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THE
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JULY, 1887.

ART. I.—THE MODERN CREMATION MOVEMENT.

THE problem of how to dispose of the dead is one which every age and people have had to solve, and in accordance with their surroundings, the state of their knowledge, and the nature of the means at their disposal, they have burned, exposed, or buried their dead, or endeavoured to protect them against the ravages of decay by one or another form of embalming. But whatever the method adopted the final result so far as the dead are concerned, must always be the same. After a longer or shorter delay, after a greater or lesser number of transformations and changes, the bones and tissues of which the body is built up are resolved into their component elements and enter once more into that cycle of activity in which every free particle on the surface of the globe is called to play its part. But the burning of the dead is a practice so old in the world's history that its origin is lost sight of in the mists of antiquity. It was general in Greece and Rome, and in almost every country of Europe including some parts at least of these very islands. Having been superseded by earth burial why should an attempt now be made to revive it? The answer of the advocates of cremation is that amidst the crowded communities of modern days burial under conditions consonant with proper respect for the dead and the welfare of

the living is yearly becoming more impracticable, that we find ourselves face to face with a state of things, of which the evils are each day becoming better understood, and that the progress of invention has put it in our power to employ methods of burning the dead with a promptitude, an in-offensiveness, and a decorum unattainable by the means at the disposal of the men of bygone centuries.

But can it be truly said, that the system of burial as at present carried out is inconsistent with proper respect for the dead or due regard for the welfare of the living? I happen to have beside me a report of the proceedings which led to the closing of a portion of the parochial burying ground of St. Cuthbert's, Edinburgh, in 1874. Attention seems to have been called to the state of that ground by the fact that a furnace had been built, in which the *debris* of coffins dug up in the course of the excavation of new graves, were consumed during the night-time to the scandal and annoyance of the neighbourhood. Ultimately proceedings were taken by the Magistrates of the city, to have the common burying ground closed as a nuisance within the meaning of the Public Health Act. The evidence led in the case shewed that in the course of fifteen years 10,800 bodies had been deposited in an acre and four-tenths of ground, a considerable portion of which was not well adapted for the purposes of sepulture; that within twenty years the whole of that area, except a very limited portion, had been trenched three times over for the purpose of interments; and that some of the graves or lairs had within fifteen years been opened for sepulture so frequently as seven, eight, nine and even eleven times. It appeared that the system of burying practised in the common ground was to reopen a grave at least every seven years in the case of adults, and every three and a half years in the case of children, and to abstract the uppermost or two uppermost coffins therefrom in order to make room for a fresh interment—the bones or remains being re-deposited in the grave.

‘The reason why they never opened the lowest coffins in the common ground,’ the superintendent explained in his evidence, ‘was that the body inside was so very long of decomposing,

the animal matter from the upper coffins finding its way down to the lowest one, and suspending or retarding decomposition.'

It appeared, according to the summing up of the Sheriff-Substitute, that the number of coffins annually abstracted as described, corresponded nearly with the number of bodies interred, and that in breaking into the graves it sometimes happened that the remains in the coffins were found not to be 'ripe,' *i.e.*, not sufficiently decayed to admit of the coffins being moved; in which case the graves were closed again; that the length of time bodies had been buried was discovered by the date-plate on the coffin where there was one, and where there was none only after the coffin had been broken open. It appeared that in some of the graves recently dug as many as three or four coffins in adjoining lairs had been partially exposed with their contents in various stages of decomposition; that the deeper graves were occasionally left open for days for the reception of coffins, and the practice when there was more than one body to be interred was to place two or three inches of soil between each pair of coffins. From the accumulation of bones in the ground the depth available for graves was gradually becoming shallower, and the only means by which accommodation could be found was by abstracting and burning coffins as before described, a fact which had led to the erection of the furnace-house, where for fifteen years the coffins had been consumed at night twice a week in winter, and on an average, once a week throughout the year.

'It certainly is extraordinary,' wrote the Sheriff-Principal in commenting on the case, 'that practices so revolting as have been disclosed should have been carried on so long in the midst of a city which is called civilised; that when the attention of the Kirk-Session was specially directed to the subject some years ago, no steps should have been taken or even enquiry made, and that when the Medical Officer of Health, in the discharge of his public duty, asked for information, access to the books of the Session was refused.'

Now these are facts elicited judicially in a case that occurred in the metropolis of Scotland only thirteen years ago. That a very similar state of things,—though differing perhaps in de-

degree,—exists elsewhere, there can be no reasonable doubt. 'The premature violation of graves and the systematic abstraction of coffins,' mildly wrote the Sheriff-Substitute, 'must be revolting to most people, especially to those who have the remains of their relations and friends there interred. The only apology that seems to be suggested for such a state of matters is that a similar practice is followed in other churchyards.'

It must be borne in mind that the burial-ground in question was a public one. It was not run by a company whose aim was to earn the largest amount of dividend for their shareholders. It was under the control of a Kirk-Session, who administered it as a public trust, and who had no direct interest in its pecuniary success. It was situated immediately under the gaze of the inhabitants of a city proud of its high civilisation and refinement, and yet for fifteen years a state of things amounting to a gross outrage on decency had quietly continued to exist, and might to all appearance have existed to the present day had the managers thought fit to resort to some less ostentatious method than that which they selected for getting rid of the *debris* with which their ground was cumbered. It may be answered that such practices as those disclosed in this particular case must be altogether exceptional. Persons who have studied the subject will have reason to think otherwise. One of the most curious features of the ghastly literature of churchyard scandals is the identity of unseemly practices as disclosed over the entire area of the country. To one who has a tolerable acquaintance with such literature the case of St. Cuthbert's presents no extraordinary feature. Indeed, it seems to have been free from many revolting incidents revealed elsewhere. Thus, there was no 'pit burial,' a practice which one of the witnesses examined in the case declared to have been the cause of loud complaint in Glasgow. I myself happened some fifteen or sixteen years ago to see in that city, one of the pits to which he referred, a huge underground receptacle slowly being filled up with the noisome coffins of I cannot say how many dead poor. I thought that the result of the exposure which had taken place had been to put an end to the practice. It turns out, however, that in this impression

I was mistaken, for in a paper read before the Philosophical Society of Glasgow in April last, Dr. Eben. Duncan referred to the practice as still existing in some of the Glasgow burial grounds, and, following up his remarks, a newspaper in the city investigated the matter, and found that in one of the cases to which he referred, in the 'common ground' extending over several acres, capacious pits were still being dug some twelve feet deep, into which coffins were laid in layers as they arrived and left uncovered till the pit had been filled up to within the prescribed limit of 3 feet from the surface. Each pit contained, before being earthed in, from sixty to seventy coffins, and took on an average from ten to twelve days to fill up, and the work of 'packing' them—of filling up the interstices between the larger coffins of adults with the smaller ones of children—is described as being 'quite an artistic bit of workmanship.' I don't know whether this system of pit burial is practised elsewhere in Scotland, but the Report of the Board of Health on Extra-Mural Sepulture shows that the system was common in England. Thus, at St. John's Catholic Chapel, Salford, Dr. Sutherland reported that there was a burial ground in which a pit capable of holding two hundred bodies had been dug in a wet soil, and the nuisance had been much complained of by the authorities until steps were taken to cover the coffins with a layer of earth. In the burial ground attached to a Wesleyan Chapel in Liverpool, Dr. Sutherland found a pit calculated to hold from fifty to sixty coffins large and small, and so on. It not infrequently happened, according to him, that a very noxious drainage from the piles of dead accumulated in the bottoms of these common graves. 'I have seen,' he writes, 'a black stagnant collection around coffins which the sexton admitted to be the produce of decomposition, for it was stated that the fluid never made its appearance until after interments had taken place. In some particular kinds of soil these pits become a perfect quagmire. The earth has to be shored up all round to prevent it from filling them up, and a quantity of water and mud percolates from the sides and covers the bottoms to some depth. In this sludge the coffins are occasionally immersed.'

There was nothing of this sort in St. Cuthbert's, nothing to compare even with the state of matters which Dr. Sutherland reported to exist in some of the older Scottish churchyards; nothing like the churchyard at Hawick of which he speaks, where the graves contained so much water that the Episcopal clergyman generally got his surplice splashed when the coffin was lowered into the grave, or in Greenock, where he saw coffins containing decaying bodies exposed to the air and light, and was sensible of the most horrible smells escaping from them, and where in another part of the ground he saw human remains unburied, and heaps of broken up coffins and fragments of shrouds lying mixed together. Compared with these examples taken haphazard from many similar ones to be found recorded in the Board of Health's Report, St. Cuthbert's might almost be looked upon as a model cemetery. If occasional 'mistakes' were made in breaking open coffins the contents of which were not 'ripe,' there was none of that boring with an iron rod—'searcher' is I believe the technical name for the implement—to ascertain where the processes of decay had created room for another interment which, judging from the frequency with which it is alluded to in published reports, appears to be an all but universal feature of burial-ground administration. The grounds were neatly kept, and if the dead were turned out of their coffins at the end of a few years, that is the almost universal fate of our city poor. Even as to the burning of coffins, I find that one of the witnesses in the case—the Medical Officer of Health of Glasgow—is reported to have stated in evidence that he had little doubt the same practice prevailed in the city with which he was officially connected, and judging from a communication published in *Land and Water** a few years ago, the same expedient is not unknown at the present day in the English metropolis. At least the writer of that communication gives a circumstantial account of an interview with a young man whose father had for many years worked in the Metropolitan cemetery to which their conversation referred, in the course of which his

* Quoted in *God's Acre Beautiful*, page 84.

informant, after describing the difference between 'privates' and 'commonsens,' (persons buried in private and common graves) is stated to have gone on to say: 'You should go in there of a night and see them burning the bones and coffins. You see they dig up the "commonsens" every twelve year, (of course they dare not interfere with the "privates") and what they find left of them they burn.' Incredible! may be your exclamation. Impossible that such proceedings could go on in London without exposure. Why so? We have seen how similar things went on unchallenged for fifteen years in Edinburgh.

It may be said these repulsive practices existed and can exist only in connection with the burial of the poor, who cannot afford to buy the freeholds of their graves, and that the well-to-do need not concern themselves about them. But it must be remembered that the poor compose the great mass of our population, and the proper disposal of their remains constitutes the chief portion of our burial problem, and although when buried out of our sight, we may trouble ourselves no more about them, any violation of the laws of health incurred in connection with them is certain to be visited not only upon their own class but also upon their richer neighbours.

But even the rich must not flatter themselves that they can under our present system deposit their dead to sleep the last sleep under conditions pleasant for the minds of those who cared for them in life to contemplate. I might prove this by many illustrations almost as unpleasant to reflect on as those which I have quoted in the case of the dead poor, but one need not go further than the practice of those who are rich enough to pay for indulgence of their sentiments in the matter of the disposal of their dead, to see that the custom of earth interment is repellant to a large number of them. Those to whom money is not an object, do not as a rule bury their dead in graves. They box them up in leaden coffins and deposit them in vaults. Do they thereby ensure to their death-sleep surroundings more free from those grosser incidents which, were they known or thought of, would shock the sentiments of

the survivors? If any one believes so, and would know the truth, let him read the report of the Board of Health to which I have before referred. There he will find recorded the history of corruption in these whited sepulchres with a business-like, matter-of-fact directness which will speedily dispel his cherished delusions. He will learn that occasionally, even in the case of strong leaden coffins, the gases generated by putrefaction burst the metal case with a noise like the report of a gun; that the acrid fluids sometimes set up a galvanic action between the solder and the lead, corroding the metal into holes through which products of corruption distil; that when the leaden cases have remained perfect, at the end of half a century their contents have been found to consist of a couple of gallons of 'a coffee-coloured ammoniacal fluid' in which the bones lay immersed; that the external wooden boxes in which they are encased—especially in ill-ventilated vaults—speedily become reduced to powder through the ravages of the *Rhynocolus Lignarius*, or Elm Weevil, 'a dark, piceous coloured insect about a sixth of an inch in length' which multiplies and feeds upon the wood until its fibre is destroyed, and that, deprived of its support and weighed down by the accumulation of fresh coffins placed upon them, the leaden cases are by degrees 'driven into the ground and pressed quite flat.'

But at all events the remains of the rich, of the possessors of private graves and of vaults, are allowed to remain undisturbed. Their friends and relations enjoy the satisfaction of knowing that where pious hands have placed them, there their bones will rest until the world's end comes. Even that satisfaction the teachings of experience prove to be illusory.*

* In illustration of this I might refer to the case of a deceased Scottish nobleman, the felonious abstraction of whose body from the family vault a few years ago caused much excitement, and may quote the following paragraph which appeared in the *Globe* newspaper of 15th of last April:—

NEW YORK, April 15.

'The remains of ex-President Lincoln have been removed from the secret grave in which they were deposited at Springfield, Illinois, and have been reburied with those of his wife in the same cemetery. The object of the secret burial was to prevent the body being stolen, and the exact spot was for several years known only to a few persons.'

The ancient Egyptians of all nations took the greatest pains to secure their dead against the ravages of decay and disturbance by unfriendly hands, and with what result ?

‘The other day,’—some years ago wrote a correspondent of *The Times* from Alexandria,—‘The other day at Sakhara I saw nine camels pacing down from the mummy pits to the bank of the river, laden with nets in which were femoræ, tibiæ, and other bony bits of the human form, some two hundred weight in each net on each side of the camel. Among the pits there were people busily employed in searching out, sifting and sorting the bones which almost crust the ground. On enquiry I learned that the cargoes with which the camels were laden would be sent down to Alexandria and thence shipped to English manure manufacturers. They make excellent manure, I am told, particularly for Swedes and other turnips. The trade is brisk, and has been going on for many years.’

But Great Britain is not Egypt ! No ; in this country events march quicker. The last Annual Report of the Metropolitan Public Gardens Association, an association having for its object, among other things, the securing of disused burial grounds in London for use as public gardens, contains an interesting analysis of the present condition of 443 burial grounds which exist or have existed within the Metropolitan area. From this it seems that 116 of the number have entirely disappeared, their sites being now occupied by buildings of all kinds—railway lines, docks, streets, etc. ; that 38 more have been turned into private gardens, playgrounds for schools, stoneyards, builders’ yards, stable-yards, or vacant building sites. How many thousands of tons of human debris must have been carted, one knows not whither, in the course of the operations which these figures indicate.

I have not attempted to exhaust the revelations that have been made in connection with many of our British burying grounds. Some of them are so exceptional and some so repulsive that it would serve no good purpose to quote them. But I think I have said enough to shew that it is not without good reason that many thinking and intelligent men and

women regard with deep aversion a system of disposing of the dead, involving exposure to so much against which the finer feelings of human nature revolt; a system under which the duty of the living is held to end when the dead are handed over to the slow operation of underground decay. I have said enough to explain why many would fain find refuge from such a system in cremation, in which, by the infinitely purer and less revolting method of disintegration by flame, the result that otherwise drags on its progress over fifty years, is condensed into about as many minutes, and the care of the living is not suspended or relaxed until the dead has been resolved into imperceptible gases and an urnful of glistening ashes and calcined bones.

But it is not on sentimental grounds alone or principally that the advocates of the change object to the present system of burial. The strongest objection of those of them who are most competent to speak on the subject of public health is based on the danger to public health which the present system presents. Recent experiments of Pettenkoffer prove that gases impelled by no more violent force than that afforded by variations in the atmospheric pressure and by fluctuations of temperature, travel with the greatest ease not only through certain soils but through various cements and mortars which would be at first sight considered to present an insuperable obstacle in their path. Long before this fact was generally known, Professor (now Sir Lyon) Playfair had, as the result of the examination of numerous burial grounds, found that not only was the layer of earth over the bodies insufficient in many cases to arrest the diffusion of foetid exhalations, but that gases with similar odours were evolved from the sides of sewers distant sometimes as much as thirty feet. These facts render it easy to understand the cases of fresh dug graves being filled with deadly vapours, and the houses in the neighbourhood of burial grounds being permeated with unhealthy and disgusting odours, of which so many examples are to be found in the literature of the subject.

But it has only recently become known that specific diseases are due to the invasion of the body by minute living organ-

isms of various species, each giving rise to phenomena of constitutional disturbance which compose the symptoms of the particular disease. It has been proved in many cases that these organisms are capable of living and multiplying outside the human body, and that their germs or spores are extraordinarily tenacious of life,—that they survive for long periods burial in earth and exposure to moisture, until at last finding their way into a suitable habitat, they spring into active life and multiply themselves with almost incredible rapidity and with a virulence unabated by the vicissitudes to which they may have been subjected. Now long before these facts in the life-history of disease-producing organisms and the class of living entities to which they belong, had been worked out through the labours of such men as Pasteur in France, Koch in Germany, and Tyndall in Great Britain—and though our knowledge on the subject has made enormous strides, this branch of science is barely fifteen years old—long before there was the slightest suspicion of many of the facts now known to us, numbers of instances had been collected of outbursts of diseases apparently due to exposure to infection from the long-buried dead.

The malady in which the connection between the disease and one of those micro-organisms of which I have just spoken was earliest demonstrated was cattle-anthrax, or splenic fever, a disease which in France had for years worked great havoc among flocks and herds, and the relatively large size of the micro-organism connected with which has rendered its life-history a matter of comparatively easy study. Among the earliest to undertake the investigation of the *Bacillus Anthracis*, as this organism is called, was M. Pasteur, and having discovered that it could be cultivated outside the body he proceeded to study its mode of propagation and growth. He found that like many similar organisms it multiplies itself in two distinct manners, by the subdivision of its cells into other cells which rapidly acquire the standard size—a method which under favourable circumstances goes on with marvellous rapidity; and secondly, by a process analogous to flowering in the higher classes of plants, resulting

in the formation of spores or seeds. M. Pasteur found that under conditions of temperature and nutrition which he could command at will, the bacillus of cattle-anthrax produced these spores, and that in them a latent life could survive the roughest treatment and remain unimpaired for considerable periods, ready to burst into activity whenever an opportunity presented itself. Now, in 1865 Baron Seebach had been Saxon Minister at Paris. Having suffered severely on his estates from outbreaks of splenic fever he had taken much interest in the disease, and had come to the conclusion that it was in some way connected with the poisoning of the pasture through the burial of the carcasses of infected animals. On one occasion a sheep that had died of it was buried in the corner of a field on his estate on which the next year a crop of corn was grown, and on the following one a crop of clover. One day, happening to pass the field, the Baron's attention was attracted to the extraordinary luxuriance of the patch of clover that had grown over the spot, and a few days later he observed that some one had cut down and stolen the clover which grew at that particular corner of the field. A couple of days afterwards a peasant woman on his estate came to him in great distress to implore assistance, as her goat had died and her cow was very ill. On investigation the disease which had attacked them was found to be splenic fever, and on cross-examination the woman confessed that she had stolen the clover from the spot where the carcass of the dead sheep had been buried, and that she had given it to the goat and cow. Baron Seebach had at the request of the French Minister of Agriculture embodied this and other circumstances which had led him to adopt his theory as to the mode of propagation of splenic fever in a memorandum which years afterwards, when M. Pasteur's investigations regarding the disease became the theme of universal interest in scientific and agricultural circles, was placed by the department in his hands. Acting on this clue M. Pasteur set to work to make experiments. He found the spores of the Anthrax Bacillus in full vitality in pits in which oxen and sheep that had died of the disease had been buried ten years before. Not only so, but he proved that thus buried,

earthworms, swallowing them in the earth out of which their nourishment is extracted, brought them to the surface, whence they found their way to the surrounding herbage mixed up with mud or dust, thus infecting sheep or cattle which pastured on it. It was not even necessary that the animals should eat the poisoned herbage; it was found by experiment to be sufficient for the purposes of infection if, placed upon the ground, they were allowed to inhale the dust which rose from it. M. Pasteur conclusively demonstrated this method of infection in an instance where a bullock had been buried in a pit over six feet deep. He placed sheep upon the ground, and they took the disease. He separated the spores of the organism of the disease from the earth by washing it, and multiplying them by cultivation in suitable media, he found that on inoculation into healthy animals they gave rise to splenic fever. He found these spores especially in the casts brought to the surface by earthworms, and in the contents of their digestive organs, and he showed further that when the nature of the soil was such that earthworms were rare, the disease when accidentally imported had no tendency to spread.

In 1883 Dr. Domingos Friere, a physician commissioned by the Brazilian Government to enquire into the mode of propagation of yellow fever, made some discoveries which shew a remarkable analogy to those of M. Pasteur in the case of cattle-anthrax and illustrate the direct bearing of the latter on the subject with which we are dealing. The researches of Dr. Friere shewed that yellow fever in man was due to the invasion of a micro-organism which he termed the *Cryptococcus Zanthogenicus*, which like the *Bacillus Anthracis* could be cultivated outside the human body. He shewed in the same way as had been shewn in connection with other disease organisms, that this organism was present in immense numbers in the secretions and excretions of patients suffering from yellow fever, and that it was capable of producing that disease in animals susceptible to it, such as rabbits and guinea pigs. Having visited the Jurajuba Cemetery, where patients dying in the Maritime Hospital of Santa Anna are buried, he gathered from a foot below the surface some of the earth from the grave of

a person who had died about a year before of yellow fever. In it Dr. Friere found myriads of specimens of the *Cryptococcus Zanthogenicus* in all stages of its development. Cultivated in gelatine the *Cryptococcus* so obtained, when inoculated into the circulation of guinea pigs produced yellow fever, and other guinea pigs shut up in a confined space with the infected earth obtained from the grave, caught the disease in a few days and perished. Dr. Friere's observations, verified in all their details by his assistants, 'shewed that the germs of yellow fever perpetuate themselves into the cemeteries which are like so many nurseries for the preparation of new generations destined to devastate our city. Through the pores of the earth these germs spread into the atmosphere; others are carried by the torrential rains so frequent among us to the street and squares, and finding there means adequate for their evolution, give rise to the eruption of epidemics in the summer, which is the most proper season for their sporulation.' As a temporary provision Dr. Friere recommends that the cemeteries should be removed to a distance from populous places.

