the meanest. He set about instituting new laws and customs, and decided to make that slit-nosed Suez Canal; putting the poor of his subjects to forced labour on the works, and loading with his favours those who had no need of his lavish gifts;

> And but that my days were spent under oppression,
> Dire Poverty had not paid me in full measure.

So, by the passing to and fro of foreign ships on this Canal, the fountains of blessing failed, and the waters of prosperity dried up. The hand of violence exhausted what the reverence of former generations had left in the sources of plenty; the goods and products of Egypt were thrown to waste; and the wide places of the land became too narrow for the inhabitants, through the intermixture of foreign elements which spoiled the native character. Then the Egyptians recovered from their drunken stupor and awoke from their slumber; but it was of no avail that they bit their fingers in sorrow and that the silent tears started to their eyes when they understood the hidden secret of these foreign races. The pleasant supplies decreased, the troubling of the Nile sources continued, the

skies of Yemen and the hill tops ceased to drop down plenty; in their place were showers of misfortune on every side, and instead of comfort and ease, writhing under violence and force;

> And but for the fair faces of the songstresses
> The hearts of the lovers had not turned to them with fond desire.

By this time it had become the firm conviction of the people, high and low, that what had induced these foreigners to cross the waves of the ocean to the plains of the Valley of the Nile had been motives of great covetousness and purposes of mischief, which heretofore had been kept from coming to light by the wisdom of former governors and the discernment of those in high office, who had not been seduced by the love of the stranger, and had not made close friends of those who were not of their own kindred. The opinion came to be entertained by all classes that the principles of nature were but a covering of malice to every one who was evil-minded; the darkest nights refused to hide the naked deformity of their deeds; and the people were overborne by the weight of these riders of the sea. Then enmity and hatred ruled in hearts which hungered rather for unity than for discord, and which would never have moved out of their original condition but for the going about of tempters, the secret hatching of intrigues in the hearts of small and great, and the sway of passion over the minds of the rulers, both Prince and Minister. Thus wickedness increased and violence became common; danger followed and unrest extended, till people chose death rather than life;

> For better than life to a man is death
> Which shields the soul of the noble from contempt.

Then the country was like grain ripe for the mower; for things had returned to a worse state even than they were in before. The seed of evil that had been sown, grew up and produced a hundred thousand grains on each stalk; so grew also the appetites bred of evil passions and the misguidance of those who looked upon the Valley of the Nile with lustful eye, to swallow up whatever they could find, and plunder whatever they could see.

Egypt continued struggling with this rampant wickedness till the power came into the hands of Ismail Pasha. He had seen enough of the distress of the people and of their gloomy condition to stir him to cut at the roots of the stubborn evil. Accordingly, in his first acts he abolished former corruptions, and but a little time elapsed ere the oppression of the people became scarcely worth the mention. Then passed the shadow of the mischief-makers between him and the expectations which the people had entertained of his noble conduct, an indication of which he had given in the establishment of schools. For these mischief-makers planted in his heart foul desires which smoothed their own way to power, and set him free to the unrestrained enjoyment of his passions ; and by these wiles he was inspired to cease finishing what he had determined to establish, and to leave off executing what he had commanded and arranged to be done. So the world was darkened to the Egyptians at noonday; for he made them drink the cup of grief and bitterness at the hands of foreign corruptors, the evil element of whom abounded at that time in all the offices of State. There was a double increase of oppressors and offenders, and a ruin of dwelling places with their landmarks; the reign of force opened the way to every official for the obliteration of rights and the plunder of what his hands could reach ; every party eagerly grasped at wealth ; for God had sealed up the hearts of chiefs and rulers, till there was universal misery and unbounded misfortune.

Now when the Khedive perceived that the tongues of the people were clamouring against the unequal distribution of wealth, and their consciences were seeking relief in open demonstrations for the recovery of what had been wrung from them by a people of force and fraud, he covered up the fires that were burning in their bosoms by the institution of the Mixed Courts. In establishing these Courts he concealed in his own mind what the events clearly brought to light. Feeling the continuance of those offensive restraints which were placed on the Government on account of his wasteful and extravagant expenditure, he wished by means of them to deceive the European members, on a point in which they would

prefer darkness to clear light; that is to say, matters were so arranged that the oppressors should perforce gain their cases, while the cause of everyone that was oppressed should come to naught. But for the confidence of the foreign Governments that their subjects would have in these Courts a strong backing, they would not have agreed to his request, nor confirmed his decree; and up to the present day these Courts have proved nothing but the seed of increased litigation, a pillar on which has leaned in covetousness the greedy desire of the strong to plunder the weak. The example of the members of the Courts was followed by those who had been restrained from open plunder and injustice by respect for the Prince; and so they went on in oppression, eating up the goods of the people, as the ostrich indiscriminately devours whatever comes in its way. Meantime it was all over with the *fellah*, who had no one to help him or to make a move to lift the weight that pressed him down.

But, perhaps, an objector or ignorant person may think that the troubles of the Egyptians were the fruits of their own avarice. Therefore, to remove all doubt and make the truth clear, we have to state that the various Loans which were advanced by the foreigners at this time, besides exceeding the bounds of justice and 'the quality of mercy,' and the measure of propriety, were exacted under the authority of the Local Government as instructed by the lying statements of those who had advanced them. So when, in God's Providence, a *fellah* was forced to borrow from them, whether by reason of a pressing demand upon him, or from a preference based on the fact that the agents of the foreigners were protected from the oppression of the Governor and the tyranny of his petty officials, the simple borrower would make his land over in security for what he had borrowed. We shall not enter into the kinds of tricks by which the forms of receipt, bills of transfer, and so forth, were drawn out, for that is a well-known affair. But when the time for paying the debt arrived, the lender came with his horsemen and his array, and drove the *fellah* from his ground by force. If he appealed to the Government, this only added to his degradation and loss; for he was accused by his persecutor of

having infringed the rights, which were guaranteed by Government stipulations and political concessions. And when the foreigners saw that it was their arrow that hit the mark, and that it was the Consular party that prevailed with the Government, they insinuated themselves first with the small merchants, and then with the rich and strong, and used every effort to cheat the whole throng. They were aided in their schemes by the Government following their false guidance and imitating their example to the very phrase: so they impoverished the rich and loaded the shoulders of the poor and broke the backs of the weak, getting help in these pernicious measures by snaring their game in the office of every Minister, Director, and Mudir; profits and dividends being the means of taking the greedy captive with long arms. What aided them most powerfully to rise to such a height and to adhere to their crooked policy was that the great ones among them copied the vices of the supreme ruler, and guided him for the advantage of their several Governments and for their own private ends. And this was the reason why the care of the people's welfare was handed over to those who cared not for their well-being and were interested only in their loss. The chiefs thus appointed performed the duties required of them by the prevailing law of vanities; by a zealous endeavour to invest their own kinsmen with every office that turned up or that they wished to turn up. And all the centres of government at this time were like nothing but so many places of worship, frequented by the various sects, where every Mudir laboured at the performance of the worship and service of his lords and masters. The happy man was he on whom were lavished hearty greetings, and who rose to the highest rank by the help of his patrons; and the unhappy man was he who was eyed askance with forbidding glance, and whose longing look was cast down in weeping and disappointment.

From the bosom of the unseen, a voice calls to him, to give him patience under suffering;
'Thy case is not hidden from the Lord of the Universe;
But if thou fearest death before fate overtakes thee,

Know that there is no caution that can guard against what He has appointed:
And if life is long, and thou hast lost in it all pleasantness,
Take comfort, for nothing on the earth is abiding.'

We do not think that any one, who is acquainted with the condition of Egypt and its modern history, is ignorant of this: that the foreigners, whose high ranks added to the weight that pressed on the finances of Egypt by the including of their names in the country's official list, and who by the attainment of counterfeit titles, were strengthened in their desire to obtain the favour of the representatives of their Governments, were exercising their every thought in planning undertakings which could have no other purpose than the squandering of what was laid up in the treasuries of Egypt, and were making its supreme ruler fancy that these undertakings of his were of great profit to the people and the country. Accordingly he would issue his gracious command for the execution of these schemes, and set apart for them the loads of money that was carried by the hundredweight to the doors of the Directorate, or of the Companies, formed by the gentlemen of the Banks, after arranging the guarantees on terms and conditions of the most excessive loss. Then he gave to the investor in the concern a larger share than his capital warranted, and the calculated profits were to be his return for what he had paid and for his pretended disinterestedness. But after the starting of the works, which were on a scale of extravagant expense, leading to the certain impoverishment of every projector, then one could plainly see that there was a vast difference between the grand profits expected and those that actually appeared; or else there was a speedy collapse of the concern, when the hand of ruin got the mastery over the buildings that had been erected, and their splendid adornments became a sport to the winds. Waste and blundering could go no farther; this was playing with the rights of the people and cutting them at the very roots. These were

Things that fools make sport of,
But wise men weep at their consequences.

Then Ismail abdicated, while the bowels of the country were burning with the fires of oppression and hatred, and the people, high and low, were entreating God to dispel their troubles and remove their griefs; since not one of them was able to escape from the cruel distress if he complained of his oppression, or carried to the directors of affairs his appeal. Then was raised to the dignity of Khedive His Highness Tewfik Pasha, who treated the people with marked kindness, and put a restraint on the hands of their enemies, protecting them from injury by his gentle bearing. The sweet odours of blessedness were wafted to the Egyptians from the meadows of his justice, and their hearts sang songs of thanksgiving at the auspicious commencement of his reign.

> The people were well disposed in those days, yet there was sent
> In force against them the heaviest of visitations.

In the last days of the rule of Ismail the Egyptians had taken to lauding the British influence and the English nationality and singing in favour thereof songs of praise and thanksgiving. They regarded those who sat under its shadow as the successful ones of the earth, enjoying above all other nations the blessings of natural rights and national distinction; and observed that, by the happy accomplishment of imitating of their superiors, they were able to gain whatever object they desired, and even to surpass their masters in villainy. But the fates sent against them that which changed their prosperity into misfortune, and their joy into sorrow, and brought to light the hidden designs of those who had been but indistinctly seen amid the violent strugglings and sudden vicissitudes and crafty dealings of the past. It was then that England and France made the land of Egypt a race course, in which the steeds of intrigue vied with each other in their eager desire to increase their prestige. England caused most trouble in this respect, because the Financial Control instituted in the time of Ismail having exalted the beacon of French influence, the English concealed their jealousies, and would have nothing but controversy and opposition and persistent adherence to whatever

would make the success of the French contemptible in comparison with their own. So they announced their intention to make a Nile canal, beginning at the borders of Sherbin and ending at the Mediterranean; and they carried their purpose into excellent execution, bringing machinery and workmen for the purpose. But the natives feared, and the French, who were friendly to them, insinuated into their minds the most hostile feelings towards England. An excitement was got up by spreading a report that she intended to occupy the country, to which end, it was alleged, she had used as a ladder the claim to interference on behalf of desired reforms. These suspicions grew stronger with time, and men's minds became unsettled on account of them. So they vitiated the sincerity of the cordial relations which the French had set on foot, and the result was that the Control, which had originated in a hearty desire to serve Egypt and her children, and in a sincere effort which would have redounded to her eternal happiness, was relaxed in the middle of its work. Thus men were at their wit's end, and the endless intrigues of the foreigners made rude sport of their hearts.

It was when things were in this state that the excesses of the Circassians occurred, their jealousy of the native officers showing itself in the singling out of some of them for the harshest treatment. In consequence of this the spirits of the leaders of the army, viz., Arabi and his four brother officers, instigated by Ismail, broke away from control in connection with the well-known affair of Wilson. But had not the conduct of the Circassians been encouraged by the Khedive's complacency with it, or his inattention to it, these ardent spirits would never have been driven on by it to open displays of unnatural hate. And so when Arabi rose up to demand national rights, he never could have ventured on what was far beyond his power of attainment, had he not been led on to the bitter end by the false guidance of the great men at the English Consulate-General, such as Mr. Vincent, Sir E. Malet, and others; for it was by their means that he was incited to break the rod of harmony and good relationship with the Khedive, a step fraught with miserable confusion and poisoning of mind. In

all his vicissitudes, while making a show of friendship to the French, he followed in his heart the counsels of the English, and relied on their hypocritical support of his acts, which had for their object (as they led him to believe) the granting to the Egyptians of such complete liberty as would ensure to them independent action in their own country, and the management of their financial and other affairs. The fires of disaffection kept growing till the first demand of the officers for the removal of the Circassians was complied with. At the head of these was the Minister of War, Othman Rifki Pasha, who had planned the murder of the four leading native officers. This design of his failed because the troops revolted and carried off the officers who have just been mentioned, from the Gardens of the Kasr-el-Nîl, where the Minister of War had intended to kill them. They then went, accompanied by the troops, to the Palace of ʻAbidîn, and laid their grievances before His Highness the Khedive, who granted their request by deposing the Circassian officers, in order to quell the disturbance and to ensure the obedience of those who were the defenders of his kingdom from the horrors of war; and so on as we shall show in detail.

As the disaffection of Arabi's party gained strength, its adherents began to make open demonstrations and to hold numerous meetings in the houses of the wealthy. At these meetings the speakers called for the setting on foot of revolutionary measures, and the people who listened were attracted and caught as the moth is attracted to a bright light. But seeing that His Excellency Riaz Pasha was averse to these proceedings, and prohibited the leaders from taking part in them, Arabi and his regiment went to the palace of ʻAbidîn, and surrounded it, displaying their arms, and demanding what they had repeatedly asked in writing, viz., the passing of a fundamental law for the institution of a National Assembly of Representatives. And it was the English Consul-General, who was at this time the intermediary between the two parties, the furnace that kept alive the evil fires in these headstrong spirits.

The following is a copy of the address sent by Arabi to the Ministry of War in consequence of the issue of its order for the

departure of the Third Regiment from Cairo to Alexandria (the occasion of all the calamities in the country) :—

'Information has reached me and the officers generally and the chief men of the army, of the issue of your order for the departure of the Third Regiment to Alexandria, on the 11th September, 1881, without any reason or necessity to require it. We know that the intention of this order is to divide the military force, so as to make more easy the work of revenge and the seizure by craft of him who is defending his country, and who has committed no offence beyond asking for reform. Know therefore that we will not deliver ourselves up to death ; and that the whole of the regiments will assemble to-day, Friday the 10th September, in the Square of 'Abidîn, to consider the solution of this question, and will not remove from their places till they are assured of their lives and the life of the country by the institution of a just law which shall clearly define every man's position. And we shall make the Agents of all the Governments aware of what is necessary.'

The officers also were much irritated at the orders which had been issued forbidding them to hold meetings and to take an interest in these affairs. And when the address of Arabi reached the Minister of War, who was at home at the time, he went straight to the Khedive at the Ismailiyeh Palace, and related what had occurred. Then His Highness, having assembled the Ministers and Consuls, and conferred with them on the subject, sent, in the first place, His Excellency Ali Riaz Pasha, and, after him, His Excellency Tih Pasha, to Ahmed Arabi, the representative of the army, to question him concerning the contents of his letter and its demands. He answered that there was no occasion for the Khedive to fear, and explained to them that the officers required the security of which they had been deprived, and that they feared the hostility of certain members of the Government. He stated also that the demands in question reduced themselves to two things, the first including the change of the Ministry, the appointment of a National Assembly, for which the Khedive's order had been issued two years ago, and the promulgation of the Law which His Highness had agreed to in the General Military Court which had been held for the purpose; but the second thing he would not declare till such time as all hope of obtaining these other matters should have been disap-

pointed. When Tih Pasha returned from this interview, the Minister of War sent a telegram to the regiment in question to remain where it was; and then the representative of the army sent to the Consuls-General of the foreign Governments the following communication :

'I have the honour to inform your Excellencies that from the beginning of February 1881, that is to say, from the time when the disturbance caused by Othman Pasha Rifki began, till now, there have elapsed more than seven months during which the army has been suffering the greatest indignities, restrictions being made more severe, and plots and hostile attempts being more common. Among these hardships was the affair of Yusuf Pasha Kemāl, agent of the Khedive, and Nazilet Farah Bey, the Soudani, and the attempt of the 19 officers who were promoters of plots and intrigues by corrupting Ibrahim Agha, pipe-bearer to the Khedive.* Notwithstanding all this we are conducting ourselves in the best manner, checking corruption by wisdom and order, with the desire to bring about general quiet, to prevent bloodshed, and to protect the subjects of the friendly Powers. What has doubled our fears is that since the Khedive visited the capital after his departure from Alexandria, intrigues have multiplied and their ramifications have been extended ; in particular there is the attempt to divide the army so as to lead to a surprise, and the prohibition of the officers from conversing and holding meetings, an order which is subversive of military regulations and opposed to the requirements of the religion of Islam : for mutual affection, and mutual support, and freedom of intercourse are the elements of strength at the foundation of the stability of every country. Therefore this outrageous proceeding has compelled us to make a stand for the defence of our lives and the protection of our interests, till God's will appears and we receive Imperial instructions as to the arrangement of measures for the safety of the country and its people. And we have sent this to you, that you may know that we have not ceased attending to the protection of the rights of foreign subjects. Receive the assurances of our profound regard.'

As the time for the assembling of the regiments drew near, they came from every side to the square of 'Abidîn, in perfect order and quietness, Arabi being at the head of his regiment. And when the troops of various kinds had

* His object in this enumeration of names is to intimate the notorious schemes which were planned for the poisoning of the heads of the army on various occasions.

assembled, they were drawn up in the form of a square, in the middle of which was the representative of the army, facing the door of the Khedive's reception-hall. When the sun of his approach dawned, Arabi dismounted from his steed, and received His Highness with becoming respect; and, on his saying 'Are not you my obedient officers on whom I bestowed your high ranks?' Arabi replied, 'Yes; and we belong to the reforming government, which is subject to the Ottoman Government.' Then the Khedive turned from him and retired, leaving him standing with the Consul-General of England and some others of the Consuls-General. When the Khedive had gone in, the English agent said to Arabi: 'Don't ruin the country by your doings, nor compel the foreign Governments to intervene.' Arabi replied: 'I have presented to your Excellencies a statement of our complaints, and I believe that your Governments, and the English Government in particular, would be glad if the national hopes were fulfilled.' The Consul said: 'Submit your demand in writing in the regular way, and not orally.' Arabi answered: 'We have written time after time, and have received a thousand promises, but there has been no fulfilment of any promise; all we get is prohibition and threatening, and it is this which compels us to demand the guarantee of our lives and of our military honour.' The Consul said: 'It has not hitherto been the custom, nor have we ever heard of a thing being obtained from a Government by force or violence, and proceedings outside the law.' To which Arabi replied: 'A Government which is guided by such a law as we demand is kept right in its proceedings; but a Government which has no law cannot be bound in any way by law, till things come to a worse pass than this.' The Consul then told him to dismiss the army and to come himself into the presence of the Khedive to present his demands, assuring him that his life was safe. Arabi said: 'It is a most extraordinary thing that you, a single individual, should guarantee my life, whereas the Governments of Europe made themselves guarantee for the safety of Ismaîl Sadik Pasha, and their guarantee availed him nothing against the hostility of the former Khedive. And woe is me! that you should humble me to this

degree and speak to me in these terms, when this very morning I pledged myself to guard the rights of all the subjects of the different Governments who are settled in the country.' Then the Consul asked him concerning his demand, and he said: 'We demand general security by the appointment of a National Council and the passing of a just law which shall clearly define every man's position; also, the immediate change of the Ministry.' Then the Consul said, 'Now we know your demands and you will obtain them.' At the same time he told the troops to go away, saying that this was not a matter that could be settled by force and violence and that it did not require for its accomplishment a host of dust-covered warriors. Arabi replied: 'We have come to this public place, respecting the proprieties and preserving military order, as you see, without bloodshed or violence; and we ask from His Highness the Khedive that he will give security to his country and his people by the passing of the reforms we demand.' Then, to the Consul's accusation that this answer was itself a species of force, and to his query as to what would happen if the demands were not complied with, the reply was given, that the troops had only come to ask what was meet to be done in conformity with what the supreme Government would command. As to the hint about ruin coming to the country on his account, Arabi said: 'The country will not be ruined so long as one drop of blood remains in my veins. The number of the inhabitants is not less than six millions; in the twinkling of an eye I could bring a million of them into the field, and the whole of them would not hesitate to answer my call.' Then the Consul said: 'There will be no difficulty about the change of Ministry, but there is no necessity for the National Council.' Arabi answered: 'The whole forty or so of us who are of national extraction stand in such need as we have stated of assurance of our lives and property; but as to the just law, that is the bond uniting the government and the people. As to our affairs in regard to which the government will proceed to take measures, when the pivot of the balance is stiff the scales will be faulty.' The Consul said: 'What you say is true and you are right in what you ask.'

So they did not leave their places till their request was granted, and they jointly sent a telegram to Sherif Pasha who was then in Alexandria, informing him of his selection to be head of the ministry, and summoning him to appear at Cairo. He came on that night by special train. The conversation between Arabi and the Consuls had lasted five hours, with the result that has been mentioned; and, when the thing was over, Arabi presented himself before the Khedive to offer becoming thanks to His Highness.

After these events the power of Arabi's party grew stronger and the weight of those who were misleading them preponderated with them. The men of the British Consulate adhered to their former policy, maintaining, whenever they met any of the party, that the House of Commons in London was strongly in their favour, and would support their undertakings; seeing that they acted with a sincere desire for the advancement of the country and for its adornment by those fine trees of civilization which had been planted for the nourishment of Egypt and the development of its people in refinement and civilization. Mr. Blunt also, was on intimate terms with Arabi, and used to receive from him private letters to send to the Parliament of London, in a deceitful and underhand manner.

Then some of the officers, in whose hearts the words of the French had taken effect, rose up to direct the country, and led their party to back up representations made by the French to the Sublime Porte, requesting the deposition of the Khedive, on the ground that he was leaning on the support of the English for purposes of his own, and was urging them to bring ships of war to the Egyptian coasts. These intrigues were kept going in the country by the discussion of this matter in the newspapers. This was after the departure of the Fourth Regiment under Arabi to Ras el Wady, and of the Sixth Regiment under 'Abd-el-'Al Hashîsh to Damietta. At this time also Sir E. Malet made a journey to Constantinople and urged the British Ambassador there to request His Imperial Majesty to confer upon Arabi and the officers of the Second Regiment decorations and high rank; which was accordingly done. At the same time Sir E. Malet had the honour of an audience of his Majesty, the

Prince of the Faithful, in whose gracious hearing he represented the desire of England for the sending of Ottoman troops to Egypt. His Majesty the Sultan replied that he was perfectly well acquainted with what was going on in Egypt, and saw no necessity, in connection with these events, of sending troops to the country; although, if there was anything calling for such a step, it was part of his royal right and sovereignty over the Nile Valley and its dependencies to send them, and that the Supreme Government would act according to its own will and desire.

A short time after this there came, on October 12th, 1881, to Egypt the first Ottoman Commission, to see what turn its affairs were taking. Its coming was closely followed by the arrival of an English vessel, and also of a French one, on the coast of Alexandria, on pretext of watching the interests of the subjects of these two Governments, though it was no secret to any one that the true purpose was to stir up evil and to unsettle men's minds, so as to thwart the plans of those who had been appointed by him who had the spiritual supremacy over the country. The Members of the Commission, therefore, hastened to finish what had been committed to them, as soon as they became aware of these hostile intentions, avoiding with determined purpose everything that would bring about peace by crafty means. They then departed for Constantinople on Tuesday, 19th Oct., 1881, and the two ships also returned to where they had come from. Then his Excellency Sherif Pasha resigned, and was succeeded by Mahmud Pasha Sami, in the first days of whose Ministry Arabi was raised to the rank of *Mîr Liwai*, and returned from Ras el Wady. Then the Ministry of War set about increasing the stores of warlike material, till it amounted to twice what had been stored in the castles and forts in the time of Ismail and his predecessors. They also bought a considerable number of torpedoes, to lay before the coasts to prevent the approach of hostile ships, should events lead to such a contingency; for there were repeated mutterings regarding a Franco-English circular that had been sent to the Porte. The purport of it was that these two Governments were determined to use every necessary means to confirm the position and power of the Khedive; its pretext was that the Popular Assembly which had been set on foot ac-

cording to Arabi's scheme, would make short work, as some of its members were hinting at the restoration of the former Khedive, and were inclined to make the government of Egypt an absolultely popular one, not subject in local matters to an absolute ruler, although owning subjection by its chosen flag, to the Ottoman Government. The Assembly of Representatives broke up on the forenoon of the 26th day of March, 1882, in accordance with the terms of its Constitution.

Then began the investigation into the insubordination of the Circassians. The history of this affair, according to the official journals, is as follows:—The ex-Khedive, being compelled to live at a distance from Egypt, began, when the country was in peace and quietness, to watch the events of the time and the opportunities of the occasion, either to attack it or to cause confusion in its affairs, in order to obtain satisfaction to his feelings by taking revenge. He availed himself of the opportunities afforded by recent events for the attainment of one of his objects, and sent Ratib Pasha to Egypt to collect among his friends those on whom he could rely to carry out his purpose. So he came, and the Prime Minister of the time, Sherif Pasha, allowed him to enter the country, and to remain a certain number of days. He collected together his brother, Tal'at, the chief of the watchmen, and Yusuf Beg Nedjati, and Mahmud Beg Fuad, sister's son of Khasdu Pasha, and Othman Pasha Rifki, the former Minister of War. These arranged to draw to themselves men who would combine to cause a disruption between the Government and the heads of the army, especially Arabi. The compact having been ratified for this purpose, the said Pasha returned to the ex-Khedive, and the conspirators proceeded secretly to take steps for bringing to open manifestation their evil designs; some people of weak minds joining them. It so happened that circumstances then required the sending of 101 officers of the Egyptian army to the regions of the Soudan to take the place of those who had finished their term of service there; and there were selected of the Turks six, and of the Circassians nine to complete the required number. So the Ministry of War sent to them the necessary expenses for preparation in the ordinary way; and notified them that the time of their stay would be reckoned double

in consideration of the place of living, on account of which also there would be added a half to their original pay. Then these wretches employed the nine selected Circassians as a field on which to sow the seeds of mischief. They persuaded the officers to refuse the terms offered, and made them believe that the only object in view was to banish them and deprive them of their rank. Accordingly they refused to march, though they had received their necessary outfits, and had been told that their stay in the Soudan would not exceed three years; saying that they would not obey the orders given them, unless they were at once, and without any special reason, raised to the ranks which the Egyptian officers held, and which they had gained by distinguished service and merit. The conspirators then led them on to talk of the principal subject, and took into their secret counsels his Honour Rashid Agha, one of the loyal Circassian officers. But his conscience would not allow him to follow them; and he went and told Arabi, whose position with the Government recent events had strengthened. Accordingly the Government proceeded to arrest the officers, and to appoint a general military council to try them, under the presidency of Rashid Husni Pasha. The Council, in its proceedings, did not decline from the right, but examined the prisoners in a straightforward manner, taking their depositions with forbearance and kindness, till it agreed upon its finding. Sentence was pronounced against them on the 3rd May, 1882, a sentence tempering chastisement with mercy; it was as follows: Forty of them, among whom were Othman Pasha Rifki and Yusuf Beg Nedjati, were to be deprived of their military rank and decorations, and were to be banished to the extremities of the country of the Soudan, to be distributed in various directions, except in the plains and places of importance. Two Greek Catholics were sentenced to deprivation of civil rights and consequent perpetual banishment. Ratib Pasha, the source of all this mischief, was sentenced to banishment from Egypt if ever he should return to it. All were to be deprived of their arms; and it was recommended to the Council of Ministers that the allowance of the ex-Khedive should be stopped, and that proceedings in his case should be left to the Khedive; also, that all parties should be

forbidden to receive letters from Ismail Pasha, the cause of this hostile movement against Egypt. When Arabi looked at the sentence he saw that it was founded on the principles of justice; only he preferred to change banishment to the Soudan into banishment to whatever place the condemned might choose, out of compassion for them. The other parts of the sentence he agreed to, and the Council of Ministers accepted his suggestion.

They accordingly submitted the matter to His Highness the Khedive. He replied that he had referred it to the Sublime Porte, and was waiting the arrival of directions on the subject from the supreme Caliphate, although Egypt possessed a Constitution conferring on it absolute control over its subjects, and the Sultan was not disposed to hamper her in such a matter. The Ministers departed, and their Excellencies the Consuls came to see His Highness, who related to them what had just passed. They did not approve of his waiting for instructions from the Sublime Porte, and therefore, acting on the interpretation they gave His Highness of the power conferred on him by the Egyptian Constitution, he ordered that the condemned men should be banished from the country without deprivation of their decorations and ranks. He sent this order to the Ministry of the Interior, which returned it because it did not fall within its special province, and then it was sent to the Ministry of War.

Now His Highness the Khedive, in the course of his interview with the Consuls, had informed them that their lives were in imminent danger; they therefore went on the evening of 3rd May, 1882, to the house of the President of the Ministry and asked him concerning this statement that their lives and the lives of their subjects were in danger. He replied that he did not apprehend the slightest harm to them, and invited them to a meeting of a Council of Ministers which was summoned for the next day. They attended and repeated the question they had put before, followed by other enquiries, when all the Ministers replied that they were guarantee for peace and general safety; so the Consuls departed, trusting to this answer. It was the mitigation of the punishment of the Circassians, to which their crimes gave no countenance, that had caused a difference between the Ministry and the Khedive, and had excited the feelings of the latter, and led

him to throw out the hint to the Consuls about the danger to their lives and those of the rest of the foreigners. When the difference reached this stage, the Ministry called together the Assembly of Representatives, who came 'from every hillock running fast,' and assembled on the evening of Friday, 13th May, in the house of Arabi. Sultan Pasha, the President, came from Port Said, and addressed them on the subject, having met the Khedive immediately on his arrival, as he had been beforehand commanded by telegraph to do. Thereafter the Representatives and the Ministers met in the house of Sultan Pasha on Saturday, 14th May, and also on the evening of the same day. They resolved to put an end to the difference by the enactment of a law which should define the duties of the Khedive and those of the Ministry; and Sultan Pasha and Suleiman Abaza Pasha, with certain of the representatives, went to the Palace of Ismailiyeh in Cairo to submit this to His Highness the Khedive. They did not see him because he was engaged, and came away intending to return; and it was only after much going to and fro of the representatives between the Ministers and the Khedive that they obtained his gracious favour.

During this time the Consuls were urging the Ministers to resign their offices, but their efforts did not succeed; and a very short time after the difference had been made up, there came to Alexandria an English squadron, and also a French one; Sir E. Malet, the Consul for England, who was more urgent than the other Consuls for the resignation of the Ministry, giving out that the real purpose of the coming of the ships was to preserve peace and restore confidence among the Europeans. Then the Consuls of the two Governments desired a conference with the Ministers in view of the presence of the ships. But this they did not agree to, saying that the presence of these ships in the waters of Alexandria was just like the presence of Egyptian ships in French or English harbours, adding, 'and we have no reason to conclude that their coming is for a hostile purpose. And even if we supposed that anything had happened to cause a misunderstanding, the solution of the difference is a matter for the two Governments concerned to arrange with the Sublime Porte, the Sovereign Power over the

country, which will urge His Highness the Khedive to do what is necessary, we being always subject to His Highness's pleasure.' Thereafter Mahmûd Sami went to the Khedive and informed him as to what had passed; and His Highness replied that he was waiting Ottoman instructions.

When the two Consuls saw that the Ministers refused to resign, they persevered in their pressure, threatening the most fearful consequences, and saying: 'Your refusal to resign will lead to the interference of the Supreme Government, which will be the most effectual means of disturbing Egypt, by stirring up commotion, and bringing trouble on the people.' The Ministers answered: 'If you maintain that the interference of the Government which has the authority over us in our affairs is to harm us, why do you ignore the harm which comes from your officious interference; for the Ruler of the country can have no other object than the country's good?' So when the scheme of the two Consuls proved fruitless, they presented to the Council of Ministers a memorandum, dated 8th Regeb, 1299, corresponding to 25th May, 1882, in which they implicated Sultan Pasha; who, however, when the Ministers asked him as to his relations with the Consuls, denied their statement out and out, and supported his denial with the strongest proofs. Accordingly the Ministers decided to repel the memorandum, and Mahmûd Sami Pashi went to the Khedive and informed him of how things stood. His Highness replied that he agreed with the Consuls; whereupon the Ministry of Sami resigned, to the regret of all.

This is a copy of the memorandum referred to, which, as proceeding from persons destitute of all respect for the order of the country, and trespassing the bounds of their own office, is to be reckoned one of the most extraordinary outrages on law and custom, and one of the vilest of political tricks:

'We the undersigned Consuls of England and France, seeing that in the opinion of Sultan Pasha there is no way of checking the excitement which prevails in the country except by means of what we are about to mention, submit to His Excellency Mahmûd Pasha Sami, President of the Council of Ministers, the following:—1. The resignation of his Ministry; 2. The temporary banishment of Arabi from the country, with the preservation of his rank and pay; 3. The banishment of Abd-el 'Al Pasha Halimi and

'Ali Pasha Fehmi to the interior of the Soudan, with the preceding reservations.

'The measures proposed will be the means of delivering the Province from the evils which surround it; and we, on behalf of our Governments and carrying out their instructions, request from the whole Ministry their close attention and careful consideration of these measures, the carrying out of which will be provided for in case of necessity.

'Our Governments have no object in thus intervening except to strengthen the power of the Khedive; and inasmuch as the measures proposed do not proceed from hostility, and do not contemplate revenge, the Governments will hasten, when the measures are executed, to beg the amnesty of the Khedive; and they will continue their diligence till it is successful.'

(*Signed*), MALET. (*Signed*), SIENKIEWICZ.

The following is the copy of the refusal of the Ministry of the Exterior to the above communication:

'MESSIEURS THE CONSULS—A meeting of Council of Ministers was held yesterday evening, which Sultan Pasha attended, in order to give information to the President of the Council concerning communications which passed between him and the Consul-general of France. The said Pasha declared that no such proposals as are alleged can be traced to him as having been made either in his own name or in virtue of his being President of the Council of Representatives not in Session.

'As to the matters contained in your Memorandum, they belong to the reserved questions which are the special concern of the Local Government alone, and the foreign Governments have already acknowledged that the Egyptian Government is free to manage its internal affairs. Therefore, the Egyptian Government cannot enter with you into such matters, because it considers that this would be contrary to the Imperial Firmans and political compacts which have been drawn in protection of its rights, and regards it, moreover, as opposed to the constitutional law of the country, which is the highest guarantee for the preservation of what you wish to preserve.

'Of course the Government of the Khedive is glad to listen to the good advices which proceed from you; but it regrets that it is unable to see its way on this occasion to agree to the demands formulated in your recent communication. Therefore if your Governments consider that the purport of that communication is purely political, let them carry the matter to the Supreme Government at the Porte, which has the Sovereignty over Egypt and its dependencies.'

Copy of the resignation of the Sami Ministry, addressed to His Highness the Khedive:

'YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,—At the time of the arrival of the French and English ships at Alexandria, you informed us that you had asked the advice of our Caliph as to what was necessary to be done. While we were in the intensest expectation, the two Consuls of England and France presented to us a memorandum dated the 25th May, 1882 ; and when your order was issued for the assembling of our Council to answer it, the Ministry unanimously agreed to repel it ; but when we met with your Highness, you explained that you had accepted it. This we consider subversive of our allegiance to the Prince of the Faithful and distinctly contradictory of what the Council of your Ministers had agreed upon. Accordingly we have the honour to offer our resignation to your Highness.'

'Cairo, 26th May, 1882.

(Signed),

'Mahmûd Fehmî' Ahmed Arabi, Mustapha Fehmî, Mahmûd Sami, 'Ali Sadik, Hasan Sherîfî, Abdallah Kari.'

The following is a copy of the circular in which the Sublime Porte formulated its claim to forbid the fleets of the two Governments from the said coast, dated 17th May 1882, which was sent by Said Pasha, then Ottoman Minister for Foreign Affairs, to the foreign Ambassadors at the Sublime Porte :—

'The Ambassadors of England and France have informed me of the resolution of their Governments to send to Alexandria the ships which are assembled in Suda Bay and of their request to the Imperial Government to obviate ruin and confusion in Egypt, saying the steps which they have taken do not infringe on the rights of His Majesty the Sultan in Egypt. To you then is addressed a clear statement of the views of the Imperial Government on this subject, viz., that we have firmly determined to maintain the existing state of affairs. If the purpose of the armed display which the Governments propose were the protection of their subjects, Egypt is a part of the Ottoman Empire, and it would be their duty to act on the principles of the existing law, which is the preserver of peace and the guarantee of regular procedure in Egypt. It has never occurred to us to find fault with these Governments for the eagerness of their solicitude on behalf of their subjects ; but it is not desirable that they should resolve, for this purpose, to send the combined fleet to a kingdom subject to the Supreme Sultan. And when we look at the condition of Egypt, we do not see among the necessities for its improvement anything to call for the disturbing of it by a large naval armamemt; since the sending of ships and such like is the prerogative of the Sultan in any case, and is not lawful to any other, except after a distinct agreement between the three Governments.

'Having confidence in the integrity of the two Governments, we say that it was incumbent on them, if they saw in the condition of Egypt anything calling for the taking of precautions or measures calculated to pre-

serve the rights of their subjects, to commit to the Sublime Porte the task of restoring tranquillity. For to assure us that they are not infringing standing treaties nor abolishing sacred rights, and at the same time to exclude us from interfering in the affairs of a region subject to us, are two contradictory positions which cannot be reconciled.

'The consequence of this contradiction would be the destroying of our respect in Egypt, the want of attention to our advices, the paving of the way to corruption in that country, the forcing upon the people of what their posterity would not be pleased with, and an estrangement between us and them. It is incumbent on us to defend them from any terror or anxiety which they may dread, seeing that the subjection of Egypt to the sway of the Ottoman power is a thing of ages, and the unity of our customs and laws and regulations, and the principles of the constitution are a clear proof of the necessity for the Sultan's sole undertaking of this important matter. For he alone is able to preserve order in affairs far beyond what is asked ; and the mere turning of his Imperial attention is enough to those who hear the voice of reason in Egypt.

'Therefore give attentive regard to these considerations, and the arguments will make our rights clear to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Government which you represent, so that he will discountenance the naval demonstration proposed; and I expect a good result from the step the taking of which I have made known to you.'

Then issued the decree of His Imperial Majesty for the mission of His Excellency Derwish Pasha to Egypt to examine into its affairs, bearing the necessary orders and instructions for the proper execution of his commission. He left Constantinople on the 3rd June, 1882, accompanied by the Commission, amounting, with servants and attendants, to forty-five persons. And seeing that he had set out, the Supreme Government did not, at the beginning of the affair, agree to the holding of a Conference at the capital to examine the Egyptian question, relying upon the prudence of its Commissioner, who had a wide knowledge of the secrets of hearts and the mysteries of affairs. He reached Alexandria on Wednesday of the 7th of the month, and had a most enthusiastic welcome—every heart leaping for joy on his arrival.

When the Khedive remarked the satisfaction of the High Commissioner with the appearance of the heads of the army, he concealed his former animosity with the curtain of open respect to them. Those of them that were present at the Port of Alexandria he invited to the banquet which he had prepared for

the Pasha, to make a show of cordial relations with the chiefs of the army. These courtesies went on increasing when, in the course of events, the Sultan conferred on Arabi the rank of *mushîr*, and bestowed other decorations on many of the chiefs of the army, and ministers and great men. In those days the mischief-makers had a busy time of it at headquarters, and there was an active traffic in lies at the Court of the master of affairs; the lean and the fat [the good and bad] got mixed, and the confidence of faithful men was shaken. The Khedive was convinced that Derwish Pasha would order Arabi to go with him to Alexandria in words, but forbid him in heart, to use the language of Sheikh Ahmed Ass'ad of Mecca. So the thoughts of his Highness were troubled, and the feet of those who were causing mischief were firmly planted on the field of intrigue. Therefore the Khedive summoned 'Omar Pasha Lutfi, who was at that time Governor of Alexandria, and ordered him to incite the police to get up disturbances and to foment quarrels, with a view to mar the appearance of general confidence on which Arabi relied for the averting of suspicion from himself and his party. The Pasha encouraged him in the prosecution of his purpose, and found a ready means for the success of it in the circumstance that Seyyid Beg Kandîl was at that time Head of the Police at the Port of Alexandria. The latter, in the excess of his zeal and ardour in Arabi's cause, seeing the combination of the spirits of the armed police on the offensive took it for a defensive brotherly movement in favour of the national cause; and so encouraged them to go on. In this way the city was thrown into confusion; and certain of the mischief-makers favourable to the English (or hired by them to stir up the people) took open steps to hinder the proceedings of the soldiers, and thus were brought about the horrible occurrences, the enormity of which no one is ignorant of. This is the substance of what has been repeated over and over again by tongues of persons that that can be relied on, and it is confirmed by the sequel, which is well known.

Then was issued a high order for the appointment of a tribunal to examine into the causes of these disturbances, so as to discover whether they originated in a quarrel between some donkey-drivers

and Maltese, as was alleged, or whether this was said on purpose to draw down punishment on the innocent and to acquit the guilty. So the Court was constituted, consisting of 18 members of various nationalities, under the presidency of Abd-er-Rahman Pasha Rushdi, the present Minister of Works, in accordance with a request of Raghib, who was at that time head of the Ministry. One of the conditions of that request was that no punishment of any kind should be inflicted on any one suspected of complicity in these affairs, before the appointment of a legal tribunal to examine the statements of the accusers and the accused, as was explained in a statement submitted by him to His Highness the Khedive on the second day after his appointment to office, viz., on 18th June, 1882.

Every one knows that the directors of the military party were extremely anxious that this occurrence should not be turned into a grave suspicion against themselves; they therefore interfered to quench its flames for the sake of their own reputations, to allay the fears that had been raised, and to forestall the craft of those who were plotting against them. And when Admiral Seymour saw this, he sent a telegram to London (as the papers of the day stated), in which he praised the efforts which they had put forth to check the disaster. In short, it is plain from what has been said, and from the evidence of eye-witnesses, that that dreadful commotion which had such revolting consequences is not a thing to be held up as a monument of religious fanaticism, and furnishing a naked exposure of the essential elements of the Egyptian character. This is what the correspondent of the *Courier de France*, who was an eye-witness of what he describes, says:—'Were I not to make it plain that the prime movers of the affair of Alexandria, which has been blazed abroad by the telegraph, were the Europeans (partly Italians and partly Greeks), who acted after their usual manner in such affairs, I should be guilty of taking upon my shoulders a heavy load of lies and misrepresentation.' To the same effect testify those Europeans who are of good reputation and of long standing in the country, for not one of them says that the natives were the assailants. It was said that the beginning of the disturbance which spread so rapidly took place at the railway station, and arose out of a fight with sticks between a donkey-

driver and a porter of unknown nationality; whereupon the residents in the street of the Seven Daughters, who were low-class Greeks and natives of Malta, began to discharge fire-arms in great number from the windows of the houses to give signals of alarm.

Now, since these low-class people were of those who took refuge under the wing of the English community, the Consuls of England and Greece never took the trouble to look into their condition, though they were urged to do so by the public newspapers, which knew well the natural disposition of these wretches to commit acts of violence and hostility, and their readiness on every opportunity to get up disturbances and engage in plunder. Fortunately for them, this absence of attention enabled them to make certain strange preparations, of which the Greek Consul was partly cognisant, as, for example, the possession by them of newly-invented weapons, and the appearance among them of gold pieces, which came from no one knows where. The Consul, however, did not check them in their evil avarice, but looked complacently on their plunder, by means of which they were able to cool their eyes after their sorrows.

It was a custom also among the Maltese for their boatbuilders to frighten the Egyptians, after the arrival of the English war-ships, by making light of the natives, and pointing to the ships, just as a man frightens a child by showing the stick which is the prerogative of his adult age. They used also to make large pictures of horrid monsters to frighten the children, while all the time the natives never retorted in any such fashion; and there is no doubt that things of that kind would make an impression on sensible people, even if they were done in Europe. The English Consul, meanwhile, if any one showed him these things, would shrug his shoulders and turn his back, saying that he would receive no accusation against any one who felt a natural pride and exultation whenever he saw the flag of British victory fluttering before him.

After the lapse of a week from the arrival of Derwish Pasha there came one of the royal yachts of his Imperial Majesty, the Sultan, bearing some of his Majesty's aides-de-camp, with private despatches from the Supreme Caliphate to His Excellency

Derwish Pasha. They returned immediately. And we need not mention the banquetings and the strokings of the hair which took place at this time, since these are necessary observances. And then on the 17th of the same month there came out by telegraph an order of the Khedive addressed to the Ministry of War, appointing Ismaîl Pasha Raghib head of the Ministry, and commissioning him to select a new Ministry and to take measures for the securing of general confidence and quiet. To this Arabi sent by telegraph the following reply:—

'YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,—I have had the honour to receive the august expression of your Highness's will informing me that the presidency of the Ministry of your Government has been bestowed on His Excellency Ismail Pasha Raghib, in view of the necessities of the present situation, which require a Ministry that can be depended upon for the conducting of affairs. In the same notification by your Highness it is ordered that we should join hand in hand with him in giving all possible assistance and support in the adjustment of affairs, and that I for myself, and on behalf of the officers of the army, should signify to your Highness our satisfaction with this appointment, in the hope that it may lead to the desired end. And seeing that the orders of the Government are issued only for the general good of the country and the people, we therefore are ready to execute them, and to give our due attention to them with the utmost possible devotion; and we pray God to give prosperity and a good issue.'

Then the ministry of Raghib was formed, most of the members of the ministry of Sami being members of it and appointed to their former offices, as Ahmed Arabi, who remained Minister of War, after being twenty-one days Minister at the Office of Instruction, which the country continued to hold in its possession from the time of the resignation of Mahmûd Sami Pasha till the appointment of Raghib Pasha. The most urgent business of the Raghib ministry was the intercession of its head with the Khedive to obtain pardon for those who had uttered a request for his deposition in the presence of Derwish Pasha, and imputed to his Highness himself a contempt of the Government and the people and the country, because of his leaning in his affairs on the English and their corrupt policy. Thus they were protected by his general amnesty, and the confidence of their hearts was reposed in him after it had been shaken.

But the ministry of Raghib had not taken in hand the desired

measures when certain of those who had business in the Facing-both-ways Office got up to urge the people on to present depositions, exposing the National Party and finding fault with its doings and designs. The business of these mischief makers was to make these Depositions the counterpart of similar ones which had been submitted to Derwish, accusing the Khedive after the manner that has just been stated. But their move did not succeed, for they were quickly arrested, and then a long process of examination into their conduct ensued, which led them to contradiction in their answers in their attempts to defend themselves and to conceal the inner thoughts of their hearts. And on the 10th of June there came a high order by telegraph to the Superintendent of Police in Cairo to arrest, in the interests of public safety, all who had anything to do with this affair of the Depositions or such like. It was to this effect:

'In our decree approving of the appointment of the Ministry of Raghib we indicated our general amnesty of all those concerned in the recent events except the affair of Alexandria; therefore, there remains no reason for the existence of parties or the writing or sealing of Depositions or anything to excite the feelings of the people: on the contrary, the people and army and all are united in allegiance to the Government under our rule, without distinction of classes or sects. Therefore, the writing or signing of Depositions is absolutely forbidden, as well as the forming of Party Unions or Associations of any kind whatever (even though they should be in our favour), and whoever shall take steps in any direction for such purpose shall be tried and punished severely.'

The negotiations on the subject of a European Conference for the purpose of settling the Egyptian Question had resulted in the acceptance by the Ottoman Government of the declaration of the European Governments that such a Conference was necessary, and their explanation that it would not weaken the operations of the Ottoman Commission. Accordingly the Conference began its sittings on the 21st June, 1882; its members confirmed the minute of Constitution on the 25th, and on the 26th they agreed to proscribe the formation of party; and the gist of their first sitting was a clear enunciation of respect for and preservation of Imperial rights and a regard to Imperial Firmans and the Ancient Constitution of Egypt. Thus the affairs of Egypt entered upon a new era, and in Alexandria

and elsewhere there prevailed a disposition to maintain order, and a readiness to repel danger should the country be threatened with such by her enemy who was lying in ambush for her, till the proper time drew near for the exhibition of villainy and the clear exposure of evil designs. This crisis came immediately after many meetings had been held in the palace of Ras-et-Tin, under the presidency of the Khedive, Derwish being present, with the great men of the army and the Ministers, to take into consideration the demand of Admiral Seymour for the cessation of the strengthening of the forts and the destruction or removal of the materials collected for that purpose.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

The Christian Platonists of Alexandria. Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1886, on the Foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M.A. By CHARLES BIGG, D.D. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. 1886.

Compared with the attention which has been paid to them by writers on the Continent, that which has been bestowed upon the Christian Platonists of Alexandria amongst ourselves is, to say the least, not great. Even the Cambridge Platonists of the Seventeenth Century preferred to quote a passage from Jamblichus or Plotinus to quoting one from Origen or Clement. Any great or exhaustive book on them we do not have. Bishop Kaye's books, a small volume of Charles Kingsley, and a number of articles and chapters in magazines and books not specially devoted to them, are all that we can at present recall as having met with in English. There may be more, but we doubt it; and certainly any one desirous of studying what has been said about them would look abroad rather than at home. The fact would seem to be, that, for the British mind, the Alexandrine Theologians, or rather their writings, have few or no attractions. Perhaps it is, as Dr. Bigg suggests, they are too subtle and too inquisitive. But be that as it may, no student of theology will feel otherwise than grateful that these originators of Christian Theology have been chosen by Dr. Bigg as the subject for his Bampton Lectures. His treatment of them is historical and expository, rather than theological, but his lectures are none the less valuable on that account. In fact, they are more so, and considering how little is generally known about either Pantænus, Clement, or Origen, the adoption of this mode of treatment in preference to a purely theological or controversial one, deserves to be commended. That Dr. Bigg has not exhausted his subject, need hardly be said. In eight lectures, even with a liberal addition of footnotes, it was impossible. Still there is sufficient in them to give the reader a by no means inadequate conception not only of the teaching of Clement and Origen, but also of their relation to Philo, and of their influence upon the theology of the Church. The influence of Philo on the writers of the New Testament is perhaps a little exaggerated. To the dictum that there can be little doubt that St. John acquired from Alexandria his conception of the Word, we are unable to subscribe. Alexandria, we imagine, was not the only centre from which the Logos doctrine was introduced among the Jews. It is quite possible that it reached Palestine and Ephesus by another route. Ewald's opinion seems to us much more likely than Dr. Bigg's, even with his admission

that St. John's doctrine was not necessarily borrowed from Philo, notwithstanding the great names he is able to show on his side. Full justice is done to the enlightened attitude assumed by the Alexandrian theologians towards heathenism, as also to the noble services they rendered to the Church. At the same time, their defects as Christian theologians are clearly pointed out. The footnotes are numerous, and for the most part excellent. Altogether, the lectures are the work of a scholar, sympathetic yet critical. That they will do much towards restoring the two Fathers with whose teaching they mainly deal to their just position, is certain.

Man's Knowledge of Man and God: Six discourses delivered before the University of Dublin at the Donellan Lecture, 1884-5. By RICHARD TRAVERS SMITH, D.D. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

The aim of these lectures is to support the thesis that 'we know God in the same way as we know man.' In his preface the author assures us that 'there are really no metaphysics properly so called in the volume.' We are compelled to differ from him. If the mind is not physical and that which is beyond the physical or behind and above it is metaphysical, his volume is thickly strewn with metaphysics from beginning to end. It is quite true, however, that Ontology or the science of being is not touched in it, but such acts as consciousness, perception and inference seem to us to lie, so far as the acts themselves are concerned, altogether outside the sphere of the physical or material. The argument used by Dr. Travers Smith is for the most part that known as the argument from analogy, and as a consequence he devotes his first lecture to the discussion of the power and value of that argument in connection with his subject. The second lecture is taken up with a discussion of the old topic self-knowledge; and here we have some acute criticism on the theory put forward by Mr. Herbert Spencer about the self, Dr. Smith showing with considerable clearness that the self at each moment is not merely the aggregate of feelings and ideas, actual and nascent, which then exist, but also something more. The titles of the remaining lectures are: Knowledge of Men, We know God through Self-knowledge, We know God in Nature and Man, God Revealed. Briefly stated the argument is this:—When we examine ourselves we are brought at last into the presence of mysteries. 'That which makes ourselves to be ourselves, that which wills and acts in us escapes our thought and baffles our powers of statement and description. We cannot define it; yet we cannot put it aside as something which does not concern us, except at the price of putting aside all life and action.' It is an obstinate and persistent fact against which science has argued in vain. This mystery is personality. We are compelled to believe in the existence of this mystery in others. The belief in it, in fact, is a practical necessity for man in his own life and in his intercourse with his fellows; and 'mystery being thus admitted as a constituent ingredient in human life,

and the faith which accepts and acts on mystery being recognised as demanded of us all by the common necessities of living,' the question arises 'whether the principle can be confined in its operation to human personalities, or whether the gap which is left open in the neatly smoothed circuit of human science for the purpose of admitting this mystery is not large enough to admit other mysteries too.' In maintaining that it does, Dr. Smith has recourse to a variety of arguments and illustrations—all which are managed with considerable skill and ability, and most of which seem to us incapable of refutation. Though the main argument can hardly be called new, it is put with freshness, clearness, and force.

Christus Consummator: Some Aspects of the Work and Person of Christ in relation to Modern Thought. By BROOKE FOSS WESTCOTT, D.D., D.C.L., etc. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

The two series of sermons contained in this volume are a cheering sign that the study of Theology is at last beginning to recognise its proper function and turning into surer and more fruitful ways. Not a little of this change is due to the temperate and enlightened advocacy of Dr. Westcott, who all along has demanded that Theology should keep pace with the growing knowledge of the times, and repose with serene confidence on the immovable foundations from which its life and light are derived. The sermons of the first series are based on the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the points which Dr. Westcott seeks to bring out are that our trials, the trials of a new age, correspond with those of the Hebrews, and that the consolation which availed for them, avails for us also. 'We shall find in due course', he observes, 'as they found, that all we are required to surrender—child-like prepossessions, venerable types of opinion, partial and impatient hopes—is given back to us in a new revelation of Christ; that He is being brought nearer to us and shown in fresh glory, through the "fallings from us, vanishings of sense and earthly things" which we had been inclined to identify with Himself.' This is very beautiful and helpful teaching and is powerfully sustained not only throughout the sermons of the first series, but in the fine sermons on certain aspects of the Incarnation. The aspects dealt with are those 'which have not yet become the heritage of the Church,' partly through the defectiveness of modern teaching on the Person of Christ. Hitherto the Incarnation has been made to depend upon the Fall; Dr. Westcott maintains that it is inherently involved in Creation, and thus restores the doctrine of our Lord's Person, and the doctrine of the Incarnation to their true place in Christian Theology. At the same time he enables us 'to behold once again that halo of infinity about common things which seems to have vanished away' and to 'feel that in, beneath and beyond, the objects which we see and taste and handle is a Divine Presence, that lifting up our eyes to the God in glory we may know that phenomena are not ends, but signs only of that which

is spiritually discerned.' A wiser or better book, or one more thoroughly saturated with the true spirit of Christian Theology, is rare. It reminds us of the best of the Fathers and seems like a beautiful revival of the teachings of St. Paul and St. John, adapted to modern wants, and expressly designed to confirm the faith of the believer, to win back those who are discontented with the teaching of the Church, and to enlarge the views and enlighten the minds of both.

Liberalism in Religion, and Other Sermons. By W. PAGE ROBERTS, M.A. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1886.

To the title which Mr. Roberts has chosen for this last volume of his sermons, we must own to a strong prejudice; the term liberalism is so often made to cover so much that is thoroughly illiberable. But the title, we will venture to say, is misleading, at least we have found it so. Of the illiberal there is in the sermons themselves nothing at all. Those who turn to them for the purpose of finding what is usually called 'advanced thinking' or 'advanced Theology,' will be disappointed. Mr. Roberts is neither anti-theological nor anti-dogmatic. He believes in the necessity of dogmas in religion, and subscribes without reservation to Cardinal Newman's declaration that dogma is the fundamental principle of his religion, and that religion without dogma and as a mere sentiment is a dream and a mockery. What Mr. Roberts claims is freedom in the formation of his dogmas. Against Sceptics, Agnostics, anti-dogmatists, and irreligion, he wages an uncompromising war, and maintains throughout the truth of the teaching of Scripture in all matters of morals and religion. His sermons are clear, straightforward utterances, full of enlightenment and reverence. They deal with such topics as Scepticism, Revelation, Belief in God, Immortality, Eternal Punishments, and the Need of Salvation, in a clear, searching, and practical way. They are just the sermons to confirm the wavering, and to strengthen the believer, if not to convert the sceptic and opponent.

New Aspects of Life and Religion. By HENRY PRATT, M.D. London: Williams & Norgate, 1886.

We find it somewhat difficult to fairly characterise this book. In many respects it is an admirable work. Dr. Pratt is clearly a scholar of wide and varied range, is capable of deep and sustained thought, and is a clear, logical, and vigorous writer. He is a Hebraist of a high order; is deeply read in Talmudic literature; has made himself at home with the mystic speculations of Eastern Theosophy as well as the systems of Greek Philosophy; and is abreast of the results of modern scientific research. If we might venture to put in words the suspicion which a careful persual of his work arouses in us, we should say that his protracted study of kabbalistic lore has made him a Kabbalist, and that he has come to look at Life and Religion through kabbalistic spectacles. He has adopted the interpretations of

nature and its workings given by those ancient thinkers, and sees in them the true explanations of all the processes and changes going on around and within us. The 'spirits,' to whom they attributed all the activity of the universe, and whose genesis, characteristics and destiny they so minutely traced, are the veritable agents, according to Dr. Pratt, of the world's formation and of life's evolution. His *new aspects of life* are the facts of evolution presented to us in the light of these spiritual activities. A great part of his work, however, is quite independent of his kabbalistic philosophy, and is devoted to clearing up dark pages, or passages, of the Old and New Testaments. Here his knowledge of Hebrew, and minute acquaintance with Hebrew modes of thought and Semitic customs, are of the highest service. As an interpreter of nature he is beyond the reach of sober criticism; but as an interpreter of Scripture he is always interesting, and almost always convincing.

Still Hours. By RICHARD ROTHE. Translated by JANE F. STODDART, with an Introductory Essay by the Rev. JOHN MACPHERSON, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1886.

This is the first volume of a new series of translations under the general title of 'The Foreign Biblical Library,' having the Rev. W. R. Nicoll for its editor. The selection of Rothe's *Stille Stunden* as the initiatory volume may be commended. The wonder is that in these days of translation it has not been translated long ago. Parts of the work have been translated before, but this is the first time it has been completely rendered into English. In Germany it is extremely popular, and few who read Miss Stoddart's handsome volume will have any difficulty in understanding the reason of its popularity. Rothe was one of Germany's finest theological thinkers, and in his *Stille Stunden* we have some of his wisest, deepest, most inspiring thoughts. Why does not some translator try his hand at the *Ethik* or *Dogmatik*, or the *Zur Dogmatik*? The last is one of the most valuable theological morsels we know. The translation here given is fairly well done, considering the difficulties which such a work presents. As a rule Rothe writes with almost mathematical precision and his sentences are often so condensed that it is difficult to render his meaning except by periphrase. In one or two instances we have found the translation tripping.

St. Paul the Author of the last Twelve Verses of the Second Gospel. By the Rev. HOWARD HEBER EVANS, B.A., &c. London: James Nisbet & Co., 1886.

While some Continental scholars, like Drs. A.D. Loman, A. Pierson, and S. A. Naber, are labouring to convince us that we have in reality little or nothing in the pages of the New Testament from the pen of St. Paul,—that not even the Epistles to the Romans, Corinthians, and Galatians are his—the Rev. H. H. Evans continues in undisturbed confidence his scholarly efforts to prove to us that in the New Testament we have far

more from that Apostle's hand than has ever been dreamed of by the Church. He recently published two volumes, which we have had occasion to notice in previous numbers, 'demonstrating,' as he thought and still thinks, that the Acts of the Apostles, and therefore the third Gospel were written by St. Paul. Here in this volume, as its title informs us, he endeavours to show us that St. Paul was also the author of the last twelve verses of St. Mark. The line of proof which he follows is very similar to that by which he sought to establish, not the Pauline *character*, which few, if any, dispute, but the Pauline *authorship*, of the Third Gospel and the Acts. He finds, e.g., a certain number of words in the last paragraph of St. Mark's Gospel which are to be found in the Gospel of St. Luke and in the Acts, sees that they betray acquaintanceship with the Septuagint, and breathe a spirit of large catholicity characteristic of the Pauline Epistles. He finds that the facts stated in the paragraph in question are in *substantial agreement* with those contained in St. Luke, and that the diction and style betray an author of culture, and so on, and then concludes that as St. Paul wrote the Acts and the Third Gospel, therefore he wrote this paragraph also. One of the points on which he lays great stress is that these verses could never have found a place at the close of St. Mark's Gospel *if they had not been written by an Apostle, or had not received Apostolic sanction.* What Apostle was likely then to have written them, he asks, or to have covered them with the sanction of his authority? The answer, of course, is St. Paul. In these days we can only wonder at an argument like this, and admire the childlike simplicity that advances it. But though we think Mr. Evans' contributions inadequate to establish the positions he has so much at heart, we are far from thinking them worthless. They are very scholarly, are models of brevity, show careful workmanship, and exhibit in small compass so many interesting points of agreement and features of harmony in this group of New Testament writings that we welcome them.

Studies in the CL. Psalms: their undesigned Coincidences with the independent Scripture histories confirming and illustrating both. By Rev. A. R. FAUSSET, M.A. 2nd edition. London: J. Nisbet & Co., 1885.

In this volume the author attempts to do for the Psalms what Paley did for the Epistles of St. Paul. Paley's work long held its ground and is not without its use now, notwithstanding the progress since made in the criticism of the New Testament. Mr. Fausset's work falls far behind it. We doubt very much whether the Book of Psalms is susceptible of the same treatment, or whether it is possible with existing materials to do for it what has been done for the Pauline Epistles and the Acts of the Apostles. A few of the Psalms, it is true, may be confirmed from the Historical Books of the Old Testament, but not all. Most of the recent literature on the Psalms Mr. Fausset ignores; he accepts the titles as genuine, and his

coincidences are for the most part verbal. The work is not critical. It exhibits considerable ingenuity, and is pervaded by a devout and reverent spirit.

The Liturgy of John Knox. Revised by the Church of Scotland in 1564. Glasgow: T. D. Morison; London: Hamilton, Adams & Co., 1886.

More thanks would have been accorded to the publishers of this volume had they employed some competent hand to furnish it with an introduction giving some account of its origin, theology and fate. Such an introduction, or one on the lines of the one prefixed by Mr. Law to his reprint of Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism, would have enhanced the value of the book considerably, while its absence cannot be regarded as less than a serious shortcoming. For the retention of the old spelling we are grateful, but the work can only be regarded as of antiquarian value and on this account ought to have been prefaced by something of the kind we have indicated. Nevertheless the public are indebted to the publishers for the work even in its present form. All previous reprints of it are scarce, and in some of them the editors have made the mistake of introducing alterations. The text here is pure; the work is handsomely printed and of a convenient size. It is to be hoped that it will have a large circulation and thus spread the conviction, that the present movement in many parts of Scotland in favour of the use of a Liturgy in public worship is no new thing, but simply the revival of a practice once in vogue even in the Protestant Church.

1. *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy, based on the Doctrine of Evolution with Criticisms on the Positive Philosophy.* 2 vols. 8th Edition.
2. *Excursions of an Evolutionist.* Seventh Edition. 1886.
3. *Darwinism and other Essays.* New Edition, Revised and Enlarged.
4. *The Unseen World, and other Essays.* Seventh Edition. 1886.
5. *Myths and Myth-Makers: Old Tales and Superstitions Interpreted by Comparative Mythology.* Ninth Edition. 1886.
6. *The Destiny of Man Viewed in the Light of his Origin.* Eleventh Edition. 1886.
7. *The Idea of God as Affected by Modern Knowledge.* Third Edition. 1886. By JOHN FISKE, M.A., LL.B. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Mr. Fiske may justly be claimed as the most popular philosophical writer America has produced. It is doubtful, indeed, whether the writings of any

other philosopher have ever commanded so large a circle of readers in so short a space of time. The *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy* consists of two substantial volumes containing in all over a thousand closely printed octavo pages, and though but twelve years old, it has run through no fewer than seven editions and has recently been issued again. This, so far as we know, is unprecedented and says much both for the present position and future prospects of philosophical studies in America, as well as for the ability of Mr. Fiske as a writer and philosopher. Systems of philosophy and expositions of the profound problems with which philosophy deals appeal as a rule to a very select few, but it would appear that in America the number of persons who are interested in the teachings of philosophy and who have the patience to follow any serious and intelligent effort to set forth its doctrines, is very considerable and that Mr. Fiske has won their sympathies and obtained their suffrages. Nor is the popularity of his writings at all undeserved. A more attractive writer on matters philosophical, a fairer disputant, a keener critic, or a more lucid expositor, is rarely met with. His works too are as remarkable for their literary and artistic merits as they are for their intellectual or purely philosophical. He is as skilful in building up his own thoughts and in setting them forth as he is in dissecting those of others, or in detecting their bearing, or pointing out their fallacies. Now and then, too, his pages are marked by the purest eloquence, while the fertility and suggestiveness of his illustrations, his fresh and wise enthusiasm, and the aptness and beauty of the language in which he clothes his thoughts, entitle much that he has written to a foremost place in the literature of the English speaking races. The subjects of which he treats in the eight volumes before us are of the greatest variety, from the speculations of Mr. Spencer, M. Comte, and Mr. Harrison to the lucubration of M. Figuier in *The To-morrow of Death*, and from the origin of matter and man to Athenian and American Society. In dealing with so large a variety of subjects it need not surprise us if here and there we meet with inequalities or defectiveness of treatment. Among the miscellaneous papers some are scarcely deserving of the position assigned to them. Those on the Christ of History and the Christ of Dogma are crude and immature, and display too obvious a leaning to the speculations of Strauss and the Tubingen School, and too little of that sagacity and independence of thought which form so striking a characteristic of the greater part of their author's writings. The essay on M. Figuier's foolish volume, while interesting and amusing in itself, serves to perpetuate the memory of a book which cannot be too soon buried in oblivion. On the other hand the papers on the *Unseen Universe*, to mention no others, are excellent specimens of acute criticism. *Myths and Myth-makers* is a charming volume and along with the papers on 'Our Aryan Forefathers,' 'What we learn from old Aryan Words,' and 'Was there a Primæval Mother Tongue?' proves that Mr. Fiske is quite as much at home in discussing questions of Folk-lore and Comparative Philology as in dealing with the

problems of philosophy. The essay on Mr. Gladstone's almost forgotten *Juventus Mundi* is worth reading if only to see how differently the subject may be treated. But Mr. Fiske is undoubtedly strongest as a philosopher and speculative, or if the reader chooses, scientific theologian. Here he is a thorough going evolutionist. As an expositor of Mr. Spencer's system he is without a rival. Under his marvellously skilful treatment the doctrines and principles of the theory of evolution, their bearings and applications, acquire an attractiveness and a luminosity with which Mr. Spencer himself has not been able to invest them. Mr. Spencer's works are more voluminous and for philosophical study perhaps superior; but for the general reader, for those who wish for a ready means of acquiring a clear and accurate conception of the doctrine of evolution and its bearing upon the great problems of thought and life, and even for the student desirous of preparing himself for the full appreciation of the works of Mr. Fiske's master in philosophy, we know nothing better than the two volumes of the *Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy*, and nothing equal to them. These volumes, too, contain a brilliant exposition and refutation of M. Comte's Positivism and of the position taken up by his followers, more especially by Mr. Harrison, in respect to religion. It must not be supposed however that Mr. Fiske is merely an expositor of the thoughts or systems of others, or that he is nothing more than a versatile critic. His own contributions to philosophy are considerable. His chapters on the genesis of man, intellectually and morally, in which he sets forth his theory of the influence of prolonged infancy upon social development, are a decided addition to the development theory and contain the solution of one of the most perplexing questions. In the last part of the *Cosmic Philosophy* he comes near another. More than any writer we have met with, he seems to be conscious that the ultimate goal of the Synthetic Philosophy is and must be a Science of God, notwithstanding his unwise clinging to the term 'the Unknowable' as a designation of the Deity. We have said enough however to show our appreciation of Mr. Fiske's worth as a philosopher and a writer, and though we must not be held as agreeing with all that he has said, we shall have done our readers a service if we have succeeded in directing their attention to his volumes. The solid merits which have gained for them their popularity in America can scarcely fail to gain for them an equally wide popularity here.

Renaissance in Italy. The Catholic Reaction. In Two Parts. By JOHN ADDINGTON SYMONDS. 2 Vols. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1886.

With these volumes Mr. Symonds completes his great work on the Renaissance in Italy—a work which is undoubtedly one of the most important additions our literature has received during the present century and in which the story of the Renaissance has for the first time been worthily told

in the English tongue. Of the general character of the work there is no need to speak. It is already well known and has acquired a position from which it will not easily be ousted. We may say, however, that the present volumes are equal in every respect to their predecessors and show no falling off in fulness of information, skilfulness of treatment or literary style. If anything they possess a profounder, though more mournful interest. In the five preceding volumes, the last two of which were published in 1881, Mr. Symonds had to deal with the origin and development of the Italian Renaissance, but here he has to deal with its decadence, the arrestment, and almost complete dissolution in Italy, of those mental and spiritual energies which gave birth to one of the greatest epochs in the history of the human race, and out of which has come much that is best and most enduring in modern civilisation. Neither 'Counter-Reformation' nor 'Catholic Reaction' seems to us a sufficiently clear designation for the movement. On Mr. Symonds' own showing it was not, except in a very superficial sense, a reformation, nor was it due exclusively to the Catholic Revival. Besides this there were various other causes at work. Some of them are referred to in the opening chapter of the first volume : viz., the Spanish domination, the Inquisition, and the operations of the disciples of Loyola—all of which are treated of at length in subsequent chapters. Mr. Symonds touches a much more real set of causes when he says—'The Italians were fatigued with creation, bewildered by the complexity of their discoveries, uncertain as to the immediate course before them. The Renaissance had been mainly the work of a select few. It had transformed society without permeating the masses of the people. Was it strange that the majority should reflect that, after all, the old ways are the best ? This led them to approve the Catholic Revival. Was it strange that after long distracting aimless wars, they should hail peace at any price ? This lent popular sanction to the Spanish hegemony, in spite of its obvious drawbacks.' The fact is the masses of the Italian people were not ripe for the Renaissance. When its creators were gone they left behind them an influence and a spirit, but it required long centuries to pass before these could permeate the great body of the nation and become fruitful elements in the national life. The institutional causes which led to the decadence of the Renaissance are traced by Mr. Symonds with a sure and firm hand, and the chapters, devoted to the history of the Tridentine Council, of the Company of Jesus, and of the Inquisition and the Index are written with care. The moral and social condition of Italy Mr. Symonds has not attempted to describe with any degree of minuteness. The narratives he relates, however, are significant enough, and more indicative of it perhaps than any minute description could be. Some of the details which come out in these narratives are almost sickening and prove that bad as the fifteenth century was the sixteenth was worse. Among the narratives we have that of the Cenci, of which Mr. Symonds gives what must be regarded as the true ver-

sion of that strange story of human depravity. But after all, readable as the first volume is, the second is more so. Here Mr. Symonds appears more as a biographer—telling the story of Tasso, Bruno, Sarpi, Guarini, and Palestrina. Sarpi's life deserved to be told, if for no other reason than that we have in his somewhat voluminous writings a large amount of materials for the history of the period. The chapter on Palestrina and the origins of modern music deserves to be specially mentioned. Most readers will rise from its perusal with the conviction that it is one of the most charming they have met with in historical writing. In his final chapter Mr. Symonds passes in review some of the opinions expressed by Lord Macaulay in his brilliant essay on Ranke. His remarks prove that his own conception of the period is larger and more luminous than that of his predecessor.

Seventeen Lectures on the Study of Mediæval and Modern History, and Kindred Subjects delivered at Oxford, under Statutory Obligations, in the year 1867—1884. By WILLIAM STUBBS, D.D., Bishop of Chester, etc. etc. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1886.

This is a volume of altogether exceptional value. The lectures it contains are all academical, but their freshness and interest is unsurpassable. They were written, their author tells us, 'under the pressure of statutory compulsion, and against the grain;' but assuredly no man ever wrote with a freer hand or with less apparent sense of constraint, than Dr. Stubbs when penning these lectures. Except for an occasional half humourous reminder that he is under a statutory obligation to deliver two solemn lectures annually, the reader would never dream that Dr. Stubbs was doing anything but following the full bent and pleasure of his mind. He talks away about whatever topic he takes up, chatting in the easiest and most good natured manner with the least possible demonstration, and, often with a kind of assumed shyness that makes his words all the more telling and persuasive, and all the while pours out from the vast stores of his historical learning, information and reflections of the rarest and most interesting kind, till the reader is almost fatigued with what he has learned and is glad when a pause is reached that he may turn back and consider more fully the character and beauty of what he has been so pleasantly told. The principle topics discussed in several of the lectures are the utility and prospects of mediæval and modern historical studies. Dr. Stubbs gives some good reasons for not believing in the continuity of ancient and modern history. Christianity he maintains has introduced a new element, given to the modern world its living unity, and at the same time cut it off from the death of the past. There is unquestionably a large measure of truth in this; but on the other hand it may be maintained, that humanity is essentially the same in all ages, that Christianity has only developed what was already in existence, and that the present is but the ripening fruit of the past. The forms of the old civilisation are gone, it is

true, but the thoughts and influences in which many of them germinated, still live and move and have their being in the present. All that Dr. Stubbs has to say in favour of the study of modern and mediæval history is admirable, and few will feel the slightest disposition to question its wisdom. In the second and third lectures we have an account of ten years' work in historical study, which, while it will probably surprise most readers, encourages the hope that much as has been done in respect to the history of Great Britain much more will yet be done. Two of the most charming lectures are the sixth and seventh in which we have a brilliant sketch of the literary activity of England during the reign of Henry II. Quite as learned and perhaps even more interesting is the lecture which follows them on the mediæval kingdoms of Cyprus and Armenia. But to understand the rich historical wealth in which this volume abounds the reader must turn to it himself. He can scarcely open it without meeting with something to entertain or instruct him. It ought to be in the hands of every student, every politician, every reader. Is it too much to hope that the lectures omitted, but enumerated in the Preface may be gathered together and published as a companion volume, not omitting the lecture on Scottish Constitutional History, a subject which to many is an absolute *terra incognita?*

A History of Parliamentary Elections and Electioneering in the Old Days, showing the State of Political Parties and Party Warfare at the Hustings and in the House of Commons from the Stuarts to Queen Victoria. Illustrated. By JOSEPH GREGO. London: Chatto & Windus, 1886.

While rich in interest and entertainment, this volume is highly instructive. The electioneering agent is still an important individual, but recent legislation has put a sad and stern limit to his vagaries and almost made him forget the traditions of his art. A little scope is still left for his skill, but the fear of the law, if not of God or man, is always before his eyes, and he is compelled to walk warily lest he be caught within the four corners of certain Acts of Parliament passed for the express purpose of curbing his zeal. Much of the literature, if literature it may be called, on which Mr. Grego might have drawn has unfortunately been allowed to pass out of existence; nevertheless sufficient has survived to allow him to give what on the whole must be considered an exceedingly graphic account of the manner in which Parliamentary Elections used to be fought. It was time something of the kind was done, and in doing it Mr. Grego has executed a very useful and very creditable piece of work. His account of elections and electioneering in the times when it was difficult to get constituencies to appoint representatives or any one to accept the position of a member of the House of Commons is necessarily somewhat brief, though here the reader will come across not a few curiosities of history and receive not a little enlightenment as to the state of society and

public opinion, or at least what passed for public opinion. With the advent of the Stuarts to power, Mr. Grego's narrative becomes more minute, and still more minute is his description of the elections during the reigns of Queen Anne and the four Georges. Here in fact it is as full as the limits he has set himself would allow, and no one will complain that he has erred by saying too much or adducing too many illustrations. For this period the literary and other remains available are comparatively abundant, and the interest attaching to the subject increases in proportion to the wealth of materials. Few of the present generation have any conception of the amount of intrigue, bribery, corruption, fun and frolic, and often of brutality, with which an election to a seat in the Lower House was formerly accompanied. The last thirty or thirty-five years have worked wonders, and to those who are acquainted with Parliamentary Elections only as regulated by modern Acts of Parliament, Mr. Grego's pages will read like a fairy tale. They abound in squibs, lampoons, pictorial satires, and popular caricatures. The illustrations have been carefully selected and are well executed. The volume will add considerably to its author's well won reputation as a historian of caricature.

Ireland and the Celtic Church: A History of Ireland from St. Patrick to the English Conquest in 1172. By GEORGE T. STOKES, D.D., Professor of Ecclesiastical History, Trinity College, Dublin. London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1886.