'As a definite and radical measure,' he continues, 'the practice of cremating the bodies would suit completely, and it would be the surest means of extinguishing the epidemics which every year ravage with greater or less intensity, our most flourishing centres of population. If each corpse,' he adds, 'is the bearer of millions of millions of organisms that are specifics of ill, imagine what a cemetery must be in which new foci are forming around each body. Imagination is incapable of conceiving the literally infinite number of microbes that multiply in these nests. In the silence of death these worlds of organisms invisible to the unassisted eye are labouring incessantly and unperceived to fill more graves with more bodies destined for their food and for the fatal perpetuation of their species.' *

Other investigators have made more or less similar discoveries regarding the organisms which they have proved or all but proved to be the determining causes of other diseases. Thus in Italy Dr. Tomassi Crudelli has shewn that the organism of the malarial fever of the Campagna has its breeding ground in the soil. Professor Koch has proved that the comma

* *Consular Reports Commercial* 26, 1883.

bacillus, the specific organism of cholera can, under suitable conditions of moisture and temperature flourish luxuriantly on earth, and according to a recent paper by M. Chantemessi the microbe which gives rise to Typhoid Fever retains its vitality in damp ground, and, as fatal experience has often shown, develops freely in water.*

Now the number of diseases which there is reason to believe are due to the invasion of the human body by micro-organisms of different sorts is very great, and although their identification and the study of their life-history has in very few cases been made with the accuracy attained by M. Pasteur in connection with the organism of cattle-anthrax, yet judging by analogy and by the mode in which they are known to spread, there can be no reasonable doubt that the practice of depositing in the earth—often at shallow depths, and soon to be disturbed—bodies laden with disease-producing organisms, must be fraught with danger, and that the drainage from churchyards, independent of its repulsive and unsavoury nature, must form a source of great peril whenever it finds its way into water supplies. That abundant opportunity exists for such a mode of water contamination in country districts must be evident to any one who has observed the close proximity to churchyards, in which, in country districts wells are often placed, but I may quote one single instance, as a sample of the dangers that may exist in connection with even modern Metropolitan cemeteries. In 1874, an official investigation took place into the condition of Tooting Cemetery. ‘In the course of the enquiry it was elicited that the entire drainage of the cemetery was conducted into a neighbouring ditch which discharged itself into the river Wandle, from which many of the inhabitants in its vicinity were accustomed to draw supplies of water.’† What the nature of that drainage must have been we may conceive from a statement made by Mr. Baldwin Latham, M.I.C.E. (London), in the course of a discussion on cremation at the 1886 Congress of the Sanitary

* *British Medical Journal*, 9th April, 1887.

† *Pall Mall Gazette*, 18th Nov., 1874.

Institute of Great Britain. Mr. Latham 'explained by means of a black board the carrying out of some works at Merton, Surrey, near the river Wandle and adjoining the Lambeth Parish Cemetery. While engaged in cutting a sewer not far from a spot where paupers were buried in their coffins, the work of the men was interrupted by a black, putrid stream which ran from these graves. Every one of the men engaged there was afterwards taken ill from the evil effects of the putrid ichor.'*

I might multiply examples *ad nauseam* to prove the danger of contamination to our water supply which many of our burial grounds present. It is sufficiently evident, however, that as every burial ground must be drained and that the drainage must ultimately find its way into our rivers, a considerable portion of that drainage must find its way into rivers and watercourses from which water is taken for domestic purposes, thus affording an obvious channel for the propagation of infection.

The report of Mr. Edwin Chadwick to the Home Secretary in 1843, and the reports of the Board of Health in 1850 and 1851, are full of cases illustrating the apparent effect of our burial system in directly producing disease. In them will be found recorded cases of persons attacked with malignant typhus immediately after exposure to emanations from vaults; of illness—and even death—resulting from exposure to exhalations from re-opened graves; of numerous outbreaks of cholera—one of them, for example at Hawick—in the vicinity of burial grounds or of streams which received their drainage. In 1843, on the rebuilding of the parish church of Minchampton, a quantity of soil was removed from the churchyard and deposited in the neighbouring gardens, and the result is reported to have been the outbreak of an epidemic which 'nearly decimated' the town. Outbreaks of plague at Modena and in Egypt in the earlier half of the century, are ascribed to the re-opening of graves in which the plague stricken victims of previous epidemics lay interred. I

* *Transactions of Sanitary Institute of Great Britain*, Vol. 8.

shall not go over the old ground, but may be permitted as bearing on the point to give an experience of the Glasgow Royal Infirmary, for the facts of which I am indebted to Mr. W. McEwen the chairman of that institution. After the opening of the New Surgical Hospital there, great trouble was experienced from pyœmia, and every means taken to check it proved in vain. At last it was remembered that the ground on which the building stood had originally been a burying ground for cholera patients, and that the ground behind it had been used for a similar purpose. Thereupon the ground was trenched up to a depth of 10 or 12 feet and a breadth of 20 feet; the human remains found were removed, the ground carefully drained and abundantly dressed with quicklime, and a railing substituted for the wall which had surrounded it. The result was that the pyœmia ceased and the mortality of the hospital was materially reduced.

The evils of the burial system which I have described are not by any means confined to Great Britain. They have been equally illustrated in the experience of every country in Europe, and hence the widespread revolt against the system which of late years has given birth to the cremation movement. But are the evils objected to inherent in the system? Could they not all be got rid of by a few simple reforms? Some of them possibly might, but the most vital objections are inherent in the system itself. The annual number of deaths among the inhabitants of the Metropolitan district alone is over 80,000. For their reception—according to Mr. Eassie, C.E.—22 cemeteries, embracing over 2,200 acres, have been provided at a cost of over £270,000, and fresh ground is constantly being added. In England and Wales the annual death rate is considerably over half a million, and over 12,000 burial grounds, calculated as occupying close on 7000 acres, are required to provide for the reception of the dead. With such enormous figures to deal with the question has to be solved on a sternly commercial basis, and as long as that is the case so long will considerations of public health and decency have to give way to considerations of expense. The establishment of extra-mural cemeteries has long since been found only

temporarily to check the evil. As the towns in connection with which they are established extend, and as they in process of time become crowded with decaying bodies, they in too many cases constitute a danger as great as that which they were originally designed to supersede. Of late years considerable attention has been called to a plan of so called burial-reform advocated by Mr. Seymour Haden, under the name of the 'earth to earth' system, which consists in the substitution of perishable wicker work cases, for coffins in the interment of the dead. By this change it is contended—and I have no doubt correctly—that the time necessary for the decay of the body might be greatly reduced, that decomposition might be accomplished in some five or six years, when the grave would be available for another interment, and that in this way the amount of land required for the burial of the dead might be largely curtailed. Somehow or other this proposal has been put forward by its advocates as if it met every objection to the existing system, and presented an alternative to cremation. As affording a prospect of economy it undoubtedly presents advantages, as contrasted with the present system, though even in that respect it can bear no comparison with those afforded by fire-burial, but in every other respect it entirely fails to meet a single vital objection, sentimental or sanitary, which is urged against the existing system. Whether our common burial grounds can be trenched over every five years or every ten is a matter of no interest except to a cemetery company. The risk of pollution to air and earth and water would in nowise be diminished. The buried carcasses which Pasteur's experiments showed to constitute permanent foci of disease were not encased even in wicker-work, and the burial ground which Dr. Domingos Friere proved to be swarming with yellow fever germs would certainly not have been less contaminated had the dead been buried simply in their shrouds. The only way to get rid of these dangers is to decompose the body in such a manner as will also destroy the germs of the disease which has produced its death. When the health of cattle is concerned no attempt is made to escape from so obvious a conclusion. Decomposition by fire or caustic chemicals is recognised as the

one effective safeguard against the propagation of infection, but unfortunately the public are inclined to be infinitely less logical when dealing with sanitary questions affecting men, than with those involving the safety of sheep and oxen.

The practical movement in favour of cremation at present going on in Europe and America is of very recent date. Of course the fact that the burning of the dead was a classic custom, and that it continued to be practised by many modern nations, caused the subject to be one of interest to scholars in all ages. Thus in 1658 Sir Thomas Browne published his 'Hydriotaphia, or Urne Buriall,' and More makes his Utopians practice both interment and cremation. 'Him whom they see depart his life carefully and against his will, as though the soul being in despair and vexed in conscience, they bury with sorrow and silence, and when they have prayed God to be merciful to the soul they cover the dead corse with earth. Contrariwise, all that depart merrily and full of good hope, for them no man mourneth, but followeth the hearse with joyful singing, commending the souls to God with great affection, and at last not with mourning sorrow but with great reverence they burn the bodies.' And in like manner isolated cremations are recorded as having occurred from time to time. Thus, in 1769 the body of a Mrs. Pratt was in accordance with her own wishes burnt in London in the Tyburn burying ground. Henry Laurens, a patriot of the American Revolution, who died at Charleston in 1792, was burned on a funeral pyre, and later we have the well-known case of the poet Shelley. But the movement with which we have to concern ourselves is of much more modern date. It may be said to have originated in Germany, and to have received its first impulse from a paper published by Professor H. G. Richter in the *Gartenlaube* in 1856. Cremation societies were formed in several of the principal towns, a crematorium was erected at Dresden, and there in 1874 the first cremation according to modern practice took place. But although the Saxon authorities permitted two cremations to be carried out they refused to continue the permission, and for several years the matter remained in abeyance. In 1876, however, an International Congress of the supporters

of cremation was held at Dresden, and at that conference the announcement was made that the government of the Duchy of Gotha had decided to recognise the practice, and to sanction the use of a crematorium which the municipal authorities of the town of Gotha were willing to construct, provided a certain sum was subscribed towards the expense. The money required was speedily forthcoming, the municipal authorities contributed most liberally to the project, and a crematory temple was erected at a cost of close on £5,000. There in the year 1879 eighteen cremations took place, the first of them being that of Mr. C. Stier, a civil engineer of Gotha who had been principally instrumental in obtaining from the government of the Duchy the decree legalising the practice. In the following year (1880) the number of bodies which received fire-burial at Gotha was 16, in 1881 it mounted to 33, and in 1882 it was again 33; in 1883 the number rose to 46, in 1884 to 69, in 1885 to 76, in 1886 to 95, and on the 18th February of the present year the 400th corpse was reduced to ashes within the Gotha crematorium. So much do the demands upon it appear to have exceeded the original anticipations of its designers that it is stated that already the Columbarium, or receptacle for urns containing the ashes of the dead, has had its accommodation exhausted, and steps have been taken for the addition to the building of a second Urn Hall. It may be interesting as showing the scope of the movement to quote some particulars regarding the 400 persons cremated at Gotha recently published in the *Neue Freie Presse*. It appears that 260 of the corpses burned were males and 140 females, 126 belonged to Gotha itself, 33 to the neighbourhood, 44 were brought from Saxony, 100 from Prussia (38 from Berlin), 19 from Bavaria, 15 from Hamburg, 7 from the Grand Duchy of Hesse, 11 from Wurtemberg and Baden, 22 from the smaller German States and Switzerland, and 24 from other countries beyond Germany. Of the 260 males, 38 were landed proprietors, 15 private gentlemen, 21 merchants, 45 officials, 32 medical men, 11 officers, 3 Protestant clergymen, 27 lawyers, professors, and men of letters, 5 architects, 9 artists, 14 mechanics, and the remaining 20 were students, agriculturists,

manufacturers, and boys. Classified by religions, of the 400 burnt 198 were Protestants, 132 Catholics, 46 Jews, and 24 Dissenters and Freethinkers.

The system of crematory apparatus used at Gotha is a modification of the regenerative system of Dr. Siemens of London, invented by Mr. F. Siemens, a glass manufacturer of Dresden. It would occupy more space than I can afford to describe the mode of action. Suffice it to say, that the body to be burned, with or without a coffin, is lowered into a firebrick crematory chamber which has been previously raised to a white heat, that the combustion is effected by the aid of superheated air, the temperature employed being over 1400° Fah., that the body is not in any way brought in contact with the fuel used, that the operation is perfectly under control, and that the combustion is so complete that both odour and smoke are thoroughly and effectually consumed. The entire process of reducing a body to ashes at Gotha occupies from less than an hour to an hour and a quarter. When it is completed all that remains is a few pounds of white, pure ashes, which, enclosed in an urn, are either taken charge of by the friends of the deceased or deposited in a niche in a portion of the building provided for that purpose. The cost of the cremation as fixed by the Ducal Government is 75 to 80 marks (or shillings), and to this must be added the cost of transport, and, in cases where a choral burial service is required, an extra fee of 40 marks.

In Italy, after preliminary discussions at the International Medical Congress at Florence in 1869 and Rome in 1871, resulting in unanimous votes in favour of the legislation of the practice, the Royal Institution of Lombardy passed a resolution urging the Italian Government to sanction it. Shortly afterwards the Italian Legislature introduced into the Sanitary Code of the Kingdom a provision legalising cremation, subject however, to the permission of certain authorities. Owing to obstacles and objections raised by these authorities considerable delay occurred, but by 1876 every difficulty had been surmounted, and in the beginning of that year the Crematorium at Milan inaugurated its career by the fire burial of the

Chevalier Keller, a strong advocate of cremation, to whose energy and munificence the erection of the building was due, who had died two years previously, but whose body had in accordance with his own directions been reserved until its cremation was practical. The ceremony was conducted with pomp and solemnity in presence of some high government officials, senators, deputies, journalists, priests and municipal councillors. The example set at Milan was followed at Lodi, Cremona, Varesi, Padua and Rome, and in Crematory Temples erected in these towns and elsewhere in Italy up to the end of 1884, upwards of 400 cremations were reported to have taken place.

To an Italian, Professor Brunetti, of Padua, is due the credit of having conceived the idea of substituting for the ancient open pyre, the scientifically constructed closed crematory chamber on which the practice of modern cremation is based. In 1873 the body of an Indian prince was burned at Florence according to the Indian custom on a huge pile of wood, and although no expense was spared to render the operation successful, and a strong wind assisted combustion, it required seven hours to consume the body, and several more before the fire had died out sufficiently to allow of the collection of the ashes. Recognising that unless that process could be improved upon, it would be useless to advocate cremation, Professor Brunetti set himself to devise a crematory furnace which would more speedily and decorously accomplish the work. The system which he invented has, however, been superseded by others, and those now in use in Italy are the inventions of Professor Gorini and Joseph Venini, a civil engineer. Their operation is not so rapid as that of the Siemens system, 2 to 2½ hours being needed for the reduction of an adult body to ashes, but they are inexpensive in construction, and the cost for fuel is very small, averaging only about 2s. 6d. per operation. The movement is likely to receive a fresh impulse in Italy from the fact that an International Cremation Congress has been arranged to take place in Milan in the month of September next.

In the United States the first Crematorium erected was one

near Washington, where in 1876 the remains of Baron de Palm were consigned to the flames. In 1884 a second was constructed at Lancaster near Philadelphia, and in the same year a third was instituted at Mount Olivet, Long Island, New York, a fourth at Buffalo, and others are reported to be in course of construction elsewhere. Numerous cases of fire burial have been accomplished in these temples. In 1885 forty-five are stated to have taken place within nine months at Mount Olivet alone. From a published analysis of the first hundred cases dealt with in that crematory, it appears that 67 were males and 33 females, and classified according to birth-place 50 were Germans, 32 natives of the United States, 6 natives of France, 5 of England, 2 of Austria, and 1 of Scotland, Ireland, Hungary, Switzerland and India respectively.

It would be tedious to attempt to detail the exact phase of the question in the different countries of the continent. Suffice it to say that in almost every one of them active cremation societies exist. In France, Austria, Spain, Switzerland, Holland and Denmark, more or less successful efforts have been made to obtain a modification of laws interfering with the optional practice of fire-burial, and in some crematoria have recently been erected.

The history of the movement in England is a curious one. It may be said to own its origin to a remarkable paper published by Sir Henry Thompson in the *Contemporary Review* in 1874. This led to a meeting of gentlemen favourable to the practice, when it was resolved to form a society for the promotion of cremation. The first step taken by the Society was to obtain the opinions of eminent counsel as to the state of the law on the subject. These opinions went to show that there was nothing in the English law forbidding cremation provided it was conducted in such a manner as not to involve any public nuisance. And this opinion was corroborated by one given in writing, though unofficially, by no less an authority than Lord Selborne. In 1878 the Society acquired a site for a Crematorium in an outlying portion of Woking Cemetery, and proceeded with its construction. As it was nearing completion, in the beginning of 1879, a deputation of the Society waited upon

the Home Secretary to make sure that no legal or administrative impediments would be interposed in the way of its use. A discussion of the subject by correspondence having been invited, they found that the then Home Secretary, Mr. (now Lord) Cross—refused to sanction or permit the practice, on the ground that ‘whether or not the law forbids cremation altogether, the public interest requires that it should not be adopted until many matters of great social importance have been duly considered and provided for.’ Mr. Cross added that if the Society persisted in carrying out a cremation at Woking or elsewhere, he should consider it his duty to test the legality of the proceeding in a court of law, and if need be to apply to Parliament for an Act to prohibit it.

In consequence of this decision the Council of the Cremation Society had another interview with Mr. Secretary Cross and, ultimately agreed to ‘act in strict conformity with the wishes and directions of the Government in the matter,’ or, in other words, to await the development of events and meanwhile make no movement in the direction of human cremation at Woking. The subject, however, was not allowed to die out. At the Cambridge meeting of the British Medical Association Sir Spencer Wells, who has been for many years an active and enthusiastic cremationist, read a most able and interesting paper on ‘Cremation or Burial?’ and a memorial in favour of the former alternative was signed by a number of members of that body and forwarded to Sir William Harcourt, who had taken his place at the Home Office as Mr. Cross’s successor. That memorial, however, failed to extract anything from Sir William beyond a formal acknowledgement, and in January 1882, Mr. Eassie, the Honorary Secretary of the Cremation Society, once more put himself in communication with the Home Office on the subject. The Cremation Society had, he stated, been asked by Captain Hanham, R.N., to undertake the cremation of the bodies of his wife and mother, who had been buried under the usual certificates, but who had expressed an earnest desire that their remains should be cremated. The Society were extremely unwilling to proceed with any cremation without the knowledge of the Home Secretary, and under

conditions which should ensure the legality of the proceeding, and Mr. Eassie had therefore been instructed to ask Sir William Harcourt's opinion on the point. The reply of the Liberal Home Secretary to this appeal was as unsatisfactory as that of his Conservative predecessor. He refused to say anything as to the legal bearings of the question, but stated that in his opinion the practice ought not to be sanctioned except under the authority of an Act of Parliament, and he expressed his determination to adhere to the policy laid down in 1879 by Mr. Cross. But although under the circumstances the Cremation Society had no option but to abide by their promise to abstain from action so long as any doubt existed as to the state of the law, Captain Hanham, to whose application Mr. Eassie had referred, felt himself under no such obligation. Certain unpleasant incidents which he had witnessed in connection with our system of burial—the desecration of a churchyard adjoining his residence by a ragpicker who there collected human bones for sale as manure, the deposition of, in one case, the body of a child, and in another of a dear friend in resting places so filled with drainage water, that the coffins went down with a splash—had made a deep impression on his mind and on that of his wife, to whom he had mentioned the circumstances, and she made him promise that if she predeceased him, he would dispose of her body by cremation. Mrs. Hanham died in 1876, and in order to retain control of her body until he could carry out her wish, Captain Hanham built a mausoleum in his own grounds at Manston House, Dorsetshire, and deposited it there. A twelvemonth afterwards his aged mother also died, after repeatedly expressing the desire that her remains should be placed beside those of her daughter-in-law and should share the same fire-burial as had been promised to her. For five years Captain Hanham endeavoured to carry out his promise. The Cremation Society of England was not in a position to assist him, and he found that the impediments in the way of obtaining cremation abroad were so great that at last he resolved as the only alternative left to construct a crematorium in his own grounds, and there fulfil what he regarded as a pious duty. The building was designed by Mr. Richards, of

Wincanton Ironworks, and on the 8th October, 1882, the remains of Captain Hanham's deceased wife were committed to the flames, followed on the next day by those of his late mother. Captain Hanham himself did not long survive, and on the 27th of November, 1883, his body was cremated in his own grounds in the same manner. Although the utmost publicity had been given to the proceedings, the Home Office took no action, and meanwhile an occurrence took place which solved the legal question independently of any action on the part either of that Department or the Legislature.

The infant child of a certain Dr. Price, better known as the Welsh Druid, having died, and Dr Price having neglected to register its death, the Coroner sent him notice that unless within three days he sent in a medical certificate as to the cause of the child's death an inquest would be held. On the day following receipt of this notice,—a Sunday,—Dr. Price took the body of the child to an open space, put it into a ten gallon cask of petroleum, and set the petroleum on fire. A crowd collected. The body of the child, which was burning, was covered with earth and the flames extinguished. Dr. Price was brought before the magistrates, committed for trial, and indicted, first, for having prevented the holding of an inquest on the child's body, and secondly, for having attempted to burn the body. It is hardly possible to imagine a case in which, had there been anything in English law that could be held to forbid the burning of the dead, it would have been more strictly and remorselessly enforced than in an instance in which the proceeding was mixed up with such ostentatious disregard for the authority of the Coroner and public decency. The case came before Mr. Justice Stephen at the Crown Court, Cardiff, in February, 1884, and in addressing the grand jury upon it that eminent judge read a charge, in which he entered elaborately into the whole law of the subject. Resting on the cardinal rule of English criminal law that nothing is a crime unless it is plainly forbidden by law, he laid it down :— ' that a person who burns instead of burying a dead body does not commit a criminal act unless he does it in such a manner as to amount to a public nuisance at common law,' and, ' that

to burn a body decently and inoffensively is lawful, or at the least not criminal.' The learned judge incidentally mentioned that though he alone was responsible for the charge which he delivered, Lord Justice Fry took the same view of the subject as he did, and for the same reason.

This judgment of Mr. Justice Stephen attracted great attention at the time, especially as Dr. Price emphasised it by subsequently completing the destruction of his child's body by fire under circumstances which concentrated public attention on the case. It made clear the fact that while the Home Office Authorities were forbidding the practice of cremation to a Society composed of gentlemen of the very highest respectability and standing, whose one object was to introduce an inoffensive and innocuous mode of disposing of the dead, a Society whose members were willing to take precautions against the possible abuse of the practice for the concealment of crime, in comparison to which the so-called safeguards of our burial laws are childish and absurd, an association so eager to support authority that on a bare intimation of the views and wishes of a government department, it had suspended its action for a number of years,—the decision of Mr. Justice Stephen, I say, made it clear to the public that while the Home Office authorities refused to allow the Cremation Society of England to carry out a cremation under the threat of legal proceedings and a disabling Act of Parliament, according to the law of the land any person, provided he created no public nuisance, might burn a corpse of which he had legal control without let or hindrance, safeguard or control.