Though Dr. Stokes has nothing new to tell in respect to the History of Ireland or of Celtic Christianity, having had the best and most recent authorities at his command, and having thoroughly mastered their contents, he has written an account of the ancient Church of Ireland which may be safely commended as at once attractive and reliable. A history proper it can scarcely be called ; nor is it all that one could possibly desire as a narrative of the fortunes of the Church in Ireland even during the period he has taken. It consists of a series of seventeen lectures. Condensed as Dr. Stokes' style is, there is much more to be said on the subject than he has attempted to say. At the same time, we are not sure that, by publishing his lectures as they were delivered, he has not adopted a wiser course, at least so far as the popularising of his subject is concerned, than he would have done had he attempted a more ambitious work. For the general reading public, for those to whom the history of the Irish Celtic Church, notwithstanding the flood of light which during recent years has been thrown upon it, is unknown, his lectures possess many excellent and attractive features. For the most part they are biographical. At the same time they are brief, clear, and picturesque. In the numerous notes, too, which Dr. Stokes has added at the foot of his pages, he has indicated the sources of his information, and has thus afforded valuable assistance to those who wish to pursue the subject further. The period over which he has travelled was, as we need hardly say, fruitful in legend, and has

become the battle-ground of controversy. Dr. Stokes is sufficiently sceptical, and sufficiently untrammelled by tradition and theories, to be able to discern fact from fable, and the truth often underlying fable from the fiction by which it has been surrounded or overlaid. At the same time he is not a keen controversialist. He writes sensibly, and with an evident desire to get at the truth of things. His book fills a place in our historical literature, and fills it admirably. The pictures which he gives of Ireland before the Conquest, of the lives of St. Patrick, St. Columba, St. Columbanus, of the Celtic monasteries, and of the literary activity and missionary zeal in which they abounded, are deserving of the closest study.

A History of Scotland, Civil and Ecclesiastical, from the earliest times to the death of David I., 1153. By DUNCAN KEITH. 2 Vols. Edinburgh: W. Paterson, 1886.

Mr. Duncan Keith has here attempted to write the history of Scotland down to the death of David I., as he thinks it ought to be written. Whether he has accomplished the task to his own satisfaction we do not know. In our opinion his work is a failure. It is almost cruel to say so, but we cannot help ourselves. We have been thoroughly disappointed with the work. At times we have been in doubt whether Mr. Keith is in jest or earnest. The only charitable view we can take of the matter is that some mischievous person has persuaded Mr. Keith that his calling is to follow in the footsteps of Skene and Robertson, and that in an evil moment he resolved to follow his tempter's advice. To point out his errors would be endless. Here are one or two samples of Mr. Keith's style: 'But for long there was no priestly caste, which could be entered into only by special training and gradation from the lower to the higher ranks, no special provision was made for their subsistence, worldly employments were not reckoned inconsistent with the dignity of the cloth.' . . 'By the time of St. Ninian, Rome was the centre of fashion as well as of devotion, there would be clerical tailors and milliners, as well as professors of dogmatic theology, it is not improbable, that his [St. Ninian's,] person would be attended to as well as his mind, and that he would leave the seat of St. Peter's successor tonsured and equipped in the latest mode.' For the Celts Mr. Keith has no love. 'Nothing,' he says, 'that a Scotsman can be proud of is Celtic: a pseudo-halo of glory has been thrown over the Highlander since the great Chatham turned them from caterans into soldiers. . . . The dogged determination, which more than the fierce onslaught, has gained them their well-won laurels, was not *in* them till they became English soldiers, though disguised in a Celtic garb.' The Celts of the British Isles Mr. Keith assumes and asserts had no mythology, and with a fine flourish he goes on to say 'their legends and traditions constitute their history, and are mostly the fervid imaginations of the age in which they were composed.' To the Scots of Ireland and Dalriada Mr. Keith has an even greater antipathy than he has to the Celts. His

favourites (perhaps for a reason obvious to etymologists) are the Picts about whom he has some curious theories. We can recommend Mr. Keith's book for the amusement of an idle moment, but as a history, civil or ecclesiastical, we cannot.

Ancient Cities. From Dawn to the Daylight. By WILLIAM BURNET WRIGHT. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin, & Co., 1886.

In this handsome little volume Mr. Wright undertakes to give a description, and to recount briefly the history of the principal cities of antiquity. He makes no pretensions to original research. His aim is to interpret to the popular mind the discoveries which have recently been made respecting the great cities of the past. To the general reader, and to all who have no access to the authorities he has used, his book will wear an aspect of novelty, and cannot fail to be intensely interesting. The amount of recondite and freshly discovered information he has managed to convey to his pages is remarkable. He writes with a full mind and an easy mastery over his knowledge. Among the cities treated are Nineveh, Babylon, Memphis, Alexandria, Petra, Tyre, Damascus, Samaria, Susa, and Jerusalem ; and when we have said that Mr. Wright is thoroughly posted up in all the discoveries which have been made respecting these cities and their ancient inhabitants, we have said sufficient to indicate the value and attractions of his volume. We should add that there is a theological vein and a religious purpose running through all that Mr. Wright has to say.

The Life of Percy Bysshe Shelley. By EDWARD DOWDEN, LL.D. 2 Vols. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1886.

As a piece of biographical writing these two handsome volumes will undoubtedly take their place as one of the most attractive literary productions in the English language. Shelley was no ordinary being, and to write his Life is no ordinary task. For the performance of it Dr. Dowden has been in possession of unusual facilities—facilities far beyond those which have been at the command of any other of Shelley's numerous biographers. The use which he has made of them, if not all that can possibly be desired, is at least, generally speaking, in almost every respect highly creditable. That he has produced an ideal biography, we are by no means disposed to think. Still, what he has produced is careful, minute, skilfully arranged, and written, as it is almost needless to say, with great literary grace. The literary criticisms, too, as might be expected from so experienced a hand as Dr. Dowden's, are well done, and materially increase the value of the book. Throughout the volumes there is an evident desire to be impartial, but here and there there is also an evident tendency to idealisation. On the lines adopted by Dr. Dowden this was almost unavoidable. The picture he has presented is that of Shelley as he appeared to himself and

to his friends, rather than that of a critical observer. The consequence is, we are not at all sure that the Life of the real Shelley has not yet to be written. Not for a moment do we doubt the assurance which Dr. Dowden impresses upon us in his preface, that he has written nothing out of his fancy or out of the air; nor do we in any way question his assertion that he has endeavoured to tell the whole truth as known to himself; but we cannot hide from ourselves the suspicion not only that there is a good deal of truth about Shelley which he does not know, and which probably no one ever will know, but also that there are several very just inferences to be drawn from what he relates which he has not drawn. Criticism on Shelley and his conduct, indeed, is somewhat rare on Dr. Dowden's pages. That Shelley was impulsive we admit, but that he was that utterly unselfish being that his present biographer apparently believes and desires his readers to believe, we are scarcely ready to admit. His acts of deliberate self-denial do not seem to have been particularly numerous, and though he may be said to have acted conscientiously, it is at least questionable whether he was always at much pains to inform his conscience. When speaking of Shelley's separation from his first wife, Dr. Dowden almost violates his own canon of impartiality. Far too much stress seems to us to be laid on the story Godwin retails from his unnamed informant, and one can scarcely rid oneself of the feeling that Dr. Dowden is holding a brief against her. The testimony which he adduces on the next page in her favour is sufficient, however, to vindicate her against both Godwin and his informant. 'It is no part of this biography,' Dr. Dowden remarks, 'to justify Shelley in all his words and deeds. The biographer's duty is rather to show precisely what those words and deeds were, leaving the reader to pronounce such judgment as may seem just.' And this latter, it must be admitted, so far as his information enabled him, with the single exception we have referred to, Dr. Dowden has done. Taking it all in all, his Life of Shelley is the fullest and best that has appeared, and though the reader may not agree with the opinions of its author, he will find in it an abundance of such materials as exist for forming his own, and for correcting the errors of Shelley's former biographers. These are for the most part of dates and places and particular motives. The opinion we had formed of Shelley Dr. Dowden has not materially altered, though for the new facts he has brought to light, and the great pleasure the perusal of his pages has afforded us, we owe him our sincerest thanks.

Early Letters of Thomas Carlyle. Edited by CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. 2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

These letters are a very welcome, and, as many will be disposed to think, a very necessary addition to the already abundant Carlyle literature. They certainly fill up much that is wanting in Mr. Froude's celebrated and much discussed and, whether rightly or wrongly, much be-spattered

biography. At the same time they throw considerable light on the character of Mrs. Carlyle and on the relations existing between her and her husband previous to their marriage. The period they cover is included between the years 1814 and 1826. Some of the earlier letters are a little stiff and pedantic, but the bulk of them are bright, cheery and hopeful, though one has not to read far before traces appear of the ill-health which with the spirit of complaining begotten of it, played so terrible a part in the author's subsequent life. Apart from this, however, the letters are pleasant, and indeed delightful reading. Most of them are to the members of Carlyle's own family, Miss Welsh, and his two friends Mr. Robert Mitchell and Mr. James Johnstone. Scattered throughout the volumes, too, are several from Carlyle's father. Others are from his mother, in which she gives him good motherly advice, tells him that she 'longs to have a long crack' with him, urges him with all the feelings of an affectionate mother to study the Word of God, and prays for a blessing on all his undertakings. Carlyle's own letters indicate, among other things, the course of his studies, his occupations, the pains he took to perfect himself as a writer, the interest he felt in others, and many little acts of kindness, which prove that he was by no means of a selfish nature. On the whole, the letters addressed to Miss Welsh strike us as the best. Perhaps, however, the parts of these volumes which will be read with the greatest eagerness are the Preface and Appendix by the Editor. In the former of these Mr. Norton tells us that the letters now published are in the possession of Mrs. Alexander Carlyle, and that it is at her request that he has undertaken to edit them. Mr. Froude's biography he admits may be a striking picture, but it is not, he affirms, a good portrait. Referring to the letters which passed between Carlyle and his wife previous to their marriage, he says 'Mr. Froude's use of these letters seems to me, on general grounds, unjustifiable, and the motives he alleges for it inadequate.' By Carlyle the printing of these letters was strictly forbidden, and Mr. Norton himself decided not to open the parcels containing them. 'But I was gradually led,' he says, 'by many facts to the conviction that Mr. Froude had distorted their significance and had given a view of the relations between Carlyle and his future wife, in essential respects, incorrect and injurious to their memory.' With a view therefore of correcting the impression made by Mr. Froude's representations, he has printed in the Appendix a selection from these letters and controverted several of the statements made by Carlyle's biographer. The passages cited by Mr. Norton certainly place the relations between Carlyle and Miss Welsh in a different light from that in which they are presented by Mr. Froude, and with the evidence he has adduced it is difficult not to say that he has made out the points for which he argues.

William Tyndale: a Biography; a Contribution to the Early History of the English Bible. By the Rev. R. DEMAUS,

M.A. New edition, revised, by RICHARD LOVETT, M.A., with Portraits and Facsimiles. London: Religious Tract Society, 1886.

Though originally published some fifteen years ago Mr. Demaus's *William Tyndale* still holds its own as the best biography of the subject. It is scarcely to be wondered that it does. Mr. Demaus wrote out of a full knowledge, and his task was, as his editor justly remarks, a labour of love. The book is so well known and so highly esteemed by all who are acquainted with it, that all we need do here is to register the appearance of Mr. Lovett's new and handsome and improved edition of it. That Mr. Lovett has done his work with care need hardly be said. Fortunately, or rather unfortunately, his task has been comparatively light, for since Mr. Demaus wrote very little additional information has been discovered respecting either the life or works of Tyndale. The few facts that have been lighted upon he has, however, made use of, and given either in his preface or as additions to the foot-notes. The chief among them is a series of five entries recently given to the world by the Rév. C. W. Boast in the *Register of the University of Oxford*, which he edited for the Oxford Historical Society. These help to fix some of the most important dates in Tyndale's life, and confirm some of the reasoning of Mr. Demaus. One fact they bring out is that Tyndale, or William Hychyns or Hutchens, as he appears to have been called, graduated B.A. in the year 1512. The specimen facsimiles which Mr. Lovett has given of the most famous of Tyndale's books, are a decided gain.

Saint Augustine, Melanchthon, Neander. Three Biographies. By PHILIP SCHAFF, D.D. London: Jas. Nisbet & Co., 1886.

St. Augustine, Melanchthon and Neander practically held and taught the same doctrines. Each appeared at a critical period in the history of the Church, and each, more especially the first and second, exercised a very powerful influence on its destinies. These we suppose are the main reasons for including the three biographical essays Dr. Schaff has here printed, in the same volume. The first is much the most elaborate of the essays, though scarcely so elaborate as we should like to see from the hand of Dr. Schaff, who writes here as usually in good honest straightforward English, with no attempt at rhetoric, but with a style so laden with information that the perusal of his pages is a pleasure. His reminiscences of the great Church Historian are full of interest. In short, in less than a couple of hundred pages, Dr. Schaff has given what must be owned to be three very graphic and informing sketches of three of the greatest men the Church has produced. For those who have no time to read the longer biographies of the first and second—the promised Life of Neander has not yet appeared—we know nothing better than this little book of Dr. Schaff's, where they will find all that it is material to know, well told.

The Lives of Robert and Mary Moffat. By their Son, JOHN S. MOFFAT. New Edition, with Preface and Supplementary Chapter, Portraits, &c. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1886.

We are glad to see that Mr. Moffat's narrative of the lives of his father and mother has succeeded so well. It deserves to be read still more widely. Read along with the older work by the great missionary himself, one gets a charming and inspiring insight into two very noble lives. In the supplementary chapter, which is unfortunately far too short, Mr. Moffat endeavours to tell the public something more about his father apart from his work. What he does tell is highly interesting and increases our admiration for him.

Tuilleadh Dhuilleag bho M' Leabhar-Latha mu Chunntas mo Bheatha anns a' Ghaidhealtachd. Bho 1862, gu 1882, Duneideann 'us Lunnainn: Uilleam Blackwood Agus a Mhic, 1886.

In this handsome volume we have a translation of the Queen's *More Leaves from the Journal of a Life in the Highlands.* The translation has been made by the accomplished Mrs. Mary Mackellar, who is already well known by her Gaelic and English songs, and whose name alone is a sufficient guarantee that the work has been rendered into pure and simple Gaelic. This new token of Her Majesty's affection for her Highland subjects—for the work, as we need hardly say, has been executed by Her Majesty's command—ought to secure among them a goodly number of readers for the volume. We sincerely trust that it will secure enough to permit of a cheaper edition being produced, so that the book may find its way into the remotest townships.

Struggles for Life. By WILLIAM KNIGHTON, L.L.D., Vice-President of the Royal Society of Literature, etc. London: Williams & Norgate, 1886.

This book is one which will commend itself to every one who is interested in the manifold efforts that are being made to lighten the miseries of the poor and oppressed. Dr. Knighton is himself anxiously observant of these, is in hearty sympathy with them, and here endeavours to arouse public attention still more to the evils to be grappled with, and to help by wise counsels, and equally wise warnings, towards rightly directing public energy to diminish them. The 'Bitter Cry' that is coming from the slums of London, and of all our great cities, is so loud and so bitter that the philanthropically inclined are apt to run into foolish extravagances. Dr. Knighton is as keenly sensitive as any one can be to the abounding misery, but seeks to guide towards curing the evil, and not merely to lessen it in individual cases and for the moment. He truthfully describes the purpose of his work when he says,

it is 'to learn first the causes of deterioration and destruction'—deterioration, that is, in the power of struggling against the evils that oppress so many—'that we may obviate or remove them, and to discover the remedies, if possible, for imperfection and misery.' How many are the struggles for life—how fierce they are and how varied, how many agencies there are against which life has to contend—life of body, life of thought, life of conscience—we do not realise very readily, and are somewhat taken aback by the array presented to us in the 'Table of Contents' prefixed to this work. But our author amply justifies the list, and leaves us convinced that those he enumerates are but some and not all of the foes that are in the field against us. But he is no pessimist. Rather does he seek to enlist all ranks and classes in the good work of doing their share in remedying the evils, and to inspire them with the spirit of brotherhood and of mutual helpfulness. He indulges in no abuse of the rich, nor in passionate panegyrics of the poor. He strives, not to set class against class, but to evoke in all the humanitarian sentiment, and to unite us in a large and loving effort to cure the ills complained of. His book abounds in wise suggestions and equally wise cautions. It is conceived in an admirable spirit, and is calculated, if widely circulated and read, to do a vast amount of practical good.

The German Classics from the Fourth to the Nineteenth Century, with Biographical Notices, Translations into Modern German, and Notes. By F. MAX MÜLLER, M.A. A new Edition, Revised, Enlarged and Adapted to Wilhelm Scherer's *History of German Literature,* by F. Lichtenstein. 2 vols. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1886.

As now issued Professor Max Müller's *German Classics* forms a very excellent companion to Scherer's *History of German Literature.* The latter work is followed step by step, the passages printed having been selected or arranged, for the purpose of illustrating its pages. As might be expected the present edition is a considerable improvement upon its predecessor, and now that we have a History of German Literature, it is likely to prove a much more useful and even popular book. In variety, range and arrangement, it is almost all that can be desired. The passages chosen have been selected with tact and judgment. But few authors of importance have been omitted. The illustrations drawn from 'the Classics' are abundant almost to profuseness. In both volumes, however, there are omissions which as it seems to us, it is somewhat difficult to account for. Tauler, Eckart, and the author of the *Deutsche Theologie* deserved a place as well as Suso. Mendelssohn and Hegel are unrepresented. So also is Schelling. All we have from Ranke is an extract of three pages. Of Heine's prose we have nothing, and but three short poems. But in a work of this kind we can scarcely expect to find every thing we desire. Perhaps we have here all

that we have a right to expect. As it stands, however, and notwithstanding the omission referred to, the work is now the most complete of its kind. The notices biographical are short and informing; every section is furnished with references to the translation as well as to the German edition of the History, and the older pieces are accompanied by translations into modern German. Graceful reference is made, as we need hardly say, in the preface to the deaths of Professors Scherer and Lichtenstein, and the book itself is dedicated to the memory of Mrs. F. C. Conybear, the accomplished daughter of the editor, and translator of Scherer's *History*.

Cours Elémentaire d'Epigraphie Latine. Par M. R. CAGNAT. Paris: Ernest Thorin, 1886.

The publication by M. Cagnat of this handbook of epigraphy is most opportune. It comes at a time when, thanks to the persevering and admirably organized labours of Mommsen and an enthusiastic band of fellow-workers, the learned public will soon be in possession of a complete collection of all the Roman inscriptions which have come down to us, and which, scattered as they hitherto were, were practically inaccessible to any one scholar. It will be of little use to the student of Roman history and literature that German erudition has placed this treasure in his hands if he himself does not at the same time possess the key of the casket in which it is contained. The mere knowledge of Latin, however thorough it may be in other respects, he will find utterly insufficient. The practical science of epigraphy must be brought to its aid. A Latin inscription is not a puzzle; the language in which it is written is plain enough, but it is not that with which the Roman writers, even those whose diction is most terse and laconic, have familiarised us; whether it be an epitaph or a dedication, a law or a charm, it is drawn up in a formal, official style, in which everything is fixed and subject to unvarying rules, and in which each clause occurs according to a set order; but it is obscured by abbreviations, sigils and ellipses which neither intuition nor ingenuity, nor, indeed, anything short of an exact knowledge of epigraphy can explain. For the acquisition of this important science, however, but few facilities exist. It is not included in the curriculum of our universities, and we know of no English handbook to which the student can turn for help. The Germans have produced two, but of these, Bone's is too short to be of any great practical utility, whilst Zell's is both confused and out of date. We are, therefore, guilty of no exaggeration in claiming for M. Cagnat's work the merit of being the only manual in which epigraphy is systematically treated and from which the classical student may gather, if not sufficient knowledge to turn the German collection to its full use, at least as much as is necessary to enable him to understand and even to check the results arrived at by those specialists whose task it is to convert obscure and often fragmentary inscriptions into authoritative records.

Locksley Hall Sixty Years After, &c. By ALFRED LORD TENNYSON, P.L., D.C.L. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

The only piece in this volume which is absolutely new is the first, which furnishes the title. The others are 'The Promise of May,' which was performed some time ago on the London stage, but without success; the stirring and spirited ode on the 'Opening of the Indian and Colonial Exhibition by the Queen;' and 'The Fleet,' a version of which appeared in the *Times* in the April of 1885. The last mentioned has been retouched and improved. A new stanza has been added, and the first two lines of the second stanza, which in the earlier version read:

> 'This isle, the mightiest naval power on earth,
> This one small isle, the lord of every sea.'

have now become, with the reference to Nelson:

> 'His isle, the mightiest ocean power on earth,
> Our own fair isle, the lord of every sea,'

As a narrative poem interspersed with songs 'The Promise of May' is excellent, but as a drama it is as unsatisfactory as it can well be. In dramatic effect it is altogether wanting. The opportunities it offers for it, and they are not many, are unused. Besides, there is the want of any great conception in it. The characters are commonplace, not one of them showing the faintest touch of heroism. According to the motto prefixed to the play the principal figure in it is 'A surface man of theories, true to none,' but in reality he is a thorough scoundrel, who, after seducing one sister, returns to make love to the other. Here and there, however, there are fine passages which, with the songs, form its redeeming features. The best poem in the volume is undoubtedly the first, though its interpretation is somewhat difficult. Perhaps, the simplest is the best. The hero of Locksley Hall, now an old man of eighty, comes to the funeral of Amy's husband, and, addressing Amy's grandson, speaks in his old scornful yet noble way of the things around him. Sorrow and experience have not mellowed him. He is as little satisfied with the world now as he was sixty years ago, and his denunciations are as vehement. He does justice, however, to the husband of his faithless cousin, saying:

> 'Worthier soul was he than I am, sound and honest, rustic Squire,
> Kindly landlord, boon companion—youthful jealousy is a liar;'

and of those who are gone he thus mourns—

> 'Gone the tyrant of my youth, and mute below the chancel stones,
> All his virtues—I forgive them—black in white above his bones.
> Gone the comrades of my bivouac, some in fight against the foe,
> Some thro' age and slow diseases, gone as all on earth will go.
> Gone with whom for forty years my life in golden sequence ran,
> She with all the charm of woman, she with all the breadth of man,
> Strong in will and rich in wisdom, Edith, loyal, lowly sweet,
> Feminine to her inmost heart, and feminine to her tender feet,
> Very woman of very woman, nurse of ailing body and mind,
> She that link'd again the broken chain that bound me to my kind.'

His outlook on the present or for the future cannot be called cheering. It may be gathered from such passages as the following:—

> 'Chaos, Cosmos! Cosmos, Chaos! who can tell how all will end!
> Read the wide world's annals, you, and take their wisdom for your friend,
> Hope the best, but hold the Present fatal daughter of the Past,
> Shape your heart to front the hour, but dream not that the hour will last!'

But the old true spirit comes out towards the end of what must after all be called a genuinely noble and impressive poem—

> 'Follow you the star that lights a desert pathway, yours or mine.
> Forward, till you see the highest Human Nature is divine.
> Follow Light and do the Right—for man can half control his doom—
> Till you find the deathless Angel seated in the vacant tomb.'

If the old aspiration be somewhat chilled, it is still present, and after sixty years is still a source of inspiration and power.

Through Dark to Light. By A. EUBULE-EVANS. New Edition. London: Wyman & Sons, 1886.

We are not at all surprised that this volume has reached a second edition. It would have said little for the thoughtfulness and perception of the times if it had not. The poems it contains are by no means those of a poetaster. Their author has a complete mastery over the poet's instrument of expression, and has laid sure hold upon the deeper spiritual experience of this nineteenth century. Few who are given to reflect on the great mysteries of human existence, or who have been troubled with the malady of thought, will read what he has here written, without finding many of the thoughts they have themselves long tried to utter, expressed in melodious verse. The earlier portion of the volume has a strong flavour of pessimism, but who, even of those who have attained to clearness and serenity of vision, have not at times been pessimists? The great charm of what is here written is its naturalness, its fidelity to nature, the truthfulness with which the struggles and perplexities, the blind anxious gropings of the soul after light and hope and assurance are depicted.

Poems of Walt Whitman. Selected and edited by WILLIAM MICHAEL ROSSETTI. New Edition. London: Chatto & Windus, 1886.

With the exception of a Postscript and one or two notes, this is a reproduction of a volume which has now been out of print for several years. It is a volume to be welcomed, inasmuch as it is decidedly the best selection of Whitman's poems we have seen, and in every way more suitable for general circulation than the complete edition. Into the reasons for this last assertion we need not here enter. Mr. Rossetti has some very sensible remarks on the subject in his Prefatory Notice, and Mr. Stedman and Professor Dowden, not to mention others, have also dealt with it. In the pages of the present volume there is nothing to offend the

most refined mind; and besides, they contain almost all that is best of Whitman's poetical writings. Whitman is doubtless a very considerable poet, notwithstanding his almost total disregard of the ordinary conventionalities of poetry. He is also thoroughly American—American, in fact, as no other poet of the New World is. Whether he will found a new school of poetry remains to be seen. In outward appearance, the present edition is a great improvement upon the previous one and forms a very handsome volume. We should add that, like the original edition, it contains the celebrated preface to the *Leaves of Grass*, as well as a very valuable preface by the editor.

Lays of the Scottish Cavaliers and other Poems. By WILLIAM EDMONSTONE AYTON, D.C.L. Edinburgh and London: William Blackwood & Sons, 1886.

This is a remarkably handsome and handy edition of a book which, on its first appearance made a very considerable sensation. The poems it contains need no recommendation. There can be little doubt that they will stir the mind of the present generation as much as they did that of the last, though their influence may not be so obvious. They are full of fire and energy, and have the true ring of genuine poetry about them. The publishers have done well to present them in their present form—a form which, unless we are mistaken, will bring them within the reach of most readers and secure for them a very wide circulation.

Bruce: a Drama in Five Acts. By JOHN DAVIDSON. Glasgow and London: Wilson and McCormick, 1886.

Mr. Davidson has been more successful in his attempt to write a drama than many who have tried their hands at it. The subject he has chosen lends itself very readily to dramatic treatment, and he must at least be said to have made good use of the materials history has provided him with. Generally speaking there is abundance of action and movement in his scenes, though here and there the development of the plot is unduely delayed by speeches which might with advantage be shortened. Mr. Davidson seems to have aimed at force and directness in his lines rather than at high flown poetry. He has done well, and though here and there fault may be found with his verses, many of them are strong and effective. The characters are distinct and well drawn.

The Odyssey of Homer. Books I.-XII. Translated into English Verse by the Earl of CARNARVON. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

We have but one regret about this translation, and that is, that it does not run on to the end of the Twenty-fourth Book. The measure of praise to which it is entitled is great. Taken as a whole, it is a very scholarly

and skilful production—clear, simple, faithful. Here and there exception may be taken to a rendering, but, generally speaking, its fidelity is remarkable. So far as it goes, it is unquestionably the best translation of the Odyssey of which the English language can boast. Those who are acquainted with Greek will read it with pleasure; and to those who are not, it may be commended as the best means of becoming acquainted with this Homeric poem.

The Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland from the Twelfth to the Eighteenth Century. By DAVID MACGIBBON and THOMAS ROSS, Architects. VOL. I. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1887.

This is the first volume of a learned, painstaking, and highly important work. The object which the authors set before them is to trace the development of castellated and domestic architecture in Scotland and to determine the various stages or periods of its progress. The subject, as we need hardly say, is one of great national interest and one which is intimately bound up with the history and development of the country. Strange to say, however, comparatively little attention has hitherto been bestowed upon it. Beyond Mr. Billings' work on the Baronial and Ecclesiastical antiquities of the country, it will be hard to find any work of importance specifically devoted to it; and excellent and valuable as the work just referred to is, it labours under the serious drawbacks of being entirely without plans and of making no attempt to deal with the history of Scottish architecture, more especially of the domestic portion of it in a systematic manner. Our authors, therefore, though not the first to recognise the fact that Scotland has an architecture of its own, have the honour of making the first attempt to treat it historically and from a professional point of view Of the manner in which they have executed their work it is almost needless to speak. Bringing patience and large experience to bear upon it, they have spared no effort to set the subject of their joint labours before their readers in the most complete and lucid way; and the result so far is a handsome volume of nearly six hundred pages, which will be read with pleasure by all who take an interest in the monuments of the past. The illustrations, which make no pretensions to be works of art but are designed rather to exhibit the architectural features of the buildings they represent, are numerous. As might be expected, too, in the majority of instances plans are given, both ground and sectional. The text accompanying the illustrations, or rather the treatise itself, is full of interesting matter as well historical as architectural. The descriptions are clear and detailed, and though here and there a conjecture is risked, there is no attempt at theorising, the authors contenting themselves with remaining on the solid ground of ascertained fact. The first or introductory chapter, which is devoted to a rapid sketch of the development of castellated architecture in France and England, is specially interesting

and forms an excellent introduction to those which follow. In Scottish castellated or baronial architecture three periods are recognised. The first begins and ends with the Thirteenth Century; the second begins and ends with the Century following; and the third of which by far the most numerous examples remain, extends from the beginning of the Fifteenth to the middle of the Sixteenth Century. But for the distinctive features of these periods we must refer our readers to the extremely elaborate and interesting pages of Messrs. Macgibbon and Ross, whose volumes, providing the second be executed with the same skill as the one before us, must be regarded as the standard work on the subject and an excellent addition to architectural and historical literature.

Fantaisies décoratives par Habert-Dys. Livraisons, 1-9. Paris: Jules Rouam. London: Gilbert Wood & Co., 1886.

The aim of these admirably executed studies is excellent. Throwing himself free from the trammels of traditional decoration, and seeking his inspiration in nature, M. Habert-Dys here attempts, through the utilisation of her forms, to furnish every branch of decorative art with designs and suggestions for them. The thirty-six plates before us—each livraison contains four—exhibit great fertility and resource of invention, and are remarkable for the splendour and harmony of their colouring. One looks through them in vain for anything like repetition. Each plate is a complete and independent study, and, though unaccompanied by anything in the shape of text, cannot fail to be rich in suggestions to those who are in search of novelties in decorative art. Some of the designs for porcelain, jewellery, and tissues are particular deserving of notice. All are executed on China paper, and are strongly mounted. Accompanying each livraison is a new cover which is often as suggestive as the plates it protects. To all interested in industrial art this new issue from the Libraire de l'Art will prove of singular value.

La Chine inconnue. Par MAURICE JAMETEL. Third Edition. Paris: J. Rouam, 1886.

M. Jametel here puts forth his own experience and the wisdom he has gained by it for the guidance of those who are in quest of the curiosities and products of Chinese art. All such, we imagine, unless they are as expert as M. Jametel, are in need of a guide. The Chinese shopkeeper, or dealer in curiosities, is quite as fertile in devices for the deception of his customers as many of his occidental brothers, and is always on the look out to fill his pockets at the expense of Europeans who have taken to hunting after the merchandise he has for sale. A better guide than M. Jametel can scarcely be desired. He has had long practice in dealing with the Chinaman, and is well acquainted with all his devices. In this little book, which we are not surprised to see has already passed through two editions, he carries us with him into the shops in Pekin frequented by European

purchasers, and into many which they rarely visit, brings us face to face with the Chinese merchant, describes him in the most graphic manner, and communicates a good deal of valuable information respecting the character and worth of his wares—porcelain, works in bronze and ivory, enamelling, books, and many other products of Chinese skill—noting the prices asked and the prices given, and discoursing pleasantly on the signs of genuineness, and the efforts made to deceive the unwary. All that M. Jametel has to say is told with the greatest brevity. To the collector his work will be invaluable.

Von der Weichsel zum Dnjepr. Geographische, kriegsgeschichtische und operative Studie von Sarmaticus. Helwingsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. Hanover, 1886.

If preparation for war be the best means of ensuring peace, this volume affords ample proof of an earnest desire on the part of Germany to remain on the friendliest terms with its Russian neighbours. Looked at in this light, 'Sarmaticus's' treatise may be accepted as a fitting and natural sequel to the effusive display of good feeling at the periodical meetings of the three Emperors. From any other point of view, however, it must appear strangely suggestive that, at the very moment when, to all outward seeming, the political relations between the two countries were most amicable, a writer should come forward, unofficially and pseudonymously, it is true, but, for all that, with the authority which necessarily attaches to any work sanctioned or even tolerated by the stringent military censorship known to exist in Germany, and assure the world at large, and the 'war party' in St. Petersburg in particular, that Russia no longer possesses, either from its geographical situation or from the extent of its territory, a position of special advantage amongst the other nations of Europe; and that, in the event of an appeal to arms for the final settlement of the struggle for supremacy between the Slavic and the Teutonic race, victory must remain with Germany. In support of his assertion, 'Sarmaticus' brings forward an imposing array of facts and figures, as well as a series of practical suggestions, which prove it to be no mere expression of ignorant and blustering Chauvinism but the well-grounded opinion of a writer who has made the subject his special study and considered it in all its details and under all its aspects. Assuming that, in a war between Germany and Russia, the Polish provinces—that is, the territory between the Vistula and the Dnieper—must necessarily be the theatre of hostilities, he submits the whole district to a survey in which every feature is noted, and its possible influence duly weighed. The minuteness and apparent accuracy of this section are truly astonishing. The climate, the conformation of the country, the productiveness of the soil, the means of communication, the character of the population, are each in turn considered in its bearings on a possible campaign. But it is more particularly in tracing the course of the numerous water-ways, not only the main streams, but even their

smallest tributaries, that the author shows his thorough acquaintance with what he calls the 'Polish theatre of war.' He marks every ferry and every ford. Not only does he indicate all existing bridges, but he also points out where others could be constructed, whence the necessary materials could be procured, and what engineering resources the operation would require. Neither does he overlook the fortifications which have been set up, and the information which he has acquired on this point is not the least startling part of a startling book. The second part of 'Samaticus's' study deals with the various campaigns of which Poland has been the theatre in modern times. These are four in number. The first is that of 1792-4, with which the siege of Warsaw and the heroic struggle of Kosciusko are associated. The next, bearing the date of 1806-7, and marked by the battle of Pultusk, recalls Napoleon's words, that in Poland he found a fifth element, which was mud. The third and most important is that which two words suffice to summarize—Moscow and the Beresina. The last is the Polish insurrection of 1831. The strategical operations of these four campaigns are analysed with a view to illustrating the practical importance of the details contained in the former part, and showing the fatal results which, in some instances, followed the ignorance or the neglect of them. In the event of a declaration of war, a contingency to the consideration of which the third section of the volume is devoted, the first difficulty to be encountered by Russia would be the mobilisation of its forces, a task which, owing to the centralisation of its military administration, to the heterogeneous elements which compose its army, to the untrustworthiness of its officials, and to the immense extent of territory over which its three millions of men are scattered, it has never yet been able to complete till a considerable time after the first outbreak of hostilities. For the conveyance of these masses of men towards the western frontier only three railway lines, each of them single, are available. The indolence and insufficiency of their management in time of peace, when the traffic along them does not amount to more than five or six trains a day, justifies the strongest doubts as to the possibility of their meeting the demands which would be made upon them. When all this is considered and judged by the light of past experience, it seems no exaggeration to assume that, for the concentration of its troops at any point on the western frontier, Russia would require three times as long as Germany. For an invading army, on the other hand, Poland, we are told, presents no difficulties but could be surmounted by preparations based on a thorough knowledge of the peculiarities of the country. The points to which attention would require to be given are fully gone into. They refer to the special clothing of the troops, the kind of food and drink to be provided—for bread and water in its pure, or rather impure, state would be out of the question—the vehicles to be used by the commissariat, and the measures to be taken for the construction of roads. As to the objective point for which a German army would make, there can exist no doubt. It would be Moscow, the real capital of the country. A last but not un-

important condition laid down by 'Sarmaticus' is an alliance with Austria. This, he says, is the charm by which the power of the Czar can be overcome. Such is the purport of this remarkable book. Brief as our summary of it necessarily is, it may serve to explain the excitement which it has caused in military circles.

The Making of the Irish Nation: and the First Fruits of Federation. By J. A. PARTRIDGE. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1886.

Mr. Partridge intends his book to be a *vade mecum* of the Irish question for public men of all shades of opinion. That his intention will ever be realized we have serious doubts. Before it can, it will be requisite for the author to convert public men, and the public as well, to his own way of thinking, and to his own way of writing. The latter may pass as eloquent, but we should be disposed to apply to it a different epithet. Many of Mr. Partridge's opinions are exceedingly questionable, and his logic is far from sound. The book is written in the interest of Mr. Gladstone's Irish policy. While advocating a separate legislature for Ireland, it is strongly in favour of federation.

The Laws concerning Religious Worship; also Mortmain and Charitable Uses. By JOHN JENKINS, a District Registrar to the High Court of Justice. London: Waterlow Bros. and Layton, 1885.

In this useful little volume Mr. Jenkins gives first a succinct chronological narrative of ecclesiastical legislation in England, with abridgements of the statutes on the subject, from the Conquest down to the present time. Secondly we have a compendium of the law of mortmain and charitable uses, and lastly summaries of the law concerning ministers of religion and trustees of charities. The work is carefully written, the lists of statutes quoted or abstracted and cases cited covering some eight pages. It will undoubtedly supply a want which, as the author says, he has frequently and constantly felt during a professional practice of no less than forty years, and which others, we imagine, have also experienced.

The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club. By CHARLES DICKENS. With Notes and Numerous Illustrations. Edited by CHARLES DICKENS the Younger. Jubilee Edition. 2 Vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

Though not an ideal 'Jubilee Edition,' to those who are in the habit of reading Dickens, and even to those who only occasionally dip into his works, this edition of the famous *Papers* will prove of very considerable

service. The notes and illustrations will enable them to identify many of the places which are introduced by Dickens into a number of his other works, and to understand many an allusion which, though once familiar, is now doubtful or obscure. The notes are full of literary and antiquarian interest. The introduction tells the history of the *Papers* and the curious story connected with their illustration. The volumes are handsomely printed, though one would have liked to have seen a larger size of paper used, and a genuine reproduction both of the old plates and the old cover. Still, until a better edition is forthcoming, the one now before us will undoubtedly count as the most popular issue of Dickens's most popular book.

Neæra. A Tale of Ancient Rome. By JOHN W. GRAHAM. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

Neæra raises, of course, the oft discussed question, whether it is possible, by careful topographical and literary study, to arrive at a capacity for reproducing the every-day life of a long perished civilization? Apart from the consideration of that apparently insoluble question, Mr. Graham merits much commendation for his story. The plot, by no means a very simple one, is exceedingly well managed, and the characters have life and individuality. It is, however, by the clearness and precision of his topographical sketches that Mr. Graham appears to us to have been most successful in giving an air of reality to his story. When an author seeks to bring before his readers the daily life of nearly two thousand years ago, he can only hope to succeed in arousing their interest by bringing the scenery of that life very vividly before them. In this respect Mr. Graham has been eminently successful, especially in his admirable description of Capreæ, and the mysterious life there of the gloomy tyrant Tiberius. He is also to be congratulated on the skill with which he has contrived sufficiently to indicate the darker side of the old world civilization, without blackening his pages with realistic descriptions. The chief defect of the story lies in its mechanical workmanship. Its literary style leaves often much to be desired. 'The boy simply turned and pointed to the end of a narrow lane which debouched close to.' This unpardonable construction occurs more than once, and is not the only one which is very faulty. These defects are rather remarkable in a work bearing, in other respects, trace of such careful painstaking workmanship.

Sir Percival, a Story of the Past and of the Present. By J. H. SHORTHOUSE. Author of *John Inglesant*, &c., London: Macmillan and Co., 1886.

'I sawe a damoysel as me thoughte, alle in whyte with a vessel in both her handes, and forth with al I was hole.'—This quotation on the title page is the key-note of *Sir Percival.* Already the book is passing rapidly through new editions, but how many of those who read it with interest, will grasp its full meaning? 'Only the knight of spotless purity

could ever attain to the blessed vision of the Holy Grail;' and Mr. Shorthouse, if we read his purpose rightly, would teach the lesson earnestly impressed upon his knights by the blameless king of old, that that purity is to be sought, not in rigid self-denial, but in pure devotion to a pure ideal. Syre Percyvale of the past saw not only the Holy Grail, but saw it in the hands of 'a damoysel alle in whyte.' Sir Percival of the present attains to the finding of the Grail after he has learned to worship at the shrine of Constance Lisle. The episode of Virginia Clare would seem to indicate a feeling on the author's part that only by degrees can appreciation of the highest ideal be reached. But must the end be always isolation and martyrdom? King Arthur did not hold that creed, though he dreed that wierd. We could wish Mr. Shorthouse had allowed his story to end in the holy estate of matrimony. So long as such sketches as *Sir Percival* seem to imply that the purity necessary to secure the blessed vision is incompatible with that state, so long will they fail of any chance of exercising an ennobling influence on the daily lives of men. We will venture to predict that a very large number of those who read *Sir Percival* will pronounce Constance Lisle only fit to be a nun. If Mr. Shorthouse will use the peculiar power he has shown in his latest story to paint married life lifted into the same atmosphere; to show, in fact, the idea of the Round Table carried to a successful, rather than a disastrous issue, he may chance to find himself, all by and through himself, a great white cross army. The literary style of *Sir Percival* is not satisfactory. The composition is often careless or awkward, occasionally slovenly; and it is impossible not sometimes to regret in reading it that a very beautiful picture has not been, so to speak, set in a frame more worthy of it.

A Modern Telemachus. By CHARLOTTE M. YONGE, author of *The Heir of Redclyffe*, &c. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

Miss Yonge, like Miss Thackeray, defies criticism. There is an indefinable charm about her writing which, even when fault might be found, disinclines the critic to make the attempt. In *A Modern Telemachus* he has taken a romantic historical incident, and with little alteration woven out of it a thrilling story of perilous adventure and hairbreadth escape. On one point, as a Scottish reviewer, we can confidently congratulate Miss Yonge. Her Scotch is very much more the real thing than is generally the case when English writers try to use the dialect. Only once and again does the turn of a sentence betray that the author is not perfectly at home therein. In one instance, however, she has fallen into an error, inevitable, we believe, with English writers—'a douce set, not forgathering with Arabs nor wi' Moors.' To forgather, does not mean to associate with, but to meet accidentally. You forgather with an acquaintance when you meet him by chance in the street, not when you designedly frequent his society.

Margaret Jermine. By Fayr Madoc. London: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

Margaret Jermine is a difficult story to criticise, for it is impossible to decide whether the author has aimed high, and failed from want of ability to carry out the idea; or has, by accident, chanced to suggest more than she has perceived herself. As Charles Jermine appears to have no belief in immortality, he is perfectly right, from his standpoint; but is simply inculcating what he had learned from St. Paul, though probably he did not know that. 'Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die.' The philosophy is sound, the reasoning unanswerable *from his standpoint.* But neither in irony nor seriousness has the author worked out this obvious conclusion, and so the story is a failure. It has all the effect of a picture which possesses no unity of design. As it is, we have simply an irritating portrait of a woman, in most things sane and sensible, allowing the cold grip of a dead-selfish monomaniac to cripple her usefulness, and destroy the happiness of two lives. For the rest the story is clever, but suggests inexperience, and want of practice. The writer does not know the social class she has tried to describe. The position she has given to a daily governess, in such a circle, is absurd; and in many small points she betrays ignorance of the class to which her characters mainly belong. The names she has chosen are also likely to prove disadvantageous. They are in general singularly uncouth, while such a *Velvetine* and *Minimy* are silly enough to raise a prejudice at once against the book. Still there is enough in the story to make us believe that, if the author is young and inexperienced, she may, if she takes the trouble, live to make a name for herself as a novelist.

Lady Branksmere. By the Author of *Phyllis,* &c. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1886.

Whatever else may or may not be found in a novel by the author of *Phyllis,* one characteristic is never missing—an all pervading vulgarity, which her really considerable descriptive power only seems to render more prominent. In *Lady Branksmere,* she fully sustains her reputation. Utter vulgarity is the special feature of every character in the book. Never is it more strongly portrayed than when Lord and Lady Branksmere have a little disagreement, no uncommon occurrence. Their disputes resemble nothing in nature save a feline encounter, where blazing eyes, abnormal tails, and torrents, evidently of imprecation, end ignominiously in a slap, a squall, and precipitate retreat. 'There is a dignity about Muriel that nothing could ruffle.' It must have sat rather oddly upon her when she ended one of these disturbances by giving her husband a slap in the face. 'There is a moment's awful silence, and then Branksmere falls quickly back from her, a dark red stain upon his cheek where her palm had struck him.' Could any description more adequately represent the

climax of a duel among the chimney pots on a moonlight night? The plot of the story is absurd; its style a mixture of bombast, frivolity, and coarseness.

The Princess Casamassima. By HENRY JAMES. London; Macmillan & Co., 1886.

The Princess Casamassima is at once exceedingly tedious and very interesting. The paradox is less startling than it sounds. The fault which results in a tediousness that we will venture to affirm will make it very difficult for a large percentage of readers to get through the book at all, is that—we borrow the phrase—'minute stippling' which while it renders Mr. James's short studies wonderfully effective, is destructive when laboriously carried through three rather closely printed volumes; the interest lies in the number of ideas well worth consideration which will be the reward of any intelligent reader who goes carefully through the book. Whether consciously, or unconsciously, Mr. James has worked out much the same result as the author of *Demos.* He has shown what an utter sham socialism, so called, is. These fiery champions of the starving, oppressed, down-trodden working class, rant, denounce, and are always going to begin, no one seems to know exactly what, but very evidently something which is really to place them in the position of the class they intend to pull down. Meantime they touch not the burdens of the sufferers with one of their fingers. They leave all practical effort to lighten that load to a Lady Aurora, or a Princess Casamassima. We cannot profess much admiration for this half American, half Italian adventuress. She is after all largely a sham, and shams are always vulgar; while Lady Aurora is too blurred an outline to be very interesting. Still, there is a vein of subtle irony in the contrast presented—the two women, reared in luxury, practising the socialism that gives to those who have not; the two artizans capable only of the socialism which takes away from those who have. To any intending reader of *The Princess Casamassima,* we would suggest to keep in his head two ideas—one, that not genuine sympathy with suffering is required to make a socialist—that makes a Shaftesbury—but a strongly developed sense, on the part of the individual, of the horrible iniquity involved in his not being personally exempt from the suffering which is more or less the fate of all humanity. The other, that a beautiful and fascinating woman, playing at socialism, is likely to prove an interesting study, as tending more in the direction of havoc among promising socialists, than in that of advancing the cause. Was Samson a socialist? Whosoever will expand these ideas for himself will, we think, find the tediousness of Mr. James's story overridden by its interest. But why should three different writers produce three different socialists, and call them respectively, Mutimer, Monument, and Muniment? It makes it hard for a critic to avoid getting a little mixed.

The Final Science, or Spiritual Materialism. Being a strict application of the most approved modern Scientific Principles to the Solution of the deepest Problems of the Age. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls, 1885.

Whoever the author of this book is, he is deficient in neither wit nor humour. His acquaintance with modern scientific and philosophical theories is evidently large, and quite sufficient to mark him out as one who is well acquainted with the science of the day, while the ease with which he carries his weight of learning and the facility with which he manipulates his varied stores of knowledge, and not less his trenchant logic and pungent raillery, prove him to be a capable thinker and an extremely attractive debater, at least with his pen. The impression one derives from the title page is that it is followed by an abstruse argument in favour of Materialism, and when the author goes on to assert 'unhesitatingly and unconditionally, I adopt Materialism, and declare it to be the sole and all-sufficient explanation of the universe,' the impression is deepened. But we have only to read a few pages on in order to find that the impression is wrong, and that instead of being a defence of Materialism, the book is a genuinely humorous satire upon it. A more effective piece of satire we have not seen for some time. The author is thoroughly acquainted with all the most recent developments of Materialism, and pokes his fun at them most unmercifully. His chapters on 'First Principles,' 'Matter,' 'Atoms,' 'Evolution,' 'Design,' and 'Morality,' are most amusing and yet most instructive reading. 'Jokes,' Milton somewhere remarks, 'often decide great things,' and the author of this exceedingly clever book has something more important in view than the mere exhibition of his powers of ridicule. His aim is nothing less than to undermine the hold which Materialism has upon many, and to show its inadequacy as a theory of things.

Sunday at Home, 1886. *The Leisure Hour*, 1886. *The Boys' Own Annual*, 1886. *The Girl's Own Annual*, 1886. London: Religious Tract Society.

These four profusely illustrated volumes contain a great variety of reading to suit all classes at all times and seasons. The first, as we need hardly say, is grave, and mostly taken up with the treatment of moral and religious subjects, and is an excellent book for Sunday reading. The chapters are short, varied, and interesting, and pervaded by a devout and catholic spirit. The chapters on the Jews, on Hymn Writers and Hymnology, and 'An Artist's Jottings in the Holy Land,' deserve special mention. *The Leisure Hour* is more varied in its contents, and besides stories of adventure and travel, Mrs. Oliphant's 'A Poor Gentleman' and a number of entertaining chapters from the old story tellers, contains many items of information in science, biography, and Natural History. In fact, it is difficult to open it without coming across something which is either instructive

or entertaining. *The Boy's Own* and *The Girl's Own* are full of admirably selected reading for the young. A more acceptable present in the shape of a book than either of them will prove to those for whom they are written, we cannot conceive. Each is sure to interest, and each can scarcely fail to foster that spirit of frankness, courage, integrity, and gentleness, in which it is desirable that the youth of both sexes should abound.

Christianity, Science, and Infidelity by the Rev. W. Hillier, Mus. Doc. has reached a second edition. It consists of a series of letters addressed to Mr. Bradlaugh, designed to vindicate the received truths of Christianity, and to show the follies and absurdities of Atheism. For this edition the Rev. Henry Varley has written a prefatory recommendation. We hope that the letters will be widely read.

The Background of Sacred Story, by Frederick Hastings (Jas. Nisbet & Co.), consists of a series of twenty-three papers on the less known characters of the Bible. The papers are all interestingly written and contain many useful and instructive lessons. Mr. Hastings has done well to call attention to these more obscure characters, for the things which are written about them were also written for instruction in righteousness, and are apt to be overlooked.

The Scope and Method of Economic Science (Macmillan), is the address which Professor Sidgwick delivered as president of the Economic Science and Statistic Section of the British Association at its meeting in Aberdeen during the September of 1865. All students of economics will be glad to have this masterly discussion in its present handy form.

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

Revue Scientifique (October).—In an article which supplies an interesting chapter to the history of the sciences, M. Berthelot deals with 'The Authentic Processes of the Egyptian Chemists,' and shows, from an examination of the Greek papyri preserved in Leyden that the 'opus magnum,' the search for the philosopher's stone, owed its origin not to a belief in the possibility of transmuting inferior metals into gold, but to the operations by which dishonest goldsmiths produced worthless imitations of it.—Next in the table of contents comes a paper in which M. Carnot considers what kinds of soil are best suited for the reception of the sewage of large towns.—In an interesting contribution to demography based on a paper by M. B. Ornstein, there are some curious particulars with regard to longevity in Greece. From the very remarkable figures given it appears that the age of 85 is reached, on an average, by 1 in every hundred, the age of 95 by 1 in every 1000, the age of 100 by 1 in every 10,000, the age of 105 by 1 in every 100,000 and finally, the age of 110 by 1 in every 1,000,000.—Ample reading is provided for geologists who, in addition to a report of the proceedings of the Geological Section of the French Association for the Advancement of the Sciences, will find an excellent translation of the address delivered at Birmingham by the President of the British Association.—In a paper which is well worthy of the attention of all who, whether from

motives of morality or of political economy, are interested in the liquor question, M. Fournier de Flaix sketches the history of excise duties on alcohol in France, England, Russia, the United States, Holland, and Germany.—Under the title of 'Some Heresies against Darwinism,' M. Carl Vogt propounds a theory according to which our present zoological classification cannot be and is not, as is everywhere asserted, the expression of the real relationship existing between the different members of a branch, class, order, family or even genus, a relationship of which the proof is based on ontogenesic and phylogenesic development, but rather results, in many cases, at least, from a combination of similar characteristics to be found in individuals not descended from the same stock.—An interesting paper on 'Ironclads and Cruisers' contributed by M. G. S. Novi, examines what special qualities are required in a vessel to protect it against torpedoes.—Taking as his subjeet the simple flint implement of our ancestors of the post-tertiary age, M. J. Meunier has produced a paper of singular merit which we warmly recommend to the attention of all students of the fascinating science of anthropology.—Another paper well worthy of notice is that in which M. G. Marcel relates the adventures of Querini and his companions in the involuntary voyage which they made to Norway in the fifteenth century.

Revue Scientifique (November).—An article which will command a wide interest is that on 'The Prophylaxis of Rabies,' contributed by M. Pasteur. It is followed by another communication on the same subject by M. Chautemps. The only item which we shall extract from papers which it would be unfair to give in any but their complete form, is that up to October 31, 1886, 2490 persons had been treated by the French physician, of these 80 were English.—M. Gossart's 'Voyage on the surface of a drop of water,' is instructive and charming.—M. M. Binet and Féré whose names are intimately connected with the subject of hypnotism treat of the difficult question of hypnotism and responsibility.—'Les Anatomistes anciens,' the reproduction of M. A. Laboulène's opening lecture at the Faculty of Medecine of Paris, is a valuable contribution to the history of the sciences. —The wonders as well as the practical utility of instantaneous photography are admirably explained by M. Marey.—A great deal of interesting information is to be gathered from M. E. Laboune's 'Eiders of Iceland.'

Revue Scientifique (December).—At the present time, when so many experiments are being made with a view to utilizing balloons for military purposes, M. G. Tissandier's article : 'Les aérostats militaires' is particularly opportune. It shows all that was done in this direction at the end of the last century by the school of Meudon.—In a continuation of his sketch of the ancient anatomists M. A. Laboulène deals with those of the sixteenth century.—A further interesting contribution to the same branch of knowledge is contained in M. Berthelot's paper on the metals known to the ancient Chaldæans.—Of the remaining articles for this month M. Ch. Vélain's 'Geology and Geography' and M. Korschelt's paper on 'The third Eye of Reptiles' are the most noteworthy.

L'Art (November).—The first of this month's numbers opens with a further instalment of M. Bonaffé's paper 'L'Art du Bois.' It deals with the school usually known as that of l'Ile-de-France.—Another continued article is devoted to Berlioz. It resumes the sketch of his career in 1863, the date of the production of the 'Trojans,' the complete fiasco of which was so bitterly felt by the author. This period of the master's life also embraces his luckless marriage with Miss Smithson. The short passage which the author, M. Adolphe Jullien, devotes to Berlioz as a musical critic and writer, is particularly interesting.—The mid-monthly number continues M. Oscar Berggruen's 'L'Œuvre de Rubens en Autriche.' The subjects treated in connection with this are animals, history and profane allegories.—Baron Henry de Geymüller contributes a short paper on 'Du Cerceau in Italy,' 'Rembrandt l'homme et son Œuvre,' though the last article in the number is the most interesting and, in point of literary merit, the best. A sketch of the painter's character supplies an excellent preface to a general appreciation of his work. The latter, though necessarily cursory, and indicating only the most striking features of the master's manner, displays excellent taste and sound judgment.—Of the full-page engravings for the month 'Les Deux Amis' is particularly pleasing.

L'ART (December).—'American Museums' heads the number. It is very brief, and founded chiefly on Mr. Ripley Hitchcock's study in 'The Century Illustrated Magazine.'—M. Edmond Bonnaffé adds another section to his sketch of the wood-carvers of the 16th century. Burgundy and Franche-Comte are the parts of France here dealt with.—M. Charles Cournault supplies some biographical details concerning a Lorrain sculptor of the 16th century, Ligier Richier, and adds to the value of his paper by giving several prints illustrative of Richier's work.—There is also a good account of the Correr Museum in Venice.—The second number contains, besides a further instalment of 'American Museums,' a very interesting description, from the pen of no less a critic than M. Yriarte, of the valuable collections of Chantilly, given by the duc d'Aumale to the Institut de France. The Condé Museum is the subject of the present instalment.—It is announced that *l'Art* will henceforth open its pages to light literature, and M. Paul Bourget begins this new departure with a slight sketch, 'Un Scrupule.'

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (October—December).—Amongst the articles most worthy of notice in the six numbers lying before us may be mentioned that in which M. Victor Du Bled examines the lunacy laws in France, England, Germany, Switzerland, and the United States.—For 'Molieristes' M. Larroumet has an excellent sketch : 'Molière l'homme et le comédien.'—M. Fustel de Coulanges appeals to classical students in his scholarly paper: 'Le Demaine rural chez les Romains.'—M. C. de Varigny contributes an excellent series of sketches of San-Francisco.—An educational problem of considerable importance is discussed by M. Emile Beaussire in a paper which, dealing with 'The Teaching of Philosophy in the University of France,' meets the objection of those who, on various grounds, object to the introduction of such a subject in any official course of studies.—For many, however, the most important contribution will be that of M. Renan's series of papers on the Origin of the Bible.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1886).—In the first article of this number Albert Réville continues his study of the life and character of the Emperor Julian. He brings here his historical resumé of the events and actions of the Emperor's life to a close, and is now to proceed to estimate from these the character of the man. In the next part of his essay he promises to deal with the 'theology' of Julian.—The second article is by M. E. Lefébure, who was appointed to the lectureship on 'The Religion of Egypt' in connection with the new section, or faculty, instituted last summer at l'Ecole des Hautes Etudes,—that of the 'History of Religions.' He gives us here the lecture with which he opened his course. In it he deals generally with the religion of Egypt, the sources from which our knowledge of that religion is derived, the present condition of that knowledge, and the theories offered to explain its complex character.—Dr. J. Goldziher furnishes a brief paper on 'The Sacrifice of Hair among the Arabs.' It is supplementary to an article of his which appeared in this *Revue* in 1884 on 'The Worship of Ancestors and of the Dead among the Arabs.' His remarks here are called for, he says, because of what has appeared on this subject since elsewhere, especially in Dr. Robertson Smith's recently published work on 'Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia.'—M. G. Dottin discusses the question of the belief in the immortality of the soul among the ancient Irish, and gives a translation of a version of the *Expedition of Connel Ruad*, which illustrates that belief, and has been, he thinks, less tampered with than most other old Irish legends by the Christian monks.—M. Paul Regnaud gives a short paper on the original meanings of the Latin words *Augur* and *Genius*, which will interest scholars much.—M. E. Pressensé is about to issue a third edition of his work on the '*First Three Centuries of the Christian Church.*' He has enlarged and altered it so much in many ways that it is to all intents and purposes a new work, and is to be published under the title *L'Ancien Monde et le Christianisme.* The chapter dealing with the Chaldeo-Assyrian religion is given us here. The subject is treated with evident fairness, and use has been made of the most recent discoveries to elucidate the subject. Written in the admirable spirit and with the fulness of knowledge that characterize this chapter, his work will be looked forward to with considerable interest.—The article which will command

most attention, however, in this country is the last. It is from the pen of M. le Comte Goblet d'Alviella. It is an elaborate criticism of Mr. Herbert Spencer's latest work—that on Ecclesiastical Institutions. He first gives a resumé of its argument, and then proceeds to ask whether the facts from which Mr. Spencer draws his conclusions justify these conclusions, or may be accounted for in other ways. The points in which he differs from Mr. Spencer are his assertion that religion originates in the worship of ancestors; his explanation of the superior rôle of the sorcerer to that of the priest; the reason he assigns for the high priesthood of the chief of the tribe; his mode of accounting for polytheism and the genesis of deities generally, etc. While disputing Mr. Spencer's position in these matters, he pays a high and well-merited tribute to the great merits of this as of all Mr. Spencer's writings.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 5, 1886).—Professor A. Réville brings his study of the life and character of the Emperor Julian to a close in this number. He treats here of Julian's religious opinions, and gives, as an introduction to them, a very succinct, yet clear, and interesting sketch of the Neo-Platonic philosophy of Porphyry, Jamblichus, and Proclus, which Julian professed, and which provided him with the means of reconciling his exalted *rôle* of scholar and moralist with his faith in the ancient mythology and his practice of the old pagan cult. In the last part of his essay Professor Réville details the events connected with Julian's Persian expedition, and points out the mistakes in judgment and policy which led to its failure, and in which the emperor perished.—M. J. A. Hild gives the first part of what promises to be a very exhaustive account of pessimistic thought in the writings of Homer and Hesiod. Pessimists claim the latter as one of themselves; but M. Hild here endeavours to show that Homer not only had his pessimistic moods, but was almost as thorough a pessimist as Hesiod, and that 'the primitive religion of the Greeks paid a large tribute to that class of opinions.' He brings out very lucidly the reason why Homer's pessimism is not so readily observed by readers, and then by references to both the Iliad and the Odyssey shows that it was not less real.—M. J. Halévy returns to the subject of Ezra and the date of the Priestly Code in the Pentateuch. Professor Kuenen and he have crossed swords in the pages of this *Revue* on this subject before now, and as they differ widely in their views on it, and each is perfectly satisfied that he is right and the other wrong, their controversy is unfortunately marked with undue heat and temper. M. Halévy's arguments in favour of the existence of the Priestly Code during and prior to the captivity were treated by Professor Kuenen in his last paper on the subject with scant courtesy. He described them as '*d'une rare insignificance.*' M. Halévy here restates them, and elaborately vindicates their value.—M. Maurice Souriau enters into an elaborate criticism of Lucian's *Pharsalia*, and seeks to account for the presence in it of so much of the fabulous when the author believed in neither gods nor spirits.—M. L. de Milloué gives a report of the congress of Orientalists at Vienna in September, and calls attention to the small space given at it to studies bearing on the History of Religions.—M. Leon Sichler has still another version to offer us from the Russian of *The Girl with the amputated hands.*—Among the reviews of books we notice a very appreciative one, from the pen of Professor A. Réville, of Mr. A. Lang's *Mythology*- the French verson of it. These, with the chronique, summaries of papers read before learned societies, and magazine articles, and the publications of the two months bearing on religious subjects, complete the contents of an interesting number.

BIBLIOTHÈQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (November).—'La Mer Bretonne,' by M. Emile Yung, is the most noticeable article in the number. A striking sketch of the Breton seaboard, with its legendary city of Ys and it 'league-long rollers,' introduces the reader to a detailed description of the Laboratory of Experimental Zoology, founded some fifteen years ago by the eminent naturalist M. de Lacaze-Dutheers, at Roscoff, on the promontory which projects between the river of Morlaix and the bay of Pouldu.—In an appreciative article on Mr. Matthew Arnold, M. Leo Quesnel forms a fair estimate of our apostle of culture, whom he describes as the Emerson and Renan of England.—An account of the

business relations of Schiller and his publisher Cotta closes an average good number.

Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse (December).—In view of the political excitement caused by the spirit of annexation and colonization which has recently manifested itself among the European powers, M. Rios' article on the Philippine, Ladrone, and Caroline islands, possesses a living interest. His sketch begins with the discovery of the first of these by Magellan, in 1521, and, after a description of the curious administration of the archipelago, concludes with an unusually entertaining account of the famous island of Yap.—M. G. van Muyden discusses the workmen's dwellings question, and gives a comprehensive view of the practical results obtained up to the present in England and Germany.—The papers on Constantinople and Turkish life, and the Schiller-Cotta publishing enterprises, are completed.—The various 'Chroniques' for the month, particularly the German section, are even more than usually interesting.

Revue Philosophique (November).—M. Sourian's paper on 'The Consciousness of Self'—La conscience de moi—presents a number of objections to the power of knowing ourselves assumed to be within us. In his opinion the famous 'Cogito ergo sum' goes too far, and the only induction which he allows would be expressed in the formula, 'I think, therefore, something exists.' Consciousness being the strongest objection brought by philosophers against the theory of evolution, M. Sourian hopes to have contributed, in some degree, to the support of this theory.—M. Paulham devotes a considerable article to 'Duty and Moral Science.' His immediate object is an examination of what duty is in itself, apart from the special object to which it may be applicable, first of all from a psychological, then from a moral point of view, and bearing this general principle in mind, that the object of ethics and the ideal of right are a complete systematization, or at least as complete a systematization as possible of life and conduct.—The theory that causality is reduceable to a relation of constant succession between two phenomena is objected by M. Dunan, who, in a very elaborate study, endeavours to prove that it is not altogether satisfactory, and above all not complete.—A most interesting communication, made by M. Bergson, gives a clue which may lead to the explanation of certain phenomena of hypnotism. His experiments tend to prove that the power which 'subjects' possess of reading a book open before the operator, is due to the fact that they are able, owing to the hyperæsthesis induced by hypnotism, to read the characters reflected in his eye.

Revue Philosophique (December).—This number opens with a further contribution to the examination of the phenomenon of hypnotic suggestion, and as such, is of considerable importance. It records a very curious case of double personality in a hysterical subject, and what is even of greater importance, her total cure by the aid of hypnotism.—An article which will be read with special interest is that in which Dr. G. Lebon treats of 'The Application of Psychology to the Classification of Races,' and in which he illustrates his views and theories by a sketch of the mental constitution of the Hindoos, or at least of a certain class of them.—M. Lucien Arréat considers how far the opinion is tenable that altruism is founded on sexuality.—In a last instalment of his essay on 'Duty and Moral Science,' M. Paulham defines duty to be the 'logic of our actions,' applying the word 'logic' to the ideal laws which determine not only the conditions of accurate reasoning, but also the conditions of accurate experiments and accurate perceptions; he further asserts that 'moral duty' is an ideal, and one that it is often impossible to realise, and that there are idiots in morality as well as in intellect.

Theologische Studien und Kritiken (Zweites Heft, 1887).—Herr F. G. Steude, Licentiat der Theologie, discusses under the title *Die Verteidigung der Auferstehung Jesu Christi*, the most important of the various methods of explaining the rise, or accounting for the existence, in the early Church of the belief in the resurrection of Jesus, which have been recently offered by scholars unable or unwilling to accept the Resurrection as a fact. He subjects to a rigorous examination especially the various forms of the *Scheintodshypothese*—that

of the older Rationalism, that of Schleiermacher, that of Hase, that of Herder, and that of Gfrörer—and then the various forms of the *Visionshypothese*, whose representatives he enumerates as Strauss, Lang, Holstein, Hausrath, and Renan on the one side, and Keim, Schweizer, Schenkel, and Holtzman on the other. He endeavours to show the inadequacy of all these modes of explaining the genesis of the belief in the Resurrection, and the necessity of resting on the fact itself as the only satisfactory explanation of the rise and persistency of the belief.—Herr Pfarrer Karl Buhl contributes an exegetical study of Romans ix.-xi.: Herr Professor A. H. Franke, his lecture delivered at the Jubilee Festival of the Theological *Verein* at Kiel last summer, on *the New Testament basis for the doctrine of the pre-existence of Christ;* and Herr Gustave Heide some hitherto unpublished letters of Luther, Melanchthon, and others. Beyschlag's *Das Leben Jesu* is the only book reviewed.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Erstes Heft, 1887).—Dr. W. Schmidt of Cürtow attempts to grapple with a somewhat formidable difficulty which all Christians perhaps more or less acutely feel, and certainly all Calvinists. The title of his article shows at once what it is,—'Die Universalität des göttlichen Heilswillens und die Particularität der Berufung.' The Scriptures teach that God desires the salvation of all men, and yet that salvation is only through faith in Christ Jesus—that none other name is given among men whereby they can be saved. But millions upon millions of our fellow-men have died, and are dying, without ever having heard His name, or knowing enough about Him to beget faith in Him. What then? Have they perished—are they perishing—everlastingly? This, Dr. Schmidt says, would be an injustice, and inconsistent with the righteousness of God. He first shows how the Reformed Churches have sought to get out of the difficulty, and then falls back on the doctrine of a continued probation in the disembodied life—on the idea that there, in the spirit world, the 'Gospel' is preached (in some form suitable to their condition now) to those that were not privileged to hear or know of Christ while in the body. He gives this as a rational solution of the problem, and then appeals to Scripture in support of it. In the second part of his paper he attempts to meet the objections that may be raised to his position from the side of anthropology, and in the interests of moral and practical church life.—Professor Karl Müller continues his interesting account of the origin and development of the Waldensian movements, which he began in last number.—Professor Ryssell publishes here an academic lecture on the 'Anfänge der judischen Schriftgelehrsamkeit.' He assumes the existence of the 'Law'—the Pentateuch—prior to the Exile, and describes how the priests, Levites, and faithful rallied round it in their captivity, and how, from this devotion to it, the order of the Scribes arose and grew in honour and influence after the restoration. He throws no new light on the position he here takes up, and admits that it is largely a matter of inference, though supported by circumstances recorded in post-exilic literature. He argues against Wellhausen for the existence of the Pentateuchal Code prior to the Exile, and consequently denies to Ezra the important rôle assigned to him by that writer and those of the same school.

DE GIDS.—The October number opens with an account of Reinier Telle, a poet of the beginning of the 17th century, who brought persecution on himself by satirical attacks, somewhat in the spirit of Piers Plowman, on the tyrannical Calvinists of Amsterdam. He was a better Christian than the starched ecclesiastics he depicted in his fables and allegories, and strove to bring into prominence the essential matters of mercy and peaceableness.—C. Van Nievelt has published a book on Alpine travel for Dutch readers, and J. A. Sillem, who declares the Dutch to be a nation of born mountaineers, here gives, in noticing it, a very lively account of a tour round Monte Rosa, starting from Visp and going over the Monte Moro pass to Macugnaga.—A long article follows on the wants of Holland in medical legislation, by Dr. G. W. Bruinsma. The old system of country practice in Holland was that where there was no apothecary, the doctor possessed a life privilege of selling his own medicines. When he died another medical man hastened to secure the vested interest before an apothecary could settle in the place. Many communities were, and still are, thus prevented from having an

apothecary; an awkward state of matters, as the present writer can testify, who once, when residing in a fishing village on the east coast of Scotland, where the doctor mixed his own drugs, had need of a box of Morison's pills, but found the doctor-druggist sternly opposed to the introduction of that valuable medicine to his diocese. Since 1865 the Dutch have had a system of Government inspection in medical matters, which produces reports and issues advice which is not always taken. Dr. Bruinsma urges that the State should be entitled to allocate the medical men whom it has educated, so that no part of the country shall be medically destitute. He also advocates the encouragement of medical students and of nurses by means of bursaries, and the prohibition of the sale of drugs by medical practitioners.—From pills to earthquakes. The next article is an account of an elaborate work just published on the recent eruption of Krakatau, which will no doubt be the standard authority on that startling occurrence.

DE GIDS (November).—The number opens with a short appeal on behalf of the Netherland South African Union, a body formed since the Boer war, and having for its object to encourage the Dutch communities in South Africa, and help them to resist the fate which seems to be dreaded for them, of absorption among their English neighbours. To preserve the people, we here read, it is necessary to preserve the language; young men must be encouraged by bursaries to come to Dutch universities to study; Dutch schoolbooks must be prepared suited to South African requirements; and so on. The Union, unfortunately, numbers only 250 members, and does not seem likely to have any brilliant success.—A paper on 'Principles and Persons,' by J. W. Vander Linden, is a comparison of Pessimism and Socialism, which are said to be the passive and the active expressions of the same principle, the Pessimist philosophers preaching a doctrine which they make no attempt to practise, and leaving it to the Socialists to give practical expression to the universal distrust of existing relations. Pessimism is said to be a tone of mind widely spread among young men, and to be the reason of their not going to church, since the church preaches an optimistic doctrine.

The December GIDS is the jubilee issue of the periodical, which began in 1837. The papers chiefly consist of reminiscences of prominent members of the original staff, and are well supplied with editorial suppers, meetings of distinguished individuals on the street, the reasons of the rejection for particular articles, etc., at which to glance is sufficient. We may be allowed to take this opportunity of expressing our high sense of the literary ability with which the *Gids* is written. It has never become the organ of any particular school, but has always aimed at the purely literary elevation of Holland; and the high standard it has held up for half a century has done much to purify Dutch taste, and to give the little country a literary character and consciousness of its own. May the future of the *Gids* equal its past!

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (November).—Amongst the items for this month there are two final instalments of sketches begun in last number, Herr Julius Rodenberg's 'Im Herzen von Berlin,' and 'Weimar in den neunzige rJahren.'—Herr Otto Brahm contributes a sketch of the career of the Norwegian dramatist, Henrik Ibsen, whose productions, though but little known here, have obtained great celebrity in his own country.—An article which Herr Hellmuth Polakowsky devotes to the Panama Canal, closes with the expression of writer's conviction that the undertaking must ultimately prove successful.—Having chosen Pericles for the subject of an essay Herr Gottlob Egeltraaf has necessarily been obliged to go over a good deal of well-known ground. But though old, the story is excellently re-told.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (December).—As befits the season this number is largely devoted to light literature, the most interesting contribution being a translation of Count Tolstoi's novel, 'Ivan Iljitchen's Death.'—Of the more serious articles that by Herr Xaver Kraus on Joubert stands highest in point of literary merit.—Herr E. Reyer, in his interesting and instructive 'Californian Sketches,' devotes some well-written pages to hydraulic gold-washing, and to descriptions of the Sierra.—The number closes with a paper by Herr Herman Grimm, whose subject is the jubilee exhibition of Berlin.

WESTERMANNS MONATS-HEFTE (November).—The more serious contributions to this number are headed by a biographical and critical article on the late Julian Schmidt. The author, Herr Ludwig Salomon, traces the gradual development of Schmidt's method, and points out the defects of his first important work, *The History of German Literature during the 19th Century.* The article is ably written, but seems to lay more stress on the defects than on the excellences of the historian.—Herr Franz Reuleaux concludes his profusely illustrated description of the collection of household games presented to the Crown Prince and Princess of Germany on the occasion of their silver wedding.—The imperial hunting-box and preserves of Letzlingen are described by Herr Hobohm in an article which sportsmen will read with interest. It is stated that between 1847 and 1877 the total amount of game shot in Litzlingen consisted of 3806 wild boars, 7652 fallow deer, 336 red deer, 4 roe-bucks, 12 foxes, 10 hares, and 3 badgers.—Most interesting and instructive is the sketch by Herr Rosegger of Konrad Deubler, the peasant philosopher, the friend of such men as David Strauss, Büchner, Sherr and Anzengruber, and to whom Häckel once wrote: 'Had Diogenes, when looking for a man, come across you, he would have put out his lantern.'—The last item is from the pen of Herr August Lammers, and treats of 'The Social Progress of Women.'

WESTERMANNS MONATS-HEFTE (December).—A paper of some interest is contributed by Herr Marc Rosenberg, who has taken for his subject, 'German Goldsmiths of the Renaissance.' The illustrations to this are particularly good.—To Herr Anton Bettelheim we are indebted for a valuable addition to the history of the contemporary literature of Germany. He sketches the career, and examines the works of Ludwig Anzengruber, a poet whose name, though but little familiar in this country, has become a household word in his own.—Herr Düntzer begins a biographical essay devoted chiefly to the poetess Amalia von Imhoff, but incidentally containing a good deal about the Weimar celebrities at the end of last century.—A very readable paper by Herr Büchner tells of 'Negro Industries.'—The only remaining item—not mentioning the lighter literature—is a continuation of Herr Weissel's 'Pictures of Tuscan and Umbrian Cities.' Like its predecessors the paper is well worth reading.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBÜCHER (December).—The table of contents of this number is headed by an important economical article from the pen of Herr W. Winnich. The author has set himself the task of sketching a system for the working of the contemplated law relative to provision for old age. Besides many other details into which he enters, he shows that it would be necessary to grade the compulsory premiums, both according to trade and to district. He also indicates in what manner the contributions could best be levied, and examines the difficult problem of admittance of such as are already advanced in years to participation in the fund.—Herr Constantin Rössler follows with an essay on 'Frederick the Great as a Philosopher.' The conclusion arrived at is rather a negative one, for the answer given to the question, 'What did Frederick do for philosophy?' is that he was not in a position to advance philosophical theory. As regards his own indebtedness to philosophy, it is stated that, although the doctrines of various teachers supplied him with suggestions, none exercised an exclusive influence upon him.—The next contribution considers the last report of factories' inspectors in Germany. In the first place, some exception is taken to the system of merely giving excerpts of the various reports, instead of communicating them *in extenso* as formerly. Then various defects are pointed out in the drawing up of the reports themselves, and it is shown that inspectors are required to form opinions on matters practically beyond their province, concerning which they have no special facilities for gathering facts.—The concluding paper, which bears the signature of Herr Alfred Stelzner, is more purely literary, and deals with 'The Problem of Tragedy according to Schelling and Schopenhauer.'

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Oct. 1st).—G. Finali writes on a recent publication, *Letters and documents of Baron Ricasoli*, of which more volumes are shortly to appear.—'From the Apennines to the Andes' is a story taken from De Amicis' new book 'Cuore.'—Professor Sonsino has a long article on sea voyages as a

means of health.—P. Levy has a not very lively article entitled 'Wanderings during rainy weather.'—The author of an anonymous study of General Boulanger comes to the conclusion that it would need a complete change in the French Government, one which would throw prudence to the winds and the sword into the scales of Europe, to show whether the General is destined to raise the French flag, and gain for it new victories, for no man can remain popular if inactive; and General Boulanger has allowed too much to be said about him, and fomented too much passion, and if it be once recognised that he has made much ado about nothing, the French will turn their backs upon him.—More chapters of De Gubernati's Journey in Central India close this number.—(Oct. 16.)—A. Borzagnoni writes on 'Giudo Guinizelli' and the 'Sweet New Style,' and gives many specimens from this Bolognese poet of the 13th century, whose works were praised by Dante.—A long criticism follows by G. Boglietti of Berte's 'Count Cavour before 1848.'—E. Mancini sends a short article on magic mirrors, which he says is the fruit of a study that might possibly prove both curious and interesting as to the use made of mirror reflections in ancient and modern sorcery.—G. Rivetta commences what promises to be a realistic novel, entitled 'Our Neighbours' Tears.'—A. Morso sends a short article on Higher Education in Italy; and Professor Gubernati's Journey in Central India is continued.