This was certainly anything but a satisfactory state of affairs, and being interested in the question and believing that whatever the fate of my proposal, a discussion upon it in the House of Commons would do good, I took the earliest opportunity of introducing a Bill—the Disposal of the Dead Regulation Bill—intended to provide for the more efficient verification of the cause of death in all cases, and dealing among other things with the subject of cremation.

Assuming on the authority of Mr. Justice Stephen—which no attempt had been made to challenge or dispute—the

legality of cremation, this Bill proposed to recognise and regulate the practice, to place it under the license and control of Government, under such precautions as would ensure its safety and decorum, prevent its abuse, and render penal its unauthorised performance. The Bill came on for second reading on April 30, 1884, and the discussion which took place turned almost exclusively on the policy of recognising and regulating cremation. The Home Secretary on the one side of the House and his predecessor on the other, ignoring the actual state of the law, refused to do anything to amend it, and the result was that the Bill was thrown out by a large majority. The minority vote in favour of the recognition and regulation of cremation was however sufficiently large, and its composition sufficiently influential to make it abundantly clear that any attempt to solve the problem by means of legislation vetoing the practice, would be a work of much greater difficulty than the Home Office had anticipated. And the Cremation Society of England shortly afterwards announced its intention of acting on the law as laid down by Mr. Justice Stephen, and intimated the terms and conditions on which it was proposed to afford fire burial at Woking. On the 26th March, 1885, the remains of Mrs. Pickersgill, of London, a lady aged 71, well known in literary and scientific circles, who had long taken great interest in the question, were committed to the flames, and between that date and the month of May last the number of cremations at Woking had reached eighteen, a considerable proportion of the bodies so disposed of being those of ladies, among them being that of Mrs. Mortimer Collins, the well-known authoress.*

* It may be well to state briefly the conditions on which the use of the Crematorium at Woking is available to the public. In the first place an application in writing must be made by the friends or executors of the deceased, stating that it was the wish of the deceased to be cremated after death, and this must be accompanied by two certificates relative to the cause of death from duly qualified medical men, one of whom at least must have attended the deceased. One of the certificates, intended to direct special attention to the proposed mode of disposal of the body, must run as follows :—

‘I certify that I have, in relation to the expressed desire that the

The English law on the subject of cremation remains as I have described it. The practice is recognised as legal at common law, but it is subject to no statutory regulation, and is absolutely uncontrolled. This is a position of things strongly to be deprecated, and I am glad to see that last year the Parliament of New South Wales set us a good example by passing a Bill—introduced by Mr. J. M. Creed in a speech which showed that even in sparsely peopled Australia the evils of the burial system are beginning to make themselves felt—authorising and regulating the practice of cremation in that colony.

So far the cremation movement has hardly reached that stage where its aid can prudently be invoked for the solution of the difficulty which arises in connection with the disposal of our dead poor. The practice, however, lends itself pre-eminently to such a purpose, and from every point of view would be preferable to the disgusting system of huddling them into common graves at present resorted to. So strongly has the difficulty been felt that so long ago as 1844 the sanction and authority of the city of London was asked and obtained for the cremation within the City of London gasworks of the dead of Bridewell Hospital, and an arrangement was also concluded for the cremation of the bodies of dead prisoners and the condemned meat and offal of the markets.*

deceased should be cremated, carefully and separately investigated the circumstances connected with the death. I declare that there are no circumstances connected with the death which could in my opinion make exhumation of the body hereafter requisite.'

If the certificates are not considered sufficiently explicit or satisfactory by the Council of their Society or their representative, they may demand an autopsy, and in all cases they reserve the right of refusing to cremate without assigning any reason. The fee charged for the use of the Crematorium is £5, and the cost of transit from London to Woking is about the same sum. In the case of persons desiring during life to ensure the cremation of their bodies after death, the Cremation Society is itself prepared, in consideration of a donation of ten guineas, to undertake its performance provided the rules as to certificates are complied with, and the friends of the deceased interpose no objection.

* *Essie*, *Society of Arts Journal*, Feb. 15, 1878.

The project, introduced in such a fashion, naturally evoked strong opposition, and the permission was allowed to lapse. In 1884 the propriety of erecting a public crematory at Ilford was discussed by the Metropolitan Commissioners of Sewers, and Dr. Sedwick Saunders, the Medical Officer of Health, having reported strongly in favour of the sanitary advantages of cremation, a committee was appointed to enquire into the matter. That committee recommended that in view of the then uncertainty of the law it would be unwise to proceed further at the time. Since then the subject has come up in Paris, where the municipality has taken steps for the erection of a crematorium for the disposal of the unclaimed dead; in Vienna, where it was some time ago stated that it had been decided to erect a public crematorium, and in Leicester, where the appointment of a municipal committee to report upon the subject was recently announced. This would seem to indicate that the practice only requires to become familiarised to the public mind by its voluntary adoption among the wealthier and more intelligent classes, to spread in directions where its advantages would speedily make themselves felt. If generally adopted, apart from hygienic and sentimental considerations, it could be carried out with an economy unattainable under any form of sepulture. Instead of between 2,000 and 3,000 acres being required to accommodate the dead of London, instead of Manchester requiring to expend £100,000 on a new cemetery, even assuming that the ashes of all cremated persons were to be preserved in urns in perpetuity, it has been calculated that a space of 125 acres would serve to accommodate the wants of a population of two and a half millions for more than 1,000 years.* Were the practice to become general the necessary cost of the operation would be no more than a few shillings for fuel.

The various objections raised against cremation on sentimental and religious grounds are rapidly vanishing under the light of full discussion. This has already made it abundantly evident that the slow putrefaction of the grave is synonymous

* *Essays on the Economy of Cremation*, page 5.

with countless horrors which the mind shudders to contemplate, from which the prompt disintegration of the body by fire is altogether free. As to religious scruples, it is undoubtedly a fact that as Christianity triumphed over Paganism in Europe, burning, as a means of disposing of the dead, gave place to burial, and that for centuries that custom has been universal throughout Christendom. But there is nothing in the Christian Scriptures either enjoining burial or forbidding cremation, and the preference for the former custom among the early Christians is easily intelligible on grounds quite independent of and apart from religious conviction. Burial could be conducted in secret, burning could not, and in their long struggle with persecution the early Christians must have found that secrecy was necessary to avoid molestation in the performance of those religious rites which every creed associates with the disposal of the dead. Doubtless, too, they were influenced by the example of the Jewish people among whom their religion had had its birth, and by veneration for a practice which had been hallowed in the person of its Divine Founder. On the other hand, cremation, as practised by their Pagan contemporaries, would as certainly be identified with Pagan rites which would render it an abomination in their eyes, and in the darker ages the visible destruction of the body by fire might easily come to be considered as placing a barrier in the way of that resurrection of the body which is a fundamental article of the Christian creed. But it is now universally known that so far as the body is concerned the ultimate results of the processes of decomposition and combustion are identical. That 'no intelligent faith can suppose that any Christian doctrine is affected by the manner in which or the time in which this mortal body of ours crumbles into dust,'* is a doctrine which has been laid down in connection with cremation by earnest and orthodox divines, while the example of the Christian martyrs who suffered at the stake or in the arena, adduced by so exemplary a Christian as the late Lord Shaftesbury, has carried to innumerable minds the conviction that so

* The late Bishop of Manchester, Social Science Congress, 1879.

far as the hereafter is concerned it can matter nothing whether the body is buried, or burned, or devoured by wild beasts.

Abandoning sentimental and religious grounds, therefore, the opponents of cremation now base their cardinal objection on medico-legal considerations. It is said that in cases of death arising from foul play, if the body is buried it can be subsequently exhumed and examined, but if burned every trace of the crime is lost for ever. This is a real and practical objection, but one which examination proves to be by no means so serious as it at first sight appears to be. Among our fellow subjects in India tens and probably hundreds of thousands of bodies are annually burned or exposed to be devoured by birds of prey, a method of disposal open to precisely the same objection, but we hear no complaints about the concealment of crime through the prevalence of these practices in that huge dependency. Some four thousand bodies of persons who have died at sea on board British ships are each year buried in the deep, where any subsequent examination is as impossible as if they had been destroyed by fire, and no protest has ever been made against the practice on medico-legal grounds. On the other hand, it may be safely asserted that the burial laws in the United Kingdom, as far as the question of their affording any protection against foul play is concerned, might almost as well not exist. They make provision—more or less illusory—for a medical certificate of the fact of death, but none for any effective verification of its cause.

From the last published returns of the English Registrar General for 1885, it appears that in that year in England and Wales out of a total of 522,750 deaths only 476,806 were certified by medical practitioners, and of these in 26,637 cases the cause of death as set forth in the certificate was 'ill-defined' or 'non-specified.' Of the remaining deaths 27,798 were certified with or without inquest by coroners, and 18,146 were not certified at all. From these figures it would appear that besides an annual total of certified deaths in which the cause of death is 'ill-defined' or 'non-certified' about equal to the total aggregate deaths in the eight principal towns of Scotland, in a number of cases equal to the aggregate annual

mortality of Edinburgh and Glasgow burials in England and Wales took place each year without the production of any medical or coroner's certificate whatever. The hollowness of the pretence that such a system can afford any safeguard for the detection of crime is too obvious to require comment. The Report of the Registrar-General for Scotland for 1885 does not give the numbers of certified and non-certified deaths in that country, but the state of affairs so far as affording any safeguard for the discovery of foul play is concerned is even worse than in England. Within a comparatively recent period 20 per cent. of all the deaths in Scotland were non-certified, and what the present position is may be judged from some details published by Dr. Russell, the able Medical Officer of Health in Glasgow, in his Vital Statistics of that city for 1885. From these it appears that prior to 1876 the average proportion of non-certified deaths in Glasgow was 22 per cent. Since then there has been a steady reduction, but this has been due not to any improvement in our burial laws but to a provision of the Friendly Societies Act which provides that no society shall pay any sum of money on the death of a member under ten years of age, except on the exhibition of a certificate of registration which the registrar can only grant on the production of a certificate signed by a medical practitioner as to the cause of death. The result has been that in ten years the percentage of uncertified deaths in Glasgow has fallen from 22 per cent. to below 7 per cent. But the utter worthlessness of the certificates which pass muster under the system may be judged by the fact that a considerable number of them 'are simply an expression of opinion of a doctor called in after death to view the body, the doctor being called in only when the parent finds that without a certificate the money cannot be got.' Dr. Russell mentions one case as having come under his notice, in which a child had died without medical attendance, and the cause of death was registered as debility, subsequently altered to *tabes mesenterica* on the opinion of the registrar based on a statement of the parents. For certain reasons Dr. Russell reported the death to the Fiscal, when, to prevent a post-mortem examination the parents referred to one practitioner

who was prepared to certify that the cause of death was convulsions, and produced a certificate from another that the child had died of acute pneumonia. The sheriff, however, ordered an examination which revealed the fact that death had been caused by tubercular meningitis. Notwithstanding the laxity with which these certificates are granted we find that in Glasgow in 1885, out of 13,000 deaths 1,138 were non-certified, 654 of the persons concerned having confessedly had no medical attendance whatever during their fatal illness, and the remainder having been prescribed for at some public dispensary or druggist's shop, but regarding the cause of whose death no certificate could be got, generally because the prescriber could not identify the case. If we may assume the case of Glasgow to afford a fair specimen of the state of affairs in Scotland generally, it would follow that independently of thousands of instances in which the certificates of death obtained are of no value whatever, in a number of cases exceeding the total annual deaths in Edinburgh, and equalling the total aggregate annual deaths in Dundee and Aberdeen, persons are even now each year buried in Scotland without the production of any certificate whatever as to the cause of death.

So far back as 1843 the result of that peculiarity of the Scottish law, which provides no regular machinery analogous to the English Coroner's Court for the investigation of sudden and mysterious deaths, was brought under the attention of the Government in Mr. Edwin Chadwick's report to the Home Secretary. Mr. Chadwick, at page 175 of that report, quotes the evidence of various witnesses on the subject. Thus, Dr. Scott Alison, a distinguished physician, stated that in Scotland there was the fullest opportunity for the perpetration of murder and burial without investigation by any responsible officer. There was no coroner, no inquest, and he had known cases of the occurrence of deaths from culpable negligence to say the least of it, which required public proceedings to be taken, but where interment took place without the slightest notice. Another of the witnesses quoted was Mr. William Chambers, the well-known *littérateur*, who stated that deaths were continually occurring in Scotland from violence, but of which not the slightest notice was

taken by procurators-fiscal or police. A third witness was Mr. Hill Burton, the Scottish historian, who pointed out that there is no family in Scotland who would not feel a demand by a procurator-fiscal or by any individual to inspect a body within their house as very nearly equivalent to a charge of murder, and he thought it of very rare occurrence that any such inspection took place in a private house unless when a prosecution had been decided upon. This was the state of matters many years ago, and it is no better now. I have repeatedly had cases brought under my notice in which even when medical evidence indicative of mystery or something worse was submitted to the authorities no action was taken, and not very long ago, information having been sent to me of the occurrence within a few months in a single county of Scotland of three different cases strongly suggestive of infanticide, I asked a question in the House of Commons which elicited the fact that until my question appeared upon the paper, no steps whatever were taken by the local authorities to send any report upon the subject to the Crown Office.

With our law as to the verification of death in such a condition, it is absurd to say that the introduction of cremation under proper regulations as to the production of evidence that no ground for suspicion existed—with provision for post-mortem examination in any case where the cause of death was in any way doubtful—would not afford a more effectual check on crime than is to be found in our existing burial laws. As a matter of fact, in Milan a case of accidental poisoning, in which the ordinary certificates for burial had been given, and which, if burial had taken place, would never have been discovered, was brought to light through the stringency of the requirements as to the production of satisfactory evidence before the grant of permission to cremate. For the detection of foul play, methodical, prompt and immediate verification of the cause of death is infinitely more important than the possibility of subsequent access to the remains. Cases are of course recorded in which crime has been brought home by means of exhumation and analysis even at considerable intervals after death. But the processes of decay rapidly destroy all evidence of injury to the more perishable

tissues. They destroy also all traces of organic poisons and even of some mineral ones, and modern chemical researches have proved that putrifaction of itself gives rise to the formation of poisonous alkaloids (or ptomaines), so that the discovery by physiological tests, as they are called—that is, by the effects upon the lower animals of poisonous material extracted from the viscera of a decaying body—can no longer be regarded as affording that conclusive proof which it was regarded as constituting in former days. On the other hand, direct experiment has shewn that with one or two exceptions, the mineral poisons which resist the process of decay are discoverable in the ash after cremation. Finally, as precautions which would be resisted if endeavoured to be imported into an established custom like burial, would be accepted without hesitation in connection with a new departure like cremation, there can be small room for doubt but that even from the medico-legal point of view, a system of controlled cremation might be made infinitely more protective against crime than that of burial, either as it at present exists, or than it could be made under any reforms which it would be feasible to engraft upon our burial laws.*

Bearing in mind the short time which has elapsed since the modern cremation movement took its rise, and the strength of the prejudice against which it has had to contend—remembering the legal obstacles which it has had to overcome, the progress which it has made throughout the civilized world is well calculated to inspire its sympathisers with encouragement and hope. As the merits of the question have become more familiar to the public, the tone of public opinion regarding it, as reflected in the public press and at public meetings, has undergone a pronounced change. The practice is no longer ridiculed and denounced. It is discussed with a respect and friendliness which leaves nothing to desire. The arguments founded on custom and prejudice have one by one been abandoned, and when any hostile reserva-

* Before the legality of cremation in England had been established, in order to meet the scruples of the Home Office the Cremation Society offered to undertake to hold a post-mortem examination on each body cremated, and to preserve specimens of the viscera for examination if required for 20 years. .

tion is made it is based almost exclusively on medico-legal grounds, which, whatever be their weight—and I believe it to be very small—are inapplicable in a country like ours where cremation at this moment is subject to no legal control or regulation whatever. The experience of Italy, Germany, and the United States, where the practice has been in existence a few years longer than among ourselves, has shown that its tendency is rapidly to spread, and though in the two years which have elapsed since Mrs. Pickersgill's body was committed to the flames at Woking, comparatively little progress has been made in this country, I have no doubt the same tendency to development will speedily manifest itself here which has been so remarkable elsewhere.

When the hand of death has laid some loved one low, it may be suddenly, in the midst of health and strength, it may be after months of lingering illness and wearing pain, the faculties of the bereaved survivors are numbed and stricken. At such a moment the strongest minded man is less than at any other time inclined to set his individual opinions as to what is right and proper against the conventional routine of the world in which he lives. To escape from the trammels of custom requires immediate resolution and action. It demands not only indifference to offensive comment and tittle-tattle, but probably also painful disregard for the prejudices of dear and intimate friends. It is not surprising, therefore, that even those who most firmly believe in the advantages of cremation over inhumation as a means of disposing of the dead, when the time for action arrives lack the energy and decision to carry their convictions into practice, and with more or less pain and reluctance resign the remains of him or her for whom they mourn into the ghastly jaws of the grave and revolving years of putrefying corruption. But the number of reflecting men and women with whom the prospect of escaping that revolting fate through swift and pure disintegration by fire is a cherished dream is daily widening, and as the knowledge spreads that every facility for the performance of the rite can be found within a few miles of London, I have little doubt that year by year the number of fire-burials in our midst will multiply, that the force of example will

lend courage to the timid, and that the tendency among local authorities to substitute the prompt, innocuous and economical action of the crematorium for the noisome and revolting system at present resorted to for the disposal of the corpses of our poor, will be encouraged by an intelligent public opinion, in a direction which will conduce at once to the respect due to the dead and to the health and well-being of the living.

CHARLES CAMERON.

ART. II.—THE CORONATION OF CHARLES II. AT SCONE.

THE Coronation of Charles II. at Scone upon New Year's Day, 1651, possesses a special and melancholy interest as being the last Coronation which ever took place in Scotland. It also possesses the unique character of being the only ceremony of the kind which was performed under purely Presbyterian auspices, the one other Presbyterian Coronation having been that of a Queen Consort, viz., Anne of Denmark, at Holyrood, May 17, 1590. Posterity is therefore very fortunate in possessing a detailed contemporary account of the Scone ceremony in the shape of the pamphlet entitled, *The Forme and Order of the Coronation of Charles the Second, King of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland. As it was acted and done at Scoone, the first day of January, 1651. Aberdene, Imprinted by James Brown, 1651.* This pamphlet went through several editions. One of these bears the name of the Rev. Robert Dowglas, probably because the greater part of the contents consist of the sermon and exhortations delivered by him. The other editions are, however, more strictly correct in omitting any author's name upon the title, since the description of the ceremonial is not the work of Mr. Dowglas, but of Sir James Balfour, the Lord Lyon King of Arms, who officiated upon the occasion, as he had also already done at the Coronation of Charles I. in 1633.

The Coronation itself was an act of singular courage and

devotion upon the part of the Scottish Government, not only troubled by the Malignants in the North and the Remonstrants in the West, but with the very existence of the country jeopardised by the presence of the English Republican invaders. 'It cannot be denied,' writes Baillie at the end of the year, 'that our miseries and dangers of ruin are greater than for many ages have been; a potent victorious enemy master of our seas, and for some good time of the best part of our land; our standing forces against this his imminent invasion, few, weak, inconsiderable; our Kirk, State, army, full of divisions and jealousies; the body of our people be-south Forth spoiled, and near starving; they be-north Forth extremely ill-used by an handful of our own; many inclining to treat and agree with Cromwell, without care either of King or Covenant; none of our neighbours called upon by us, or willing to give us any help, though called. What the end of all shall be, the Lord knows. Many are ready to faint with discouragement and despair: yet divers are waiting on the Lord, expecting He will help us in our great extremity, against our most unjust oppressors.' It had been originally intended that the ceremony should take place upon Aug. 15, but it had been delayed, and meanwhile had taken place the battle of Dunbar. This terrible disaster had been followed by some relaxation of the sternness of the Government with regard to Engagers and even to others. Parliament was sitting at Perth since November. On the 29th day of that month it passed an 'Act ordaining His Majesty to be crowned at Scone, upon Wednesday, the first of January next; and this Act to be proclaimed at the Cross of Perth, by Lyon King of Arms.' The English were now in possession of Edinburgh. Had the capital been in their own hands, the Government might very probably have celebrated the Coronation in the Abbey Church of Holyrood. As it was, however, the spot chosen seems even more happy. The last Scottish Coronation took place at Scone, the immemorial metropolis of the Pictish monarchy before the VIII.th Century, at a later date the seat of the Scottish Royalty, and upon the summit of that very Mote Hill, the *Mount of Belief*, which seems to have gained its name when Nectan MacDerili in 710 embraced the

customs of the Church of Rome, and upon which, in the year 907, 'Constantine the King and Cellach the Bishop vowed that the laws and discipline of the Faith, and the rights of the Churches and the Gospels, should be kept equally as amongst the Scots.'

The Coronation pieces, or commemorative medals to be flung among the populace on the occasion, had been designed by Sir James Balfour, at Charles' command, as early as July 9. They were to bear on the obverse the King's face, with the inscription, 'Carol: Secundus, D.G., Scot: Angl: Fran. et Hyber: Rex, Fidei defensor, etc.,' and, on the reverse, a lion rampant, holding in his paw a thistle of three stems, with the circumscription 'Nemo me impune lacessit,' and below the lion's foot, on the limbe 'Coronat: die . . . Mensis . . . A° 1650.' In the case of Charles I. these medals had been of gold and silver, but on Dec. 18, the Master of the Mint had to be ordered, if he could not coin them of gold and silver, at least to 'cast them in medals,' seemingly in copper or baser metals. There is, however, no further trace of their having been made at all at the time, or of any largesse of them at the Coronation, as usual on such occasions, but a few seem to have been executed, at least in the precious metals, either then or afterwards, and were probably distributed as remembrances.* The reverse is as intended by Sir James, except that the lion

* Mr. Cochran Patrick favours the writer with the following note upon the subject. 'There is undoubtedly a Coronation medal of Charles II., though it is very rare. I have a specimen in my cabinet in gold: and others exist in the British Museum, and in the Duke of Athole's collection, besides Mr. Coat's specimen. The same medal in silver exists in the collection of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, (formerly in the Advocates' Library), in the British Museum, and in the cabinets of Paris and Munich. Unlike the Coronation medals of Charles I., this piece is not "struck," but always *cast*, and then slightly "tooled." This mode of manufacture accounts probably for its rarity and for the fact that it was not used as largesse at the Coronation. If it had, it would almost certainly have been mentioned by Sir James Balfour, whose account is very minute, and who mentions the largesse of special pieces at the Coronation of Charles I. I enclose a spare copy of the illustration of the medal, which will save a long description.'

is rampant *guardant*, and the only inscription is 'Nemo me impune lacesset' (not *laccessit*). The obverse bears the King's bust—an unpleasing but seemingly striking likeness. He has no beard or moustache, but long hair. He wears the Scottish crown. His plain turn-down collar is folded over the ermine tippet of the Coronation robe, which is also encircled by the collar of the Garter. Around is the legend 'Carolus 2, D.G. Sco. Ang. Fra. & Hi. Rex. Fi. De. cor. 1 ia. Scou. 1651.'