Nuova Antologia (Nov. 1).—P. Villari notices a new book on *The Siege of Venice*, by Professor Carlo Falletti, which he says, in spite of some artificiality of rhetoric and fancy, has a great political and moral importance, showing the defects, weaknesses, and contradiction of the Republic together with the admirable heroism which sowed the seeds of new civilisation and new liberty. Professor Falletti has put his readers into close contact with the patriotism and virtue of the old Florentines of the time. Paolo Levy has an article comparing Petrarch and Goethe as Alpine climbers, describing them as the precursors of modern Alpinism. C. Cantoni writes on professors and students in Italian and German Universities, and in favour of the greater liberty enjoyed by the latter. —R. de Zerbi writes on the Italian navy, summing up his article in the following words: 'The lethargy into which Italy sank from 1866 to 1873 in naval matters has been the cause why the revival is not yet completed; from 1876 till now, and for yet a few years, Italy has done and would do well, considering the condition of her navy, to co-operate in maintaining peace in Europe, choosing between absolute or doubtful neutrality and a policy of strong defensive alliances. In four years, we hope, if her present attempt to hasten the development of her navy be not abandoned, Italy will be able to show an autonomous though not offensive policy capable of confiding her own defence to her own forces.'—The Journey in Central India is completed.—(November 16.)—F. Bertolini discusses the question of the suppression of the Jesuits, giving the text of two briefs, that of Clement XIV. which suppressed, and that of Leo XIII. which rehabilitates and exalts the order. The first was promulgated in 1773, before the French Revolution, and the latter in 1886, after no less than four European revolutions.—E. Panzacchi has an interesting philosophical review of the first volume of a new Italian book of poems, a selection by M. A. Canini of the love-songs of all nations and of all times. The work is entitled *Il libro dell Amore*.—O. Marucchi continues his description of the ancient and modern transformations of Rome, the present chapter treating of the barbaric invasions, and the mediæval era.—C. Boito, in an article entitled 'The Golden Basilica,' gives an account of a book called *Historical Documents of the History of the Ducal Basilica of St. Mark in Venice from the 9th to the end of the 18th century*.—J. Lamberteschi contributes a paper on the destiny of Bulgaria, advocating the conciliatory mediation of Bismarck, which Austria, England, and Italy would be the first to applaud, and which Russia could not decently refuse.—'The Journey in Central India' gives, in the present chapter, an account of a visit to Lord Dufferin, who told Signor Gubernati that he was anxious to favour Italian commerce in every possible way.

Nuova Antologia (Dec. 1).—This number commences with an article on the pedants of the 15th century, by A. Graf, noticing especially their appearance in the comedies and musical dramas of the time, where they contributed greatly

to the hilarity of the spectators. Now, says the writer, pedants no longer figure in comedies, novels, or poetry, for they have changed their skin; but the race is robust, and will not die out.—G. Boglietti writes a paper on 'The French Revolution and Europe,' founded on the works of MM. Taine and Torret. The writer praises the French authors while pointing out their defects, and says that many a country might envy France the genius of her sons, which has not suffered under her present not happy political condition.—E. Mancini gives an account of the application of electricity in lighting.—A. Mosso writes on Higher Education in Italy.—An ex-Diplomatist examines the political documents relating to Bulgaria.—Dec. 16.)—R. Bonghi leads this number with an article *in memoriam* of Marco Minghetti, the late Italian Minister, and concludes: 'No one who knew Minghetti can be ignorant of his faithfulness and loyalty, and what serenity he showed in every act, also diffusing that serenity wherever he was seen. A pleasing narrator, a friend of argument, desirous of questioning and quick to reply; learned in history, philosophy, and art, profound in every social science, clever in affairs, practical in public and private counsel—Minghetti was the delight, comfort, and guide of the circle in which he moved. Simple in his tastes, a perfect gentleman, easy in manner, an enemy, but without contempt, of everything vulgar, tall and handsome in person, with a frank countenance; a commoner by birth, but educated in every aristocrated art; he was, among Italian political men, the most sought for in the most select circle, which he frequented as long as his health allowed him, believing that one who takes a part in public acts must not separate himself from from the social world. . . '. United for twenty years to a noble lady of vivacious temperament and exquisite taste, Minghetti's private life became elegant, though not luxurious, and it never distracted him from his studies or his cares. During the one or two years of ill-health which preceded his death, his wife nursed him with a love that never knew one moment of forgetfulness. He bore his acute sufferings with great strength of mind, and never ceased to think of Italy, Government, and art. Sometimes he hoped that his cruel malady would disappear, at others he was discouraged, and said to me, 'It is better that I should go.' When, two days before his death, he saw the King and heard his words of gratitude, and felt the weeping Queen press his hand, he expressed a doubt whether he had done enough for Italy and the dynasty, which he had served since 1848, and for a moment wished that he might still live to serve the dynasty and his country. The King and Queen were the last persons whom he recognised; who knows, perhaps his spirit then desired to shut out every other thought. Most parts of his life were admirable, but especially so was the unity and harmony by which his acts and thoughts were constantly dictated.'—The fourth and concluding chapter on antique and modern transformations in Rome is concluded, the writer, Signor Marucchi, advocating the preservation of all the ancient monuments of the Eternal City, which, he says, will still be powerful among the fragments of her glory when pilgrims from the ruins of Paris and London come to venerate her sacred soil.

La Rassegna Nazionale (Nov. 1).—The fragments from Rosmini's political and legal philosophy are continued.—G. Rocchi sends a laudatory criticism on Renato Fucini's writings. Fucini is a Tuscan lyric poet of some renown. His style is realistic, but wholesome in character, and he promises to occupy a higher position in Italian literature than is at present assigned him.—The chapters on economical reform in Tuscany, by A. Morena, are continued.—M. Recca reviews a new Italian version of the Frogs of Aristophanes, by A. Franchetti.—G. Fornasini describes the Bolognese Studio.—(Nov. 16).—The first place is occupied by the second of two articles on 'Labour, Property, and Taxes,' which concludes by proclaiming 'the return to the old historical traditions of commerce, in the indivisible interest of production and consummation, in every civilized and well-constituted nation, and especially in Italy.'—I. Isola, in his commentaries on Comte's Positivism, has arrived at 'Sociolology and Moral Education.'—G. Cassani discusses the Pope's Encyclical Letter, 'Immortale Dei.'—A. Nedi publishes some inedited letters by Fulvio Testi.—Fiction is represented by a story, 'At the Sign of the Black Wolf,' by P. M. del Rosa.

La Rassegna Nazionale (December 1).—A. Tagliaferri discusses the nature, aims, and duties of co-operative societies; and G. Fornasini continues his paper on the 'Bolognese Studio.'—A. Bruccelliti describes in a long article the actual condition of the science of penal law in Italy.—Dr. F. Ruo contributes an interesting article on the sugar factories and agricultural colonisation on the Peruvian coast, founded on notes of a voyage in the Royal Italian corvetti 'Caracciolo.' The writer describes the physical character of the coast, the want of water and labour, the ancient indigenous system of irrigation, the products of the soil, the *haciendas* and their rapid development, their good and bad features, the habits of the Chinese and negroes, and the existence of the cruel sport of cock-fighting.—Vico D'Aristo furnishes the fiction in a story of South American life. —G. Cimitali continues his copious and erudite chapters on Nicola Spedalieri; and A. Morena his discussion of economical reform in Tuscany.

Archivio Storico per le Provincie Napoletano.—The notes from the Anjou Treasury accounts are continued, and we see from one dated 1324 that two caretakers of the royal arms, and one court surgeon, were nominated at the salary of two ounces of gold per month each.—Signor Redola sends a long historical article on Frederic of Antioch and his descendants, all trace of whom is lost in the year 1504, about 284 years after their ancestor's birth.—Professor Holm, of the Naples University, contributes an interesting and detailed research into the ancient history of Campania. The present part treats of the limits of the ancient city of Naples in the Greek and Roman time. Professor Holm is of opinion that a large number of unexplored tombs exist under the streets of a portion of the present city, not far from its centre.—G. Filangieri publishes further documents relating to the family and deeds of Lucrezia d'Alagno.

Contours of the Moabite Stone and its fragments as restored at the Louvre, in Paris.

THE

SCOTTISH REVIEW.

APRIL, 1887.

Art. I.—THE APOCRYPHAL CHARACTER OF THE MOABITE STONE.

I.

THE Stone of Moab was mysteriously brought to light in 1868, thirteen years after the inscribed sarcophagus of Ashmunazar had been disinterred in Sidon. How greatly biblical science has profited by the discovery of these stone-records is universally admitted. The Society known under the name of 'The Palestine Exploration Fund'—whose epoch-making labours began twenty-two years ago—has with unabated energy sent forth explorers and travellers of whose ability and indomitable perseverance their native country has good reason to be proud. The various localities mentioned in the Sidonian and Moabite monuments have attracted especial attention, and thereby a powerful impulse has been given to most fruitful studies of biblical archæology and of kindred sciences—studies which are closely allied to the researches into Syrian and Egyptian antiquities. But no one has hitherto ventured to undertake a critical examination of the Stone of Moab, with a view of ascertaining whether its inscription is really 2800 years old, although, according to Professor Kautzsch, a small number of eminent scholars entertain the gravest doubts as to the genuineness of King Mesha's epigraph. It is possible that the present essay will induce reticent scholars to join in pronouncing their opinions boldly and dispassionately, notwithstanding the like-

lihood that they will arouse the hot anger of those whose honour might seem to be pledged to an assertion that the Moabite inscription is coeval with the history of the Bible.

According to our opinion, resting on external and internal evidence, the inscription on the Moabite Stone is a fraudulent fabrication. In our exposure of this fraud we make no reference to persons who imposed upon accredited and honoured archæologists and explorers. We have no other object in view but to state the plain and simple truth, as it presents itself to us, and as it should be put before the public.

After the Sidonian Coffin had been purchased by the Duke de Luynes for the sum of £400, the cupidity of all sorts and classes of men in Palestine, as also in regions East of the Jordan, became excited by the expectation that large profits might be realised through the fabrication of curiosities inscribed or uninscribed. In Damascus, even Mahomedans bestirred themselves to become acquainted with the Phœnician characters. In Jerusalem and other localities, plots were hatched to multiply spurious articles of manufacture for the purpose of deceiving the collectors of antiquities. The work done in this field of imposition has been exposed by Professors Socin and Kautzsch in a publication entitled *Die Echtheit der moabitischen Alterthümer.* In 1869 Shapira, the notorious forger, was already actively engaged, in conjunction with Europeans and Arabs, to bring into the market all sorts of spurious articles alleged to have been discovered in the land of Moab. Some of his accomplices were in the employ of M. Ganneau, and it seems that they tried in vain to impose upon this shrewd archæologist; yet even men of his experience were deceived by the skilfully executed fabrication of the Stone of Moab. It cannot be said that the inscription on that stone was concocted by Shapira. The plot was evidently laid by persons more skilled than he was in the arts and wiles of imposition. The first who gave notice of the existence of the Stone of Moab was the Rev. F. A. Klein, a native of Strasbourg, who at one time was employed by the Church Missionary Society of England. This missionary wrote a letter to the *Pall Mall Gazette* on the 19th April, 1870, which was republished in the

Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and as this letter gave the first distinct account of the supposed monument of Mesha, King of Moab, we reproduce in the following extract the principal portion of these important statements which were dated from Jerusalem, 23rd March, 1870.

'It was on the 19th August 1868,' says Mr. Klein, 'that in the course of a journey which I undertook to Jebl Ajloon and the Belka, I arrived at Dibân (ancient Dibon) about one hour to the north of Wadi-Mojeb (Arnon). For the sake of my friend and protector Zattam, the son of the famous Fendi-el-Faiz, Sheikh of the Beni Sachr who accompanied me, I was received in a most friendly way by a tribe of the Beni-Hamîdeh encamped near Dibân. My friend Zattam, who was always most anxious to make my tour as pleasant and interesting as possible, had informed me that there was among the ruins of Dibân scarcely ten minutes from our encampment, *a most interesting stone with an ancient inscription on it which no one had ever been able to decipher* (!!) which he would take me to see. As sunset was drawing near I was burning with impatience to see the inscription which the Sheikh of the Beni-Hamîdeh, also described to me as one of the wonders of this region which no Frank had yet seen, and which he now had offered to show me as a mark of honour to his friend Zattam, and to me *who was travelling under his protection.* I, of course, took this for what it was in general meant to be: a Bedouin compliment calculated to bring out a nice backshish. I was the last who had the privilege of seeing this monument in its perfect state of preservation, and it is for this reason I think the few observations I am able to offer on the subject may be welcome. When I came to the spot where this precious relic of antiquity was lying on the ground, I had time enough to examine the stone and its inscription at leisure and to copy a few words from several lines at random, chiefly with a view on my return to Jerusalem to ascertain the language of the inscription and to prevail on some friends of science to obtain either a complete copy of the inscription, or better the monument itself. The stone was lying among the ruins of

Dibân perfectly free and exposed to view with the inscription uppermost.

'According to my correct measurement on the spot the stone had—

1 metre 13	centimetres	in height.
70	„	breadth.
35	„	thickness.

And according to my calculation had thirty four lines, for the two or three upper lines were very much obliterated. The stone itself was in a *most perfect state of preservation*, not one single piece being broken off, and it was only from great age and exposure to the rain and sun that certain parts, especially the upper and lower lines, had somewhat suffered.

'On my return to Jerusalem I showed my sketch and parts of the inscription to Dr. Petermann of Berlin who I knew took great interest in archæological researches, and he immediately took the necessary steps to acquire the Moabite monument for the Berlin Museum. A young clever Arab at Salt was entrusted with the business of transacting the matter with the Bedouins at Dibân, but the difficulties he met with and the greediness of the Arabs put an insuperable obstacle in his way. The services of another native were subsequently engaged, but also without success. The matter being thus necessarily entrusted to the hands of natives of course ceased to be a secret, and other parties also heard of it and exerted themselves with laudable zeal and energy to obtain, if not the stone itself, at least a copy of it, and one cannot too highly praise the zeal, energy, and tact of M. Ganneau and Captain Warren who through their exertions have preserved to the learned world parts, at least, of this most valuable monument of Hebrew antiquity, and who I trust will ultimately succeed in obtaining and deciphering the whole inscription.

'I have to add that among the letters I copied from the Moabite inscription I see several letters which are not found in the parts published by M. Ganneau and Captain Warren. Probably these letters are of rare occurence, and found on pieces not secured. I have not thought it necessary to give you my entire alphabet, but only those letters I missed in the inscription published by the gentlemen referred to.'

This Mr. Klein appears to have been completely ignored by M. Ganneau, who wrote from Jerusalem on the 16th of January, 1870, to the *Journal Officiel* of Paris:—'I had long known through reports of natives and of Bedouins that in Dibân (the ancient Dibon) on the other side of the Dead Sea there was a black stone . . . covered with an inscription in Phœnician characters. I determined to procure at any cost, a squeeze from this precious monument, and I sent to Dibân an intelligent young Arab, Jacob Caravacca. He obtained with some difficulty from the Beni-Humaydah (the owners of the stone) permission to take an impression. Some quarrels having arisen during the operation, my men had only just time to galop off. . . . The squeeze was nevertheless saved, and the object of the expedition was so far attained. The copy, however, was very faint.' M. Ganneau procured some further squeezes of the inscription from Sheikh Djamil; he then offered 400 Turkish pounds if the stone were delivered up to him a fortnight later. The Sheikh to whom he had applied, informed him that the inscribed stone had been broken up in consequence of a quarrel which had arisen among the Bedouins. However Sheikh Djamil brought him, after a short time, two squeezes from large fragments of the stone, and also some impressions of smaller fragments containing the same characters.

Details regarding the ultimate destruction of the stone, and disputes between the German and French *savants* in Jerusalem, mainly between Dr. Petermann and M. Ganneau, need not here be mentioned. The discussions that were carried on in various public journals are set forth in Burton's and Drake's *Unexplored Syria*, Vol. II., p. 317 et seq.; also in Canon Tristram's valuable work, *The Land of Moab;* and in other publications, the bibliography of which is given in the guide to the Musée judaïque of the Louvre in Paris.

Information reached the writer of this essay that, according to a rumour which had been current in the East, some of the Bedouins were at first desirous of conveying the stone block to Jerusalem, but as they found it too heavy for transport, they lighted a fire under the stone, and afterwards pouring water upon it, broke it up in fragments; thus they got rid of the diffi-

culty they had encountered in the transport of the one massive stone. The same informants affirmed that the Bedouins on the other side of the Jordan received frequent visits from Jerusalem traders, and from others who occasionally have dealings with them; consequently there were no obstacles in the way of a forger who, for purposes of his own, or for objects in which the Bedouins themselves might have had an advantage, chose to spend a short time in some deserted spot, in order to cut an inscription upon a suitable and carefully prepared stone. Dressed blocks dating from the times of the Romans abounded in different parts of the ancient land of Moab, and could easily be inscribed by a forger who was an adept in his art. The author or authors of a pseudograph had only to employ a sheet of tracing paper adapted to the surface of the stone. Such tracing paper would contain all the writing that was eventually to figure on the monument, and when once the paper was gummed on the facing which was to receive the inscription, the further operation could be completed within the space of a few days. A three-cornered chisel was evidently employed in lightly and quickly engraving the Phœnician characters on the stone block. As in the inscription of Ashmunazar, the words run on without being separated from each other. The scribe, following some palæographic precedents, made use of separating stops. These stops were neatly drilled beneath each word, either to save space within the lines, or because the idea of introducing the dividing points only struck the writer when his work had been completed. The scribe inserted also vertical bars between short sentences, so as to make his text similar to a biblical section divided by verses. We have carefully examined the surface of the Moabite Stone in the Musée judaïque, and we made the following discovery:

Whilst the surface of the stone is pitted and indented, in consequence of its exposure to varying influences extending perhaps over thousands of years, the characters inscribed on the stone have in no instance suffered from similar influences, because THE DRESSED SURFACE IS ANCIENT, WHEREAS THE INSCRIPTION ITSELF IS MODERN.

Many scholars in England and abroad have published their

versions accompanied by expositions of this apocryphal monument. Dr. Ginsburg, in his monograph, *The Moabite Stone* (London, 1871), has given a synopsis of twelve translations, but since that time several other scholars have published opinions upon the text and its meaning. All concur in the supposition that the Moabite Stone is more ancient than most books of the Bible, and all have condoned the solecisms of the 'Moabite' author, on the ground that in every point wherein he has deviated from the laws of the Hebrew language, he was justified by the circumstance that the Moabite dialect need not in every respect conform to the rules appertaining to the idiom of the Bible. An unbiassed re-examination of the Moabite text will perhaps convince some of the staunchest cultivators of Semitic literature that the inscription on the Stone of Moab was fabricated in modern times. The last reproduction of the inscription was prepared with great painstaking by Professors Smend and Socin under the title of *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab.* In the following pages we present a triple text of the inscription in Hebrew, in a Romanised transliteration, and in an English word-for-word translation. Our transcript follows the text of Messrs. Smend and Socin. Where these professors differ from other editors, we have marked the difference by placing the Hebrew text in brackets, and in our English transcript we have italicised the divergent readings. In order to facilitate reference, we have placed a number before each line of the text, and have assigned a smaller figure to each word of the Hebrew and the Romanised texts, as also to the words in the corresponding English translation. The accompanying photo-lithographic facsimile of the Moabite Stone represents the original as preserved in the Louvre, together with the attempted restoration of the inscription. The concluding part of our investigation contains a critical analysis of the inscription.

II.

Interlinear Transcripts with Translation.

1 [1] אנך [2] משע [3] בן [4] כמש [מלך] [5] מלך [6] מאב [7] הד

1.—[1]Ănoch [2]mesh'a [3]ben [4]chĕmosh*melech* [5]melech [6]moab [7]had-

1.—[1]I *am* [2]Mesh'a [3]the son of [4]Chemosh . . . [5]king of [6]Moab [7]the D-

2 [1] יבני | [2] אבי [3] מלך [4] על [5] מאב [6] שלשן [7] שת [8] ואנך [9] מלכ

2.—[1]-ibani | [2]abi [3]malach [4] 'al [5]moab [6]shloshin [7]shath [8]vaănoch [9]malach-

2.—[1]-ibonite [2]My father [3]reigned [4]over [5]Moab [6]thirty [7]years [8]and I [9]reign-

3 [1] תי [2] אחר [3] אבי | [4] ואעש [5] הבמת [6] זאת [7] לכמש [8] בקרחה [9] ב[משע] [10] מ

3.—[1]-ti [2]achar [3]abi | [4]vaa'as [5]habamath [6]zoth [7]lichĕmosh [8]bĕkarchah [9]bĕ*mesh'a* [10]me-

3.—[1]-ed [2]after [3]my father [4]and I made [5][6]this high place (or altar) [7]unto Chemosh [8]in Karchah [9]for the sake of (?) [10]Me-

4 [1] שע [2] כי [3] השעני [4] מכל [5] ה[מ]לכן [6] וכי [7] הראני [8] בכל [9] שנאי | [10] עמר

4.—[1]-sh'a [2]ki [3]hoshi'ani [4]miccol [5]ha*mmĕ*lachin [6]vĕchi [7]herani [8]bechol [9]sonĕaï | [10] 'ŏmr-

4.—[1]-sh'a [2]for [3]he saved me [4]from all [5]the kings [6]and for (! sic) [7]he made me look [8]among all [9]who hated me [10]upon Omr-

5 [1]י [2]מלך [3]ישראל [4]ויענו [5]את [6]מאב [7]ימן [8]רבן
[9]כי [10][י]אנף [11]כמש [12]באר

5.—[1]-i [2]melech [3]yisrael [4]vajaănu [5]eth [6]moab [7]yamin [8]rabin [9]ki [10]*ye*ĕnaf [11]chĕmosh- [12]bĕar-

5.—[1]-i [2]king of [3]Israel [4]and he afflicted [5][6]Moab [7][8]many days [9]for [10][11]Chemosh was angry [12]with his-

6 [1]צה | [2]ויחלפה [3]בנה [4]ויאמר [5]גם [6]הא [7]אענו
[8]את [9]מאב | [10]בימי [11]אמר [12][כדבר]

6.—[1]zoh | [2]vayachlefoh [3]bĕnoh [4]vayomer [5]gam [6]hu [7]e'ĕnu [8]eth [9]moab [10]bĕyamaï [11]amar [12]*caddabar*

6.—[1]-land [2][3]and his son succeeded him [4]and he said [5]also [6]he [7]I will afflict [8][9]Moab [10]in my days [11]he said [12]such a thing

7 [1]וארא [2]בה [3]ובבתה | [4]וישראל [5]אבד [6]אבד [7]עלם
[8]וירש [9]עמרי [10]את [11][כל] [12]אר

7.—[1]Vaere [2]boh [3]ubĕbetoh | [4]vĕyisrael [5]abad [6]ebed [7]'olam [8]vayirash [9]'omri [10]eth [11]*col* [12]ere-

7.—[1]And I looked [2]at him [3]and at his house [4]and Israel [5]has been lost [6]a loss [7]everlasting [8][9]and Omri possessed [10][11]all [12]the land

8 [1]ץ [2]מהדבא | [3]וישב [4]בה [5][ימה] [6][וחצי] [7]ימי
[8]בנה [9]ארבען [10]שת [11]ו[יש]

8.—[1]-z [2]mehdeba | [3]vayesheb [4]bah [5]*yameh (sic)* [6]*vachasi* [7]yĕme [8]bĕnoh [9]arb'ain [10]shath [11]v*ayish-*

8.—[1]of [2]Medeba [3]and he dwelt [4]there [5]in his days? [6]and in half of [7]the days of [8]his son [9]forty [10]years [11]and?

9 [1]בה [2]כמש [3]בימי | [4]ואבן [5]את [6]בעלמען [7]ואעש [8]בה [9]האשוח [10]וא[בן]

9.—[1]-boh (sic) [2]chĕmosh [3]beyamaï | [4]vaeben (sic) [5]eth [6]ba'almĕ'on [7]vaa'as [8]boh [9]haashuch [10]vae*ben*

9.—[1][captured him ?] [2]Chemosh [3]in my days [4]and I built [5] [6]Baal-Mĕ'on [7]and I made [8]therein [9]the ditch ? [10]and I built

10 [1]את [2]קריתן | [3]ואש [4]גד [5]ישב [6]בארץ [7]עטרת [8]מעלם [9]ויבן [10]לה [11]מלך [12]י

10.—[1]eth [2]kiryathaïn | [3]vĕish [4]gad [5]yashab [6]bĕerez [7]'ataroth [8]me'olam [9]vayiben [10]loh [11]melech [12]yi-

10.—[1] [2]Kiryathain [3]and the men of [4]Gad [5]dwelt [6]in the land of [7]Gad [8]from time everlasting [9]and there built [10]the king of [11]I-

11 [1]שראל [2]את [3]עטרת | [4]ואלתחם [5]בקר [6]ואחזה | [7]ואהרג [8]את [9]כל [10][העם] [11][מ]

11.—[1]-srael [2]eth [3]'ataroth | [4]vaeltachem [5]bĕkir [6]vaochsah | [7]vaahărog [8]eth [9]col [10]*ha'am* [11]*me-*

11.—[1]-srael [2] [3]Ataroth [4]and I warred [5]against the city [6]and I seized it [7]and I slew [8] [9]all [10]the people [11]out of

12 [1]הקר [2]רית [3]לכמש [4]ולמאב | [5]ואשב [6]משם [7]את [8][אראל] [9][דודה] [10]ואס

12.—[1]-hakir [2]rith [3]lichĕmosh [4]ulĕmoab | [5]vaeshb [6]misham [7]eth [8]*arel* [9]*davidah* [10]vaes-

12.—[1]the city [2]a pleasure [3]unto Chemosh [4]and unto Moab [5]and I carried off [6]from there [7]the [8]mighty men of ? [9]David? [10]And I

13 [1] חב[ה] [2] לפני [3] כמש [4] בקרית | [5] ואשב [6] בה [7] את [8] איש [9] שרן [10] ואת [11] א[נשי]

13.—[1]-chăb*oh* [2]lifne [3]chĕmosh [4]bĕkiryath | [5]vaosheb [6]boh [7]eth [8]ish [9]sharon [10]vĕeth [11]a*nshe*

13.—[1]dragged them ? [2]before [3]Chemosh [4]in the city ? [5]And I settled [6]therein [7] [8]the men of [9]Sharon [10]and the [11]men of

14 [1] מחרת | [2] ויאמר [3] לי [4] כמש [5] לך [6] אחז [7] את [8] נבה [9] על [10] ישראל | [11] [וא]

14.—[1]macharoth | [2]vayomer [3]li [4]chĕmosh [5]lech [6]echoz [7]eth [8]nĕboh [9]'al [10]yisrael | [11]vaa-

14.—[1]Machaerus [2]and said [3]unto me [4]Chemosh [5]go [6]capture [7] [8]Nebo [9]upon [10]Israel [11]and I-

15 [1] הלך [2] בללה [3] ואלתחם [4] בה [5] מ[ב]קע [6] השחרת [7] עד [8] [ה]צהרם | [9] וא[ח]

15.—[1]-hăloch (sic) [2]balalah (*i.e.*, balaïlah) [3]vaeltachem [4]bah [5]mi*bbĕ*ko'a [6]hashacharith [7]'ad [8]hazaharayim | [9]vao*cha*

15.—[1]-went [2]at night [3]and I warred [4]against it [5]from the break of [6]the dawn [7]until [8]noon [9]And I

16 [1] זה [2] ואהרג [3] כל[ם] [4] שבעת [5] אלף [6] [מגברן] [7] [ומבנן] [8] [וגברת] [9] [ובנ]

16.—[1]zah [2]vaahărog [3]cull*om* [4]shib'ath [5]elef [6]*miggĕbarin* [7]*umibbanin* [8]*ugebiroth* [9]*uban-*

16.—[1]captured it [2]and I slew [3]all of them, [4]seven [5]thousand [6]of the men ? [7]and of the sons ? [8]and women ? [9]and daugh-

17 [1]ת [2]ורחמת | [3]כי [4]לעשתר [5]כמש [6]החרמתה[ן]
[7]ואקח [8]משם [9][ארא]

17.—[1]-oth [2]vĕrachămoth | [3]ki [4]lĕashtor [5]chĕmosh [6]hechĕ-
ramtih [*en*] [7]vackach [8]misham [9]*are-*

17.—[1]ters ? [2]and mature maidens [3]for [4]unto Ashtor [5]Chemosh
[6]I devoted (them ?) [7]And I took [8]from there [9]?

18 [1]לי [2]יהוה [3]ואסחב[י]הם [4]לפני [5]כמש | [6]ומלך
[7]ישראל [8]בנ[ה [9]את]

18.—[1]-le [2]yĕhovah [3]vaeschab*e*hem [4]lifne [5]chĕmosh |
[6]umelech [7]yisrael [8]banah [9]*eth*

18.—[1]of [2]Jehovah [3]and I dragged them [4]before [5]Chemosh
[6]And the King of [7]Israel [8]built [9]?

19 [1]יהץ [2]וישב [3]בה [4]בהלתחמה [5]בי | [6]ויגרשה [7]כמש
[8]מ[פני [9]ו]

19.—[1]yahaz [2]vayesheb [3]bah [4]bĕhiltachamoh [5]bi | [6]vayĕgarshoh
[7]chĕmosh [8]mi*ppanaï* [9]*va-*

19.—[1]Jahaz [2]and he dwelt [3]therein [4]while he warred [5]against
me [6] [7]And Chemosh drove him away [8]from before
me [9]and-

20 [1]אקח [2]ממאב [3]מאתן [4]אש [5]כל [6]רשה | [7]ואשאה
[8]ביהץ [9]ואחזה

20.—[1]-ekach [2]mimmoab [3]mathaïn [4]ish [5]col [6]rashoh | [7]vaesaoh
[8]bĕjahaz [9]vaochĕzah

20.—[1]-I took [2]from Moab [3]two hundred [4]men [5]all [6]its chiefs
[7]and I carried them [8]against Jahaz [9]and I captured it

21 ¹ לספת ² על ³ דיבן | ⁴ אנך ⁵ בנתי ⁶ קרחה ⁷ חמת ⁸ היערן ⁹ וחמ[ת]

21.—¹lispoth ²'al ³dibon | ⁴anoch ⁵banithi ⁶karchah ⁷chomath ⁸hayĕarin ⁹vĕchomath

21.—¹to add [it] ²to ³Dibon ⁴I ⁵I built ⁶Karchah ⁷the wall of ⁸the forest places ⁹and the wall of

22 ¹ העפל | ² ואנך ³ בנתי ⁴ שעריה ⁵ ואנך ⁶ בנתי ⁷ מגדלתה | ⁸ וא

22.—¹ha'ofel | ²vaănoch ³banithi ⁴shĕ'areha, ⁵vaănoch, ⁶banithi ⁷migdĕlotheha | ⁸vaă-

22.—¹the slope. ²And I ³I built ⁴its gates ⁵and I ⁶I built ⁷its towers ⁸And

23 ¹ נך ² בנתי ³ בת ⁴ מלך ⁵ ואנך ⁶ עשתי ⁷ כל[אי] ⁸ האש[וח]ן ⁹ למ[י]ן ¹⁰ בקרב

23.—¹-noch ²banithi ³beth ⁴melech ⁵vaănach ⁶'asithi ⁷kil*e* ⁸hash*uchan* ⁹*lema*yin ¹⁰bekereb

23.—¹-I ²I built ³ ⁴a king's house ⁵And I ⁶I made ⁷? ⁸the ducts? ⁹for the waters? ¹⁰in the midst of

24 ¹ הקר | ² ובר ³ אן ⁴ בקרב ⁵ הקר ⁶ בקרחה ⁷ ואמר ⁸ לכל ⁹ העם ¹⁰ עשו ¹¹ ל

24.—¹hakir | ²ubor ³en ⁴bĕkereb ⁵hakir ⁶bĕkarchah ⁷vaomar ⁸lĕchol ⁹ha'am ¹⁰'asu ¹¹la-

24.—¹the city ²³And there was no cistern ⁴within ⁵the city ⁶in Karchah ⁷And I said ⁸to all ⁹the people ¹⁰make ¹¹unto

25 [1] כם [2] אש [3] בר [4] בביתה | [5] ואנך [6] כרתי [7] המכרתת [8] לקרחה [9] בא[סר]

25.—[1]-chem [2]ish [3]bor [4]bĕbethoh | [5]vaănoch [6]carithi [7]hamichretheth [8]lĕkarchah [9]baă*sur*

25.—[1]you [2]each man [3]a cistern [4]in his house [5]And I [6]I digged [7]the ditch [8]to Karchah (*sic*) [9]by prison-

26 [1] [ן] [2] [מ]ישראל | [3] אנך [4] בנתי [5] ערער [6] ואנך [7] עשתי [8] המסלת [9] בארנן [10] [ו]

26.—[1]-*in* [2]*mi*yisrael | [3]ănoch [4]banithi [5]'aro'er [6]vaanoch [7] 'asithi [8]hamĕsilath [9]bĕarnon [10]*ve*

26.—[1]ers? [2]of Israel [3]I [4]I built [5]Aroer [6]and I [7]I made [8]the path [9]in Arnon [10]and I

27 [1] [אנ]ך [2] בנתי [3] בת [4] במת [5] כי [6] הרס [7] הא | [8] אנך [9] בנתי [10] בצר [11] כי [12] ע[ין]

27.—[1]ănoch [2]banithi [3]beth [4]bamoth [5]ki [6]huras [7]hu | [8]ănoch [9]banithi [10]bezer [11]ki [12] '*ayin*

27.—[1]I [2]built [3]the house of [4]Bamoth (or altars) [5]for [6]demolished [7]it is (*sic*) [8]I [9]I built [10]Bezer [11]for [12]?

28 [1] [···]ש [2] דיבן [3] חמשן [4] כי [5] כל [6] דיבן [7] משמעת | [8] ואנך [9] מל[כ]

28.—[1] ...sh [2]dîbon [3]chamishin [4]ki [5]col [6]dîbon [7]mishma'ath | [8]vaanoch [9]malach-

28.—[1]? [2]Dibon [3]fifty? (or equipped?) [4]for [5]all [6]Dîbon [7]owes obedience [8]and I [9]reign-

29 [1] תי [2] ···[מאת] [3] בקרן [4] אשר [5] יספתי [6] על [7] הארץ | [8] ואנך [9] בנת

29.—[1]t*i* [2]*meath* [3]bĕkirin [5]ăsher [5]yasafti [6]'al [7]haarez | [8]vaănoch [9]banith-

29.—[1]-ed [2]? [3]in cities ? [4]which [5]I added [6]unto [7]the land [8]and I [9]I built

30 [1] [י [2] את] [3] [מהדבא] [4] ובת [5] דבלתן | [6] ובת [7] בעלמען [8] ואשא [9] שם [10] את [11] [נקד]

30.—[1]-i [2]*eth* [3]*mehdĕba* [4]ubeth [5]diblathayin [6]ubeth [7]ba'almĕ'on [8]vaesa [9]sham [10]eth [11]*nekd* ?

30.—[1]- [2] ? [3]Medeba [4]and Beth [5]Diblathayin [6]and Beth [7]Baal-Me'on [8]and I carried [9]thither [10]the [11]?

31 [1] [··· צאן] [2] הארץ | [3] וחורנן [4] ישב [5] בה [6] בן [7] דדן] [8] ו[דדן]

31.—[1]-*zon* [2]hararez | [3]vĕchoranan [4]yashab [5]bah [6]b*en* [7]*dadan* [8]u*deddan*

31.—[1]? [2]the land [3]and Choranaïn (men) [4]dwelt [5]there- in [6]? [7]? [8]? [9]?

32 [1] [··· אמר [2] לי [3] כמש [4] רד [5] הלתחם [6] בחורנן | [7] וארד [8] ואלת

32.—[1]... amar [2]li [3]chĕmosh [4]red [5]hiltachen [6]bechoranan | [7]vaered [8]*vaelta*

32.—[1]said [2]unto me [3]Chemosh [4]go down [5]fight [6]against the Choranaïn (men) [7]and I went down [8]and I ?

33 ¹ ···ישבה ² כמש ³ בימי ⁴ ועל]אדה ⁵ משם ⁶ עשר]

33.—[1]yasheboh [2]chemosh [3]beyamaï [4]*vĕ 'eladah* [5]*misham* [6] (?) *'asr*

33.—[1]? [2]Chemosh [3]in my days [4]? [5]from there [6]?

34 ¹ ···שת ² ש[ד]ק | ³ ואנ

34.—[1] . . . shth ? [2]shd*k* ? | [3]văan ? . . .

34.—[1]? [2]? [3]?

III.

Analysis of the Inscription.

Line 1.—"I am Mesha . . . . King of Moab."

Before we enter upon a minute examination of the textual matter, it will serve the purposes of this analysis if we draw attention to some characteristics of the land and people of Moab.

The land of Moab originally covered an area of 50 miles in length by 20 in breadth, and was traversed from East to West by the river Arnon (Wadi-el-Mojeb). In the early days of the Israelites this territory, together with the land of Ammon, bore the characteristic name of *'Ar*, as is evident from Deuteronomy iii. 9.—'For unto the children of Lot I have given *'Ar* as a possession.' No name could be more appropriate, for it is identical with the modern Arabic *ghor*, which signifies a chasm extending over a large tract of land; the soft sound of the Hebrew *ayin* in the word *'Ar* was in this instance pronounced by the Arabs as a strong guttural, and is accordingly written by them with the *ayin* top-dotted. The ghors which intersect the land of Moab in various directions, have here and there a tropical flora which considerably differs from the vegetation which covers the hills and dales of less broken parts of the territory. The Arnon itself flows through a stupendously deep ghor. The name of the town of Aroer is an indication of such deep depression, and is a compound suggestive of the meaning

'Ghor of the Ghor.' The word *'Ar* may belong to the vocabulary of a primeval nation which owned the land before the Moabites settled in that country. The primitive inhabitants who occupied the territories at the east side of the Jordan have left traces of their civilisation in mighty stone structures consisting of caves for purposes of dwelling, and of fastnesses, which are in ruins and partly lie buried beneath the soil. Some of them had stone dwellings, the shutters and doors of which were made of carved or uncarved stone slabs. In other districts they had wine and oil presses which were hewn out of the rocks. These memorials of a pre-historic age are significantly noticed in the book of Deuteronomy, vi. 10-11. . . . "The Lord thy God (giveth thee) great and goodly cities which thou hast not built, houses full of good things which thou hast not filled, hewn cisterns which thou hast not hewn, vineyards and olive grounds which thou hast not planted." One of the most striking features of the east-Jordanic territory are the numberless dolmens or stone altars of which Canon Tristram, Selah Merril, G. Schumacher, and pre-eminently Captain Conder, have given most instructive descriptions and exquisite illustrations. Some of the dolmens are constructed of three upright slabs joined together at right angles, with a horizontal slab on the top. Such dolmens are sometimes placed on stone terraces of two or more layers of stone blocks. Now and then they are surrounded by circular fences of a more or less extensive area; and, together with monolithic monuments, and perhaps some of the cairns, they reach from a pre-historic age far into the period when the Semitic settlers displaced the earlier population. These monuments became the subject of folk-lore among the Hebrews, the Phœnicians, the Moabites, and the Ammonites. The two first-mentioned nations designated the defunct race by the name of 'Rephaim,' whose residence was in the nethermost world, the 'Sheol' of the Bible. The Moabites called the same defunct race 'Emim,' i.e., the Terrible, and the Ammonites called them 'Zamzumim,' the signification of which has not been well ascertained, but the reduplication indicates, that the Ammonites themselves had

but a hazy notion of the character belonging to a race which was only remembered in legends.

Travellers in the east-Jordanic regions have met with more than a thousand dolmens in Moab and the land of Gilead. In a precious fragment of a history of decisive battles, quoted in the Book of Numbers, xxi. 28, the chronicler mentions that the region north of the river Arnon had been conquered by Amorites. He speaks of 'a fire which went forth from Heshbon,' of 'a flame which issued from the city of Sihon: it consumed 'Ar of Moab and the owners of the bamoth of Arnon.' Such 'bamoth,' continually mentioned in connection with the people of Moab, have mainly the signification of dolmens. Just as the dolmen served for sacrificial purposes, and in many instances as an indication of burial-places, so was the bamah, the singular of the word bamoth, dedicated to the worship of the national gods and to an underground receptacle for the dead. In Isaiah, xvi. 12, the Moabite is represented as being weary near the bamah. 'He goes unto his sanctuary to pray, and cannot do so.' This explanation also accounts for a different statement in Isaiah liii. 9: 'And he shared his grave with the wicked, and his bamoth (more likely his bamah) with the rich.' It may further be noticed that the Israelites who were religiously antagonistic to the existence of the pagan dolmens, adopted the idiomatic expression, 'to tread upon the bamoth,' *i.e.*, altars or high places, when they wished to imply that the conqueror can pass freely through the possessions of the vanquished foe. This identification of the bamoth with the pre-historic monuments becomes especially striking when it is considered that the word 'bamah' passed into the Greek language in the form of βωμός, and that in the days of Homer it was employed both in the sense of 'altar' and of 'high place.' The Moabites became obnoxious to their Hebrew neighbours not solely by reason of religious differences, but because they, together with the Ammonites, made continual inroads upon the territory assigned to Israel, as is mentioned in Zephaniah, ii. 8.

The language spoken by the Moabites was by no means as identical with that of the Hebrews as would seem to be the

case if the text of the Moabite stone were not a fabrication. The entire constitution and development of the Moabite commonwealth was different from that of the Jewish commonwealth. In the land of Moab there was a tendency to decentralisation, whilst the system prevailing amongst the Israelites was designed for the unification of the people. Every town in Moab had its special sanctuary, its prophets, priests, and sorcerers. If Judah multiplied 'its gods according to the numbers of its cities,' this was done contrary to the theocratic law; but in Moab this rule for decentralising the public worship was obviously the law of the land, consequently the divergent religious customs of the land must have affected the language of the Moabites very considerably. The Moabite people, which was described as stagnant, and as 'never poured from vessel into vessel,' spoke a dialect which was not well understood by their Jewish neighbours. This fact is mentioned by Nehemiah in the last chapter of his book, verses 24 and 25. He states that the Jews married women of Ashdod, Ammon, and Moab. 'And their children spoke half in the language of Ashdod, and could not speak the language of the Jews; but (they spoke) according to the language of each people.' These few notes may suffice to indicate the national and linguistic differences between the Israelites and the Moabites.

Line 1,[1].—*Ănoch.* The form of this personal pronoun, inasmuch as it differs from the fuller Hebrew spelling *'anochi*, is an imitation (as are some other portions of this inscription which will be noticed below) of the spelling used on the Sidonian sarcophagus. The heading of Mesha's self-introduction reads as if it were imitated from the words of the Sidonian king. The latter says in his epitaph, lines 13 to 15:—'*Ănoch ashmunazar melech zidonim ben melech tabnith . . . vĕimi am'ashtroth koheneth 'ashtroth.*" "I am Ashmunazar the son of Tabnith a king of the Sidonians, . . . and my mother is Amashteroth, priestess of Ashteroth' (Astarte). The scribe could not refer to Mesha's mother, but has not omitted, in line 17, to surprise the reader with Astarte as a conjugal partner of the God Chemosh.

Line 1, [2-4].—*Mesha ben chĕmosh* (Mesha son of Chemosh). Chemosh and Moab are spelt in the inscription without the

usual vowel-letter *vaw*, this *mater lectionis* being deemed unnecessary by the scribe. Professors Smend and Socin have in their edition of the Moabite inscription filled up the gap which occurs after the proper name 'Chemosh' by supplying the word '*melech*.' Neither this clumsy addition, nor that made by Ganneau and his followers, who give to Mesha's father the name '*Chemosh-Gad*,' is acceptable to other editors who have published their own equally questionable guesses of the full name.

So long as there is not published an authentic and independent reproduction of the squeezes which were taken before Mesha's monument was broken up, it is immaterial to know how the putative name of Mesha's father was written on the stone. M. Ganneau is said to have promised more than ten years ago a revised text of his squeezes, but he has kept the public in suspense ever since. It must be avowed, however, that if the squeezes taken before the stone had been shattered, were now reproduced even in good facsimiles, the matter would still remain unimproved, and the history of Moab could after all not be elucidated by any modified readings. An apprehension of this kind may have had some weight with M. Ganneau, who possibly has lost confidence in his famous discovery. The present evidence as to the spuriousness of the stone cannot be set aside, though it may offend the *amour propre* of a few men who, come what may, will persist in upholding their assertions as to the authenticity of the inscription.

Line 1, '.—*Mesh'a*. It is somewhat doubtful whether this name was really owned by the King of Moab, or whether it was only assigned to him on the part of the Israelites by way of a sobriquet. In the Hebrew Scriptures the names originally belonging to historical persons are very frequently replaced by an epithetic nomenclature, which is intended to imply in what estimate the bearer of such a designation was held. We refer for example to the names of Bera, King of Sodom, and Birsha, King of Gomorrah (Gen. xiv. 2). *Ber'a* means 'In-evil,' and *Birsh'a* 'In-wickedness.' In Judges ix. 26, a fomentor of disturbances who in the days of the usurper Abimelech passed through Shechem, received the opprobrious name *Ga'al-ben-*

'Ebed, 'Abominable the son of a Slave.' Heathen chieftains who were oppressors of Israel, and other persons of more or less historical importance, received in numerous instances such appellations as were characteristic of their individuality.

In the Book of Judges iii., 8, we meet with a Mesopotamian king who received the title *Kushan Rish'athayim*, i.e., 'Blackman, Doubly-wicked.' In the same chapter, verse 12, is mentioned a Moabite king who harassed the Israelites during eighteen years. It is related of him (in v. 17) that he was an exceedingly corpulent man, and to him was assigned the name *Eglon* i.e., 'Big-calf.' So far back as in the days of Moses, the Moabite king who loathed the Israelites and conspired with *Bal'a'am*, i.e., 'Swallower up of the people,' was called *Balak* i.e., 'Devastation' or 'Destruction.' If we turn to the position held by Mesha we find that he was an opulent sheep-master. In some Aryan languages (as for instance in Sanscrit and in Hindustani) the sheep is termed *mesh*. In Persian it is called *mîsh*, and from Persia this designation could reach Syrian regions through the migration of male and female captives, or through frequent invasions. We will show elsewhere that a migration of Aryan names of animals and plants took place into countries inhabited by the Semitic stock of nations. It is less likely that the name of Mesha in its signification of 'sheep' is connected with the Arabic *shâh*, of which there exists the form *mavash*, 'a collection of sheep.' This *shâh* has its Hebrew cognate in the word *seh*, 'a lamb.' The name of Mesha ends in the biblical text with the soft guttural letter *'ayin*, and this ending now and then helps to assimilate naturalized foreign terms with native Hebrew words. The same *'ayin* as a final is sometimes given to proper names received into the Hebrew from the Egyptian language, for example *Potipher'a* (Gen. xli. 50). This interpretation of the name of Mesha derives additional support from a different source. In the triumphal song of Moses the chieftains of the land of Moab are described as 'rams of Moab.' (*ele Moab.*) See Exodus xv. 15., and compare marginal note thereto in the Revised Version.

Line 1, 7, and *line* 2, 1.—*Hadiboni* (the Dibonite). The person

who engraved the epigraph does not seem to have been acquainted with the value of the Phœnician letters. He divided the word *hadiboni*, i.e., the 'Dibonite,' by placing at the end of the first line merely the *d*, and commenced the next line with the vowel '*i*' of '*diboni*.' This unnatural separation suggests also that the author of the forged inscription did not control the arrangement of the lines.

The scribe adheres to a rule which with some insignificant exceptions pervades the entire epigraph. Mostly he omits the vowel letter *jod*, in the middle of words, when it is equal to the English 'e' and 'i,' and (as has already been noticed in the case of Chemosh and Moab) the vowel letter *vaw*, which is equal to our 'o' and 'u.' But in the present phrase an exception to this rule seemed to be of good service. Since the stone of Moab had to be discovered in Dibân (the Dibon of the Bible) the scribe sought to direct closer attention to the name of this important city. Hence whenever Dibon has to be mentioned in the inscription, it is marked with *jod*, the equivalent of the vowel 'i.'

It has to be noted that Mesha, styling himself the Dibonite, erected this monumental stone, according to his own statement, in Karchah. Yet it is an unaccountable fact that this identical stone was discovered by Mr. Klein in Dibon, Mesha's dwelling place. This fact taken by itself would be sufficient to create the gravest suspicions as to the character of the inscription.

Line 2, $^{8\ 9}$, and *line* 3, $^{1-3}$.—*Vaănoch malachti achar abi*, 'and I reigned after my father.'

The scribe, who most likely knew German or some other modern language before he learned Hebrew, employs here and in other parts of the inscription incorrect constructions. The Semitic past tenses embody in themselves the personal pronouns, nearly in the same manner as the Greek and Latin verbs. The independent personal pronouns precede the conjugated Hebrew verbs only in cases of especial emphasis. In the literal translation of the text we have drawn attention to the violation of this rule by the repetition of the pronoun 'I.'

An experienced Hebrew writer would have avoided the repetition of a past tense after a similar tense, in conformity with

a law of the language which holds good in all the books of the Hebrew Scriptures. This law is as follows:—When in the first sentence of a narrative the past tense occurs, the writer must employ in the next sentence no other but the *future tense* (i.e. the tense of sequence). This tense of sequence is headed by a *vaw* (the equivalent of 'and'). The scribe ought to have stated '*abi malach . . . vaemloch tachtav*'—'My father reigned, . . . and I am reigning (or rather am going on reigning) after him (or, in his place);' or he might have chosen some different mode of expressing himself more correctly. This observation also applies to similar inaccuracies (12 in number) occurring in lines 21 to 29.

Line 3, [4-8].—*Vaăas habamath zoth* (should be *hazoth*) *bekarchah*, 'and I made this high place' (or 'altar') in Karchah.' The last named noun is equal to Kerak. If Mesha erected this *bamah* or altar in Karchah, by what miracle was it brought back to Dibon? or if it were manufactured in 'Dibon,' where by the way no basalt rocks exist, why was Mesha so precise as to inform us that he made this *bamah* in Karchah?

We have here to remark that Kerak, which gives the name to the Moabite district on the south of the river Arnon, was at all times the great thoroughfare of caravans; it is now peopled by 6000 Mahomedans and 1800 Christians. Its rich supply of tanks and cisterns, together with its past and present importance, recommend it as one sees throughout the inscription to the especial notice of the scribe. With regard to the supply of water see lines 24-25.

Line 3, [9 and 10]; *line* 4, [1-5]. *Bĕmesh'a* (or rather *bĕmoshi'a*) *mesh'a ki hoshi'ani miccol hammĕlachin.* The scribe says incorrectly '*in* the saviour,' meaning '*unto* the saviour of Mesha, for he saved me from all the kings.' This reading, adopted by Professors Smend and Socin, is probably the true one as far as it goes, and proves the inability of the scribe to express himself logically and idiomatically. Here the scribe has plagiarised the passage relating to the etymology of the name Jesus, as given in the Gospel of Matthew, i. 21.

The Hebrew '*ki*,' *line* 4[2], is equivalent to the English con-

junction *for*, and in no instance when followed in the next proposition by *vechi* can *ki* signify '*because.*'

Vechi, *line* 4, [6], we have translated 'and for,' in order to call attention to the incongruous combinations and the ignorance of the scribe. The misapplication of this conjunction is a favourite blunder of the scribe.

Line 4, [7-9].—*Herani bĕchol sonĕaī.* 'He made me look upon all who hated me.' This phrase has been plagiarized from Psalm cxviii. 5; but the scribe was not aware that the Hebrew '*sonĕaī*,' 'my haters,' relates to those who entertain a deep-rooted antipathy against their fellows, and that it never refers to enemies in battle.

Line 5, [9-11].—*Ki yeĕnaf Chemosh*, 'for Chemosh was angry.' On the misapplication of *ki* see above. The wording of the scribe conveys no other sense but '*when* Chemosh was (or shall be) angry.'

Line 6, [10].—*Beyamaī*, 'in my days.' According to the tortuous notions of the scribe, Mesha emphatically states that his personal experiences happened to himself in his own lifetime. There is, perhaps, no other monument in the world in which the author of an autobiography states that a certain event occurred to him during his own lifetime. In lines 9, [3], and 33, [3], he reiterates the same assurance that he was the contemporary of events which happened in his own days.

In *line* 7, [4-7].—'And Israel has been lost, a loss everlasting.' Here the scribe parodies a passage in Numbers xxi. 29, 'Woe to thee, oh, Moab! thou art lost, oh people of Chemosh!'

Line 8, [2].—*Mehdĕba.* The scribe spells this proper name with a '*hé*' after the initial letter. In the Bible this name is written with a *jod* after the initial *mem*, and though it is always rendered Medebah, it appears to mean the Waters of Deba. The uncommonly large reservoirs of this place are ably described by Canon Tristram and other observant travellers. One of the reservoirs measured 120 square yards. In Mesha's inscription the spelling completely obscures the signification of the name.

Line 8, [3-8].—Smend and Socin have produced the probably correct but irrational text, which means, 'And he dwelt

there during all his days, and during half the days of his son.' Dr. Ginsburg's readings produce an equally corrupt and un-Hebraic text. M. Renan has wisely left a lacuna in this part of the text.

Line 6, [6].—*Hu* (he). In the inscription this pronoun is spelt with *hé* and *aleph*, in imitation of the spelling which the scribe copied from Ashmunazar's text.

Line 6, [2].—*Vayachlĕfoh bĕnoh.* 'And his son succeeded him (or became Caliph after him).' The scribe here imports an Arabic verb which became popular among the Mahomedans through its occurrence in the Koran and in other Arabic writings. The verb in this signification was not known in biblical or in post-biblical Hebrew.

In *line* 9, [4] to *line* 10, [7], Mesha after stating that in '*his own days*' the king of Israel was driven away by 'Chemosh,' proceeds to mention Baalmeon, Kiriathaïm and Ataroth (all quoted from Numbers xxxii, verses 34-38).

In *line* 9, [9], he coins the word *haashuch* by which he seems to mean a ditch or an aqueduct, evolving it out of the Hebrew *shuach*, a pit. Here he employs the vocalic letter *vaw* (equal to 'u') to help the reader in the interpretation of the newly created word.

In *line* 11[4], he coins the Moabite verb '*vaeltachem*,' and 'I warred,' in imitation of the eighth form of an Arabic verb. To show that this importation into Hebrew is not an error, he repeats the same again in lines 15 and 19. As he is now on the ground of Arabic verbs, he employs in lines 11, 14, 15, and 20—*achaz* (equal to the Arabic *achadha*), 'to seize or conquer a place.' In Hebrew this verb means 'to seize' in the sense of snatching up or taking possession; but it is never taken in the sense of acquiring property by conquest. 'To conquer' is expressed in Hebrew by *lachad.*

Line 10, [3-8].—'And the men of Gad dwelt in the land from time everlasting' (or days of old). Here the scribe continues to keep an eye upon Numbers xxxii. 35, where it is related that the children of Gad built 'Ataroth.

Line 11, [6] to *line* 12, [1].—Smend and Socin's reading yields the following barbarous rendering, 'And I captured it and slew

all the people *out of the city'* (sic). This text, egregiously un-Hebraic, is most likely a correct reproduction of the scribe's composition. A Hebrew writer would have simply said as we do in English, 'the inhabitants *of* the city' (not *out of* the city).

Line 12, [2-4].—*Rith lichĕmosh ulĕmoab.* Here we have at length, as the scribe may have imagined, a genuine Moabite word. The scribe has transformed the name of the Moabite woman Ruth into a new substantive 'rith.' The writer facilitates the reading of this word by inserting between the two consonants 'r' and 'th' the vowel sign 'i' (jod). In this word he wishes us to believe that the land which gave birth to Ruth produced the vocable *rith* as coming from the same stock as the name of the Moabite woman. But against this derivation stands the fact that in the Book of Ruth, the loveliest of idylls, the proper names are eponyms derived from words of common currency. Whilst the word 'Ruth' seems to connect itself with the Aramaic *rĕuth* (desire 'or pleasure' as a synonym of 'the will'), Orpah, from the noun *oref*, neck, refers to the woman who, when a widow, turned her back (in Hebrew her 'neck') to her mother-in-law Naomi, and remained in her native land.' The names of the departed husbands of the two Moabite women were Machlon (sickly) and Chilyon (perishing), and are metaphorical like other names cited in the Book of Ruth. Hence it can be seen that *rith* is not derivable from any hypothetical Moabite word.

Line 12, [5-9].—'And I carried off from there the mighty men(?) of David.' M. Renan and other editors of the Moabite inscription adopt this strange text which furnishes the present translation. The scribe, always on the alert to pick out allusions to Moab from the Hebrew Scriptures, has jumbled together several passages in which the words 'Arel' and 'Ariel' occur. In II. Samuel xxiii. 20, we read that 'Benaiah (the hero) slew the two Arels of Moab;' and again in Isaiah xxix. 1, 'Woe to Ariel, to Ariel, the city where David dwelt,' and in verse 2, 'Yet I will distress Ariel.' These passages enabled the scribe to credit Mesha with the enterprise of carrying off the Arel of David, whatever he may have meant thereby. The scribe appended to the word David an impossible sign of inflection, for he was ignorant of the rule that

in Hebrew the proper names of persons never undergo any inflection. Although the word 'David' appears on the stone monument, it is conceivable that the scribe committed a clerical error, and intended to say that Mesha carried off the Ariels of Jehovah. Below, in line 17 to 18, the inscription actually contains an incomprehensible allusion to 'ariels (altars? or mighty men) of Jehovah.'

Line 13,[5] *to* 14,[1].—*Vaoshib sham eth anshe macharoth.* 'And I settled therein . . . the men of Machaerus.' This city being of interest both to Jews and Christians, received a special notice in the inscription. Josephus has drawn attention to the obstinate struggle between the Jews and the Romans when this city, once in the possession of Moab and subsequently of the Jews, was besieged and at last wrested from the latter. (See Josephus, Book VII., 6.) To the Christian reader of the epigraph, Machaerus recalls the terrible fate of John the Baptist, who suffered martyrdom in that stronghold. Such events might well prompt a wary forger to enhance the value of his production by including Machaerus in his list of memorable cities. In German-Jewish pronunciation *macharoth* would be pronounced *macharos.* We thus have a new indication of the native land of the forger, or of one of his accomplices.

Line 12,[10] *to* 13[1-3].—'And I dragged them before Chemosh.' The scribe had before him the latter portion of the Book of Jeremiah, where abundant allusions occur with reference to Moab. See especially ch. xlviii. In the next chapter, verse 20, he found the infrequent verb '*sachab*,' which includes the signification of 'to drag along.'

Line 13,[9].—*Sharon.* The name of this place being found in Ashmunazar's epitaph, was culled from there, together with some other passages, which were worked up into the various parts of Mesha's monument.

In Line 14, [4-10], Chemosh talks ungrammatical Hebrew in ordering Mesha to capture Nebo *upon* (sic!) Israel.

Line 15, [5] and [6].—*Mibbeko'a hashacharith.* The scribe translating from the German or English ('Morgenanbruch' or 'daybreak') took the German 'Anbruch' or the English 'break' very literally, and turned it into the newly coined *beko'a*,

from the verb *bak'a*, 'to break up,' or 'to split asunder.' He possibly relied on Isaiah's words, '*Az yib'aka cashachar orecha*,' 'thy light shall then burst forth like the morning dawn.' But the Hebrews, when alluding to the dawn, did not employ the metaphor of 'a bursting forth.' They spoke only of 'the rising' or 'the going up' (*'ăloth*) of the dawn. Even so late as in the Rabbinical period, the records of which begin in the second century (A.D.), the dawn was commonly depicted by the expression, 'the pillar of the dawn rises up.' The word *hashacharith* seemed to suggest itself to the scribe in preference to the more Hebraic term *hashachar*, through the accident that in the Jewish liturgy the Morning Prayer bears the name of *shacharith*.

Line 15,[8].—*Hazaharaïm*, 'noon.' Here the scribe forgot that he had ordinarily adopted the *nun* for the plural and for the dual instead of the *mem*.

Line 17, [3-6].—*Ki lĕashtor chĕmosh hechĕramtih[hen]*. 'For I devoted them to Ashtor Chemosh.' This combination of the goddess Ashtor (Astarte) with Chemosh, in a thoroughly un-Hebraic form, has given abundant material to the lovers of dogmatic speculation. The scribe, as already noticed, found the name of 'Ashtoreth' upon Ashmunazar's sarcophagus, and in allying this goddess to Chemosh he cunningly gave a mythological importance to his historical fiction.

Line 18,[7]. — *Jehovah*. The forced mention of the tetragrammaton may be considered as one of the strangest features of Mesha's inscription. The scribe obviously fancied that the third Hebrew letter (the *vaw*) in this name was a consonant. In this opinion he had not only the support of his modern contemporaries, but also of some few Fathers of the Church. Theodoret learned on the unreliable authority of the Samaritans that the name of Jehovah had to be pronounced *IABE* (the 'beta' in such case sounded just as amongst the Jews of the Talmudical period, like our 'v'). Yet, according to the majority of the old Greek writers, lay and clerical, the '*vaw*' in Jehovah received the sound of '*o*.' Had our scribe also thought that the '*vaw*' was 'o' or '*u*,' he would as usual have elided this vowel-sign. It has to be borne in mind that during the biblical period the '*vaw*' in Jehovah was in-

variably sounded like 'o' or '*u*.' This is incontestably proved by hundreds of *nomina propria*, which are composed of parts of the tetragrammaton. Take for instance such combinations as Jonathan or Jehonathan, i.e., 'Jehovah gave;' Eliahu, 'my God is Jehovah,' etc., etc. The Hebrews themselves contracted 'Jehovah' into '*Jah*' (as is noticeable even in such a word as 'Hallelujah,' 'Praise Jehovah'). If, then, in the times of the real King Mesha, the '*vaw*' was already an omissible letter, the exact spelling of the tetragrammaton upon the stone of the pseudo-Mesha appears doubly startling.

Line 19,[2-5].—*Vayesheb bah behiltachamoh bi.* 'And he dwelt there whilst he warred with me.' It may require more than one special pleader to prove that a warrior dwelt in a certain city whilst he was warring with his adversary.

Line 21,[1].—*Lispoth*, 'to add,' is a misapplication of the infinitive *sefoth* which he found in Deuteronomy xxix. 18. 'To add' would be more correctly expressed by *lĕhosif.*

Line 22,[4].—*Shĕ'areha*, 'its gates.' The scribe, forgetting that, according to his system of spelling, the *jod* is not to be used as a medial *mater lectionis*, gives us here the correct spelling of that word. His inconsistent lapses into the right system of spelling are noticeable in other instances in which he seeks to make his meaning intelligible.

Line 23,[2].—*Banithi beth melech.* 'I built a king's house.' A king who built his own house would identify himself with his task, and would not, with a tendency to altruism, speak of 'a king's house.' A royal builder under analogous circumstances said of himself, 'I built *unto myself* houses' (Eccles., ii. 4).

Line 24,[2-6].—*Ubor en bĕkereb hakir bĕkarchah.* 'There was no pit (or cistern) in the city, in Karchah.' The Hebrew text reads like the production of an inexperienced schoolboy. As the modern Kerak contains a very large number of cisterns, Mesha is here mentioned as the originator of the works which supply Kerak with water.

Line 25,[5-8].—*Vaănoch carithi hamichretheth lĕkarcha.* 'And I dug the digging unto (sic) Karchah.' Going on in his defective style, the scribe is under the impression that the Hebrew verb

karah, 'to dig,' would produce the substantive *michretheth*, or perhaps the plural *michrathoth*. The formation of such a noun runs counter to the rules of the language. Neither in the singular nor in the plural could *michreh* (i.e., a digging) receive a reduplication of 'th.' '*Unto* Karchah (*lĕkarchah*) would be a corrupt and inadmissible expression in any Semitic dialect.

Lines 25,[9] to 26,[1-2].—Smend and Socin have the reading (possibly the true one) *baăsurin miyisrael*—which is intended to signify 'by Israelite prisoners.' The Hebrew prepositions *ba* and *mi* convey a very different sense. *Ba* could not here be rightly employed in the sense of 'by,' nor could the ablatival *mi* ('out of' or 'from') be used as a substitute for the genitive case. This phrase has not been mended in the divergent readings of other editors of the inscription.

Line 27,[2-7].—*Banithi beth bamoth ki huras hu*. 'I built the house (or the temple) of Bamoth (altars), for it *is* (sic) destroyed.' The scribe was not aware that in speaking of a past event the Hebrew word *hu* cannot be used. *Hu* only represents the third person of the present tense.

Line 28,[4-7].—*Ki col dĭbon mishma'ath*. 'For all Dibon is obedient' (sic). In looking for Biblical passages in which Moab is mentioned, the scribe struck upon one in Isaiah xi. 14. This verse ends with the words *ubĕne 'ammon mishm'atom*. 'And the children of Ammon shall be obedient to them' (i. e., to the Israelites). He did not know that without an appended pronoun the word '*mishma'ath*' conveys no sense.

Line 29, [4-7]. — *Ăsher jasafti ăl haarez*. 'Which I added upon (sic) the land.' Here the scribe followed a statement of King Ashmunazar, who says in the epitaph, lines 19 and 20, that he had added certain conquests to his own territory.

The lines from 30 to the end of the inscription are more or less indistinct, and leave but little scope for further observations. In line 33 the pretended Mesha uses for the last time his favourite expression *beyamaï*, 'in my days' (I was engaged in certain exploits), and so Mesha reiterates to the last that he was the witness of his own doings.

Our analysis is brought to a conclusion, and addresses itself to the impartial judgment of unprejudiced readers. The

adherents to historic truth will concur in the verdict, that the stone of Moab, notwithstanding its world-wide glorification, is nothing but 'a stone of stumbling,' and must be consigned to the limbo of marvellous impositions.

ALBERT LÖWY.

ART. II.—FRENCH CANADA.

1. *The Old Régime in Canada.* By FRANCIS PARKMAN. Boston: 1884.
2. *Histoire du Canada depuis sa découverte.* Par F. X. GARNEAU. 4 volumes. Montreal: 1882.
3. *Le Canada sous l'Union,* 1841-1867. Par LOUIS TURCOTTE. Quebec: 1881.
4. *Histoire des Canadiens-Français,* 1608-1880, 8 volumes. Par BENJAMIN SULTE. Montreal: 1882-84.
5. *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada,* 1882-1886. *Section I.—1. Littérature Française, Histoire, etc.* Montreal.
6. *Census of Canada,* 1881.
7. *Songs of Old Canada.* Translated by W. M'LENNAN. Montreal: 1886.
8. *Chansons Populaires du Canada, Recueillies et publiées,* par ERNEST GAGNON. Quebec: 1880.

ABOUT a century and a quarter has passed since the Treaty of Paris was signed, and France formally ceded Canada to Great Britain. Of all the vast domain she once possessed in North America, there remain to her only some rocky islets on the southern coast of Newfoundland, to which she has always clung as a nursery for her seamen, and as a headquarters for the fishing fleet that has resorted to the waters of the Gulf of St. Lawrence for several centuries. Of all the formidable fortresses which she erected to environ the old English colonies, in pursuance of her ambitious designs in the valleys of the St. Lawrence and Mississippi, only one is now standing to recall her former glory in America. Fort Niagara is no more than a memory, and were it not for a few mounds of earth and stone, we could

hardly tell the situation of Ticonderoga, where Montcalm once repulsed the British army under Abercromby. The site of Fort Duquesne, at the forks of the Ohio, is covered by the iron mills of the 'smoky city' of Pittsburg, so named in honour of the illustrious Chatham, whose genius gave the final blow to the magnificent scheme conceived by Richelieu of founding a French Transatlantic Empire. Louisbourg, on the eastern coast of Canada, and her nearest port to Europe, was at one time the strongest fortified town in America, with the exception of Quebec, but of its walls and fortifications hardly a stone remains. Sheep pasture above the graves of the French garrison, and fishermen hang their nets on the grass covered mounds which indicate the position of the fortress to which the eminent Vauban devoted all his skill. The picturesque walls which crown the heights of Quebec are the only memorials of those piles of masonry which were so long a menace to the English possessions in many places throughout North America.

Though the fortifications of Louisbourg and Ticonderoga, of Niagara and other historic places which recall the days of the French régime in America, have been razed to the ground, and the French flag is never seen except on some holiday in company with other national colours, nevertheless on the continent where she once thought to reign supreme France has been able to leave a permanent impress. But this impress is not in the valley of the Mississippi. It is true that a number of French still live on the banks of that great river, that many a little village where a French *patois* is spoken, lies hidden in the sequestered bayous of the South, and that no part of the old city of New Orleans possesses so much interest for the European stranger as the French or Creole quarter, with its quaint balconied houses and luxuriant gardens; but despite all this, it is generally admitted that the time is not far distant when the French language will disappear from Louisiana, and few evidences will be found of the days of the French occupancy of that beautiful State of the Union. In the valley of the St. Lawrence, however, France has left behind her what seem likely to be more permanent memorials of her occupation. Wherever we go in the Dominion of Canada we see the names

of her kings and statesmen, of her priests and saints, of her soldiers and sailors, clinging to many a bay and river. The picturesque banks of the St. Lawrence, from the Atlantic to the great lakes of the West, are the home of a large population whose language and customs are so many memorials of the old régime.

Since the conquest of Canada in 1759-60, the seventy thousand people who then inhabited the country, have increased to a million and a quarter of souls, without taking into account the many thousands who have made their homes in the United States during the last thirty or forty years. This people still speak the French language, profess the Roman Catholic religion, and adhere with remarkable tenacity to the civil law and other institutions of the land of their origin. The history of the growth of this French Canadian population is exceedingly instructive. It proves very clearly the beneficial operation of the liberal system of government which Canada has now enjoyed for many years. About three centuries have elapsed since Cartier sailed up the St. Lawrence and gave to France the control of an immense territory on the northern half of America. During the French régime, which lasted until 1760, the Canadians were constantly at war with the Indians or the English Colonists. At no time did they possess even a semblance of the representative institutions always enjoyed by the colonies of Great Britain in America. The rule of the king was as arbitrary in Canada as in France. Even a town meeting for ordinary municipal purposes was forbidden as at entire variance with the principles of government laid down by the King and his ministers. Trade slumbered in the absence of capital and enterprise, and the only signs of comfort or wealth were found in the towns of Montreal and Quebec, or in a few manor houses of the Seigniors who inherited small fortunes from Old France, or managed their large possessions with some skill and energy. The educational facilities of the people were such as would be given by the institutions controlled by the priests and sisters of the associations, who have always devoted themselves with great assiduity and faithfulness to the mental and

spiritual improvement of the people; but despite the labours of these, the mass of the inhabitants were in a condition of deep ignorance. Agricultural development was necessarily very slow in a country so constantly harassed by war and destitute of facilities for selling the produce of the farm.

The French Canadian youth found in the adventurous fur-trade an excitement which carried them away too often from the monotonous work of the farm. As we review the history of the French Canadian, we cannot fail to admire his love of adventure, his spirit of endurance, his courage under very discouraging circumstances, but all these qualities availed him little as long as his country was badly governed by the king and his ministers, so often deeply absorbed in their ambitious schemes on the continent of Europe.

When the *fleur de lis* at last gave place to the Red Cross of England on the citadel of Quebec, the French Canadians for a while deeply mourned the humiliation of the country they had loved so well. Many of the wealthiest and best-born of the people sailed away to France and never returned to the colony for which they had struggled for so many years. Though they knew it not at the time, the fall of Quebec was in reality the happiest event that could possibly have happened for the French Canadians. The Articles of Capitulation, which were signed by the Marquis de Vaudreuil in September, 1760, were very generous to the conquered people. They were guaranteed the free exercise of their religion as well as undisturbed possession of their property. By the Quebec Act of 1774, when Parliament intervened for the first time in the affairs of Canada, and made important constitutional changes in the country, the French Canadians obtained most valuable concessions, which are practically the basis of their present influence and power as a distinct nationality in British North America. Roman Catholics were no longer obliged to take the Test Oath, but only the Oath of Allegiance. They were permitted to observe their religion with perfect freedom, and their clergy were to enjoy 'their accustomed dues and rights,' —that is, the tithe system which still exists—with respect to such persons as professed that creed. It was also enacted that

in all matters of controversy, relative to property and civil rights, recourse should be had to the French civil procedure, whilst the Criminal Law of England should obtain to the exclusion of every other criminal code which might have prevailed before 1774. The Quebec Act was passed at a time when the old English Colonies were on the eve of revolution, and there was consequently a strong desire on the part of the English Government to gain the sympathies of the French Canadians. The historian Garneau, who represents French Canadian views in his able work, in fact acknowledges that 'the law of 1774 tended to reconcile the Canadians to British rule.' From the coming into effect of the Quebec Act up to the present time, there has been a steady improvement in the social, political, and material condition of the people. French Canada now occupies a high position among the communities of the Continent, and many of her sons have been able to win for themselves a conspicuous place in the administration of public affairs, in education, in literature, and in other pursuits of life.

It is the intention of the writer to give a brief review of the leading features of the progress of the community which dwells by the St. Lawrence and its tributary rivers. In the old times of Canada, before the federal union of the provinces, the large section of British North America inhabited by the French-speaking people was known as Lower Canada, but now it is distinguished by the historic name of Quebec, in honour of the interesting old city founded by Champlain, the pioneer of French settlement in New France. The tourist who travels through this province sees on all sides the evidence that he is passing through a country of French origin. Here and there in Quebec or Montreal, or in some quiet village sequestered in a valley or elevated on the Laurentian hills, he sees houses and churches which remind him of many a hamlet or town he has visited in Brittany or Normandy. The language is French from the Saguenay to the Ottawa, and in many remote communities English is never spoken, and is understood only by the curé or the notary. Nor is the language so impure and degenerated as many persons may naturally suppose. On the

contrary, it is spoken by the educated classes with a purity not excelled in France itself. The better class of French Canadians take pride in studying the language of the country of their ancestors, and are rarely guilty of Anglicisms, though these have necessarily crept into mixed communities, where people are forced to speak both French and English. In the rural districts, isolated from large towns, the people retain the language as it was spoken two centuries ago—even the old, forgotten pronunciation—and consequently many words and phrases which are rarely if ever heard in France, still exist among the peasantry of French Canada, just as we find in New England many expressions which are not pure Americanisms but really memorials of old English times. In French Canada the Anglicisms are such as would occur under the natural conditions of things. The native of Old France has no words for 'clearing' the forest, making maple sugar, 'blazing' a way through the woods or over the ice and snow of the rivers and lakes, and consequently the vocabulary of the French Canadian has been considerably enlarged by local circumstances.

The people of Quebec are very tenacious of their language, and endeavour to keep it intact from the encroaching influence of the English-speaking communities, now largely in the majority throughout the Dominion. Ever since the conquest, the language and religion of France have been carefully guarded, first by the Treaty of 1763, and again by the charters and constitutions granted by England to Canada from time to time as the country increased in wealth and population. *Notre langue, notre foi, et nos lois* has been the key-note of French Canadian politics for over a century. No part of the constitution of 1840, which reunited Upper and Lower Canada after the rebellion of 1837-8, gave greater offence to the French Canadians than the clause which practically eliminated their language from legislative records and proceedings, for it was generally regarded by them as conclusive evidence of the policy of the British Government to obliterate them as a distinct race, and make them in the course of time English in language, thought, and institutions. But the French

tongue and customs were found too deeply rooted by that time in Canada to be disturbed by any legislative enactments. The influence of the French Canadian was actually increased by the more liberal system of government that commenced in 1840, and one of the first proofs of his growing power was the repeal of the obnoxious clause with respect to the use of his language. At the present time the records and statutes as well as official reports of the debates are always given in the two languages in the Parliament of the Dominion. All the blue books are translated into French, and circulated in that language in the province of Quebec. Every motion is put by the Speaker in the two languages, or when he speaks no French by a clerk at the table. Though the reports of the debates appear daily in French, English prevails in the House of Commons and in the Senate. The French Canadians are forced to speak the language of the majority, and it is some evidence of the culture of their leading public men, that many among them are able to express themselves in English with a freedom and elegance which no English-speaking member can pretend to equal in French. In the Legislature of the province of Quebec, French has almost excluded English, though the records are given in the two languages. In the Supreme Court of the Dominion the arguments may be in French, and the two Quebec judges give their decisions in their own tongue. When the constitution of Manitoba was formed some years ago, it was expressly enacted that the legislative proceedings should be given in the two languages, with the view of guarding the special interests of the half-breed population of the North-West.

The people of French Canada are exceedingly devoted Roman Catholics. Were his Holiness the Pope able to visit the province, he would find himself in a congenial atmosphere. Though he would miss the many monuments of ancient and mediæval art that now surround him, he would nevertheless recognise in the numerous churches, colleges, and convents of the country the power and wealth of the Church, and the desire of the French Canadians to glorify and perpetuate it by every means in their power. Many of the churches, especially in Montreal, are handsome structures, and there is at present

in course of construction in that city a noble building which is intended even to imitate many of the features of St. Peter's, and to surpass the finest cathedrals in America. Massive stone churches are to be seen in almost every village, even where the forest has hardly been subdued. Only a short time since the writer had occasion to visit a settlement a hundred miles to the north of the political capital of Canada, on the very confines of the wilderness which stretches to the solitary shores of Hudson's Bay. As he emerged from the forest, where many a blackened stump showed the ravages of fire, the first object that met his eye was a large stone church with a tower standing conspicuously on a hill that commands the surrounding country, Crowning the tower, was an image of Notre Dame du Désert, the holy patroness of the parish. This building had been erected chiefly for the Indian population of that wild region, and is one of the many evidences that French Canada gives of the energy of the priests. Churches and convents, indeed, meet the eye wherever you travel in the province, and the poorest village attests the power and riches of the Church. The whole land is practically parcelled out among the Saints, as far as the nomenclature of the settlements and villages is concerned. The favourite Saint appears to be Ste. Anne, whose name appears constantly on the banks of the St. Lawrence. We have Ste. Anne de la Pérade, Ste. Anne de la Pocatière, and many others. We all remember the verse of Moore's boat song:—

> 'Faintly as tolls the evening chime,
> Our voices keep tune and our oars keep time,
> Soon as the woods on shore look dim,
> We'll sing at St. Anne's our parting hymn.'

This village, situated at the confluence of the St. Lawrence and Ottawa rivers, is generally known as Ste. Anne de Bellevue, and still retains the characteristics of a French Canadian village, notwithstanding its close neighbourhood to the English-speaking settlements of Ontario.

From the earliest times in the history of Canada the 'Black Robe' has always been a prominent figure in politics as well as in religion. Jesuits, Franciscans, and Recollets have done

much to mould the thought and control the political destiny of the people under their spiritual care. The universities, colleges and schools are mainly directed by the religious orders. The priests, it must be admitted, have been very active workers. No Protestant clergymen have been able to compete with them in exercising a powerful influence over the Indian population. The early annals of Canada prove that they have endured famine, privation, and death for the sake of the religion they have laboured to establish. Tender women, highly educated and nurtured in noble families, were the founders of the female educational institutions which have spread throughout Canada, in the English as well as French cities and towns.

Canada, too, has her Notre Dame de Lourdes, to whose shrine the faithful flock by thousands. Some twenty miles east of Quebec, on the banks of the St. Lawrence, is the Church of Ste. Anne de Beaupré, or as the Saint is more popularly known, *la bonne Ste. Anne*, who has won fame in Canada for miraculous cures for two centuries at least. It is a very picturesque scene when the pilgrims assemble by thousands at the shrine. If an European stranger wishes to make himself familiar with the most striking phases of Canadian life, he should not fail to spend a few hours at this celebrated resort, where the religious phenomena of the Old World are fully reproduced among a devout peasantry of the New.

It is difficult to say whether the trip by land or that by water affords the greater pleasure. Each has a charm of its own, though that by water has probably the more varied. As we leave the wharf at Quebec at an early hour in the morning, the river presents a most interesting panorama of changing scenes peculiar to this part of the St. Lawrence. The mural-crowned heights of the ancient capital, up which straggle the quaint stone buildings, stand out prominently from every point of view. Steam-tugs move up and down the stream with great rapidity, and lend their assistance to heavily laden craft. Stately passenger steamers pass slowly through the large fleet of shipping anchored in the river. Rafts of timber are propelled by bronzed lumber-

men to the coves where they are shipped for Europe. Just to the right we can catch a glimpse of the silvery fall of Montmorenci sparkling in its purple hollow, and to the left, the fertile meadows, the white cottages, and tinned spires of the island of Orleans, where still grows luxuriantly the wild grape which gave this lovely spot, three centuries ago, when the French first saw it, the classic name of the Island of Bacchus. Away to the northward, beyond the meadows and villages that lie close to the river, stretch the sombre hills of the Laurentides. We soon come within sight of the historic village of Ste. Anne, nestling under the shelter of a lofty mountain, on a little plateau which has given it the name of the 'beautiful meadow.' The village itself consists of a straggling street of wooden houses, with steep roofs and projecting eaves, nearly all devoted to the entertainment of the large assemblage that annually resorts to this Canadian Mecca, probably some 30,000 in the course of a summer. A new church of grey stone has taken the place of the old building, erected two hundred years ago. Here you will see on the fête of Ste. Anne, and at other fixed times, a mass of people in every variety of costume, Mecmacs, Hurons, and Iroquois—representative of the old Indian tribes of Canada—French Canadians, men, women, and children, from the valleys of the Ottawa, and the St. Maurice, and all parts of Quebec, as well as curious tourists from the United States. It is soon very easy to separate the merely curious stranger from the anxious, hopeful pilgrims presenting themselves in the confidence that Bonne Ste. Anne will give them relief. The church itself attests the faith of the thousands that have offered their supplications at the shrine for centuries. Piles of crutches of every description, of oak, of ash, of pine, are deposited in every available corner as so many votive offerings from the countless cripples that claim to have been relieved or cured. From morning to evening a steady stream of the blind and halt, of paralytic and rheumatic sufferers, passes up to the altar, and amid the groans and supplications now and then is heard an exclamation of joy from some poor creature, almost always a woman, who believes

that the Saint has heard her prayer. It is extraordinary how many remarkable cures are claimed for the shrine, and many French Canadians firmly believe in its efficacy. The relic through which all these wonderful cures are effected, consists of a part of the finger bone of Ste. Anne, which was sent in 1668 by the Chapter of Carcasonne to Monseigneur de Laval, who made for himself an imperishable name in the political and ecclesiastical annals of Canada. The Church also possesses several pictures of merit, one of them by Le Brun.

The situation of many of the French Canadian villages is exceedingly picturesque, when they nestle in some quiet nook by the side of a river or bay, or overlook from some prominent hill a noble panorama of land and water. The spire of the stone church rises generally from the midst of the houses, and the priest's residence is always the most comfortable in size and appearance. The houses are for the most part built of wood, except where there is a plentiful supply of dark grey stone in the neighbourhood. The roofs are frequently curved, with projecting eaves, which afford a sort of verandah under which the family sit on summer evenings. Some of the most pretentious structures, especially the inns, have balconies running directly across the upper storey. Many of the barns and out-houses have thatched roofs, which are never seen in any other part of Canada. The interiors of the French Canadian homes are very plainly furnished, in many cases with chairs and tables of native manufacture. A high iron stove is the most important feature of every dwelling in a country where the cold of winter is so extreme. Whitewash is freely used inside and outside, and there is on the whole an air of cleanliness and comfort in the humblest cottage.

The loom is still kept busy in the villages, and a coarse warm homespun is made for every day use. The habitant also wears moccassins and a *toque bleue*, or woollen cap, in which he is always depicted by the painter of Canadian scenes. But with the growth of towns and the development of the railway system a steady change is occurring year by year in the dress of the inhabitants, and it is only in the very remote settlements that we can find the homely stuffs of old times. As a rule, however, the

people live very economically, and extravagance in dress is rather the exception. On gala days the young wear many ribbons and colours, though arranged with little of the taste characteristic of the French people. Both old and young are very sociable in their habits, and love music and dancing. The violin is constantly played in the smallest village, and the young people dance cotillons or *danses rondes*. The priests, however, do not encourage reckless gaieties or extravagance in dress. Now and then the Bishop issues a pastoral in which the waltz and other fast dances, and certain fashionable modes of dress, are expressly forbidden, and though his mandates are no doubt soon forgotten in the cities and towns, they are on the whole religiously observed in the rural communities. The feasts of the Church are kept with great zeal, and consequently the French Canadian has holidays without number. It is an interesting scene to witness 'a first communion' in a village; the young girls are invariably dressed in white garments and veils, and the humblest, poorest family would think it very hard if they could not make a show on this occasion.

No class of the population of Canada is more orderly or less disposed to crime than the French Canadian. Indeed, if we compare the statistics of crime in the province of Quebec with those in the large province of Ontario, the comparison is in favour of the former. On referring to a Blue Book issued a year or two ago by the Government of Canada, we find that in 1882, there were about 18,000 persons convicted of various crimes and offences in the latter province out of a total population of 2,000,000 souls, while in Quebec the number did not exceed 6000 out of a population of 1,400,000; and when we come to analyse the returns we see that the aggregate of crime was in the cities of Montreal and Quebec, where there is a criminal class made up of all nationalities. As a rule the people are temperate in their habits, and in corroboration of this statement I may again refer to the authority just cited, from which it appears that in 1882 the cases of drunkenness in the Ontario courts were nearly 9000 as against 3000 in Quebec, and of the latter Quebec and Montreal absorbed nearly 2500. The temperate habits of the French Canadian make them necessarily valuable employees in

mills and manufactories of all kinds. Indeed, they prefer this life to that of the farm, and until very recently there was a steady exodus of this class to the manufacturing towns of Lowell, Holyoke, and other places in New England. A large proportion of the men employed in the lumbering industry of Canada is drawn from the province of Quebec. The 'shanties' (corrupted from *chantiers*) or rude log-huts built for temporary occupation in the forests of pine, are full of this cheery class, who in this employment satisfy their love for adventure and sociability. As their forefathers were *coureurs de bois* in the days of the French régime, and hunted the beaver in the wilderness, even venturing into the illimitable North-West region, so in these modern times the French Canadians seek the vast pine woods which, despite axe and fire, still stretch over a large area watered by the Ottawa and other rivers.

As agriculturists, however, the French Canadians cannot compare with the English population of Ontario. In early times they held their land on a feudal tenure which had its advantages, since in the infancy of settlement it gave them the protection and assistance of the seigniors or lords of the estate. The burdens entailed by this tenure were by no means onerous. To grind his grain at the seignior's mill, bake his bread in the seignior's oven, work for him one or two days in the year, and give him one fish for every eleven for the privilege of fishing in the river before his farm, these were the most important conditions to which the *censitaire* or *habitant* was subject. The tenure dated back to the early days of the colony—to the days of Richelieu—when with the avowed object of creating a Canadian *noblesse*, and at the same time settling the public domain, the whole country was parcelled out into seigniories. The system had some decided advantages since it forced both seignior and habitant to clear the land and live on it. But as Canada increased in population and wealth the system was found altogether unsuitable to agricultural development. In the course of time the exactions of some of the seigniors became so annoying and even so onerous, that all classes recognised the necessity of abolishing a tenure which was quite antagonistic to the new condition of things. Some years before the federal union of the British American provinces, the

seigniorial tenure—the great land question of Canada for years—was abolished with the consent of the proprietors, who received a large sum of money from the Government for the extinction of their rights. The ability and energy with which the public men of Canada grappled with this land difficulty is one of the many evidences the history of the country gives us of their practical sagacity in carrying on the administration of affairs. The difficulty was settled with a due regard to all vested rights, and the results have been most satisfactory in the rural districts of French Canada. The province of Quebec is less favoured than the province of Ontario with respect to climate and soil. The French system of sub-dividing farms among the members of a family has tended to cut up the land unprofitably, and it is a curious sight to see the number of extremely narrow lots throughout the French settlements. It must be admitted too that the French population has less enterprise, and less disposition to adopt new machines and improved agricultural implements, than the people of the other provinces. As a rule, the habitant lives contentedly on very little. Give him a pipe of native tobacco, a chance of discussing politics, a gossip with his fellows at the church door after service, a visit now and then to the county town, and he will be happy. It does not take much to amuse him, while he is quite satisfied that his spiritual safety is secured as long as he is within sound of the church bells, goes regularly to confession, and observes all the *fêtes d'obligation.* If he or one of his family can only get a little office in the municipality, or in the 'government,' then his happiness is nearly perfect. Indeed if he were not a bureaucrat, he would very much belie his French origin. Take him all in all, however, Jean-Baptiste, as he is familiarly known from the patron saint of French Canada, has many excellent qualities. He is naturally polite, steady in his habits, and conservative in his instincts. He is excitable and troublesome only when his political passions are thoroughly aroused, or his religious principles are at stake; and then it is impossible to say to what extremes he will go.

In his conservatism and love for tradition the educated French Canadian has little love for innovations of any kind. He is too ready to continue in the old well beaten paths, and too slow to

adopt new ideas. The scientific progress of the day is sometimes too rapid for him to follow, since he has little inclination for change of any kind. Tyndall and Huxley are to him strange names, and Darwin is never seen on the tables of the French Canadian. The new philosophies of France are studied only in secret by a few zealous inquirers after knowledge. The Church supervises with a zealous care the mental food that is offered for the nourishment of the people in the rural districts, where it exercises the greatest influence. Agnosticism is a word practically unknown in the vocabulary of the French Canadian, who is quite ready to adhere without wavering to the old belief which his forefathers professed. Relics and miracles are still the subjects of his belief and veneration; and though the young have their doubts, they are too sensible to say what may mar their social or political prospects. Whilst the French Canadians doubtless lose little by refusing to listen to the teachings which would destroy all old established and venerable institutions, and lead them into an unknown country of useless speculation, they perhaps carry their dislike for free discussion at times to extremes, and do not allow their minds sufficient scope and expansion.

Nearly half a century ago, a distinguished English statesman, the Earl of Durham, wrote in his report on the state of Canada that the French Canadians 'are a people without a history and a literature.' It is a great mistake, however, to suppose that the province of Quebec does not possess a history replete with interest. It is only necessary to read the works of that brilliant American historian, Francis Parkman, to be satisfied that the annals of New France are in some respects as attractive as the pages of a Froissart or a Prescott. Where in history can be found a chapter of more absorbing interest than that which describes the courage and daring of the adventurous La Sale in his journey down the Mississippi, which he followed from its headquarters to the Gulf of Mexico. The discoveries of this explorer have had a more momentous effect on the world's history than the exploits of a Bayard or a Du Guesclin, to whom so many eloquent pages of history and romance have been devoted. Everywhere in Canada do we find some evidence of his famous

adventures. Only a few miles from the commercial capital of Canada, the substantial, picturesque city of Montreal, we come to a beautiful expanse of water, called Lachine; for here it was La Sale dreamed that he was to find in the great West a short road to the riches of the East.

Indeed, wherever we go on the American Continent we find the impress of the fame of those *coureurs de bois* and gentleman-adventurers who were the first to push their way into the great unknown West, and give a name to many a lake and river, on whose banks and shores have grown up communities enjoying an amount of prosperity which could never have presented itself even to their most sanguine imagination.

In the days of the French régime there was necessarily no native literature, and little general culture except in small select circles at Quebec and Montreal. But during the past half century, with the increase of wealth, the dissemination of liberal education, and the development of self-government, the French Canadians have created for themselves a literature which shows that they inherit much of the spirituality and brilliancy of their race. Their histories and poems have attracted much attention in literary circles in France, and one poet, M. Louis Frechette, has quite recently won the highest prize of the French Institute for the best poem of the year. In history we have the names of Garneau, Ferland, Sulte, Tassé, Casgrain, Tanguay, Verreau; in poetry, Frechette, Sulte, Le May; in science, Hamel, Laflamme, Baillargé, besides many others famed as *savants* and *littérateurs*. Science has not made so much progress as *Belles Lettres*, though Laval University—the principal educational institution of the highest class—has among its professors men who have done much creditable work in mathematics, geology and physics. In Romance, however, very little has been done, although the history of old Canada offers a fruitful field, while the customs and peculiarities of the French Canadian might afford much material to the realistic novelist.

The French Canadians have a natural love for poetry and music. Indeed it is a French Canadian by birth and early education—Madame Albani—who has of late years won a high distinction on the operatic stage. No writer of this nationality,

however, has produced an opera or a drama which has won fame for its author. The priesthood, indeed, has been a persistent enemy of the theatre, which consequently has never attained a successful foothold in French Canada. Sacred music, however, so essential a feature of a Roman Catholic service, has been always cultivated with success.

It was not long since many persons in Great Britain never thought of Canada except when it was brought to their notice by hearing Tom Moore's boat song, for years a favourite in drawing-rooms. The old village of Ste. Anne, where Moore gathered inspiration for his poem, still possesses many features of picturesque interest. The banks of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence, as you near the village, are covered by many farm-houses and pretty villas where the people of Montreal live in the summer months. Orchard and meadows come down to the water's edge. The village itself possesses the customary stone church with tapering spire, and an image of Our Lady in a niche in the façade. The houses are of the usual type, and contrast strikingly with the cottages of the summer residents who have been attracted by the natural beauties of the place. Here it was that the cheery Irishman wrote his song to an air which was sung by his boatmen. In the preface to an edition of his works, he tells us that the voyageurs had good voices and sang perfectly in tune. The words appeared to him a long incoherent story of which he could understand little from the strange pronunciation of the Canadians.

> 'Without that charm,' he goes on to say, 'which association gives to every little memorial of scenes and feelings that are past, the melody may, perhaps, be thought common and trifling; but I remember when we have entered at sunset, upon one of those beautiful lakes, into which the St. Lawrence so grandly and unexpectedly opens, I have heard this simple air with a pleasure which the finest compositions of the first masters have never given me; and now there is not a note of it which does not recall to my memory the dip of our oars in the St. Lawrence, the flight of our boat down the rapids, and all those new and fanciful impressions to which my heart was alive during the whole of this very interesting voyage.'

The *Chansons populaires*, which have been so long in vogue among the people of all classes in the province of Quebec, are characteristic of a race extremely conservative of old customs

and traditions. These songs are the same in spirit, and very frequently in words, as those which their ancestors brought over with them from Brittany, Normandy and Franche-Comté. Some have been adapted to Canadian scenery and associations, but the most of them are essentially European in allusion and style. The people of the North of France have always been famous for their ballads, and the French Canadian preserves the poetic instincts of his nationality. The Canadian lumberer among the pines of the Ottawa and its tributaries, the Métis or half-breeds of what was once the great Lone Land, still sing snatches of the songs which the *coureurs de bois*, who followed Du Shut and other French explorers, were wont to sing as they paddled over the rivers of the West or camped beneath the pines and the maples of the great forests, and which can even now be heard at many a Breton and Norman festival. There is a sprightliness in the air of these songs which is peculiar to the chansons of Old France. It is impossible to set the music of all of them to the music of the drawing-room, where they seem tame and meaningless, but when they mingle with 'the solemn sough of the forest,' or with the roar of rushing waters, the air seems imbued with the spirit of the surroundings. It has been well observed by Mr. Gagnon, a French Canadian, to whom we are indebted for the only good collection Canada possesses of these songs, that 'many of them have no beauty except on the lips of the peasantry.' Whoever has heard these songs in Canadian homes will admit that there is much truth in his remark, 'There is something sad and soft in the voices which imparts a peculiar charm to these monotonous airs, in which their whole existence seems to be reflected. It is with the voices as with the eyes of the peasantry. These accustomed to wide horizons and a uniform scenery, reflect a quiet, a calm, a monotony if you like, which is not to be found among the inhabitants of cities.'

It may be interesting to the readers of this paper to quote the most popular and poetical of all the Canadian ballads, and at the same time to give a translation from the collection of a Canadian writer, to which we refer at the head of this article:

A LA CLAIRE FONTAINE.

A la claire fontaine
M'en allant promener,
J'ai trouvé l'eau si belle
Que je m'y suis baigné.
Jy' longtemps que je t'aime,
Jamais je ne t'oublierai.

J'ai trouvé l'eau si belle
Que je m'y suis baigné,
Et c'est au pied d'un chêne
Que je m' suis reposé.

Et c'est au pied d'un chêne
Que je m' suis reposé;
Sur la plus haute branche
Le rossignol chantait.

Sur la plus haute branche
Le rossignol chantait;
Chante, rossignol, chante,
Toi qui as le cœur gai.

Chante, rossignol, chante,
Toi qui as le cœur gai;
Tu as le cœur à rire,
Moi je l'ai-t- à pleurer.

Tu as le cœur à rire,
Moi je l'ai-t- à pleurer;
J'ai perdu ma maîtresse
Sans pouvoir la trouver.

J'ai perdu ma maîtresse
Sans pouvoir la trouver;
Pour un bouquet de roses
Que je lui refusai.

Pour un bouquet de roses
Que je lui refusai;
Je voudrais que la rose
Fût encore au rosier.

Je voudrais que la rose
Fût encore au rosier,
Et que le rosier même
Fût dans la mer jeté.
Jy' longtemps que je t'aime,
Jamais je ne t'oublierai.

TRANSLATION.

Down to the crystal streamlet
I strayed at close of day;
Into its limpid waters
I plunged without delay.
I've loved thee long and dearly,
I'll love thee, sweet, for aye.

Into its limpid waters
I plunged without delay;
Then 'mid the flowers springing
At the oak-tree's foot I lay.

Then 'mid the flowers springing
At the oak-tree's foot I lay;
Sweet the nightingale was singing
High on the topmost spray.

Sweet the nightingale was singing
High on the topmost spray;
Sweet bird! keep ever singing
Thy song with heart so gay.

Sweet bird! keep ever singing
Thy song with heart so gay;
Thy heart was made for laughter,
My heart's in tears to-day.

Thy heart was made for laughter,
My heart's in tears to-day—
Tears for a fickle mistress,
Flown from its love away.

Tears for a fickle mistress,
Flown from its love away,
All for these faded roses
Which I refused in play.

All for these faded roses
Which I refused in play—
Would that each rose were growing
Still on the rose-tree gay.

Would that each rose were growing
Still on the rose-tree gay,
And that the fatal rose-tree
Deep in the ocean lay.
I've loved the long and dearly,
I'll love thee, sweet for aye.

All the French Canadian songs show clearly their French

origin, though it is not possible in all cases to trace them to a particular province or district. 'A la Claire Fontaine' has been claimed for Franche-Comté, Brittany, and Normandy, but the best authorities have come to the conclusion, from a comparison of the different versions, that it is Norman. In 'Malbrouck s'en va-t-en guerre,' we have a song which was sung in the time of the Grand Monarque. Mr. M'Lennan, from whose interesting little volume we have already quoted, tells us that it can be traced back to a burlesque elegy on the Duke of Guise, while Father Prout, in his Reliques, gives the popular tradition that it was composed by Mme. de Sevigné as a cradle song for the Dauphin. Of its popularity with the French Canadians, we have an example in General Stranges' reply to the 65th, a French Canadian regiment, during the recent North-West rebellion. One morning, after weeks of tedious and toilsome marching, just as the men were about to fall in, the General overheard the remark—'Ah! when will we go home?' 'ah, mes garçons,' laughed the General—

> 'Malbrouck s'en va-t-en guerre
> Mais quand reviendra-t-il?'
>
> 'Malbrouck has gone a-fighting,
> But when will he return?'

and with their characteristic light-heartedness the men caught up the famous old air and the march was resumed without a murmur.

It is noteworthy that these old songs continue to be the favourites with all classes, almost to the exclusion of the modern and essentially Canadian ballads, written by native poets, and adapted to the custom and scenery of the country. This fact is indicative of the long life of a popular ballad, when it has once taken a deep hold of the sympathies and affection of a peasantry. No caprice of fashion can force a popular air from the heart of a people. We see this strikingly illustrated by the fact that some years ago 'A la Claire Fontaine' was sung with immense success on the French stage. It came back to Canada with Parisian variations, which had a little popularity for a while in fashionable circles, but now those variations are forgotten, and the old air and words are only heard in the homes of the people.

I have dwelt at some length on these *chansons populaires* of Canada, because they afford some evidence of the tenacity with which the people cling to the customs, traditions, and associations of the land of their origin. Indeed, their love for Old France still lies deep in the hearts of the people, and both young and old study her best literature, and find their greatest pride in her recognition of their poets and writers. It is the ambition of every educated French Canadian to spend some time in France, though very few of them ever leave Canada permanently. Some of the young French Canadians are imbued with French ideas, and would like to see French capital and enterprise introduced into the Dominion. But so far there has been no immigration from France, and the efforts to bring in capital from the same country have not been successful to any extent. It is quite evident that while there exists among the more influential and cultured class a sentimental attachment to Old France, there is a still deeper feeling, strengthened by the political freedom and material progress of the past forty years, that the connection with the British Empire gives the best guarantee for the preservation of their liberties and rights. No doubt the influence of the Roman Catholic priesthood has had much to do with perpetuating the connection with England. They feel that it is not by a connection with France or the United States that their religious and civil institutions are best conserved. Besides, the sympathies of the great mass of the people of the province are not republican but monarchical, and they view with disfavour the levelling tendencies of the ruling powers in France.

If we come to inquire into the causes of the content and prosperity which, on the whole, have for many years characterized the French Canadian population, we find that they are the natural outcome of the stability and freedom of the political system under which they live. So far there are three eras in the political history of French Canada. First, there was the French régime, when the colony was poor and struggling against many difficulties, and never enjoyed even a semblance of self-government either in their municipal or provincial affairs.

'The institutions of France,' says Lord Durham in his remarkably able report, 'during the period of the colonization of Canada, were, perhaps,

more than those of any other European nation, calculated to repress the intelligence and freedom of the great mass of the people. These institutions followed the Canadian colonist across the water. The same central ill-organized, unimproving and repressive despotism extended over him. Not merely was he allowed no voice in the government of his province, or the choice of his ruler, but he was not even permitted to associate with his neighbours for the regulation of those municipal affairs, which the central authority neglected under the pretext of managing.'

Then came the second era, which lasted from 1763 to 1840, during which the French Canadian had a legislature, and learned to understand and value the advantages of self-government. The discontent which culminated in the rebellion of 1837-8 was caused by the unwillingness of the British Government to concede to the people their legitimate influence in the administration of provincial affairs. Representative government was for years a mere mockery, while the province was ruled by Downing Street officials, and by frequently ill-chosen governors, advised by a council over whom the people's representatives in the Assembly could exercise no direct influence. 'To suppose that such a system would work well in Lower France,' said Lord Durham, 'implies a belief that the French Canadians have enjoyed representative institutions for half a century without acquiring any of the characteristics of a free people.'

Then followed the union of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada, which was intended to weaken the influence of the French Canadian section in the government, but had the very contrary effect of giving it greater weight in the administration of public affairs. It was, in fact, the battle cry of years of a large political party that Upper Canada was ruled by the majority of the French Province. The union of 1840 enlarged the political liberties of the Canadas, but it too became inadequate to the circumstances of the country as the population of Upper Canada largely increased, and its representatives demanded a representation in the Legislature larger than that of the French province. For years the French Canadians contended vigorously for the equality of representation laid down in the Union Act, but at last the conflict became so great between the two sections that it was necessary to seek a solution of the political difficulty in a federation of the provinces. In 1867 commenced the new

era, under which the influence of the French Canadians became stronger than ever. It is a well known fact that many of the ablest public men who brought about the confederation of the provinces were favourable to a legislative union, but it was strenuously resisted by the French Canadians, who naturally preferred a system which enables them to have entire control of their provincial affairs and at the same time gives them great power in the central government. Under the federal constitution they have a Provincial Government, composed of a Lieutenant-Governor, appointed by the Governor-General in Council, and advised by an Executive Council, who hold office in accordance with the principles of responsible government. The Legislature consists of two Houses, a Legislative Council of twenty-four members appointed by the Crown, and a Legislative Assembly of sixty-five members elected by the people—the number in each House being the same as in the Senate and House of Commons of the Dominion Parliament. This local government has the control of education, of the management and sale of public lands and the timber thereon, of hospitals, asylums, and charities, of municipal institutions, of local works and undertakings, of the solemnization of marriage in the province, of property and civil rights, of the administration of justice including the constitution, maintenance and organization of provincial courts, both of civil and criminal jurisdiction, and generally of all matters of a merely local or private nature. With respect to education the constitution expressly provides for the preservation of the rights of the dissentient Protestant schools in the province, and any laws made by the province cannot 'prejudicially affect any right or privilege with respect to denominational schools' which any class of persons had by law in the province at the time of the Union. In the Parliament of the Dominion the interests of the French Canadians are carefully watched by the large and influential body of representatives they have in the Senate and House of Commons, which have jurisdiction on all matters of general or national import, such as trade and commerce, postal communications, inter-provincial or international railways, militia or defence. In both the Parliament of the Dominion and the Legislature of Quebec, the representatives

of the province are very persistent in asserting provincial rights, feeling that it is only by a strict adherence to the constitution they can preserve their provincial autonomy. So far, though questions of jurisdiction are constantly arising between the general and the local government, they are being solved satisfactorily in the courts, and whatever differences of opinion may arise on these matters of constitutional law there is none as to the necessity of preserving the Federal System in its entirety, since it ensures better than any other system of government the rights and interests of the French Canadian population in all those matters most deeply affecting a people speaking a language, professing a religion, and retaining certain institutions, different from those of the majority of the people of the Dominion. Happily for the interests of Quebec, the public men of that province are as a rule men of high attainments, who would grace any legislative body in the world. Thoroughly appreciating the advantages of representative institutions, and of the connection with Great Britain, the best minds among them constitute a bulwark of strength to the Confederation. We see this fact strikingly exemplified in the career of one of the most liberal minded and patriotic statesmen French Canada has produced, the late Sir George Etienne Cartier, who always understood the importance of confederation from a national as well as provincial standpoint, and devoted the closing years of his life to the perfection of that great measure. It was a fitting tribute to the services of that eminent man that Canada should have erected a statue to his memory in the noble square on which stands her Parliament House, where now annually assemble more than two hundred representatives of a people whose limits extend over a territory larger than that of any other country in the world except the Russian Empire.

The question may now suggest itself to my readers, Will the French Canadian nationality continue to work in harmony with the English-speaking people, or is there danger at some future time of a strong antagonism between these two elements, which may tend to destroy the unity of the confederation? Professor Seeley, in his very suggestive work on the 'Expansion of the Empire,' says that ethnological unity is 'of great importance when we would form an opinion about the stability or chance of

duration of an empire.' In his opinion 'the chief forces which hold a community together, and cause it to constitute one state, are three,—*common nationality*, *common religion*, and *common interest*.' Two of these three forces are certainly wanting in Canada. The people of one large province speak the French language, cling to the civil law and other institutions of France, and profess the Roman Catholic religion. It is true that this nationality is as yet in a minority; but there is conclusive evidence that it is a powerful minority, which does not show any sign of deteriorating strength, but rather of expansion. The province of Quebec is more thoroughly French Canadian than it has been for half a century and more. The French element has in a great measure crowded out the English-speaking people in places like Quebec, and it is only the superior energy and business capacity of the latter that enable them to hold their own even in Montreal, whose natural situation at the head of ocean navigation, and natural relations to the Great Lakes and the West must always make it an important commercial emporium, attracting the enterprise and capacity of all nationalities. In certain towns and districts where the English were dominant a few years ago, the French Canadians are now in the majority. The Eastern townships were until recently exclusively English and Protestant, but the tide of French population has already flowed into these districts. We see a similar expansion in the direction of the province of Ontario. A large proportion of the city of Ottawa is French Canadian, and it was only the other day that the Dominion Government acknowledged the claims of the growing French population of Ontario to representation in the Senate. There is not at present that steady flow of French Canadians into the manufacturing towns of the United States which for years relieved Canada of the surplus of a population whose natural increase is very great. The efforts of the leaders of public opinion in Quebec are now being directed towards keeping their people at home, and offering inducements to their expatriated compatriots to return. As a matter of fact, then, the French Canadian people are actually increasing in numbers, and should they overcome their natural indisposition to settle in a new country, they would soon over-run the North-West, where there

still exists a remnant of half-breeds allied to them by ties of a common descent and common religion. But so far they do not show any desire to settle the new territories where, from all appearances, the British speaking people will entirely prevail. Taking then all these facts into consideration, the intense spirit of nationalism that animates the mass of French Canadians, the rigidity with which they cling to their language and institutions, their indisposition to take up English customs, their tendency to keep themselves distinct in society, and their increasing numbers, we cannot fail to see the importance of the influence they must exercise for a long time to come over the destinies of Canada. It would be idle to say that there is not now and then evidence of antagonism betwen the two races. From time to time attempts are made to stimulate this antagonism to a perilous degree. Attacks are even made upon the tithe system and other institutions of French Canada which rest on the foundation of solemn treaties and instruments granted to the province in the course of a century and a quarter. Such an agitation must be unwise, inasmuch as it is not for the English-speaking people in other provinces to attack institutions which do not affect themselves, and from which the French Canadian, who are directly interested, do not show any desire to be released.

The future unity and stability of the Canadian Confederation depends on the fact that there is one great force which is ever operating among all nationalities to preserve the body politic, and that is, as Professor Seeley points out, *common interest.* Whilst Lower Canada holds the portals of the great avenue of communication between the Old World and the West, she is indispensable to the Union, and no other province can afford to treat her with injustice. Were the French province to-morrow to leave the Confederation, it would at once be dissolved, and the result would be fatal to the aspirations of those who are working to build up a new nationality to the north of the United States, in close connection with the parent State. One province after the other would find itself in the ranks of the American States, and Quebec itself would eventually be absorbed—a result fatal to the perpetuation of the language and institutions to which its people have always clung with such tenacity. It would indeed be an unhappy

day for Canada were she to return to the old condition of things which existed previous to the rebellion of 1837-8, when, as Lord Durham said, he 'found two nations roaring in the bosom of a single state; a struggle not of principles but of races.' Happily that condition of things no longer exists. The history of the fifty years that have elapsed since the 'dark days' of Canada goes to show that the governing classes of the English and French nationalities have ceased to feel towards each other that intense spirit of jealousy which was likely at one time to develop itself into a dangerous hatred. The spirit of conciliation and justice, which has happily influenced the action of leading English and French Canadian statesmen in the administration of public affairs, together with the conservative influence of the priests in Quebec, has been so far successful in repressing the spirit of passion and demagogism which has exhibited itself at certain political crises, and in eventually bringing the two nationalities into harmony with each other. Without compromise and conciliation Canada with its distinct nationalities can never be successfully governed. As long as there are in her midst two distinct national elements face to face,—the one in the minority animated by a determination to adhere strictly to its language and customs, the other in the majority equally believing in the superiority of its own institutions,—it is inevitable that there should be always a latent spirit of antagonism in the country which might at any moment develop itself in a very dangerous form. Should one press nationalism beyond the limits of justice or prudence in a moment of passion, or should the other, with the arrogance sometimes characteristic of a majority, attempt to violate solemn obligations and overturn the institutions to which the minority are wedded, the result would be a political revolution which would end in bloodshed and ruin. But all this is perhaps mere idle speculation. Every reason exists to make us believe that as long as the same wise counsels continue to prevail in Canada that have heretofore governed her, and carried her successfully through critical periods, the integrity of the confederation is assured, and the two races will ever work harmoniously together, united by the ties of a common interest, and a common allegiance to the Empire to whose fostering care they already owe so much.

Although the lines of the two nationalities that now occupy Canada may at times appear to diverge from each other and to seek different channels, yet let us hope that as the years pass by, they will be brought more closely together, until at last their fortunes become indissolubly united, just as we see two great rivers which have kept apart for many hundreds of miles, coming at last to mingle their waters and form one mighty stream flowing grandly and uninterruptedly towards the ocean.

JNO. GEO. BOURINOT.

ART. III.—THE SUBJECTS OF THE BYZANTINE EMPIRE.

THE durability shown by the Byzantine Empire could not be entirely accounted for if we did not take into consideration the material prosperity enjoyed by its subjects. The State could not have lasted so long without the defence afforded by armies and navies, and the cost of equipping and supporting these armies and navies was defrayed out of the wealth gained by industry and commerce. Of what this wealth was, we may gain some idea from the impression which it produced upon foreigners, even after the decline of the Empire had begun. In the year 1170, for instance, the Jewish traveller, Benjamin of Tudela, after passing through France, Italy, and many of the cities of Greece, visited Constantinople. It may be assumed that he was a competent judge of the value of the things which he saw. And here is what he says:—'The immense treasures which pour into Constantinople from every province, town and city, surpass anything which can be imagined or which exists anywhere else. In the midst * of the

* He probably refers to the number of columns of the precious metals belonging to the Bema, and which was certainly too great to be at once realized by the eye, without counting. The eikonostasion was of silver, and had at least twelve, but, more probably, twenty-four columns of that

Church of Wisdom there is an innumerable collection of pillars of silver and gold. The Emperor's palace contains treasures and precious stones the value of which it wou d be very hard to appraise. The inhabitants of the land are rich. They dress in silk, and wear mantles embroidered with gold. When you see them attired thus, and coming out on horseback, you would take them for kings' sons. The country is broad, and abounding in bread, and meat, and wine, and fruit. There are no men in the world so rich as these people.'

Fifty years later, the same astonishment was felt by the Crusaders when they arrived to attack the Imperial City, and cast anchor before San Stefano.* 'Those who had never seen it before,' says Villehardouin, 'stood on the decks, gazing upon the marvellous sight, and scarcely able to realize that the world could contain a city so rich. Above all were they astonished at the sight of the lofty walls and great towers wherewith it is engirt, the magnificent palaces, and the splendid churches, the number of which is such that no one can believe it who has not seen it, and the length and the breadth of this Queen of Cities.' And when they had taken it and laid their hands upon the wealth which had made their eyes sparkle from afar, their wonder was not lessened nor their hopes disappointed. 'The loot,' continues their chronicler, 'was such as no man could guage. There was gold, and silver, and precious stones, and gold and silver plate, and silken stuffs, and furs, and everything that there is beautiful on earth. One might say with truth that a conquered city has never yielded such a loot since the creation of the world.'

The work of the historian Paparregopoulos contains a calculation based upon contemporary sources, which shows that in

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metal. The baldaquin, which must have had at least four columns, was entirely of silver-gilt except such portions as were of pure gold. The episcopal thrones round the apse, at least seven in number, were separated by shafts of gold. We may also conjecture the form and material of the Imperial and Patriarchal thrones, the pillar-like standards for lights before the eikonostasion, &c. (Note by the Translator.)

* The place from which the Treaty concluded between Russia and Turkey after the late war derives its name.

the Twelfth Century the annual revenue of the Byzantine Empire amounted to about twenty-five millions of pounds sterling, a sum which, if we make allowance for the then greater value of money, would in the present day be equivalent to about an hundred and twenty millions. We can judge what must have been the material prosperity of the subjects of New Rome when we compare this with the public income of the entire British Empire, which in 1884, amounted, according to the *Almanach de Gotha*, to only close upon two hundred and three millions. And we can judge also what the change has been under the Turkish Empire, which now occupies Constantinople, and a far larger territory than that of the Byzantine Empire in the Twelfth Century. The anticipated revenue of the Turkish Empire in 1883-4, according to the same authority, was equivalent only to something over thirteen millions and an half. The fact was that Constantinople, placed upon the borders of Europe and Asia, had opened to her, upon the one hand, through the Propontis, the whole Mediterranean and beyond that, the Atlantic Ocean itself, and, on the other, through the Black Sea, and its great river tributaries, the most distant regions both of Europe and of Asia. Thus she became the capital not only of the Empire, but of civilisation itself, and her unique position afforded her advantages which she enjoyed far beyond any horizon which had ever met the eye of her classical predecessor Byzantium. It was in her marts that, throughout the whole of the Middle Ages, was centred the trade both of India and of Northern Europe, as well as the commerce in the fruits of her own national agriculture and industry. It was from her docks that there issued those navies of Greek merchantmen which visited every port of the Mediterranean and supplied the rest of Europe with silk, carpets, linen, perfumes, precious stones, cotton, dressed leather, oil, wine, and fruits.

The time came, however, when the newly-founded Italian Republics began little by little to contest the monopoly of the merchants of New Rome. They began under the shelter of the Imperial Government itself, of which their colonists professed themselves the vassals. But at length, by turning to skilful account the successes of the Crusaders,

they transformed their counting-houses in the East into the independent outposts of foreign states, and gave a political turn to their commercial relations with Constantinople. In the period which elapsed between the First and the Fourth Crusade, the navigation and commerce of the Italian Republics obtained a vastly increased development, at the same time that the military organisation of the whole of feudalized Europe disputed what had hitherto been the exclusive supremacy of the Eastern Empire. After Constantinople was taken by the Crusaders in 1204 the maritime supremacy of the Mediterranean passed into the hands of the Venetians, and when the Greeks had again expelled the Latin intruders, the Western merchants and workmen who had settled in the East during their occupation, still held their ground, nor did the Byzantine population ever again find itself able to wrest from them the commercial and industrial predominence which they had acquired. The Emperor Michael VIII. (Palaiologos) in order to obtain the support of these Italian colonies against the Franks, confirmed to the Venetians, the Pisans, and the Genoese, of whom they were composed, all the privileges which they had already acquired. They had laws of their own, administered by magistrates drawn from their native places, and who were termed by the Venetians *Bailies*, by the Pisans *Consuls*, and by the Genoese *Podestà*. But the injury inflicted upon the commerce of the Empire by Italian competition did not stop here. Originally transferred to the hands of Italians settled in the East, trade in time passed away to Italy itself, and Constantinople was deprived of the main sources of her wealth.

The Byzantine Government tried to get rid, first of the Venetian, and then of the Genoese settlers, by playing upon their mutual rivalry. But whether it was one or the other who was for the moment uppermost, the result for the real natives of the Empire was the same. Trade passed away into the hands of foreigners. Manufactures which had once been peculiar to the East, were now transplanted to Sicily, Italy or Spain. The heaviest blow which the Normans ever dealt to the Byzantine Empire was the removal of the centre of the silk-trade to Sicily.

But let us turn to another aspect of the case. Let us forget how ruinous to the trade of the Empire was the commercial rivalry at length developed in Italy. Let us forget that it was Venice which was the first cause of the fall of Constantinople by bringing on the Latin conquest. Let us forget that the first Turks who assailed the Imperial City were borne under her walls in Genoese vessels. Let us remember instead, that contact with New Rome was the starting-point and the origin of that material and intellectual prosperity of the Italian Republics which preceded the Renaissance of the rest of Europe. It is but another link in that chain which attaches all the progress of the renewed West to the fact of the long-continued existence of the Byzantine Empire.

It may indeed be said that if we follow up to their sources almost any of the modern branches of Art, we find ourselves at last confronted by Byzantine teachers and Byzantine models. This is especially the case with the Art of Venice, which likewise owed to the East her industries and her commerce. Venice was the principal instructress of modern Europe. But she was herself an outpost of the Byzantine world, settled on the Northern shores of the Adriatic. The Venetian Republic itself remained a vassal of the Byzantine Empire until the Twelfth Century, that is to say, so long as it suited the interests of her citizens to enjoy the protection of Constantinople and to profit by the advantages of being subjects of the Emperor. It was not till the new States which began to spring up in the East had attained a convenient amount of development, and the Crusades had changed the aspect of European politics, that the Republic bethought herself of becoming independent of New Rome.

It was to the East that Western Europe owed not only the arts of rearing the silk-worm and weaving silk, but also those stuffs embroidered and enwoven with gold, those carpets and tapestries which soon claimed a place as essential elements in Western luxury. It was from the Byzantines that the Venetians learnt the manufacture of glass, and the fabrication of all the articles in this material, whose beauty causes them to be still so much sought after and esteemed. As for jewellery

and goldsmiths' work, it was long before the craftsmen of Italy, of Germany, and of France, succeeded in equalling the Byzantine artificers whose productions they copied. It was likewise at Constantinople that organs were first invented, so that it is to Greek mechanics that the Western churches owe that very instrument which so tickles the ears of their worshippers, but which the East has refused to admit into competition with the voice of the creature praising the Creator. Nor was it in works of peace alone that the Byzantine inventors displayed their industry and their ingenuity, as is proved by the superiority of their engines of war and the discovery and use of the Greek fire.

In all that concerns the Fine Arts, modern Europe is deeply indebted to Christian and Imperial Constantinople. It is quite true that, in order to produce master-pieces, natural aptitude is not all that is needed, nor even material prosperity. There must also be the enjoyment of political freedom. Byzantine Society lacked those elements which produced in antient Hellas and in mediæval Italy the artists whose works are now regarded with universal admiration as the highest known achievements of their kind. But here it is necessary to remember, as has been already remarked, that the peculiar work to which New Rome was called in the history of human progress, was not that of invention but of preservation. And this work she did for the Fine Arts as well as for other things. The Byzantine artists may have allowed the Idea of the Beautiful to fade and to deteriorate, but still it was they who guided the infant Art of the West towards the imitation of the antique. Their hands may have grown weak, but they never ceased to employ them upon every branch of Art, even when they had lost all hope of attaining the Beautiful and the Sublime. Nevertheless, when we find Byzantine Art confining itself for so many centuries to the same unchanging models, we cannot but perceive that these deathless types must have been themselves produced in a better day, and it is to that better day that the modern student of Art ought to direct his attention.

As regards Architecture, the building which offers at once the highest expression and the most characteristic type of the

Byzantine style is the colossal Church of the Uncreated Wisdom at Constantinople. This temple is in itself enough to win for the names of the architects, Anthemios and Isidoros, a place among the very first of their profession. But Byzantine Architecture was not confined either to the reign of Justinian or to the capital city, to the limits of the Byzantine Empire, or to the epoch when that State flourished. This style is a direct development from the Art of Greece and Rome. It is the transition between Classical and Modern Architecture. It produced the earliest distinctive type of a Christian place of worship, and its influence upon the Architecture of the Christian world has been vast. Especially is this the case in Venice, in Sicily, in Russia, and throughout Eastern Christendom. At Venice, the Church of St. Mark is an enduring monument of its grandeur. In Sicily, the mosaics which stir the awe and wonder of the traveller at Monreale, at Palermo, and at Cefalù, are the work of Greek artists. On the other hand, all that is most beautiful in Mohammedan architecture is either actually Greek work or an imitation from it. Even the Turks themselves have been forced to invoke the genius of the people whom they have conquered. It was to the Greek Christodoulos that Mahomet II. had fain to commit the building of the mosque which still bears his name.

As to Byzantine Painting, we are not now able to speak with the same exactitude, because none of the works of the best period have survived. Probably the long-drawn persecution waged by the Iconoclasts has had something to do with this fact. At the same time, the miniatures which adorn some MSS., the traits preserved in the later hagiography, the existing mosaïcs, and, above all, the descriptions of contemporary writers, combine, even more than some few surviving remains, to suggest the former existence of an higher school of Art than any of which we now possess any extensive monuments. Whatever the Byzantine Painting may really have been, it was undoubtedly the parent of Modern Painting. Anyone can see this in the picture-galleries and the churches of Western Europe, by glancing at the works of Cimabue, and

the rest of the early Italian masters who were the forerunners of Raphael.

The same remarks which apply to the condition of the Fine Arts in the New Rome, will equally apply to the condition of all the other branches of learning and culture. They had periods of weakness, but they were not wholly neglected. What was there known as 'General Education' (ἡ ἐγκύκλιος παιδεία) was always considered as the completion of any really good systematic training, whether for men or for women. The general diffusion and the high standard of education is a fact which explains the uninterrupted succession of learned and able persons in such a Society as the Byzantine, where genius lacked the invigorating atmosphere afforded by the polity of a free State.

It was owing to this wide dissemination of culture that women as well as men were able to take an active part in affairs of State. Thus we find that Finlay, when speaking of Eudokia Palaiologa, daughter of Michael VIII., sister of Andronikos II., wife of John II., Emperor of Trebizond, and mother of his successor Alexios II., makes the remark:—'Eudocia showed herself as much superior to her brother Andronicus in character, judgment, and virtue, as most of the women of the house of Palaiologos were to the men. The difference between the males and females of this imperial family is so marked, that it would form a curious subject of enquiry to ascertain how the system of education in the Greek empire, at this period, produced an effect so singular and uniform.' It was indeed especially in the latter days of Byzantine Society that women, both at Constantinople and at Trebizond, gave proof of possessing a wisdom, a virtue, and a courage which were not unfrequently greater than those of men. This superiority in the Byzantine system of education was recognised as a fact by contemporary Europe, where princes esteemed themselves happy if their daughters were brought up under the care of the women of the Court of Constantinople. Nor is it possible, before leaving this point, to avoid alluding to the fact of the very great number of books written by women during the Byzantine epoch, and of which some are still extant. The

literary merit of these works is of course various, and a matter of discussion. But the nature of the subjects treated, and the erudition displayed in dealing with them, leave no doubt as to the learning, the tastes, and the culture of the writers.

History gives us plenty of testimonies to the honours and consideration with which the Emperors treated the learned, and in this respect the Court was only the leader of the rest of Byzantine Society. We may perhaps smile now-a-days when we find the title of *Prince of the Philosophers* (ὕπατος τῶν φιλοσόφων), bestowed upon Michael Constantine Psellos in the Eleventh Century. Perhaps, however, we should first do well to have some acquaintance with the life and works * of the writer in question. But whatever may have been the merits or the faults of these philosophers, the schools of learning which they directed were schools in which Plato and Aristotle were taught. The teaching may have been more or less pedantic and lifeless. But minds could not be brought into habitual contact with the master minds of antient Greece without result. And the result is one which often strikes the reader of Byzantine literature. The authors of that literature have met with less esteem than they deserve.

Those who acquired the 'general education' did not all become historians or theological disputants. Any extensive biographical dictionary † is filled with the names of Byzantine authors, grammarians, mathematicians, geographers, physicians, writers upon the physical sciences, upon astronomy, upon

* Numerous as were his already published works, we have had to thank the k. K. Sathas for at last causing the whole to appear in print, as well as for the excellent biographical notice with which these hitherto unedited compositions are accompanied. The learning of Psellos was so vast and varied as to be almost encyclopædic; but the title bestowed upon him can hardly be understood as meant to indicate that he was to be termed the chief of *all* philosophers. It implies rather that he was the leader among the learned of his own contemporaries and fellow-countrymen. The word ὕπατος properly means a *Consul*, and after the retirement of Psellos into a monastery, the title was given by Alexios I. (Komnenós) to Joannes Italos. (Note by the Translator.)

† Smith's larger *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* is an instance (Tr.)

music, and, in fact, upon every department of human knowledge. It will be contended that none of them inaugurated an epoch in any branch of science. Well, let it be so. In any case the ceaseless toil with which all these men strove to acquire and to spread knowledge is of itself a noble thing, of which the modern world ought to take account when it sits down to judge the Greeks of the Byzantine Empire.

It has been the fashion to credit the Arabs with having preserved or created a great deal of scientific culture during the darkness of the Middle Ages. But the truth was that what the Arabs learned they acquired from the Greeks of Constantinople, and that the Arabic translations in which some classical works were preserved were made for them by Greek scholars. The Caliphs, when at the height of their power and greatness, did indeed patronise and encourage the study of letters and of science, but it was thanks to Greek men of learning, that they were able to cultivate any such exotic at Bagdad. The Caliph Almamoun deserves credit for having attracted to his Court such men as Leo of Thessalonica, but Byzantine Society deserves the gratitude of posterity for having produced them. 'There is no such thing,' says Dr. Daremberg,* 'as an original Arab medical science. Arab medical science was a slavish imitation from the Greek. And the same remark is true of all the sciences. The Arabs have never been inventors. They are enthusiasts, possessed with a passion for anything new, which renders their enthusiasm itself evanescent. And in consequence of this incapacity for perseverance, they soon forgot the lessons in medical science which they had once acquired from the Greeks, and have fallen back into a state of the most absolute ignorance.'

After all, however, Jurisprudence is the science in which the work of the Byzantine Empire was of most importance, and in which it has left the most enduring monuments. The authorities of the Empire preserved the whole structure of Roman law, and at the same time performed the work of adapting it to the needs of Christian society.

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* *Journal des Débats*, Dec. 13, 1882. 'Le Caire : Impressions Medicales.'

Byzantine Legislation is especially connected with the names of two great Emperors—Justinian I. and Basil I. (the Macedonian). 'The Greek lawyers' says Mortreuil, 'who laboured by command of Justinian, displayed an ability so great that after the lapse of thirteen centuries, the compilations of that monarch still represent the entire spirit of Roman Jurisprudence, and the modern Codes of to-day submit to his prescriptions and to his doctrines.'

Three centuries after Justinian, Basil the Macedonian undertook the compilation of a New Code, based upon the commentaries by which the Byzantine legists had explained and completed the work of Justinian and his successors. This Code received from its author the title of the Basiliká. It became thenceforth the Law of the Christian East. Even after the conquest by the Turks, the measure of temporal jurisdiction with which they invested the ecclesiastical tribunals, caused it to survive as a civil code, and as such it is still in force.* In the Basiliká the antient Roman Jurisprudence appears subject to a profound modification. The monarchial form of the Byzantine Government, and still more, the adoption of Christianity, give it a new character, which it preserved entire as long as Emperors ruled at Constantinople to carry on and to perfect the work of their predecessors. Meanwhile, alongside the secular Code, the Byzantine tribunals formed likewise the system of Canon Law.

The necessity for applying, for studying, for commenting, and for explaining this double Code produced a series of eminent lawyers which was never interrupted from the beginning till the end of the Empire. Many of their names have passed into oblivion, but a long list remains, stretching from Tribonian to Harmenópoulos. The legal schools of Constantinople and Beyrouth were the nurseries in which these learned men were reared. Other Schools of Law existed at Athens, at Alexandria, and at Cæsarea. Nor must we

* In the Kingdom of Greece proper, the necessity for a Criminal Code created by the freedom of the country has been met by an adaptation of the criminal portion of the Code Napoléon.

forget the remark of Mortreuil, who finds in the resemblance to them which marks the corresponding schools of Italy, another proof of the extent to which Byzantine Jurisprudence has affected the legislation of Western Europe.

It may now be permitted to touch upon the subject of Literature. This is a standard by which it is always possible to measure the intellectual development of a nation. In this particular the Byzantine world has been very much cried down. Is there anything to be said upon the other side? I shall not cite the Fourth and Fifth Centuries, which are rendered illustrious by the names of Basil, of the Gregories, of John Chrysostom, of Synesios, of Zosimos, of Stobaios, of Mousaios, and of so many others. These men are generally looked upon as the last representatives of classical culture. The fact is, on the contrary, that all of them, and especially the Doctors of the Church, should be considered as among the earlier glories of the Byzantine period. Taking only one or two names in each succeeding century, we find in the Sixth the remarkable historians Procopius and Agathias. In the Seventh lived George of Pisidia, whose works, while they do not justify the contemporary judgment which compared them to the tragedies of Euripides, are a striking proof of the living tradition of the classical poetry. The Eighth Century was the period of John of Damascus, surnamed 'of Golden Streams,' whose religious writings have become the basis of orthodox systematic theology, and whose words of prayer still lend a voice to the faith and love of Christian hearts throughout the Greek Churches. The Ninth Century is marked by the name of Photius. The Tenth affords the examples of two Imperial authors, Leo VI. (the Wise) and Constantine VII. (Porphyrogennetos) as a proof of the esteem in which the pursuit of letters was held upon the throne itself. In the Eleventh Century, Souidas compiled his Lexicon, and Kedrenos his History. The Twelfth is distinguished as the period of the learned Bishop Eustathios and of the lettered Princess Anna Komnená. The Thirteenth and Fourteenth increased the roll both in numbers and merit, and in the Fifteenth the fall of Constantinople was the means of obtaining for Italy the presence of those learned men who bore with them the

intellectual testament of classical Hellas. Thus, the last benefit which the dying East conferred upon the new-born West, was to transmit to her that heritage of antient culture of which she had been the jealous guardian during so many ages. The emigrants of Constantinople completed the work which had been begun by the immigrants of the Crusades. These two things—first, the Crusades, and, secondly, the diffusion of the antient culture by Byzantine scholars—comprise that epoch of germination during which Western Europe, hitherto shapeless and semi-barbarous, grew into Modern Society.

We certainly do not find in the Byzantine authors the same depth and originality which mark the antient writers whom they copied. Far from it. But there are many of them who cannot be read without both profit and pleasure. In doing so we are at least reminded of their early predecessors. In a word, we cannot condemn Byzantine Literature as having produced no remarkable works. And the prejudice with which they are habitually viewed is curiously and strikingly proved by the fact that certain poems which had been lauded to the skies for centuries as the compositions of Anacreon, have now been proved by modern criticism to be the productions of anonymous Byzantine writers. If such were the verses written at Constantinople, who shall say how many works instinct with a grace truly Greek, may not have been the product of the same atmosphere, but now lost for ever.

* This imitation of the antients, however, even when it was

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* The passage which here follows will not be understood without an explanation, by those who are unaware that the present Greek literary world is divided into two streams of somewhat contrary tendency. All are indeed agreed that the spoken language ought to be cleansed as far as possible of certain foreign words and vulgar circumlocutions which are occasionally to be heard among the uneducated. One school, however, of which the k. Bikélas is an eloquent exponent, regard as natural and healthy developments engendered in the progress of time, the use of certain particular words and of some grammatical constructions which are seldom or never found in antient classical writers. Another school regard these features as the productions of an epoch of degradation, and do everything in their power to abolish them. The difference in the two styles may be seen by comparing a Byzantine historian with the work of the k.

successful, was unhappily the essential weakness of Byzantine Literature. The learned shut themselves up in the study of the past, and this contemplation did not act as a lever to raise new ideas. Antient thought was unadapted to the living needs of another and newer world. The seeds of genius lay frost-bitten and fruitless in the cold, confined atmosphere of retrospection. Byzantine men of talent and culture dedicated themselves so persistently to the worship of the letter that they came to overlook the spirit. They were naturally moved by an intense admiration for the language of their ancestors. Hence they came to regard it as the only instrument of which an author ought to make use for the expression of his thoughts. The living language of Hellas, under the influence of the ordinary laws of philology, developed new forms and entered upon new phases of life. But for the literary world of Constantinople the living tongue came to be stigmatized as vulgar, rustic, or *popular*. At length the contempt of the learned for the living tongue and for those who spoke it, ended by alienating them as a class from the body of their fellow-countrymen. They did not follow, they would not or could not become the mouthpieces of the spirit of their age. Hence the lifelessness which is apparent in their works. A literature which is not a representative of the epoch which produces it, which does not receive from the vital heat of a living people that animation which manifests itself in the light thrown back upon its source, such a literature must necessarily be wanting in the life, the elevation, the passion and the vigour which are the distinctive features of every really strong and healthy national inspiration.

This is the reason why, with all the advantages which the Byzantine writers possessed, with all the learning which distinguished so many, all the grace and all the wisdom which adorned some, they could not escape the fatal consequences entailed by blind attachment to a state of things which was

Paparregopoulos. Those who desire to study the subject of these developments or corruptions may do so, among other works, in the *Horæ Hellenicæ* of Professor Blackie, and in the Appendix to Messrs. Vincent and Dickson's *Handbook to Modern Greek*.—(Note by the Translator.)

past and gone. The prose authors competed with each other as to who should write prose most like that of the Attic authors of a thousand years earlier. The poets were occupied in trying to produce imitations, sometimes of Euripides, at other times of Anacreon. They forgot that the emotion with which Demosthenes had thrilled Athenian assemblies from the Pnyx was not admiration at the profound learning displayed in the correct use of obsolete archaïsms. They forgot that the language in which Socrates conversed with his disciples was the living Greek language of his own day. They forgot that when the Athenians who had been enslaved at Syracuse won their freedom by reciting verses, those verses were the verses of a contemporary poet, namely, Euripides. They did not reflect that if the flowers of eloquence and of poetry are ever to blossom, they must spring up in a natural soil and open under the light and heat of a living sun.

Perhaps Constantinople had no such soil. She lacked the Pnyx, the Theatre, and the Academy of Athens. And her literature has left us no monuments like those antient works which shine as everlasting beacons upon the horizon of the human intelligence.

There is one exception to the unhappy rule of artificialism which stamps Byzantine literature. It is that branch of it which belongs to the sphere where the Life and the Truth reigns. It was there that real feeling insisted upon having a voice, and the result, even from a point of view purely literary, is enough to prove that the Byzantine world had the power of giving noble expression to thought, when it was able to trample down the chains of pedantry.

It has already been necessary to remark that, in the Byzantine Empire, religious questions came to be the principal centre of political and social life—hence it naturally came to be the case that religious feeling was one of the principal motives in individual life, and it is accordingly to religious feeling that we owe the most vivid and striking expressions of Byzantine thought. To it we owe the Church of the Uncreated Wisdom. To it also we owe the ecclesiastical literature formed and illustrated by the Greek Fathers of the Church. And to it we owe,

moreover, the Service-Books of our own Church. These books are far freer than any others from the signs of weakness in intelligence and in taste which mar the rest of Byzantine Literature. In them the spirit of the writers soars above the mimicry of the dead into the strong, clear atmosphere of living humanity.

The group of the regular Liturgical Services, as well as those for special occasions and seasons, with their beautiful and often poetical prayers, which have now for so many centuries answered the spiritual needs and supplied an utterance to the deepest feelings of so many generations of Christian believers, is not itself the product of any one individual period or of any one particular class of writers. Many of the calamities of our country have left their echo in those pages. Many a wounded heart has breathed its sorrow into them. This is the reason why the Service-Books of our Church have from the beginning borne that peculiar stamp which is happily characteristic of the religion of our race. Our Church is bound up with our history. The highest and deepest of human feelings, the most sacred experiences of the individual human heart and conscience, are with us indissolubly associated with reminders of the destinies of our Fatherland. An historical analysis of these sacred books would be a work well worthy of the studies and labours of the most learned Greek. The k. Spyrídon Zampelios has done enough, in some moving pages of his admirable studies of Mediæval Hellenism,* to show of what a development the subject is capable.

The works of the kk. Zampelios and Sathas, and other Greek writers, and above all the national history of the k. Paparregopoulos, are but the first-fruits of what will be done when Greece advances farther in the study of her own Middle Ages. I say, when Greece advances in that study, for surely the study ought to be hers. It has only been within this century that the task has attracted the serious attention of some learned foreigners. We owe to their researches valuable works which will form an excellent guide for the young writers of Greece. It will be

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*** Chap. xxxviii. 'On the Offices for the Dead.'**

easier for natives than it has been for foreigners to penetrate the mysteries of the history of New Rome, and to unravel the tangled threads of her vicissitudes. In that history how many pages are still obscure! How many chapters will have to be re-written! It is for this reason especially that I wish that our young writers would make the history of the Middle Ages a subject of study, and would especially seek to illustrate particular points in it by special essays. Such studies would not be barren, for Byzantine history offers many events, many personages, and many episodes which are fit subjects for such treatment, whether the writer seek to illustrate the movements of religious thought, the phases of commercial activity, or the condition of the people viewed socially and morally.

It is above all the moral condition of the subjects of the Byzantine Empire which seems to me to call for exact investigation. It is time that we should know with precision how far an impartial examination of the facts will justify the low estimate so often formed as to this aspect of Byzantine Society. For such a purpose I think an historian should examine such questions as the following: What were the relations between the governing and the governed? What events took place which may serve as a test of the public conscience, as shown by the action of the people? In what light were the good and bad Princes respectively regarded, and was there any difference in this respect between different periods? How was the estimation in which the clergy were held affected by their personal conduct? Lastly, what was the tone of legislation? I am persuaded that the result of such questions truthfully answered would be to give the Byzantine world an higher place than it now enjoys in popular estimation.

This subject seems to me so important that I prefer not to treat it in any words of my own. I will cite a foreign historian of Mediæval and Modern Greece, the learned Scotchman who spent so many years of study among us, Finlay. No one will accuse him of being intoxicated with too much Philhellenism. On the contrary, he has accustomed us to hear criticisms which are always hard, if not always just. Well, here is what Finlay says. He is speaking of the state of society among

the people of the Byzantine Empire in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries, but the same observations are generally applicable to the whole period during which the empire lasted.

'That the moral condition of the people of the Byzantine Empire under the Iconoclast Emperors,' says Finlay, 'was superior to that of any equal number of the human race in any preceding period, can hardly be denied. The bulk of society occupied a higher social position in the time of Constantine Copronymus than of Pericles; the masses had gained more by the decrease of slavery and the extension of free labour than the privileged citizens had lost. Public opinion, though occupied on meaner objects, had a more extended basis and embraced a larger class. Perhaps, too, the war of opinions concerning ecclesiastical forms or subtleties tended to develop pure morality as much as the ambitious party-struggles of the Pnyx. When the merits and defects of each age are fairly weighed, both will be found to offer lessons of experience which the student of political history ought not to neglect.

'There may be some difference of opinion concerning the respective merits of Hellenic, Roman, and Byzantine society, but there can be none concerning the superiority of Byzantine over that which existed in the contemporary empires of the Saracens and the Franks. There we find all moral restraints weakened and privileged classes or conquering nations ruling an immense subject population, with very little reference to law, morality, or religion. Violence and injustice claimed at Bagdat an unbounded licence, until the Turkish mercenaries extinguished the caliphate; and it was the Norman invaders who reformed the social condition of the Franks. Mohammedanism legalised polygamy with all its evils in the East. In the West, licentiousness was unbounded, in defiance of the precepts of Christianity. Charles Martel, Pepin, and Charlemagne are said all to have had two wives at a time and a numerous household of concubines. But on turning to the Byzantine Empire, we find that the Emperor Constantine VI. prepared the way for his own ruin by divorcing his first wife and marrying a second, in what was considered an illegal manner. The laws of the Franks attest the frequency of

female drunkenness; and the whole legislation of Western Europe during the Seventh and Eighth Centuries, indicates great immorality and a degree of social anarchy, which explains more clearly than the political events recorded in history the real cause of the fall of one Government after another. The superior moral tone of society in the Byzantine Empire was one of the great causes of its long duration; it was its true conservative principle.'

So much for the moral tone of Byzantine Society.

Side by side with the question of public and social morality, arises that of the organisation of the different social strata into which the population was divided. An enquiry into this subject will enlighten us as to the position occupied in the State by the main body of the people, as to the degree to which they were dependent upon the Government, and as to the progressive development of these municipal institutions which, when the crash came, were a plank of safety for the enslaved nation.

It will be perceived that the Byzantine world possessed certain general features which were its distinctive and distinguishing marks from the beginning to the end. But, beside these, there were certain characteristics which marked different epochs. These successive phases of Byzantinism were not produced alone by the influences of their own past, or by the events internal to the Empire. The intellectual movements of the foreign world also had their share in producing them. The events of contemporary history affected the Empire at all times and in different ways.

The manner in which Byzantine history thus actually falls as it were into chapters greatly facilitates the production of special studies. At the same time, it is almost needless to remark that any writer who desires to pourtray any one of these periods with intelligence and correctness must necessarily have a thorough knowledge of Mediæval history in general. Some French authors have already given us excellent studies of the kind indicated. Such are the works of M. Alfred Rambaud upon the times of Constantine Porphyrogennetos, and of M. Ludovic Drapeyron, upon the reign of Herakleios.

Above all, the learned Amédée Thierry, in his *Récits de l'histoire Romaine d' Orient*, has shown how curious and how attractive are the materials with which New Rome invites the labour of the historian. But, in truth, how many of the Emperors are there the record of whose lives could fill many stirring pages! What spectacle, for instance, can be more striking than that presented in Constantinople by the Christmas Day of the year 820—the Emperor Leo V. (the Armenian), falling under the blows of assassins disguised as Priests, within the Church itself, where his intonation of the first Antiphon gave the signal for the onslaught—his successor, Michael II. (the Stammerer), led to the throne from the dungeon, where he was awaiting, for the second time, the arrival of the executioners, to bear him to the fiery furnace in which he was to die, having once already been brought forth for death, and respited at the last moment on account of the prayers of the Empress that he might be reprieved for a few hours in respect to the sanctity of the day? What scene can be found more tragic than the death of Theophilos, when, resolved to secure his son's throne at the expense of his own conscience, he ordered the head of his brother-in-law Theophobos to be brought to his bed-side, and when he had gazed long and steadily at the well-known features, his mind doubtless wandering over the memory of many a battle-field where they had fought together, at last slowly exclaimed, 'Thou art no longer Theophobos, and I am no more Theophilos,' turned away, sank upon his pillow, and never spoke again? Few histories are more terribly affecting than the life of Romanus IV. (Diogenes), spared, after condemnation to death, by the Empress, who raised him to the throne, first the conqueror and then the betrayed prisoner of the Turks, liberated only to return home to find treason enthroned, defeated by its arms, and blinded in defiance of treaty, silent under his tortures, save to pray that they might be received as an expiation of his sins, and sent unattended to the island of Prote, to die of the putrefaction of his wounds. Few lives can show changes more strange than that of Eudokia, daughter of Alexios III., Emperor of Trebizond, wedded to the Turkish Emir Tadjeddin, betrothed, after his murder, to the young

Prince, afterwards Manuel II., and married in the end to the Emperor John VI. More like a romance than an history appears the career of Andronikos I. (Komnenos), a man who may be termed the Alkibiades of Mediæval Greece, the darling of nature, who, after a life of every imaginable adventure in love, in war, and in politics, among Greeks, Latins, Slavs, and Turks, in Thrace and Macedonia, in Cilicia and Syria, in Hungary and Russia, in Persia and Trebizond, at Constantinople, at Jerusalem, at Bagdad, at Damascus, at Kieff, at Semlin, at Thessalonica, after the reign of a year made horrible by his cruelties, was himself torn from the Imperial throne to die in the Hippodrome by the hands of the people after being compelled for hours to suffer tortures which nature recoils from recording.

These are but five instances taken at random from the history of the Byzantine throne only. If we descend among subjects, vast is the number of those who have left an impress for good or for evil upon the fortunes of the East, and the study of whose lives would throw new light upon the history of their epochs. If I once allowed myself to sketch a list however superficial of the themes with which the records of New Rome might inspire either an historian or an artist, I should go farther than I may allow myself. The writers, the poets, and the painters of modern Greece, possess in that history a mine of material which has hardly been touched, which is practically inexhaustible, and which is filled for them with promises alike of labour and of fame.

If, instead of the brief and superficial notes which are here drawing to a close, I had myself endeavoured to attract attention to some one episode in the history of Mediæval Greece by the composition of such a special treatise as I have just indicated, I should perhaps have succeeded better than I have done in conveying in an interesting manner a true idea of what I believe the Byzantine Empire really to have been.

In the present summary sketch I have not sought to treat of the history of the Byzantine Empire. My only wish has been

to call attention to a few of its general features, and at the same time to point out how the distorted glass of national antipathy and old-world prejudice still disfigures the view of the past.

Thus I have striven to show how happily the Byzantine Empire was constituted for the long preservation both of its existence and of its unity, and how that constitution consequently enabled it to preserve through so many centuries all the elements of civilization. Under the shelter of a State equipped with a legislation so singularly perfect, and the protecting eye of a watchful Government, the production of both public and private wealth attained gigantic proportions, while military organization and maritime supremacy assured to the State itself its integrity and its superiority, amid the unceasing and unchanging assaults to which it was subjected, and the intellectual and moral condition of its subjects formed a veritable oasis in the midst of all the barbarism of the Middle Ages with which it was surrounded on every hand. Above all, I have tried to point out that by spreading education and diffusing Christianity, by the cultivation of the Arts and the development of Commerce, by the study of Literature and the pursuit of Science, the Byzantine Empire did more than keep the traditions of civilization for itself; it passed these traditions on to its uncivilized neighbours, and was thus the guide and the teacher of the modern world.

While, however, I have been desirous to acknowledge these benefits, I have had no wish to omit the shadows from the sketch which I have tried to draw. I have remarked in the Byzantine Empire the absence of that political liberty which would have given more cohesion to the State, and done something to neutralize the evils of a centralization by which the life and energy of the Empire were in danger of being all drained away into the capital. I have mentioned the unhappy results of the excessive prominence given to ecclesiastical questions, and the equally unhappy results of a political education which ended by leaving the real natives of the Empire incapable of defending their own country by force of arms.

The feature last mentioned was the principal cause of weak-

ness in the Byzantine Empire, and the element in which we must seek the explanation of its decline and fall. The state of confusion which invited and which followed the Latin conquest brought the faults of this political system clearly to view, just as a shock will cause the mud to rise to the surface of a pond which has hitherto appeared limpid. The low condition into which Government had fallen, the struggles of Pretenders to the throne, and the consequent relaxation of the bonds of internal unity in the State, rendered possible the conquest of the Empire by the comparatively small army of Crusaders. 'The lesson,' as Finlay well remarks, 'is worthy of attentive study by all wealthy and civilized nations, who neglect moral education and military discipline as national institutions. No State, even though its civil organisation be excellent, its administration of justice impartial, and its political system popular, can escape the danger of a like fate, unless skill, discipline, und experience in military and naval tactics watch constantly over its wealth.'

At the same time, the shock produced by the Latin conquest had the effect of separating sharply, and therefore in a sense purifying, the confused and heterogenous mass of elements of which the body social of the Empire was composed. Out of the ruin caused by the catastrophe, there suddenly broke out a strong light of pure Hellenism. It was this light which illuminated all the attempts made for the recovery of Constantinople, and shone upon the recommencement of the Byzantine rule within her walls. From this point onwards, although the Empire still continued to bear the name of *Roman*, it became in itself more and more exclusively Hellenic in character. A new lease of life seemed to be opening before it. The State had now become more homogeneous, and it had acquired fresh strength from the trials through which it had been compelled to pass. It might have proved permanent, if only it had taken a new departure. Then, perhaps, guided by the sceptre of the Palaiologoi, a new Power, a Power purely and exclusively Hellenic, might have arisen, and the history of Europe, both in

Mediæval and Modern times, would have been materially altered.

But such a development was arrested by two causes. One of these was within the Empire itself and consisted of the intense conservatism with which the whole of society clung to the institutions and even the forms of the past, the enduring pride with which they nursed the consciousness that they were the Roman Empire, and a clinging attachment to these antient memories. So strong was this sentiment that it was in itself enough to prevent any radical transformation. While Western Europe was changing and taking new shapes, the East stood still. And here to stand still meant to decline. The other was the ever-narrowing circle of enemies by which the New Rome was now hedged in. The Slavs, the Bulgars, the Franks, and, above all, the Turks, by burning the harvests, slaughtering the flocks and herds, and enslaving the inhabitants, had now reduced the provinces to a desert, and confined the Hellenic population of the Empire to little more than the neighbourhood of Constantinople. The New Rome still indeed stood for a while, as the antient and glorious metropolis of Christianity, the magnificent capital of Eastern civilization. But at last the hand of Mahomet II. fell upon her also.

I hope that in my attempt to give an idea of the past, I have said nothing but what is true. I do not think that my judgment has been obscured by national feeling. Our national feeling now is not a feeling for Byzantinism, but for pure Hellenism, which the march of time and the instincts and endowments of the Hellenic race have once more eliminated from the Byzantine amalgam; although, of course, we at the same time acknowledge the facts of history and the existence of certain elements in common.

If, when I call to mind the benefits which mediæval Greece has conferred upon civilization, I have neither desired nor been able to escape being fired by some admiration for the acts of individual men, the greatness of soldiers, the glory of scientists and artists, I have had no intention of weakening for one moment the higher feeling which the thought of the antient Hellas creates in every noble spirit. Certainly not.

It is true that, whether in peace or in war, the men of the Byzantine Empire often displayed qualities which the men of antient Hellas would not have been ashamed to own. It is true that in such matters as regard Literature, Science, and Art, they ought to be judged more fairly than they have been hitherto; for they strove at least to imitate the glorious models which they could not rival. By the propagation of the Christian religion and the establishment of the Church, they have laid the modern world under an obligation which cannot be denied. But, nevertheless, although we may do justice to the men of the Byzantine epoch, and may strive to dissipate the spiteful caricature under which their real character has been disguised, our hearts will never warm to their names as they warm to the holy names of Marathon and of Plataiai, or at the glorious memory of the heroes and sages of Antient Hellas.

And why? Is it because the Parthenon is a nobler building than the Church of the Eternal Wisdom? Is it because Athens was the mother of Aischylos and Thoukydides, whereas Constantinople has only bequeathed us Photios? No. The true reason is because the double love of Freedom and of Fatherland does not exalt the mind and quicken the heart, at Byzantium, as it does in Hellas.

This is the real point of difference which creates so wide a separation between two worlds which have so much in common. This is why the Hellas of to-day, although she does not forget Constantinople and all the things which make it hers, is always looking steadfastly to the glory of her early fathers, and why her heart and her intelligence alike bear her back to the Hellas of the past.

This is why, when the poet of modern Hellas sings of her Resurrection, he does not invoke the names of Constantine the Great, or of Herakleios, or of the Komnenoi, or of the last of the Palaiologoi. Instead of doing so he falls down in worship before the Three Hundred who died at Thermopylai, and hails the glorious fact that Freedom rises from their grave.

'Απ' τὰ κόκκαλα βγαλμένη
Τῶν 'Ελλήνων τὰ 'ιερὰ,

Καὶ 'σὰν πρῶτα 'ανδρειωμένη,
Χαῖρ' ὦ Χαῖρ' 'Ελευθεριά !

But we must not rest satisfied with having a glorious ancestry. We must not allow ourselves to be lulled into inactivity by the knowledge of what our fathers have done. Let us remember how largely the decline and fall of the Byzantine Empire was owing to the fact that those who guided its fortunes were always looking to that which was gone. Let us profit by that warning example. Let us take both the epochs which lie behind us as the foundation and the starting-point for the work which lies before us, but let our eyes, and our hopes, and our energies be directed to the future, and let our word of command be, not Backward, but FORWARD.

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΣ ΒΙΚΕΛΑΣ.

ART. IV.—THE GAS INDUSTRY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM.

1. *Transactions of the Gas Institute for* 1885 *and* 1886. Edited and published by the Secretary, W. H. BENNETT, London.
2. *Statistical Report of the Gas Supply of Scotland.* By the Committee of the North British Association of Gas Managers, DAVID TERRACE, Secretary. Glasgow, 1885.
3. *Parliamentary Returns relating to all Authorised Gas Undertakings in the United Kingdom.* London, 1886.

THE manufacture and distribution of coal gas may be justly described as one of the important industries of the world. Like railways and the electric telegraph it may be considered as a product of the nineteenth century; for, though coal gas was actually used for illuminating purposes by William Murdoch, the inventor of gas lighting, as early as 1792 at Redruth in Cornwall, and in 1797 at his home at Old Cumnock, Ayrshire, it was not until well into the first decade of the present century that gas began to be generally applied in the lighting of streets, factories, and dwelling-houses. The illumination of Soho Works, Birming-

ham, to celebrate the peace of Amiens, took place in 1802. These works belonged to Boulton and Watt, and Murdoch was employed as manager to the firm. The first application of gas to the interior lighting of large premises was made by Murdoch in Salford, in 1805, at the cotton manufactory of Phillips and Lee; and the first street lighted with gas was that of Pall Mall, London, in 1807. The first gas company incorporated by Act of Parliament was the 'Chartered' (now the Gaslight and Coke) London, in 1812.