There would appear also to have been some trouble about the expense of the ceremony itself. There are several notices upon the subject, and a month's maintenance in advance was levied for this purpose upon those parts of the country which were not infested by the enemy.

The actual arrangement of the ceremonial was entrusted, on October 14th, to a Committee consisting of the Earl of Lothian (Secretary of State), the Lord Balcarres, the Treasurer Depute (Sir Daniel Carmichael of Hyndford), the Lord Advocate (Sir Thomas Nicolson), the Earl of Angus (so called by courtesy, being the eldest son of the Marquess of Douglas), the Lyon King of Arms (Sir James Balfour), Sir Adam Hepburne of Humbie, Member for Haddingtonshire, Sir John Smythe, one of the Members for the city of Edinburgh, and Mr. Hew Kennedy, Member for the burgh of Ayr. The instructions to this Committee were renewed upon November 20th; upon December 2nd, Arthur Erskine of Scotsraig, the Master of the Robes, was directed to attend them; and upon December 5th, they made their report, which was read in the House, when it was 'ordered that His Majesty call such of the Parliament as he pleases, and condescend who are they that shall be actors, whose names are left blank in the report.' The probability is that the work fell mainly upon Sir James Balfour, to whom the arrangement of State ceremonies especially appertained as Lord Lyon, and who had already officiated in that capacity at the Coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood in 1633. He had the assistance in his task of at least a recollection of those old records of State ceremonies by which the arrangement of Charles I.'s Coronation had seemingly been at least partially guided, which formerly existed in the Lyon office, and the loss

of which we owe to the ravages of Cromwell. On December 18th, an Order was sent to command the attendance at the Coronation of the Lord High Constable (the Earl of Erroll), and the Earl Marischal. They were both strong Engagers, if nothing more, and had not taken their places in Parliament. They were however now called up to perform their hereditary duties as great Officers of State on the approaching occasion. It was probably in connection with such cases that on December 27, a question was 'remitted to the bodies to consider whether or not those that were licensed to kiss His Majesty's hands, being restrained by former Acts, shall be liberated of these Acts or not.'

The Committee were placed in communication with the Commission of the General Assembly, for the arrangement of the religious part of the ceremony, and it is rather ominous of differences of opinion that so late as December 30th, the day but one before that of the Coronation, a conference had still to be held upon the wording of the oaths to be taken by the King and people respectively. At the same time (November 27th) that the King and Parliament had opened communication with the Commission of Assembly upon the subject, they had expressed a wish that there might be a Fast before the Coronation, 'to crave the Lord's blessing to the action.' This, it is hardly necessary to observe, is in strict conformity with the pre-Reformation practice; for instance, the *Roman Pontifical* requires the King who is to be crowned to fast on the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday preceding the Coronation Sunday; the English custom did not make such a prescription, but in this point, as in some others, the Covenanters, from whatever cause, followed the Roman precedent as opposed to the English. Accordingly, the Lord Chancellor, two days later, made a report to the House, from the Conference with the Church, anent two solemn Fasts—one for the contempt of the Gospel, another for the sins of the King, his family and nobility; and the Coronation to be immediately thereafter. The former Fast was consequently observed upon Sunday, Dec. 22nd, and the latter upon Thursday, Dec. 26th. About the first Fast there was a good deal of dissension. All were

thoroughly at one as to the sinfulness of the Royal House, and as to the general fact of contempt of the Gospel, but they were not agreed as to the particular points in which that contempt consisted. Baillie, who seems to have laboured at the time under a good deal of irritation, writes, 'Cromwell is daily expected to march towards Stirling, to mar the Coronation, which, sore against my heart, was delayed to the first of January, on pretence of keeping a Fast for the sins of the King's family on Thursday next. We mourned on Sunday last for the contempt of the Gospel, according to Mr. Dickson's motion, branched out by Mr. Wood. Also you see in the printed papers, upon other particulars the Commission at Stirling, which appointed these Fasts, could not agree. The Remonstrants pressed to have sundry sins acknowledged which others denied, and would not now permit them to set down as they would what causes of Fast they liked. Surely we had never more causes of mourning, be the causes, what God knows, visible or invisible, confessed or denied, unseen or seen, by all but the most guilty.' The particular points of contempt were at last left to the discretion of the clergy. Lamont notes, 'The Fast appointed by the Commission of the Kirk to be kept through the kingdom before the Coronation was kept at Largo the foresaid day [Dec. 22nd], by Mr. James M'Gill; his lecture, Rev. iii., from v. 14 to the end of the chapter; his text, Rev. ii., v. 4, 5. Upon the Thursday following, the 26th of this instant, the Fast was kept in like manner; his lecture, 2nd Chronicles, xxix. to v. 12; his text, 2nd Chronicles, xii., 15. The causes of the first day (not read) was the great contempt of the Gospel, holden forth in its branches; of the second day (which were read), the sins of the King, and of his father's house, where sundry offences of King James the 6 were acknowledged, and of King Charles the 1, and of King Charles the 2, now King.'

The King, while he particularly designated—or, as the old Scottish phrase has it, 'condescended'—doubtless with the advice of the Government, those who were to enact the chief parts in the approaching ceremony, seems to have declined the invidious task of inviting any particular Members of Parliament to the exclusion of others. He probably expressed a general

wish that all should be present, which, considering their limited number and the peculiar circumstances of the occasion, would indeed have been wise and right. On Dec. 27th, Parliament 'ordered that His Majesty's Coronation be no Parliamentary act, but that the Parliament conclude to-morrow, and those only to attend the Coronation who are interested in the same.' But on the afternoon of the same day they 'resolved that some of the Barons [i.e. County Members], and Burghs [Members] be appointed, by their Bodies, to represent the same, and attend His Majesty's Coronation.' This seems to imply that the Peers would attend as a matter of course, and they would naturally have done so, in order to perform their homage. The language of Sir James Balfour seems to indicate that the whole of the County and Burgh Members were also present. He says that 'the Commissioners of Burghs, and Barons, and the Noblemen, accompanied His Majesty to the Kirk of Scone, in order and rank according to their quality, two and two;' and that in the church itself there were 'seats about for Noblemen, Barons, and Burgesses.' The inference is that the representatives appointed by the two Bodies were named after the manner of a Committee of the whole House, and comprised, like those of the Peers, the whole of their number; this inference is strengthened by the fact that, with the exception of a very few names one way or the other, almost such as may be accounted for by illness or accident, the list of the whole House on Nov. 26th is the same as that of the Committee of the House which was appointed at Perth upon Dec. 30th, and which met in the Presence-Chamber the day after the Coronation; and their names will be given here presently upon this supposition.

On the afternoon of Monday, Dec. 30th, amid a great deal of other business, Erskine of Scotsraig, on behalf of the Earl Marischal, received an acknowledgment for the Regalia from the Marquess of Argyll, to whom they were then entrusted by order of Parliament. The King was present in Parliament on this evening. On the next day, the last of the year 1650, he must have gone to Scone, where he occupied the Palace, a structure of various periods erected upon the site of the monastic buildings by successive Commendators, especially by the

first Viscount Stormont, who had deceased in 1631. Of this edifice there are views in the Introduction to the *Liber Ecclesie de Scon*, and in Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*. The principal apartment in it was the gallery, about 167 ft. long, the ceiling of which was decorated in water-colour with scenes of the hunting and hawking, for which James VI. had been accustomed to resort thither. The bed-room and furniture used by Charles are still pointed out by tradition.

The antient Abbey Church of Scone, in which so many scenes of the national history had taken place, was wrecked and burnt by a mob, principally from Dundee, notwithstanding the exertions of the Magistrates of Perth, of John Knox and others, in June, 1559. The first Lord Stormont about the year 1624 pulled down the ruins of this old church, and built a new and smaller church upon the top of the very Mote Hill itself, having a North aisle which thenceforward formed, as it still forms, the burying-place of his family, and in it stood in 1651, as it stands at this day, his magnificent monument. Unfortunately for history, the church, with the exception of the aisle in question, was pulled down in 1784. There is a distant view of it in Plate 35 of Slezer's *Theatrum Scotiæ*, which represents it as a small gabled building, buried in trees, and surrounded at some distance by a wall with a sort of lych-gate towards the Palace. Without any plan of this church, it is not easy to understand with accuracy how it was arranged for the ceremony. The smallness was evidently very inconvenient, as a door had to be made on purpose by which the King could come out upon a platform in the open air, in order that the populace might have the pleasure of seeing him in his Royal Robes, wearing the crown and bearing the sceptre. In fault of better information, it may be conjectured that the church was a plain, oblong building, with the Stormont family aisle upon the North, and no aisle upon the South.

Assuming that such was the shape, the next point is to take Sir James Balfour's description of the preparations.

'The Kirk being fitted, and prepared with a table, whereupon the Honours [Regalia] were laid; and a chair set in a fitting place for His Majesty hearing of sermon, over against the minister; and another chair

on the other side, where he sat when he received the crown ; before which there was a bench decently covered ; as also seats about for Noblemen, Barons, and Burgesses.

‘And there being also a Stage in a fit place erected of 24 foot square, about four foot high from the ground, covered with carpets, with two stairs, one from the West and another from the East ; upon which great stage there was another little stage erected, some two foot high, ascending by two steps, on which the Throne or Chair of State was set.’

It may be assumed that part of the ‘fitting’ of the church consisted in hanging the walls with tapestry. Such appears to have always been more or less the custom on such occasions in all countries, the display of tapestry in the Cathedral at Rheims, at the Coronations of the Kings of France being, in especial, truly magnificent. We know that tapestry was used to decorate the Church of Holyrood for Charles I.’s Coronation in 1633. It is improbable that the custom of Scotland should have differed from that of all other countries in this respect, or that it should have been purposely departed from at Scone, and the Palaces of Stirling and Falkland, not to mention the houses of subjects who would gladly have contributed it, must have afforded an ample supply of pieces displaying suitable Biblical, allegorical, and historial designs. The arrangement of what may be called the ceremonial fittings of the church offers much more difficulty. It appears from a passage in the description of the subsequent proceedings that the chair in which the King was crowned was on the North side. Hence the pulpit must have been on the North side also, and the chair in which the King heard the sermon upon the South, where was also the bench decently covered. Who occupied this bench is not stated ; probably the great Officers of State. There was also some space in front of the pulpit where the Commissioners of the General Assembly are described as standing during the taking of the Oath ; and some space again, between them and the chair, where Charles knelt while swearing.

By comparing Sir James Balfour’s description of the arrangement of the church at Scone with that which he gives of the Abbey Church at Holyrood at the Coronation of Charles I., and the latter again with the very detailed plans and accounts of

the Coronation of James VII. (II.) at Westminster Abbey in 1685, it is possible to arrive at a somewhat more exact idea of what is meant, although without a more particular account or a drawing, and especially, as has already been remarked, without a plan of the church, much must still be more or less conjectural.

In neither of the other cases are Members of Parliament other than Peers described as being in the procession or put in special places during the ceremony.* At Holyrood, although the Peers took part in the procession, it is not mentioned where they sat in the church. At Westminster the Peers and Peeresses had benches on the platform or stage, stretching down its North and South sides. In that case, however, the platform was not 24 † but 50 feet broad, and the seats of the Members of Parliament at Scone are spoken of in a different paragraph to that containing the description of the platform, and in connection with the arrangements of the other part of the church. The platform probably occupied, as at Holyrood and Westminster, the middle of the church, and, it may be conjectured, filled up the space between the North aisle and the South wall, while the specially pierced door by which the King passed out to the platform in the open air, in sight of the people, may have been in the South wall. This is rendered all the more probable by the fact that the platform is not, as at Holyrood, described as protected by rails. It is at the same time possible that although the platform may have occupied

* On the morning of Charles I.'s Coronation Day the Peers who met him in the Great Hall of Edinburgh Castle, to invite him to go through the ceremony, were accompanied by six Commissioners from the Barons and as many from the Burghs, but Sir James Balfour makes no further mention of these gentlemen, although he gives a minute description both of the procession to Holyrood and of the subsequent proceedings.

† The size at Scone seems to have been regulated upon that at Holyrood, unless, indeed, it were through a coincidence, by the actual breadth of the church itself. At Holyrood it seems to have been regulated by the size of the lantern, as Sir James says it was fastened to four pillars. At Westminster the minimum space between the piers of the lantern is 32 feet, and the platform has been extended beyond them.

the entire breadth of the church, it may have been nearer to the Western than to the Eastern end, so as to leave more space towards the East. The part of the church to the Eastward of the platform must have answered to the chancel of Holyrood or Westminster. Both at Holyrood and Westminster the pulpit was in this part, and it is all the more likely that it was so also at Scone if the throne on the platform looked Eastward, as was certainly the case at Westminster and probably at Holyrood. Moreover, at Scone the minister uttered the last exhortation to the King, then sitting on the platform, from the pulpit, so that they must have looked toward each other. At Holyrood the pulpit was very strangely placed at the North-East corner of the sanctuary, with the chair in which the King was crowned close to it, and benches for the Bishops between it and the platform. This cannot have been the case at Scone, as the chair on the South side, where the King heard the sermon, was over against it. It seems therefore to have been placed as at Westminster, against the North wall, at the North-East corner of the platform. It may also be remarked that this position for the pulpit—viz., towards the middle of one side—is that which it seems almost uniformly to have occupied in oblong churches in Scotland, both before and since the Reformation, until of quite recent years. It is even possible that if, as has been suggested as one hypothesis, the platform was nearer to the Western than to the Eastern end of the building, the pulpit may have occupied the usual situation in such cases, in the exact middle of the side, being left unaltered for the occasion. It was perhaps hung with velvet, as at Holyrood, or some other covering. It may be conjectured that the Commissioners of the General Assembly sat on a bench to the East of the pulpit, *i. e.*, in the same position as was occupied by the Bishops at Westminster, and, saving the different position of the pulpit, at Holyrood. At Scone there was no Altar, as at Holyrood and Westminster, and Sir James Balfour's expression that there were 'seats *about*' for the noblemen, barons, and burgesses, seems to imply that they sat all round. Hence we may suppose that some sat along the East wall, facing West, being perhaps the County and Burgh Members, as most

numerous. It must be remembered that the whole number of Members of Parliament cannot have much exceeded one hundred, if they were indeed so numerous, and the Peers might have sat on a few benches against the South wall. At Holyrood the Regalia stood upon a sort of credence table, South of the altar. At Scone, this table probably stood out in the middle. It may, as at Holyrood, have been covered with green velvet,* laced and fringed with gold.

To sum up this conjectural restoration. The church being assumed to be about 60 or 70 feet long by 24 broad (omitting the family aisle to the North), was hung round with tapestry, and in the centre, or Westward of the centre, a square of 24 feet was occupied by the carpeted platform, in the midst of which stood the throne, or third chair of State, without a canopy, facing East. At the North-East corner of the platform stood the pulpit facing South, and between it and the North-East corner of the building were benches for the Commissioners of the General Assembly. In front of them, and brought well forward so as to be seen of all, was the second chair of State, in which the King was crowned. Against the East wall, benches for the Commoners, about 70 in number, and immediately in front of them the table on which lay the Regalia. Against the South wall, seats for the Peers, and in front of them, first, the covered bench for the great Officers of State, and next, immediately opposite the pulpit, and close to the South-East corner of the platform, the first chair of State, in which the King sat during the sermon. If, owing to want of space, the places could not have been allocated as thus suggested, room must have been found for some of the members of Parliament in the western part of the church and in the family aisle. In any case, whatever space they left unoccupied was doubtless crowded by the favoured few for whom it was possible to find entrance, and who must have included Charles' household, headed by the Duke of Buckingham, and comprising,

* It would be a mistake to suppose that this colour was chosen as that of the Order of the Thistle, which was blue till the time of Queen Anne. Moreover, the Order of the Thistle was in a state of abeyance.

it may be hoped, its two female members, Mrs. Freeman, laundress to the body, and Mrs. Chiffinch,* sempstress.

On the morning of the first of January, the King, clothed in a Prince's robe—that is, of crimson velvet,†—was conducted from his bedroom to the Presence-Chamber, having the Earl of Erroll, Lord High Constable, upon his right hand, and the Earl Marischal upon his left, and was there placed upon a chair of State under a canopy, by the Earl of Angus (the eldest son of the Marquess of Douglas), who had been appointed Lord Chamberlain for that day only. It may be assumed that he was attended by the Duke of Buckingham and other members of his household, and that his train was carried either by some of them, or, most probably, by the same four Earls' eldest sons who afterwards carried it in the procession. It would seem also most likely that he was preceded by the selected Peers carrying the Regalia. After a short time, the members of Parliament, headed by the Earl of Loudoun, Lord Chancellor and President of Parliament, entered the Hall, and presented themselves before him. The majority of the Peers carried their coronets, and wore Coronation robes, that is, in the case of those down to the rank of Viscounts inclusive, of crimson velvet, and in the case of the Barons, of scarlet cloth.‡ The Earls

* Query, Is Mrs. Chiffinch calumniated in *Peveril of the Peak*?

† The practice of the King going to his Coronation in a Prince's robe, to be exchanged for the Royal robe during the ceremony, also prevailed in England, (where, however, the King assumed a golden garment called a Pall during the ceremony, and only put on the Royal robe before leaving the church). At the Coronation of James VII. (II.) at Westminster, in 1685, the Princely and Kingly robes were exactly the same, except that the former was crimson and the latter purple. They were 16 ft. 2 in. long, the train sloping to a point; the capes of the richest ermine, 2 ft. 5 in. long on the back and 3 inches less on the breast; they were faced and bordered all round with the richest embossed gold lace 3 in. broad, lined throughout with ermine, and edged with an inch of the same; to the neck were fastened cords of crimson and gold interwoven, with large tassels at the ends, tied in a bow. From the fact that Charles is represented on his Coronation piece wearing the collar of the Garter over the cape of his Kingly robe, it may be regarded as certain that he wore it on the occasion and very likely had it on over his Princely robe at the beginning.

‡ Thus it was at the coronation of Charles I., when the same distinction in their homage was also made as at that of Charles II.

of Cassillis, Buccleuch, Haddington, and some others formed, according to the statement of Lamont's Diary, an exception, and appeared without robes. The reason was no doubt the impossibility of procuring the necessary quantity of crimson velvet.*

The grounds have been already given for supposing that the whole of the members of Parliament were present, and they were as follows :—†

Thirty or more Peers, viz.,

The Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Loudoun, President.

Marquess of Argyll.

Earl of Sutherland.

„ Eglinton.

„ Cassillis.

„ Linlithgow.

„ Dunfermline.

„ Roxburghe.

„ Buccleuch.

„ Lothian.

„ Wemyss.

„ Tweeddale.

„ Leven.

Viscount Arbuthnot.

„ Newburgh.

Lord Torphichen.

„ Balmerino.

„ Balfour of Burleigh.

„ Coupar.

* Charles I. when crowned at Westminster in 1626, had his royal robe made of white velvet instead of purple, enough purple velvet not being procurable in London.

† This list is compiled from the list of Parliament given by Sir James Balfour under date Nov. 26; that of the Commission to the Committee of Estates, Dec. 30; and that of the meeting of the same Committee at Scone, on Jan. 2, also given by Sir James. If the result given in the text is wrong, it can be so only to a slight extent, and by omission rather than addition. The writer has to thank the present Lyon King of Arms for some corrections and identifications.

Lord Cranston.
 „ Balcarres.
 „ Borthwick.

With these probably came the Lord Lorne, eldest son of the Marquess of Argyll, who, although not a Member of Parliament, had been added as an extra member to the Committee, along with the Lords Angus, Montgomery, Mauchline, and Brechin. There must also have been some other Peers, mainly of the class whose principles had excluded them from Parliament, but their number and names must remain uncertain. Lamont remarks that 'the most part of the noblemen of the kingdom were present.' Among these may have been the Duke of Hamilton and the Marquess of Douglas, especially the latter, as his eldest son was officiating as Lord Chamberlain. We know that the Earl of Rothes carried the sword and the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay the sceptre. Lamont remarks on the Earl of Haddington being present without robes, and the Earl of Lauderdale had been reconciled to the Church at Largo on the preceding Thursday. Moreover, the eldest sons of the Earls of Mar, Perth, Southesk, Dalhousie, Hartfell and Panmure were in attendance on the King's person, and it would therefore seem unlikely that their fathers were absent.

About thirty-six County Members, viz. :

For Lanark,	Sir Thomas Hope of Hopetoun.
„ Stirling,	Sir Charles Erskine of Aloa, and Sir George Buchanan of that Ilk.
„ Berwick,	Sir Alexander Belches of Toftes, and Sir Patrick Hamilton of Lauriston.
„ Clackmannan,	Sir James Rollock of Duncrub.
„ Peebles,	Sir James Murray of Skirling.
„ Kincardine,	Sir Alexander Strachan of Thornton, and Barclay of Johnston.
„ Roxburgh,	Sir Archibald Douglas of Cavers.
„ Perth,	Sir Thomas Ruthven of Freeland.
„ Selkirk,	Sir William Scott of Harden.
„ Moray,	Sir Alexander Sutherland of Duffus.

For Fife,	George Hay of Naughton.
„ Edinburgh,	Sir John Wauchope of Niddrie, and Sir William Scott of Clerkington.
„ Haddington,	Sir Alex. Hepburn of Humbie.

The names of these County Members present considerable difficulty. Sir James Balfour, in his list of the Parliament, mentions ten who are neither in the Commission to the Committee, nor in his list of its members when it assembled. These are—

For Roxburgh (2nd member),	Sir Gilbert Elliott of Stobs.
„ Perth,	„ Blair of Ardblair.
„ Wigtown,	- - Sir David Dunbar, Bart. of Baldoon.
„ Aberdeen,	- - Alexander Shechan of Glenkindie.
„ Forfar,	- - - Henry Maule of Melgund and George Lundie of that Ilk.
„ Fife (2nd member),	David Wemyes of Fingask.
„ Haddington,	- - Sir Adam Hope.
„ Dumfries,	- - Robert Fergusson of Craig- darroch, and James Douglas of Mous- wald.

Both the Commission and Sir James Balfour's list of its members who met on Jan. 2nd, mention two more who are not in his list of the Parliament, viz. :—Robert Hepburn of Keith, Member for the Constabulary of Haddington, and Arthur Erskine of Scotsraig (a Member for Fife?), Master of the Robes. The Commission mentions one whom Sir James does not name in either place, viz., Sir James Campbell of Lawers. With these probably came six, who were not members of Parliament, but whom Sir James mentions as added to the Committee, viz. :—

Sir Archibald Johnstone, Lord Clerk Register.
Sir Thomas Nicolson, Lord-Advocate.

Sir Ludovick Houston of that Ilk.

Alexander Brodie of that Ilk.

Arnot of Ferney.

Sir Daniel Carmichael, Treasurer-Depute.

There is no mention of any members for the counties of Banff, Inverness, Ayr, Renfrew, Argyll, and Bute,* unless Erskine of Scotsraig, or Campbell of Lawers may have represented any of them.

About thirty-four members for Burghs, viz. :—

For Edinburgh,		Sir John Smythe.
		James Monteith.
„ Perth,	-	Andrew Grant.
„ Dundee,	-	Alexander Bower.
„ Aberdeen,	-	John Jeffrey.
„ Kinghorn,	-	John Boswell.
„ St. Andrews,		James Sword.
„ Cupar,	-	George Jameson.
„ Ayr,	-	Hew Kennedy.
„ Kirkcaldy,	-	Robert White.

The following are named as in Parliament, but not on the Committee :—

For Dysart,	-	William Simpson.
„ Anstruther East,		John Lindesay.
„ Pittenweem,		James Richardson.
„ Dunfermline,		Peter Walker.
„ Dunbarton,	-	William Campbell.
„ Burntisland,		George Cairns.
„ Crail,	-	Allan Miller.
„ Anstruther West		David Wilson.
„ Culross,	-	John Burnside.
„ Killinny,	-	Andrew Hewison.

* Sir James, however, names the places, followed by blanks for the names, and this may possibly mean that there were members present, but that he had not heard their names. On March 13, Bute was represented by the laird of Ascog. Banff, Inverness and Argyll are then still given followed by blanks, and Ayr and Renfrew are omitted. A good many new places are named, some followed by the names of members and others by blanks.

The following are mentioned as on the Committee, both in the Commission of Dec. 30th, and in Sir James' list on Jan. 2 ; but they are not in the latter's list of the members of Parliament* :—

For Edinburgh,	Sir William Dick of Braid.
„ Burntisland,	George Gardyne.
„ Stirling, -	John Short.
„ Invernesshire,	John Forbes of Culloden.
„ Irvine, -	Mr. Robert Barclay.
„ St. Andrews,	James Lentron.
„ Aberdeen, -	Mr. Robert Farquhar.
„ Dundee, -	Robert Davidson.

Also Col. James Rae, whose constituency is not certain, and David Wilkie—probably David Wilkie of Dolphingston, as to whom it is uncertain whether he was a Member of Parliament at all. And the four following burgesses, who, though not Members of Parliament, were added to the Committee, viz.,

John Binning.
 William Walker.
 Gilbert Somerville.
 Robert Arnot.

When the members of Parliament stood before the King, the Lord Chancellor thus addressed him :—

‘SIR.—Your good subjects desire that you may be crowned as the righteous and lawful heir of the Crown of this Kingdom, that you may maintain Religion as it is presently professed and established, conform to the National Covenant, and League and Covenant, according to your Declaration in August last; also that you would be graciously pleased to accept them under your Highness' protection, to govern them by the laws of this Kingdom, and to defend them in their rights and liberties, by your Royal Power,—offering themselves

* In the case of the County members, he specially says that he gives only those who were present until the . . . a date which he has not filled in.

in most humble manner to your Majesty, with their vows to bestow land, life, and what else is in their power, for the maintenance of Religion, for the safety of your Majesty's Sacred Person, and maintenance of your Crown, which they entreat your Majesty to accept, and pray Almighty God that for many years you may happily enjoy the same.'

Charles replied :—

'I do esteem the affections of my good people more than the crowns of many kingdoms, and shall be ready, by God's assistance, to bestow my life in their defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see Religion and this Kingdom flourish in all happiness.'

The Coronation procession then immediately moved forward towards the church, where the clergy seem to have awaited it, according to the old Scottish practice. Sir James Balfour merely says that 'the Commissioners of Burghs, and Barons, and the Noblemen, accompanied his Majesty to the Kirk of Scone, in order and rank according to their quality, two and two, the spurs being carried by'—and so on. Assuming, however, that as regards the earlier part of the procession the precedent of that of Charles I. was followed, and with the help of a few scanty notices, we may conjecture it to have been marshalled in the following order :—

Six trumpeters, two and two.

The macers of Parliament.

The Members for Burghs, two and two.

The Members for Counties, two and two.

The Barons, two and two.

The two Viscounts.

The Earls, two and two.

The Lord Chancellor.

The six Pursuivants, two and two.

The six Heralds in their tabards, two and two.

The Master of Requests.

The Lyon King of Arms, between two Gentlemen Ushers.

The spurs, carried by the Earl of Eglinton.

The sword, carried by the Earl of Rothes.

The sceptre, carried by the Earl of Crauford and Lindsay.
The crown, carried by the Marquess of Argyll.

Then came the King himself, walking under a canopy of crimson velvet, and having the Lord High Constable (the Earl of Erroll) on his right, and the Earl Marischal on his left. His train was carried by four Earls' eldest sons, viz., the Lord Erskine, son of the Earl of Mar; the Lord Montgomery, son of the Earl of Eglinton; the Lord Newbottle, son of the Earl of Lothian; and the Lord Mauchline, son of the Lord Chancellor Earl of Loudoun. The canopy was carried by six more eldest sons of Earls, viz., the Lord Drummond, son of the Earl of Perth; the Lord Carnegie, son of the Earl of Southesk; the Lord Ramsay, son of the Earl of Dalhousie; the Lord Johnston, son of the Earl of Hartfell; the Lord Brechin, son of the Earl of Panmure; and the Lord Yester, son of the Earl of Tweeddale. These were assisted by six more sons of Peers.

It may be assumed that the King was followed by the Duke of Buckingham, and other members of his household, and that the procession was closed by a detachment of the Guard. It was doubtless through a line of troops that it issued from the great gateway of the Palace, crossed the intervening space, ascended the Mote Hill, passed through the lych-gate, and finally entered the church built upon the spot where Constantine and Cellach had stood, nearly seven hundred and fifty years before.

The King at once took his position in the chair opposite the pulpit. The Regalia were laid upon the table. All settled down in their places, and, when there was a quiet stillness, the ceremony began with prayer. After the prayer, immediately followed the Coronation sermon.

The officiating minister was the Rev. Robert Dowglas, Moderator of the Commission of the General Assembly, and one of the most eminent of the Scottish clergy of his day. He had been chaplain to the Scottish auxiliaries in the service of Gustavus Adolphus, in whose personal esteem he had gained an high place. Knowledge of the world, and familiarity with the Court and Camp of one of the greatest monarchs in Christ-

endom, thus combined with his ability and learning to adapt him especially well for the task which he was now selected to discharge, and the fact of his having been one of the clergy who had been chosen by the Scottish Parliament to join in their vain effort to prevent the last proceedings against the late King in England, rendered him personally acceptable to the Royal Family. He was a man of firm, but not of extreme principles.* His sermon on the present occasion lasted about an hour and a half, being of the same length as those of other preachers of the period, such as Bossuet and Bourdaloue, although, indeed, Bossuet at least was sometimes longer—his celebrated discourse, for instance, upon the *Unity of the Church*, lasting considerably over two hours. The Coronation sermon of Mr. Dowglas is divided and subdivided into points to such an extent that what may be called its outer ramifications—that is, those points which have no subdivisions—are themselves about sixty in number. The points are, however, necessarily very short. The whole discourse is a singularly clear, able, and powerful exposition of Covenanting principles upon Church and State—Hereditary Constitutional Monarchy, complete Religious Intolerance, and the entire Independence of the Church. While it is replete with Scriptural illustrations, very happily treated, it is also sprinkled with classical and other references which give it a pleasing air of general culture. It contains many striking sayings, such as, ‘The best way to keep power, is moderation in the use of it.’ It is also very moderate in tone, and Mr. Dowglas certainly deserves great credit for the tact with which he managed, on the one hand, to say those things which he must have felt that the conduct of the King’s predecessors, and his own, would have rendered it an unfaithfulness to omit, and, on the other, to avoid as far as possible expressions and allusions which Charles might have had plausible ground

* He was soon afterwards captured by the English, and Cromwell imprisoned him in London, as a punishment for his unflinching loyalty. After the Restoration, he was offered high Episcopal preferment, which he met with an uncompromising refusal. He took advantage of the Indulgence, and in 1669 the Privy Council admitted him as minister to the parish of Pencaitland, where he seems to have died.

for resenting either as a son, a man, or a king, or which would have marred the hopeful gladness of a great national occasion. The sermon is so remarkable that it is better here to give an analysis of it. The choice of the text was certainly very felicitous.

‘And he * brought forth the King’s son, and put the crown upon him, and gave him the Testimony; and they made him king, and anointed him, and they clapt their hands and said, God save the King.

‘And Jehojada made a covenant between the Lord, and the King, and the people, that they should be the Lord’s people, between the King also and the people.’ 2 Kings, xi. 12, 17.

The sermon begins with a very brief historical allusion to the circumstances of the Coronation of Joash, and the speculation of interpreters as to the nature of his relationship to Ahaziah. It is then remarked that the usurpation of Athaliah may have had two motives: (1), she may have found the Supreme Power, enjoyed as Regent, too sweet to be willing to resign it; (2), she wished to set up a false worship, viz., that of Baal, and may have regarded the cutting off of the Royal race as a means to that end. On this the preacher observes that ‘the business you are about this day is not unlike [that of Jehoiada]. You are to invest a young king in the throne in a very troublesome time; and wicked men have risen up, and usurped the kingdom, and put to death the late king most unnaturally. The like motives seem to have prevailed with them [as with Athaliah]: (1) These men by falsehood and dissimulation have gotten power in their hands, which to them is so sweet that they are unwilling to part with it; and because the king and his seed are unwilling to part with it, they have made away the king, and disinherited his children, that the sole power might be in their hand; (2) They have a number of damnable errors, and a false worship to set up, and intend to take away the or-

* i.e. Jehoiada, whose name, however, is spelled as above. No attention is paid to the capital letters which ought to indicate that the word *Lord* represents the Ineffable Name. Otherwise, the quotation is from King James’ Bible, although the Geneva Bible was then, as now, the authorized version in Scotland.

dinances of Christ, and government of His Kirk. All this cannot be done unless they have the sole power—.'

Mr. Dowglas then asks why the Coronation of Joash was performed while Athaliah was still dominant? He suggests (1), that it was a duty in itself to crown the king, and (2), that it was useful, in order to endear the people's affections to their own native Prince. This, he says, is the case now: (1), It is a duty to crown the King, and to leave the success to God; (2), It has been already too long delayed, and 'if it shall be delayed any longer, the fear is that the most part shall sit down under the shadow of the *Bramble*, the destroying usurpers.'

After these two historical exordia, the discourse is divided into five main heads, of which three are taken from the first verse of the text, viz.:—

Firstly, the Crown—'He put the crown upon his head.'

Secondly, the Testimony—'He gave him the testimony.'

Thirdly, the Anointing—'They anointed him.'

And two from the second, viz. :—

Fourthly, the Covenant between God, and the King, and the People. 'Jehojada made a Covenant between God and the King, and the People; that they should be the Lord's people.'

Fifthly, the Covenant between the King and the People—'Between the King also and the People.'

'Firstly, the crown is put upon his head.' Upon this Mr. Dowglas makes three points :

- (1) In putting on of the crown, it should be well fastened. Now, two things cause crowns to totter; these are—
 - (a) Sin—'There are many sins upon our king and his family . . . I shall not insist here, seeing there hath been a solemn Day of Humiliation throughout the land on Thursday last, for the sins of the Royal Family. I wish the Lord may bless it; and desire the King be truly humbled for his own sins, and the sins of his father's house,' &c., &c.
 - (b) Troubles and commotions—'A crown at the best, and in the most calm times, is full of trouble, which, if it were well weighed by men, there would not be such hunting after

crowns. I read of a great man who, considering the trouble and care that accompanied a crown, said he would not take it up at his foot, though he might have it for taking. Now if a crown at the best'—and so on. 'But let the crown be made firm by turning to God, who can establish it like that of David, on whose head he set 'a crown of pure gold.'

- (2) A king should value his people more than his crown, as does Christ Himself, who calls His people His Crown of Glory and Royal Diadem (Ps. lxxii. 3).
- (3) A king should always bear in mind that even the firmest of earthly crowns is but a fading crown after all: and therefore he should have an eye upon the 'crown of glory that fadeth not away,' and the 'kingdom that cannot be shaken: that crown and kingdom belongeth not to kings as kings, but unto believers; and a believing king hath this comfort that when he hath endured for a while, and been tried, he may receive the crown of life, which the Lord hath promised to them that love Him.'

Secondly, the Testimony. By this, says the preacher, is meant the Law of God, because that law testifies what is the mind and will of God. Mr. Dowglas remarks on the command of Deut. xvii. 18, 19, that the Jewish King should make a copy of the Law, and keep it with him for constant study. This, he says, was for three ends, upon each of which he enlarges and applies them to present times. These ends are

- (1.) For his information in the way of God, 'It is reported of Alphonsus, King of Aragon, that he read the Bible fourteen times, with glosses thereupon. I recommend to the King,' etc.
- (2.) For direction in his government.
- (3.) For preservation and custody. 'The King is *custos utriusque tabulae*. . . . Not that he should take upon him the power to dispense the Word of God . . . but that he should preserve the Word of God and the true religion.'

Thirdly. 'The third thing in this solemnity is the anointing of the King.'

Now, as a matter of fact, the Covenantee authorities had de-

terminated that Charles should not be anointed at all, 'because,' as Lamont says, 'the Commission of the Kirk thought it to savour somewhat of superstition.' The history of the ceremony in Scotland was this. It had been first introduced into the country, at the request of Robert the Bruce, to be used for David II., by Pope John XXI. in his Bull of June 13th, 1329. It had been continued since the Reformation by the ministry of Bishops at the Coronations of James VI. and Charles I., at the former of which John Knox himself preached, and also by Presbyterian hands at that of Anne of Denmark. It is not difficult to see that though Mr. Dowglas approved of the disuse of the ceremony, it was his head and not his heart which had been convinced. Indeed, his remarks upon the anointing have the effect of being incongruous and unmeaning in the absence of the antient symbolic rite. He argues against it, however, on the ground that it does not seem to have been absolutely necessary under the Old Testament, but can only be proved to have been used (1) at the inauguration of a new dynasty, (2) in case of a disputed succession, and (3) as a protest against an usurpation, as in the case of Joash. The case of Charles, however, is, by his own showing, a parallel to that of Joash. He therefore says that the anointing of the Jewish kings was typical of the anointing of the Messiah to come, and that as the Messiah is now come, the type ought to cease. He admits that it has been 'in use among Christians, not only Papists but Protestants, as in the kingdom of England, and our late King was anointed with oil,' meaning, as it would appear, in Edinburgh as well as London. It is remarkable that he omits all reference to the cases of James VI. and of Anne of Denmark, which were certainly those most to the point, especially the latter. He proceeds to say that the ceremony was taken from the Jews without warrant, especially by the Popes, who 'did swear them (kings) to the Pope, when they were anointed'—an assertion certainly true of the Bull of John XXI. He says the Anglican Bishops do the same, 'for they anointed the King, and sware him to the maintenance of their Prelatical dignity. They are here who were witnesses at the Coronation of the late King.' Therefore let it be

suppressed. It is singular that it did not strike so able a man as Mr. Dowglas, that he was himself about to administer to the King an oath to the Presbyterian hierarchy than which none of those he condemned had ever been stronger or more stringent. He proceeds to argue that Kings are the anointed of the Lord, without any material unction, and instances the case of Cyrus being so called, in *Is. xlv. 1*. Hence he makes three observations:—

- (1.) 'A King, being the Lord's anointed, should be thinking upon a better unction' of which it is said 'The anointing ye have received of Him abideth in you,' and 'He that hath anointed us is God,' 'The anointing with Grace is better than the anointing with oil.'
- (2.) 'This anointing may put the king in mind of the gifts wherewith kings should be endued, for discharge of the Royal calling.' He cites the case of Saul to whom God gave another heart when he was anointed.

This remark is certainly curiously out of place where there was to be no anointing to remind anybody of anything, but Mr. Dowglas proceeds to say farther that—

- (3.) This anointing may also put subjects in mind of the sacredness of their duty towards the royal authority. Here the preacher animadverts upon four classes of those who sin in this respect, namely—
 - (a) Anabaptists, who deem there should be no kings under the New Testament.
 - (b) Photinians, who speak respectfully of them but take away their power.
 - (c) Those who rise in rebellion against them.
 - (d) Those who despise them in their hearts.

The preacher observes in detail that there are many such in the present days, and of the Anabaptists in particular, 'you may find, to your great grief, a great number of them in that army that have unjustly invaded the land.'

Fourthly. The preacher now enters upon the subject of the formal Covenant between the Scottish People, their earthly Sovereign, and the Almighty, observing that in having made

this Solemn Covenant 'Scotland hath a preference before other nations.' He enlarges in especial upon the four first particular duties which are obligatory under this Covenant.

- (1.) 'The King is obliged not only to maintain religion as it is established in Scotland, but also to endeavour the Reformation of Religion in his other kingdoms.'
- (2.) 'The King is bound without respect of persons to extirpate Popery, Prelacy, Superstition, Heresy, Schism, and Profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found contrary to sound Doctrine and the Power of Godliness, and therefore Popery is not to be suffered in the Royal Family nor within his dominions; Prelacy, once plucked up by the root, is not to be permitted to take root again; all Heresy and Error whatsoever must be opposed by him to the utmost of his power; and by the Covenant the King must be far from toleration of any false Religion within his dominions.'
- (3.) 'As the people are bound to maintain the King's power and authority in the maintenance of the true religion and liberties of the Kingdom, so the King is bound with them to maintain the rights and privileges of the Parliament, and liberties of the subjects according to the third article.'
- (4.) The duty of the King to take the lead in bringing to condign punishment Incendiaries, Malignants, and evil Instruments who hinder Religious Reformation, stir up dissensions, etc. Here the preacher, after quoting the words, 'and all the people of the land went into the house of Baal, and broke it down,' proceeded to urge upon the King a fourfold Reformation.
 - (a.) 'A personal Reformation. A King should reform his own life.' This very delicate subject is treated with tact, the remarks being limited to generalities, of which, however, the application is sufficiently obvious. 'A King should not follow Machivel his counsel, who requireth not that a Prince should be truly religious, but saith that a shadow of it and external simulation are sufficient.' David, Hezekiah and Joash are cited as models.
 - (b.) 'A Family Reformation. The King should reform his family, after the example of godly King Asa [who] when

he entered in Covenant, spared not his mother's idolatry. The house of our King hath been much defiled by idolatry. The King is now in Covenant,' and so on. This is the nearest approach which this sermon makes to a mention of the religion of Charles' mother, Henrietta Maria. The preacher adds that such a Reformation may well be extended to the whole Court.

(c.) A Reformation in Judicatories.

(d.) A Reformation of the whole land.

Mr. Douglas sums up by saying that he wishes the King these qualifications according to the truth and in sincerity wherewith they report Trajan the Emperor to have been indued. He was (1) Devout at home, (2) Courageous in war, (3) Just in his judicatories, (4) Prudent in all his affairs.

Fifthly. The Covenant between the King and the people. This is by far the longest section of Mr. Dowglas' discourse, and is particularly interesting as a clear and lucid exposition of the opinions held by the Covenanters upon the subject of Constitutional Monarchy. He divides it into three heads.

(1.) A King's power is a power limited by conditions.

(a.) He is subject to God, whose servant as well as minister he is.

(b.) He is sworn to rule according to the laws of the kingdom.

(c.) 'The total Government is not upon the King. He hath Councillors, a Parliament or Estates in the land, who share in the burthen of Government.'

Mr. Dowglas proceeds to reprobate those who have taught kings that they are responsible to none but God, and egged them on to assume arbitrary power. 'There is one, a learned man I confess, who hath written a book for the maintenance of the absolute power of Kings, called *Defensio Regia*, whereby he hath wronged himself in his reputation and the King in his Government. As for the fact in taking away the life of the late King (whatever was God's justice in it*) I do agree with

* It will be remembered that this was the opinion of Charles I. himself, who said that though unjustly put to death for that for which he died, the

him to condemn it as a most unjust and horrid fact upon their part who did it.' He denounces 'the damnable maxim, *Quod libet licet*,' and goes on to indicate the limitations of the royal power, and, while plainly admitting his reluctance to treat such a subject at such a moment, bows to the necessity of plain speaking. 'I desire not to speak much of this subject. Men have been very tender in meddling with the power of Kings. Yet, seeing these days have brought forth debates concerning the power of Kings, it will be necessary to be clear in the matter. Extremities should be shunned. A King should keep within the bounds of the Covenant made with the people, in the exercise of his power. Concerning the last, I shall propound these three to your consideration.'