For gas producing purposes the coal most suitable is the bituminous class, and this is found widely distributed throughout the kingdom; the better kinds being those found in Northumberland, Durham, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Staffordshire, portions of Scotland, and to some extent in Wales, though much of the latter is anthracitic in character, containing but little volatile matter, and, therefore, not adapted for producing gas. Cannel, which may be described as a superior class of coal, is obtained chiefly in Scotland, in Lancashire, and to a less extent in Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. The average yield of gas per ton of the bituminous coals is about 10,000 cubic feet of 16 standard candles illuminating power, and of the richer cannels 12,000 cubic feet of 24 candles. Some of the Scotch cannels, however, yield gas of 28 to 34 candle power. Scotland indeed possesses in exceptional variety, abundant stores of cannel or parrot coal, as it is locally named, and carbonaceous shales, and hence the gas which is produced here from most cannels is of high illuminating power. On the other hand, the residual coke obtained from the richer Scotch cannels is so inferior as to be useless as fuel; whereas the generality of the English cannels yield coke of a fair marketable quality.

The illuminating power of gas is tested in this country, in accordance with statutory provisions, by means of a Bunsen photometer, in which the gas is burned at the rate of 5 cubic feet per hour, under a regulated pressure, against the standard candle made of spermaceti, consuming at the rate of 120 grains of sperm per hour.

The sperm candle is on all hands considered by experts an unsatisfactory standard, owing chiefly to the irregularity of its

rate of consumption, and consequently to its varying illuminating power. Various other standards of light to supersede the candle have been devised and advocated from time to time. The most ingenious alternative standard proposed is that of a portion of the gas flame itself, and is named the 'Methven' standard, after Mr. John Methven, its inventor. It has been found from observation that the amount of light from a section of the gas flame is a constant quantity, notwithstanding variations within a wide range in the illuminating power of such flame. Mr. Methven accordingly devised an opaque screen of metal, in which is cut a vertical slot 1 inch long by ¼ of a inch wide, which he places in front of the gas jet (preferably that of an Argand burner) and the light passing through this is equal to that which is emitted by two standard sperm candles. The results obtained by different photometrists, extending over an exhaustive series of experiments, approximate in a remarkable degree, and it is daily becoming more evident that the acceptance of the Methven light as a standard would be a satisfactory solution of the question. Photometrical observations by its means are also simplified and rendered more exact, owing to the ease with which the proposed Methven standard can be used, the saving in time which its use effects, and the avoidance of that distraction of attention on the part of the operator which is inseparable from the employment of candles.

In England, Wales, and Ireland, the gas actually supplied to consumers varies in illuminating power from 14 to 22 standard candles, according to the quality of coal used, the higher figure above 17 candles being obtained by an admixture of cannel or shale with the ordinary bituminous coal. In Scotland the range of illuminating value is from 24 to 30 candles.

The selling price of gas per 1000 cubic feet ranges throughout England, Wales, and Ireland, from 1s. 9d. to 6s. 3d., and in Scotland from 3s. 2d. to 8s. 4d., with a few of the smallest concerns charging as much as 10s. per 1000. Taking into consideration, however, that in Scotland gas of a higher illuminating power is supplied than in the other portions of the kingdom, that a smaller consumption per consumer is the consequence, and

calculating the price per unit of light, the actual difference in price is not so great as appears at first sight.

The average cost of producing and distributing illuminating gas in this country is about two-thirds of the selling price. Taking a selling price of, say 2s. 6d. per 1000 cubic feet, the cost of producing and distributing the gas, including the net expenditure on coal (after deducting the income from residuals) and working expenses, will be 1s. 8d. per 1000 cubic feet. Analysing this figure, the expenditure on coal will be 1s. 3d., and deducting the value of the residuals, at present prices, which is equal to 8d., there is left 7d. as the net cost of the coal. The balance of 1s. 1d. is made up of the working expenses, which include wages, salaries, purifying materials, repairs and renewals, rates and taxes and incidental expenses. The difference of 10d. between the prime cost of the gas, 1s. 8d. and its selling price of 2s. 6d. is absorbed in the payment of the interest and dividend on the invested capital in the case of a company; and in the instance of the undertaking belonging to a Local Authority, in the discharge of the interest on the annuities and borrowed capital, if any, and in some instances the provision of a sinking fund to redeem the capital debt.

Before the recent enormous shrinkage in the market value of the residuals, tar and ammoniacal liquor, the net cost of the coal was considerably less than is here stated. Indeed, in a few exceptional instances, especially in Lancashire and Yorkshire, the revenue obtained from the residual products, including the coke, was such as to more than recoup the outlay on the raw coal.

The selling price of gas, and the amount of profit earned per 1000 cubic feet of gas sold, varies from causes which will be readily understood. The capital of a concern may be disproportionately large, due to the works having been built on a too extensive scale, and in a manner more substantial than is necessary; or from other needless and wasteful expenditure. Again, as in the case of certain gas works owned by Local Authorities, a high price may have been paid for the undertaking, with the result that, for a time, the capital is burdensome

and requires an excessive amount of profit to pay the interest on the annuities. For example, without giving names, it is within the writer's knowledge that a sum of 1s. 9d. per 1000 cubic feet net profit is required by one gas company to pay the maximum dividends to its shareholders owing to the excessive capital sunk in the concern, partly by the abandonment of old works, and the erection of new works largely in excess of present requirements. In such instances it is, if not an unjust, at least a mistaken, policy on the part of directors to so maintain the price of the gas to consumers as will ensure the payment of the full maximum statutory dividend. Where an excessive capital expenditure has been incurred either through ignorance or recklessness, it is only reasonable that the proprietors of such an undertaking should sacrifice a proportion of the statutory dividends, instead of penalising consumers for the extravagance of which they (the gas proprietors) have been guilty.

Gas Lighting has made the greatest progress in the United Kingdom, the home of its invention. According to the Parliamentary Returns last issued (1886), the number of gas works in Great Britain and Ireland belonging to companies under statutory powers and restrictions, is 366; and of those in the hands of Local Authorities the number is 162. No account, however, is taken in the returns of those gas works belonging to companies which are supplying gas without special statutory powers. Of these there are no fewer than 950 in the United Kingdom. Neither do the returns include the large number of small gas works owned by private individuals and firms throughout the country, and which have been erected for the supply of isolated houses, workshops and factories.

By determining, as near as may be, the number of tons of coal carbonised, the quantity of gas produced in one year, and the capital employed in gas works, we shall be able to convey a good idea of the extent of this important branch of industry as it affects the United Kingdom. Taking, therefore, the figures as they appear in the Parliamentary Returns, and supplementing these where they are deficient by an estimate based on personal knowledge, we have the results given in the following table:—

	Coal Carbonised in 1885. Tons.	Gas produced in 1885. Cubic Feet.	Capital employed in 1885. £.
Gas Works in the United Kingdom belonging to Local Authorities, - - -	2,783,533	27,734,666,850	19,619,416
Belonging to Statutory Companies, - - - -	5,595,371	56,903,060,785	35,513,570
Belonging to non-Statutory Companies, Private Individuals, and Firms (estimated), -	1,000,000	8,000,000,000	5,300,000
Total, - -	9,378,904	92,637,727,635	60,432,986

This capital of over sixty million pounds sterling, however, represents only the expenditure upon the undertakings; and if the premium amount, which on the average is 55 per cent., be added, the actual commercial value is found to be nearly 94 million pounds sterling.

Of the quantity of gas annually produced, there is an average loss by leakage and from other causes, of 7000 million cubic feet, or about 8 per cent. of the whole make, representing at prime cost a money value of about £600,000. Twenty years ago the leakage on the smaller production of that time was over 15 per cent. Some leakage is inevitable in the distribution of the gas to the consumers, but there is good reason for believing that by the exercise of increased vigilance on the part of gas authorities, and the use of improved appliances, even the present leakage of 8 per cent. will be eventually reduced one half.

The total annual rental may be set down at £13,500,000, and the profits at £4,500,000, equal to nearly 7½ per cent. on the expended capital, and about 4¾ per cent. on the capital as enhanced by the premium value. The number of hands employed in gas works in the United Kingdom is about 60,000, and the wages paid annually amount to £4,500,000. But if account is taken of the different trades which have been called into existence for the production of the appliances of gas manufacture and consumption, and of the miners who are employed in raising the coal, the figures in the two latter items may be safely quadrupled. For the distribution of the gas to the public there is a length of about 20,000 miles of mains laid, not reckoning the service pipes. The number of consumers is 2,300,000 and the public lamps 420,000.

The North British Association of Gas Managers publishes an Annual Statistical Report of the Gas Supply of Scotland, from the latest of which the following interesting particulars relating to the year 1885 are gleaned. The number of gas works supplying the public in Scotland is 245. Of these, 28 belong to towns' authorities, and 217 to companies or private individuals. The quantity of gas manufactured annually at these works ranges from a quarter of a million cubic feet at Carnwath, to 2,380 million cubic feet at Glasgow. This latter is by far the largest undertaking of this kind in Scotland. The percentage of leakage or, more correctly, unaccounted for gas, is highest at Dunblane, where it amounts to no less than 30 per cent. of the total make; while at several other places it reaches close upon that figure; at Catrine, for example, where it is 27 per cent., at Kingskettle 26 per cent., at Turriff 25 per cent.; whilst in eight other towns it is 20 per cent. and upwards. On the other hand, Galashiels bears off the palm in having only 3 per cent. of its annual make unaccounted for, whilst Forfar, Linlithgow, Langbank with 5, Dysart with 5·3, and Perth with 5·98 per cent., exhibit a highly creditable record in this respect. The returns do not all give the percentage of leakage, but of those that are recorded the majority are 12 per cent. and under. This is so far satisfactory, but it may be asserted very strongly, that where the unaccounted for gas exceeds the last figure, the loss is excessive. Where a higher rate of loss than 12 per cent. occurs, the authorities, whether companies or local bodies, should at once see to it, and not rest satisfied until it is reduced. Leakages of 15 and 20 per cent. are altogether inexcusable, and no toleration should be extended to management which produces such a result. The fault does not always, or indeed most frequently, rest with the acting manager of the works. Directors and Committees by a cheese-paring parsimony, often hamper the manager in his efforts to improve such a condition of things. That such a mistaken policy is suicidal must be obvious. Excessive waste of the gas after it is manufactured is a canker that eats into the profits, and it is a direct tax laid upon the shoulders of consumers, because it effectually prevents timely and necessary reductions in the selling price.

Further, it limits the consumption of the gas and the natural growth of the undertaking.

Amongst other information of a general character given in the Report of the North British Association of Gas Managers, it appears that in no fewer than twenty-nine towns the gas is supplied free of charge to the public lamps. Interesting as this fact may be, and grateful as it undoubtedly is to the ratepayer who is content to burn his candles or to use an oil lamp for lighting purposes, we have no hesitation in characterising such a policy as grossly unfair to the general body of gas consumers. In point of fact, its effect is to saddle the latter with the payment for a privilege which the non-consumers enjoy equally with themselves. Curiously enough, it is in every instance by Gas Companies that this free public lighting is given, and we are justified in surmising that in the majority of instances the gift of such lighting is simply the payment of a kind of 'black-mail,' which is submitted to by the companies for being permitted to conduct their operations in peace and quietness.

A similar policy is pursued in a few towns in England, notably in Manchester, where the Corporation, as trustees of the inhabitants, are the owners of the gas undertaking, and where the public lighting, costing annually no less a sum than £25,000, is given without charge to the ratepayers. When the works belong, as in this instance, to the inhabitants, there is less objection to be urged against the free public lighting, seeing that the capital liability upon the undertaking is secured on the general rates of the town, and therefore it may be considered as only reasonable that the ratepayer who is not also a gas consumer, should have some return for his assumed liability. This liability, however, is accompanied by so little risk that, even in such a case, it is open to question whether he should be relieved of his share of the cost of the street lighting and the whole expense of it be borne by the consumers of gas.

A tendency has been manifested of recent years, and it has now taken practical shape, to question the advisability of continuing to produce gas for lighting purposes in Scotland, of the high illuminating power that prevails. The arguments used in favour of a reduction in the lighting value are not so much directed

against the rich gas *per se*, as in an effort to show that gas of the high illuminating power of 26 to 30 candles, though actually produced, does not always reach the consumer at that high quality, by reason of the liability, especially in the winter season, to condensation of the heavy hydrocarbons contained in such gas; and that even if it reaches the consumers' burners unimpaired by condensation, its high illuminating qualities are only partially utilised by the gas consuming public, owing to the difficulty of burning such gas to the full advantage; that in consequence of the incomplete combustion of its carbon constituents it blackens ceilings and injures books, pictures, and other works of art; and, in short, that gas of a lower power, say equal to 20 sperm candles, would be more efficient for lighting purposes as being less liable to fluctuations in cold weather; that its combustion would be more complete in the burners commonly employed, and that it could be produced at a cheaper rate, because cannel of a less expensive kind would be employed, thereby admitting of a general reduction in the selling price.

The Gas Committee of the Glasgow Corporation, following the advice of Mr. W. Foulis, C.E., their gas engineer, have taken the initiative in the movement, and they have the powerful support of the *Journal of Gas Lighting* and two at least of the leading scientists in Scotland, Dr. Stevenson Macadam and Dr. William Wallace, in their contention. During the Session of 1882 the Corporation obtained an Act of Parliament repealing the illuminating power clauses of a previous Act, which fixed the minimum at 25 standard candles, and reducing the minimum to 20 candles.

The opponents of this policy, who assert that it is an attempt to debase the gas supply of Scotland (about as iniquitous a proceeding, it is argued, as debasing the currency), are in the majority, and they include the members of the Gas Engineering profession generally throughout Scotland.

The policy was opposed with marked ability by various writers well able to marshall all the arguments against it, though, as we believe, with an exaggerated fear of the consequences to be apprehended in reducing the minimum. It was contended that the effect of the reduction in the illuminating power would be an in-

crease in the proportion of the sulphur compounds present in the gas; a greater vitiation of the air of the dwellings in which the lower quality of gas is consumed, due not only to the presence of such sulphur, but to the abstraction of the larger quantity of oxygen necessary for the consumption of an increased volume of gas; that a general enlargement of the mains and services would be required; and, further, that instead of a reduction in money payment, the bills of the consumers would be larger than before, even if a lower price per 1000 cubic feet were charged, by reason of the heavier consumption of gas that would naturally arise from the reduced illuminating power.

The most important question raised by the objectors is, from a sanitary point of view, undoubtedly that of the apprehended larger proportion of sulphur which, it is alleged, would be present in the gas in the form of bi-sulphide of carbon: but on this point the report of the Glasgow Town Council may be considered conclusive, where it is stated that even to produce the lower quality of 20 candles' value, 'The gas would still continue to be manufactured from cannel coal containing a small proportion of sulphur. Further, that many of the lower qualities of cannel contain a less proportion of sulphur than those which it is necessary to use to produce gas of the present (1882) 25 candle standard.' With regard to the assertion that the vitiation of the atmosphere of rooms will be aggravated owing to the increased quantity of air required for a larger consumption of gas of a lower quality, the fact may be set against this that rich gas, by reason of its containing a larger proportion of carbon, requires more oxygen for its consumption than gas of the lower quality. The contention that a general enlargement of mains and service pipes will be required, and that the consumers' bills will be increased owing to the reduction of the minimum, remains to be proved by the actual circumstances. Without going into all the reasons for our opinions, we doubt the correctness of those inferences, which are based entirely on the assumption that 25 candle gas and upwards has hitherto been supplied. Looking at the question from every point of view, we are of opinion that a steady 20 to 22 standard candle gas is pre-

ferable to the (in this climate) necessarily fluctuating, and by no means always actual, higher values.

People little reflect how much of comfort they owe to gas. The cheapness of the light, the ease with which it is manipulated, its handiness and homeliness, so to speak—because the gas is always there, ready at the moment when wanted; its cleanliness, its safety, are all advocates of gas lighting, and speak eloquently in its favour. Gas is like a good and willing and trustworthy servant. It is not obtrusive or despotic in its manifestations, as is the electric light, nor dirty and slatternly like candles, oil, and the oil lamp. These latter oppress the mind, because you are never sure of them, or rather you are always sure of their uncertainty: but gas, like a good stomach and liver, goes cheerfully and brightly on, minding its own proper business.

Although in its earliest use coal gas was restricted to the purpose of affording artificial light, no long time elapsed before its value as a heating medium began to be realised. Winsor, indeed, one of the pioneers of gas lighting, claimed as an important advantage of the new invention or discovery, that gas, besides its light-giving qualities, could be used both for cooking food and warming dwellings, and as early as 1825 attempts were made to apply it for those purposes. It was not, however, till later on in the century that anything like a practical application of gas was made to the cooking of food. Mr. J. Sharp of Southampton, about the year 1840, began to construct ovens heated by gas for cooking and baking, and these he used for many years, giving public lectures, in the course of which he practically demonstrated their usefulness and value.

Gas, however, in those days was higher in price than now; and although it was evident that it served most efficiently for culinary operations, its cost militated against its extensive adoption in this direction. The prejudice against it was strong also on account of the supposed liability of any food cooked by its means to be tainted with the flavour of the gas itself. This operated against its use, and though the prejudice was founded on ignorance of the facts, it is not a matter of wonder that such an idea was entertained, seeing that, even at the present day, in spite of the

strongest evidence to the contrary, the same belief is still widely accepted, and still operates with many as a bar to its adoption. A moment's intelligent thought given to the question will be sufficient to dispel the notion that the taint of the gas can be communicated to the meat so cooked. There is no smell of gas in a gas-lighted room, for the reason that the gas is oxidised, or, as it is empirically termed, consumed, as it issues from the burner. So it is in the gas oven, with the additional circumstance that in the majority at least of such ovens, oxidation is rendered still more complete by the mixing of the gas with air before it reaches the point of combustion. As a matter of fact there is not only no tainting of animal or other food, but the former is improved in flavour as compared with that which is roasted in the usual coal-heated oven, by reason of the juices being retained in it, instead of being, to a large extent, evaporated, or dried out of it, as in the other case. No housewife, we venture to say, will ever willingly abandon the use of gas for culinary purposes after having once experienced its many advantages. Its time and temper-saving virtues, its extreme handiness, adaptability, cleanliness, and even economy when properly used, are testimonials in its favour which cannot be gainsaid.

In its application to the heating of rooms, gas has scarcely attained to equal success with its adoption as a cooking agent. Improved methods of employing it in this way, however, by the invention of both open fires and stoves of a superior class, are rapidly being introduced, and in this direction gas is yearly becoming more extensively applied. In the matter of cleanliness and handiness, its value for this purpose is self-evident.

Gas, as is well known, is now largely employed as an agent for obtaining motive power. It was from the very first a matter of observation, and not unfrequently of dire and unsought experience, that when gas and atmospheric air were mixed together in certain proportions and the mixture fired, an explosion was the result. Attempts were soon made to utilise the force thus exerted, by confining the explosive compound in a suitable cylinder, and exploding it to obtain prime movement as in the steam engine. After many less or more successful attempts by

different inventors, and the expenditure of much ingenuity, the "Lenoir" Gas Engine, so named after its inventor, was produced (1860), and thus was solved the economical problem of how to utilise an explosive mixture of gas and air as a prime motor. From that time down to the present, the patent records contain the description of a host of inventions of this character, and gas engines of great efficiency have been produced, amongst which the well-known 'Otto Silent' and the 'Bisschop' engines are deserving of special mention.

The manufacture of gas engines was at first confined to the smaller sizes, from ½ a horse power up to 10 horse power, but recently larger sizes, equal to as high as 50 horse power, have been made. The gas motor engine indeed may be said to have become indispensable in a hundred different trades, more especially where the power needed is intermittent. In adopting this motor, neither boiler nor chimney are required, and hence it can be employed in buildings and in out of the way corners in establishments, where a steam engine is altogether inadmissible. It is always available for work on the opening of a tap, and it will go on working continuously day and night with the least possible attention. In the matter of fuel cost, gas is more expensive than either coal or coke, but the other economical advantages referred to far outweigh this single drawback. Moveover the percentage efficiency of the gas engine is greatly in excess of that evolved by its older rival the steam motor. Speaking at the meeting of the British Association at York in 1881, Sir Frederick J. Bramwell was bold enough to declare it as his opinion that unless some wholly unexpected improvement were made in the steam engine, those who lived to see the celebration of the centenary of the Association in 1931, would find the steam engine had become a curiosity, and was relegated to museums, its place as a vehicle for transmitting heat into work being taken by the gas engine. Unquestionably the gas motor has a great future before it, and extensive as its adoption has been of recent years, this is as nothing to the popularity to which it will yet attain, and the wide uses to which it will yet be applied. Apart altogether from the question of lighting, it may well be

believed that the gas industry has an illimitable field for expansion in the direction of affording heat and motive power.

Another important consideration in this connection should not be overlooked. The general adoption of gas for the purposes of cooking, heating and motive power, would tend to the solution of the problem of how to get rid of the smoke nuisance, which, almost more than any other matter, exercises the minds of Municipal Authorities. The smoke-laden atmosphere—the fruitful parent of the fogs of our large towns, is a crying evil which has hitherto evaded every attempt at prevention, and even of mitigation; and it will continue to evade such attempts, backed as they may be, by the closest inspection and supervision, until the present barbarous and wasteful methods of consuming coal are abandoned.

As a ventilating agent, the gas-flame is of the greatest use, and in rooms where the means of ventilation are provided, it promotes their efficiency; but it has not been applied in a direct manner as widely as its merits deserve. In spacious assembly rooms the gas 'Sunlight,' or the 'Regenerative' light, with their ventilating tubes, may be recommended as superior to any other method of artificial lighting. Proof is not wanting of the great efficiency of the gas flame even when applied in the ordinary pendant form of lighting, in creating the necessary efflux and influx of foul and fresh air respectively, without causing uncomfortable and chilling draughts. On this subject an experience of Mr. William Sugg, recorded in the paper read by him at the meeting of the Gas Institute held in Manchester in 1885, is so interesting and instructive as to deserve quoting. In the course of his paper Mr. Sugg remarks:—

'It must be remembered that in laying down a system of artificial lighting, we have to imitate, as well as we can, that most beautiful and perfect natural light which, without our aid and without even a thought from us, shines regularly every day upon all in such an immense volume, so perfectly diffused, and in such wonderful chemical combination, that it may safely be said that not one atom of the whole economy of nature is unaffected by it; and that we and all the animal kingdom, in common with trees and plants, derive health and vigour therefrom. This glorious natural light leaves our best gas, electricity, oil-lamp, and all our multiplicity of candles immeasurably behind. But although we cannot hope to

equal, in all its beneficial results, the effects of daylight, or to perfectly replace it, we can more perfectly make the lighting of our homes comfortable (and as little destructive to the eyes and to the general health) by the aid of gas than by any other means. It must also be borne in mind that, in this country at least, we have to fulfil the conditions of artificial lighting under frequent differences of temperature and barometric influence, exaggerated by the manner in which our houses are built; and that for at least nine months in the year we require heat as well as light in our dwellings, and that for the other three months (excepting in some few favoured localities) the nights are often chilly even though the days may be hot. Therefore, independently of any effect produced by the lighting arrangements, there must be widely different effects produced in the temperature and other conditions of the air in rooms by influences entirely beyond our control.

'As an example of what I mean, a short time ago I had to preside over a meeting which was held in a large room—one of two built exactly alike, and in communication with each other by means of folding-doors. These rooms formed part of one of the best hotels in London—let us call it the "Magnificent." Of course it was lighted by electric glow lamps, in accordance with the latest fashion in that department of artificial lighting—viz., suspension lamps, in which the glow lamps grow out of leaves and scrolls, twisted and twirled in and out, very much after the pattern of our most æsthetic gas lamps. Both rooms were heated by means of the good old blazing coal fire so dear to a Briton's heart; and they were ventilated with all due regard to the latest state of knowledge on the subject amongst architects and builders. In fact no pains had been spared to make these rooms comfortable in the highest acceptation of the word.

'There were, some of our members remarked, no gas burners to heat and deteriorate the atmosphere, or to blacken the ceilings; and, therefore, under the brilliant sparkle of glow lamps, the summit of such human felicity as is expected by a body of eighteen or twenty business men, intent on despatching business, and restoring the lost tissue by means of a nice little dinner afterwards, ought, according to the calculations of the architect of the building, to have been reached. I instance this case because it is a typical one, which, under most aspects, does not materially differ from the conditions of home life in such residences as those whose occupiers are likely to use electric lighting. The rooms were spacious (about twenty feet by thirty-five feet, and about fifteen feet high); and they were lighted during the day by means of large lantern ceiling-lights, with double-glass windows. The evening in question was chilly, not to say cold.

'Upon commencing our business, we all admired the comfort of the room; but as time went on most of the company began to complain of a little draught on the head and back of the neck. The draught, which at first was only a suspicion, became a certainty, and in another hour or so, by the time our business was over, notwithstanding a screen placed before

the door, and a blazing fire, we were delighted to make a change to the comfortable dining-room, which communicated with the room we had just left by means of folding-doors, closed, with the exception of just sufficient space left at one end of the room to allow a waiter to pass in and out. Very curiously, before the soup was finished, we became aware that the candles which assisted the electric glow lamps (merely for artistic effect) began to flare in a most uncandlelike manner—the flames turning down, as if some one were blowing downwards on to the wicks; and at the same time the complaints of "Draughts, horrid draughts!" became general, and from every quarter. Finding that, as the dinner went on, the discomfort became unbearable, even although the doors were shut and screens put before them, I gave up dining, and took to scientific discovery. The result of a few moments' observation induced me to order "those gas jets," which I saw peeping out from amongst the foliage of the electroliers, to be lighted up. In two or three minutes the flames of the candles burned upright and steadily; and in less than ten minutes the draughts were no longer felt; in fact, the room became really comfortable.

'The reason of the change was simple. The stratum of air lying up at the ceiling was comparatively cold. The column of heated air from the bodies of the twenty guests, joined to the heat produced by the movements of themselves and the waiters, together with the steam from the viands and respiration, displaced the colder air at the ceiling, and notably that coldest air lying against the surface of the glass. This cold air simply dropped straight down, after the manner of a douche, on candles and heads below. The remedy I advised was the setting up of a current of hotter steam and air from the gas burners, which stopped the cooling effect of the glass, and created a stratum of heated air and steam in slow movement all over the ceiling. The effect was a comfortable sensation of warmth, and entire absence of draught all round the table. Later on, to avoid the possibility of overheating the room, the gas was put out, and the electric lights left to themselves. But before we left, the chilliness and draughts began to be again felt.

'The incident here narrated occurred at the end of the month of April, when we might reasonably have hoped to have had tolerably warm nights. It is therefore clear that in this instance neither electricity nor candles could effectually replace gas for lighting purposes. They both did the lighting, but they utterly failed to keep the currents of air steady. I have always remarked draughts whenever I have remained any length of time in rooms where the electric light is used. On a warm evening the electric light and candles would undoubtedly have kept the room cooler than gas, with the same kind of ventilation; I do not think they would have put an end to cold draughts. This the steam from the gas does in all fairly-built rooms.'

It is occasionally a subject of remark by uninformed or hostile critics, that no important improvements have been effected in

gas manufacture since the earlier days of its introduction. If this were so, it would either speak well for the inventors of the art, or badly for their successors in the industry. The statement, however, is altogether wide of the truth. True, the method of producing the gas, as in the earliest days, is by distillation in closed retorts, and the purification, storage and distribution of gas are effected in apparatus and plant which, in their main features, do not greatly differ from the earlier forms. But it is obvious that similar invidious comparisons might be made of all the most notable inventions. The chief characteristics of an industry are retained, whilst the processes undergo improvement and modification. As a matter of fact, great improvements have been effected in the plant and apparatus for the manufacture of illuminating gas, whilst the mechanical and chemical principles involved in its manufacture are now carefully investigated by gas engineers, and are yearly becoming better understood.

One of the most noteworthy features connected with this industry, is the circumstance that no actual waste occurs throughout the processes of a well conducted gas factory. Every bye-product is of value, and is utilised in the arts. The coke, breeze (small coke and dust), tar, ammoniacal liquor, sulphur, spent lime, retort carbon, ashes and clinkers are all marketable. Even the flue heat from the retort stack is utilised for the generation of steam. The idea has been entertained by some that the time would arrive, and at no distant period, when the value of the residual products of gas-making would be such as to render their production the chief business of a gas works, and, such being the case, that the gas which is at present the main factor to be considered would eventually be looked upon and treated as the residual. That this idea was Utopian is now generally recognised, the recent shrinkage in the value of almost all the residuals having dispelled the golden vision of too enthusiastic dreamers.

As a matter of general interest it may be mentioned that the Gaslight and Coke Company, London, is the largest undertaking of the kind in the world. The Company possess eleven different stations, the principal one being situated at Beckton on the north side of the river Thames, about ten miles from the metropolis. The site occupied by this magnificent works, which is one of

the wonders of modern London, is 300 acres in extent. The capital of the Company amounts to nearly eleven million pounds sterling. The present annual make of gas is 17,000 million cubic feet, from a consumption of 1,630,000 tons of coal.

The residuals arising in the manufacture of gas in this country are of considerable importance and value. These, in their raw or crude state, are estimated at the present low prices to which they have recently fallen, to amount in value to about £3,000,000 for the produce of twelve months.

The ammoniacal liquor of gas-works is the chief source of carbonate, muriate and sulphate of ammonia; these are all extensively used in the arts, and the latter valuable salt is widely employed, especially on the continent of Europe, for manurial purposes in competition with nitrate of soda and the natural guano of Peru. Cyanogen is another substance obtained from the liquor; this, in combination with iron, forms Prussian blue; and in union with ammonium sulphide it produces sulpho-cyanide of ammonium, a compound used by photographers, and in the preparation of the constituent of the dangerously poisonous toys known as 'Pharaoh's Serpents.'

Of the derivatives of coal tar it is impossible to present a complete summary in the limited space at our disposal. The substances extracted from tar to the present time exceed 130 in number, and fresh products are constantly being obtained. Perhaps the most important substance yielded by the tar is Benzole. This is remarkable for its solvent power for caoutchouc, gutta percha, resins and fats. It is used also for preparing varnishes, for removing grease spots, and cleaning soiled white kid gloves. Treated with nitric acid it yields nitro-benzole or essence of mirbane, having an odour resembling oil of bitter almonds, and used to perfume soaps and flavour confectionery. Aniline is also derived from it, this substance being the base of all the rich and beautiful dyes bearing the name of 'Aniline Colours.' Coal tar is also the chief, if not now the only, source of Anthracene, from which Alizarine, the colouring principle of madder, is derived. Since the discovery of this substance in coal tar, the cultivation of the madder root in eastern countries has been entirely discontinued, and thus, as a

distinguished savant has declared, an appreciable addition has been made to the surface of the globe! Creosote in large quantity is obtained in the distillation of coal tar. This is used for the preservation of timber in contact with the ground, notably the wood sleepers of railways. It is also an excellent liquid fuel, and in combination with caustic soda and tallow is valuable as a dip for washing sheep. Green oil, one of the distillates of coal tar, mixed with resin and oil is used for making railway grease; lamp black, from which printer's ink is prepared, is also made from it. Carbolic acid, one of the most valuable antiseptics and disinfectants, is obtained from coal tar. The two most recent coal tar derivatives are, Antipyrine discovered by Herr Ludwig D'Erlanger, and regarded by physicians as the most powerful agent known for reducing temperature in fevers; and Saccharin, discovered by Dr. Constantine Fahlberg in the United States. The taste of this substance is so extraordinarily sweet that a solution of 1 in 70,000 of water is perceptible. The solid deposit upon the interior surface of gas retorts is almost pure carbon, and is employed in the construction of the Bunsen Galvanic Battery, and for the carbon points of candles used in the Arc Electric Lamp. Sulphuric acid and flowers of sulphur are largely produced from the spent oxide of iron used in the purification of coal gas. The spent lime of the purifiers is applied as a compost to rough land, and the valuable coke which is drawn as a residue from the retorts after the gaseous products have been expelled is extensively burnt in domestic fires and for trade purposes.

It would be travelling beyond the scope of the present article to go at length into the question which at times disturbs timid gas proprietors, of the relative value or desirability of electricity and gas as illuminating agents. If both agents were equally available to the public, there might be reason for entertaining the fear that lighting by gas was in jeopardy—though even in such a case it would be easy to show the contrary. In the writer's opinion all fear or hope of the general displacement of gas, even for lighting purposes—not to mention its other uses—may be dismissed as groundless. It must be admitted by even the strongest partisans that electric lighting is far from satisfactory. In iso-

lated buildings, where perfect insulation for the conducting wires can be insured, it answers fairly well, provided that cost and occasional, not to say frequent, extinguishment, are treated as merely secondary matters; but to suppose that electricity will ever be able to compete with Gas in the endless ramifications of town lighting, public and private, is an assumption which only the liveliest imagination could seriously entertain.

It is evident from the very nature of things that gas must continue to be produced, not only on account of its illuminating and heating qualities, but also for the sake of the bye products arising from its manufacture; and however rapid may be the progress of electric lighting towards perfection, there is every reason to believe that the Gas Industry is destined to grow and prosper.

THOMAS NEWBIGGING, C.E.

ART. V.—THOMAS OF ERCELDOUNE.

1. *The Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune.* Printed from five MSS., with illustrations from the Prophetic Literature of 15th and 16th Centuries. Edited with Introduction and Notes by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, LLD. (Early English Text Society). London: 1875.
2. *Thomas of Erceldoune.* Herausgegeben von ALOIS BRANDL. Berlin: 1880.

AMONG the many good works Dr. Murray has done in connection with the literature and language of the country, few are more meritorious than the one whose title we have placed first in our list. Unfortunately it is a society publication, and on that account is probably much less widely known than it deserves to be. Though comparatively slight in appearance, to the student of early English and Scottish literature it cannot fail to prove a work of palmary importance, deserving a place side by side with its author's excellent edition of the *Complaynt of Scotland.* For the general reader it possesses the merit of

opening up to him certain peculiar characteristics in the past life of the country, and of leading him along lines of thought and imagination which are now rarely followed. Its principal feature is, of course, the texts of the five MSS. in which the *Romance and Prophecies of Thomas of Erceldoune* has come down to us. The transcripts of these, as it is hardly necessary to say, have been made with commendable, if not always perfect, accuracy. The only complaint they suggest is that Dr. Murray has not carried on and completed his work by constructing for us what he considers the best obtainable text of one of the best examples of a most curious and interesting species of composition now completely, and happily, neglected. Next in value to the texts is Dr. Murray's exceedingly elaborate introduction, rich in literary and historical information, and, though exception may be taken to several of the assertions it contains, in every way worthy of its author's reputation. The notes explanatory of the poem are for the most part excellent, and leave but few passages in uncertainty. Of the remaining contents of the volume, we need refer here only to the illustrations drawn from the prophetic literature of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries. The first is Waldegrave's text of the *Prophecie of Thomas Rymour*, collated with that published twelve years later, 1615, by Andro Hart. The second is an English prophecy entitled *The Prophesies of Rymour, Beid, and Marlyng;* and the third, an *English Prophecy of Gladsmoor, Sandisford, and Seyton and the Seye predicted in* 1553. Altogether, the work is out of all comparison the best that has yet appeared in English in connection with the Rhymer and the *Romance and Prophecies* so long associated with him as its author.

Dr. Brandl's work may be regarded as forming a supplement, and a very admirable one, to Dr. Murray's. Over most of the points touched upon or discussed by Dr. Murray, he designedly passes, and brings forward a large amount of additional information, all having a distinct bearing upon the authorship and interpretation of the poem, and exhibiting a remarkably minute acquaintance with the prophetical literature of England and Scotland. His introduction, though less histo-

rical than Dr. Murray's, is more technical, and discusses several topics which in the earlier volume were either passed over in silence, or only slightly touched upon. Generally speaking the two editors are in agreement with each other, but on one or two points of importance they differ. In a number of instances Dr. Brandl's reading of the MSS. differs from Dr. Murray's. Several phrases also which the latter had left obscure, Dr. Brandl has cleared up. The least satisfactory part of the work is the text of the *Romance and Prophecies.* This Dr. Brandl has attempted to restore, but in so doing he has, as it seems to us, paid too little attention to the Thornton text, and made alterations and omissions that are scarcely warranted. On these points, however, we cannot here dwell. It must suffice to say that all through Dr. Brandl assumes that his readers are acquainted with the earlier work, and that the two together contain almost all that can be said about the poem to which they are devoted.

In the following pages we have no intention of following our authors through the interpretations they have given of the various predictions contained in the prophetical part of the *Romance and Prophecies.* Here and there we shall have occasion to avail ourselves of their learned labours and suggestions; but the task we propose to ourselves is to deal with certain questions concerning the reputed author of the poem, and with certain points connected with its origin and character.

In the introduction we have already referred to Dr. Murray makes the very apposite remark that Thomas of Erceldoune occupies a much more important position in the legendary history of Scotland than he does in its authentic annals. To our own mind the Thomas the Rhymer of tradition is for the most part a purely mythical figure. Many of the things attributed to him are entirely fictitious, and could not have had the slightest possible connection with him. For generations and centuries his name was used as a convenient peg on which to hang a variety of popular tales and fancies. His reputation flourished when

> 'No natural exhalation in the sky,
> No scape of nature, no distempered day,
> No common wind, no customed event,'

but people would

> 'Pluck away his natural cause,
> And call them meteors, prodigies, and signs,
> Abortives, presages, and tongues of heaven.'

For some five or six centuries he was generally supposed to have exercised an insight into futurity rarely equalled, and when any startling, striking, or untoward event occurred, he was sure to be credited with having made it the subject of prediction; and his *ipsissima verba* were seldom long in making their appearance. Those who indulged in the production of these *post facto* prophecies have been satirized by Shakespeare in the following words which he puts into the mouth of the Fool in *Lear:*

> 'I'll speak a prophecy ere I go:
> When priests are more in word than matter;
> When brewers mar their malt with water;
> When nobles are their tailors' tutors;
> No heretics burn'd, but wenches suitors;
> When every case in law is right;
> No squire in debt, nor no poor knight;
> Whan slanders do not live in tongues;
> Nor cutpurses come not to throngs;
> When usurers tell their gold i' the field;
> And bawds and whores do churches build;
> Then shall the realm of Albion
> Come to great confusion;
> Then comes the time, who lives to see't,
> That going shall be used with feet.
> This prophecy Merlin shall make; for I live before his time.'

But marvellous as the knowledge of the reputed Thomas was supposed to have been, our own knowledge of the real Thomas is remarkably small. After much argument and research the facts which have been ascertained about him are extremely few, and may be summed up in a single sentence. The date and place of his birth, as well as of his death, are uncertain, and even his identity is not beyond suspicion. His name is first met with as one of the witnesses to a charter whereby Peter de Haga de Bermersyde, apparently a powerful noble of his time, binds himself and his heirs to pay yearly to the Abbot of Melrose half a stone of wax for the Chapel of St. Cuthbert at Old Melrose.

This charter is unfortunately undated, but as Peter de Haga was himself a witness to a charter, also undated, by which Richard de Moreville, Constable of Scotland from 1162 to 1189, granted certain serfs to Henry St. Clair, the age of 'Thomas Rymor de Ercildoune,' as he is styled in De Haga's document, is defined to the extent that he was a contemporary of one who in or before 1189 was at least old enough to witness a legal document; but whether he was an older or younger contemporary does not appear. Dr. Murray and Sir Walter Scott are of opinion that he was younger than De Haga, the latter fixing his birth in 1219,* and the former between 1210 and 1220. 'Supposing,' says Dr. Murray, adopting the argument of Sir Walter, 'supposing De Moreville's charter to have been granted towards the end of his career in 1189, and De Haga to have been about twenty, the grant of the latter was probably not made before the end of his life, say between 1230 and 1240. If Ercildoune was about twenty when he witnessed this, it would fix his birth somewhere between 1210 and 1220.'† But ingenious as this reasoning is, it is by no means conclusive. It is based for the most part on very questionable assumptions; on the assumptions, viz., that De Moreville and De Haga made their grants towards the end of their careers, and that because he witnessed De Haga's charter Ercildoune must necessarily have been younger than De Haga. But while it is quite possible that neither De Haga nor De Moreville made his deed of gift till near the end of his career, it is quite as possible that they made them considerably before, and that Ercildoune was as old as De Haga, and even older. The date given for his birth is purely conjectural, and all that can be reasonably inferred from the charters respecting Thomas is that he was a contemporary of De Haga's, but not that he was younger, nor yet that he was older. The matter is altogether uncertain.‡

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* *Sir Tristrem*, p. ix. † P. xi.

‡ While the proof-sheets are passing through his hands, the writer's attention has been kindly directed to Mr. Russell's *The Haigs of Bemersyde*. Mr. Russell has shown that no fewer than three of the earlier De Hagas bore the Christian name of Petrus, and that the charter in which Thomas Rymour of Erceldoune appears as a witness, was executed by the last of

According to Bower, the continuator of Fordun, Thomas predicted the death of Alexander III. at Kinghorn. That Thomas was alive, or rather that *a* Thomas of Erceldoune was alive at the time may be taken as certain, but that Bower's story is authentic is extremely questionable. Unfortunately for his credit his narrative, so circumstantial and picturesque, is altogether unsupported by evidence. By the two contemporary Chronicles of William of Rishanger and Lanercost, both of which record the King's death, no mention is made of the prediction. The Scalacronica, written by Sir Thomas Grey in 1355, or within seventy years after the event, though making special reference to Thomas's fame as a prophet, says not a word about this particular prediction. Neither does Fordun himself, though he records the King's death. All he says is: 'This Alexander of goodly memory, the illustrious King of Scotland, died at Kinghorn, and was buried in state at Dunfermline.' He seems, in fact, to have been altogether unacquainted with the prophecy.* Bower wrote about 1430, and the probability is that having found the story floating about as a popular tradition, and having a taste for the marvellous, he took the legend for authentic and gravely set it down as history. Sir Walter Scott's explanation of the origin of the prophecy is that 'Thomas presaged to the Earl of March that the next day would be windy, the weather proved calm; but news arrived of the death of Alexander III., which gave an allegorical turn to the prediction, and saved the credit of the prophet.' 'It is worthy of notice,' he continues, 'that some of the rhimes, vulgarly ascribed to Thomas Erceldoune, are founded apparently on meteorological observation. And, doubtless, before the invention of barometers, a weather-wise prophet might be an important personage. Such were the predictions of a greater bard:

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the three, and may be reasonably assigned to somewhere between 1260 and 1270 (pp. 74-75). The date of the prophet's birth, however, is still uncertain, and the question of his identity is untouched.

* See a remarkable paper entitled *The Traditionary Accounts of the Death of Alexander Third*, by the Historiographer-Royal for Scotland, Dr. W. F. Skene, in the Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1886.

'Quid faciat lætas segetes, quo sidere terram
Vetere.'*

But there is no necessity for any such explanation of the story. The mental habit of the times, Thomas's fame as a prophet, the calamitous character of the event, and the lapse of more than a century and a quarter between the King's death and the date at which Bower was engaged in continuing Fordun, are quite sufficient to account for its growth. Other legends of a similar character have sprung up in fewer years.†

The one authentic date with which the name of Thomas, or rather with which the name of either Thomas—for as we have already hinted there are two Ercildounes—is connected, is November 2, 1294. On this day, according to a charter still preserved in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, *Thomas de Ercildoun filius et heres Thomæ Rymour de Ercildoun* conveyed the whole of his hereditary possessions in the village of Ercildoune (now Earlston) to the Master and Brethren of Trinity House, Soltra. The plain inference from this is that in 1294 the second of the two Thomases here mentioned, *i.e.* the father, was dead, and that if he was the prophet, the prophet also was dead. But according to Harry the Minstrel and Patrick Gordon, the prophet survived this date by several years. In his Rhymed History of Robert Bruce (Dort, 1615), the latter affirms that he survived to 1307; and the Minstrel associates him with Wallace in an incident which, as Dr. Murray points out, could not have taken place before 1296 or 1297, or some two or three years after the Soltra charter was executed. His narrative is as follows:

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* *Sir Tristrem*, p. xiv.

† Bower's story is well known, and need not be here cited. It is repeated by Maurice Buchanan in his *Book of Pluscarden*, by Boece, and by Mair. The last named adds: 'To this Thomas our countrymen have ascribed many predictions, and the common people of Britain yield no slight credit to stories of this nature, which I for the most part am wont to treat with ridicule.' Bellenden's version of the story is worth quoting as a sample of the vernacular:—

'It is said, the day afore the kingis death, the Erle of Merche demandit ane propheit, namit Thomas Reimour, othirwayis namit Ersiltoun, quhat weddir suld be on the morow. To quhome answerit this Thomas, That on

'Thomas Rimour in to the Faile was than,
With the mynystir, quhilk was a worthi man:
He usyt offt to that religiouss place.
The peple demyt of witt mekill he can;
And so he told, thocht at thai bliss or ban,
Quhilk hapnyt suth in many diverss cace,
I can nocht say, be wrang or rychtwisnas,
In rewlle of wer, quhethir thai tynt or wan;
It may be demyt be divisioun of grace.
Thar man that day had in the merket bene,
On Wallace knew this cairfull cass so kene.
His master speryt, quhat tithingis at he saw.
This man ansuerd: "Of litill hard I meyn."
The mynister said: "It has bene seildyn seyn,
Quhar Scottis and Ingliss semblit bene on raw,
Was nevir yit, als fer as we coud knaw,
Bot other a Scot wald do a Southron teyn,
Or he till him, for awentur mycht faw."
"Wallace," he said, "ye wist tayne in that steid;
Out our the wall I saw thaim cast him deide,
In presoune famysit for fawt of fude."
The mynister said with hart hewy as leid:
"Sic deid to thaim, me think, suld foster feid;
For he was wicht, and cummyn of gentill blud."
Thomas ansuered: "Thir tythingis ar noucht gud;
And that be suth, my self shall nevir eit breid,
For all my witt her schortlye I conclud.
"A woman syne of the Newtoun of Ayr,
Till him scho went fra he was fallyn ther;
And on her kneis rycht lawly thaim besocht,
To purchess leiff scho mycht thin with him fayr,
In lychtlyness tyll hyr thai grant to fayr
Our the wattyr on till hir houss him brocht,
To berys him als gudlye as scho mocht."
Yhit Thomas said: "Than sall I leiff na mar,
Gyff that be trew, be-God, that all has wrocht."

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the morow, afore noun, sall blaw the gretest wind that evir wes hard afore in Scotland. On the morrow, quhen it wes neir noun, the lift appering loune, but ony din or tempest, the erle send for this propheit, and reprevit him, that he prognosticat sic wind to be, and na apperance thairof. This Thomas maid litil ansuer, bot said, Noun is not yit gane; and, incontinent, ane man come to the yet, schawing that the king wes slane. Than said the propheit, Yone is the wind that sall blaw, to the gret calamite and truble of al Scotland. This Thomas wes ane man of grete admiration to the peple; and schew sindry thingis as thay fell, howbeit thay wer ay hid under obscure wourdis.'

The mynister herd quhat Thomas said in playne.
He chargyt him than "Go speid the fast agayne
To that sammyn houss and werraly aspye."
The man went furth, at byddyng was full bayne;
To the new town to pass he did his payn,
To that ilk houss: and went in sodanlye,
About he blent on to the burd him bye.
This woman raiss, in hart scho was [nocht] fayn.
Quha aw this lik, he bad hir nocht deny.
"Wallace," scho said, "that full worthy has beyne."
Thus wepyt scho, that pete was to seyne,
The man thar to gret credens gaif he nocht:
Towart the burd he bowned as he war teyne.
On kneis scho felle, and cryit: "For Marye scheyne,
Lat sklandyr be, and flemyt out of your thocht."
This man hir suour: "Be Him that all has wrocht
Mycht I on lyff him anys se with myn eyn,
He suld be saiff, thocht Ingland had him socht."
Scho had him up to Wallace be the dess;
He spak with him; syne fast agayne can press
With glaid bodword, thar myrthis till amend.
He told to thaim the first tithingis was less.
Than Thomas said: "Forsuth, or he decess,
Mony thousand in feild sall mak thar end.
Off this regioune he sall the Southroun send;
And Scotland thriss he sall bryng to the pess;
So gud off hand agayne sall nevir be kend."'

The question arises, therefore—Which was the prophet—the father or the son of the Soltra charter? The universally accepted opinion is that it was the father; but if any credence is to be given to the Minstrel and Gordon, it was not the father but the son. The only evidence on which the traditional opinion rests is tradition itself, a most uncertain witness, as we need hardly say, and quite as likely to have confounded the father with son as not. From the names nothing can be argued. Both are called Thomas and de Ercildoune, and if Rimour, Rymour, or Rhymour, was the family name, as the existence of the name as a common surname in Berwickshire during the Thirteenth Century, and the inscription marking the traditional place of the prophet's sepulture—

'Auld Rymer's race
Lies in this place'—

seem to prove, it would be borne by both. Much depends on the authenticity of the Minstrel's narrative. Dr. Brandl regards it as a pure invention, written to prepare the way for the prophecy with which it closes. But it is quite as likely that the actual occurrence of the event suggested the prophecy, as that the prophecy occasioned the invention of the event. Besides, the Minstrel professes to have set down nothing but what had actually happened. Towards the close of his poem he says:

> 'I haiff said her ner as the process gais;
> And fenyeid nocht for frendschip nor for fais.'

And such being the case, we are scarcely prepared to suppose him capable of trying to palm off on his readers a passage connected with one of the most critical incidents in his hero's life which he knew to be, so far, at least, as the principal actors in it were concerned, wholly and radically false, more especially when, for aught that appears to the contrary, all that he says in reference to them may be perfectly true. With Dr. Murray, therefore, we are 'not disposed to treat the Minstrel's circumstantial narrative quite so lightly.' On the contrary, we are disposed to regard it as authentic. At the same time we are unable to agree with Dr. Murray in his interpretation of it. The Thomas mentioned by the Minstrel, he maintains, is not the son but the father. He admits that the plain inference from the charter of 1294 is that the father was then dead, but adds:

> 'I would suggest that it is not impossible that Thomas, wearied and dispirited with the calamities under which his country was sinking, may before his death have transferred his estates, and retired to end his days in the Priory of the Faile. If Harry is to be trusted in saying that Thomas "usyt offt to that religiouss place," we may even have a key to those temporary disappearances from his home, which popular superstition accounted for by visits to Fairyland, and a final retirement while still alive may really be the fact concealed under the legend of his sudden disappearance from the world' (pp. xvi.-xvii.).

But against this there are the objections: 1. The explanation of the alleged disappearances suits the son quite as well as the father, and better; 2. Even accepting Dr. Murray's date for the father's birth—and there is nothing to show that he was not born

earlier—in 1296 or 1297 the elder Erceldoune would be at least about eighty years of age—a pretty good age for a poet even of the Nineteenth Century and scarcely consistent with Harry's saying, 'he usyt offt to that religiouss place.' 3. There is nothing whatever to show that the father was of a sufficiently religious turn of mind to give up his possessions and retire to some Religious House to end his days; and 4. There is 'the plain inference' from the Soltra charter that in 1294 the father was dead. On the other hand there is the incontrovertible evidence of the charter that in 1294 the son was living; and the probability is that he was still living in 1296 or 1297, and, as Patrick Gordon asserts, that he survived till 1306. And further, the fact that he bestowed his patrimonial estates on the Master and Brethren of Trinity House renders it highly probable that it is of him, and not of his father, that the Minstrel says: 'he usyt offt to that religiouss place.' All things considered therefore we are disposed to believe that the prophet was not the father but the son of the Soltra charter—an opinion against which we are not aware that there is a single particle of evidence in existence, except that of tradition, against which may be put that of Harry the Minstrel and Patrick Gordon, which, if not quite reliable, is certainly quite as good.

But whether the father or the son was the prophet, of Erceldoune's fame both as a prophet and as a poet the evidence is abundant. Whatever fame he enjoyed in the former capacity during his lifetime, after his death it increased and spread. During the Fourteenth, Fifteenth, and Sixteenth Centuries, there is scarcely a single Scottish writer of note by whom his prophetical abilities are not referred to. Besides Harry the Minstrel, Sir Thomas Grey and others already mentioned, they are alluded to by Barbour, the Archdeacon of Aberdeen, and by Wyntown, each of whom refers to a distinct prophecy and its fulfilment. Between 1513 and 1522 Sir David Lyndsay was in the habit of entertaining Prince James, afterwards James V. of Scotland, with the 'Prophisies of Rymour, Beid, and Marlyng,' and during the wars with England under Henry VIII. and Edward VI., Erceldoune or the Rhymer occupied a position in Scotland similar, as Mr. Hill Burton has pointed out, to that held

by Merlin in England, and afterwards by Nostradamus in France. 'All great national events,' Mr. Hill Burton remarks, 'all national calamities, especially such as the English invasions, were reputed to have been prophesied by him in rhymes repeated by the people.'* Nor was his fame confined to Scotland. As early as the beginning of the Fourteenth Century it had spread to England; a MS. written in the Midland or South Midland English dialect, which according to Mr. Bond 'is undoubtedly before 1320,' being still extant, containing what purports to be one of his prophecies. And besides, 'exclusive,' says Dr. Murray, 'of the fact that all the copies we have of the old Romance and Prophecies have come down to us at the instance of English transcribers, the English prophetic writings of the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries abound in appeals to his authority and quotations, acknowledged and unacknowledged, from the predictions attributed to him.' Doubtless, too, he was one of those 'uthir ald corruppit vaticinaris' besides Merlin, 'to quhais ymaginet verkis' the unknown author of the *Complaynt of Scotland* says 'the inglismen gyue mair faitht nor to the prophesie of ysaye, Eyechiel, Ieremie, or to the euangel.' But it was in 1603, when the crowns of England and Scotland were united, that his fame reached its zenith. This event he was supposed to have distinctly foretold, and though it did not take place till three generations after his alleged prediction bore, its actual occurrence was regarded as an infallible proof of his wonderful insight into the future. On April 5, 1603, Robert Birrel writes in his Diary: 'At this time all the haill Commons of Scotland that had red or understanding, wer daylie speiking and exponing of Thomas Rymer hes prophesie, and of vther prophesies quhilk wer prophesied in auld tymes.' Several years before this, as we learn from the oration Colville composed for the funeral of Queen Elizabeth, the *carmina* of Thomas the Rhymer were recited in the streets by *balathrones ceraulas.* At the time they were laughed at, but when Elizabeth died the prophecy was regarded as serious. Both Sir William Alexander and Drummond of Hawthornden refer to it, and even Archbishop

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* *History of Scotland,* III., 409.

Spottiswood, though somewhat doubtful as to the origin of Thomas's prophetic abilities, as were also Wyntown and Colville, was nevertheless a firm believer in their reality. In his *History of the Church of Scotland* he remarks, 'The prophecies yet extant in Scottish Rithmes, whereupon he was commonly called Thomas the Rhymer, may justly be admired, having foretold, so many ages before, the union of England and Scotland, in the ninth degree of the Bruce's blood, with the succession of Bruce himself to the crown, being yet a child, and other diuers particulars which the event hath ratified and made good. . . . Whence or how he had this knowledge, can hardly be affirmed; but sure it is, that he did divine and answer truly of many things to come.' As might be expected attention was again called to the Rhymer's predictions during the troubles of 1745, when those of them which still remained unfulfilled were supposed to be on the eve of accomplishment. The Duke of Gordon, one of the adherents of the Stuarts, was identified with the 'Cock of the North,' often mentioned in the prophecies of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries, while the easy victory of Prestonpans was regarded as the fulfilment of the 'Battle of Gladsmoor,' 'the great Armageddon,' as Dr. Murray calls it, of the prophecies. Twenty-five years later, Lord Hailes set himself to write a serious refutation of the Rhymer's prophecies, and flattered himself that his attempt to eradicate the belief in them would not prove altogether in vain.

The first known printed collection of the Rhymer's prophecies was published in 1603, under the title, 'The whole prophecie of Scotland, England, and some parts of France and Denmark, prophesied bee mervellous Merlin, Beid, Bertlington, Thomas Rymour, Waldhaue, Eltraine, Banester and Sibbilla, all according in one. Containing many strange and meruelous things. Printed by Robert Waldegraue, Printer to the King's most Excellent Maiestie. Anno 1603.' Andro Hart issued another edition of it in 1615; and it continued to be printed as a chap-book down to the beginning of the present century. In 1833 it was edited by Dr. Laing for the Maitland Club. The older editions are still to be met with, some of them adding to Waldegraue's title-page, 'also Archbishop Usher's wonderful prophecies.' According to

Dr. Murray there were few farmhouses in Scotland at the beginning of the present century without a copy of these mystic predictions of the Rhymer and his associates. In various parts of the country, but more especially in his own locality, a number of prophetic rhymes attributed to the Rhymer are still current. Anything like belief in them does not now exist, though they may still be said to have a certain hold on the popular imagination. Several of them were given by Sir Walter Scott in his *Border Minstrelsy*; others of them are to be found in the *History of the Berwickshire Natural History Club*; and a fair collection of them has been made accessible by Dr. Robert Chambers in his entertaining *Popular Rhymes of Scotland.* Generally speaking these prophetic rhymes are forebodings of evil; none of them is inspiring; and if Thomas was really their author, he has made out for himself a good title to be called the Prophet of Woe. We doubt, however, that he was their author. Many other rhymes are current throughout the country of a similar nature, but no one, so far as we can learn, ever seems to have dreamed of holding Thomas responsible for their authorship. The probability is that at least the majority of those which are ascribed to him, owe their existence to others, and have been fathered upon him either by popular fancy, or in order to give them weight or authority.

Though Ercildoune's fame as a poet was never so great as his reputation as a prophet, until recently it was by no means inconsiderable. Sir Walter Scott claimed him as the author of *Sir Tristrem.* Dr. Irving, also, in his history of Scottish Poetry, considered it not altogether absurd to suppose that he was its real author. But by most writers in the present his claim to the authorship of that poem is given up. So again with respect to the poem which passes under his name, with its fairy legend and remaining fytts; his title to be regarded as the author of this is vanishing. As we shall see further on, there is no evidence, either internal or external, to prove that he was its author; while, on the other hand, it will be seen that there is quite enough to show that its author was and must have been another.

It may be doubted, indeed, whether Thomas was the author of any work of literary importance. Dempster's statement that he wrote two books: *De futuro Scotiæ statu* and *Rythmi vernaculi*

may be dismissed with Dr. Brandl's curt remark: 'Dempster ist bekanntlich sehr unkritisch.' As to the authorship of *Sir Tristrem* the present state of opinion respecting it is very fairly put by Dr. Murray in the following words:

'In the additions to Warton's *History of English Poetry* (editions of 1824 and 1840), it is shown that not only did the romance exist in several European languages long before the days of Erceldoune, but that the "Thomas" quoted in some of the French and German poems was the writer of one of the French versions of the story, who must have lived before 1200; that this French version was apparently the original of the English translation in the Auchinleck MS., and that while it is doubtful whether the latter be the work referred to by Robert of Brunne, it is still more doubtful whether it is the production, either directly or indirectly, of Erceldoune. Mr. Garnett, in summing up his review of the subject, considers it well proved, "1. That the present Sir Tristrem is a modernised [rather a *southernized*, it cannot well be a *much* more modern] copy of an old[er] Northumbrian romance, written probably between 1260 and 1300. 2. That it is not in the proper sense of the word, an original composition, but derived more or less directly from a Norman or Anglo-Norman source. 3. That there is no direct evidence in favour of Thomas of Erceldoune's claim to the authorship of it, while the internal evidence is, as far as it goes, greatly adverse to that supposition. It is, however, by no means improbable that the author availed himself of the previous labours of Erceldoune on the same theme. The minstrels of those days were great plagiarists, and seldom gave themselves the trouble of inventing subjects and incidents when they found them ready prepared to their hands." Later criticism is still more adverse to the claims of Erceldoune. Mr. Wright thinks it most probable that the person who translated the Auchinleck version from the French original, finding a Thomas mentioned therein, and not knowing who he was, "may have taken him for the Thomas whose name was then most famous, viz. Thomas of Erceldoune, and thus put the name of the latter to his English edition." I must confess that, looking at the way in which the name and authority of Erceldoune were afterwards affixed to productions with which he had no connexion, Mr. Wright's theory seems to me most probable, especially as this English version must have been originally by a northern writer who would be well acquainted with Thomas's name, and probably wrote soon after his death, so that the southernized transcript in the Auchinleck MS. could be made before the middle of the fourteenth century.'

Opinion on the Continent is practically the same. Professor Kölbing, though objecting to some of the statements made by Dr. Murray, is nevertheless of opinion that Thomas of Erceldoune was not the author of the Romance in question. Dr.

Heinzel argues in the same direction, and Dr. Brandl agrees with him. Some writers, however, still maintain the opinion first set forth by Sir Walter Scott, and on the same grounds. It may not, therefore, be out of place to refer to them again.

The evidence on which the opinion is based is contained in a number of verses from the English Chronicle of Robert Mannyng of Brunne, a contemporary of Erceldoune's, and in a number of others contained in the Romance itself. Mannyng's lines are:

'I se in song in sedgeyng tale
Of Erceldoun and of Kendale
Non tham says as thai tham wroght
And in ther sayng it semes noght;
That may thou here in Sir Tristrem,
Ouer gestes it has the steem,
Ouer all that is or was,
If men it sayd as made Thomas;
Bat I here it no man so say,
That of som copple som is away.
So thare fayre sayng here beforne
Is thare trauayle nere forlorne;
Thai sayd it for pride and nobleye,
That non were suylk as thei;
And alle that thai wild ouerwhere
Alle that ilk wille now forfare.
Thai sayd in so quante Inglis,
That many one wate not what it is.

In *Sir Tristrem* we have the following:

'I was at Ertheldoun
With tomas spak y thare
Ther herd y rede in roune
Who tristrem gat and bare
Who was king with croun
And who him fosterd thare
And who was bold baroun
As thair elders ware
Bi thare
Tomas telles in toun
This auentours as thai ware.

Tho tomas asked ay
Of tristrem trewe fere

To wite the right way,
The styes for to lere ;
Of a prince proude in play
Listneth lordinges dere ;
Who so better can say,
His owhen he may here,
As hende
Of thing that is him dere
Ich man preise at ende.
In o robe tristrem was boun,
That he fram schippe hadde brought ;
Was of a blihand broun,
The richest that was wrought ;
As tomas telleth in toun ;
He no wist what he mought,
Bot semly set him doun,
And ete ay til him gode thought,
Ful sone
The forest forth he sought
When he so hadde done.

Beliagog the bold
As a fende he fought ;
Tristrem liif neighe he sold,
As tomas hath ous taught,
Tristrem smot, as god wold,
His fot of at a draught,
Adoun he fel y fold,
That man of michel maught,
And cride
"Tristrem, be we saught,
And haue my londes wide."'

From these references to Thomas and Erceldoune it is argued that the obvious and only conclusion is that Thomas of Erceldoune was the undoubted author of the Romance of *Sir Tristrem.* But to refer first to the verses taken from Mannyng, 'it is not certain,' Dr. Murray remarks, 'whether the Thomas here is the Thomas of Erceldoune or Thomas of Kendale, nor indeed that the first four lines refer to the same subject as those which follow. *Sir Tristrem* may, for anything that appears, be a third example, in addition to the works of Erceldoune and Kendale, of the liability of "quante Inglis" to be marred by reciters, and its author "Thomas" may not be the Erceldoune of the second

line, especially as the earlier German versions of *Sir Tristrem* quote as their authority one Thomas von Brittanien, or Thomas of Brittany, who must have lived, whoever he was, long before Thomas of Erceldoune.' *

Referring to the same lines Kölbing remarks—'We learn from them (1) that *Sir Tristrem* was then very highly prized; (2) that the supposed authorship of Thomas of Ercildoune was not questioned, and certainly contributed not a little to the renown of the poem; (3) that even at that period the work was regarded as difficult to understand; Robert Mannyng, it is true, refers its obscurity only to the mistakes of the jongleurs; but surely it was contributed to by the peculiar character of the monument itself.' And then turning to the passage just cited from Dr. Murray, he observes 'the reference to Thomas von Britanje is not correct, for, in the first place, among the earlier German versions the remark applies only to Gottfried's, and secondly, Robert Mannyng knew nothing whatever about the other Thomas, and needed indeed only to refer to the initial verses of our poem. For these reasons it seems to me that the foregoing sceptical observations are not wholly justified.' † It seems to us, however, that Dr. Murray has quite sufficient grounds for making his 'sceptical observations.' (1) The reference to authorship in the opening lines of *Sir Tristrem* is not so clearly in favour of Thomas as Professor Kölbing seems to suppose; (2) His assertion that we learn from Mannyng's lines 'that the supposed authorship of Thomas of Ercildoune was not questioned, and contributed not a little to the renown of the poem,' assumes exactly what requires to be proved. In the lines themselves there is nothing whatever to identify the Thomas of the eighth line with the Ercildoune of the second. (3) The statement that Mannyng 'knew nothing whatever about' Thomas of Brittany seems to us far too dogmatic. What was to hinder him from being acquainted with him? The use made at the time in the North Country of the French romance writers makes it highly probable that his re-

* Pp. xx.-xxi.

† *Sir Tristrem*, pp. xix.-xxx., Heilbronn, 1882. Cf. the recently published *Sir Tristrem* by Geo. P. M'Neill (Scottish Text Society).

ference is to him. (4) It is somewhat remarkable that when speaking of Thomas and *Sir Tristrem* Mannyng should make a complaint similar to Gottfried's. In his introduction to *Sir Tristrem* Gottfried says:

> 'Ich weiz wol, ir ist vil gewesen,
> Die von Tristande hânt gelesen;
> Und ist ir doch niht vil gelesen
> Die von in rehte haben gelesen.
> . . . . .
> Si sprachen wol
> Und niwan ûz edelem muote
> Mir unde der werlt ze guote.
> Benamen sie tâten ez in guot.
> . . . . .
> Aber als ich gesprochen hân
> Daz sî nihte rehte haben gelesen,
> Daz ist, als ich iu sage, gewesen ;
> Sine sprâchen in der rihte niht,
> Als Thômas von Britanje giht,
> Der âventiure meister was
> Und an britûnschen buochen las
> Aller der lanthêrren leben
> Und ez uns ze künde hât gegeben.
> Als der von Tristande seit,
> Die rihte und die wârheit
> Begunde ich sêre suochen
> In beider hande buochen
> Walschen und latînen,
> Und begunde mich des pînen,
> Daz ich in sîner rihte
> Rihte dise tihte.'*

A comparison of these lines with those cited from Mannyng would almost seem to suggest, and in fact does suggest, that

* I know well there are many who have recited of Tristrem and that many have not recited of him rightly. . . . They spoke well, and only out of nobleness, to mine and the world's good. By my faith they intended well . . . As I said before they have not recited rightly; the reason is, they spoke not after the manner of Thomas von Britanje, who was a master of romance and found in British books the lives of all the knights of whom he wrote. What he of the right and true has preserved of Tristrem, I diligently began to seek both in Celtic and Latin books and took great pains that I might narrate the story according to his account.

when he wrote his Chronicle Mannyng either had Gottfried's *Tristan* before him or was acquainted with the complaint he makes, and was imitating it. But be that as it may, whatever evidence there is, whether of a positive or negative character, seems to us to be on the side of Dr. Murray's conjectures in respect to the interpretation of Mannyng's lines, and against Dr. Kölbing's criticisms.

Turning now to the passages cited from the Romance itself, these appear to us to afford no evidence whatever for the opinion that Thomas of Ercildoune was its author. The actual author does, indeed, say:

> 'I was at Ertheldoun
> With tomas spak y thare;
> Ther herd y rede in roune
> Who tristrem gat and bare.
> . . . . . .
> Bi yere
> Tomas telles in toun
> This auentours as thai ware.'

But to infer from this that Thomas of Erceldoune was the real author of the Romance, or even of a version of it, is surely warranted by no sound rule of logic. All that can possibly be inferred from it is, that the author was at Erceldoune, where he spoke with Thomas, that he there heard the story of Sir Tristrem 'rede in roune,' and that Thomas was in the habit of telling in 'toun this auentours as thai ware.' Of the authorship either of the original poem or of any version of it, nothing whatever is said. That the Thomas of the opening lines of the second passage we have cited from the Romance, was not Ercildoune is clear. He

> 'asked ay
> Of tristrem trewe fere,
> To wite the right way
> The styes for to lere,'

and must therefore have been a contemporary of Tristrem's; i.e., he must have lived some six centuries before Thomas of Erceldoune. Equally clear does it also seem to us that Erceldoune was not even the source whence the author of the English version drew his information. He does indeed put

Thomas of Erceldoune forward as telling the story; he also represents himself as being at Erceldoune, and as there hearing the Romance read; but in our opinion these are but poetic artifices—artifices, as we shall see further on, which at the time were frequently resorted to.

We conclude, therefore, that there is no real evidence that Thomas was an author or even a poet. His reputation as a poet seems to us to have arisen partly from his reputation as a prophet, and partly from the fact of his family name being Rimour or Rymour, which tradition soon magnified into The Rhymer. He may have composed a number of such rhymes as:

> The burn o' breid
> Sall rin fu reid,

but in our opinion he is not entitled to be regarded as the author of anything more, and this opinion, as we shall now proceed to show, is confirmed by the *Romance and Prophecies* which has been so often ascribed to him, and which passes under his name.

Of the five, or if we include the one copied by Dr. Brandl, six MSS. in which this poem is found, one only contains it in its complete form, i.e., with the Prologue and three Fytts or parts. This is known as the Thornton MS. The three Fytts, but not the Prologue, are found in three others, viz., the Cotton, Lansdowne, and Cambridge. One MS., viz., the Sloane, contains only the Second and Third Fytts; and one, the Bodleian, copied by Dr. Brandl, only the Third.*

The Thornton MS., that containing the poem in its complete form, is preserved in the library of Lincoln Cathedral, and was written mainly by Robert Thornton of East Newton, Yorkshire, and Archdeacon of Bedford, about the year 1430-1440. '"Tomas off Ersseldowne" occupies nine pages beginning at the top of leaf 149, back, and ending on the second column of of leaf 153, back, with 15 lines, and the remainder of the column blank.' All the leaves are more or less damaged, but the most

* Of the condition of the MSS. containing the texts he has published, Dr. Murray has given a very full account. Pp. lvi.-lx.

unfortunate thing is that the mutilation extends to a part of the poem which exists in this MS. alone. Speaking of this MS., Dr. Murray observes that it 'presents, on the whole, a very careful and accurate text; only in a few places . . . Robert Thornton has misread his original, which can, however, generally be restored. It is, in date probably, in form certainly, the oldest of the existing MS., retaining the original Northern form of the language little altered, while it is free from most of the corruptions with which the next two MSS., the Cambridge and Cotton, abound.' The Cambridge MSS., so called from being preserved in the University Library at Cambridge, is in English handwriting of the middle of the Fifteenth Century, and contains, like the rest of the MSS., a variety of pieces. 'Thomas of Erseldown' begins without any title on leaf 119*a*, and ends leaf 128*b*, occupying ten leaves in single column. In many places the handwriting is difficult to decipher. Jamieson, who made a transcript of it for his *Ballads and Songs*, published in 1806, says:

'The Cambridge MS. has suffered by rain-water nearly as much as the Cotton has done by fire; a great part of each page having become entirely illegible by the total disappearance of the ink. By wetting it, however, with a composition which he procured from a bookseller and stationer in Cambridge, the writing was so far restored in most places, that, with the assistance of a magnifying glass, he was able to make it out pretty clearly. The greatest difficulty he met with was from the unlucky zeal and industry of some person who, long ago, and in a hand nearly resembling the original, had endeavoured to fill up the chasms, and, as appeared upon the revival of the old writing, had generally mistaken the sense, and done much more harm than good.' *

To these remarks, which he quotes, Dr. Murray adds the comment: 'Jamieson little thought that his own "unlucky zeal and industry" would in process of time entitle him to equal or even greater reprobation, for the "composition" which he so naively confesses to have applied to the MS. has dried black, and both disastrously disfigured the pages and seriously increased their illegibility.' The text of the Romance and Prophecies, which is very faulty and contains a number of scribal

* Vol. II. 43.

blunders, often differs from the Thornton MS., and when it does is generally unsupported by the other MSS. 'In some places,' Dr. Murray remarks, 'where it presents the greatest discrepancy, it can be seen that originally it had the same reading as the Thornton MS., but was subsequently altered, and this not always, as Jamieson thought, by some one trying to restore indistinct passages, for the original is quite distinct, but crossed and something substituted.' Mr. Halliwell, who is of opinion that the text of this MS. is the earliest and best, attributes it to the early part of the Fifteenth Century, but as both Dr. Murray and Dr. Brandl point out, it must yield precedence both as to date and excellence to the Thornton. The Cotton, Lansdowne and Sloane MSS. are preserved, we need hardly say, in the British Museum. The first is one of the MSS. that suffered greatly from the fire, and is in an extremely defective condition, consisting merely of charred fragments of greater or less extent of the original leaves, and having but very few of the lines of the poem complete. The handwriting, which is heavy and clumsy, is of 'about or slightly after 1450.' So far as it goes the text agrees closely with the Thornton, but a number of stanzas has apparently been omitted. The Lansdowne MS. is unfinished, the transcript of the poem breaking off with the first line of a stanza, some seventy lines from the end, and having a blank of several lines in extent on the page. It omits long passages, and has additions of its own. The Sloane MS. contains the Prophecies alone, without the Prologue and the introductory Fytt or Fairy Legend. The conclusion of the Third Fytt is greatly abridged, 'the writer seemingly being impatient of everything not prophetic.' The first line of a stanza is frequently omitted, and another is interpolated at the end or some lines further on, in order to complete the rhyme. Dr. Brandl's transcript is made from a MS. in the Bodleian, written towards the end of the Fifteenth Century. As already stated it contains the Third Fytt only. In the opinion of Dr. Brandl it belongs to the same family of texts as the Thornton, Cambridge, and Sloane; the Cotton and Lansdowne belonging to another. Its text is in his judgment more closely related to the Cambridge than to the Sloane.

Turning now to the origin of the poem, it may safely be said that its author is unknown. That it does not owe its origin to Thomas of Ercildoune, either father or son, may be taken as certain: for first of all, that the so-called predictions were written after the events there can be no manner of doubt; and as many, and indeed all of the events, except one, occurred long after both the father and son were in the grave, even if either of them can be credited with being the author of a part of the poem, neither of them can have been the author of it in its present form. Secondly, there is the well known fact that authors of this species of writings did not affix their own names to their compositions, but endeavoured to pass them off as the predictions of some one or other who had for a longer or shorter time enjoyed the esteem and reverence of the people, because of his sanctity or supposed prophetical gifts. Instances of this are numerous. The oldest of the Irish prophecies—a prophecy contained in the *Dialogue of the Two Sages*—professes to have been uttered in the Fourth Century of the Christian Era, but was not written earlier than the Tenth Century.* The prophecy which passes under the name of St. Berchan, who lived during the Seventh Century, is with good reason assigned to the last decade of the Eleventh Century. The Metrical Prophecy, again, which professes to record the prophecies of Merlin, Gildas, and a certain ancient Sibyll, who may probably be identified with the Queen of Sheba, the friend of Solomon, by its reference to the conquest of the Western Isles by Magnus Barefoot, the Princeps Noricus of the oracle, and the mention of the interregnum of twice three years and nine months, is a witness against itself that it was not written till the first quarter of the Twelfth Century.† But perhaps the most convincing illustration of the practice is afforded by the Prophecies of John of Bridlington, sometimes attributed to John Ergome of York. The author of these, whether Ergome or another, expressly states that he purposely hides his own name and uses that of Bridlington in its stead, giving

* O'Curry's *Lectures*, p. 384, *et seq.*

† *Chronicles of Picts and Scots*, pp. xxxix, xlii, etc.

as his reasons, that he feared the tongues of the censorious, was afraid of the power of the rulers, and dreaded the indignation of the discreet, who, he believed, would be offended at one so young adventuring such interpretations.* That the author of *Thomas of Erceldoune* was influenced by any such reasons, there is no need to suppose; but there can be little doubt that he followed the custom of his school, and used the name of Erceldoune, not because it was his own, but in order to attract attention to his work, and give greater weight to his predictions. Thirdly, the poem does not profess to have been written by Thomas. After the first stanza of the first Fytt, the first person singular is dropped, and the poem becomes a narrative of what happened to Thomas, what he did and said, and what was said to him. Such passages as the following leave no doubt on the subject:

'Thomas laye and sawe that syghte
Undirnethe ane semly tree.

'Thomas rathely upe he rase
And rane over that mountayne hye.

'Gyff it be, als the story sayes
He her mette at Eldon Tree.

'He knelyde downe appone his knee
Undirnethe that grenewode spraye.

'Thomas stode upe in that stede.

'Scho ledde hym in at Eldone Hill.

'He did in hye als scho hym badde.

'Thomas still als stane he stude,
And by-helde that ladye gaye.

'Thomas duellide in that solace
More than yowe saye, parde.

'Scho blewe hir horne on hir palfraye,
And lefte Thomas undirnethe a tre;
Till Helmesdale scho tuke the waye,
And thus departed scho and hee.

'Of swilke ane hirdman wolde I here
That couthe me telle of swilke ferly.'

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* Wright's *Political Poems, &c.*, I. 123.

Against the argument furnished by these passages, any which may be based on the few in which the first person is used is of no avail. The wonder is that any one who has read the poem has ever thought of ascribing it to Thomas of Erceldoune.