- (a.) 'A King abusing his power, to the overthrow of Religion, Laws, and Liberties, which are the very fundamentals of this contract and covenant, may be controlled and opposed: and if he set himself to overthrow all these by arms, then they who have power, as the Estates of a Land, may and ought to resist by arms; because he doth, by that opposition, break the very bonds and overthrow all the essentials of this contract and covenant. This may serve to justify the proceeding of this kingdom against the late King, who in an hostile way set himself to overthrow Religion, Parliaments, Laws, and Liberties.'
 - (b.) Every breach of the covenant will not justify such action. The case of Asa is instanced.
 - (c.) The preacher intimates his opinion that it appears to him extremely doubtful, to say the least, whether action in such a direction can ever be lawfully attempted by private persons, mentioning that the victims of James VI.'s persecutions never even appealed to Parliament in such a sense, 'as their judgment that the King should be suspended from the exercise of his Royal Power.'
- (2.) As the King is bound to rule under God in accordance with his contract to his people, so they are bound to

Providence of God was just in bringing him to capital punishment for having consented to the execution of Lord Strafford.

obey him in accordance with their contract with him. Upon this Mr. Dowglas observes,

- (a.) That that obedience is subordinated to obedience to God. He blames those that say 'that many ministers in Scotland will not have King Jesus but King Charles to reign,' and goes on to say that there are three sorts of persons who are not to be allowed in relation to the King's interest, but who all talk of Christ's interests. These are (1) the Sectaries, who have cast off Kingly Government, and whose enmity to Christ's Kingdom experience has shown, (2) the Engagers, who subordinated Christ's interests to the King's, and (3) those who delay duty for fear of preferring the King's interests to Christ's. The intentions of these last the preacher refuses to condemn, but wishes them more charity towards those who differ from them.
- (b.) That the Covenant between God, the King, and the People, takes precedence of the compact between the King and the People.
- (c.) The respect and love the People should have for their King. 'There is an imbued affection in the hearts of the people to their King.' Upon this Mr. Dowglas founds an affecting appeal to the people, regarding 'their Native King installed in his kingdom.'
- (d.) As the King is bound to hazard his life and his all for them, so they are bound to hazard their life and their all for him. Mr. Dowglas continues his appeal, and divides his opponents into (A.) those who do nothing, and (B.) those who help the enemy.
- (A.) Mr. Dowglas divides those who do nothing into three classes,
- α Those who are waiting to see what will happen.
 - β Those who consider matters past hope of remedy.
 - γ Those who have scruples of conscience. Dealing with this last class, the preacher says that he supposes that their scruples can only be of two sorts, viz., Would they be acting in the King's real interests? or ought they to act along with Malignants? He reiterates the solemn

decision of the General Assembly in answer to the Query of the Estates, to the effect that the Malignants may be acted with if they profess repentance; the heart no man can see. He proceeds to say that people talk of scruples, but that he himself thinks a good deal of Cowardice, Self-Interest, and Treason. However, he submits for their consideration the case of Judges v., where Meroz was cursed for not coming to help the Lord against the mighty; of Numbers xxiii., where Reuben and Gad are told they would sin if they refused to march against the Canaanites; and, lastly, of Saul, in 1 Sam. xxiii., who left the pursuit of David, his most dangerous enemy, when he was upon the point of taking him, in order to repel an invasion. The last case is applied especially to the duty of leaving the Malignants unattacked in order to repel the English. Mr. Dowglas examines the motives of Saul under three heads, and then discusses three separate grounds of objection to acting with the Malignants, who are professedly repentant, or leaving the unrepentant unattached. These three objections he meets in detail, arguing against the last under three separate heads.* At the same time, he does not conceal that the esteem in which the repentant Malignants were held either by himself or by the public was not an high one. 'And to speak a word by the way, to you, who have been upon a Malignant

* It will therefore be observed that Mr. Dowglas' system of sub-division here reaches its climax, at a point where we are unable to follow him by numerals or letters. There are here (1) the fifth of the five main divisions of the sermon; (2) the second of the three subdivisions of that head; (3) the fourth of the four sub-divisions of that sub-division; (4) the first of the two sub-divisions of that sub-division; (5) the third of the three subdivisions of that sub-division; (6) the second of the two sub-divisions of that sub-division, and (7) his own three sub-divisions of his reply to that second point. This reply on the subject of the Malignants takes more than half a large page of very small print, and is of real historical interest, but even to make an abstract of it in the above analysis of the sermon seems to be going farther than necessary for the information of the ordinary reader.

course. Little good is expected from you. I pray you, be honest, and disappoint them. I wish you true repentance, which will both disappoint them and be profitable to yourselves.'

B. Those who help the enemy. 'If,' says Mr. Dowglas, 'they be cursed who will not come out to help the Lord against the mighty, what a curse shall be upon them who help the mighty against the Lord?' He specifies three ways in which they do it.

(a.) 'By keeping correspondence with them, and giving them intelligence. There is nothing done in Kirk or State, but they have intelligence of it. A baser way hath never been used in any nation. Your counsels and purposes are made known to them. If there be any such here (as I fear they be*) let them take this to them, they are of those *who help the mighty against the Lord*, and the curse shall stick to them.'

(β.) 'By strengthening the enemies' hands with questions, debates, and determinations.'

(γ.) By joining the enemy.

(3.) Directions to the King, for the right performing of his duty.

(a.) To seek God in frequent and earnest prayer. 'A praying King is a prevailing King.' 'Prayers are not in much request at Court; but a Covenanted King must bring them in request. I know a King is burthened with multiplicity of affairs, and will meet with many diversions. But, sir, you must not be diverted. Take hours, and set them apart for that exercise. Men, being once acquainted with your way, will not dare to divert you. Prayer to God will make your affairs easy all the day. I read of a King, of whom his courtiers said, He spoke oftener with God than with men. If you be frequent in prayer, you may expect the Blessing of the Most High upon yourself and upon your Government.'

(b.) To be careful of the Kingdom. 'Senates and States have had mottoes written over the doors of the meeting-

* Can this have been aimed at Argyll ?

places. Over the Senate's House of Rome was written, *Ne quid Respublica detrimenti capiat*. I shall wish this may be written over your Assembly Houses. But there is another which I would have written with it, *Ne quid Ecclesia detrimenti capiat*. Be careful of both; let not Kirk nor State suffer hurt; let them go together. The best way for standing of a kingdom is a well-constitute Kirk. They deceive Kings who make them believe that the Government of the Kirk, I mean Presbyterial Government, cannot suit with Monarchy. They suit well, it being the Ordinance of Christ, rendering to God what is God's, and to Cæsar what is Cæsar's.' Exhorting the King to be a nursing-father to the Church (Is. xli. 3.), Mr. Dowglas warns him to beware of two classes, viz., Sectaries and Erastians, but especially of Erastians, who are more dangerous snares to Kings than are Sectaries. 'For they would make Kings believe that there is no Government but the Civil, and derived from thence, which is a great wrong to the Son of God, Who hath the Government of the Kirk distinct from the Civil, yet no ways prejudicial to it, being spiritual and of another nature. Christ did put the Magistrate out of suspicion that His Kingdom was prejudicial to Civil Government, affirming, *My Kingdom is not of this world*. This Government Christ hath not committed to Kings, but to the office-bearers of His House, who, in regard of civil subjection, are under the civil power as well as others, but in their spiritual administration they are under Christ, Who hath not given to any King upon earth the dispensation of spiritual things to His people.' He reminds the King that he has bound himself to maintain the Presbyterian form of Church Government, and warns him against Erastianism, which he says he knows already abounds at Court.

- (c.) The King should make much of faithful servants of Christ, who speak the truth, whether (1) ministers or (2) laymen.
- (d.) The King should be very careful whom he puts in places of trust. This is illustrated by an anecdote of the Em-

peror Alexander Severus. The preacher especially warns the King against (1) the godly who have neither power nor ability. 'I wonder how a godly man can take upon him a place whereof he hath no skill.' (2) The faint-hearted, and (3) the dishonest. He adds that of these classes they have already had sad experience, but beseeches the King not to be led thereby to the choice of the profane and godless.

(e.) The King is exhorted to moderation in the use of his authority, the point being illustrated by a French anecdote. Mr. Dowglas concludes:—'The best way to keep power is moderation in the use of it.'

(f.) The King should be strenuous against the enemy, for the deliverance of the three Kingdoms. The preacher mentions the talk then going on as to a treaty, and the difference of opinion as to whether a treaty can honourably be made with the enemy in the country, a matter which he himself considers indifferent, as long as the treaty is good in itself. He animadverts, however, upon the mystery in which the matter was enveloped, and tells a story from Plutarch, of some advice which Themistocles wished to give to the Athenians, but not publicly: they therefore deputed Aristides to speak to him privately, when the latter reported that the advice was profitable but not honest. 'There is much whispering of a Treaty. They are not willing to speak publicly of it. Hear them in private, and it may be the best advice shall be profitable but not honest. If a Treaty should be, let it be both profitable and honest.'

(g.) Let the King be constant. 'Many,' said Mr. Dowglas, 'doubt of your reality in the Covenant.'

He then remarks that in Scripture there are three descriptions of Kings. (1) He did evil in the sight of the Lord. (2) He did that which was right in the sight of the Lord, but not with a perfect heart. (3) He did right in the sight of the Lord with a perfect heart. 'Let us,' exclaims the preacher, 'neither have the first, nor the second, but the third written upon our King.'

Mr. Dowglas then concludes with the following peroration, which, read in the light of after events, seems almost prophetic.

‘ Before I close I shall seek leave to lay before our young King two examples to beware of, and one to follow.

‘ The two warning examples, one of them is in my text, another in our own history.

‘ The first example, of Joash. He began well, and went on in godly reformation all the days of Jehojada. But it is observed, 2 Chron., xxiv. 17, after the days of Jehojada, the Princes of Judah came and made obeisance to the King, and he hearkened unto them. It appeareth they had been at wait till the death of Jehojada ; and took that opportunity to destroy the true worship of God, and set up false worship, flattering the King for that effect: for it is said :—“ They left the House of the Lord, and served groves and idols ”—and were so far from being reclaimed by the Prophet of the Lord, that was sent unto him, that they conspired against Zechariah the son of Jehojada, who reproved them mildly for their idolatry, and stoned him with stones, and slew him, at the King’s commandment. And it is said :—“ Joash remembered not the kindness that Jehojada his father had done to him, and slew his son.”

‘ Sir, take this example for a warning. You are obliged by the Covenant to go on in the work of Reformation. It may be some great ones are waiting their time, not having opportunity to work for the present, till afterwards they may make obeisance, and persuade you to destroy all that hath been done in the work of God these divers years. Beware of it. Let no allurement of persuasion prevail with you to fall from that which this day you bind yourself to maintain.

‘ Another example I give you, yet in recent memory—of your grand-father, King James. He fell to be King very young, in a time full of difficulties ; yet there was a godly party in the Land, who did put the Crown upon his head. And when he came to some years, he and his people entered in a Covenant with God. He was much commended by godly and faithful

men, comparing him to young Josiah standing at the altar, renewing a Covenant with God: and he himself did thank God that he was born in a reformed Kirk, better reformed than England, for they retain many Popish ceremonies; yea, better reformed than Geneva, for they keep some holy-days,—charging his people to be constant, and promising himself to continue in that Reformation, and to maintain the same. Notwithstanding of all this, he made a foul defection. He remembered not the kindness of them who had held * the Crown upon his head—yea, he persecuted faithful ministers, for opposing that course of defection. He never rested till he had undone Presbyterial Government and Kirk Assemblies, setting up Bishops, and bringing in ceremonies, against which he had formerly given large testimony. In a word, he laid the foundation whereupon his son, our late King, did build much mischief to religion all the days of his life.

‘Sir, I lay this example before you, the rather, because it is so near you that the guiltiness of the transgression lieth upon the Throne and Family, and it is one of the sins for which you have professed humiliation very lately. Let it be laid to heart. Take warning. Requite not faithful men’s kindness with persecution—yea, requite not the Lord so, Who hath preserved you to this time, and is setting a crown upon your head. Requite not the Lord with apostasy and defection from a sworn Covenant, but be stedfast in the Covenant, as you would give testimony of your true humiliation for the defection of those that went before you.

‘I have set these two examples before you as beacons to warn you to keep off such dangerous courses; and shall add one, for imitation, which, if followed, may happily bring with it the blessing of a godly man’s adherence to God. The example is of Hezekiah, “who did that which was right in the sight of the Lord.” It is said of him [that] “he trusted in the Lord God of Israel, and he clave unto the Lord, and departed not from following Him, but kept His commandments. . . .

* He was only thirteen months old at the time of his coronation. The simple pathos of this phrase is very graceful and powerful.

And the Lord was with him, and he prospered whithersoever he went forth."

'Sir, follow this example. Cleave unto the Lord, and depart not from following Him; and the Lord will be with you, and prosper you whithersoever you go. To this Lord, from Whom we expect a blessing on this day's work, be praise and glory for ever. Amen.'

What followed may be best described in the exact words of the contemporary pamphlet.*

'Sermon being ended, Prayer was made for a blessing upon the Doctrine delivered.

'The King being to renew the Covenants, the Minister prayed for grace to perform the contents of the Covenants, and for faithful steadfastness in the Oath of God; and then (the Ministers, and Commissioners of the General Assembly, desired to be present, standing before the Pulpit,) he ministered the Oath unto the King; who kneeling, and lifting up his right hand, did swear in the words following:—

"I, Charles, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, do assure and declare, by my solemn Oath, in the presence of Almighty God, the Searcher of hearts, my allowance and approbation of the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant above written, and faithfully oblige myself, to prosecute the ends thereof in my Station and Calling; And that I for myself and Successors, shall consent and agree to all Acts of Parliament enjoining the National Covenant, and of the Solemn League and Covenant, and fully establish Presbyterian Government, the Directory of Worship, Confession of Faith, and Catechism in the Kingdom of Scotland, as they are approved by the General Assemblies of this Kirk and Parliament of this Kingdom: and that I shall give my Royal assent to Acts and Ordinances of Parliament passed or to be passed, enjoining the same in my other Dominions: And that I shall observe these in my own practice and Family, and shall never make opposition to any of these, or endeavour any change thereof."

* In this transcript the spelling has been modernized for the reader's greater convenience, but none of the words are altered.

'After the King had thus solemnly sworn the National Covenant, the League and Covenant, and the King's Oath subjoined unto both being drawn up in a fair parchment; the King did subscribe the same in presence of all.

'Thereafter the King ascendeth the Stage, and sitteth down in the Chair of State.

'Then the Lords Great Constable and Marischal, went to the four corners of the Stage, with the Lyon going before them; who spoke to the people these words; "Sirs, I do present unto you the King, Charles, the rightful and undoubted Heir of the Crown and Dignity of this Realm; This day is by the Parliament of this Kingdom appointed for his Coronation, And are you not willing to have him for your King, and become Subject to his Commandments?"

'In which action the King's Majesty stood up, showing himself to the people in each corner, and the people expressed their willingness, by cheerful acclamations, in these words, "God save the King, Charles the Second."

'Thereafter the King's Majesty, supported by the Constable and Marischal, cometh down from the Stage, and sitteth down in the Chair, where he heard the Sermon.

'The Minister, accompanied with the Ministers before mentioned, cometh from the Pulpit toward the King; and requireth, if he was willing to take the oath, appointed to be taken at the Coronation.

'The King answered, he was most willing.

'Then the Oath of Coronation as it is contained in the Eighth Act of the first Parliament of King James, being read by the Lyon, the Tenor whereof followeth:—

"Because, that the increase of Virtue, and the suppressing of Idolatry, craveth, That the Prince and the people be at one perfect Religion, which, of God's mercy, is now presently professed within this Realm: Therefore it is statuted and ordained, by our Sovereign Lord, my Lord Regent, and three estates of this present Parliament: that all Kings, Princes, and Magistrates whatsoever, holding their place, which hereafter at any time shall happen to Reign, and bear rule over this Realm, at the time of their Coronation,

and receipt of their Princely Authority, make their faithful promise, in the presence of the Eternal God: That, enduring the whole course of their lives, they shall serve the same Eternal God, to the uttermost of their power, according as He hath required in His most Holy Word, revealed and contained in the New and Old Testaments; And according to the same Word, shall maintain the true Religion of Christ Jesus, the preaching of His Holy Word, and due and right ministration of the Sacraments now received, and preached within this Realm. And shall abolish and gainstand all false religions, contrary to the same: and shall rule the people committed to their charge, according to the will and command of God revealed in His foresaid Word, and according to the Loveable Laws and Constitutions received in this Realm, no ways repugnant to the said Word of the Eternal God, And shall procure to the uttermost of their power, to the Kirk of God, and whole Christian people, true and perfect peace, in time coming. The right and rents, with all just privileges of the Crown of Scotland, to preserve and keep inviolated: Neither shall they transfer nor alienate the same. They shall forbid and repress in all estates, and degrees, reif, oppression, and all kind of wrong: In all judgments they shall command and procure that justice and equity be kept to all creatures, without exception, as the Lord and Father of Mercies be merciful unto them: And out of their Lands and Empire they shall be careful to root out all Heretics, and enemies to the true worship of God, that shall be convict by the true Kirk of God, of the aforesaid crimes; and that they shall faithfully affirm the things above written, by their solemn oath."

'The Minister tendered the oath unto the King, who kneeling, and holding up his right hand, swore in these words:—

"By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall observe and keep all that is contained in this Oath."

'This done, the King's Majesty sitteth down in the chair, and reposeth himself a little.

'Then the King riseth from his chair and is disrobed by the Lord Great Chamberlain of the Princely robe, wherewith he entered the Kirk, and is invested by the said Chamberlain in

his Royal robes.' By this is meant the great mantle of purple velvet *—that colour which pays a last homage to the majesty of antient Rome, and which Aidan MacGabhraín had borne as the last Scottish representative of her Imperatores. It appears from the Coronation piece that Charles was also vested in the collar of the Garter. Charles I. at Holyrood in 1633, had worn the robes of James IV., but this can hardly have been the case at Scone, as, if so, Sir James Balfour would almost certainly have mentioned the fact.

'Thereafter, the King being brought to the chair on the North side of the Kirk, supported as formerly, the Sword was brought by Sir William Cockburn of Langtoun, Gentleman Usher, from the Table, and delivered to Lyon King of Arms, who giveth it to the Lord Great Constable, who putteth the same in the King's hand, saying:—

"Sir, receive this Kingly Sword, for the defence of the Faith of Christ, and protection of His Kirk, and of the true Religion, as it is presently professed within this Kingdom, and according to the National Covenant, and League and Covenant, and for executing Equity and Justice, and for punishment of all iniquity and injustice."

'This done, the Great Constable receiveth the Sword from the King, and girdeth the same about his side.

'Thereafter the King sitteth down in the chair; and the spurs were put on him by the Earl Marischal.

'Thereafter, Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, having taken the Crown in his hands, the Minister prayed to this purpose:—

"That the Lord would purge the Crown from the sins and transgressions of them that did reign before him; that it might be a pure Crown; that God would settle the Crown upon the King's head; and since men that set it on were not able to settle it, that the Lord would put it on and preserve it."

Baillie, in his letter of January 2, remarks upon the excellence of this prayer.

* In a preceding footnote, p. 50, there has been given a detailed description of the corresponding robe worn by Charles' brother at Westminster in 1685.

‘And then the said Marquis put the Crown on the King’s head.

‘Which done, Lyon King of Arms, the Great Constable standing by him, causeth an Herald to call the whole Noblemen, one by one, according to their ranks ; who, coming before the King, kneeling, and with their hand touching the Crown on the King’s head, swore these words :—

“ *By the Eternal and Almighty God, Who liveth and reigneth for ever, I shall support thee to my utmost.*”

‘And when they had done, then all the Nobility held up their hands, and swore to be loyal and true subjects, and faithful to the Crown.

‘The Earl Marischal, with the Lyon, going to the four corners of the stage, the Lyon proclaimeth the Obligatory Oath of the people. And the people holding up their hands all the time, did swear :—

“ *By the Eternal Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, we become your liege men, and truth and faith shall bear unto you, and live and die with you against all manner of folk whatsoever, in your service, according to the National Covenant, and Solemn League and Covenant.*”

‘Then did the Earls and Viscounts put on their crowns : and the Lyon likewise put on his.

‘Then did the Lord Chamberlain loose the sword wherewith the King was girded ; and drew it, and delivered it drawn into the King’s hands, and the King put it into the hands of the Great Constable to carry it naked before him.

‘Then John, Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, took the sceptre and put it in the King’s right hand, saying,

“ *Sir, receive this sceptre, the sign of Royal Power of the Kingdom, that you may govern yourself right, and defend all the Christian people committed by God to your charge, punishing the wicked and protecting the just.*”

‘Then did the King ascend the stage, attended by the Officers of the Crown, and Nobility, and was installed in the Royal Throne by Archibald, Marquis of Argyll, saying,

“ *Stand and hold fast from henceforth the place whereof you are the Lawful and Righteous Heir, by a long and lineal succession of*

your Fathers ; which is now delivered unto you by authority of Almighty God."

'When the King was set down upon the throne, the Minister spoke to him a word of exhortation as followeth :

"Sir, you are set down upon the throne in a very difficult time ; I shall therefore put you in mind of a Scriptural expression of a Throne, 1 Chron. xxix. 23—it is said, 'Solomon sate on the Throne of the Lord.' Sir, you are a King, and a King in covenant with the Lord ; if you would have the Lord to own you to be His King, and His Throne to be your Throne, I desire you may have some thoughts of this expression.

"It is the Lord's Throne. Remember that you have a King above you, the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who commandeth Thrones. He setteth Kings on Thrones, and dethroneth them at his pleasure. Therefore take a word of advice. Be thankful to Him, who hath brought you through many wanderings to set you on this Throne. Kiss the Son lest He be angry ; and learn to serve Him with fear who is terrible to the Kings of the earth.

"Your Throne is the Lord's Throne, and your people the Lord's people. Let not your heart be lifted up above your brethren (Deut. xvii. 20.) They are your brethren, not only flesh of your flesh, but brethren by covenant with God. Let your government be refreshing unto them, as the rain on mown grass.

"Your Throne is the Lord's Throne. Beware of making His Throne a Throne of iniquity. There is such a Throne (Psal. xciv. 20) "which frameth mischief by a law." God will not own such a Throne ; it hath no fellowship with him. Sir, there is too much iniquity upon the Throne of your predecessors, who framed mischief by a law—such laws as have been destructive to religion, and grievous to the Lord's people. You are on the Throne and have the Sceptre. Beware of touching mischievous laws therewith.* But, as the Throne is the Lord's Throne, let the laws be the Lord's laws, agreeable to

* An allusion to the touch with the sceptre, the ceremony by which the royal assent was given to the Acts of the Scottish Parliament.

His Word, such as are terrible to evil doers, and comfortable to the godly, and a relief to the poor and oppressed in the land.

“The Lord’s Throne putteth you in mind whom you shall have about the Throne. Wicked Counsellors are not for a King upon the Lord’s Throne. Solomon knew this, who said, (Prov. xxv. 5,) ‘Take away the wicked from before the King, and his Throne shall be established in righteousness.’ And (Prov. xx. 8,) ‘A King upon a Throne scattereth away all evil with his eyes.’

“The Lord’s Throne putteth you in mind that the judgment on the Throne should be the Lord’s, take the exhortation, Jer. xxii. from the beginning. The Prophet hath a command to go to the house of the King of Judah, and say, ‘Hear the word of the Lord, O King of Judah, that sitteth upon the Throne, and thy servants, and thy people, execute ye judgment, and righteousness, and deliver the spoil out of the hand of the oppressors: and do no wrong, do no violence to the stranger, the fatherless, nor the widow, neither shed innocent blood in this place. If ye do that thing indeed, then shall there enter by the gates of this house, Kings sitting upon the Throne of David, but if ye will not hear these words, I swear by Myself, saith the Lord, this house shall become a desolation.’ And ver. 7, ‘I will prepare destroyers against thee.’

“Sir, Destroyers are prepared for the injustice of the Throne. I entreat you execute righteous judgment. If you do it not, your house will be a desolation: but if you do that which is right, God shall remove the destroyers, and you shall be established on your Throne; and there shall yet be Dignity in your house, for your servants, and for your people.

“Lastly, If your Throne be the Throne of the Lord, take a word of encouragement against Throne-adversaries. Your enemies are the enemies of the Lord’s Throne. Make your peace with God in Christ, and the Lord shall scatter your enemies from the Throne, and He shall magnify you yet in the sight of these Nations, and make the misled people submit themselves willingly to your Government. Sir, if you use well the Lord’s Throne, on which you are set, then the two

words in the place cited, 1 Chron. xxix. 23, spoken of Solomon sitting on the Throne of the Lord, 'He prospered and all Israel obeyed him,' shall belong unto you, your people shall obey you in the Lord, and you shall prosper in the sight of the nations round about."

'Then the Lord Chancellor went to the four corners of the Stage, the Lyon King of Arms going before him; and proclaimed his Majesty's free pardon, to all breakers of penal Statutes, and made offer thereof. Whereupon the people cried:—"God save the King."

'Then the King, supported by the Great Constable [and the Earl] Marischal, and accompanied with the Chancellor, arose from the Throne, and went out at a door prepared for the purpose, on a Stage, and showeth himself to the people without, who clapped their hands and cried with a loud voice, a long time:—"God save the King."

'Then the King, returning, and sitting down upon the Throne, delivered the Sceptre to the Earl of Crawford and Lindsay, to be carried before him. Thereafter the Lyon King of Arms rehearsed the Royal line of Kings upwards, to Fergus the First.

"Then the Lyon called the Lords one by one, who kneeling and holding their hands betwixt the King's hands, did swear these words:—

"By the Eternal and Almighty God, who liveth and reigneth for ever, I become your liegeman, and Truth and Faith shall bear unto you, and live and die against all manner of folks whatsoever, in your service, according to the National Covenant, and solemn League and Covenant."

'And every one of them kissed the King's left cheek.

'When these solemnities were ended, the Minister, standing before the King on his Throne, pronounced this blessing:—

"The Lord bless thee, and save thee; the Lord hear thee in the day of trouble; the Name of the God of Jacob defend thee: The Lord send thee help from the Sanctuary, and strengthen thee out of Sion. Amen."

'After the blessing pronounced, the Minister went to the

Pulpit, and had the following exhortation, the King sitting still upon the Throne:—

“Ye have this day a King crowned, and entered into Covenant with God and his people. Look, both King and people, that ye keep this Covenant, and beware of the breach of it. That you may be the more careful to keep it, I will lay a few things before you.

“I remember when the Solemn League and Covenant was entered by both Nations, the Commissioners from England being present in the East Kirk of Edinburgh, a passage was cited out of Neh. v. 13, which I shall now again cite. Nehemiah required an oath of the Nobles and people to restore the mortgaged lands, which they promised to do; after the oath was tendered, in the 13 ver. he did shake his lap and said, So God shake out every man from his house and from his labour, that performeth not his promise; even thus be he shaken out and emptied. And all the congregation said, Amen. Since that time many of those who were in the Covenant are shaken out of it, yea, they have shaken off the Covenant and laid it aside. It is true they are prospering this day, and think that they prosper by laying aside the Covenant; but they will be deceived. That word spoken then shall not fall to the ground. God shall shake them out of their possession, and empty them for their perfidious breach of the Covenant.

“The same I say to King and Nobles, and all that are in Covenant. If you break that Covenant, being so solemnly sworn, all these who have touched your Crown, and sworn to support it, shall not be able to hold it on: but God will shake it off, and turn you from the Throne. And ye Noblemen, who are assistant to the putting on of the Crown, and setting the King upon the Throne, if ye shall either assist or advise the King to break the Covenant, and overturn the work of God, He shall shake you out of your possessions, and empty you of all your glory.

“Another passage I offer to your consideration, Jer. xxxiv. 8. After that Zedekiah had promised to proclaim liberty to all the Lord's people, who were servants; and entered into a Covenant, he and his Princes, to let them go free; and, according

to the Oath, had let them go, afterwards they caused the servants to return, and brought them in subjection. Verse 11. What followeth upon this breach? Ver. 15, 16, 'Ye were now turned and had done right in My sight in proclaiming liberty, but ye turned and made them servants again.' And therefore, verse 18, 19, 20, 21, 'I will give the men who have transgressed My Covenant, who have not performed the words of the Covenant which they made before Me, when they cut the calf in twain, and passed between the parts thereof, I will even give them into the hands of their enemies, into the hand of them that seek their life, even Zedekiah and his Princes.' If the breach of a Covenant made for the liberty of servants was so punished, what shall be the punishment of the breach of a Covenant for Religion, and liberty of the people of God? There is nothing more terrible to Kings and Princes than to be given into the hands of enemies, that seek their life. If ye would escape this judgment, let King and Princes keep their Covenant made with God. Your enemies who seek your life, are in the land. If you break the Covenant, it may be feared, God will give you over unto them as a prey; but if ye yet keep the Covenant it may be expected, God will keep you out of their hands.

"Let not the place ye heard opened be forgotten, for in it ye have an example of Divine justice against Joash and the Princes for breaking the Covenant, 2 Chron., xxiv., 23. The Princes who inticed that breach are destroyed: and in the 24 vers. it is said:—'The army of the Syrians came with a small company of men, and the Lord delivered a very great host into their hands: because they had forsaken the Lord God of their Fathers: so they executed judgment against Joash.'

"And ver. 25. 'His own servants conspired against him, and slew him on his bed,' etc. The conspiracy of servants or subjects against their King is a wicked course. But God in His righteous judgments suffereth subjects to conspire and rebel against their Princes, because they rebel against God. And He suffereth subjects to break the Covenant made with a King, because he breaketh the Covenant made with God. I may say freely that a chief cause of the judgment upon the

King's house, hath been the grandfather's breach with God, and the Father's following steps, in opposing the work of God, and His Kirk within these Kingdoms; they broke Covenant with God, and men have broken Covenant with them: yea, most cruelly and perfidiously, have invaded the Royal Family, and trodden upon all Princely dignity.

“Be wise by their example; you are now sitting upon the Throne of the Kingdom, and your Nobles about you. There is one above you, even Jesus, the King of Sion. And I, as His servant, dare not but be free with you. I charge you, Sir, in His Name, that you keep the Covenant in all points. If you break this Covenant, and come against this cause, I assure you the controversy is not ended between God and your Family, but will be carried on to farther weakening, if not the overthrow of it: but if you shall keep this Covenant and befriend the Kingdom of Christ, it may be from this day God shall begin to do you good, although your estate be very weak. God is able to raise you, and make you to reign maugre the opposition of all your enemies: and howsoever it shall please the Lord to dispose, you shall have peace toward God, through Christ the Mediator.

“As to you who are Nobles and Peers of the Land, your share is great in this Day of Coronation. Ye have come and touched the Crown, and sworn to support it; ye have handled the Sword and Sceptre, and have set down the King upon his Throne.

“1. I charge you, keep your Covenant with God; and see that ye never be moved yourselves to come against it in any kind or article thereof, and that ye give no counsel to the King to come against that Doctrine, Worship, Government and Discipline of the Kirk, established in his hand, as you would eschew the Judgment of Covenant-breakers. If the King and ye who are engaged to support the Crown, conspire together against the Kingdom of Christ, both ye that do support, and he that is supported, will fall together. I press this the more, because it is a rare thing to see a king and great men for Christ; in the long catalogue of Kings which ye have heard recited this day, there will be found few who have been for Christ.

“2. I charge you also, because of your many oaths to the king, that you keep them inviolable. Be faithful to him according to your covenant; the oaths of God are upon you. If directly or indirectly, you do anything against his standing, God, by whom ye have sworn, will be avenged upon you for the breach of His Oath.

“And now I will close up all in one word more to you. Sir, you are the only Covenanted King with God and His people in the world. Many have obstructed your entry in it; now, seeing the Lord hath brought you in over all these obstructions, only observe to do what is contained therein, and it shall prove a happy time for you and your House. And because you are entered in times of great difficulty, wherein small strength seems to remain with you in the eyes of the world, for recovering your just power and greatness. Therefore take the counsel which David, when he was dying, gave to his son Solomon, 1st Kings, ii. 2, 3, ‘Be strong and show thyself a man, and keep the charge of the Lord thy God: to walk in his ways and keep his commandments, that thou mayest prosper in all that thou dost, and whithersoever thou turnest thyself.’”*

‘After this exhortation, the minister closed the whole action with prayer, and the xxth Psalm being sung,† he dismissed the people with a blessing.

‘Then did the King’s Majesty descend from the stage, with the crown upon his head; and, receiving again the sceptre in his hand, returned with the whole train, in solemn manner, to his palace; the sword being carried before him.’

The whole ceremony in the church must have lasted over three hours. It may be opined that a Coronation Banquet followed, but no account of it seems to have been preserved, and Lamont merely says that ‘after the action was ended, they walked a-foot from the church, conveying the king to his

* The passage here cited supplies the words of an anthem which was sung in the English Coronation service, along with Psalm xxiii., immediately after the crown was placed upon the King’s head. Probably the coincidence was not accidental upon Mr. Dowglas’ part.

† It must have been sung according to the same rhymed Psalter which is still in use, and which had been introduced in the preceding May.

lodging that night at St. Johnstone' (i.e. Perth), adding, 'There were many bon-fires set forth in token of joy.'

Viewed simply as a great public ceremony, the Coronation of Charles II. seems to have lacked none of the impressiveness for which the warmest supporters of the Covenanted Monarchy could have hoped. 'This day,' writes Baillie, 'we have done that which I earnestly desired and long expected—crowned our noble king, with all the solemnities, at Scone—so peaceably and magnificently, as if no enemy had been amongst us. This is of God; for it was Cromwell's purpose (which I thought he might easily have performed) to have marred by arms that action—at least the solemnity of it. The Remonstrants, with all their power, would have opposed it. Others prolonged it so long as they were able. Always—blessed be God!—it is this day celebrated with great joy and contentment to all honest-hearted men here.'

With regard to the ceremonial of the Coronation itself, the present writer would avoid here entering into an antiquarian dissertation any more than he can help, hoping some day to treat of the earlier Scottish Coronations, when such a discussion will be more in place. It is sufficient to observe that, with the single but great exception of the Anointing, it was excessively conservative. Where the ritual given for the purpose in the *Roman Pontifical* differs from the Anglican form as used in England, and from that used by Charles I. at Holyrood, the Covenanters, whether following some Scottish Mediæval precedents now lost, or from a dislike to forms associated with Anglicanism, adhere rather to the Roman form. Among other points, this is remarkable in the absence of singing. The Roman form prescribes no sacred music except the *Te Deum*, which is ordered to be sung immediately after the enthronization and before the two final prayers. In practice, however, this baldness of the Roman form would be modified owing to the fact that the whole ceremonial of the Coronation is, in imitation of that used at the Consecration of a Bishop, interwoven with the Mass, so that the Introit, *Kyrie*, and *Gloria* of the latter would intervene immediately after the Unction, and the Gradual, etc., just before the delivery of the

Sword. The place of the *Te Deum* was occupied at Scone by Psalm xx. At the Coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood, in partial imitation of the English forms but, also perhaps following Scottish Mediæval precedents now lost, several other pieces of sacred music were sung, as well as the *Te Deum*, and it is singular that this precedent was not followed at Scone, both owing to the intrinsic beauty and merit of some of the insertions in question, and their great appositeness, and because it would have given more variety to the ceremony, while enhancing its impressiveness. As it was, even setting aside the time occupied by the reading of the Covenants, which must have been between twenty minutes and half an hour, what with the length of the sermon and of the addresses, which we know, and that of the prayers, which we can only conjecture, the far greater part of the whole ceremony fell upon the Rev. Robert Dowglas, and the Coronation Ritual itself must have had rather the effect of a gilded frame in which to set the learned Moderator's effusions, which, able as they were, would have been all the more telling if their monotony had been relieved by occasional choral praise and supplication. At Holyrood, as the King advanced towards the Altar, after entering the Church, he was received by the choir with the singing of a portion of Ps. lxxxiv. seemingly from verse 9 to the end—'Behold, O Lord, our Protector, and look upon the face of thine anoynted; because one day in thy courte is better than a thousand, etc.'* At Scone, the singing of the whole, or a portion of this Psalm, would have formed a noble beginning to the entire ceremony. Again, immediately after the taking of the Coronation Oath, there was sung at Holyrood the world-famous invocation, *Veni Creator Spiritus*. The object was evidently to pray for the help of God's Holy Spirit to guide the Monarch in living and acting in accordance with what he

* Such is the strange form of this passage—punctuated as though 'Protector' were in apposition with 'Anoynted' instead of with 'Lord'—which Sir James Balfour's official account informs us was used. It agrees neither with King James' Bible nor with the English Prayer Book. The present writer has no copy of the Geneva Bible at hand, so cannot assert that it is not taken from thence.

had just sworn, and in especial abundantly to bless the action which was immediately to follow. The so-called *John Knox's Psalter*, which had so lately been in use, contains the version of this hymn which is in the English Ordinal of 1549, and begins—

‘Come, Holy Ghost, Eternal God,
proceeding from above :
Both from the Father and the Son,
the God of peace and love.’

And it certainly seems singular that it was not used. Mr. Dowglas evidently intended to make up for the deficiency by his prayer ‘for grace to perform the contents of the Covenants and for faithful steadfastness in the Oath of God.’

Of the two other pieces of music used at Holyrood, one was an anthem founded on Ps. lxxxix. 13, 14, which was sung immediately after the King had been shown to the people from the platform, before the taking of the oath. This anthem, whatever its antiquity in the English Ritual, is almost, if not altogether, offensive, when the application of the original words is remembered, and there can be little wonder that it was not used at Scone. At the same time, some portion of the Psalm in question would certainly have well met the circumstances of the case, and might very appropriately have been introduced either immediately after the sermon or after the prayer which followed it, before the reading of the Covenants. The remaining piece of music sung at the Coronation of Charles I. was the celebrated anthem, ‘Zadok the Priest,’ sung during the first part of the ceremony of the Unction. This was sung alone, disjoined from Psalm xxi., with which it is united in the English Pre-Reformation form. It is also a remarkable fact that in the Holyrood ritual, another departure was made from the English Pre-Reformation rites by omitting Psalm xxiii., which they prescribe to be sung, joined with the anthem, ‘Be strong and show thyself a man,’ immediately after the placing of the crown upon the King’s head. As to this last, if the Covenanting Government were in search of old precedents, they could hardly have found a better one; and Psalm xxi. is so eminently

appropriate that it is almost to be wondered at that they did not introduce it, of their own invention, at some such point as that before the last exhortation.

It is this absence of sacred song which especially assimilates the Scone form to that in the *Roman Pontifical*. For the rest, it is in the main a close imitation of the form used for Charles I., which itself resembles the Roman form more closely than does that used in England either before or since the Reformation. The other particular alterations made at Scone in the ceremonial are mainly the omission of the Unction and the substitution of shorter and special although similar forms in delivering the Sword, Crown, and Sceptre, together with the general fact of the whole rite being performed with the Scottish Presbyterian forms of worship instead of the English, and the omission of the Celebration of the Holy Communion. There were, however, some remarkable changes in the persons by whom most of the ceremonies were performed, and one very interesting addition.

The spurs—the only feature not contained in the Roman rite—were put on without any benediction, address, or prayer, by the Earl Marischal, in the case of Charles I. as well as of Charles II. They may probably be considered as symbolical of Knighthood and Chivalry, and it was also doubtless the hereditary privilege of the Earls of Eglinton to carry them in the procession, and of the Earls Marischal to put them on the King's feet after the latter had received and been girt with the sword. The case is quite different with regard to the Sword, the Crown, and the Sceptre. Whatever privileges may or may not have existed as to the right of particular laymen to carry them in the procession, the King had never received them from any hands save those of ministers of religion.*

*The only doubt could be as to the case of James VI., whom the *Diurnal of Occurrents* states to have been crowned by the Earl of Athole. It is needless here to discuss the question, but the other authorities seem to leave little doubt that the *Diurnal* is mistaken, probably owing to the fact that the Earl of Athole carried the crown during the return of the royal procession.

It is hard to conjecture why, upon this occasion, the sword was delivered to Charles by the Lord Great Constable, the Crown put upon his head by the Marquess of Argyll, and the sceptre placed in his hands by the Earl of Crauford and Lindsay. It is possible, however, that this curious deviation from precedent was adopted in order to accord with the Covenanting theories upon the independence of Church and State. Writers hostile to the Covenant—especially Erastians—have been fond of representing these theories as a supremacy of the Church over the State. It is obvious that their effect must have been in any case to accentuate the civil character of the latter. The Civil Government in itself was in their eyes clearly a secular and not a spiritual jurisdiction. Hence it may have been that they determined to entrust to lay hands only the ceremony of investiture with its symbols. In such a case, however, we should have expected the rite to be rather entrusted to the President of the Parliament, the Earl of Loudoun (who was also the Lord Chancellor), as the most natural and proper representative of the nation. Perhaps it was argued that he was at that time and place non-existent as President, since the House attended in Committee and not in Session, and that, as Lord Chancellor, he was the representative not of the nation but of the Sovereign. Such an argument would have been inconsistent with the part taken by Lord Loudoun in the Palace in the morning, when, in the name of the Scottish People, he invited the King to go through the ceremony, but it would have been a natural one in the mouth of those who wished to glorify Argyll, and would have received a natural support from Lords Erroll and Crauford and their friends. As it was, the choice of Argyll would clearly seem to have been made on the ground of his high rank and great actual political position; that of Lord Erroll arose naturally from his hereditary office as Great Constable, and showed as a badge of favour towards converted Malignants, while that of Lord Crauford and Lindsay may be regarded as a concession to the repentant Engagers in the person of one of the most eminent of their party, as well as a tribute to his own personal history,

influence and merits; it was moreover one more re-affirmation of the forfeiture of the Cavalier Earl in 1644, and by causing him to discharge the duty of a great officer of State, smoothed over under a pleasing silence the contentious question as to whether his deposition from the office of Lord Treasurer had or had not been quite valid in law.

The enthronement falls under a different category. This office was originally a lay one. It was hereditary in the Macduffs, Earls of Fife, doubtless as the holders of the first of the seven Earldoms of Scotland, and so to be viewed as in a sense the leaders and representatives of the Scottish nation. The Earldom had become extinct in the reign of David II., and it may be conjectured that the hereditary privilege of placing the King of Scots in his Royal Seat was held to have expired with it, and the duty itself have passed, as in other countries, into the hands of whatever prelate officiated at the Coronation. Hence the Government of the Covenanters, in entrusting the performance of this ceremony to the Marquess of Argyll, as the leading subject in Scotland, simply revived the essence and spirit of that antient arrangement by which the office had in early times been discharged by the Earls of Fife.

The ceremony at Scone was marked by one very striking addition. This is the fact that, after the king was set down again in his throne, and had handed the sceptre to the Earl of Crauford, and before the Barons came forward to perform their homage, 'the Lyon King of Arms rehearsed the Royal Line of the Kings upward, to Fergus the First.' Perhaps in the desperate state of danger in which the Scottish people were placed through the invasion of the forces of the English Republic, they felt a special inclination to call to mind the enormous antiquity of the Monarchy which they were defending. Anyhow, this seems to be the only instance of an attempt to repeat the venerable and striking scene which closed the Coronation ceremony of Alexander III. It is singular that with both it marked the last Coronation of the male line of his race, and with Charles the last Coronation which ever took place in Scotland. It would have been better taste if, instead of the Lord Lyon, the ceremony had been performed, as in the

case of Alexander, by an Highlander, and in Gaelic, the original mother-tongue of the race of the Kings of Scots. The genealogy recited by Sir James Balfour was doubtless the expression of that fictitious history which arose during the Middle Ages and attained its full blossom after the triumph of the Renaissance. These fictions modern science has now dissipated, and were Her present Majesty to be so saluted the words would run thus :—

Beannachd do Bhictoria Ban-righinn Albainn, nighean,
 Imhair, mhic
 Sheòruis, mhic
 Fhreadric, mhic
 Sheòruis, mhic
 Sheòruis, mhic
 Bheathaig, nighinn
 Ealasaid, nighinn
 Sheumais, mhic
 Mhairi, nighean
 Sheumais, mhic
 Sheumais, mhic
 Sheumais, mhic
 Sheumais, mhic
 Sheumais, mhic
 Raibeairt, mhic.
 Raibeairt, mhic
 Mharsali, nighinn
 Raibeairt, mhic
 Raibeairt, mhic
 Raibeairt, mhic
 Iscabail, nighinn
 Dhaibhidh, mhic
 Dhaibhidh, mhic
 Chalum, mhic
 Dhonnachaidh, mhic
 Bheathaig, nighean
 Chalum, mhic
 Choinnich, mhic

Chaluim, mhic
Dhomhnuill, mhic
Chustantinaidh, mhic
Choinnich, mhic
Ailpein, mhic *
Eochaidh, mhic
Aedh, mhic
Eochaidh, mhic
Dhomhangartaidh, mhic
Dhomhnuill, mhic
Eochaidh, mhic
Aedain, mhic
Ghabhrain, mhic
Dhomhangartaidh, mhic
Fhearghais

* The present writer takes the following descents from Dr. Reeves' *Adannan*, without any pretence of criticizing the opinion of Dr. Skene, but merely because the latter is avowedly hypothetical. If he may venture a conjecture of his own, it is that, as several generations would seem to be in any case omitted, the schemes are probably reconcilable by the union of both, but he is too conscious of his own ignorance himself to attempt the task. The difference, in any case, is of small importance, as no one has ever suggested that Kenneth McAlpin was not the lineal descendant of Aidan McGabhrain, and the only question consequently is as to the exact names and order of the intervening generations.