Dr. Murray is disposed to hold to the traditional opinion that the author of the poem was a native of Scotland. Dr. Brandl is of opinion that he was an Englishman living near the Tweed, or in some part of Northumberland. Of external evidence there is none either one way or the other. The MSS. afford no clue, all of them being copies, though it is not a little remarkable that they are all written in dialects spoken south of the Tweed, and that not a single distinctively Scottish MS. of the poem has yet been found. The Prologue is addressed to Englishmen (lines 13-24) and is evidently the work of an Englishman; but whether he belonged to the North or to the South of the Tweed, there is nothing, at least in the Prologue itself, to show. At the time it was written, the designation would suit an inhabitant of the South-east of Scotland just as well as one living in the North of England. Similarly also with the dialect of the best, the Thornton MS. When this transcript was made the dialect in which it is written, was spoken, with slight variations, from the Humber to the Forth. On the other hand, there are indications in the poem which seem to leave no doubt that the origin and sympathies of its author were Scottish. Briefly put they are these: 1. The selection of Huntley Bank as the scene of meeting between Thomas and the Fairy Queen. 2. The poet's acquaintance with the topography of the South of Scotland. 3. The mistake in the oldest or Thornton MS. as to the issue of the battle of Halidon Hill, a mistake which the later and more Southern Cambridge and Sloane MSS. correct. And 4, the general drift of feeling throughout the poem, which is unmistakeably Scottish. These, together with the testimony of tradition, afford a sufficiently strong reason, in the absence of any direct evidence to the contrary, for assigning the poem to an author living to the North of the Tweed and in the South of Scotland.

The date of the poem is uncertain. That it was composed before the middle of the Fifteenth Century, when the Thornton Copy was made, is certain. The probability is that at least the

First and portions of the Second and Third Fytts were written before the middle of the Fourteenth Century. This would seem to be put beyond all question by the prominence given in the Second Fytt to the battle of Halidon Hill, and by the fact that in the earliest MS. the victory in that battle is assigned to the wrong side. Still to form any final opinion on the subject would be extremely hazardous. But difficult as it is to assign a date for the first origin of the poem, the date when it assumed its present form may be more closely and surely approximated to. The last of the historical events or predictions enumerated is the invasion of Scotland by Henry IV. in 1401, or, if that be doubtful, the battle of Otterburn in 1388; and as the Thornton copy was made not later than 1430 or 1440, the poem must have come into existence in its present form some time during the first thirty or forty years of the Fifteenth Century. It is not at all unlikely, in fact it is almost, if not altogether, certain, that before it assumed its present shape and dimensions it was subjected to numerous revisions and passed through the hands of more than one editor.

Mr. Jamieson and Professor Child regard the Fairy Tale contained in the First Fytt as altogether distinct from the 'prophetical rhapsody.' But we fail to discover any sufficient reason for adopting their opinion. The prophetic vein is struck in the last stanza but one of the First Fytt; and, besides, the Prologue prepares the reader not only for the marvellous, but also for the prophetic.

> 'Bot Jhesu Crist that sytts in trone,
> Safe Ynglysche mene bothe ferre and nere;
> And I sall telle yow tyte and sone,
> Of batells donne sythene many a yere;
> And of battells that done sall bee;
> In whate place, and howe, and whare;
> And wha sall hafe the heghere gree,
> And whethir partye sall hafe the werre;
> Wha sall takk the flyghte and flee,
> And wha sall dye and by-leue thare:
> Bot Jhesu Crist, that dyed on tre,
> Saue Inglysche mene whare-so thay fare.'

On the other hand, naturally as the prophecies, as a whole,

flow from the tale as a response to Thomas's request for a token of his intercourse with the Fairy Queen, it is necessary to admit that the suspicion of any of them having been tacked on afterwards is not precluded. The fact that the battle of Halidon Hill occurs where it does, and not in its chronological order suggests, and indeed confirms the suspicion. The probability is that the poem has grown by accretions or additions—a mode of growth to which the form of the poem easily lends itself, but little art being required to avoid the appearance of 'patching or awkward joining.'

The First Fytt, containing the narrative of Thomas's advenventures with the Fairy Queen, and indeed the whole poem is so well known that a detailed analysis of it is scarcely necessary, yet before we conclude it may be as well to sketch briefly the outline of the story, and to set down the events predicted in the Second Fytt in the order in which they occur with their respective dates.

On a bright May morning when the throstles and woodlarks were filling the air with their music and he alone was sad, Thomas lay pondering 'undyrnethe a semely tree,' when suddenly he became aware of a lady coming riding alone across the lea.

> 'Hir palfraye was a dappil graye,
> Swylke one ne saghe I neuer none ;
> Als dose the sonne on someres daye,
> That faire lady hir selfe scho schone.
> Hir selle it was it was of roelle bone,
> Ffull semely was that syghte to see !
> Stefly sett with precyous stones,
> And compaste all with crapotee,
> Stones of Oryente, grete plente ;
> Hir hare abowte hir hede it hange ;
> Scho rade ouer that lange lee ;
> A whylle scho blewe, a-nother scho sange.
> Hir garthes of nobyll sylke thay were,
> The bukylls were of berelle stone,
> Hir steraps were of crystalle clere,
> And all with perelle ouer-by-gone.
> Hir payetrelle was of jrale fyne,
> Hir cropoure was of Orphare ;
> And als clere golde hir brydill it schone,
> One aythir syde hange bellys three.'

Seven hounds ran by her side, and a horn was hung about her neck. Thomas took her for Mary, the Queen of Heaven, and running towards her,

> 'Gyff it be als the storye sayes,
> He hir mette at Eldone tree,'

knelt down 'undirnethe that grenwode spraye,' and thus addressed her:

> 'Lufly Ladye! rewe one mee
> Qwene of heuene als thou wele maye.'

To this, 'that lady milde of thoghte' answered:

> 'Thomas! late swylke wordes bee;
> Qwene of heuene ne am I noghte,
> Ffor I tuke neuer so heghe degre,
> Bote I ame of ane other countree,
> If I be payrelde most of prysse;
> I ryde aftyre this wylde fee,
> My raches rynnys at my devyse.'

Thomas is then smitten with an irresistible passion, and notwithstanding the warnings of the Fairy Queen, 'chewys the werre,' and all her beauty is marred.

> 'Thomas stode upe in that stede,
> And he by-helde that lady gaye;
> Hir hare it hange all ouer hir hede,
> Hir eghne semede owte, that are were graye.
> And alle the riche clothynge was a-waye,
> That he by-fore sawe in that stede;
> Hir a schanke blake, hir other graye,
> And all hir body lyke the lede.'

Terrified by this sudden transformation, Thomas knows not what to do; the Queen bids him take leave of sun and moon 'and als at lefe that growes on tree,' and together they enter under Eildon Hill. For three days they travel

> 'Whare it was dirke als mydnyght myrke,
> And euer the water till his knee.'

Thomas grows faint with hunger, and being led 'in-till a faire herbere' where the nightingales are building their nests 'and the throstylls sange wolde-hafe no reste,' would fain eat of the fruits which hang luxuriantly around him, but is forbidden lest his 'saule gose to the fyre of helle,' 'ther in payne ay for to

duelle.' At length his companion takes compassion upon him. At her bidding he lays his head down on her knee, and she shews him in the distance the several ways to Paradise, Purgatory, Hell, and her own country. Next, she tells him how to behave when they reach the Castle, bidding him when there to speak to none, and promising:

> 'I sall saye syttande at the desse
> I tuke thi speche by-yonde the see.'

Then resuming her former beauty and gay apparel,

> 'Scho blewe hir horne, with mayne and mode,
> Un-to the castelle scho tuke the waye,
> In to the haulle sothely scho went;
> Thomas foloued at hir hande.'

Ladies, 'bothe faire and gent,' come to meet the Queen, curtesying and kneeling to her, a great feast is prepared, the knights come in, and here for the space of three years and more Thomas dwells amid revel, game, and minstrelsy. Suddenly he is commanded by the Queen to return to the earth. Imagining that he has been in Fairyland but three days, he entreats to be allowed to remain longer, but the Queen is inexorable, giving him as the reason for his departure:

> 'To morne of helle the foulle fende,
> Amange this folke will feche his fee;
> And thou arte mekill mane and hende,
> I trowe full wele he wolde chese the.'

Having received the Queen's promise that he will never be betrayed by her, Thomas at once goes with her, and is brought again to Eildon Tree. Here the Queen bids him farewell, but before she departs, he begs from her a token that he may say he has spoken with her. The tokens he is supposed to receive in response to this and similar requests are the predictions contained in the remainder of the poem.

Passing now to the Second Fytt, the events predicted in it and their respective dates are as follows:—First, the failure of the Baliol party in the struggle with David Bruce in 1333, and second, the Battle of Halidon Hill in the same year. These are so evidently out of their chronological order as to justify the

remarks which have been based upon them. After them follow: the Battle of Falkirk, 1298; the Battle of Bannockburn, 1314; the death of Bruce, 1329; the invasion of Edward Baliol in 1332; the battle of Dupplin and occupation of Perth, 1332; the the withdrawal of the English to the French wars, 1337; the Coronation of David Bruce, 1342; his invasion of England and capture, 1346; Baliol's invasion of Scotland, 1347; the taxing of Scotland for the ransom of David, 1357; the accession of Robert Stewart, 1370; the invasion of England by Douglas and his death at Otterburne, 1388.

The predictions of the Third Fytt, are not so easily made out as those of the Second. The first refers to a battle 'that shall be done at Spynkard Cloughe,' but what battle this is, is unknown. Later prophecies, however, quote it as Pinken or Pinkie Cleugh. Next, we have references to a battle to be fought on Pentland Hill, to the taking of a town of great renown, to the withdrawal of the English to the French wars, to a battle betwixt Seton and the Sea, and to the famous battle of Gladsmoor. It may be as, Dr. Murray conjectures that the predictions of this Fytt are in reality adaptations of legendary prophecies traditionally preserved from earlier times, and that their origin carries us back to the times of Arthur himself. In more than one Scottish legend Thomas is associated with this famous monarch. 'Tradition relates,' says Leyden in his *Scenes of Infancy* (II. 173), 'that a shepherd was once conducted into the recesses of Eildon Hills by a venerable personage whom he discovered to be the famous Rymour, and who showed him an immense number of steeds in their caparisons, and at the bridle of each a Knight sleeping in sable armour, with a sword and a bugle-horn at his side. These, he was told, were the hosts of King Arthur, waiting till the appointed return of that monarch from Fairyland.' A similar story is told among the Highlanders. We take the following from the Popular Tales of the West Highlands collected by the late J. F. Campbell, who also assures us that according to old legends 'the Irish Osin has much in common with Thomas the Rymour.' 'There is a popular saying still current in Islay, which joins true Thomas to a common Celtic British legend. He is supposed to be still living,

enchanted in Dumbuck (Dun-a-mhuic, the swine's hill), near Dumbarton (Dunbreaton, Mount Breaton); and he appears occasionally in search of horses of a peculiar kind and colour. He pays for them when they are brought to the hill; and the vendor sees enchanted steeds and armed men within the rock. It is said:

> 'Nuair a thig Tomas an riom 's à chuid each
> Bidh latha nan creach an Cluaidh.'

> 'When Thomas of power and his horses shall come,
> The day of plunderings will be in Clyde.'

ART. VI.—RECENT ARCHÆOLOGY IN EUBOIA.

To the Editor of the 'Scottish Review.'

SIR,—Some time ago the Ἑβδομὰς newspaper of Athens contained a notice of the return from Euboia of Dr. George Lampakes, Government Inspector of Antiquities. I afterwards received a letter from Dr. Lampakes himself, in which he was good enough to give me a detailed account of some of his proceedings and discoveries. As he permits me to make what use of this letter I choose, I enclose you herewith a translation of the main part of it, prefixing to it a translation of the newspaper article.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient Servant,

BUTE.

Extract from the Ἑβδομὰς newspaper.

The Inspector of Antiquities, the k. George Lampakes, has come back from Eretria and Chalcis. His stay of two months duration has led him to many conclusions which he has communicated to the Society for the study of Christian Archæology, of whose Museum and Archives it is unnecessary to remind our readers that he is the Director.

Among his discoveries in Eretria was that of a life-size marble statue, and of many sepulchral and other inscriptions.

Besides these, of which he has given an exact report to the Government, he bestowed great care and attention upon the subject of monuments of the Christian epoch existing in the districts in question. Among other things of this sort, he found engraved upon a rock about half-an-hour's journey from Chalcis, in iambic verses, a Byzantine inscription recording that the Protospatharios (chief sword-bearer) Theophylaktos had caused the road to be made upon land reclaimed from the sea at his own expense.

In addition to these, he examined and carefully described in writing the mediæval citadel and the 'Frankish Towers'; he examined the hermitages built at Basilikon and at the village of Gymnon by the Crusaders* when in Euboia; he copied some curious Latin inscriptions, among which is especially remarkable the epitaph of Peter Lippamano, Venetian Councillor of the Negropont, who died in 1398; he found Frankish coats-of-arms and badges built into different country churches and houses of the peasantry; he examined and wrote a careful description of the existing Monastery of Armas, where he found, among other things, a corporal-cloth consecrated by the persecuted Metropolitan of Athens, Bartholomew.

He made notes of some traditions, and in some of the villages he made unhoped for discoveries of Christian seals and emblems belonging to the earliest periods of the peace of the Church.

Especially rich is the collection of Byzantine architectural ornaments which he found in the oldest hermitages. The greater part of these he immediately made known to the Council of the Christian Archæological Society. The most important work, however, which he performed during his stay was saving from irreparable injury the antient wooden roof of the Basilica of St. Paraskeue at Chalcis. Upon the beams of this roof there are many badges, monograms, and figures of divers extraordinary animals, which are now invisible to the naked eye [from below]. This roof is of the

* This expression seems to be loosely employed to indicate Latin occupation subsequent to 1204.—B.

Thirteenth Century. The trustees of the church had already determined to destroy it in order to substitute for it a dome. This is only one proof of the hopeless want of appreciation of such objects. Dr. Lampakes immediately sent for the local authorities and the trustees of the church, and explained to them the preciousness of the roof in question, and that they would be held responsible in the future for any injury which might befall so remarkable a monument of the Venetian church construction and decoration in the Middle Ages.

Extract from the private letter of Dr. Lampakes.

During the excavations which I made at Eretria, we found a large marble statue of a man 1.95. m. [about 6 ft.] in height. In the same place I found the following inscriptions.

(1)

ΚΛΕΟΝΙΚΟΝ ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΑΜΦΙΚΡΑΤΗΣ ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΤΟΝ ΕΑΥΤΟΥ ΦΙΛΟΝ

(2)

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ
Η Λ Ν Η (?)
ΤΙΜΟΚΡΙΤΟΣ

In the same place were found different remains of an antient temple, broken tiles, etc., and in the same village and the neighbourhood I found the following inscriptions.

(3)

ΗΟΡΟΣ
ΘΗΚΗΣ

i.e., ὅρος θήκης, 'Boundary of a tomb.' In this inscription the symbol Η is employed to express the aspirated breathing, just as in the inscription ΗΟΡΟΣ_ΔΙΟΣ near the Church of St. Marina at Athens.

(4)

ΦΛ:ΑΠΕΛΛΙΩΝ Ο ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝΟΥ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΩ
ΤΑΤΗΝ ΕΚΠΛΗΡΩΝ ΕΝΤΟΛΗΝ ΤΟΥ ΘΕΙΟΥ ΜΟΥ ΑΥΡΙ:ΕΥ
ΓΕΓΡΑΨΑ ΤΗΝ ΛΗΝΟΝ ΕΠΙ ΤΩ ΜΗΔΕΝΑ ΕΤΕΡΟ
ΝΤΗΝ ΤΕΘΗΝΑΙ ΧΩΡΙC ΕΜΟΥ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΕΙΔΕ ΤΙC
ΑΝΟΙΞΑΙ ΔωCΕΙ Τω ΙΕΡωΤΑΤω ΤΑΜΕΙω ΧΡ

I think that ΧΡ* here stands for χρυσόν.

* This X has a stroke across the middle.—B.

(5)

ΠΟΛΕΙΔΗΣ

Upon a tombstone.

(6)

ΠΑΡΑΜΟΝΗ
ΜΑΧΑΤΟΥ

This is upon a sepulchral pillar. The proper name is ΜΑΧΑΤΑΣ. See the *Corpus Inscriptionum Græcarum*, No. 1799. This is the Genitive.

(7)

ΠΕΙΘΟ

On a broken fragment.

(8)

[ΠΟ]ΛΥΚΛΕΙΤΟΥ
ΑΡΙΣΤΕΟΥ *
ΟΝΗΣΙΦΟΡΟΝ
ΤΡΥΦωΝ
ΟΣ

This was upon another broken fragment.

(9)

ΥΒ
ΜΝ. ΟΙ
ΥΝΗ ΑΥΤΟ
[ΚΛΕ]ΟΠΑΤΡΑ ΚΑ
ΥΕΥΒΙΟΣ ΕΥ
[ΔΗΜ]ΗΤΡΙΟΣΛΥΣΑΝΔΡ[ΟΥ]
Ω:ΒΙΑΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟ[ΥΣ]
ΚΡΑΤΗΣΑΡΧΙΠΠΟΥ ΚΑ
ΑΡΙΣΤΑΡΧΟΥ ΔΩΡΙΣ ΞΕ
ΠΑΙΣ ΞΕΝΟΧΑΡΟΥ[Σ]
ΑΡΧΙΠΠΗ ΚΛΕΟΓΕΝΟ
ΚΥΛΟΣ ΑΝΤΙΧΑΡΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΚΛΕΟΜ[ΒΡΟΤΟΥ]
ΠΡΟΚΛΗΣ ΕΥΒΙ

This also is upon a fragment, to whose broken and irregular shape its condition is due.

(10)

ΟΝΗΣΙΜΗ
ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ

On a gravestone.

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* The Σ in this inscription in all the three cases where it occurs is represented by a peculiar character like a square-cornered C or a bracket [.—B.

(11)

ΧΡΥΣΑΛΙΣ ΣΗΜΙΟΥ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ

(12)

ΠΟΛΥΜΝΗΣΤΟ[Σ]

On a sepulchral stone near the village of Bathia.

(13)

ΚΑΛΛΙΠΠΟΣ
ΜΕΝΑΛΚΗ

Upon a piece of white marble in the antient Church of St. George near the village of Gymnon.

(14)

Α : ΟΝΕΑΡΧΙΔΟ[Σ]
ΙΝΙ . . ΛΟΝΟΣ

In the Church of the Blessed Virgin in the village of Gymnon.

(15)

. . . ΟΧ . . .

In the same church.

(16)

ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑ[ΤΗΣ]

In the village of Bathia.

(17)

ΟΔΗΜΟΣ Ο ΕΡΕΤ[ΡΙΕΩΝ]
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙΤΟΝ ΔΗΜΗ[ΤΡΙΟΝ]
ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ
ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟΝ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΑΙ *

This is also at Bathia, in the Church of the Blessed Virgin there (called the *Panagitsa*).

(18)

ΔΡΟΝΒ (?)

On a piece of polished white marble at Bathia.

(19)

ΑΙΑΣ
. . . ΛΟΝΙΣΟΥ

At the monastery of St. Nicolas near Bathia.

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* Nos. 24 and 25 hardly leave a doubt that this I is only the first stroke of the H in ΛΗΤΟΙ.—B.

(20)

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣ

This is upon a white marble step in front of the Credence (πρόθεσις) in the church of the suppressed monastery of St. George styled 'ο 'Αρμάς.

(21)

ΗΒΙΤΗΣ
ΑΝΤΙΦΩΝΕΩ

In the chapel of St. John at the village of Basilikon.

(22)

ΕΥΦΕΜΟΣΑΝΕΘ.
ΝΞΚ

This is upon a pyramidal stone at Chalcis. It will be observed that the words are ΕΥΦΕ[Η]ΜΟΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ, and it is an instance of a βουστροφηδόν inscription.*

(23)

ΓΗΡΑ.ΔΗΚΛΕΟΝΙΚΕ ΑΙΠΩΝ ΒΙΟΝ ΑΙΝΕΤΟΣ ΑΣΤΟΙΣ
ΚΕΙΣΑΙ ΤΟΝΔΕ ΤΥΜΒΟΝ ΕΦΕΣΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ
Τ:Ε ΙΔΙΑ ΕΚΓΕΙΑ ΩΣ ΑΙΠΑΡΟΣ ΑΤΟΙΟΛΒΟΣ ΟΠΙΣΣ[Ε]
ΠΑΙΔΩΝ ΤΕ ΑΚΜΑΙΑ ΛΕΙΠΕΤΑΙ ΛΑΙΚΙΑ

(Then in larger characters)

ΚΛΕΟΝΙΚΟΣ
ΦΕΙΔΙΟΥ

On a sepulchral stone at Chalcis.

(24)

[Δ]ΗΜΟΣ Ο ΕΡΕΤΡΙΕΩΝ ΤΗΧΙΠΠΟΝ ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟ[Ν ?]
ΑΡΕΤΗΣ ΕΝΕΚΕΝ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΝΟΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΕΙΣ ΕΑΥΤΟ[Ν]
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΛΗΤΟ[Ι]

On the stair of the tower of the Basilica of St. Paraskeue at Chalcis.

(25)

ΕΡΕ[ΤΡΙΕΩΝ]
ΚΛΕΟ
[Ε]ΝΕΚΕΝΚΑΙΕ[ΥΝΟΙΑΣ]
ΕΙΣΕΑΥΤ[ΟΝ]
[ΑΠ]ΟΛΛΩΝΙΛΗ[ΤΟΙ]

At Chalcis, in a ruin near the fort called *Kara-babass.*

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* The Φ in this inscription is a simple O with a perpendicular bar, and the Θ contains a regular cross instead of an horizontal bar only.—B.

(26)

? Π]ΡΩΤΗ

In the fort of *Kara-babass.*

(27)

ΦΙΑ ΕΑΣΕΤΦΑ
ΕΙΑ ΕΙΟΤΙ

Stone at Chalcis, broken into two pieces.

(28)

ΕΤΧΗ
ΑΝΝΙ
Ο Ι:Γ

At Chalcis.

(29)

ΝΑΤΣΙΜΑΧΟ[Σ]

At Chalcis, in the house of Dr. Baratasses.

The following fourteen inscriptions (Nos. 30-43) I discovered upon stones in use as paving-stones in the court of the house of M. Blachopoulos at Chalcis.

(30)

ΣΗΜΑΝΔΡΟΣ
ΑΡΧΕΠΟΛΙΔ

(31)

ΘΕΟΚΛΕΑ
ΑΠΟΛΛΟΔΩΡΟΤ

(32)

ΝΙΚΟΚΡΑΤ
. . . . . Μ . . .

(33)

ΚΛΕΩΝ
ΚΛΕΟΜΕΝΟΤΣ

(34)

[ΞΕ]ΝΑΡΧΟΣ
[ΕΠΑΜΕΙ]ΝΩΝΔΟΤ

(35)

ΚΑΛΙΑΣ
ΤΑΡΟΤ:ΛΟΤ

(36)

Α ΑΡΧΟΣ
ΚΛΕΟΝΟΣ
Μ . . ΛΟΧΕΤΣ

(37)

ΕΤΡΤΝΟΜΟΣ
[ΕΤ]ΡΤΝΟΜΟΤ

(38)

ΑΡΙΣΤΟΔΙΚΟΣ

(39)

ΝΟΣ
Ρ ΙΔΟΤ
ΟΤΛΗ
ΑΤΟΤ

(40)

. . ΚΛΗ . :
. . ΣΤΟ . .

(41)

ΑΜΟΝΙΚ
Λ . . . Μ

(42)

Δ . . . .
ΠΡΩΤΑΓ[ΟΡΑΣ]

(43)

ΘΗΓΙΣ
ΘΡΑΣΩΝΟΣ

(44)

. . . . ΤΗΡΙΧΟΤ

On the tower of the Cathedral of Chalcis.

(45)

This is an inscription of great interest which I found about half-an-hour's distance from Chalcis, engraven in Byzantine characters upon a rock by the sea-side, close to the little church of St. Stephen. It is written in iambic trimeter.

ΚΤΤΟC ΧΑΛΙΝΟΙ ΤΗC ΘΑΛΑCCΗC ΕΝΘΑΔΕ
ΚΑΙ Τω ΒΤΘW ΔΙΔWCΙΝ ΑCΦΑΛΗ ΤΡΙΒΟΝ
ΧΕΡCωΝ ΤΟ ΡΕΙΘΡΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΓΕωΝ ΤΕΧΝΗC ΒΙΑ
ΤΟ ΚΤΜΑ ΡΕΤCΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ ΑCΤΑΤΟΝ CΑΛΟΝ

ΚΑΕΙΝΟC ΘΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΤΟC ΟΙΚΕΙΟΙC ΠΟΝ[Ο]ΙC
Ο ΠΡωΤΟCΠΑΘΑΡΙΟC ΕΛΛΑΔΟ[C] ΚΑΕωC
+ Ιω + ΜΧΑ

[Both these signatures—'John' and 'Michael'—are completed by one or two symbols which are not in a fount of type.—B.]

From this inscription we learn that the Protospatharios Theophylaktos caused this road to be made along the sea-shore at his own cost, 'drying up the flood and turning into land, by force of skill, the flowing wave and restless troubled brine.' This inscription is certainly of great scientific value both from its poetical expressions, its syntax, its style, and the very form of the characters, such as w for ω.

In the church of St. Paraskeue at Chalcis I found many things of great interest in regard to mediæval Christian Art. It was built in the Thirteenth Century. [Here Dr. Lampakes gives a plan of the church in question.] Two of the columns [indicated] have capitals almost the same as those of the Basilica of Hercules at Ravenna, adorned with beautiful foliage, and the capitals of two others [indicated] bear a monogram of the name I[esus] Ch[rist] almost exactly the same as one which is likewise found at Ravenna. I observed the following inscription in Gothic letters:—

(46)

HIC JACET NOBILIS ET EGR
EGIVS VIR DOMINVS PETRVS
LIPPAMANO NECNON HONORA
BILIS CONSILIARIVS NIGROPŌ
TIS A VENETORVM DUCALI
DOMINIO CONSTITVTVS
QVI AB HOC SECVLO MIGRA
VIT DOMINI SUB ANNIS MCCC
LXXXXVIII DIE SEPTIMO
MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS · SVO ·
HEREDV . . . .

[Before and after SVO and after HEREDV are some marks, perhaps the remains of characters forming an inscription to the effect that the monument was put up by his heirs.]

Above this inscription are the family arms of Lippamano. [A bend, between two leopards' (?) heads affronté.]

In the Credence Chapel [πρόθεσις] there is a plain vault, but in the Sacristy [Διακονικόν] there are two crossing arches which have very graceful Gothic carving. The ceiling of this Basilica is decorated with the device of Venice—the Lion holding the Gospel—and different animals, ornaments, and monograms very curiously executed. Among the decorations are the following, in red, blue, and white. [A seemingly Greek pattern, like a series of Gammas with a downward line from the end of the horizontal stroke, and a dog-tooth or indented pattern.] The ceiling also bears the following, which are, I think, ornaments rather than coats-of-arms. [Two shields which are marked as though they had borne the Cross, and perhaps other emblems of the Passion.] Nothing has ever been published with regard to this church, and I am perhaps the first man to appreciate its great merit. I should dearly like to write a monograph upon the subject, with illustrations.

Of the foregoing inscriptions I am sure that 1-4 have not hitherto been published; 46 is in Buchon, but unsatisfactory. Of the others I do not wish to speak absolutely.

ART. VII.—PROFESSOR NOIRÉ ON THE ORIGIN OF REASON.

THERE are several of our modern philosophers who have made the theory of Evolution, as propounded by scientists, to a great extent the starting point and basis of their studies. Amongst these, no one is entitled to more respect than Professor Ludwig Noiré of Mainz, who enjoys a considerable reputation in Germany as a patient and original student of the problems of language and thought. He has been formally introduced to the English public by Professor Max Müller in the *Contemporary Review* for February, 1878, where an interesting account of the nature and historical antecedents of the new

evolutionist philosophy, as applied to the problems of human reason, may be found. That article was primarily a review of a work Professor Noiré had published on the origin of language, in which the first clear recognition was made of the importance for philosophy of the results of philological research. Professor Noiré has since followed up this work by three others: one, *Das Werkzeug, und seine Bedeutung für die Entwickelungsgeschichte der Menschheit*, dealing with the important part played by the 'Tool' in the development of human reason; another on the origin of reason, viewed in connection with the Kantian philosophy; and the third, recently published, carrying out further and completing the systematic exposition of his theory. The new book bears the title of *Logos: Ursprung und Wesen der Begriffe—Logos, Origin and Nature of Concepts*, and aims at the formation of a theory of general ideas which shall satisfy the metaphysician as well as the physicist, and add one more argument for the reconciliation of philosophy and science. A work which professes to discover 'the protoplasm of reason' must have interest for an age, the main concern of which appears to be, not so much what man is, as whence he comes.

It is now more than a quarter of a century since the *Origin of Species* was published, but the sounds of the great battle produced by that book in the scientific, philosophic, and religious world have not yet died away. Men of science have, with one or two exceptions, agreed in adopting the theory of evolution as regards the genesis of all that is animal in man, and those of them who have seen the prime importance for a thorough acceptance of Darwinism of explaining his moral and intellectual aspects, have done their utmost to prove that these differ only in degree from what may be observed in brutes. Though Mr. Darwin explicitly disclaimed having anything to do either with the origin of the mental powers or with that of life itself,* his disciples have not been slow to attack these great problems; and their investigations essay to prove, in the words of Professor Huxley, that 'comparative anatomy is easily able to show that physically man is but the last term of

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* *Origin of Species*, 6th ed., ch. 8.

a long series of forms, which lead, by slow gradations, from the highest mammal to the almost formless speck of living protoplasm, which lies on the shadowy boundary between animal and vegetable life,' while 'comparative psychology, though but a young science, and far short of her elder sister's growth, points to the same conclusion.'* But here there are grave difficulties to be met, and no one has as yet discovered how it is that a nervous state can produce consciousness, or how consciousness passes into reason. The same brilliant exponent of scientific principles has elsewhere admitted that 'in ultimate analysis everything is incomprehensible, and the whole object of science is simply to reduce the fundamental incomprehensibilities to the smallest possible number.'† It is evident that the branch of knowledge which deals *par excellence* with incomprehensibilities, Philosophy, must have something to say in the matter.

As a philosophical exponent of Darwinism, Noiré sets before himself to explain the evolution theory in the light of metaphysics. To this end he published, some years ago, a series of works expository of a system of monistic thought, exemplifying, in the course of his speculations, the paramount influence which the teaching of physical science has had upon all recent metaphysical theories. We have only to point to the founder of Modern Philosophy for a similar instance of the way in which Science can affect Philosophy; for the universal doubt from which Descartes started was beyond question suggested to him by the complete revolution produced by Copernicus and Galileo in the ordinary notions of physical science. If all the world had been wrong in thinking that the sun went round the earth, would it be wonderful if all philosophers were in error as regards their fundamental principles. So in our day the mighty fabric of the Kantian philosophy, of which all subsequent theories are but the supports and buttresses, has been shaken to its foundations by the teaching of physical science. But it will require something more to make it fall

* *Hume*, p. 106. English Men of Letters Series.

† *Critiques and Addresses*, p. 285.

than a mere resuscitation of the arguments on the ruins of which it was built. If Kant is true, and if modern science is true, then they can each present but one side of a greater truth ; and if a reconciliation is possible, it is in this reconciliation that our hope for the future lies. A system of monistic thought, or monism, as it is sometimes called, endeavours to overcome the opposition between mind and matter, as being in ultimate analysis two sides or aspects of the same thing. The very fact that each of these aspects of the world has resisted all attempts to reduce it to the other, points to the hypothesis that there is some unity underlying both. In his earlier works, Noiré assumed the existence of elementary monads endowed with a property which was on one side *motion*, and on the other *sensation*, neither being prior to the other. Evolution was then the process by which complex monads were formed out of simple ones; sensation directed motion, and room was thus provided for a teleological principle in nature. The admission of this view does not however provide us with any intelligible account of the *genesis* of consciousness, which is the main difficulty in all evolutionist philosophy.

But the question which Professor Noiré invites us to consider in his new work is of a different order—What is the origin and what is the nature of Concepts? The scientist is ready with his answer. Concepts or general ideas are only generalisations or abstractions from our individual experience, or from the inherited experience of former generations. There is no faculty in the human mind which cannot be traced to some metamorphosis of the impressions given by sense. The idealist philosopher replies that no man could ever have received a single impression without the co-operation of a faculty not derivable from the sensible excitation produced by external objects. Whatever may be the case with brutes—and it is as well to remember that all analogies from them are dangerous —man at least requires some faculty essentially different from sensation to make experience possible ; and the whole question raised by applying the theory of evolution to the explanation of the origin of the intellectual faculties, is whether or not the mind of man is specifically different from that of the brute. A

few words on this point will make the issue clear between the rival schools of thought, and will put the general reader in a position to appreciate the importance of Professor Noiré's labours. The opening sentences of the preface to his new book show in what light he regards his investigations.

'The whole question concerning man, and his relation to the rest of the world, is bound up with his superior knowledge or Reason; and this Reason is wholly a question of the general or abstract ideas which are man's peculiar property. The investigation of the nature, origin, and destiny of man will always defeat its purpose, if it does not start from this point, and keep it constantly in view as its last and greatest problem.'

The teaching of modern science is that there is no capacity in man which has not been developed gradually from some similar capacity in brutes. If sensation, will, and emotion are possessed by animals, e.g., the anthropoid ape, whose bodily structure differs in an extremely slight degree from ours, there is every ground for supposing that they possess thought in some sense of the word not essentially different from that in which we use it of man. Concepts, or universals, or general ideas, are only the fainter impressions that individual sensations leave on the mind; and if we admit that the brute has particular experiences, as we most certainly must, we have the necessary conditions for the evolution of conceptual thought. It is, however, just on this point that Philosophy joins issue with Science, and maintains that not only is there no evidence that Reason may be attributed to brutes, but that all researches point to its being the impassable barrier between them and man. For what is Reason, but the power of conceptual thought, of seeing the Universal in the Particular, and has any one ever seriously maintained that animals have the capacity of forming concepts. The strongest evidence that brutes are unable to reason (in this sense of the word), is supplied by the results of a science which is more and more making good its claim to take part in the discussion of the deepest questions of human knowledge. Philology had for a long time the reputation of being an exceedingly dry study for any one who was not specially engaged in philological research. If any study at all is to be made interesting to the world at large, its results

must be shown to affect the current of our opinions, so that he who runs may read them for himself. And until it was made clear that Language is intimately bound up with our notions of Philosophy and Religion, Philology was for the cultured masses *vox et præterea nihil.* The main discovery which this science has made is that the four or five hundred roots from which by far the greatest part of language has been built up, express not mere imitational or interjectional cries, as was at one time widely held amongst philosophers, still less the names arbitrarily given to things, but certain human activities such as digging, spinning, pounding, etc. These roots formed the *residua* in the philological crucible. They were the 'mœnia mundi' of the science, beyond which it could not go. Any explanation that might be given as regards their position in the development of human thought was work for the philosopher.* Further, these roots were expressive of general ideas, never of particular ones; although it must have been in relation to some particular idea that the root first found utterance. For it is a commonplace of philosophy that the particular can never be known. Our senses tell us that particular (single) things exist, but it is our reason alone which tells us that they are particulars, that they are really single things; that is to say, sees them as such, as particular only because they partake in the general idea. Now the general is not prior to the particular, nor the particular to the general; but the general issues in the particular, just as knowledge or reason issues in sensible experience. If the roots are expressive of general ideas and find their utterance in particular ones, have we any sign of this process? Has Reason any distinct characteristic by which its possessor may be known? Is there anything which marks off by a line that cannot be overstepped the rational from the irrational being? The only true dividing line between man and brute is the possession of reason, and the outward and audible sign of reason is language. If the earliest forms of language represent general ideas, and if it is reason alone which is cognisant of general ideas, language seems to

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* Max Müller, *Lectures on the Science of Language.* Vol. I. Lecture IX.

be a mark of reason, and the absence of the one may be allowed to denote the absence of the other.

If, then, language is expressive in the main of general ideas, what follows? Monsieur Jourdain was surprised to find that he had been talking prose all his life without knowing it. The ordinary mortal will express a like astonishment when he discovers that his daily conversation is made up almost wholly of general ideas or concepts. And yet, if he considers the facts attentively, he will see that it is so; for no other explanation of language is possible.

One other conclusion may be drawn. Philology is the Science of words, and Philosophy is the Science of Concepts. Philosophy begins where Philology leaves off. Knowledge is effected by the co-operation of the mind with the external excitation of the senses, and language is also effected by the same means, viz., junction of reason with the particular sensation or idea.

It must, however, be confessed that those who derive the faculties of man from the faculties of the brute have a very strong case, and this admission must be made by all who set truth above sentiment. There is no doubt that the sensations of a brute give him individual experiences of external objects, and it is hard to see why, if sensible experience in man requires the co-operation of some faculty not given by experience, there should not be the same necessity in the case of brutes. If my dog sees a bone, and, so to speak, knows what it is, are we not bound to admit that this knowledge is impossible without the conjunction of sensible excitation and some faculty not given in experience, but without which experience cannot be explained? If it be replied that the dog knows the bone only by smelling it, that objection does not touch the real question: for the sense of smell is equally with the sense of sight dependent on something else for its activity. Further, if the association theory be brought forward to explain the mental phenomena of brutes, is there any valid reason why it should not be sufficient to explain those of human beings? The whole question hinges on the existence of language as the invariable characteristic of man; and if we can prove that language

indicates the existence of some faculty which is not possessed in any shape by brutes, and cannot be derived from anything which we perceive in them, the dividing line can be drawn sharp and clear, and no one can attempt to deny that men and brutes are specifically different creatures.

The question as to the origin and nature of language is slowly forcing its way to the front as the main question of philosophy. For language is reason on its outer side; it is the visible and audible embodiment of our thoughts; without it knowledge is impossible. The Greeks saw this clearly in assigning the two meanings of speech and reason to the one word *logos*. What had not this double-faced quality was described as *alogon*, the ordinary Greek equivalent for brute. And among the Greek philosophers disputes arose as to whether language was a natural or an arbitrary product. Professor Noiré points out in his first chapter that amongst the ancients the objective character of human knowledge was never questioned, but that Plato and Aristotle, seeing there could be no knowledge of the particular, were forced to posit some Idea or Form as the true nature of each particular, and that every word corresponded to an Idea or Form. The main contribution of Mediæval Philosophy to the question lay in the important position that was taken up by Abelard in regard to the nature of language. This great thinker, who may rightly be named the Father of Conceptualism, vindicated for the concept a position which it has ever since held. Words are not the names of things, but of concepts; and the concept expresses not the essential or true nature of the thing, but only what we are able to think of it. But of the origin of concepts or of speech no other explanation was given than the mythological one, that they were the immediate gift of God. The mist of metaphysical theory in which the mediæval age was enveloped melted away to a great extent under the powerful light of Bacon's teaching, and the system which was to seek the answer to the great questions of the world in a patient investigation of the world itself as presented to our senses, passed a century later into the Empiricism of Locke. The mind is a *tabula rasa;* our general ideas are all derived from simple ones through

abstraction. This abstraction he designates thought, and affirms it to be the dividing line between man and brute. And while Professor Noiré gives Locke the utmost credit for asserting the inner connection between language and thought, and for pointing out that general ideas or concepts, which are the mental equivalents of words, form the fundamental elements of thought, he has some effective criticism of Locke's method, which, even after all that has been done and undone in philosophy since the *Essay on the Human Understanding* was published, cannot be described as mere thumping of a dead horse.

'Every deep thinker will immediately see that this explanation of Locke's is unsatisfactory, since a dark and unexplained something remains; and this forms a mystical and not a rational foundation. I shall here briefly indicate the chief contradictions and weak points of his explanation. (1) To talk of particular and individual *ideas* is quite inadmissible: for generality constitutes the essence of an idea. Sensible impressions and experiences, which to a certain extent may be predicated of brutes, are essentially quite different from ideas or concepts which are the peculiar property of man. The confusion is chiefly owing to the fact that the persons whom the child first learns to know are already possessed of names, and the poverty of the English language which has to use the word "idea" both for concepts and sensible presentations.* (2) There is something especially unsatisfactory and contradictory in putting complex ideas first, through the falling away and abstraction of which general ideas are to arise. A complex idea involves the prior existence in consciousness of its elements, which are in this case simple and more general ideas. To do this is to put the more difficult mental operation first, and derive the easier from it; which is a fundamental *petitio principii*, since the formation of ideas or concepts, which is what we have to explain, is already pre-supposed. (3) Though Locke was right in maintaining that ideas are not innate; but can only be evolved from experience as opportunity offers, his greatest error lay in drawing the false conclusion that ideas are all derived directly from experience, so that, as he expresses himself (*Essay*, 3, 9, § 18), "simple ideas are each but one simple perception." Locke did not take account of the activity of thought, which is the most powerful element in the forma-

* The Germans are fond of talking of the poverty of the English language. It must be confessed that criticism of this sort is invited by the clumsy expedient adopted in a recent translation of a German philosophical work, in which a distinction of small and capital letters served to denote totally different meanings of the same word.

tion of ideas, and which Kant in the Critique of Pure Reason rightly opposes directly to passive or receptive sensation, going so far as to call ideas *functions* of the mind. Locke's opinion is rather that (*Essay*, 2, 22, § 2) the mind in respect of its simple ideas is wholly passive, and receives them all from the existence and operations of things, such as sensation or reflexion offers them, without being able to make any one idea: this experience shows us. It is only as regards complex ideas that Locke allows the mind activity: he even maintains that human laws, ordinances, inventions, etc., must have been present in the mind as complex ideas before the realities which correspond to them could have existed.'

'However near to each other object and idea stand in Locke's philosophy, a measureless gulf is ever fixed between them; since he cannot explain their genetic connection: to the question how can sensible impressions become general ideas he gives not the slightest answer: nor is he able to say how we obtain ideas of the so-called primary or real qualities of objects. Impressions are rather always special, never general, and lie in the subject, as he rightly says: but the real qualities can only lie in the object itself, and how are they to pass into our mind?'

Despite this criticism, Professor Noiré is very grateful for Locke's clear recognition of words as the signs, not of things, but of general ideas, a position which brings the Seventeenth Century philosopher into direct contact with modern theory on the subject of language. From this he goes on to indicate clearly the transition to Kant and the lines on which all future philosophising must proceed.

'The object of philosophy is twofold: it must by criticism and analysis reduce all concepts to their ultimate elements, and do for the world of thought what chemistry does with so much success for that of matter. It must determine the relation of concepts to the real world, which is nothing more or less than to discover the origin of them. Here there were apparently two possibilities: to consider either the thinking subject by itself alone, or the object by itself alone, as what is most certain and immediate: mediæval philosophy took the first road and Locke the second, but both ended in failure. The third possibility was first revealed to the penetrating mind of Kant, who showed from the relation of subject to object how an object is realised for the thinking mind, and proved that we possess a double source of knowledge in sensation and *á priori* forms, through the working together of which experience and ideas arise. All philosophical speculation has to build on Kant's labours, and it is only in harmony with them that the great problem of the origin of general ideas can be solved.'

With so much by way of preface, Professor Noiré starts on the consideration of his own theory by giving us at some length

a description of what a word or sign really is in its nature and function as the expression of thought. He takes for granted that reason is as impossible without speech as speech is without reason; a position which he declares to be evident enough when we consider that, if we are wholly dependent on sensation for the content of our knowledge, thought implies some such sensible basis as the word or sign gives us. And this word or sign may best be described as a 'means of knowledge,' i.e., it affords us a way in which beings endowed with will and feeling may render themselves intelligible to one another. It is therefore an act of will: and the whole difficulty lies in seeing the precise point at which a sound that the will has produced comes to have a meaning for others. The will must of course express itself in relation to something that is presented to the senses; and the cry which it utters is itself a sensible (audible) presentation of a purely temporal character, the immediate relation of which to the will makes it admirably suited for acting as the sign of visible presentations. The question then as to the origin and development of language is simply this: how did a particular audible presentation, produced by the will, come to be invariably connected with a particular visible presentation in the external world? For it is clear that where both the cry and the object to which it relates can be conceived of as separate and distinct, and can each recall the other, we have the commencement of language. Hence the great part played by the word or sign; for the more independent it is of the visible presentation to which it relates, the more it is a pure act of will, and the greater its facility for being reproduced. This is the subjective side of the word. Its objective importance consists in the fact that it makes society and social development possible, and brings the reason of one within the reach of all. Without language society is impossible; without social institutions we should be as the beasts of the field. But the mere expression of the will in the utterance of a sound has no meaning except in relation to some objective presentation, and it is only when the sound and the object to which it relates are connected in some way that the one can always recall the other. This connection is explained in Noiré's philosophy of language as consisting in creative action. Men engaged in some common

activity relieve their feelings by the utterance of cries at the same time as the product of their work is growing under their hands. Just as sailors accompany their work almost invariably with a peculiar kind of cry, the sound would tend to become distinctive of the particular action which called it forth, and would connect the subjective activity with its objective product. It would thus form the medium between the will on one side and the visible presentation on the other, and so receive a definite meaning. And the next step which the word or sign has to take is evident. It must act as the medium between all the visible presentations which it recalls; and in the precise degree in which we are able to separate and bind together these visible presentations, can we be said to possess Thought or Reason. The more the sound is connected with the visible object, and the more it loses its originally subjective character, the greater the advance made towards a general application of it to all the objects which it recalls. Thus the manifold of sense presentation is brought under the unity of the word or sign, and we have reached, from the subjective side at least, that which constitutes the essential nature of a general idea. For all the particular effects of our creative activity possess the one common element of having been produced by the will, which being recognised as acting alike in all, furnishes that unity of view which a general idea demands. And as the subjective nature of the operation recedes, and leaves the objective effect apparent to the sight, the latter becomes invariably bound up with the last residuum of the will, *i.e.* the sound which accompanied its exertions. The only reason that can be given for any particular sound becoming representative of a particular action is that both were produced at the same time: the mighty power of association is sufficient to explain their connection. And as soon as some sound has become in this way connected with a particular operation, the essential resemblance of all like operations is recognised by what Professor Noiré calls an ideal intuition, a faculty which is as much at work to-day in the varied forms of art as it was at the birth of language. The very perception of any external object is a mental synthesis of the different impressions of sense; and the connection of the visible product of our labour

with the labour itself is due to that binding power of the mind which perceives intuitively the causal nexus. The union of both these elements took place in the cry which accompanied the work, a cry which can have had no other than a predicative meaning.

A little consideration of the different senses of Sight and Hearing may help us to understand the part that each plays in the birth of language. Sight has to do with that which is presented in space, and Hearing with that which is presented in time. There is nothing temporal in what we see, nothing spatial in what we hear. Sight and Hearing are utterly distinct in their nature, and are bound together only by the will. We can no more hear an object than we can see a sound. An object may assume various shapes and yet remain essentially the same: a hole, round, square, or oblong, in earth, sand, or rock, is still a hole. And so a word which has come to have the meaning of hole may comprise various forms. There is unity with diversity in the object, and unity with diversity in the word; and it is the combination of both which gives us a concept. And this binding force, or logos, is the main attribute of our reason. The object can only be particular; the sound can only be particular; but once the meaning of what we see has been discovered by that ideal intuition of which Professor Noiré speaks, once the meaning has been expressed by a sound, once the object has been named, the generality of its nature is affirmed, and we have a concept.

It is important to remember the predicative nature of the cry. Man is the only animal which can say something. Sympathy and antipathy, pain and delight, find expression in brutes: but they assert nothing, they can form no judgments. Men look upon the common work of their hands: and the common cry denotes that the object has been reached, and that too by a common effort of which all are conscious. 'The hole which we see here has been produced by our common activity.' The consciousness of previous activity and the sight of the object which that previous activity has effected, are both merged in the expression of the will which accompanied the work. Here is the true notion of causalty, with the indispensable elements of time and space. The ob-

ject is wholly spatial in its nature—the activity is wholly temporal: the cry which accompanies it is that which binds both together. The cry is thus predicative—that which we see before us is the result of our labour. At first no sharp distinction would be drawn between subject and object. The unity which underlies all predication would be the most prominent thought. The cries for the activity as well as for the object which it produced would be identical. Here is the cell which is to develop into the perfect structure of language: here is the protoplasm from which reason is to be evolved. The consciousness that the activity is ours and is reproducible at will, exists in others as well as in ourselves. Here, then, is the essential of reason, its universality. The will as a cause has been objectified in that which it has produced.

But, it may be said, do not brutes do the like? do not their wills produce an object too? Does not the mole construct its hill?—the bird its nest? Does not the latter give vent to its feelings by uttering a chirp of joy when the work is complete? Such an objection the Professor meets by saying that the activity of the brute is always the same, the product of its work nearly identical. Still the bird that has built itself a nest and is able to find it again as its own, does possess something like that faculty which in man leads him to recognise the product of his work. And the step from the one to the other is simply that in the latter case a conscious separation of the product from the work is possible. To brutes there is, as far as we know, no consciousness of the will as a universal cause of every kind of activity. There is no organ in the brute comparable to the human hand for adapting itself to a variety of work. The will is the root of all activity, and lies at the bottom of our conception of the universal. The will can only become conscious of itself by manifesting its power—it must work to be felt: in its pure existence it is unknowable. It becomes visible only in the object which it brings into being, and it lends to that object the character of universality. And as the object produced by the will unites in itself the three forms of time, space and causality, it comes into being under the influence of ideal and wholly universal conditions. The cry which accompanies the process is associ-

ated with the product, and receives thereby an universal as well as a predicative character.

As far as we know, the brute is unable to form any notion of a *causal connection between external objects*, and this it is exactly which forms the dividing line between him and man. A dog associates pain with the sight of a whip held in a menacing position, satisfaction of hunger with the sight or smell of a bone. In all cases, what we may be allowed to call his judgments are purely judgments of feeling, and are therefore entirely subjective. Universal judgments on the contrary are always objective: any admixture of subjectivity would make a judgment so far particular. A judgment wholly objective, affirming a causal relation between external objects is the germ of reason, and Professor Noiré claims that his theory shows how such a judgment could come about. He is strengthened in his beliefs by the results of philosophical science mentioned above, according to which the ultimate roots of language express certain activities mostly of an agricultural and industrial character. For only in such a common activity could valid universal judgments arise.

The will then lies at the bottom of the formation of concepts. The spontaneous cry uttered during the work and at the completion of it, binds together the three elements from which the concept or general idea springs, viz., the consciousness of a common will, the visible manifestation of it in common work, and the visible product of the activity. Once these three elements are combined, the chemical action of thought brings the concept to birth in the mind. Though the will is thus instrumental in the formation of concepts, it is only as it is gradually lost sight of in the object which it has produced that the latter can be looked at with the eye of reason. The particular thus becomes known or named only in virtue of its universality; and the universal has no validity apart from the particular.

And these considerations are connected with one of the deepest questions of metaphysics, very like that popular one as to whether the egg came before the chicken, or the chicken before the egg. Whether is genus or species the prior notion? Plato's answer to this question was that the genus existed from all eter-

nity in the mind of God, and was the cause of the existence of the species, and of our knowledge of it. The modern philosopher explains genus as that which is transmitted by the natural causality of generation, while species is only the visible agreement of externals. Whether the natural causality be explained according to Schopenhauer as the manifestation of the will to live, or according to Kant, as the teleological action of organic nature, it is a necessary hypothesis which we obtain solely from the consciousness that our will can produce effects. Hence the prime importance of the discovery that the roots of language express certain human activities. For the generality or unity of the activity produces the generality or unity of the effect, and the latter can only be really known by the activity which produced it.

Philosophy tells us that the world is a picture which we ourselves make. Its light or shade, its beauty or ugliness, its meaning or its vanity depends on us and on us alone. There is nothing in the world which we do not put there. True, the material is given us from without, but we have to work up that material into experience. Our whole life, then, is one long creative process. But besides the creation of every-day experience, there is the creative action of human industry—there are the creations of the poet:

> Forms more real than living man,
> Nurslings of immortality.

Both creations give us pictures—the one objective, material; the other subjective, emotional. The combination of both kinds of activity gives us language, poetry, art, which are in the end due to the interaction of the mind and the impressions of sense. One is compelled in explanation to separate these two; but it is as well to remember that the mind is active in every sensible impression. A sensible impression or picture is the subject of mediate knowledge; some external excitation of the senses is necessary for its birth. The utterance of a sound, on the contrary, belongs entirely to the sphere of the will, and is, like the latter, the subject of immediate consciousness. And when these two are combined, when the will gives expression to itself in the utterance

of a cry at the same time as it is objectifying itself in creative activity, the visible object or picture is brought into connection with the sound or cry through the will which is the cause of both. The connection between the sound uttered and the activity is purely associative and mnemonic, while that between the activity and the object it produces cannot be looked upon as other than causal. It is important to remember that all this takes place under social conditions. The sound must be a common one; the activity shared by all; the object looked upon as the common work of all. Perhaps in the earliest stages the sound was accompanied by gesticulation, but this would gradually disappear as the sounds became intelligible.

It is obvious that each of the three limbs of the process can form the bond of connection between the other two. Thus the activity plainly brings the sound uttered into intimate connection with the object produced, while the sound determines the end towards which the activity works. The object when completed forms, then, the whole meaning of the activity and the sound which represents it: it forms the point of contact between the material and the mind which works upon it, and renders the latter evident. Professor Noiré sums up the whole matter thus:

'The giving of names is the work of the will; the presentation of external objects is the work of the intellect. All objects are presentations, and become the property of the human intellect only through names being given to them. It was human activity which first brought all objects within the range of universal thought, inasmuch as this latter gave them names. Thus, the tree was *barked*, the fruit was *peeled*, the brute was *slain*, and these objects were then conceived by the community as *wood*, *kernel*, *meat*. Even what was not within the sphere of activity, Heaven, Dawn, Sun, Mountain, was also looked upon as having been fashioned, and received names with such significations as *vaulted*, *coloured*, *whirling wheel*, *pointed*. In no other way could they have been *named*, for it was only under these notions that they could have become objects of thought.'

But all this rests on the hypothesis that reason is impossible without speech; and to meet objections we find the Professor devoting some pages to the work of convincing those who hold the opposite opinion. And to show the importance of the question, he declares that the final subjection of the common idea that thought is independent of language will have as

great an influence on the theory of knowledge as the substitution of the Copernican system for the Ptolemaic had on astronomy. His argument is based on Schopenhauer's theory of the priority of the will to the intellect, who is only the maid-servant to carry out the directions of her mistress. The intellect is only the tool of the will. Common opinion would seem to point to the conclusion that, as we often deliberate before executing our will, the intellect must necessarily be the prior of the two; but philosophers are agreed that intellect without will is impossible. The ordinary view rests on the two false assumptions that all we have to do to gain a knowledge of the world is to open our eyes and let experience pour in upon some innate reason which is purely receptive, and that our reason can exercise its power without some material supplied by the senses. To think that there can be reason without the material to work on is like supposing that we can swim without water. If reason is something intelligible, it must be a natural process working with natural means. The true view lies between the extremes of what the Professor calls naive Realism and naive Idealism. In the first the subjective side of knowledge, in the second the objective, is overlooked. Both are irrational, impossible views of the universe, and no one since Kant can be called a philosopher who puts his faith in either. Kant and Schopenhauer proved beyond question the important part played by the *subject* in the acquisition of knowledge, and Professor Noiré's position, as he himself defines it in the history of philosophy, is to show how indispensable for rational activity is the *object*. The object can only be known by being named, and reason is impossible without speech.

Language like all art is possible only because man is a 'social animal.' The need of expressing what is in us, the irresistible tendency which drives us to communicate our thoughts to others, forms the *raison d'être* of all art. It may be true that all art followed a practical aim in its origin; and we may be sure that language would not have arisen unless there had been some necessity for it. Primæval man, as soon as he was in the social stage, would feel that he must make himself intelligible to his fellow. Any common operation would render necessary

a right understanding of what was being done. If, then, speech and reason were ever developed, and the evolution theory, which has made us modify our opinions on so many subjects, is of universal application, what is the generic difference between man, as possessed of speech and reason, and man as he was without them? Professor Noiré answers the question by saying that Reason is the power of Conceptual Thought, and that the possession of the Concept is the dividing line between man with reason and man without it. He claims to have shown us the conditions under which a concept could spring into birth in the mind of primitive man; but we have seen that that which makes language possible, besides the exercise of that ideal intuition which places the birth of language in what Professor Max Müller calls a *poetical fiat*, is the fact of the social aspect of humanity. It would have been well if this point had been investigated a little more, as by it must stand or fall this last attempt to show how reason has been developed from something which was not reason. There have been many attempts to solve the as yet insoluble. Professor Noiré's is a bold one, and deserving of every attention.

According to this theory, language has its origin in the common cry of individuals engaged in a common activity. The activity was presumably of such a nature as to be indispensable to existence: it provided for certain necessities which were felt by all, the satisfaction of which would be regarded as a common good. Social life gave many an opportunity for the common satisfaction of common necessities. Besides the internal bond of union, there might be the need of uniting against dangers from without, which would bring into prominence the social aspects of human life. The interest which a society would have in the carrying out of its work, in the preservation of its existence, would furnish the essential characteristic of reason as the striving after unity. General or common ideas could only originate in a society which worked towards the realization of some common aim. That the individual was swallowed up in the society is shown by the striking fact that 'eating'—surely one of the best known traits of the individual—came from a root which meant 'dividing.'

One's dinner was originally only the share which fell to one; and thus the prime necessity of life was looked upon as something for which one was dependent on society. Beyond the fact that man is a social animal—a fact long ago stated by Aristotle—we cannot go. The Professor takes it as the ultimate explanation of his theory of the origin of language and of reason: for unless the cry which is uttered appeals to some sympathetic chord in the breast of one's fellow, and is so understood to have reference to an end which is desired by the community, there will be no ground for the structure of theory which the Professor has raised.

A very nice comparison is instituted between concepts and pieces of money. Gold receives its universal character only in so far as it represents and forms a means of comparing the results of human industry: the concept is to be valued by the meaning given to its universal content. Gold represents previous work: the concept shows that thought has not been idle. The capital may grow from day to day and yield compound interest to the holder.

As yet, no notice has been taken of a set of words which must have lain at the very beginning of all language, viz., demonstratives and pronouns. Professor Noiré's explanation of the origin of these two sets of words, which he regards as being at first indistinguishable, is that just as the gradual receding of the subject gave us the concept in its most developed form, so any prominence given to the subject would bring into view the individualistic elements of language. Here he comes into friendly antagonism with Professor Max Müller, who gives it as his opinion that the great stream of language may have had more sources than one, and that many demonstratives probably had an independent origin in sounds accompanied by gesticulation.* This is not the place to discuss the question at issue, but occasion may be taken to remark that Professor Noiré does not agree with this latter view, and regards the demonstratives as latent in the predicative roots.

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* Cf. *Lectures on the Science of Language.* New Edition. Vol. I., 310.

So too with regard to Number, there is no difficulty in conceiving of it as being closely connected with the notion of 'dividing,' 'separating.' Apart from this, the fact that we possess two hands and feet, two eyes, ears, and nostrils, would seem to point to number being something of which the earliest gleam of thought would be cognisant.

The metaphorical life of language is held by Professor Noiré to be sufficient to explain the origin of words denoting colour, sound, taste, feeling, etc. The first notion of 'the coloured' would arise when the savage smeared his body with earth or the juice of plants. This would pass into the further notions of 'the light coloured,' 'the dark coloured': and these in their turn might have been used to denote 'day' and 'night.' The names of sounds lend themselves most of all to the onomatopœic theory of the origin of language; and it is useless to deny that this theory does explain the existence of many words denoting sounds; but the sounds produced by human activity were probably the first to be named. As for taste, 'bitter' is nothing but 'biting': and 'sweet' is connected with the same root as 'soft,' 'powdered,' 'ground.'

The growth of concepts was also in Professor Noiré's opinion greatly favoured by the comparison of opposites, and, indeed, in ultimate analysis rests on it. Individual existence is only possible in opposition to social existence; and the consciousness of the latter can only rest on its opposition to individual will. How this social instinct arises is inexplicable. We must be satisfied with the fact that it is so. It is in men the direct analogue of the inner force of nature, and all our limited faculties can do is to observe the way in which each works. Just as we know some particular manifestation of that force in nature only by its opposition to the great force working underneath the face of things, so can an individual will be known only by the opposition it makes to the common will underlying collective humanity. The consciousness of this common will is inseparably bound up with the consciousness of individual will. The coalition of individual wills is the necessary preliminary to a common understanding, to the birth of language.

A much later development lay in the recognition of the self in opposition to the varying states of consciousness through which it passes, and only in this stage could the inner life of feeling find adequate expression.

Like most modern philosophical works, Professor Noiré's book suffers not a little from repetition. The greatest work in philosophy will henceforth probably be achieved by him who can simplify most, and lend to his work the attractiveness of artistic finish. It will be in philosophy as it has been in religion: the shorter and simpler books will move the world. An immense mass of explanation is often likely to lead the reader away from the real point at issue. And the main question which presses for solution we take to be this: granting that the evolution theory is right as to the origin of the animal part of man, what account can be given of the origin of his reason? Are we, with the Empiricists, to cast logic to the winds, and say that conceptual thought is only the product of a vast number of percepts? or are we, with the Idealists, to accept the fact that reason is something specifically different from perception, and resist all attempts to derive one from the other? Professor Noiré has certainly made a bold essay to give an explanation that shall be satisfactory to both sides, and his explanation goes as far perhaps as it is possible to go. It rests, as has been seen, on the two assumptions of the existence of the social instinct in primitive man, and of what is called ideal intuition. Perhaps a supplementary work on the relation between the reason of man and the instinct of brutes may be expected from Professor Noiré, who is a voluminous writer; as such a work is clearly necessary for a full explanation of how reason has been evolved from something which is not reason.

T. B. SAUNDERS.

Art. VIII.—EGYPT UNDER THE ENGLISH INVASION.

[The following pages are by the author of the Article which appeared in the last number of this *Review*, entitled 'Egypt on the Eve of the English Invasion.' The translation has been executed in this instance also by the Rev. Professor Robertson of the University of Glasgow.]

ON the 9th of July, 1882, Admiral Seymour wrote to the commandant of the fortifications at Alexandria to the following effect:

'We perceive that you are still engaged in adding to the fortifications and mounting guns on the forts, although an Imperial order has been issued requiring you to stop these works; therefore, if you still persist in these operations, I give you notice that, after the space of twenty-four hours, I shall be obliged, in accordance with the Imperial orders, to open fire from the fleet in order to stop the works.'

The slowness of telegraphic communication between Constantinople and Alexandria on this subject led Toulbah Pasha and his associates to insist on giving a refusal to the demands of the Admiral, and to take hold of the hem of the Garment of Fate. Accordingly the following answer was returned:

'We cannot stop the work of fortification, and we have not ceased, and shall not cease, to resist any Power that may oppose or interfere with us.'

On Monday, 10th July, Arabi and his officers, having some acquaintance with the methods of war, appeared on the scene; and he kept coming and going to the forts and works, issuing the necessary orders. Finally he went to His Highness the Khedive and asked his permission to engage the fleet, who replied to him, 'Is it possible that you ask my permission now, after having proceeded so far on your own authority?' He then left the presence of the Khedive full of rage and mortification; and Derwish Pasha, the Ottoman Commissioner, had also given him advice, but to no effect. On the evening preceding the morning of the inauspicious 11th July there was held a High Council, the conclusion of whose deliberations was an instruction to Arabi to defend the country should there be a com-

mencement of hostilities on the part of the English or any other Power.

As soon as it got abroad among the people of Alexandria that resistance was to be offered, there was a great commotion among all classes; and such of the Europeans and natives as had hitherto remained in the city left their homes in terror. Some might have been seen proceeding toward the sea, others in the direction of the railway station, while others fled by the roads leading inland—a noisy and tumultuous crowd of old and young, men and women, pressing upon one another like swarms of locusts, being compelled sorely against their will to leave their homes, and quite at a loss what course to pursue. So their dwelling places were left empty, and none remained behind but the soldiers and the dregs of the people.

On the morning of Tuesday, 11th July, at nine o'clock, fire was opened from the guns of the fleet, and was answered from the batteries on shore. But the firing from the ships was much better sustained, and a very short time elapsed ere it had reduced the fortifications to ruins, although they were in complete preparation and well manned with troops. For the Egyptians, in their ignorance and cowardice, were to be seen hiding behind the walls and skulking in the streets, and fleeing for shelter to the empty houses; and soon all trace of them disappeared, for they left Alexandria altogether.

There were many strange rumours that circulated among the people in connection with the bombardment. Thus it was said that the houses of the English merchants and others in the city, which were hidden from the view of the fleet, were connected by telephonic wires with the ironclads. It was also reported, and firmly believed, that the balls which were discharged against the town were inscribed with the word 'Alexandria' in English letters, which was taken as a clear proof that England had been preparing for this attack for a long time; that, in fact, from the time the fleet was put in motion, she had not uttered a single word of peace, except as a veil for her ancient covetousness, and had made her demand in regard to the fortifications the ladder by which to mount to the throne of her glorious ambition. That the strengthening

of the fortifications was not a sign of defiance to England, as Seymour wrongly asserted, was made plain by Arabi in a telegram which he sent to the Porte to this effect:

'The repairing of the forts is an ordinary and necessary matter with a view to their preservation (not a sign of preparation for war nor in contempt of the English Power), and I have explained to Admiral Seymour as clearly as possible that this is the meaning of the proceedings; but he is not satisfied. Yet the coincidence of the repairing of the forts with the presence of the English and other ships on the coast of Alexandria ought not to excite the suspicions which I have observed on the part of Admiral Seymour.'

Nothwithstanding the result of the operations at Alexandria, some of Arabi's followers continued to circulate false intelligence, and to utter vain boasts. One of his followers, and indeed his most intimate associate, was a man named Abdallah Nedîm, who attended him, and published news of his doings in the daily paper of which he was editor. In this paper, it was stated that the 'Defender of the Defence,' as Arabi was called, had been made victorious by God, and had sunk seven of the ships, and that all the Europeans, on seeing this, had fled; the notice ending with the words, 'God give victory to Arabi.' As this man supported Arabi and his party in all their doings, it may be worth while to give some particulars of the person who was at the bottom of the revolt. He had learned the Arabic language well, and was employed by the Government as an operator in the telegraph office, and afterwards promoted to be a clerk. Then he removed to Alexandria and opened a National School, in which he was successful, gathering about him many of the natives, and associating much with Syrian journalists. He then held a public examination of his school, inviting to it many of the notable persons connected with the Government; and in this way brought himself into notice. At that time the head of the ministry was Riāz Pasha, one who had much at heart the advancement of the country; who, seeing this man labouring for the country's good, took an interest in him. When this Abdallah Nedîm went to Cairo, he made the acquaintance of some people of mark, visited Riāz Pasha and Sherif Pasha, and misled by his own vanity, began

to think himself somebody. He then appeared as a public speaker, the object of his speeches being to please the men in power and gain their favour. Arabi was then at the commencement of his career, and he took to this man, spending much of his time in his company, and keeping him informed of all that went on. He was a man of fluent speech, quick in intelligence, understanding instantly the thoughts of any one that spoke to him, eloquent of tongue, daring, ready at speech, but without a single other quality that one could praise. When Riāz Pasha discovered what sort of man he was, he wished to have him away from Cairo; but Arabi opposed this, and started for him a newspaper called the *Tāif*, which attracted the notice of many of the Sheikhs of the country and of the officials and fellahîn. The journal became popular, and was read with avidity by the people, who found in it what suited the taste of these ignorant creatures. It was indeed the cause of the disturbances, for it never ceased to speak contemptuously of the Christians. Abdallah Nedîm had no friends, except for the time that they were in his company: as soon as he had gained his purpose with any one, that person became to him as if he had never known him. After the English took possession of the country he fled, and up to the present no one knows what became of him. The prevalent opinion is that he fled to the mountains and died, for he was affected with a disease in his side. So much for this ill-fated man.

To return to Arabi; when he saw that the fortifications were in ruins, and that his chance of success was gone, he lost hope and went a second time to the Palace of Ras-el-Tin, where he met the Khedive and Derwish Pasha. He represented to them that he was prepared to yield, and asked their permission to raise the white flag and surrender the town. They replied, 'We know nothing of what you have been doing, for you have acted contrary to our wishes; look therefore to yourself, and decide what to do.' He then went and saw Nedîm, and having consulted with him, summoned Suleimān Daûd and ordered him to set fire to Alexandria on every side. Now preparations for this had been made for some time past, for the petroleum and materials for fire were ready. Then the

commandant ordered the white flag to be raised, and the soldiers were sent off in various directions.

After the bombardment of Alexandria, Arabi and his followers withdrew to the interior behind the city, and remained at Kefr Dawār, where he had selected a strong position. As to the English, they had not at that time sufficient troops to make a landing, and were in great anxiety and fear. And when the foreign ships saw this slackness on their part, the Greeks came to their assistance and landed. When they began to patrol the streets they found shops open, and houses broken into and plundered, and it was not long before they perceived fire breaking out on every side. They kept landing during the day and sleeping on board the ships at night; and, as they had not sufficient force to check the fire, some of the natives and European residents began to assist the English soldiers. The fire raged for fourteen days, houses being burned, shops destroyed, and large buildings laid in ruins, and only at the end of that time was it possible to check the conflagration.

As for the Muslim inhabitants of Alexandria, a few went to sea, taking shelter in the ships that were then in the harbour; but the number of them was insignificantly small. Every man took his family, a part of his valuables and his children, and departed—the most of them going to Cairo, some to Tanta, and others to Mahallat el Kubra and Shebin el Kûm. They were all in a very bad plight, but, according to reports, those that remained in Alexandria suffered even more than those that fled: for they were at the mercy of the Arabs and other wretches, who, whenever they saw a man, a woman, or a girl alone, treated them with the utmost cruelty, robbing them and violating all morality in their treatment of unmarried girls, to say nothing of their brutal indecencies with one another. And we have heard from many that the greatest harm was done not to the Christians but to the Muslims.

Note here that blame is to be attached to the English, or rather to the English Government, for not making necessary preparations with a sufficient force. Had there been a sufficient force the burning of Alexandria would not have taken place, for the fire broke out after the town was robbed and deserted

by Arabi's people; for the day it was wrecked was the day that Arabi left it with his followers; but the fire did not break out for four days afterwards. But for this the Muslims would not have fled, for their departure took place after the wreck of Alexandria and not before it; and in my opinion the course the English followed at that time was not such as the case demanded, and furnished the occasion for the burning of Alexandria, and the harm that came to the inhabitants at that time.

After the marine troops had landed at Alexandria, and had taken possession of the fortifications and castles, the Europeans and some of the Government officials entered the town and commenced operations for the protection of the place. Soldiers were posted at various points, who took sharp measures with the Arabs, shooting down any whom they saw prowling about, and beating severely any who were found abroad after nine o'clock in the evening. This they did till quiet was in a manner restored, though the attacks of the Bedouin Arabs, who aided Arabi, continued from one side or the other; and things continued in this condition till it became possible for the majority to return and settle in Alexandria. But when the number of returning fugitives increased, and there was a scarcity of water, the authorities considered it necessary to check the influx of the refugees, and allowed no more to enter unless they were people well known and of some standing. The consequences of these measures were exceedingly good in preventing the increase of the rabble and the prevalence of highway robberies.

As fŏr Arabi, he was encamped at Kefr Dawār. But when he saw that he was no match for the English in skill, and that they were acquainted with all his movements, though they were on sea, by the aid of the electric light, which frightened his people dreadfully, he left some to take his place at Kefr Dawār and came to Tell el Kebir, where Mahmûd Fehmi the engineer had planned fortifications and works. Arabi and his followers, however, lost heart on the issue of a proclamation of the Imperial Sultan declaring him a rebel. He had now no more confidence of support from that quarter, for he had thought that the Sultan would do to him as he had done to Mohammed

Ali Pasha in former times. Besides ceasing to look for assistance from the Sublime Porte, he came to see that he was unable to resist the English Government. So he gave up hope, and his despair was evident also to some of his officers, who, as soon as they perceived how things stood, left him and fled from the Tell, and came to Alexandria by the way of Suez and Port Said. And, seeing that the Khedive at this time openly showed his hostility to Arabi and his contempt of him and his followers, and that every one was threatened that inclined to Arabi and his party, whether they were high or low, sheikhs or any one else that aided him in his undertakings in any way whatever (and no doubt vengeance would have fallen upon them), the hearts of the people were struck with remorse and terror, and the great ones among them were in much trouble and fear for themselves. Accordingly some of them came to Alexandria on every possible pretext from Kefr Dawâr and made a show of submission to His Highness the Khedive. Thus Arabi's supporters decreased in number, and he found himself hindered in his undertakings; so that when Sultan Pasha, along with certain of the Notables and the General commanding the army of invasion, came to Suez by the Khedive's orders, bearing in his hand the necessary instructions to the officers and leaders who were in Tell el Kebir with Arabi, and especially the orders to the sheikhs of the Arabs and all the tribes, they entered into secret communication with some of Arabi's men, and gained them over by assurances of the Khedive's favour and promises of various kinds. It is also said that considerable sums were paid to the tribes and heads of the army and officers who were with Arabi. And thus when the English army assembled near Tell el Kebir, and when Arabi heard the sound of their guns on the morning of Wednesday, 14th September, 1882, he trembled with fear and alarm. It is said also that on the night in which the English came round about the trenches of Tell el Kebir from the east, Arabi did not sleep a wink till the dawn, but was at every moment going out of his tent and scanning the distance with his glass, saying to those about him, 'I am afraid the English will attack us to-night, for they are already in possession of most of the surrounding country, and have seized

Kassassin and taken prisoner Mahmûd Pasha Fehmi as he was going round inspecting the works. What can we do?' Thus he continued till the morning. Every night also he used to gather into his tent the sheikhs and darweeshes for prayer and reading. It it also reported that he received a written message from Sultan Pasha with the words, 'Surrender and save your life,' signed by the General.

But all was of no avail; he 'tightened the girths and went on.' About a quarter of an hour afterwards the English troops appeared; and when they were within a distance of ten minutes, he threw himself over the Canal, and went along the western bank on foot till he came to one of the jetties, at which he took a special steamer and came to Kulyûb. Here he found his own special steamer by which he came on to Cairo. He went to his house and changed his clothes, and went immediately to Kasr-el-Nil, the place where the Military Council sat at that time. Here he found a number of the Notables assembled in consultation on the position of affairs, and considering how they might take measures for the strengthening of Abbasiyeh. But certain of them stood up and said to him, 'It is enough that you have brought ruin upon the country and misery on its inhabitants; and now you come here suddenly after your defeat at Tell el Kebir. Do you think that you will succeed in making fortifications at Abbasiyeh, or that you will be able to withstand the English?' The controversy between them lasted till the evening, when they all mounted and went home. On the morning, *i.e.*, on Thursday, 15th September, the English soldiers were in Abbasiyeh, and some of them in the citadel; for the officer in command handed to the commandant of the citadel instructions signed by the Khedive, ordering him to surrender the citadel to the English, which he did.

The condition of the inhabitants of the capital at this time was one of the greatest terror and misery, not only as regards those who remained of the Copts and other Christians, but most of all as regards those who called themselves of the party of the Khedive, for the country was rent into two divisions, one party following Arabi, and the other the Khedive Tewfik. But the party of Tewfik was in greatest straits, for heavy persecution

fell upon many of them, insomuch that the streets were not safe for them, and some of them were dragged to prison, and suffered in house and property, while others hid themselves and remained in their houses, not being able to go abroad, only their women showing themselves about the houses; so that things were in a very bad way. The distress of the people was also increased by the arrival in Cairo of people from Alexandria and other places, stirring up feelings of hatred and animosity. They excited the inhabitants against the Christians, so that it was said the sheikhs of the various religious fraternities were patrolling night and day with arms and banners, praying for victory to Arabi, parading the streets and lanes shouting the cries, 'God give victory to the religion of Islam,' 'God destroy the religion of the unbelievers,' 'God give victory to Arabi, Defender of the Defence.' They also fabricated lying statements to the effect that they had defeated the English and killed great numbers of them; so that had all the numbers of the English who were killed according to these accounts been added together, the amount would have been ten times more than their whole actual number; and Abdallah Nedîm in the issues of his paper published lying statements of this kind. It is said that one day one of the English was in the sands, and lost his way, and unfortunately went on till he came near Kefr Dawār; the rebels saw him, surrounded him, and took him to Arabi, who brought him to Cairo. The prisoner had a grand reception there, for the people shouted 'This is Seymour whom we have taken, and we won't let him go.' He was placed in the Pleasure Palace of Shubra, and treated as if he had been Admiral Seymour; so that the people were greatly elated, and raised their voices in joyful acclamation whenever his name was mentioned.

But the person to whom we ought to give a tribute of praise is the Governor of the city of Cairo at that time, for he was a man prudent, firm, brave to a degree, who preserved the capital by the force of his spirit and the prudence of his plans, not permitting anything that would mar the peace in any way, attending in person to business night and day till he had the town entirely under control; and not the slightest harm oc-

curred to it till the English entered the place and peace was confirmed. But alas! his reward was that he was dismissed from the service of the Government, and retired into private life; nay, the Government had even intended to banish him. So this poor man, instead of receiving thanks and high distinction was neglected, and had to keep to his house, as if he had committed some great evil. It was a lowering of the dignity of the English that they neglected this individual, to whose deeds every one testified. He really broke the strength of the rebellion, for when the Sheikhs had publicly announced that the Christians who were in the capital were to be massacred, and when they had fully made up their minds to put their design into execution, it was he who outwitted them, and kept them in a milder mood till the English arrived in Cairo; and this was ten days before their entry. Therefore thanks and thanks again to a man like this, who saved the city from ruin and devastation: but it is another blot on the conduct of the English.

As to Arabi, when he knew that the British had entered Cairo and occupied the military positions with all promptitude and bravery, and that they had seized the reins of government, he came to himself and was greatly afraid. Then he went to Abbasiyeh and surrendered himself to the commander of the British forces. But his surrender was not accepted, for orders had been issued to arrest him and his followers. Accordingly, he was made prisoner and taken to the Kasr-el-Nîl in the first place and confined there. Then also arrests were made of many of the officers who followed him; and the truth must be told that in these matters the British proceeded with all wisdom and firmness, taking over the reins of government, as if they had been in their own country, and the orders of the Khedive assisted them. Then the country was at once filled with British troops; and, on the following day, troops were sent to Tanta; and, as the party of Arabi refused to hand over the place, the British officers took them in hand with prudence and *finesse*, and remained four days on the spot till they got possession of Tanta, in which they at once restored the supreme government of the Khedive. At the same time there went some British officers with a sufficient force to Kefr

Dawar, and others to Damietta, the orders of the Khedive being to take over the places without violence. Those that went to Damietta perceived on the part of Ali Pasha the commandant (one of the four), usually known as Abd-el-'Al Hashish, a degree of swelling pride which convinced them of the necessity of severe measures to take it down. He was at once ignorant and thoroughly obstinate, and refused to believe that the British had entered the country, though he saw them before him. Accordingly, when he refused to surrender, they took him prisoner, and bound him and sent him to Cairo, where he was thrown into prison with his friend Arabi. As for those that went to Kefr Dawār, the officer in command surrendered to them, the troops were disbanded, and the flag of peace was unfurled in the district. Thus the British were scattered about in every direction, and there was no place in the country that they did not send a detachment to guard.

Attention was then turned to the railway line and the running of trains; the waters also returned to their channels as they had been before, so that the first steamer came from Cairo to Alexandria, carrying certain of the Notables and chiefs, who came to offer their submission to the Khedive, and to proffer their allegiance to his Government. On the 25th September, 1882, His Highness was able to travel from Alexandria to Cairo, which he did by special train, attended by his retinue and the Notables of distinction. He had a magnificent and enthusiastic welcome, the English soldiers being drawn up according to their various troops and regiments to receive him; all classes of the people uniting to express their joy, and every house being illuminated in favour of his visit. He took up his residence at the palace of Ismailiyeh; and as he had brought the Imperial firman he caused it to be read in the hearing of an assembly of Notables and high Officials, and religious Dignitaries. It expressed the confidence of His Imperial Highness in the affection and attachment and fidelity of His Highness the Khedive to the Sultan, and dwelt upon the disloyalty and insubordination and pride and rebellion of Arabi and his followers, who had gone astray, belying the kindness of their lord the Khedive. We append a complete copy of this firman, since it contains

the Sultan's concession of the right of England to intervene as she did:

'Copy of the noble and official Firman issued by the Sublime Porte in pursuance of the Iradé dated 24th August, 1882.

'It is well known and admitted by all that His Excellency Tewfik Pasha is the sole and absolute Director of Egyptian affairs appointed by our Lord the Sultan according to the supreme Firman relating to the Khediviate of Egypt; and this on account of his distinguished fitness for that office, as seen in a loyalty and nobility of conduct which excite delight and admiration.

'Now, while the dominion of the Khedive of Egypt was in the most desirable state of peace and prosperity, Arabi Pasha rebelled by assuming to himself the functions of the Government, impairing the peace and quietness of the country, and causing thereby damage and loss both to life and property among the people, and bringing about the entry of foreign troops.

'Notwithstanding all that happened he would not conform to the hints and warnings and commands of the Sultan, and the gracious counsels of the Khedive, so that, through his opposition, events led to the bombardment of Alexandria by the Government of England, which is the old friend of our Imperial Sultan. Thus he brought about the ruin of the fortifications of the city and the destruction of its valuable adornments; and whereas he pretended that the preparation of the fortifications against hostile attack was a necessary precaution, it has been clearly seen and proved by the sequel that all this came of Arabi Pasha's own selfish and unlawful purposes to bring about confusion in the country, and to produce dissensions among different classes of the people. Had this not been his purpose, he would not have shown such disobedience and unwillingness to listen to the commands and advices which were given him so as not to expose Alexandria to the destructive attack of the fleet on the one hand; and on the other he would not have given the Ottoman Government so much anxiety on account of the entry of foreign troops into the dominion of the Khedive, the country being to a great extent at the time in a perplexed state, owing in some measure to the preparations he made for opposing the fleet in important matters and conditions, to say nothing of its anxiety as to the shedding of blood, the exciting of dissensions and the encouragement of party expectations.

'Having caused the ruin of the valuable fortifications by means of the operations of the fleet, he presumed to infringe on the prerogative of His Highness the Khedive in a crafty manner, till matters necessitated the entry of foreign troops for the purpose of restoring peace and safety. And after he had been asked to come to Constantinople, so as to be removed from the scene of his mischievous working, and after instructions and warnings had been addressed to him at different times and in various forms

in the way of peace and with a view to avert the disturbance which his unwise proceedings were calculated to produce, to the harm of the country and of our Government, it was finally determined, in order to leave him no ground to act so as to compel the Sublime Government to interpose by force, to send Commissioners to represent us, viz., His Excellency, Derwish Pasha the Mushir, and the head of the Council of Decision, Lebib Effendi Mu'awan ; and of noble lords, a representative of the noble family of Coreish, Assád Effendi, and Kadri Effendi. These conveyed to him the necessary admonitions, and addressed to him all considerations of religion, law, and reason ; but not only did he refuse to listen to them, but he made it as plain as possible that he would resist any power that entered the country, whether foreign or not ; nay, that he would oppose the entry of our own Imperial troops ; as was made plain by the joint official report presented by the above mentioned Commission.

'It is not necessary to indicate the injurious and unlawful results which followed from the disturbance of the local Government which he effected by insinuating himself into Cairo and usurping the forms of a new administration, nor to refer to the great activity he displayed in the matter of publications and proclamations, seducing the minds of the people by concealing his purposes and wicked intentions and making a show of false designs. Meantime Britain continued her perseverance, maintaining the military ascendancy in proportion as his revolt extended and his wicked purposes developed themselves ; but in the same proportion the difficulties of our Supreme Government increased by the bringing of unforeseen damage upon the country of Egypt, which is an important part of our Empire ; and in general there is no lack of dangers of every kind, while there is an entire absence of good results from his proceedings in the province of Egypt.

'Now, when Arabi gave indications by his excesses and daring that he was determined to bring about repeated disturbances, and especially when he plainly declared that he would resist our Imperial troops by armed force, and showed that he would without question venture upon the most daring course, at this stage His Highness the Khedive on the one hand relented, and on the other he himself appealed to our protection and royal clemency, representing his obedience to the supremacy of the Sultan and the restoration of friendship and harmony with His Highness the Khedive, of which he gave proof to Derwish Pasha in the name of the army sufficient to satisfy the said official. All this was before the destruction of Alexandria by the British fleet ; and taking this into consideration, and with the hope that he would be guided to do what was expedient, the Imperial Government, at the instance of Derwish Pasha, bestowed upon him a high decoration. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the kindness bestowed did not effect its desired end nor influence him as it ought to have done ; on the contrary, he persevered in the exhibition of his opposition and rebellion, and accordingly judgment was pronounced against him for his offence, that, without question, he had become guilty of rebellion.

'Be it known also, that as His Royal Highness the Khedive, one of the noble props of the Supreme Government, has always been loyal to our power, he is entitled, and according to our noble firman, he is required to maintain and preserve the distinctions and powers which have been conferred upon him, whereas all the daring deeds exhibited by Arabi were only calculated to loosen our rule over the province. Therefore, in order to declare that Arabi Pasha has himself by his acts exhibited himself as a transgressor, and to give the necessary confirmation on the part of our Government of the prerogatives and rights of the Khedive, this has been issued on the 24th August, 1882 (corresponding to 22 Shawwāl, 1299.)'

A new Ministry had been appointed, consisting of His Excellency Sherîf Pasha, head of the Ministry and Minister of Foreign Affairs; His Excellency Riaz Pasha, Minister of the Interior; Fakhri Pasha, Minister of Justice; Ali Pasha Mubarak, Minister of Public Works; Cheiri Pasha, Minister of Instruction; Haydar Pasha, Minister of Finance; and Omar Lutfi Pasha, Minister of War and Marine. This was on the 21st August 1882, while the Khedive was at Ras-el-Tîn, in Alexandria; and when communication had been opened up with Cairo, as we have mentioned, he came to the capital, and then the forms of administration were set up in the various centres. On the 19th September a special Commission was appointed in Alexandria to enquire into and decide upon the robberies and murders and plundering and destruction that had occurred at the port of Alexandria, in other words, the particulars of the massacre of the 11th June and afterwards; the Commission being instructed to raise an accusation against any one whom they reasonably suspected of having taken part in these affairs. On the same day there was appointed another special Commission for Tanta to make similar investigations into robberies and murders that had occurred at other places besides Alexandria. Another Commission also was appointed at Cairo, to examine and substantiate charges against all who had been implicated in the rebellion, or had shown opposition and disrespect to His Highness the Khedive and his Government.

On the 28th September, 1882, an order was issued for the appointment of a military Tribunal in Cairo to try the cases sent up by the Commission, the sentences of the Court to be final, without appeal. On the same date a similar military Tribunal

was established at Alexandria to try the cases sent up by the Commissions of Alexandria and Tanta.

As soon as the arrangements for administration were completed, the criminal investigations were taken in hand, among which was the trial of Arabi and his companions. And here we must make plain the hidden secrets which came out in the trial, and which can only be understood by those who have a knowledge of Arabi and his circumstances. We cannot better express what we mean than in the lines :—

> 'Every one knows what was his worth in the past,
> Except the man who was low and has been raised to high estate.'

Arabi was a man that knew nothing of politics, but was surrounded by people who elevated him for their own ends and put him forward to fulfil their own designs. And the thing that appeared from the trial was this: that the Khedive at first co-operated with Arabi, but afterwards parted from him and became his greatest enemy, attempting even to compass his death on several occasions by unlawful and unjust means. Arabi becoming aware of this, had his anger and animosity aroused, and took counsel with Mahmûd Sami, the man of mischief; who, for his own wicked ends, fomented the enmity and hatred between the two. Arabi's folly was farther increased by communications from Constantinople which appeared, and by certain secret instigations addressed to him to persevere in his evil conduct. It was even said that the Sultan had ulterior designs, to elevate Arabi and set aside the Khedive; the secret of which is just this, that every one knows the Sublime Porte and what it is after, and every one knows the Khedive and what he is after. We may be allowed to say that men in high politics can play a pretty winning game with all ease; and in our opinion the English politicians at Constantinople and in Egypt were playing at this game of gaining advantage and exaltation for themselves. There was Dufferin at Constantinople and Malet in Egypt working the two puppets, viz. Arabi on the one side and the Khedive on the other. So when Arabi was promoted to distinction and high office, he fancied that he would obtain the Kingdom also in place of the Khedive, and he went on and on till he got deeply entangled and fell But from the trial it appeared that the Khedive was in secret

agreement with him as to the expulsion of the Europeans from the affairs of finance and government. It was even said that he was implicated in the massacre of Alexandria on the 11th June. It also came out that the Porte was corresponding with Arabi and encouraging him in his proceedings.

We may compare Arabi to a foolish man, to whom a wise man comes with a ladder. He makes him mount the first step, and look round for a little to see how much higher he is than other people, till he fancies that all are subject to him. Then the wise man makes him mount a step higher, to show him the grandeur of his honours and position; only he cuts away the lowest step of the ladder, so that if the fool should attempt to descend, he will run the risk of a fall. Then he raises him to the third step, but cuts away the second; so that as the man gets higher above the earth his danger is increased. So he mounts to the fourth step, and tastes the sweetness of high rank and power, but the third step has been cut away; and so on, till he is raised to the highest step of the ladder, but finds it impossible to descend except by a sudden disgraceful fall. This was the way the English treated Arabi—they raised him from one dignity to another till he fancied that he was the absolute ruler of Egypt, able to administer its affairs by his own prudence and wisdom, and that the Khedive could do nothing without him. Thus it came to this that the Consuls of the Foreign Powers said to him, 'Arabi, you are responsible for our lives, and no one but you can protect us, for you are virtually the governor of Egypt.' The consequence was that Arabi was puffed up and went the length of making war, a thing he knew nothing about, the learned and wise men of England all the time backing him up in his demands, and aiding him in the fulfilment of his undertakings. Thus Blunt would come to him and say, 'Your liberal ideas have found expression in the ears of the Parliament, and you are a great favourite with the Liberal party, who sympathise with your demands and know your great influence.' By such words he beguiled him and led him on to violence, giving him the impression that the Liberal party were his supporters, and that the only people that differed from him were the party of the Conservatives. So when, at his interview with Derwish Pasha and the Khedive he wished to declare war for

the defence of the country, they said to him, 'You are the person responsible for these proceedings'; but when he revealed this at the trial, and showed clearly that he had been deceived and led astray, his words were not listened to, but were cast to the winds. For the English exhibited a conduct that was not becoming, by bringing people from England to defend him; insomuch that the people said, 'See how the English people are on Arabi's side and are anxious to assist him; for if there was not an understanding between him and them, they would not have undertaken his defence.' And what confirmed the people in this impression (an impression which gained ground also with the Europeans) was the following fact:—After the trial a day was appointed for the reading and hearing of the sentence, on which an immense number of natives and foreigners assembled; and the sentence was read, proving the opposition and resistance of Arabi and his associates to the Khedive and the interests of the country. But when, in spite of the lawyers for the defence, it appeared that according to justice and in conformity with the law, sentence of death was pronounced; in less than a couple of minutes a high order from the Khedive arrived and was read, granting pardon to Arabi to the extent of changing the sentence of death into one of perpetual banishment. The following is a copy of the order:

'We, the Khedive of Egypt,

'Whereas sentence has been pronounced against Ahmed Arabi Pasha according to what has been proved against him by the Military Tribunal on the 22 Moharram, 1300 (3rd December, 1882), in conformity with article 96 of the Ottoman Military Regulations, and section 59 of the Criminal Code. And whereas we have the power of extending pardon to the said Ahmed Arabi; we therefore order as follows:—1st. The sentence which has been issued against Ahmed Arabi requiring his punishment shall be changed into sentence of perpetual banishment from the province of Egypt and its dependencies. 2nd. This pardon shall become of no effect, and the sentence of capital punishment shall be carried out should he return to Egypt or any of its dependencies. 3rd. The Minister of the Interior and the Minister of War and Marine are charged with the execution of this our order, in so far as it concerns them respectively. Given at the Palace of Abidîn, 22 Moharram, 1300 (3rd December, 1882).

'By Order of His Highness, the Khedive,

'(Signed) Mohammed Tewfik.
'(Signed) Sherif, *Head of the Ministry.*
'(Signed) Omar Lutfi, *Minister of War.*
'(Signed) Riaz, *Minister of the Interior.*'

The rumour got abroad that this pardon was granted by the Khedive against his will at the instance of the English; and it was well known among the Europeans that the thing was at variance with all custom, and everybody wondered at it. People said, 'How could the Khedive pardon Arabi, after he had said of him and his associates, at the time they assembled with guns and troops in the square of Abidîn, that they would certainly be hanged; and after Arabi had mocked the Khedive on several occasions and before many people, saying to his face that he was still a boy and knew nothing of government?' People wondered also that the pardon was submitted to and confirmed by Sherif Pasha and Riaz Pasha, although they had been Arabi's bitterest enemies: for Riaz had been forced to withdraw from the Ministry on the demand of Arabi, who had said, 'It is necessary that Riaz Pasha, the deceiver, should resign.' In short it came to be believed that the pardon was issued on the demand of the English; and this was the actual fact as we personally found out for ourselves. Thereupon the Europeans took to making sport of the English, asserting that there was collusion between them and Arabi at Tell-el-Kebir; and some of his followers even said that he and those with him received a cheque on the Bank of London, and many other things to the same effect, based upon the double dealing displayed by the English. Certain of the newspapers even published an account of the battle of Tell-el-Kebir, calling it *Tell-el-dhahab* ('Hill of Gold'). In fact the pardon of Arabi and his associates was another blot on the name of the English; for it was a disgrace in the circumstances, and made them a laughing-stock to people of every nationality. It would have been much better that sentence of death had been executed against him and his associates, and all who were accomplices with him in his evil deeds; for in that case the minds of the Egyptians and others would have been impressed, and the terror of the English Government would have fallen upon them, and the consequence would have been peace and safety. But the contrary took place, for evil increased in the province, corrupt deeds abounded, and safety no longer existed and peace was at an end. For the evil doer said in his heart, 'If Arabi with all his offences has been

spared, how much more shall I;' and we have heard his case made a justification of murder, plunder and avarice, and have seen how it was the occasion of the atrocities of the Soudanese. For certain of Arabi's party went into the Soudan and stirred up a spirit of waywardness and of evil in the hearts of the Soudanese, who, as soon as they learned how affairs had gone in Egypt, had their confidence raised and their opposition to their Governors and the Government increased, and this was to a great extent the cause of their rising into rebellion. And, worse than that, was the resistance to the English troops on the part of the inhabitants of the cities in Egypt, who invited the soldiers into their houses and murdered them. Which when the English authorities became aware of, they did not even punish the offenders, but left them to do as they liked, contenting themselves with ordering the English soldiers not to go out at night, and laying other restrictions upon their movements to keep them out of danger. And there were many other things which caused disturbances of the peace, into which we cannot here enter at length.

Then on the 7th December, 1882, pardon was issued in favour of Toulbah Pasha 'Asmat, and Abd-el-'Al Pasha Halimi, and Mahmud Pasha Sami, and Ali Pasha Fehmi; who were all banished from Egypt and its dependencies on the same terms as Arabi. But this was too much for the Minister of the Interior, his Excellency Riaz Pasha, who represented to the Khedive that the pardon of these men would incite others to hostile deeds, and that probably some other man would arise like Arabi and repeat his conduct, and therefore it was unwise to pardon them. To which the Khedive replied that what his Excellency said was very true, and he himself agreed with him; but what was to be done, since the English wished it so. After much talk, Riaz Pasha insisted that the will of the Egyptian Government ought to be free, and that the English should not interfere with its operation, since they were ignorant of the condition of the country. The Khedive replied, 'I cannot do otherwise;' and Riaz Pasha, seeing that the power of administration was to be controlled by the English, and that in fact some of them were placed in administrative positions, tendered his resignation, saying, 'There can in these circumstances be no internal peace in the

country.' It is probable that the English had ulterior designs in this matter; for the English Consul-General asked him to withdraw his resignation. But Riaz Pasha said 'It is possible for me to withdraw my resignation, provided the English do not interfere in internal affairs; for I am Minister of the Interior, and bound to administer affairs according to my knowledge, which is superior to yours.' The Consul, however, declined to hand over to him the power he demanded, saying that it was necessary that the English should exercise control over internal affairs. Riaz, perceiving this, said, 'Let Egypt be ruined by other hands than mine, I am clear of all consequences that may happen to the country doomed to unrest and general disquiet.' As he persisted in offering his resignation, it was accepted; and he has never taken office up to the present time. In his place was appointed Ismail Eyûb Pasha, after others had been offered the office and declined it; the order for his appointment being issued on the 10th December 1882. On the same day also was issued an order, changing the sentence of death against Mahmûd Fehmi Pasha and Ya'kûb Pasha Sami into sentence of perpetual banishment on the same terms as that of Arabi.

On the 14th December 1882, appeared an order that all property and effects belonging to Ahmed Arabi and Toulbah 'Asmat, and Abd-el 'Al Halimi, and Mahmûd Sami, and Ali Fehmi, and Mahmûd Fehmi, and Ya'kûb Sami should be taken possession of by the Government and sold; the proceeds to go to the indemnification of those who had suffered by the rebellion.

On the 21st December was issued an order to the effect that Ahmed Arabi, and Toulbah 'Asmat, and all the others were divested of all titles and ranks and distinctions which had been conferred upon them, and their names for ever effaced from the list of officers in the Egyptian army.

Finally on the 24th December sentence was pronounced on the Notables who had been implicated in the rebellion. Many of them were sentenced to pay sums of money as guarantee of their behaviour and to remain in distant seclusion outside the capital, and in their native places, without going beyond them in any direction; and many others were sentenced to fixed periods of

banishment from the country. Some of them accordingly went to Syria, some to Sawākin, some to Massowah, some to Constantinople, and so on.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Job and Solomon or The Wisdom of the Old Testament. By T. K. CHEYNE, D.D. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1887.

As a piece of careful and reverent criticism this latest of Dr. Cheyne's works deserves the highest praise. Its statements are clear and incisive, but its inferences are characterised by extreme caution. From beginning to end it will be difficult to find a word to which the most susceptibly orthodox can reasonably object. On those who still adhere to the traditional opinion in respect to the origin and authorship of the books of Job, Proverbs, and Ecclesiastes, its perusal can scarcely fail to have a decided influence. Students will read the volume with pleasure; and few persons of intelligence will rise from its pages without feelings of admiration both for the skill and learning of its author, and for the spirit of reverence and sincere loyalty to the truth by which it is throughout inspired. Many of the results it contains have been given to the world already. Others of them have not. But like the rest of Dr. Cheyne's writings it bears ample evidence of independent and substantial work. The foremost place is given to the book Job, the best, though not the oldest of the monuments of Hebrew wisdom. A critical analysis of the book written 'in plain prose' but extremely readable and effective, and occasionally illustrated by a citation from Dante or the *Paradise Regained,* is followed by a series of short chapters dealing with its date, authorship, history, and topics of a kindred nature, all of which chapters are remarkably well done, though here and there they are probably a little over-cautious and undecided or hesitating. The title 'The Book of the Trial of the Righteous Man and the Justification of God' has the advantage of indicating at once the original idea of the author of the poem, and the intention with which he or his interpolators made their subsequent additions. With Ewald and others Dr. Cheyne adopts the now apparently necessary opinion that the poem is based upon a traditional story. His hesitation to adopt the theory that the Prologue is not by the author of the Colloquies is justifiable, but it is doubtful whether so much can be said of his indecision in respect to chapters xxviii., xxxviii.—xl. 14, xlii. 1-6, xl. 15-24, xl. and the Epilogue. That these are later insertions is admitted, but the question of their authorship is set

aside, with the remarks: 'Poets, like painters, have their periods. It is therefore conceivable that the author of *Job* changed in course of time and criticised his own work, these afterthoughts of his being embodied in the "disputed passages." It is indeed also conceivable that the phenomena which puzzle us are to be explained by the plurality of authorship.' On the speeches of Elihu Dr. Cheyne is decided, agreeing with the majority of scholars in attributing them to a later hand, though at the same time maintaining that they are 'as genuine a monument of Israel's religious "wisdom" as the works of the earlier writer,' and protesting against the gratuitous assumption of Keil that the denial of their authorship to the author of the Colloquies is an assault upon their genuineness. Equally decided is Dr. Cheyne as to the passages Ch. xxvii, 8-10, 10-23. These, he holds, formed part of the lost speech of Zophar. As the date of the poem the period of the Exile is given. Dr. Davidson places the origin of the book in the same period, but both authors arrived at their conclusions independently of each other. With respect to the place of composition Dr. Cheyne remarks: 'To me the whole question seems well-nigh an idle one. The author (or, if you will, the authors) had travelled much in various lands, and the book is the result. The place where, is of far less importance than the time when it was composed.' The books of Proverbs, Sirach, and Ecclesiastes, are dealt with in the same scholarly and cautious way. With respect to the first of them Dr. Cheyne remarks in a passage which will serve to show to some extent the attitude which he assumes towards the others, 'I think that it is unfair both to the compiler and to the editor who repeats his statement (i. 1,) to take the ascription of these proverbs to Solomon literally. Accuracy in the details of literary history was not a qualification which would seem important to an Israelite. The name of Solomon was attached (for dogmatism here seems permissible) to these choice specimens of Hebrew proverbiology simply from a very characteristic hero worship. Solomon had in fact become the symbol of plain ethical "wisdom" just as David had become the representative of religious lyric poetry. We may see this from the alternative title of the Book of Proverbs in both Jewish and Christian writings—Book of Wisdom; still more from the fiction of Solomon's authorship of Ecclesiastes.' The genuineness of the epilogue to the last mentioned book Dr. Cheyne denies with Döderlein and others, but Nachman Krochmal's ingenious theory respecting it he declines to hold. The volume is one which ought to be in the hands of all who desire to understand the four books with which it deals. To the student of the Old Testament it will be indispensable.

Daniel: An Exposition of the Historical Portions of the Writings of the Prophet Daniel. By the Very Rev. R. PAYNE SMITH, D.D., Dean of Canterbury. London: James Nisbet & Co. 1886.

The papers which form the chapters of this volume have already appeared

in the pages of the *Homiletic Magazine*, and, as we learn from the preface, have been published at the request of the editor of that magazine. They lay no claim to great originality or research, nor do they attempt more than to give a passing glance at the many and difficult questions which the Book of Daniel presents to the modern reader. The second and more difficult part of the Book Dr. Payne Smith leaves untouched, and deals only with the first. His purpose, too, in writing the volume has been, not the discussion of questions of criticism, but the edification of his readers. From this point of view the volume may be very highly recommended. Dr. Payne Smith has clear and decided views as to the date and origin of the Book, but these are kept in the background, and with great skill he draws out many lessons of faith and conduct which cannot fail to edify all who read them in a careful and reverent spirit.

Commentary on St. Paul's First Epistle to the Corinthians. By F. GODET. Translated by the Rev. A. CUSIN, M.A. Vol. I. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1886.

This is an excellent addition to the Messrs. Clark's new series of the Foreign Theological Library. M. Godet has already won for himself both in this and in his own country a high reputation as an expositor of Scripture, and this new work, of which we have here the first volume, bringing the Commentary down to the end of the eighth chapter, will considerably add to it. Unlike many commentators, he does not hesitate to follow the Apostle to the full height of his conceptions, and to apply them in all their significance and grandeur. The consequence is, that M. Godet's remarks are often distinguished by great breadth and freshness, as, for instance, his very excellent notes on ii. 13 and 14-16, or iii. 9-17. As to the text, M. Godet chooses to be independent, refusing to adopt on every occasion the readings of Messrs. Westcott and Hort, and preferring to exercise his own judgment. The translator seems to have executed his task with commendable accuracy.

The Parousia: A Critical Inquiry into the New Testament Doctrine of Our Lord's Second Coming. New Edition. By J. STUART RUSSELL, M.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin.

This is a new edition of a work which, on its first appearance, was deservedly well spoken of. Its leading ideas are: (1) that Our Lord's predictions of His Second Coming referred to the destruction of Jerusalem, and that the destruction of that city was the Second Coming which He predicted, and for which His Apostles, if not most of the early Christians, looked; and (2) that the Babylon of the Apocalypse and of St. Peter is none other than Jerusalem, the Holy City. The first of these ideas cannot be called new: but the second can. The arguments which Mr. Russell has adduced in its favour, if not conclusive, are at least strong. Altogether the work is an excellent piece of careful and reverent exegesis, well written

and well argued, and deserves the very careful attention of every student of the New Testament Scriptures.

The Bible and the Age. An elucidation of the principles of a consistent and verifiable interpretation of Scripture. By CUTHBERT COLLINGWOOD, M.A., etc. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1886.

Mr. Collingwood is convinced that the Age is, and is every day getting more and more, out of sympathy with the Bible, and ceasing to read it. He has carefully noted the many efforts made by the friends of the Bible to effect a reconciliation between them. These efforts, he has observed, have all failed to accomplish their purpose. But he is not surprised. They have all been vitiated by a total misunderstanding, on the part of these friends, of the real meaning and intention of Scripture. He has discovered these, and now comes forward to put the 'Age' in possession of the true key that unlocks all the secret wards of these wonderful books, and opens up to us all their truth and beauty. The Bible, it seems, was never intended to be read in the way we have been accustomed to read it. Its language is symbolical. The words employed are not used with their dictionary meanings, and what appears to be a narrative of events is really a description of spiritual evolution, or experiences. The first chapter of Genesis, e.g., was not intended to give an account of the creation, but is descriptive of the growth of the spiritual man under the disguise of material things. When the writers of Scripture speak of a mountain what they mean is 'the highest love of God,' or 'its opposite, the love of self or of the world!' A stone does not signify a stone in the ordinary sense of the word, but 'ultimate truth.' Gold stands for 'the highest good,' and silver for 'the highest truth,' while brass is synonymous with a less noble measure of good, and iron a lower quality of truth. Cities stand for 'false doctrines,' trees for 'spiritual perceptions,' and birds or fowls for 'rational truths,' so that when birds are said to 'make their nests in the trees' we are to understand that rational truths are perceived by the spiritual man. If this kind of transformation is needed to restore the Bible to the sympathy and attention of the Age, we fear there is not much hope for the future.

The Service of Man: An Essay towards the Religion of the Future. By JAMES COTTER MORISON. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co.

Prefaces, even when long, are not always worth reading, but the one which Mr. Morison has written for his present volume is. With the exception of the two last chapters, it is the most sensible part of the book, notwithstanding its pessimism. The first five chapters take the form of an indictment against Christianity, and are designed to show: '1. That a wide-spread tendency exists in this, and still more in other countries, to

give up a belief in Christianity, and that the scepticism of the present day is very far more serious and scientific than was the deism of the last century. 2. That the supposed consolations of Christianity have been much exaggerated. And it may be questioned whether that religion does not often produce as much anxiety and mental distress as it does of joy, gladness, and content. 3. That by the great doctrine of forgiveness of sins consequent on repentance, even in the last moment of life, Christianity often favours spirituality and salvation at the expense of morals. 4. That the morality of the ages of faith was very low; and that the further we go back into times when belief was strongest, the worse it is found to be. 5. That Christianity has a very limited influence on the world at large, but a most powerful effect on certain high-toned natures, who, by becoming true saints, produce an immense impression on public opinion, and give that religion much of the honour which it enjoys. 6. That although the self-devotion of saints is not only beyond question, but supremely beautiful and attractive, yet as a means of relieving human suffering and serving man in the widest sense, it is not to be compared for efficiency with science.' All these formidable-looking propositions, which by the way are not particularly new, Mr. Morison believes he has established. Granting his premises, and admitting all his assumptions, he probably has. But really when reading the five chapters he has devoted to them, one is disposed more than once to ask, wherefore this waste? Unless we are greatly mistaken, we have met with most of what he has to say before, and quite as well said. That the chapters referred to contain nothing true we do not of course mean to imply. It was impossible for a man of Mr. Morison's reading and culture to write them without saying something true. But there is much in his volume which seems to us objectionable. One would at least have expected that before writing against Christianity, Mr. Morison would have taken the trouble to ascertain what it is, and to distinguish between its essential doctrines, the varying modes in which these have been apprehended and stated, and the different and often diverse modes of religion to which it has given rise; but anything of this sort he has not done. A little closer study of the New Testament, of some of the Fathers, or even of Dr. Westcott's last book, might have suggested to Mr. Morison that a real scheme of Christian theology is somewhat different from what he supposes it to be. The theology he has in view, as also 'the scheme of redemption' he refers to, may pass current among many as Christian, but, as he is probably aware, there are many good Christians who deny that either the one or the other is Christian, and believe that the plain teaching of the New Testament suggests both a scheme of redemption and a theology entirely different. The fact is that among intelligent Christians many of Mr. Morison's ideas about the Christian religion are pretty well out of date. We have some doubt, indeed, whether his whole chapter on the decay of belief is not radically wrong. That there is a decay of belief in certain forms of doctrine may be admitted; but does it follow that

there is a decay of belief in goodness, or in virtue, or in the essential principles of the Christian faith or of Christian morals? Mr. Morison tells us that the essential spirit of Christianity is self-sacrifice; he assures us, too, that this spirit is spreading; and in his final chapters he urges us, not without considerable eloquence, to a more absolute devotion to it. One might very well turn round upon him with the question—If this be so, what about the survival and spread of Christianity and the belief in it? Our own opinion is that all that is true in his chapters respecting the duty of serving man is contained in the Christian Scriptures, and that it is to the inspiration of what we ourselves regard as Christianity that Mr. Morison owes the enthusiasm with which he advocates it. His implicit belief in science and its immense superiority, much as we admire science, we cannot share; nor can we share his belief that 'Bacon's famous maxim, that "a little philosophy inclineth men's minds to atheism; but depth in philosophy bringeth men's minds back to religion," is now being reversed.' Bacon, we think, had a much profounder knowledge of human nature than Mr. Morison, and a much more accurate perception of its needs. The intense interest, however, which Mr. Morison shows in the great and pressing problems of human life we both share and admire.

Abraham: His Life and Times. By the Rev. WILLIAM J. DEANE, M.A. London: Jas. Nisbet & Co. 1886.

This is the first volume of a new series entitled 'Men of the Bible.' Mr. Deane has read widely, and has managed to gather together and to condense into a very small compass all that is known, and much that has been said of value about the Father of the Faithful. With Ewald and the more recent school of advanced critics he has no sympathy. All that is written in the Old Testament about Abraham he accepts as unquestionably true, and is disposed to accept in the same spirit some things which are not written there. A freer critical spirit might have made his book more acceptable to a larger class of readers, but in the hands of those who know how to use it, it will prove of great service. It is clearly and concisely written, and from the point of view from which it has been conceived, it is an excellent manual.

Catechisms of the Second Reformation, with Historical Introduction and Biographical Notes. By ALEXANDER F. MITCHELL, D.D. London: Jas. Nisbet & Co. 1886.

In editing these little theological manuals Dr. Mitchell will doubtless appear to many to have done a good work. The manuals are certainly of interest; Dr. Mitchell has done his work well, and deserves to be congratulated on the addition of another contribution to a subject to the study of which he has devoted so many years of laborious attention. Opinions may differ as to the correctness of the title he has chosen for his volume and as to the value of the manuals it contains, but as to the extent of the

influence these latter, more especially the Shorter Catechism, have exercised there can be no difference. The influence of the Shorter Catechism is now, whether for good or evil remains to be seen, on the wane, but from the seventeenth century up to quite recently it was unquestionably the main factor in the formation of theological opinion in Scotland, among English Dissenters, and in the United States. Dr. Mitchell's present volume may be said to consist of three parts: 1. The historical and biographical introductions; 2. The Shorter Catechism and some of its Puritan precursors; 3. Rutherfurd's and other Scottish Catechisms of the same epoch. Some of these last have never before been printed, and make the volume, therefore, all the more valuable. To the Shorter Catechism Dr. Mitchell has added a number of notes, which, with Rogers' and the other Catechism printed along with it, enable the reader to form a pretty clear idea of its history. The Scottish Catechisms seem to contain indications that the Scottish mind of the period was of a more practical turn than that of the majority of the Westminster divines, whose whole bent seems to have been doctrinal or, as some might say, theological or speculative.

A Defence of the Church of England against Disestablishment, with an Introductory Letter to the Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P. By ROUNDELL, Earl of SELBORNE. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

However strongly the reader may feel on the question of Church Establishment, and whether he belongs to the Church of England, or be one of those who desire its speedy disestablishment and disendowment, he will at least be curious to see what Lord Selborne has to say in its defence. By those who side with him Lord Selborne's *Defence* will be welcomed and admired as a masterpiece of learning and reasoning. But whether it will convert many who belong to the opposite side is a question we should not like to answer; not, however, because the arguments it contains are not cogent or calculated to convince, but because controversy rarely produces conversion, and as a rule, more especially where passion and prejudice are concerned, only helps to confirm opinions already held. That it will be read, and read widely, may be taken for granted, and few who read it, whether they take sides with its author or against him, will be disposed to deny that it is a monument of wide learning and of calm and forcible reasoning. Anything like acrimony is foreign to its pages. It is pervaded by a feeling of intense conviction, but the spirit in which it is written is that of a dispassionate and impartial judge. Its immediate effects may be apparently slight, but looking at it from a purely literary point of view, it seems to us one of those solid pieces of work which may be termed classical, and whose influence is continually increasing. Two things at least are evident. First, it provides the Churchman with a perfect arsenal of weapons both of attack and defence; and secondly, if the *Case for Disestablishment* is to make way with fair-minded men and to appeal to aught

better than ignorant prejudice, it will require to be re-written. Lord Selborne's demolition of it may be said to be complete. In proof of this, we can only refer our readers to the volume itself. It is one that will more than repay the most careful perusal, both on account of the errors it dispels, and on account of the light it throws on a much discussed, but, after all, little understood subject.

The Development of Taste. By W. PROUDFOOT BEGG. Glasgow: James Maclehose & Sons, 1887.

Within the last twenty years Scottish culture has undergone not a few changes. Of these the new development in philosophy is as remarkable as any. The rising generation finds that Reid at third hand and Hamilton at second hand supply no very satisfactory theory in metaphysics, logic, or ethics, much less in art. The science of æsthetics has been advancing with rapid strides ever since the publication, little more than a century ago, of Lessing's *Laocoon*. Kant, Fichte, Schelling, and Hegel, the last through his many followers in this special department, have systematised it more and more. Mr. Begg is fortunate in that he has been brought under the influence of these thinkers by a great teacher. The stimulus which, as he tells us in his preface, he received towards the study of æsthetics in the philosophy class-room at Glasgow University has borne good fruit. It may be stated at once that Mr. Begg's book consists of a series of essays—most of them no doubt bearing on the others—rather than of a connected monograph on the development of taste. Many of the essays—*e.g.*, chapters vii., xii., and xv.—are obviously tentative. When we have said this, we have pointed out the principal defects of the work. The discussion of the Standard of Taste is limited not only in length, but also in general outlook; and the same may be said of the essay on the Beautiful, the Picturesque, and the Sublime. While the closing chapter on Colour displays a certain lack of familiarity in the latest researches in psychology, Mr. Begg would do well to acquaint himself with these, if only for the reason that they afford strong arguments for the theory which he himself advances. Counterbalancing these very few and comparatively unimportant defects, the book has many, very many good points. The attack on the habit theory of Hume, Jeffrey, and Mr. Spencer is well managed. It is not bitter, nor does it become ridiculous by straining after effect. Here and there, especially at page 173, one can trace a little wavering in the shape of a tendency to fall back upon realism. But taking the book as a whole, it is strongly pervaded by a sense of the infinity and the reasonableness of beauty. The thinker, in Mr. Begg's view, perceives in nature the harmony born of his own soul; and perceiving this harmony, he finds unity in the midst of variety. All who interest themselves in æsthetics should read this work. It is full of suggestion, and is straightforward to a degree. It is also inspiring. For Mr Begg, in departing from the classic traditions of Scottish thought, has obtained an insight into the living principles of all thought. He has observed that only in beauty and its resultant usefulness

will man find a limit set to the *progressus ad infinitum* of modern science. We have to thank him in that with painstaking and sure proof he has shown that the development of taste is 'a return of the mind to itself from seeking fact after fact and law after law in the objective world—a recognition that the mind itself is an end to itself, and its own law.'

History of the Great Civil War. 1642-1649. By SAMUEL R. GARDINER, LL.D., etc. Vol. I. 1642-1644. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1886.

This first volume of the *History of the Great Civil War* is a continuation of the numerous volumes Dr. Gardiner has already published, both separately and together, on the history of England from the accession of James I. Though designed to end with the death of Charles I., we trust that when that period is reached the series will be continued, and that Dr. Gardiner will bring down his history to a much more recent date. Of the earlier volumes of the series there is no need to speak. Their minuteness, their accuracy, their almost absolute freedom from bias, and their many other admirable qualities are well known, and seem at last to be gaining for them that measure of public attention and popularity they so justly deserve. The present volume opens with the outbreak of the war Aug. 22, 1642, and carries on the narrative down to the King's return to Oxford after the second battle at Newbury, Nov. 23, 1644. Excellent as its predecessors are, it is, if we mistake not, superior to any of them. As he approaches the great climax to which all his previous volumes have been working, Dr. Gardiner seems to acquire a more complete mastery over his materials and the art of presenting them in a more attractive way. The distribution of the volume into short chapters, each dealing with a clearly marked event, and each contributing to the unfolding of the drama, is an arrangement by which the reader will be the gainer. But that from which he will gain most, that too which will probable impress him as the most striking, though hardly as the most valuable, feature of the volume, is the wonderfully vivid manner in which the various persons and events are invariably described. It is in this matter of description, in fact, that Dr. Gardiner seems here to excel himself. Charles, Rupert, Pym, and Essex, stand out upon his canvas with the utmost clearness. Subordinate characters are revived with the same art. Sir Bevil Grenvile, Fuller, Chillingworth, Nye, Cheynell, and others are made to live again. Few who read the description of Chillingworth's funeral will ever forget it. The battle-scenes, too, are models of clearness and conciseness. Or take the following description of the meeting of Charles and Henrietta, occurring at the close of a paragraph as memorable as it is admirable, and which, if space permitted, we would willingly quote : 'On the 13th [of July, 1643] the royal pair, severed for fifteen months, met on the historic ground of Edgehill. Her first request to Charles was that he would raise Jermyn to the peerage. Till she had his promise she told him, no doubt with an arch smile on her

merry lips, she would not speak to him alone. Jermyn had served her well. During the hazards of her enterprise he had acted as her man of business, seeing to the purchase of arms, and conducting negotiations for advances of money. For the world and its calumnies the sprightly Queen cared nothing.' Here Dr. Gardiner tells in four sentences what some writers would have taken four pages to tell, and tells it in a way one does not readily forget. Occupying himself with the first two years of the Civil War, Dr. Gardiner has of course to deal with the causes which led to it, the attempts made to arrive at an arrangement, their frustration, the expectation that the conflict would be of short duration, the increasing estrangement of the two parties, the shifts they had to have recourse to in order to raise troops and money, the way in which they were hampered by local feeling, the effect on popular feeling of the landing of troops from Ireland, the Parliament's negotiations with the Scottish Presbyterians, the religious temper of the Parliamentarians, the irreligion of the Cavaliers, the labours of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, etc., all of which are treated with the same calm, impartial, judicial spirit that has characterised Dr. Gardiner's previous works, and which some have blamed as cold, but the possession of which will be regarded by most readers as forming one of his principal qualifications as an historian. One or two of the other points we have noted we can only refer to in the briefest way. In all that Dr. Gardiner has to say about Charles there is no tinge of bitterness; he seems almost to sympathise with him. His treatment of Essex is almost apologetic. The execution of Yeomans and Bourchier at Bristol deserved more than a passing mention. The statement that the Royalist gentry 'had no living faith in which the common man was able to share' is too sweeping. They were not all of the same stamp, and do not all deserve to be included in the same condemnation. We cannot altogether share Dr. Gardiner's admiration for the Scottish Presbyterian rule of the seventeenth century. It was hard, tyrannical, inquisitorial; the good it produced was not unalloyed. With Dr. Gardiner we hold it was not suited for England. In the present volume we see less of Cromwell than might be desired. The most prominent personage in it is undoubtedly Pym, and ample justice is done to his abilities and integrity.

Maitland of Lethington and the Scotland of Mary Stuart: A History. By JOHN SKELTON. Vol. I. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood & Sons, 1887.

This is the first volume of what promises to be an exceedingly readable history. It is decidedly not a dull book. There is a vivacity, grace, and literary charm about its pages rarely met with, reminding one of the *Essays of Shirley*, and proving that the brilliant essayist may devote himself to the study and writing of history without forgetting his cunning or making his work less pleasant and entertaining. Moreover, the volume

is pervaded by a spirit of reasonableness and scepticism which is extremely refreshing and wholesome, especially after one has been compelled to feed on the hard and arid pastures in which many of the existing historical works on Scotland unfortunately abound. Mr. Skelton has read his authorities with his eyes open, and has neither followed the accepted interpretation of them, nor allowed himself to be blinded by the prejudices by which the more important of them are obviously coloured. Of Knox he has formed a very high opinion, but he does not regard him as an immaculate heaven sent seer. And rightly; for though Knox was unquestionably a great man, he was not without faults both of temper and of conduct. His destruction of the cathedrals and religious houses was an act which he himself lived to regret. He was vain, dogmatic, overbearing. For those who did not choose to agree with him he had nothing but hard words and the fiercest denunciation. Of course, this is often pointed to as a proof, or rather as part of the prerogative, of his greatness; but we are glad to see that Mr. Skelton has brought a considerable measure of common sense to bear upon it, and dealt with it as an impartial historian ought. The greater part of the volume, which is one of three, is taken up with a general description of Scotland immediately before the accession of Mary Stuart, and we have only just time to see Lethington when the volume closes. It is obvious, however, that Mr. Skelton intends to assign to him a different position and a different character from those which have been assigned to him hitherto. Whether he is right is a question we cannot now discuss. The time for that has not yet come. The points of interest in the volume are numerous, but our space at present allows us to refer to but one or two of them. First we must thank Mr. Skelton for the protest he makes against the neglect with which the old Scottish literature is now treated. We could wish he had made it even more energetic than it is. Why should not Barbour or the *Kingis Quair* be as carefully read in schools north of the Tweed as Chaucer is in those to the south of it? Again, Mr. Skelton has noted that Puritanism did not gain so easy or so complete a victory in Scotland as is usually supposed. On the other hand, we fail to observe any but the most cursory reference to the efforts made by the Bishops, with Archbishop Hamilton at their head, to correct the lives of the clergy and make them more attentive to their parochial duties. The good effects produced by 'the missionary genius of the Catholic Church' throughout the country are clearly pointed out; nor are the corruptions which grew up in the Church less clearly stated. 'The Protestant indictment of the Catholic Church in Scotland,' it is remarked, 'has been far too sweeping.' . . . 'But when every reasonable allowance is made, it must be admitted that the state of the Church invited attack.' A note accounts for the use of monasteries as houses of entertainment for travellers. Many of them were in remote and secluded districts where no other shelter could be had. Thus Hexham was twenty miles from the nearest house. The wanton destruction by the Protestant party of MSS. is noted and condemned. Unlike most historians of Scotland, Mr.

Skelton traces the moral and material prosperity of the country, not to the Reformation, nor to the revolution of which Knox was the soul, but to the movement of which Lethington was the head, and to the Church which remained after the Church of the Reformation had 'burnt itself out in Covenanter and Cameronian.' As we need hardly say, the volume contains many splendid passages and much matter for controversy. We take leave of it with regret, but with the conviction that when completed the work will possess an interest and value to which few other Scottish historical writings can lay claim.

Mary Stuart: A Narrative of the First Eighteen Years of her Life, principally from original documents. By the Rev. JOSEPH STEVENSON, S.J. Edinburgh: William Paterson, 1886.

A new book on Mary Queen of Scots is no novelty, but everything from the hand of Father Stevenson is usually so carefully done that one is curious to see what he has to say about her. There can be no doubt that the first eighteen years of a woman's life are those in which her tastes and habits are formed, and that to a very large extent they determine her future career. To ascertain, therefore, what Mary was during the early part of her life, by whom she was surrounded, who educated her, what principles were instilled into her mind, what tastes and habits she formed, and what impression she produced on others, are by no means unimportant problems. Accurately solved they will at least show us what we might expect her to do in after years, and what we might not. It is to the solution of these problems that Father Stevenson here sets himself. The solution at which he arrives, though consistent enough with the evidence he adduces, is not that which is usually accepted, but is almost identical with the one arrived at by Mr. Skelton. The first three chapters of the volume contain some very vigorous writing; some of it is perhaps too vigorous. The remaining chapters—those which contain the story of Mary's life and education—are simple, pleasant, and truthful, and prove almost to a demonstration that no efforts were spared to educate her in a manner in every way suitable for her future position and that at least up to her nineteenth or twentieth year she was as charming in disposition and temper as she was in bearing and person. During the whole of her residence in France not a single voice seems to have been raised to the disparagement of her conduct whether as a maiden, wife, or widow. For emphasizing this fact in these on the whole pleasantly written pages, Father Stevenson deserves the thanks of all who are interested in forming an opinion respecting the character and conduct of the unfortunate Queen.

The English in America: The Puritan Colonies. By J. A. DOYLE, M.A. 2 Vols. Longmans, Green & Co. 1886.

Mr. Doyle, we may say at once, has executed a very difficult task in a

very commendable spirit. The Puritans of America—those of them who founded the Puritan Colonies —had doubtless good points about them, but taken as a whole, they were neither very heroic nor very loveable. Their most obtrusive features were narrowness, hardness, intolerance, and dogged perseverance. To write an impartial history about them is extremely difficult; and equally difficult is it to write a veracious one. Most of the materials for their history is from their own hands, and though they had no intention of deceiving, and probably sought only to set down their impressions in as clear a way as they were able, to get at the real facts they attempted to record is not always easy. Mr. Doyle, however, has managed to write impartially, and has taken the trouble to subject their statements to a careful and intelligent scrutiny. In fact, a calmer, more dispassionate, and more thoroughly fair and impartial writer we have seldom met with. That he will please all parties is questionable. The probability is he will not, for though a somewhat rare virtue, impartiality is not always esteemed or awarded the measure of praise it deserves. *The Puritan Colonies*, as we need hardly say, is a sequel to a former volume on Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, and deals with the history of the Puritans in North America from the settlement at Plymouth down to the schemes of Dudley and Lord Cornbury. The period covered in the volumes takes in no more than the seventeenth century, yet it is full of incidents. Much of the poetic halo with which imagination has surrounded many of these, under the cold, dry light which Mr. Doyle has brought to bear upon them, fades away. Religion, or what passed in those days among the English Nonconformists for religion, had certainly a good deal to do with the Puritan emigrations, but there can be little doubt that they were also due—and in one or two instances in no small measure—to political and economic causes. The leaders or originators of some of them were little, if anything, better than speculators; and if those whom they induced to emigrate were seeking freedom for the exercise of their religious convictions, they themselves were aiming only at an increase of their wealth or the recruiting of their shattered fortunes. In the first of the two volumes he has now published, Mr. Doyle is occupied with narrating the circumstances which led up to the several emigrations, and with the incidents attending the actual planting of the Colonies. His narrative is clear and graphic, and well supported by authorities. It is almost impossible, even for the most unsympathetic, not to be touched with admiration for the patient, enterprising, and well-nigh heroic spirit these voluntary exiles and early pioneers of civilisation displayed in many of the incidents he has to record. Their disappointments were frequent and heavy; some of the hardships they had to endure were almost incredible, and such as only men and women of an iron will can bear up under and overcome. Some of the shifts they were put to were curious. One of the most singular occurred in connection with the settlement in Massachusetts Bay. Higginson and Skelton were elected to the offices of pastor and teacher respectively. Both were unordained; and as there was no minister present to ordain them, 'each in turn ordained

the other by laying hands upon him.' The most interesting episode in the volume is of course the celebrated voyage of the 'Mayflower,' a vessel, by the way, which, in the opinion of Mr. H. Stevens of Vermont, was none other than the 'May Floure' in which Waymouth made his adventurous but less known voyage in quest of the North-West Passage. The noblest figure among the Puritans, however, was Winthorp, to whose ability, statesmanship, and character Mr. Doyle pays a just and discriminating tribute. The second volume is devoted mainly to a general description of the Colonies, and notwithstanding the interest attaching to the first, is perhaps the more important. As a piece of historical writing it is admirable. The whole life of the colonists—political, economic, social, religious, and ecclesiastical—is set before the reader with a clearness, precision, and minuteness of detail which it is safe to say has rarely been equalled and never surpassed.

The Chief Periods of European History: Six Lectures read in the University of Oxford in Trinity Term, 1885, *etc.* By EDWARD A. FREEMAN, Regius Professor of Modern History, etc., etc. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

These are admirable lectures, but by no means easy to follow. They are as tough a piece of historical reading as any one can desire, and when delivered in the lecture room, must have exercised the faculties of those who heard them pretty severely. Nevertheless, the reader who will fairly grapple with them will find them eminently instructive. Dr. Freeman is a master in historical science, and notwithstanding certain peculiarities of style, has the faculty of presenting whatever subject he handles in new lights, and of treating it in a way which is after all forcible and suggestive. The present lectures are a sequel to the course on the Methods of Historical Study, which we had the pleasure of noticing in our last issue, and may be said to have for their subject the general course and leading idea of European history. The central point of European history is the domination of Rome. To it all previous events in Europe tended, and from it all the divergent lines of its subsequent history have been derived. Dr. Freeman treats, therefore, of Europe before, during, and since the establishment of, the Roman rule. At the same time, he lays emphasis on the fact, that there is one aspect in which all these periods form a whole. 'There has been,' he observes, 'one abiding duty which has been laid on Aryan Europe in all her phases, before Rome, under Rome, and after Rome. One "question" has, in the cant of the day, been "awaiting its solution" from the beginning of recorded history, and from a long time before recorded history.' . . . . 'It is the "Eternal Eastern Question," the undying question between the civilzation of the West and the barbarism of the East—a question which has here and there taken into its company such side issues as the strife between freedom and bondage, between Christendom and Islam, but which is in its essence that yet older strife of whose earlier stages Hero-

dotus so well grasped the meaning. It is a strife which has, as far as we can look back, put on the familiar shape of a strife between East and West. And in that abiding strife, that Eternal Question, the men of the Eternal City, Scipio and Sulla, Trajan and Julian, played their part well indeed; but it was waged before them and after them as far back as the days of Agamemnôn and Achilleus, as near to the present moment as the days of Codrington and Skobeleff. In all ages . . . two great abiding duties have been laid on Aryan Europe, and on the several Powers of Aryan Europe. They have been called on to develop the common institutions of the great family within its own borders ; and they have been called on to defend those borders and those institutions against the inroads of the barbarian from without.' How and with what success these duties have been performed during the period of recorded history may be said to be the main, as it is the most important, theme of the lectures now published. That they contain no more than the outlines of the subject we need hardly say. They are drawn, however, by a masterly hand, and all students of history can only desire that they may be speedily filled in. On the comparatively new views and opinions which Dr. Freeman here throws out we cannot dwell. We may add, however, that much which Dr. Freeman has to say regarding the part played in the great drama of European history by the Eastern Roman Empire coincides with what M. Bikélas has been maintaining in the pages of this Review.

Lectures on the Rise and Early Constitution of Universities, with a Survey of Mediæval Education. A.D. 200-1350. By S. S. LAURIE, M.A., etc. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1886.

The rise and constitution of Universities is a subject which has managed to attract the attention of fewer persons than even philosophy. As a rule, it is left to specialists; that enlightened individual, the general reader, caring nothing about it. It is neither to the specialist nor to the general reader, however, that Professor Laurie addresses himself, but to schoolmasters and those who wish to know something about the way in which educational affairs were managed during the first dozen or thirteen centuries of the Christian era. To all such, we should say, he will prove a very acceptable and reliable guide. The volume consists of a series of lectures which, as he somewhat naively tells us, he has been unable 'to find time or occasion to deliver.' Perhaps it is as well that he has. At all events, his inability to find time or occasion has given to the public a very succinct, graphic, and interesting account of a very important and little known subject. Beginning with the Greek schools, he traces the history of education in Europe down to about the middle of the Fourteenth Century. Altogether there are fifteen lectures, the first five of which are devoted to the history of education previous to the establishment of the Universities. Here, of course, the subjects which fall to be discussed,

besides the schools of Greece, Rome, and Alexandria, are the influence of Christianity on education, the Episcopal and monastery schools, the schools of Charlemagne, and the influence of Ireland and England on the spread of education on the Continent. As we need hardly say, Professor Laurie's treatment of them is profoundly interesting. The lectures are short, perhaps too short, but it will be difficult to find the same matter in so condensed a form. The influence of the Museum at Alexandria and that of the Arabians deserved a more extended treatment than Professor Laurie has seen fit to give to them. Two pages and a half, largely made up of quotation, is all that is given to the Arabians, and few who are not acquainted with the subject will suppose from the reference Professor Laurie makes to it, that the Museum of Alexandria has had the influence upon the world which it has. With the sixth lecture Professor Laurie enters upon a subject—the origin of the Universities—which has had the misfortune of having been always treated in a polemical spirit. Professor Laurie is also polemical, but not obtrusively so. He has a good word to say for the Scottish Universities as well as a word of complaint, and suggests, not without reason, that they ought to be made to produce higher results than they at present do. Altogether the work is a scholarly production, excellent in many ways, and well worthy the reputation its author has already won as 'Scotus Novanticus' in the higher walks of philosophy.

Les Civilisations de l'Inde. Par le Dr. GUSTAVE LE BON. Ouvrage illustré. Paris: Firmin-Didot et Cie. 1887.

This work is a sequel to the excellent, and in fact sumptuous volume which Dr. Le Bon published some time ago, and to which we had the pleasure of calling the attention of our readers, on the *Civilization of the Arabians*, which in its turn was the sequel to a previous work entitled *L'homme et les Sociétés*, intended to serve as an introduction to the series to which the present volume and its immediate predecessor belong, on the Civilisations of the Human Race. For the preparation of the present volume M. Le Bon has enjoyed almost exceptional facilities. To understand the true meaning of the literary and artistic monuments of a people, more especially those of the Hindoos, it is requisite, he remarks, to study them on the spot. And this he has himself been enabled to do, having been sent by the French Government to India at the head of a mission charged with the duty of studying and reporting on the archæology of that remarkable country. What may be called the scientific results of his mission have already been published in a series of five splendidly illustrated volumes. Here M. Le Bon seeks to popularise the subject of his recent studies, and to show how they confirm and illustrate his previously published ideas. Following the method he has adopted in the volume on the Arabian Civilization, he here treats first of all of the country, its soil, climates, flora, fauna, minerals, etc. ; then of its races, their origin, transformations, differences, and mental and moral characteristics ; and

next of their history, which he divides into six clearly marked periods, viz., the Vedic, Brahmanic, Buddhist, Renaissance, Mahommedan, and European. An interesting chapter is interposed on the relations between India and the West in antiquity, and then M. Le Bon proceeds to describe and discuss the transformations which the civilization of India has undergone during the above mentioned periods. In the almost complete absence of historical documents this was by no means easy: nor was it rendered any the less difficult by the singular mixture of races to be found in the Indian peninsula, or by the vicissitudes of their history. M. Le Bon, however, is to be congratulated on the manner in which he has overcome the difficulties besetting his subject, and completed his enterprise. While not neglecting such evidence as is to be found in the literature of India—the Vedas, Puranas, the Code of Manu, and the great Indian Epics, or in the narratives of the Buddhist pilgrims or the Greek historian—his chief reliance has been on the architectural monuments of the country. A careful study of these has enabled him to bring out the chief features of the various phases through which the civilization of India has passed, and to indicate wherein it has differed from the civilization of the West. Every page of his volume is rich in information. The skill with which he presents it cannot be spoken of in terms too high; nor can the clearness and beauty of his style. The volume, like the one we have already referred to on the Civilization of the Arabians, is handsomely printed, and abundantly supplied with illustrations. Its seven chromolithographs are simply exquisite. The work is a singularly able contribution to the study of a profoundly interesting and important subject. In order to extend its circulation and to bring it within the reach of all, it is now, we understand, being issued in parts.

Old Greenock from the Earliest Times to the Early Part of the Nineteenth Century, with some Account of the Burgh of Cartsburn and Burgh of Barony of Crawfurdsdyke. Illustrated. By GEORGE WILLIAMSON. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner. 1886.

The reader need not be at all alarmed by the first half-dozen words which appear on the title-page of this handsome quarto. The air of profound antiquity they wear is only seeming. Mr. Williamson has nothing prehistoric, or even pre-Adamite, to tell. Greenock is not a very ancient place. It has no antiquities and no curiosities, at least of the monumental kind. It gave birth to Watt of steam-engine celebrity, is a place of sugar, ships, steamboats, feus, and rain. Excepting the last word, that is about the sum of what Mr. Williamson has to say. We say excepting the last word advisedly; for no genuine Greenockian believes that 'Greenock' means anything but the 'Sunny Bay,' consequently that Greenock itself is the sunny town, or place of the sun. Those who are not Greenockians, but have had the misfortune to be born elsewhere, may express their scepticism

on this point; but the reason is always at hand, if not always convincing, that they have not happened to see the place in its normal condition. Whether this reason is well or badly founded we will not undertake to say; but what we will undertake is to say that the task of writing the history of Greenock could not have fallen into better hands than Mr. Williamson's, and further, that he has written it with a care, elaboration, and conscientiousness unsurpassable. A little superfluous labour is spent in the first chapter over determining the etymology of 'Greenock,' but once upon historical lines, Mr. Williamson is lively, interesting, and remarkably well informed. We may be wrong, but we have a strong suspicion that he is a lawyer. At all events, he has all a lawyer's predilection for feus, tacks, leases, and other kindred documents, and makes large and frequent use of them—so frequent, indeed, that we should imagine there is scarcely a single Greenockian for whom his volume has not a very lively and valuable interest. Altogether, Mr. Williamson may be warmly congratulated on having written the first volume of what promises to be one of the best of our local histories. The second volume, dealing with the ecclesiastical, educational, and literary history of the town, which is to be issued, we are told, with all convenient despatch, ought to be of even greater interest than the present one, and that is saying a good deal.

Social Life in Scotland from Early to Recent Times. By the Rev. CHARLES ROGERS, D.D., etc., etc. Vol. III. Edinburgh: William Paterson. 1886.

This is the concluding volume of a work we noticed some time ago, and is constructed on the same plan as it predecessors. The subjects dealt with here belong to the intellectual life of the country. Dr. Rogers' chief merit is that he is a diligent collector. He has little that is new to tell, and his pages are marked by certain peculiarities of style which are apt to annoy the reader; yet they contain abundant material for the formation of a pretty accurate idea of the course and epochs of the social and intellectual development of the country.

The History of Napoleon the First. By P. LANFREY. 4 Vols. Second Edition. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

This is a very handy and handsome reprint of a well-known book, and all we need to do here is to register its appearance in this its cheaper and more popular form. Historians and biographers of the First Napoleon may be divided into those who see nothing but evil in him, and those who see little but good. M. Lanfrey has tried to form a dispassionate judgment about him, and to a very considerable extent has succeeded. He has had the advantage also of having access to more abundant materials than any of his predecessors, and may be said to have written the fairest and most reliable account yet to hand of the Founder of the First Empire. In its present form the work should have a large circulation.

Carthage; or, the Empire of Africa. By ALFRED J. CHURCH, M.A. With the Collaboration of ARTHUR GILMAN, M.A. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1886.

Though he has nothing new to tell, and carefully avoids the discussion of the many controverted points connected with his subject, Mr. Church has written an entertaining, if not instructive, volume. The materials at hand for a history of Carthage are not particularly abundant, but such information respecting it as is to be had from the older as well as modern authorities, Mr. Church has diligently used. Those who wish to read the chequered and, on the whole, painful story of the great African Empire, cannot do better than turn to his pages. They are written with skill, and with that singular simplicity which has made his stories from the history of the ancient world so attractive and popular.

The Pre-History of the North based on Contemporary Memorials. By J. J. A. WORSAAE. Translated with a Memoir by H. F. MORLAND SIMPSON, M.A. Maps and illustrations. London: Trübner & Co., 1886.

Mr. Morland Simpson has done well to preface his translation of the work, in which, as he very appositely remarks, Dr. Worsaae 'has summed up the main results of his life of labour,' with a brief memoir of its celebrated author. To the general run of readers, at least in this country, Dr. Worsaae is far too little known. In his own country he was well known and greatly loved. Among archæologists his reputation is world-wide; and justly so, for few, if any, have done so much for the science to which he devoted himself, and of which he is fairly entitled to be called the founder. English historians will always be grateful to him; for to him 'we owe' to use Mr. Morland Simpson's words, 'the first comprehensive statement and proof of the large Scandinavian remains in our national characteristics, customs, names, and tongue.' His *Account of the Danes and Northmen in England, &c.*, was an epoch making book, and though published some five and thirty years ago, is still an authority and is likely to remain such. The present work is intended to give a general survey of the most important results as yet attained by modern investigation of pre-historic antiquities. The antiquities specially dealt with are of course those of Denmark and Scandinavia, but the author's survey takes him over a wide field, the archæological remains of Central and Southern Europe, of Asia and America being made to throw light upon those of North-Western Europe. Worsaae's skill, which amounted almost to genius, as an interpreter of the rude and mouldering remains of pre-historic times comes out on every pages. Few things are more remarkable than the way in which he here reconstructs for us on the sure basis of facts, the life of races long since passed away, and whose very existence up to a comparatively recent date, was not so much as suspected. The work, in short, is an

admirable example of comparative study in archæology, and places in the hands of the reader all that is surely known of the people who inhabited Denmark and Scandinavia—their lines of migration, their mode of life, arts, intercourse, commerce, hopes and beliefs—during the stone, bronze, and iron ages. The translation is well done, and here and there the translator has added a useful footnote. We cannot, however, commend the method of punctuation adopted. Its effect is to mar the pleasure of perusal.

A Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria from 1852 *to* 1860. By the late CHARLES C. F. GREVILLE, Esq., Clerk of the Council. 2 vols. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1887.

With these two volumes one of the most entertaining and important books the present century has produced, is concluded. The reception accorded to the previous volumes of Mr. Greville's Journals has far exceeded any hope entertained of them by their author. As appears from his concluding remarks he was more disposed to underrate their merits than to exaggerate their importance. 'I close this record,' he remarks, 'without any intention or expectation of renewing it, with a full consciousness of the smallness of its value or interest, and with great regret that I did not make better use of the opportunities I had of recording something more worth reading.' An author, however, is not always the best judge of the probable success of his writings, and there can be no doubt that, notwithstanding Mr. Greville's consciousness of the incompleteness of his Journals and the impromptu character of their contents, the eight volumes whose publication Mr. Reeve has now completed and which he has edited with such conscientious skill, will be regarded by future generations of writers as indispensable for the right understanding of the social and political history of the remarkable period they cover. They will doubtless, too, continue to entertain, for, apart altogether from their literary attractions, they contain much which is of perennial interest. As compared with previous portions of the work the present volumes contain less of novelty and original information. In some respects, too, they are less attractive, several of the features which contributed largely to the popularity of the first three volumes being here altogether wanting. On the other hand, for the purposes of political history, they are, if anything, more valuable. For though growing weary of public life, Mr. Greville still kept up his intimacy with his political friends, was in frequent communication with them, and now and again intervened in their councils with effect. Besides, some of the events recorded in these volumes are of a more momentous character than those which furnished the staple of the three volumes immediately preceding them. The Crimean War, the Indian Mutiny, and the Italian War are of more interest than the rise and fall of Ministers, and while we have much about home politics we have

quite as much, if not more, about these greater and more important events, and the impression they produced on Mr. Greville at the time. As it is almost needless to remark, the present volumes are marked by the same literary characteristics as their predecessors. In certain other respects they are different. There is in them less of anecdote, less piquancy. and fewer scandals. At the same time they reflect with great clearness the changing character of the times, and as well the changes which took place in their author's opinions about men and things and the varying moods and feelings with which he regarded life and its occupations. Most of the individuals mentioned in their pages are well known and some of them are still living. Among the most prominent of these is Mr. Gladstone, and not the least interesting portions of the volume are those in which the author records either his own opinions or those of others about him. The literary portraits of the men and women with whom Mr. Greville was acquainted, which formed so attractive a feature of the previous portions of the work, are here somewhat fewer and less elaborate. Among them are those of Miss Mary Berry, Frederic Lamb, Lord Beauvale and Melbourne, Samuel Rogers, and Lord Macaulay. The most carefully drawn is that of Madame de Lieven. But taking them all in all, the volumes unquestionably form a worthy conclusion to a notable work, and one to which, among works of its kind, must be assigned a high place.

James Fraser, Second Bishop of Manchester: a Memoir, 1818-1885. By THOMAS HUGHES, Q.C. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

It is impossible to praise too highly the way in which Mr. Hughes has put together his Life of one of the most successful and estimable Anglican bishops of modern times. For the most part he has left Bishop Fraser to speak for himself, and almost from the beginning to the end the reader of the volume is in contact with a mind of rare freshness, sincerity, and power. What is usually called a 'great' bishop Dr. Fraser probably was not, but he was certainly an effective one; one, too, who has left an impression which will not be easily done away. Manchester will not readily forget him; nor will the Church of England. Though comparatively uneventful, his life was eminently practical. Few men have been so thoroughly devoted to their calling, or discharged their duties with greater singleness of mind. Born at Prestbury, in Gloucestershire, he was educated at Bridgenorth and Shrewsbury Schools and Lincoln College, Oxford. In 1840 he was elected Fellow of Oriel, and afterwards succeeded Mr. Mozley at Cholderton. On the recommendation of Bishop Hamilton he was appointed in 1850 an Assistant-Commissioner to inquire into the state of education. His report was a remarkable document and at once made its mark. Mr. Hughes, who is no mean judge in these matters, pronounces it a 'superb,' 'almost a unique, piece of work.' 'Even now,' he remarks, 'after thirty years, when almost every suggestion made by him has been

long since adopted, when the question of elementary education has been thoroughly threshed out, and Mr. Forster's great Act has been in force for seventeen years, this report has lost very little of its interest, and remains a model of masterly analysis, and careful, well-supported, and well-reasoned suggestion.' Mr. Gladstone's offer of the See of Manchester in 1870 took him by surprise, and for a time, with a conscientiousness and humility which marked his conduct on several similar occasions, he hesitated to accept it. His friends urged acceptance. Among them were Canon Norris and Canon Liddon, the latter of whom was 'very earnest.' But for the splendid work which he did in Manchester and elsewhere, we must refer the reader to Mr. Hughes inspiriting volume. It is a beautiful record of a still more beautiful and beneficent life.

Samuel Taylor Coleridge und die Englische Romantik. Von ALOIS BRANDL. Berlin: Robert Oppenheim. 1886.

For some time we have been acquainted with Dr. Brandl as the author of an excellent little work on the famous Scottish seer, Thomas of Erceldoune, and judging from that work, we expected to find in the volume before us a work of value. We need not say that we have not been disappointed. Whether Dr. Brandl's Life will prevent the appearance of the long meditated Life of the poet by Lord Coleridge, we do not know. From a hint in Dr. Brandl's preface we have some fear that it will. But whether it will or not, Dr. Brandl deserves well of the British public, and more especially of the admirers of Coleridge. His volume contains not merely a biography, or a mere narrative of the poet's life, but also a complete and highly instructive study of the movement which centred around him—a movement which has already borne considerable fruit in religion and theology as well as in literature, and whose influence is not yet spent. For the purposes of his study Dr. Brandl has made use of all the available sources, especially of the materials in Dr. William's Library and in the British Museum, and most important of all, of the poet's correspondence and other papers connected with him now in the possession of Lord Coleridge, who, besides lending the papers, has rendered much valuable assistance in the preparation of the work in other ways. It is to be hoped that work will find an English translator, both on account of its own merits as a literary performance, and as being by far the best biography of Coleridge we have seen.

Life of Antonio Rosmini Serbati, Founder of the Institute of Charity. Edited by WILLIAM LOCKHART. 2 vols. Second Edition. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1886.

Father Lockhart has now completed and issued in a cheaper form the English Life of Rosmini, the famous founder of the Institute of Charity, and not less famous philosophical writer whose works are now attracting so much attention. The first volume of the Life, which was published some

time ago, brought the narrative down to within a few years of Rosmini's death, so that in the way of biography we have here little that is new. But what little there is, is intensely interesting and serves to impress one more and more with the extreme beauty of Rosmini's character and life. His death took place, as we need hardly remind the reader, July 1, 1885. He himself believed that he had been poisoned. One attempt was certainly made to poison him, but whether his belief as to the cause of his fatal illness was correct is unknown, the authorities refusing to permit the exhumation of his body. One of the most charming chapters in the second volume is a collection of anecdotes respecting Rosmini contributed by Father Signini who for some time acted as Rosmini's secretary. The rest of the volume contains a narrative of the English mission of the Fathers of Charity, and among other things an estimate of Rosmini as a holy man and a philosopher. The philosophical chapters alone are well worth reading. They contain a sketch by Rosmini himself of his own system of thought, and much valuable information respecting his opponents. Altogether the work deserves to be highly prized both as a contribution to religious biography and to the history of philosophy.

W. Lindsay Alexander, D.D., LL.D.: His Life and Work, with Illustrations of his Teaching. London: Jas. Nisbet & Co. 1887.

The anonymous author and compiler of this volume, who is evidently a friend and admirer of the late Dr. Lindsay Alexander, has done his work with commendable moderation. As usual with such works, the biography, or rather biographical essay which forms the greater part of the volume is somewhat lacking in breadth of treatment. There can be no doubt, however, that, so far as it goes, the picture it presents is true and life-like. Dr. L. Alexander was in his own denomination a power, and was well known as a scholar and theologian of very considerable ability and attainments. As one of the Revisionists his name will pass down to posterity. The picture here presented of him is striking, and to his friends and the members of the denomination to which he belonged, cannot fail to be pleasing. It is the picture of a laborious, pure, and devoted life. Here and there the volume contains some good stories. The following sentence may be commended to the attention of the author:—'To another councillor, a veterinary surgeon, he paid a visit at the house of the latter' (p. 161). On the whole, however, the work is fairly well done.

John Wyclyff sa vie, ses œuvres, sa doctrine. Par VICTOR VATTIER. Paris: Ernest Leroux. 1886.

During recent years Lives of Wyclyff have been so numerous, and so much has been written about him that a new Life containing nothing hitherto unknown seems to be entirely uncalled for; nevertheless M.

Vattier's careful and elaborate volume possesses quite sufficient merit to justify its publication. The reason he gives for its preparation is somewhat curious ; but whether it be true or not, as M. Vattier maintains it is, that it is extremely difficult, if not impossible, for a clergyman to write about Wyclyff in an impartial spirit, M. Vattier himself has certainly dealt with his subject with a calmness and impartiality which on that score leaves nothing to be desired, and has written a work which, if not equal to Dr. Lechler's masterpiece, is at least an extremely good second. In some respects, indeed, we prefer M. Vattier's. If anything it is fuller and more methodical, while the style in which it is written is certainly brighter and more attractive. M. Vattier has made ample use of the writings of Drs. Lewis and Vaughan, and of Mr. Shirley and Professors Lechler and Lorimer, and has made handsome acknowledgment of his obligations to them. The typography of the volume is excellent, and deserved to be accompanied by a better portrait of the Reformer than the very poor one by which it is preceded.

The New English. By T. L. KINGTON OLIPHANT. 2 vols. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

Mr. Kington Oliphant deserves all the praise of being what used to be called a very painful writer, and at the same time one who is infinitely more interesting than that class of authors are proved to have been by their works. The care and labour he has bestowed on this sequel to his *Old and Middle English* is extraordinary. Unless it be Dr. Skeat or Dr. Murray, or one or two others we might mention, we know no English writer who would have given so much to it. The works he has read, and evidently with the most minute attention, would make up the greater part of a fair-sized library. Roughly speaking they range from the *Cursor Mundi* to Miss Burnett's *Cecilia.* That he has read all the books belonging to this long and fruitful period of English literature Mr. Oliphant does not profess, but the more important, as well as many of the less important, of them he has. Those which he has given most attention to are, as he tells us, the comic and colloquial, though he has by no means neglected those of a graver kind. The Scottish pieces he has consulted are fairly numerous, though for the purpose he had in hand the *Craft of Deyng* and the writings of Winzet and Knox might have been used—those of the former author for the genuine vernacular of his time, and those of the latter to show the influence which the Southern dialect was having upon it. Dr. Hortsmann's Collection of the Barbour Legends might have been consulted, as well as the single legend of St. Machar, which by the way is not in the volume of *Altenglische Legenden*, but in the subsequent and more important volume, *Altenglische Legenden neue Folge.* But passing by comparatively small matters, Mr. Oliphant's book is, to say the least of it, a very remarkable one. Its aim is to show the history of the English language by tracing words and their modifications from author to author, and noting when this or that first

made its appearance in a book, or when this or that change was first made in its orthography or meaning. Mr. Oliphant is perhaps a little too dogmatic. In several places he undertakes to say when this or that word first made its appearance in the English language, or when it first acquired a particular meaning; but perhaps all he means by this is that such or such an author is the first in whose writings he has met the word he is dealing with in one or other of its forms or meanings. Rightly or wrongly we have always been under the impression that during the last thousand years and more the English language has been steadily growing and acquiring greater power and flexibility; but according to Mr. Oliphant 'the whole history of language for thousands of years has been one of gradual corruption,' and no language has suffered so much as the English. However, in the next sentence we are assured that this is a matter which is by no means to be deplored, since notwithstanding, or it may be in consequence of this, 'gradual corruption,' we are now in possession of a language in every way more convenient for daily use than some of our forefathers were condemned to use, and a dismal picture is drawn of the officer in command who should be compelled to use *fethoweras* instead of *form fours, right*. In his concluding chapter Mr. Oliphant has a good deal to say about the use made of language and the words used in the present. From some of his remarks we must differ. *Lethal* is a word which, if not Scottish, is certainly quite at home in Scotland. *Solidarity* is by no means to be condemned. *Ineptitude* is not the same as *folly*. *Perfunctory* is not exactly the same as *slovenly*. *Littoral* is a good enough word. But *preshadow* is, as Mr. Oliphant remarks, abominable, and the sooner we have done with *emeute*, *séjour*, and a whole host of others, and return to the use of the good English words for which penny-a-liners use them the better. Against one sentence in Mr. Oliphant's preface we must warn our readers. He there assures all and sundry that unless they read his previous volume, they cannot read these to their profit. We can assure them that they can.

The Vision of William concerning Piers the Plowman, in Three Parallel Texts together with Richard the Redeless. By WILLIAM LANGLAND. Edited from numerous MSS. with Preface, Notes, and Glossary by the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt. D., &c. 2 vols. Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1886.

Were it not that Dr. Skeat has published his Etymological Dictionary of the English Language we should not hesitate to call this his *opus magnum*. But whatever the relative merits of the two works may be, this is undoubtedly a noble one. It is questionable whether any English author has been so admirably edited by an English editor before. In some respects and for certain purposes, the five volume edition of Langland's two poems which Dr. Skeat prepared for the Early English Text Society may possibly

be superior, but in other respects and as a work of general utility we are disposed to regard the two comparatively handy volumes before us as the better. For comparison and references the present work has certainly the advantage. It has the advantage too of containing all or nearly all that the earlier edition contains in a more condensed and easily accessible form. By a very simple arrangement the reader is enabled to compare the three texts at a glance, and to see the transformations through which the poem has passed. The publication of the A text is a decided gain. The marvel is that Mr. Wright, to whose skill as an editor Dr. Skeat pays a merited tribute, did not take it up. With Dr. Skeat we are disposed to regard the B text as the best, though both the A and the C texts are not without their distinctive merits. Though the A text contains the shortest version of the Vision, and is less elaborate than the longer versions of B and C, it is on the whole the most vigorous. The C text on the other hand, though in parts somewhat attenuated and prolix, is fuller in detail and presents the poet's most matured ideas. The notes are excellent. Not a single difficult passage is passed over, and whatever point is touched is illustrated with a wealth of learning rarely equalled. They are rich too in suggestiveness, opening up many lines of interesting inquiry. The Glossary is less full than that of the five volume edition, but for all practical purposes it is amply sufficient. One curious point in the poem which is duly noticed by Dr. Skeat is the identification of Piers with Christ. Whether Langland intended from the first to identify them, or their identification was an afterthought is open to question. Much may be said on both sides. If there is any part of Dr. Skeat's work which we have felt in the least degree disappointing it is the Preface. Here we have the opinions of others respecting the Vision, but of his own opinion Dr. Skeat is perhaps a little too reticent. There are critical passages in the Text Society's edition, and even in the small school edition, not to mention the chapters in Warton, which we must own we should have liked to have seen incorporated. But the work is so admirably done that we trust that it is only the beginning of a series, and that we shall soon see other portions of the old literature of the country edited with the same patient and laborious fidelity, and illustrated with the same skill and learning.

Books and Bookmen. By ANDREW LANG. London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1887.

> 'A talk of antiquaries grey,
> Dust unto dust this many a day,
> Gossip of texts and bindings old,
> Of faded type, and tarnished gold.'

So Mr. Lang describes the series of essays he has here reprinted and brought together from the various serials in which they first appeared. Some of them are a little slight, but all of them are charmingly done. In fact, taken for what they are intended to be—light, gossipy papers about rare editions and rare copies, and those who buy and dream about buying

them—they are admirable. Of course they appeal for the most part only to those who are initiated into the mysteries of book collecting, but these we imagine now form a pretty numerous class, one, too, which is daily receiving accessions. The number of persons who would greatly rejoice to possess a 'Patissier' is considerably more than Mr. Lang's 4,000. So at least most collectors who are not rich imagine. However, those who are smitten with 'the passion for printed paper,' will find in Mr. Lang's essays much both to instruct and to amuse, possibly also much to stimulate their dreams and to encourage the wish that they had been born in happier times, when finds were less rare and fewer people were touched with the passion which is at once their misery and delight.

Leading and Important English Words: Explained and Exemplified. By WILLIAM L. DAVIDSON, M.A. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1886.

To those who are engaged in teaching this new work of Mr. Davidson's can scarcely fail to prove exceedingly acceptable. It will be of value also to all who are desirous of speaking or writing with accuracy. Some such work in a handy form has long been wanted. Mr. Davidson has taken most of the synonyms of the English language, and has not only defined and discriminated them, he has also given abundant examples of their use. As might be expected in a work of the kind coming from the author of *The Logic of Definition*, the definitions are clear and simple, the finer shades of meaning attached to the words being sharply marked. In the hands of a skilful teacher the work will be of great practical use.

A Comtist Lover, and Other Studies. By ELIZABETH RACHEL CHAPMAN. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1886.

We must own to having been unable to get up anything like enthusiasm for Augustine, the Comtist Lover who is here brought before us. He seems to us pretty much of a bore, and one of whom any lady, young or old, would gladly be rid. Aimée, with whom he is in love, is a much better specimen of humanity, though not without her peculiarities. She is somewhat of a blue-stocking, a great student, has very decided opinions about woman's rights, talks glibly, is rather given to pessimistic notions, and strikes one as a kind of typical strong-minded young lady, much given to striking attitudes and posing as a philosopher. The little lectures she gives are often bright and sparkling; but these would have told much better thrown into the shape of an essay. To be brief, the dialogue form is a mistake; Augustine we have been obliged to vote a nuisance; Aimée is more to our mind, though at times we cannot agree with her. The rest of the papers in the volume will be read with pleasure. They are full of freshness and vigour. The 'Immortality Thoughts' are well worth reading; so is the paper on Madame de Stael's *Delphine*. The Analysis of *In Memoriam* may be particularly commended.

Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day. By ROBERT BROWNING. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1887.

Mr. Browning is not always easy to understand, but it is always worth one's while to take the trouble to understand him. Whatever pains we may be put to in order to make out his meaning, even though unsuccessful, the labour is always well spent. Whether it is not a part of the poet's art and business to make himself easily intelligible, is a question we do not care at present to discuss. When considering it there is always that other other question, probably not less important, but not very flattering to the reader, to encounter, whether the obscurity complained of is not in the reader's mind rather than in the poet's words. But for our present purpose that is neither here nor there. The parleyings are written in Mr. Browning's simpler style, and appeal to a much wider circle than those who are specially devoted to the study of his writings and philosophy. The problem with which they deal is the old puzzle of good and evil, though at times it seems to be lost sight of, and one has considerable difficulty in keeping hold of the clue. The idea is started in the prologue, and repeated in the epilogue. In the parleyings with Bernard de Mandeville and Farini it is formally discussed, and less formally in the rest of them. One or two of them, indeed, seem intended simply to indicate the perplexing nature of the problem, the seemingly inextricable manner in which good and evil are mixed together in the life of men. It is impossible here, however, to follow the idea as it is worked out by Mr. Browning, or even to glance at the innumerable side issues he suggests. Here and there throughout the volume are passages of great force and beauty. Here, for instance, is a magnificent descriptive piece taken from the parleyings with Mandeville, author of *The Fable of the Bees*, and the somewhat questionable doctrine that private vices are public benefits:

'Boundingly up through Night's wall dense and dark,
Embattled crags and clouds, out-broke the Sun
Above the conscious Earth, and one by one
Her heights and depths absorbed to the last spark
His fluid glory, from the far fine ridge
Of mountain-granite which, transformed to gold,
Laughed first the thanks back, to the vale's dusk fold
On fold of vapour-swathing, like a bridge
Shattered beneath some giant's stamp. Night wist
Her work done and betook herself in mist
To marsh and hollow, there to bide her time
Blindly in acquiescence. Everywhere
Did Earth acknowledge Sun's embrace sublime
Thrilling her to the heart of things: since there
No ore ran liquid, no spar branched anew,
No arrowy crystal gleamed, but straightway grew
Glad through the inrush—glad no more nor less
Than, 'neath his gaze, forest and wilderness,
Hill, dale, land, sea, the whole vast stretch and spread,
The universal world of creatures bred
By Sun's munificence, alike gave praise—
All creatures but one only: gaze for gaze,

Joyless and thankless, who—all scowling can—
Protests against the innumerous praises? Man,
Sullen and silent.'

Or to turn back to the Prologue, the following occurs in a broad specimen of burlesque in which the Fates are induced by Apollo to drink from a bowl of wine he has brought from the earth:

Whose gift have ye gulped? Thank not me but my brother,
Blithe Bacchus, our youngest of godships. 'Twas he
Found all boons to all men, by one god or other
Already conceded, so judged there must be
New guerdon to grace the new advent, you see!
Else how would a claim to Man's homage arise?
The plan lay arranged of his mixed woe and weal,
So disposed—such Zeus' will—with design to make wise
The witless—that false things were mingled with real,
Good with bad: such the lot whereto law set the seal.

. . . .

'Tis Man's to explore
Up and down, inch by inch, with the taper his reason:
No torch, it suffices—held deftly and straight.
Eyes, purblind at first feel their way in due season,
Accept good with bad, till unseemly debate
Turns concord—despair, acquiescence in fate.
Who works this but Zeus? Are not instinct and impulse,
Not concept and incept his work through Man's soul
On Man's sense? Just as wine ere it reach brain must brim pulse,
Zeus' flash stings the mind that speeds body to goal,
Bids pause at no part but press on, reach the whole.'

In the Epilogue, which consists of certain parleyings between Fust, the printer, and his friends, there is a fine passage very similar to this; but we must resist the temptation to quote further. If it be the function of poetry, as we believe it is, to stimulate thought and to help men to unravel the tangled skein of life, these Parleyings with Certain People of Importance in their Day perform it admirably.

Sonnets. By EMILY PFEIFFER. London: Field & Tuer. New York: Scribner & Welford.

This is a charming volume, full of high and pure thought. Many of the sonnets are exquisite gems cut and polished with rare skill. Of some of them the greatest sonnet writers might, and in all probability would, have been proud. Taken as a whole, they are a noble protest against that desolating doctrine of science which would empty life and the universe of the Divine, and a powerful plea for, as well as an equally powerful justification of, the deep teachings of that great human heart by which we live. From beginning to end the poetry is of a very high order, and such as no lover of poetry can read without pleasure and admiration.

Richard Wagner, sa Vie et ses Œuvres. Par ADOLPHE JULLIEN. Londres: Gilbert Wood et Cie.

It is hardly necessary to remind the reader of the aim of *Tannhäuser*, the only work of Wagner which was ever produced in France. The poet

Tannhäuser, united to Elizabeth by an high-minded passion, falls for a time the prey of Venus, represented as an unclean spirit dwelling in the mountain called the Venusberg. At length, his nobler self reviving, he leaves the fiend, but she tells him he can always return to her by invoking her. His secret remains unknown until in an unhappy hour he takes part in a competition of poets where Elizabeth is among the audience. The fleshliness of his treatment of the subject of love provokes the condemnation of the assembly. The poet, in a fit of anger, admits from what source he had learned to adopt such a view. He is condemned to death as a dealer with evil spirits. Elizabeth renounces him for ever, but, by her intercession, saves his life, on condition that he will make a pilgrimage to Rome in search of repentance. At Rome he confesses to the Pope, but his heart is still hardened. He cannot repent and returns unabsolved. As he comes back to the old scenes, his misery becomes overwhelming, and in despair he calls upon the fiends. The diabolic music commences. The forms of the *succubæ* become more and more visible around him. At this moment Elizabeth, who, unknown to him, has been sinking under a broken heart, dies, and when she becomes a saint in heaven her prayers before the Throne of Grace obtain for him that inner change which she had never been able to win for him on earth. He drives away the evil spirits, and falls exhausted upon the ground to expire.

How this poem was likely to be appreciated by the public who have been photographed in *Nana*, it ought not to have been difficult to conjecture. They do not seem to have even been able to understand what it was all about. Wagner was assured by the authorities of the Parisian Opera that very great changes must be made. He yielded more than perhaps either his principles or his self-respect ought to have permitted. But poverty is an hard task-master. He admitted an enlargement of the First Act, which showed the French public more of the interior of the Venusberg than was required by the story, and while consenting to this humiliating spectacle, curtailed in this very same Act the mighty music of Venus, and the great hunting scene amid which Tannhäuser regains the upper earth. Thus also were expunged the beautiful music of the shepherd boy by which the loneliness of the country is emphasized in the last Act, and even the very point which may be almost described as the climax of the whole drama—certainly the most thrilling situation which it contains—the re-appearance of Venus and her nymphs. Here, however, he drew the line. He was informed that he was expected to insert a ballet at such a point in his composition as would cause it to begin about ten o'clock, the hour when the members of the Jockey Club usually dropped in to the Opera after dinner, and that this was necessitated, not only by the tastes of the audience, but also by the intimacy of the relations which existed between the gentlemen above indicated and the members of the *corps de ballet*. That such a proposal should ever have been made seems almost incredible. It is at any rate a sufficient demonstration of the folly of casting pearls before swine. Wagner refused. His opera was hooted down in three performances.

The French, however, are not always entirely opposed to the music of Wagner. At concerts they seem generally to appreciate it just as much as other serious music (it will be remembered, for instance, that they perceive nothing to admire in the *Messiah*) especially if they do not know the name of the composer. There are also a certain number of Frenchmen who really admire Wagner. Among these is M. Jullien. It must be admitted that he sometimes sees matters from a peculiarly national point of view, which is not without interest as a study in comparative ethnology. Thus he will have it (p. 82) that Elizabeth commits suicide, and he especially admires the addition made to the First Act in order to please the Parisians. He regards (pp. 161, 163) the philosophical and poetical elevation of ideas which marks the scene between the lovers Tristan and Isolde, in the Second Act of the opera of that name, as quite inexplicable and objectionable. He seems much interested (p. 227) by thinking out the relations of the gods and deified heroes in the *Nibelungen* Tetralogy by the light of the Table of Kindred and Affinity. Accustomed from our youth to hear Hera called 'the sister and the wife of Zeus' without any idea except one of increased Majesty, we at first gave M. Jullien credit for having struck out an original, if not a savoury, line of thought on such a topic, till we happened to remember the nonsense written by Clement of Alexandria upon the impropriety of the Eleusinian Mysteries because they pointed out that the same radiant sky (Zeus) which causes the Earth (Demeter) to bring forth her vegetation (Kore) also causes the vegetation to bear its fruits (Zagreus). It would really seem from the amazing idea regarding the manner of Elizabeth's death that M. Jullien has never read the dramas upon which he comments, and this suspicion is confirmed by the extraordinary flight of fancy as to the miraculous nourishment of the Knights of the Grail in *Parsifal*, which figures at the top of p. 270. This last is written without knowledge of the story of the opera, and, if taken by itself, would seem to imply that M. Jullien had not only never read it, or any accurate account of it, but also never seen it performed.

It would, however, be unfair not to admit that M. Jullien shows himself able so far to rise superior to national weakness as to admire a great deal of the Wagner music, although his zeal may not always be according to knowledge, and the portions which most attract him are not the portions most highly esteemed by the Teutonic thinkers to whose intellects the main appeal of Wagner is addressed. To represent truly the nature of this appeal has been M. Jullien's desire, and we have to beg his pardon if we do not do him justice in emphasizing the following four points as those to which he justly calls attention as marking the idiosyncrasy of the Master. (1) Wagner strove to ennoble the stage and to serve mankind by causing the Opera, the highest form of modern dramatic art, to become the medium of expressing thought instead of being a mere appeal to the senses. 'In opera, the medium of expression, that is to say, the music, had hitherto been treated as if it were itself the end and not the means, so that the drama, which is the real end, has been subordinated to the musical forms.

Thus, the true respective positions of the dramatic and the musical arts have been reversed. What the author has striven to do has been to replace them in their true positions' (pp. 106, 7). (2) The themes of poetic and philosophic thought which were to form the subjects of his dramatic works, Wagner sought in mythology, whether Pagan or Christian. 'Myth, to what period or to what people it may belong, has the character of being the simple expression of the human consciousness of the period and people which produce it, and it presents this expression in a form which is at once original and so simple as to strike the eye immediately. . . . Thus the character and the tone of the myth combine together to raise the imagination into a sort of ideal dream which soon passes on into a kind of intellectual second-sight in which the understanding perceives that the external phenomena of the world are linked together by an interdependence which is unperceived during the ordinary waking condition' (p. 82). This doctrine, here given in a form so simple, so compressed, and so powerful, must be not only grasped but entered into, before any real advance can be made in the study of Wagnerism. (3) And now is seen the wondrous means adopted, and, it may indeed be said, invented by Wagner in its entirety as an all-pervading characteristic, to express by inarticulate sound at once the individuality of ideas and the individuality of the human personalities. To such an extent is this perfected that it is possible during the performance not only to hail the coming action before its arrival but to perceive the changing thoughts of the individuals of the *dramatis personæ* without their speaking. 'No one,' says M. Jullien, 'denies this character of the orchestration. It is a conception so new that it must be here explained as clearly as possible. The whole of the symphonic utterance, which lasts during the whole of the Act to which it belongs, is built chiefly upon certain typical phrases or leading motives *(Leitmotive).* Instead of following the old form of Opera in which every air, every concerted passage, and every particular part, was generally designed only to express the particular feeling at the moment affecting the particular character concerned, in entire disregard to his or her normal and special individuality, Wagner claims to represent the individuality of each of his several *dramatis personæ* by the use of motives which are specially and individually their own, which enter into and, from a musical point of view, form their personality.' (p. 183). (4) M. Jullien makes a very happy quotation from M. Baudelaire as a description of 'the feverish effect produced upon the mind by the first hearing of Richard Wagner's works, and the kind of moral inoculation by which it comes to pass that so many amateurs, when once they have begun to understand this music a little, are always coming back to hear more of it, and cease to care to hear any other.' 'There is no musician' says M. Baudelaire, 'who is able to represent as Wagner represents them, the things which are vast and the things which are deep, either in the world of matter or of spirit. This is a remark which men of the strongest intelligences have had more than once to make. He possesses the art of giving form, by subtle gradations, to all those cravings by which the

intellectual and natural man is agitated towards what is overwhelming, horizonless, and soaring. When one is listening to this intense and masterful music, it sometimes seems as if the dream it creates pierces the mystic darkness beyond and there appear dizzy hallucinations like those of an opium-eater. The first concert of it which I heard left me possessed by a craving to understand this strange work better. It seemed to me as if I had undergone a sort of intellectual operation, producing a kind of revelation. The enjoyment had been so strong and so fascinating that I had no power to prevent myself going back to it again and again. No doubt, in what I had felt, there were a good many things which Weber and Beethoven had made me feel already, but there was something besides, something new, which I was incapable of describing, and this very incapacity at once provoked me and excited my curiosity, mingled with a strange pleasure. For some time, I found myself saying, day by day 'Is there anywhere where I can go to-night where I shall be able to hear some Wagner?'

The truth may perhaps be expressed by saying that the distinctive principle of Wagner's music is the same as that of Gregorian music. The thought, the ideas, must dominate everything else. The words are not written for the music, but the music for the words. Hence it arises that those who have no taste for his philosophic and poetical conceptions have little more taste for his music than an illiterate man destitute of religious emotions usually feels for Gregorians. The application of the Gregorian principle to the stage was new. It almost needs the extraordinary compound of thinker, archæologist, artist, poet and musician, instinct with imagination, which is found in Wagner, to make it possible. Such combinations are not likely often to arise.

If, however, M. Jullien, after his own manner, admits the greatness of the musician, he revenges himself on the man. Perhaps Wagner's main crime in his eyes is his patriotic emotion on the subject of the Franco-German War. This, of course, is attributed to a grudge engendered by the reception of *Tannhäuser* at Paris. That episode was certainly not calculated to inspire him with sympathy for France, but we admit frankly that we see no proof of any personal feeling amid his sympathy with his Fatherland. The most is made of all his faults. The principal of these were probably the Revolutionary fever of his youth, which cost him twelve years of exile, and his relation (the subject of a marriage recognized by German law) with the wife of Hans von Bülow. But we get insinuations and often open accusations of ingratitude, ill-temper, vanity, extravagance, and meanness, at every turn—down to the Subscription Supper in the Refreshment Room at Bayreuth, August 18, 1876, and his taste for bright and lustrous stuffs, which guided the decoration of his rooms and the designing of his dressing-gowns. At the same time, the biographical and artistic matter is often exceedingly interesting, and it is all the more to be regretted that we should be forced to notice the unceasing prejudice with which it it written.

The book is very showily got up, and profusely illustrated. The most striking plates are fourteen lithographs by M. Fantin-Latour, mostly illustrating scenes from Wagner's operas. These would probably look well if framed—say, in panelling—at a considerable distance from the eye. They are very hasty drawings, evidently designed without having either seen the operas or read the poems. Thus, the invocation of the Earth by Odin, in *Siegfried*, in which a blue and filmy bust just rises above the surface of the ground, is represented by a very solid female soaring from earth to heaven. They are characterized throughout by a national taste for a rather obese type of female nude. The hero Siegfried looking over the cliffs of the Rhine to watch the heads of the nymphs peeping up and down among the water-lilies, would hardly be recognised in the fat youth who seems to be beating a hasty retreat after accidentally stumbling upon a pic-nic party of three fat naked women seated upon the ground. There are fifteen very interesting portraits of Wagner at different epochs of his life, and some very interesting prints from contemporary engravings of representations of his works on different occasions, views of the Bayreuth Theatre, &c. There are lastly a very large number of more or less bitter caricatures aimed against the composer, and collected from divers comic papers of Germany, Austria, France, and England. Of these, almost all are spiteful, very few amusing, and hardly any witty.

La Tapisserie dans l'Antiquité, le Péplos d'Athéné la décoration intérieure du Parthénon restituée d'après un passage d'Euripide. Par LOUIS DE RONCHAUD. Paris: J. Rouam; London: Gilbert Wood et Cie.

This is one of those scholarly works which, besides throwing a considerable amount of light upon the arts and life of the ancient world, show how much can be done for the reconstruction of the past by a careful reading of the old texts. M. de Ronchaud is not, of course, the first who has attempted a work of this kind, nor is he the first who has written on tapestry in the ancient world; but he has here gathered together a very large number of texts referring to it, and has discussed in a learned and exhaustive way the origin and nature of its use in the temples and dwelling houses both of the Greeks and Romans, and of the Egyptians, Assyrians, and Hebrews. His chapter on the *peplos* of Athena is a valuable study, and forms not the least interesting part of an interesting and instructive volume.

The Constitutional Law of the United States of America. By Dr. H. VON HOLST. Translated by ALFRED B. MASON. Chicago: Callachan & Co., 1887. Law.

This is an able, lucid and well arranged handbook by the author of the *Constitutional History of the United States.* Here it is impossible to do more than note its contents. Of the three parts into which it is divided,

the first deals with the genesis of the constitution, showing how it owes its existence to the political thought and impulse of the States which originally formed the Union; the second, which is the largest of the divisions, treats of the principles on which the Union rests and contains a detailed description of the Federal Constitution; while the third is occupied with a discussion of the constitutional and general law of the separate States. Though intended chiefly for students, the work is well worth reading by all who take an interest in history and politics.

The Elements of Economics. By HENRY DUNNING MACLEOD, M.A. Vol. II., Pt. I. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1886.

In this volume Mr. Macleod completes his treatment of Pure Economics, dealing with such subjects of interest as Profits, Interest and Discount, Rent, Labour, the Rights of Incorporeal Wealth, Foreign Exchanges, the Currency Question, and the Organisation of the Bank of England. To readers of Mr. Macleod's works it is hardly necessary to say that he is always practical, clear, and abundant in illustration, and if not always convincing, always worthy of being listened to as one of the first authorities in the science of Economics. The present volume is of special interest, inasmuch as it deals for the most part with a department of Economics which the anthor has made his own. The reading of its pages may shatter some cherished theories, but a book which gives in their place sound views and established principles is always acceptable.

The Statesman's Year Book for 1887. Edited by J. SCOTT KELTIE. Twenty-Fourth Year of Publication. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

This excellent annual continues to increase both in size and utility. Mr. Scott Keltie has evidently spared no pains to make it all that it should be and deserves to be congratulated on his eminent success. The chief additions this year are more detailed accounts of the smaller British Colonies, a large mass of information respecting the various systems of land-tenure in India and a new section of Agricultural Statistics. Further information is also given respecting the Colonial enterprises of Germany and France. The statistics are brought down to the most recent dates, and the volume bears ample evidence of the extreme care with which it has been compiled.

Loch Creran: Notes from the West Highlands. By W. ANDERSON SMITH. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner, 1887.

Those who have read *Benderloch* will be pleased to renew their acquaintance with Mr. Smith in this new volume of his notes from the West Highlands. Written in the same district and in the same style as *Bender-*

loch, these new notes have all the freshness and charm which characterised their predecessors. Mr. Smith indeed is not only a born naturalist, he has the faculty of inspiring others with his own enthusiasm for the study of nature in the open air. Climbing, wading, or boating, discoursing of oysters, herrings, or salmon, or describing the ever changing aspects of nature, this Northern Gilbert White is always entertaining and always instructive. His enthusiasm never flags; he has always something new to tell, and is never dull. There is a freshness and poetry about his writings as refreshing and invigorating as the breeze to which he spreads his sails on the lochs he haunts.

Fortune's Buffets and Rewards. By E. D. PRIMROSE. London: T. Fisher Unwin. 1886.

It is not possible to speak in very high terms of this novel, and yet, now and again as we read, it seems to us as if the author might do better. The character of Glegg, the grasping, unprincipled lawyer, is drawn with considerable power, but the sketch is rough and unfinished; whilst in other isolated instances there seem to be indications of greater ability than the work as a whole displays. The plot is vague and desultory, and there is great want of mechanical skill in the working of it; but if it is the writer's first attempt, we cannot but think that with practice a much more favourable result might be secured.

Jess. By J. RIDER HAGGARD. London: Smith, Elder & Co., 1887.

Jess is a story which fully sustains Mr. Rider Haggard's well won reputation as a writer of marked ability. The character of Jess Croft is admirably conceived and powerfully depicted. No 'perfect monster,' but a noble, unselfish woman of the passionate, heroic type. One momentous and perhaps not often boldly faced question the story must raise in the mind of each reader who gives it the close attention it merits. To what sort of action may not pure unselfish love give birth when a passionate, heroic nature is brought face to face with desperate circumstances? The story is tragic, just because the writer has keen spiritual insight, and knows that whatever its untoward circumstances may be, the real life of every wholly unselfish nature is tragic. It is satisfactory to know that Mr. Rider Haggard's literary reputation is certain to ensure a wide circulation for a story setting forth true nobility of character in such an attractive guise. As a piece of literary workmanship the book possesses great merits, but is also marred by serious blemishes. Scenes and incidents of South African life are sketched with a degree of force and clearness which renders them wonderfully vivid for those English readers who know them only by report. Writing for such readers, a suspicion of the guide book is almost inevitable occasionally, but Mr. Rider Haggard has very skilfully managed the necessary explanations. The style of the book is curiously unequal. Passages of great power are occasionally interspersed with bits of commonplace

moralizing. Once or twice one could almost fancy the writer had upon him a certain dread of the 'young person' whom he has pronounced to be a nuisance.

The Gates of Eden: a Story of Endeavour. By ANNIE S. SWAN. Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson, & Ferrier, 1887.

It is not an unknown thing for a vocalist to possess one or two notes in the voice, far superior in quality to any of the rest, and to be only able, in consequence, to attain to high rank as a singer, by dint of severe and arduous labour, in order to equalise the quality of the voice throughout its entire range. Miss Swan appears to occupy an analogous position in literature. She has shown great ability to depict certain phases of Scottish character with power and fidelity; but content apparently to rest upon the laurels she has already won, she shows no sign of any effort to work the rest of her capacity up to that lead. The opening chapters of 'The Gates of Eden' are admirable; both scenes and character are vivid, life-like, true to nature, and sketched with a firm vigorous hand. But the moment we pass beyond these essentially Scottish scenes we find ourselves in the midst of that moral·dulness and literary mediocrity, which are the fatal blots in general, of books intended for the 'young person.' The good young man and his conceited brother gradually become, and the stern father, the erring son, and the angelic daughter are, throughout, as conventional as the plates in a fashion book. They are mere lay figures, ticketed with male and female names, and dressed accordingly. If tickets and dresses were all shuffled, and dealt out again at random, the verisimilitude of the characters would be in no way injured. But try the process on John and Susan Bethune, and the sex of both would show unmistakably through the disguise.

A Garden of Memories, etc. By MARGARET VELEY. London: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

Two out of the three stories which make up these volumes have, if our memory does not mislead us, already appeared in *The Cornhill Magazine.* They are delightful little romances of the commonplace, and it is impossible to criticise them. Their charm is like the perfume of flowers, a thing to be felt and enjoyed, not to be analysed. There are no stirring incidents, no exceptional characters, no tragic situations, only skilful delineation of the element of romance, which may, perhaps always does, underlie the most commonplace, uneventful lives. The stories will not find favour with those who habitually destroy the keenness of their spiritual senses with coarse lurid sensationalism; but those who have not thus made havoc of the sensitive nerves of the spirit within them will find much to charm in these simple carefully executed sketches.

French Readings from Roman History. Selected from various authors and edited with Notes. By C. COLBECK, M.A. London: Macmillan & Co. 1886.

In spite of the undeniable care and ability shown by the editor both in the selection and annotation of the passages contained in this little work, we have considerable doubts as to its chances of success. In the first place, it may be questioned whether, as is assumed in the preface, 'most of those who have taught French as a form subject will agree that, apart from the linguistic training, a history book affords more opportunities for fruitful teaching than any other.' Again, if it be thought desirable to combine French and history in the studies of a modern school, we submit that France has a stronger and more natural claim than ancient Rome. Lastly, as regards 'forms whose work is mainly classical,' it may reasonably be objected that the pupils' interest in their French reading is not likely to be heightened by the fact that it is to a considerable extent a mere repetition of their Latin authors. To those, however, who may happen to share the editor's views on these three important points, the work can be recommended as excellent.

Les Proxénies Grecques. Thèse présentée à la Faculté des Lettres de Paris. Par PAUL MONCEAUX. Paris: Ernest Thorin.

We have here another of the admirable classical series published by M. Thorin. As might have been expected from the character of the works for which we are indebted to the Ecole d' Athènes, 'Les Proxénies Grecques' is a model of keen critical research and profound erudition. A glance at the article in which Dr. W. Smith gives an able summary of all that has hitherto been gathered respecting the ancient custom of 'proxenia' would scarcely prepare us for the extremely interesting and important developments which the subject has received in M. Monceaux's treatment. As a matter of fact the real and wide-ranging significance of the Greek 'proxenoi' is a revelation of very modern epigraphy. The light cast on their status, functions, and privileges by the texts of poets, orators and historians is elusive and deceptive. Indeed these texts stand in need of stele and tablet to be thoroughly comprehensible. The word 'proxenia' is commonly rendered by 'public hospitality'—a vague and indefinite expression—and the 'proxenoi' are roughly described as practically equivalent to our own consuls and consular agents. Their respective functions bear indeed some measure of resemblance, but the principles of the two institutions are essentially different, and the political and social conditions of the men are still more distinguishable. The Greek cities were so extraordinarily exclusive and jealous of external influence that every one beyond their boundaries was considered an enemy. Such a condition of existence could not possibly be maintained against the extension of commerce and political and religious interaction, and a solution of the deadlock was found in the establishment of the 'proxenia.' Foreigners, whether individual merchants, official envoys, or even an entire State, entered the city as a portion of the *clientèle* of the 'proxenos.' He represented them in the public assemblies, before the tribunals, in all commercial and financial relations. The gods of the city like the city itself

belonged to the citizens. No stranger might even adore them except through the presentation of a 'proxenos.' These facts suffice to suggest the important position occupied by a civic host who included in his clientage one and perhaps more than one powerful commonwealth, and the brilliant part he might thereby be enabled to play in international politics. The course of the development and decline of the institution is the theme of the present volume. M. Monceaux has sketched the transformation it underwent in the various Greek countries; and analysed its relationship with the literary and artistic, the political and commercial history of Greece; and has accordingly cast a novel and interesting light on many a page of the record of Hellenic life. The volume is enriched with notes and references, and its value is completed with a dated list of known Athenian 'proxenoi' and representatives of foreign cities at Athens.

Godliness and Manliness, by John W. Diggle, M.A. (Macmillan & Co.), is a series of brief papers or essays on a variety of religious topics. Mr. Diggle writes with great freshness and vigour. His aim is to show the relation between life and religion. Some of the papers are remarkably suggestive. All of them are clear and thoughtful, and edifying.

In the eighth volume of *Present Day Tracts* (Religious Tract Society), four new writers appear as contributors to the series. Mr. Stevenson writes on 'The Claim of Christ on the Conscience,' Dr. Stoughton on 'The Doctrine of the Atonement,' Mr. McCheyne Edgar discusses the historic, dogmatic, moral, and spiritual value of our Lord's Resurrection, and Dr. Reynolds contributes a paper on Buddhism to the Comparative Religions branch of the Series. The other papers are by Mr. Radford Thomson and Mr. James Iverach, the former treating of Auguste Comte and the Religion of Humanity, and the latter renewing his attack on Mr. Spencer's Philosophy, devoting himself this time to an examination of the Ethics of Evolution.

The Church of the Early Fathers, by the Rev. A. Plummer, D.D. (Longmans & Co.), is an excellent little manual dealing, roughly speaking, with the external history of the Church during the second and third centuries. He must be a dull student, indeed, who after carefully reading it, has not a moderately clear and accurate conception of what the early Church of the Fathers was, how it spread, and what were the causes of its spread.

The Making of New England, by S. A. Drake (Fisher Unwin) is in many respects an excellent little handbook. It is tersely and graphically written and contains a large number of interesting illustrations, some of which are exceedingly quaint. To those who wish to learn how the New England States originated and were consolidated, its perusal may be commended.

The Victorian Half Century, by Miss C. M. Yonge (Macmillan), may be commended as a brief, simple, and graceful narrative of the history of the Empire during the Queen's reign with occasional glimpses into Her Majesty's private life.

Elements of Right and of the Law, by G. H. Smith (Callachan : Chicago), is a new edition of a well-reasoned and clearly written work by a capable and mature thinker. Among the American public it has met with very considerable favour.

A Century of Electricity, by T. C. Mendenhall (Houghton & Co., Boston), tells the story of the marvellous development of the science of Electricity during the last hundred years. A complete history it does not profess to be. The author has taken hold of the most important discoveries in the science and given an account of them. He has written in clear, simple, and untechnical language and produced a really interesting little book.

Intelligence des Animaux, issued from the office of the *Revue Scientifique* (Bleue) Paris, contains a collection of anecdotes and facts illustrative of the intelligence exhibited by animals. The name of the compiler is not given, but the authors from whom he has taken his narratives are clearly indicated. Many of the stories are remarkable, and all go to support the contention that most species of animals exhibit some measure of imagination and reason, or something akin to them.

Ravenne, par Charles Diehl ; *Le Musée de Cologne,* par Emile Michél ; *Le Théatre Français,* par Charles de la Rounat. These three thin quartos belong respectively to M. Rouam's deservedly popular Library of Ancient, Modern, and Dramatique Art. To our way of thinking the most important of them is the first containing a brief but condensed and graphic description of the architectural and other monuments of Ravenna, so important for the study of Byzantine Art. The other volumes have attractions of their own, and will probably appeal to a wider class of readers.

The veil under which Mr. R. Menzies Fergusson tries to hide his identity in *My College Days* (Gardner), is too transparent. The book is plainly enough his own autobiography, though he professes to be only its editor.

Jack and the Bean Stalk (Macmillan & Co.).—The last work on which Randolph Caldecott was engaged, there is a mournful interest attached to this little book. The illustrations are unfinished sketches and only give promise of what they might have been but for the artist's untimely death. Those of them in which the Giant appears are suggestive of plenty of fun and frolic. Both Jack and the Giant appear in a variety of guises ; the face of the latter undergoes some wonderful changes. Mr. Hallam Tennyson tells the story in excellent English hexameters.

Of New Editions and Reprints we have received :—

The Parabolic Teaching of Christ, and *The Chief End of Revelation,* by A. B. Bruce, D.D., (Hodder & Stoughton). Both books are scholarly productions and were noticed in our pages on their first appearance. The first is issued without note or comment, but to the second Dr. Bruce has prefixed an additional preface which is well worth reading, as in it he de-

fines his own position in relation to revelation and the Bible, and shows the exceedingly enlightened view he takes of the office of the Christian Apologist.

Dr. Marcus Dods' four lectures contained in the volume entitled *Mohammed, Buddha, and Christ,* (Hodder & Stoughton), have reached their fifth thousand, and deservedly. Mohammedanism, Buddhism, and Christianity, are treated of in a broad and intelligent spirit. The lectures indicate a large amount of reading, and an accurate perception of the relation in which these three great religions stand to each other.

The Patriarchal Times by the Rev. Thomas Whitelaw, D.D., (Nisbet & Co.)—The twelve chapters of which this volume consists have appeared, unless we are mistaken, in one or more of the monthlies devoted to exegesis. They are none the worse for being republished in a collected form. They are a valuable contribution to the understanding of the first twelve chapters of Genesis, and deserve to be widely read. Dr. Whitelaw is not afraid to call modern science and discovery in to his aid, and makes a good and wise use of their most recent results.

The First Epistle of St. John, by the Rev. J. J. Lias, M.A., (Nisbet & Co.), has been reprinted from the pages of the *Homiletic Magazine.* It is a commentary on the first of the Epistles by St. John the Divine. Good use has been made of Haupt's great book on the Epistle as well as of other commentaries. The work is a careful and systematic attempt to set forth the Apostle's meaning. Of the profound ethical significance of the Epistle, Mr. Lias has a clear apprehension. The homiletic hints he has added to the commentary are suggestive.

Notes and Documents illustrative of the Literary History of Glasgow during the greater part of last Century, (Morison, Glasgow), is a reprint and in fact, with the exception of a few words on the title page and an appendix, a facsimile reproduction of a work issued some fifty years ago to the members of the Maitland Club and now excessively rare. It deals with the history of printing and bookselling in Glasgow, rather than with the literary history of the city. For the most part it is taken up with an account of the Brothers Foulis, and contains a list of the books these celebrated 'Northern Elzevirs' published. Here and there, however, is a good note on some subject connected with literature, and at the end we have a number of interesting notices of the University of Glasgow. The work is certainly a literary curiosity, and in consequence of the limited number of copies should soon be as scarce as the original.

Golfiana Miscellanea, edited by J. L. Stewart, (Morison, Glasgow), is as the title page indicates, a collection of interesting pieces on the royal and ancient game of golf. To all lovers of this noble game it can scarcely fail to prove attractive and instructive. First of all we have the historical account of the game issued by the Thistle Golf Club in 1824, then Mathieson's three cantos on the game, Paterson's historical sketch of the royal Scottish game of Golf, and Carnegie's once famous *Golfiana.*

The best part of the collection, however, consists in the set of rules for the game, and the many hints it contains for the beginner.

Angling Reminiscences of the Rivers and Lochs of Scotland, by Thomas Tod Stoddart (Morison, Glasgow), is a book not to be confounded with either of the author's other two books on angling, but which is quite as pleasant reading as either of them. The original edition was published in 1837, and has long been out of print.

Scenes and Characters (Macmillan), is the twenty-fourth volume of the collected edition of Miss Yonge's works. The work is one of the author's earliest, in fact, it was her second actual publication. The edition is beautifully printed and got up in a remarkably tasteful way.

Among other books we have received : *A Manual of Christian Evidence,* by the Rev. C. A. Row, M.A., and *An Introduction to the Textual Criticism of the New Testament,* by the Rev. B. B. Warfield, D.D. (Hodder & Stoughton), the first two volumes of a series of works entitled 'The Theological Educator.' The editor of the series is the Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A.—*Cur Deus Homo?* the first volume of the 'Christian Classics Series' published by the Religious Tract Society and translated with introduction, analysis and notes by Mr. Edward S. Prout, M.A.—*System of the Christian Certainty,* by Dr. F. H. R. Frank, translated by M. J. Evans, (T. & T. Clark).—*Atonement and Law,* or Redemption in Harmony with Law as revealed in Nature, by John M. Armour, (Nisbet & Co.).—*The Blessing of the Tribes,* by the Rev. F. Whitfield, M.A. (Nisbet & Co.)—*Authorship of the Four Gospels,* by William Marvin, (Nisbet & Co.).—*Clouds Cleared,* a few Hard Subjects of the New Testament explained by the Rev. Claude Smith Bird, M.A., (Nisbet & Co.).—*Links of Loving Kindness,* and *The Bells of St. Peter,* by the Rev. George Everard, M.A., (Nisbet & Co.).—*Future Probation:* a symposium on the question 'Is Salvation possible after Death?' (Nisbet & Co.) by various writers.—*The Children for Christ:* Thoughts for Christian Parents on the Consecration of the Home Life, by the Rev. Andrew Murray (Nisbet & Co.).—*Bible Topography,* by the Rev. G. Rawlinson, M.A. (Nisbet & Co.)—*Vital Orthodoxy,* by the Rev. Joseph Cook (Dickinson).—*The Life of the Rev. Charles Wesley, M.A.,* by the Rev. John Telford, B.A. (Religious Tract Society).—*The Reformation in France,* by Richard Heath (Religious Tract Society).—*The Spirit of Prayer,* Part I., by William Law (S. B. Murdoch, Glasgow).—*St. Paul and Protestantism, with Other Essays,* by Matthew Arnold (Smith, Elder, & Co.).—*The Kernel and the Husk: Letters on Spiritual Christianity,* by the Author of *Philochristus,* etc. (Macmillan & Co).—*Watery Wanderings 'Mid Western Lochs,* by T. H. Holding, (E. Marlborough).—*Modern Anecdotes,* edited with notes by W. Davenport Adams (T. D. Morison).—A new edition of Mr. Arthur M. Smith's *System of Political Economy,* (Williams & Norgate).

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

WESTERMANNS MONATS-HEFTE (February).—At the present time, when the newly-acquired colonies of Germany are attracting some attention, the article which Herr Kirchhoff devotes to the Marshal Islands is particularly deserving of notice. It not only gives an interesting general description of the group and the aborigines, but also enters into important details concerning the cocoa-nut trade, which is represented as yielding a clear profit of 76 per cent. to the planter. The paper also contains an account of excursions made to the Caroline Islands, and this section has, by way of epigraph, a very suggestive quotation from Scheffel: 'Es wäre so schön gewesen, es hat nicht sollen sein'– it would have been so pleasant, but it was not to be.—From a literary point of view the most important and interesting contribution is that which Herr Eugen Zabel devotes to 'Balzac and French Naturalism.' The present paper is but a first instalment, and deals exclusively with Balzac, and does so with a fairness to both the man and the writer, which gives special value to the sketch.—Herr Trombolt, whose article is entitled 'Thingvalla, Geysir, and Hekla,' introduces besides some particularly striking descriptions of scenery, a number of quaint and instructive particulars about Iceland generally.—Besides a couple of tales, the only remaining paper is a continuation of a charming paper on 'The Liliputians of our Animal World.' The 'sketches of animal character' are excellent reading, the illustrations being a notable and most acceptable addition to the text.

WESTERMANNS MONATS-HEFTE (March).—Herr Zabel's study of the French 'Naturalists' goes on to deal with the brothers Goncourt, Daudet, Zola, and Flaubert. Each of these sketches is admirable in its way, that devoted to the Goncourts being perhaps the most sympathetic, whilst Gustave Flaubert's works seem, on the whole, to be the writer's favourites.—As a valuable contribution to the history of German philosophy in the present century, Herr Moritz Brasch publishes a sketch of Karl Ludwig Michelet, 'The Last of the Hegelians.'—To those interested in the question of fisheries Herr Lindeman's article, 'Die Deutsche Nordseefischerei,' is sure to prove acceptable reading. It is full of most valuable information, and is made further interesting by a number of excellent illustrations.—An article directed against the abuse of spirituous drinks, after retracing the evils of intemperance, indicates as preventive measures the early instruction of children as to the causes and effects of indulgence in strong drinks and the supply of cheaper and more wholesome food to the lower class. The writer, Herr Dornblüth, does not look at the subject, however, from the point of view of the total abstainer.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBUCHER (February).—The table of contents of this number is headed by a study of the strategical conditions of the Russo-Turkish war. Besides a good deal which is intended exclusively for military readers, there are passages of more general interest. Amongst these we may indicate the sketches devoted to the leaders on either side—to Skoboleff and Gurko on the one hand, to Mehemet Ali, Osman, and Suleiman on the other.—In a paper on Life Insurance Companies, Herr L. H. Müller shows the injustice of allowing these companies to refuse payment of policies on the ground of insufficiency or inaccuracy in the original declaration unless the death of the person insured occurs shortly after he has made such declaration. The writer suggests a limit of five years, and argues that after such a lapse of time policies should be unassailable. The examples of sharp practice which he adduces certainly justify his protest. One instance may be given as a sample. To the question, 'Have you a doctor?' one individual had, it appears, given the answer, 'Never required one.' It happened, however, that at the time he actually had a family doctor, though he himself never required his services. The company having got to know this, made it a reason for refusing payment after the insured person's death.—The

two remaining articles do not call for special attention; one of them is a rather heavy essay on 'Literary Criticism,' the other is a sketch of the career of an Alsatian composer, J. E. Kastner.

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBUCHER (March).—'Questions of Nationality in Austria' is the most important contribution to the present number. It conveys a great deal of information, and will be found particularly useful for a proper understanding of the political condition of Austria.—The second instalment of the military study devoted to the war of 1877-78 is written with great care and a thorough knowledge of the subject. The section dealing with Plevna is that which will be found most interesting to the general reader, though even that is rather technical.—The only remaining article is by Herr Hugo Sommer, and is a consideration of Wundt's system of Ethics.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Drittes Heft, 1887).—Melanchthon's teaching in the *Apologia* as regards the doctrine of Justification forms the subject of an elaborate, if not exhaustive, article in this number. It is from the pen of Herr A. Eichhorn, a Privat-Docent at Halle. He agrees in the main with the strictures made by Herr Loofs in an earlier number of the *Studien und Kritiken* on the general interpretation of Melanchthon's views as set forth in the Apology, but submits these, nevertheless, to an independent and thorough examination in the light of the author's other writings and the controversies of the times.—There follows the first part of an essay on the principal questions connected with the scientific investigation of the growth and development of the creed in the Christian Church. It is by Dr. Ch. H. Schmidt, Professor at Breslau. Here he treats of what this branch of theological investigation is and aims at, its encyclopædic character, and the arrangement of its materials which it ought to adopt.—Herr Pfarrer Wetzel, of Mandelkow, gives us an interesting exegetical study of the difficult verse, Philippians ii. 6.—The reviews of recent theological works do not embrace any of English or American publication.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (February).—The most serious contributions to this month's number are headed by an article on 'Florentine Painting, and the Characteristics of Art in the Quattro Cento.' It is from the pen of Herr Julius Meyer, and is extracted from a work which is shortly to be published by the management of the Royal Museum, and is to contain reproductions of all the important paintings contained in the Berlin collection. — Under a somewhat cumbersome title Dr. Hermann Wasserfuhr contributes an important article. It is intended to draw attention to the many dangers to health arising from the style of houses which have arisen to meet the wants of increasing population in large centres, particularly in Berlin.—A very interesting biographical sketch, bearing the signature of Herr Rudolf Eucken, traces the career of Moritz Seebek, who was for many years the curator of the University of Jena, and who died in 1884, in the 80th year of his age.—A semi-political article, to which no name is attached, treats of 'Germany and Alsace,' and points out the advantages which, in the writer's opinion, are to accrue to the annexed province when it ceases to be French and becomes German in its sympathies, though he is obliged to confess but little has been accomplished in this direction so far.—'Fifteen Letters from Richard Wagner' are communicated by Frau Eliza Wille, whose explanations of them and reminiscences of the composer go to make up a most interesting paper.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (March).—A very important contribution to the early history of what is now called the Kingdom of Prussia is contained in the historical study in which Herr von Loeper records the circumstances which led to the passing of the 'Achillea,' the act by which the Elector Albert Achilles of Brandenberg not only settled the succession of the dynasty, but also established the principle of the indivisiblity of the territory.—Herr Xaver Kraus devotes a short paper to the 'Pensées,' lately published by the Abbé Joseph Roux, and has succeeded in producing a charming sketch of what must be a charming work.—'The Natural Systems of Organisms and the Lower Limits of Life,' contributed by Herr. E. Strasburger, points out the deficiencies of the old system when con-

sidered by the light of modern science. and at the same time indicates the many difficulties which stand in the way of the construction of a new one.—Although the Spaniards called Canovas their Bismarck, there are probably but few outside his own country who have any knowledge of him, beyond the mere fact that he is the recognised leader of the Conservative party. Consequently, those who turn to the sketch which Herr Hübner devotes to him need have no fear of travelling over known ground. It will probably not diminish the interest in the eyes of most readers that it is less as a politician than as a writer that Senor Canovas is here considered.—Besides the conclusion of the paper founded on Wagner's letters, there is a particularly good description of the glaciers of New Zealand.

De Gids for January and February contains some interesting articles. With reference to the unsatisfactory condition of the Dutch colonies M. de Louter writes on 'Decentralisation in British India,' inviting the attention of his countrymen to a policy in strong contrast to theirs. In an able and extended sketch he traces the policy introduced by Lord Mayo, and steadily carried out by his successors in office, under the headings of Finance and Local Self-Government. While warmly extolling the British Government for its noble generosity to conquered races, and praising the governmental machinery by which the very humblest are brought into relation, by a succession of courts, with the Viceroy, he acknowledges that this is only an uncompleted experiment. Whether it will be crowned with success is still doubtful, but experience so far justifies the highest hopes. He ends with an appeal to Dutch statesmen to go at least a little way in the same direction.—In two remarkable articles by Bijvanck a parallel, which strikes one one as almost sacreligious, is drawn between Balzac the self-conscious sensual Parisian romance writer, and the saintly ascetic Cardinal Newman. Contemporaries, both were deeply influenced by the spirit of their time, though in adverse ways. Both showed in youth a strong strain of mysticism which they never lost, and neither of them had any great store of acquired ideas to draw from. They tried to explain the world, and to reform it from plans, and on a system drawn from their own mental consciousness. What the Church was to Newman, middle class society was to Balzac. Both equally failed to carry out their ideas. Society would only accept Balzac as an entertaining writer, and paid no heed to his teaching, which indeed was far from being perspicuous, and he accordingly retired as it were to a distance, and contented himself with looking at life as an artist, and making pictures unsurpassed for pitiless truth of detail. Newman likewise failing to build up the English Church after his ideas, gave up the struggle, and retired to a cell in another temple. He too had the artistic temperament, and though he sternly repressed it, its influence was yet so much felt that the origin of the Rossetti Art School is to be traced to him. A common characteristic of both men was their imposing individuality—the one created a new spiritual world for all who came under his influence, the other a world not precisely spiritual, but quite as strikingly his own creation. But after all the parallel, interesting as it is, is scarcely a happy one—An article on 'Democratic Experiments,' by Dr. Pijzel, is on much the same lines as the article by Emile de Laveleye in the *Nineteenth Century*, Sept. 1885, 'Recent Progress of Democracy in Switzerland.' In Switzerland alone have such experiments had a fair trial, and not without a certain amount of success, but it would be rash for other countries to trust to what succeeds in the Swiss cantons succeeding on a larger scale and under different conditions.—In an appreciative review of 'Locksley Hall Sixty Years After,' it is pointed out how perfectly in character it is for the man who in youth was so passionate an optimist, to become in old age disillusioned and disgusted, though still he holds fast to the ultimate triumph of love. An attempt like that of Gladstone to contradict the conclusions of the aged squire, by adducing a long list of useful reforms, is ridiculously out of place, and shows stupid misapprehension of the dramatic fitness of the poem.

La Nuovo Antologia (February 1st).—P. G. Molmente, referring to the barbarous alterations going on in Venice, and the gradual disappearance of all that was picturesque gives, in an article entitled 'Delenta Venetiae,' some personal

recollections of the Venice of ten or twenty years ago, as a sorrowful adieu to the Venice that is now fast vanishing.—D. Selvagni, reviewing De Cesare's *Conclave of Leone XIII.*, says its chief merit is having proved, by undeniable documents, that the Church never enjoyed more liberty than under the present Pope.—Ignazio Guidi gives a short account of the peoples and languages of Abyssinia, a subject of great interest to Italians just now.—Carlo Anfesso describes, in a popular manner, the known existing microbes.—Signor Bonghi examines the question of the crisis in Germany, and doubts whether the securing of the septennate will secure peace.—The bibliographical bulletin mentions Robert Giffen's *Essays on Finance*, praising their accuracy and detail, but not entirely agreeing with the conclusions arrived at. (Feb. 16th).—In an article on the 'First and Last of Verdi's Works,' F. D'Arcais opines that Verdi's great merit in *Otello* is that he has, as regards its form, not followed any system, but has succeeded admirably in his intention that the music should illustrate and support the drama. The article, too long to quote, is very interesting.—G. Chearini contributes a full description of Hall's book, *Society in the Elizabethan Age.*—P. Livy, in an article entitled 'A Marine Monster,' gives an account of the appearance of supposed sea-serpents, and concludes that it is possible that unknown gigantic monsters really hide in the depths of the ocean.—G. Gozzoli has a long article on the 'Commission of Enquiry into Charitable Institutions in Italy.'—There follows an important article by General Brown of San Remo, on the 'Italians in Africa,' all in favour of Italy's obtaining firm footing in that part of the world, and insisting that to do so she needs a stronger government, a more intelligent and less bureaucratic administration, and greater calmness and common sense.—Signor Antona-Traversa contributes a very interesting article on the songs of Recanate.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (March 1st).—F. Muscogiuri, referring to the centenary of the birth of Upland on the 26th inst., dedicates a long article, with many quotations from his works, to that great German author.—O. Marrucchi writes on the last moments of an Egyptian Pharaoh, apropos of the uncovering of the mummy of Ramses II.—E. Mancini has an article on 'Fashionable Poisons,' deprecating their habitual use.—Captain Mariotti writes at length and with much acumen on military education and instruction in Italy.—An archæological description of an Albanian marriage in Calabria; and a paper on the 'Elections in Germany,' conclude the number. (March 16).—In this number P. Villari commences 'A History of the Commune of Rome in the Middle Ages.' Turbulent and subject to many vicissitudes, Rome was a constant centre of revolution and civil wars, through which the commune bravely struggled, but never succeeded, for any length of time, in preserving an orderly life and administration. The writer hopes that he will be able to show that all through the Middle Ages there was in Rome a people which fought for liberty and independence; a municipality which lacked nothing of the substantial character of Italian communes; and the history of which acquires larger importance, from the fact that it is so intimately connected and mixed with the history of Italy, that whoever seeks a point from which to gain a wide look-out must necessarily fix his attention on Rome.—P. Livy gives an account of Agazziz, founded on the Memoirs published by his wife. —Captain Mariotti writes on 'Military Education in Italy,' hoping to inspire the reader with the conviction that the Italian army, as far as concerns education and instruction, is not much behind the German army, which is justly considered the best organised in Europe.—XXX. has a long article on 'Parliamentarianism and Patriotism during the Present Crisis,' in which the writer states what long experience of men and things suggests to him as the true solution of a crisis which ought to end quickly. After describing the late events in the Italian Parliament, he concludes by giving his opinion that, with a slight sacrifice, the present ministry might remain in office, and seek to regain the time lost.—In the 'Review of Foreign Literature,' the critic, E. Nencione, notices with admiration Symonds' *Sir Philip Sidney.* 'When I came to the last page,' he says, 'the regret to have finished this enjoyable work was tempered by the joy of having made the *intimate* acquaintance with one of the men who most honour human nature.' He then criticises Stevenson's *Mary Stuart's Early Life*, describing it as a collection made with rare

judgment and singular ability. Turning to works on Robert Browning, he says, 'From the number of books written on Robert Browning and his works, malevolent persons might suppose that a poet who needs so many commentators, in order to be enjoyed and understood, must indeed be very obscure, but lovers of true, high, and profound poetry will always be magnetically attracted to that author. The reason of his *relative* obscurity is, I think, his instinctive repugnance to all that has been repeatedly handled, a repugnance which sometimes suggests to him unusual and rather strange subjects. And then one must not forget, with regard to his *form*, that the field of his poetry is so vast that it necessarily induces a language equally varied and encyclopædic. In the new volume,' says the critic, 'the author never loses sight of reality, or better, he is the true realist *par excellence*, because he observes, sees, and penetrates the double reality, physical and spiritual, of the universe and of man.

La Rassegna Nazionale (Feb. 13).—The articles by G. Cassina on the Pope's Encyclical Letter, and by J. Isola on Comte's philosophy, are continued.—P. Magistrelli concludes his paper on 'Rays of Light in the Divine Comedy.'—An article on the Commune by B. Baroni, and the conclusion of the account of the Grand Duchess of Tuscany, Violante Beatrice, follow.—A. Brunialti discusses the question of State railways.—(Feb. 16).—Here is an interesting article by R. Bonghi on the teaching of history in Universities. He opines that Italy will never be content with simple research, like the English, but desires a history that, as the facts are gathered, will enable students to use past events to guide their present actions.—A. Morena's articles on economical reform in Tuscany are continued. —The logic of American democracy is the theme of another article.

La Rassegna Nazionale (March 1).—Economical reform and Comte's philosophy are also the opening papers in this number; they are followed by an article by G. Cimbali on Spedalieri and his apology for Christianity.—G. Mercalli has a short paper on the eruption of Etna on the 22nd March, 1883, and on the 18th May, 1886, signalizing them as short paroxysms of an eruptive period which has lasted eight years, and which will probably not cease without a violent eruption, allowing of sufficient outlet for the enormous masses of lava that are boiling in the bowels of the Mongibello mountain.—A. Virgili gives an account of a Latin work of Thomas Vallauri.—(March 16).—G. Marcotti gives an account of 'An Italian Volunteer of the Seventeenth Century,' taken from the inedited diary of Count Francesco Silvestri, kept during his travels in 1689 with Lieutenant-Colonel Marquis A. Vitelli, of Erbeville in Hungary. It is a diary of travel, garrison life, and war, written in a readable but barbarous and ungrammatical style. Its ingenuousness gives it a particular aroma of adventure without any gasconading, and the writer of the article has gathered from it a history of warlike times which is very interesting.—Follows a lecture on Mark Minghetti as orator and writer, which was delivered in Rome by M. Tabirini.—A. Morena has another paper on economical reform in Tuscany; and A. Bucellati discusses the Tuscan Penal Code.—X. gives a short account of some interesting particulars about the earthquake of the 23rd February last. He points out that the districts of San Remo and Porto Maurizio were always subject to dangerous earthquakes, and this fact should be kept in mind in the construction of public and private buildings. During the present century there were already destructive earthquakes in that region in 1818 and 1831, the latter causing very similar damage to that last February. Another notable fact is that the towns and villages on rocky hills suffered less than others. Many of the houses in the towns damaged were ready to fall of themselves, so badly were they constructed. All the earthquakes the writer experienced while resident at San Remo and Porto Maurizio came from the West and South-west, and took the direction of Montenero. The first shock he ever noticed was very strong, and accompanied by a rumbling noise. It happened in the autumn of 1854. Other three he felt during 1885 at Diano Marina in the course of a few months. The fixed direction of the earthquakes in that region recalled to the writer what he had heard from old gentlemen of the neighbourhood when very young, that is, that Montenero was considered to be a volcano which had never opened its crater, but was forming

one in its interior. The people of old San Remo also believed this, especially those who lived in the woods. During excursions on the hills, the writer had often heard subterranean noises such as he heard at Ischia in 1868; and when he asked the peasants what it was, they always replied that the noises came from the inside of Montenero, and that the mountain would certainly some day turn out to be a volcano. He heard from grave and well-educated persons that their ancestors had entertained the same opinion, and that this belief in a crater in course of formation was most ancient. When the celebrated Albert Nota was vice-intendant of San Remo, an office he held up to the end of 1831, some country people assured him that they had seen thick smoke issuing from the summit of Montenero. M. Nota, either from curiosity or to tranquilise the people, ascended the mountain, but without discovering anything. It is true that neither Montenero nor any of the other mountains along the coast present any volcanic character, but the prejudice is none the less strong among the population. It is curious that the highest mountain of San Remo, about 6900 feet, though it has on the summit a vast plain which is the ball-room of the neighbouring peasantry when they go to cut the hay in August, and which might have been supposed to be an extinct crater, has never excited such a belief among the people, who spend all their fears and prejudice on the severe and solitary Montenero. One of the reasons for these suspicions is the fact that all the earthquakes seem to gain new strength in passing that mountain, and the most violent oscillations occur on the line formed by the large valley which lies among the mountains that surround San Remo and the spurs of the Alps towards Piedmont. Another curious fact is that all the earthquakes, however violent, seem to lose their power below the mountains of San Remo, which fact, while it confirms the popular suspicion regarding Montenero, is also a warrant of safety to the city itself, which indeed has never suffered much. Another argument for the possible volcanicity of Montenera is, that at its foot, between Borchighera and Ospedaletto, there has existed from time immemorial a little spring of sulphur water. There is another four hours off at Pigria. After the earthquake of 1831, a series of shocks occurred up to about 1838 violent enough to frighten the people, and cause them often to fly to the fields.

THE NAPOLI LETTERARIA, from 2nd January to 6th March, contains many interesting and entertaining articles, historical, archæological, and patriotic, and several good modern poems and tales. This weekly magazine is pleasant Italian reading.

L'ART.—Lighter literature, which has now its recognised place in the pages of this review, is this month represented by an inedited fragment from the literary remains of Tourgueneff. It is a parallel between *Hamlet* and *Don Quixote*. One reason for bringing them together is found in the fact that Shakespeare and Cervantes, who, by the way, died on the same day, published their masterpieces in the same year. But a deeper reason is given by the writer himself. 'The simultaneous appearance of *Hamlet* and *Don Quixote* is significant; these two types are the two opposite faces of human nature, the two poles of the axis upon which it revolves.' Some idea of the originality of Tourgueneff's appreciation of the wandering knight's character may be found from the following passage: 'Don Quixote is above all the embodiment of faith, of faith in something eternal, immutable, of faith in truth, in that truth which is outside the individual, which does not easily yield to him, which requires worship and sacrifices. . . . There is no trace of egoism in Don Quixote, his heart is humble, his soul great and heroic.' Hamlet, on the contrary, is looked upon as the exact counterpart of this: 'he is the personification of analysis and egoism, he is incredulity itself.'—Of the three articles devoted to Art, one gives a very appreciative sketch of the sculpture in the Correr Museum in Venice, another continues a notice of Sigier Richier, a Lorraine sculptor of the 16th century, and the last deals with the French carvers of the same epoch.—The etching 'Au Bord de al Mer' is one of the most charming we have yet had to call attention to; it is by Daniel Mordant, after the late Ulysse Butin.

L'ART (February).—'Rue Trompette, No. 6, à Saint-Germain-en-Laye,' of

which a first instalment opens the month, and which runs through several numbers, is a pleasing, chatty paper in which M. L. Gauchez gives some biographical and a great many artistic details concerning the painter François Bonvin.—A more important and more widely interesting contribution is the continuation of M. Charles Yriarte's description of the collections of Chantilly. The present instalment is devoted to the Musée Condé. The same subject is continued in the second number also.—The ninth exhibition of water-colours is made the subject of a paper of which a notable and amusing feature consists of the reproduction of a number of studies of cats by Eugène Lambert.—In treating of the Art industries of France in the olden time, M. E. Garnier conveys some very instructive details concerning the history of Valenciennes lace.

L'ART (March).—The first of these two numbers contains nothing but continuation of articles begun in former months. The second is not much more interesting; it continues the sketch of Bonvin, and in addition to this and a novelette, has only a continuation of the series of papers in which M. Bonnaffé treats of the wood carvers of the 15th century.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 6, 1886).—M. E. Montet, under the title of 'La Religion et le Theâtre en Perse,' gives a brief account of the condition of the drama in Persia, showing its dependence, so far as its tragical side is concerned, on the religion and religious history of Mohammedanism there. It is from these it draws its themes, and these are what give it its attraction. M. Montet's paper is intended rather to arouse the interest of scholars in, and direct their attention to, this subject, than to offer an exhaustive treatment of it.—M. Leon Freer, under 'Vritra et Namoutchi dans le Mahâbhârata,' endeavours, by comparing the different versions of the struggle of Indra in the Mahâbhârata, in the Bhagavata-Pourana, and in the Vedas, to reconcile to some extent the evident confusion there is between them. This he does by assuming that the enemy of Indra is really one and the same in these different versions, and merely bears in them a different name. He justifies this assumption from the literature of India, and establishes a strong case in favour of his plea.—M. E. Amélineau gives us the first part of an exceedingly interesting article on 'Christianity among the Ancient Copts.' In it he proposes to show, from the writings that have come down to us of the monks of the Egyptian Church, what were the ideas entertained and cherished by the Christians there in regard to the fundamental doctrines of the Christian faith, viz., the existence and nature of God, the fact of a revelation, the belief in the supernatural, and the future destiny of the soul. This part of his article covers the first two of these, and shows how the primitive faith of the Egyptians prepared them for receiving these doctrines and modified their form to the minds of the Copts.—The editor, M. J. Réville, reviews three works that have recently appeared on the 'History of Religions,' viz., a series of articles by a priest of the Society of Jesus, which appeared last summer and autumn in *La Controverse et le Contemporain*; the work of M. Maurice Vernes, *L'Histoire des Religions*; and that of M. le Comte Goblet d'Alviella, *Introduction à l'Histoire General des Religions*. The usual Chronique follows, and summaries and notices of papers and articles bearing on the science of religion, with the bibliography of the two months, complete the contents of this number.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (January).—The first of the five January numbers opens with an interesting biographical sketch of Flourens, the eminent physiologist, whose discoveries in relation to the functions of the nervous system have made his name famous far beyond the limits of his own country. The present article is a reproduction of an address delivered by M. Vulpian at the annual public meeting of the Academy of Sciences.—'Zoology' is represented by two papers, in the first and fourth numbers respectively. The first of them treats of heterogenesis amongst the vertebrata, and is contributed by M. Künstler. In the second M. Forel records the results of recent research as to the pelagic micro-organisms of the sub-Alpine lakes.—'Psychology' also claims two articles. One of them, contained in the first number, sets forth M. A. Gautier's theory of 'Thought.' The writer's object is to prove that thought is not a form of energy, and has no mechanical equivalent, but that it is the perception of the form and

of the actual state of the impressions received and transformed by the brain. Replying to this in the third number, M. Richet endeavours to establish that thought is due to chemical action.—As a contribution to the vexed question as to the relative merits of science and of the classical languages in education, the first number gives the summary of a lecture delivered by Herr Mach, in which he upholds the view that the study of ancient languages in inadequate to supply the wants of modern education.—The single article devoted to 'Physics' is to be found in the second number. It is from the pen of M. Paul Janet, and insists on the disadvantage of separating the experimental from the mathematical part of natural philosophy.—Besides a contribution of local interest, in which M. de Lapparent gives an account of an excursion to Brittany, 'Geology' supplies an important paper in which the dislocations of the globe in recent periods are carefully traced by M. E. Jourdy.—In connection with 'Medical Science,' articles in the second and fourth numbers deal respectively with the prophylactic treatment of yellow fever and of hydrophobia.—Under the heading 'Anthropology,' the table of contents of the third number contains a paper in which M. Testut answers the question, What is man to an anatomist?—Of the remaining contributions the most deserving of notice is that in which M. Schwedoff propounds a theory of 'Cyclonic Movements.'

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (February).—In a 'Biological' article with which M. E. Duclaux heads the table of contents for the month, the action of light upon microbes is investigated. The writer gives it as his opinion that although the precise formula of this action cannot yet be stated, it may, however, be looked upon as a physico-chemical phenomenon consisting of the oxydation of the materials composing the tissues of the living being.—The section devoted to the 'History of the Sciences' contains two contributions—one by M. Berthelot, whose subject is 'The Origin of Zinc amongst the Ancients,' and another in which an inedited letter of Lavoisier's on the subject of respiration is reproduced. The letter is addressed to Professor Black of Edinburgh.—The contributions to 'Psychology' consist of a paper in which M. G. Pouchet joins issue with both M. Gautier on the one hand and MM. Richet and Herzen on the other on their conflicting theories as to the nature of thought, and of an examination by M. de Rochas of the phenomena accompanying 'the state of credulity.'—'Geography' claims but one contribution, but that is a most interesting one; it traces the various phases in the colonial expansion of Germany in Africa.—In an important 'Physiological' study M. W. Preyer endeavours to fix the various periods at which the several organs become sensitive in the embryo.—Amongst other papers of less restricted interest may be mentioned a lecture by Dr. Brouardel on 'Drinking-Water,' a paper by M. Favier on 'The Explosives of the Future,' and an ethnographical study by M. H. Lacaze on 'Buddhism and Christianity.'

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (February).—In view of recent events in Germany, M. Veuglaire's article 'L'Armée Allemande' will be read with more than passing interest. He arrays a strong show of arguments towards the justifications of the belief that 'this splendid military organization is on the eve of dissolution, unless indeed it succumbs beneath the combined blows of some coalition, and that it appears by no means probable that it can be maintained in its actual state of perfection.' Financial considerations, parliamentary influences, the spirit of the *contrat social* are against it, and over and above, the great military renovators are on the point of disappearing.—'Les Nouveaux Pionniers de l'Afrique Centrale' sums up the result of recent discovery and commercial enterprise contained in the books of such travellers as M. Viard, M. Denis de Rivoyse, and Mr. Joseph Thomson.—M. Glardon brings to a close an unusually interesting sketch, 'Les Vanderbilt et leur Fortune.'—'La Carrochonne' is an attractive serial by M. A. Bachelin; and amongst the other lighter matter of the number, 'En Mauvaise Compagnie,' a curious sketch of Polish life, by M. Wladimir Korolenko, is worthy of special notice.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (March).—In 'La Croisade de Constantinople' M. Edouard Sayous takes us back to the close of the Twelfth Century and the capture of the capital of the Eastern Empire by Count Baldwin in 1203. The present picturesque paper is merely the first of a series, which

should prove readable enough.—In a pleasantly gossipy article M. de Verdilhac discusses 'La Cuisine de nos Pères.'—To many, however, the most attractive article will be M. Meren's account of the destruction of Rome—*Quod non fecerunt Barbari fecerunt Barbarini.* This, too, is only an instalment on a deeply interesting subject.—The fiction of the number is agreeable, but does not call for comment.—As usual the 'Chroniques' are full of excellent literary matter.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (February).—In most of the articles in hypnotism, to which we have called attention in former numbers, the writers limited themselves to reports of the experiments performed by them, and to the mere description of more or less startling phenomena. The necessary tendency, if not the actual result, of this has been to show the 'subject' in the light of a being raised, in some mysterious way, above the ordinary conditions of human nature. All the more welcome, therefore, are the papers in which M. Delbœuf endeavours to restrict the number of mysteries connected with hypnotism. Having already dealt with the *memory* of hypnotised subjects, and also with their *education*, through example, he now takes up the phenomenon, to which M. Beaunis, by whom it was first observed, gives the name of 'veille somnambulique.' The conclusion arrived at by the writer is that this apparently intermediate state between sleeping and waking is, in reality, hypnotic sleep.—The second article, which is the conjoint production of two Italian physicians, M. M. Bianchi and Sommer, is likewise devoted to hypnotism. The special phenomenon taken up by the writers, and made by them the subject of interesting experiments, is that of 'Psychic Polarization,' a term used to designate the influence exercised by the magnet on hypnotised subjects.—In an interesting paper of a very different kind M. F. Bouillier endeavours to find an answer to the question: 'What becomes of our ideas?' He argues with considerable force and ingenuity that they do not perish, that is to say, that memory does not create them anew, but merely awakens them.—The remaining contribution consists of an extract from a work on 'General Psychology,' shortly to be published by M. Richet.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (March).—In this number M. Delbœuf concludes his paper on the subjects of the 'Veille Somnambulique.' At its close he considers a question, which though not immediately connected with it, possesses sufficient interest to justify its introduction,—it is that of the amount of responsibility in the actions of those who are under the influence of hypnotic suggestion. In his opinion the whole responsibility should fall not on the subject, but on the operator.—M. R. Garofalo contributes an article which concludes an interesting article on the psychology of crime. In the first part, 'Le Délit Naturel,' he laid it down as his conclusion that crime may be defined to be a violation of the sentiments of pity and honesty which are common to all mankind, and that, as a consequence of this, a criminal is to be looked upon as an individual in whom one or other of these sentiments is either partially or totally wanting. Turning in the second part to what he styles 'The Anomaly of the Criminal,' he divides criminals into three classes. In the first division he places those in whom he believes that there are physical anomalies, and frequently, also, anatomical, though not pathological anomalies, who have instincts and appetites which may be compared to those of savages, and who are devoid of every sentiment of altruism. Those of the other two classes he looks upon as characterized respectively by an insufficient measure of the sentiment of pity and of probity.—The concluding article in this number is by M. Calmon, and deals with 'Time and Force.'

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (January 1 and 15).—One article in particular will amply repay turning back to the first of the quarter's numbers; it is that which, under the title 'Le Combat Contre le Vice,' M. le Comte d'Haussonville devotes to a sketch of Paris in its darkest aspects. It is not the 'cité soleil' of which he here gives us a glimpse; it is the city in which, though better paid than in any other part of the country, the working classes are less thrifty and more immoral, where in one street of 65 houses 17 are public-houses, where in some districts the number of illegitimate births rises to 30 and 33 per cent. The one

section, however, of this most striking paper which will doubtless appeal most directly to readers in this country is that which deals with the drink question, and in which some valuable facts and statistics are produced. Until the middle of 1880 public-houses were subject to a system of licensing similar in its general features to that existing in England. From that date, however, France has enjoyed the dubious blessing of 'a free public-house in a free State.' The consequences are worth noticing. Towards the end of 1880 there were in Paris between 11,000 and 12,000 'cabarets;' there are at present some 16,000 houses where, in some shape or another, strong drinks are sold. In 1872 the consumption of wine amounted to 85,900,000 gallons, that of spirits to about 1,400,000 gallons. Since then, whilst the quantity of wine consumed has steadily increased, it has done so only in proportion to the increase of population. As compared to this, however, the quantity of alcoholic drinks brought into Paris in 1884 may be put down at 3,700,000 gallons; in other words, the consumption has nearly trebled within fifteen years. Dealing with the remedial measures by which increasing drunkenness may be checked, the author recognises the full value of persuasion and example, but he does not consider these sufficient. He advocates repressive measures, and holds that these should aim quite as much at the publican as at the drunkard.—As interesting, if not of high importance, may also be indicated 'A Page of Mexican History' and 'The Legend of Caspar Hauser.'—In the mid-monthly number the most important paper is that which M. A. Moireau entitles 'L'Angleterre et L'Irlande en 1886.' Much of it is, naturally, merely a recapitulation of events with which we are familiar; besides this, however, there are expressions of opinion which are not without interest.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (February 1 and 15).—The first of these two numbers contains two articles devoted to English subjects, both of which may be recommended as excellent. The first, taking for its title 'Le Roman au Temps de Shakspeare,' deals with the works of those writers who may be considered as the ancestors of our modern novelists. These are Sir Thomas Malory, Sir Thomas More, Lyly, Lodge, Sidney, and Nash. In each case a concise but admirably balanced biographical sketch accompanies a masterly examination of the works and an exposition of the style of the writer. The section devoted to Lyly is particularly striking, and it would be difficult to convey in so short a space a more complete notion of 'euphuism' than M. Jusserand has done.—The second of the English articles deals with 'English Deism in the 18th Century.' It is confessedly founded on Rémusat's *History of English Philosophy*, Leslie Stephen's *History of English Thought*, and Harrop's *Bolingbroke*. The writers whose works are considered are Lord Herbert of Cherbury, Toland, Tindal, after these Collins, Woolston, and Hume, and, last of all, St. John Bolingbroke. As regards Pope's friend, M. L. Carrau is of opinion that posterity has judged rightly and fairly in relegating him to the semi-obscurity of a second-rate reputation, and that vanity is not a sufficient claim to glory.—Amongst the remaining articles, that in which M. Jules Rochard considers the sanitation of large towns, though more particularly applicable to France, contains remarks and suggestions which may well command attention in any country.—An excellent sketch of the present condition of Greece, and a political paper on the late dissolution of the Reichstag, are the only articles possessing any 'topical' interest.—Besides the first instalment of an essay which will be best treated when complete, the second number contains one contribution of special value; it is that in which M. E. Grimaud corrects a good many current errors with regard to the death of Lavoisier, the famous *savant*, whose execution is one of the blackest crimes of the French Revolution.—The political paper considers 'The Anxieties of the Day,' and declares that there is as yet no imminent danger of war.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (March 1 and 15).—Nothing that the *Revue* has published for many months is to be compared with the brilliant essay, begun last month and concluded in the present number, which M. Taine has devoted to Napoleon Bonaparte. At the very outset the writer indicates the impartiality with which he has approached his subject, and the reasons which will enable him to treat it in a spirit which none of his countrymen has been able to

assume. He looks upon Napoleon not as a Frenchman, not as a man of the 18th century, but as an Italian, and as the direct descendant of the *Condottieri* of the Middle Ages, the Sforzas, the Malatestas, the Borgias. In analysing his character he does full justice to his immense grasp, and to his wonderful power of work; but after this the whole essay is one long impeachment. His almost superhuman selfishness is brought out with ruthless force, his ambition laid bare in all its repulsiveness. As for those who still cherish illusions as to Napoleon's 'political work, the result of egotism served by genius,' they will be told by M. Taine that 'all that the credulous and enthusiastic French gained by twice entrusting their Commonwealth to Napoleon was a double invasion, that his only legacy to them, as a reward for their devotedness and for having lavished their blood for him, was a France shorn of fifteen departments which the Republic had acquired.' Neither is it possible to raise any protest against the writer's severe sentence, for every fact which he adduces is supported by a serried array of quotations from unimpeachable documents, often from Napoleon's own despatches and conversations.—Next to this, the contribution best deserving mention is a scientific paper from the pen of the Marquis de Saporta. Its title will suffice to indicate its importance and its novelty; it has for its subject 'The Prehistoric Ages of Spain and Portugal.'—Interesting, too, and not less important in its own way, is the second part of M. Burnouf's sketch of modern Greece.—The second of the March numbers falls flat by comparison with the first. 'L'Œuvre des Libértées,' by M. du Camp, is certainly interesting, but it is essentially Parisian. —The philosophy of Pascal is also undoubtedly an excellent subject, and is ably treated by M. Ravaisson, but is rather solid food for the general reader.—'Les Descendans des Mages à Bombay' is, again, an attractive title, but disappoints the reader, who, on turning to it, finds it to be nothing but what he has read already in the 'History of the Parsis.'

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