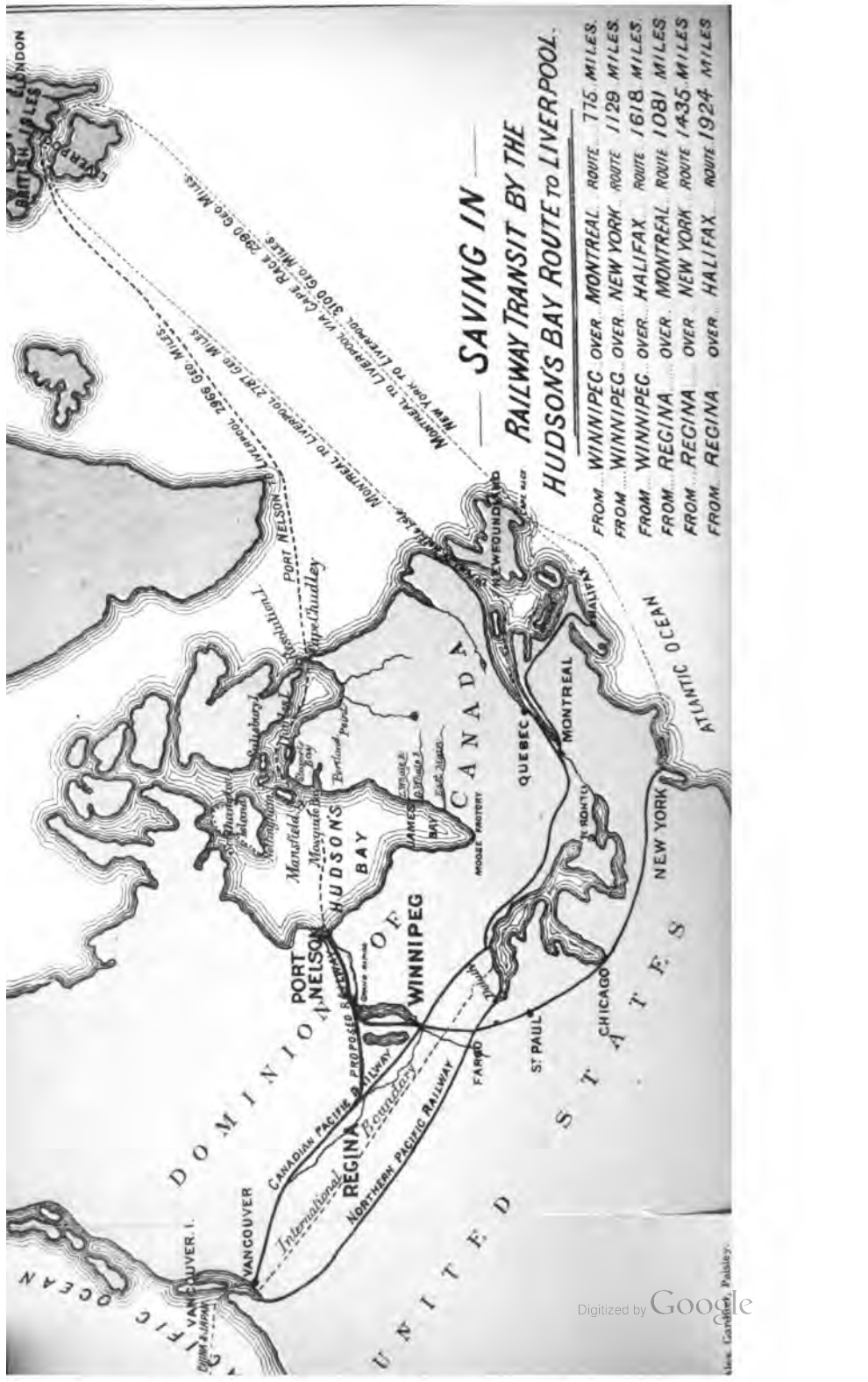
ART. III.—THE HUDSON'S BAY ROUTE.

1. *Geological and Natural History Survey of Canada.* By ALFRED R. C. SELWYN, LL.D., F.R.S., Director. For 1879 to 1885. Published by authority of the Parliament of Canada.
2. *Reports of Robert Bell, B.A.Sc., M.D., LL.D., F.R.S.C., on the Geology, Zoology, and Botany of Hudson's Straits and Bay.* For the same years. Published by authority of the Parliament of Canada.
3. *Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, Canada, to Enquire into the Question of the Navigation of Hudson's Bay.* April 8, 1884. Printed by order.
4. *Our Northern Waters.* A Report presented to the Winnipeg Board of Trade, regarding the Hudson's Bay and Strait. By CHARLES N. BELL, Vice-President, Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society. 1884.
5. *Report of the Select Committee of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Manitoba, on the Hudson's Bay Route.* March, 1884.
6. *Navigation of Hudson's Bay and Straits.* A Paper read before the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, Winnipeg, by CHARLES N. BELL, Vice-President. May, 1885.
7. *The Arctic Regions and Hudson's Bay Route.* A Lecture delivered before the Manitoba Historical and Scientific Society, Winnipeg, 1882, by Dr. JOHN RAE.
8. *The Development of North-West Canada by the Hudson's Bay Trade Route.* By W. SHELFORD.
9. *A New Trade Route between America and Europe.* A Paper read before the Birmingham Meeting (September, 1886) of the British Association, by HUGH SUTHERLAND, a Member of the House of Commons of Canada.
10. *Reports of Two of the Three Hudson's Bay Expeditions, 1884-1885, ordered by the Parliament of Canada, and carried out by Lieut. A. R. Gordon, R.A.* (Report of 1886 not yet presented to Parliament.)
11. *Report of Capt. Markham, to British Capitalists interested in the Hudson's Bay Route.* August, 1886.

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SAVING IN

RAILWAY TRANSIT BY THE HUDSON'S BAY ROUTE TO LIVERPOOL.

- FROM WINNIPEG OVER MONTREAL ROUTE 775 MILES.
- FROM WINNIPEG OVER NEW YORK ROUTE 1129 MILES.
- FROM WINNIPEG OVER HALIFAX ROUTE 1618 MILES.
- FROM REGINA OVER MONTREAL ROUTE 1081 MILES.
- FROM REGINA OVER NEW YORK ROUTE 1435 MILES.
- FROM REGINA OVER HALIFAX ROUTE 1924 MILES.

Montreal to Liverpool, via Cape Rice 2990 Geo. Miles.
 Montreal to Liverpool, via Cape Rice 2965 Geo. Miles.
 Montreal to Liverpool, via Cape Rice 2965 Geo. Miles.
 Montreal to Liverpool, via Cape Rice 2965 Geo. Miles.



Wm. Cassell & Co., Publishers.

TABLE OF DISTANCES.

Liverpool to Quebec,	-	2708 Miles, Geographical.	Liverpool to Kong-Kong (via Quebec),	-	11,691 Miles.
Quebec to Vancouver,	-	3047 " Statute.	" to Auckland	"	12,689 "
Liverpool to Halifax,	-	2463 " Geographical.	" to Sydney	"	19,189 "
Halifax to Vancouver (via Short Line),	-	3595 " Statute.	" to Hong-Kong (via Halifax),	-	11,994 "
Vancouver to Hong-Kong,	-	5986 " Geographical.	" to Auckland	"	12,992 "
" to Yokohama,	-	4374 " "	" to Sydney	"	13,492 "
" to Sandwich Islands,	2415	" "	" to Hong-Kong (via New-York and San Francisco),	-	12,879 "
" to Feejee,	-	5070 " "			
" to Auckland,	-	6994 " "			
" to Sydney,	-	7434 " "			

Difference in favour of Canadian Route, - 1188 Miles.

Liverpool to Cape Chudley,	1766 Miles, Geographical.	Liverpool to Halifax,	-	2463 Miles.
Cape Chudley to Port Nelson,	1200 "	Halifax to Vancouver,	-	3478 "
Port Nelson or Churchill to Regina,	- about 700 " Statute.	" to Begins,	-	2966 "
Regina to Vancouver,	- 1112 "	" to Winnipeg,	-	2010 "
Port Nelson to Winnipeg,	- 715 "	Liverpool to Montreal,	-	2787 "
Length of Hudson's Straits,	500 " Geographical.	Montreal to Begins,	-	1781 "
Winnipeg to Regina,	- 356 " Statute.	" Winnipeg,	-	1425 "

THE extraordinary success of the Canadian Pacific Railway is the subject of comment in both hemispheres. Its far reaching effects are surprising even its originators. Projected and carried out as a Dominion work only, it has proved itself an undertaking of high Imperial consequence. Conceived simply as a tie binding together the Provinces of Canada composing the confederate Dominion, it has already taken rank as a powerful factor in the Imperial system, and has won its way to the position of being considered by the Imperial authorities the greatest Imperial work of the century. As I write, eighty-ton guns, to be despatched from the arsenals of England for the defence of our Pacific coast, will soon be passing along the Canadian Pacific Railway at a speed which no steamer can equal, and at a charge which no steamship can accept. But this great road does not begin at its Atlantic terminus, nor does it end at that of the Pacific. Its imperial character has so developed that its termini are now Liverpool, Hong-Kong, and Melbourne. As a natural and almost a necessary consequence it has given life to an Imperial system of telegraphy, and while the steam ships of the line are moving rapidly from Vancouver to China or Australasia, its lightning 'under the sea' will be outstripping them in the great ocean race.

But great as is the Canadian Pacific, its greatness will be enhanced by another road to which public attention has for a number of years been directed; and important as it is to the Imperial interests of the Empire, its value to these interests will be vastly increased by the establishment of another, and an alternative route between Britain and Canada—that of Hudson's Bay. This will be the necessary complement to the Canadian Pacific, as it will form its great feeder and assistant. To the average British reader, to whom the first road was a surprise when it was urged upon the attention of English capitalists, and to whom its success has been a wonder, the Hudson's Bay route will probably appear a chimera. The idea of a young country like Canada, with a population not greatly in excess of that of London, building a road 4000 miles in length, passing over and through several hundreds of miles of rock north of Lake Superior, and penetrating 630 miles of one of the loftiest mountain ranges of

the globe, seemed madness not only to all English engineers and capitalists but to thousands of patriotic Canadians as well. But the herculean work is accomplished, and instead of consuming ten years in its performance as was stipulated, the Company completed the road in five. Avalanches of snow, impenetrable rock, glaciers of ice, Arctic frost, and the cloud-capped Rockies, were invoked as the 'giants in the way' which would forever forbid such an undertaking, but, like most difficulties, the nearer they were approached the smaller they grew, and the more vigorously they were attacked the weaker they became. And now the British traveller who passes in a luxurious Pullman along the stupendous works of the great road, while he wonderingly admires the triumphs of Canadian enterprise, engineering and pluck, is forced to admit that no undertaking should be denounced as chimerical until it has been so declared by the practical men of the business world, as distinguished from the scientific Solon, who bases his opinion on bookish theory. If he was staggered at the proposal to build the Canadian Pacific, what will be his ideas when a route through Hudson's Bay and Straits is propounded? Will not the formidable visions appear of pack ice twenty feet thick—a thermometer ranging among the thirties and forties below zero—icebergs 'cavorting' about and threatening instant destruction to the strongest ship—of vessels crushed like egg shells in the terrible fields of ice which, like the 'Iron Mask,' will gradually close in upon them with irresistible force—of blinding snow storms, and dreadful 'blizzards' in which the dazed and frozen mariner will grope helplessly to his destruction—of a frightful temperature which will render all tackling as stiff as iron rods, and leave the helpless ship to the horrors of the merciless storm—of iron-bound coasts—of treacherous currents—of bewildering fogs and ruthless tides? All these terrors were invoked when it was proposed to establish a steamship line between Liverpool and Montreal, and yet the Allan Line has become one of the largest in the world. It will doubtless be difficult for the British reader to believe that a navigation which is in his mind intimately connected with Arctic experience—with the names of Baffin, Davis, Frobisher, Fox, Franklin, Parry, and the numerous other brave men who have suffered or died in their

battles with these Northern regions, can possibly become a successful business matter. But I propose to show that it can, and in doing so I shall state only facts ascertained and verified by the highest authorities, official and scientific. Having shewn this, I propose to point out the great importance of the Hudson's Bay route to the imperial interests of Britain.

Canada is divided into the five basins of Hudson's Bay, the St. Lawrence, the Peace, the M'Kenzie, and the St. John rivers, and the two slopes of the Pacific and Atlantic Oceans. Of these basins, that of Hudson's Bay is the largest, covering the enormous area of 3,000,000 square miles; that of the St. Lawrence has an area of 530,000 square miles; that of the M'Kenzie covers 550,000 square miles; that of the St. John with the Atlantic slope has an area of 50,214 square miles, while the slope of the Pacific embraces 341,000 square miles. Some idea of the vastness of the country may be formed when we reflect that, excluding the areas of the great Lakes, Superior, Michigan, Huron, Erie, and Ontario, which comprise 59,000 square miles, British North America covers 3,470,392 square miles, or about 40 per cent. of the area of the whole British Empire. England, Scotland, and Wales have an area of 88,000 square miles. They could be all submerged in the five lakes I have mentioned without disturbing their navigation, saying nothing of the great lakes of the Northwest—Winnipeg, Manitoba, Lake of the Woods, Athabasca, Slave, and many others. Canada would make forty Englands, forty Scotlands, and forty Waleses. New South Wales contains 309,000 square miles, and is larger than France, Italy, and Sicily combined. Canada would make eleven New South Waleses, or eleven Frances, eleven Italys, and eleven Sicilys. India is considered an enormous possession, but Canada would cut up into three British Indias, with enough over to make a Queensland and a Victoria. The German Empire is a great country, but Canada would make sixteen such empires.

Hudson's Bay lies between the parallels 51° and 63° north. It is a vast sheet of salt water, 1300 miles in length, with an average breadth of 600 miles. It has not yet been completely surveyed, and these measurements are only proximate. The fresh waters of a great number of rivers flow into it from the East, the

South, and the West. The Whale, the Koksook, and the Larch run North into Ungava Bay, a part of the Hudson Straits. The Great Whale, Big River, East Main River, and Rupert's River run West from the interior of Labrador and empty in Hudson's Bay. The Harnceanaw, Abittibi, and Moose flow North into that portion of the Bay known as James Bay. The Albany flows East into the same sheet of water, as also do several smaller streams. The Weemisk, Fawn, Severn, Shamattawa, Hill, Hayes, Nelson, and Churchill rivers furnish their quota flowing North-easterly, and the Fish River and Baker Lake supply their waters flowing West. The Hudson's Bay Company have posts at Chimo, the bottom of Ungava Bay, Hannah Bay House at the mouth of the Harricanaw, Moose Factory at the mouth of Moose River, Fort Albany at the mouth of the Albany, York Factory at the mouth of the Hayes, at the point where the Hayes and Nelson enter the Bay, and Fort Churchill at the mouth of the Churchill.

Of the numerous rivers which supply the Bay, about thirty may be termed large. Those conveying the greatest quantities of water are the Nelson and the Churchill. Into the Nelson fall all the waters of the Red River of the North, which takes its rise in the State of Minnesota, but a few miles from the source of the great Mississippi, which, after flowing South four thousand miles, empties into the Gulf of Mexico at New Orleans. The Red River flows North about 200 miles, passing between the City of Winnipeg and St. Boniface in its course, and empties into Lake Winnipeg. The North and South branches of the Saskatchewan, rising in the Rocky Mountains 1200 miles West, unite at about 400 miles West of Lake Winnipeg, and form the Saskatchewan, which adds its waters to those of the Red River in Lake Winnipeg. The River Winnipeg, after receiving the great body of water brought by the Lake of the Woods and the system of rivers and lakes which empty into it, discharges itself into Lake Winnipeg, which after a course of 300 miles empties all these accumulations into Nelson River, and this stream, after a tumultuous course of about 400 miles, adds its vast floods to the waters of Hudson's Bay. This huge artery of the Winnipeg system of waters may be considered as one of the greatest rivers of the world.

From the North end of Lake Winnipeg, where its course begins, to its mouth, it has a descent of 710 feet; but it is broken by numerous rapids and falls to within 80 miles of the Bay, and up this distance large river steamers can ascend. The tides at its mouth rise to fifteen feet. It is here six miles wide, with a good channel about a mile broad, and from five to fifteen fathoms deep. In 1782 La Perouse, the French admiral, anchored with a seventy-four gun line of battle ship and two frigates of thirty-six guns each at the mouth of the Nelson. The ice disappears about the 15th of June, and it closes the harbour for steam vessels at about the end of November, thus affording between five and six months for navigation. The mouth freezes for about fifteen miles from the shore, and this is attributable to the shallowness of the bay. This ice, however, is being constantly broken up by the wind and tides, and floats backwards and forwards in the Bay. The harbour of Montreal usually opens about the 1st of May, and closes about the 25th of November, and yet no difficulty is found in keeping profitably employed the large fleets of vessels of all descriptions which frequent that port.

The Churchill is the next in size to the Nelson. It is a beautiful clear-water stream, somewhat larger than the Rhine. It is remarkable for having at its mouth a splendid harbour, with deep water and every natural advantage for commercial purposes. It runs for about 600 miles in a North-easterly direction, taking its rise in a small lake not many miles North of the rising town of Edmonton. It has a deep, rocky, and narrow mouth, which can be entered with ease and safety by the largest ships at all stages of the tide. On the West side of the entrance to the harbour are found the ruins of 'Fort Prince of Wales,' probably the largest ruin in North America. The massive stone walls, and the rusty guns lying dismounted amid the *debris* of the huge fortification, are all that can now be seen of the costly structure mounting forty heavy guns, which was surrendered without firing a shot to the French admiral, La Perouse, in 1772.

The harbour of Churchill would take rank among first-class ocean ports. Mr. Bayne, a civil engineer, tells us in his evidence before a Committee of the Canadian House of Commons that, having taken careful soundings, he found at a distance of 400

feet from high water-mark along the shore a depth of 38 feet, deepening suddenly to 50 feet. These soundings were taken at extreme low tides. At spring tides the river rises from 10 to 15 feet, so that the river affords from 48 to 65 feet of water. The entrance to the harbour is about half a mile in width. The ice in the harbour forms about the middle of November, and breaks up about the middle of June. The velocity of the tide-race is estimated by Lieut. Gordon at seven or eight knots per hour. Lieut. Gordon reports that the bay there never freezes over so far out from shore as to prevent one from seeing clear water with the naked eye; and as the temperature of the water must be above 29° 8' Fahr. (the freezing-point of salt water), when at the same time the temperature on shore is below zero, we have a set of conditions which will cause a regular area of low barometric pressure to remain over the bay during the winter, with prevailing West and North-west winds, and very cold weather on the West and North-west of the bay, as shewn by observations at York Factory; whilst on the opposite side of the bay winds from the South-west, South, and South-east would prevail. He points out that, so far as meteorological conditions are concerned, Hudson's Bay has been proved navigable early in June.

Towards the South Hudson's Bay narrows, and this portion is known as James Bay. This is about 360 miles in length, with an average breadth of about 150 miles. The constant supply of water furnished by the rivers I have mentioned, and flowing chiefly from the warm South, keeps the great Canadian sea always full. The overflow reaches the Atlantic Ocean through Hudson's Strait. There is a current setting from the Western and Southern shores both of Hudson's and James Bay Northerly to the western terminus of the Strait. The average depth of the Bay is about 70 fathoms, while that of the Strait is 340 fathoms. This remarkable opening extends for about 500 miles from Cape Wolstenholme, its westerly terminus, to Cape Chudleigh where it meets the Atlantic. Its average width is about 100 miles, at its narrowest point it is 45 miles wide. The current flows very rapidly, from 4 to 6 miles an hour, from West to East, and the tide running the contrary way rises from 30 to 40 feet. Both coasts are bold and high, the land on the North

rising from 1000 to 2000 feet. Hudson's Bay as well as the Strait is remarkably free from shoals, reefs, and sunken rocks. The numerous islands in the Strait have bold shores, permitting the largest ships to lie close to their rocky sides. In the absence of ice the navigation of the Strait would be exceptionally easy and safe. A line of islands stretches along the Northern shore and another along the Southern. These form three channels, the main one being in the centre. Fox Channel connects the Strait with the waters of the Arctic Ocean; and it is through this opening that the stream of icy water supplied by the Arctic system finds its way into the Northern end of Hudson's Bay, and joining its current on its way to the Atlantic at the Western extremity of the Strait seeks the ocean at the rapid rate just mentioned. It is also by this channel that the masses of ice which form the only real impediment to the safe and easy navigation of the Strait during the whole year find their way from the great arsenals of ice in the Gulf of Bothnia and the adjoining waters into the Strait. Nature has fortunately so placed Fox Channel that its waters and its streams of ice are diverted from a Southerly to a Westerly course, and are thus prevented from entering Hudson's Bay proper. Were Fox Channel moved to the westerly side of the bay, and its cold contents projected into it, its whole West coast would be tormented as is the Eastern coast of Labrador, and its navigation almost destroyed. But the Strait carries off these dangerous streams, and the great sea of Hudson's Bay, a body of water half as large as the Mediterranean, is left to the enjoyment of its own warm atmosphere. Supplied chiefly from the South and South-west, the temperature of its waters is much higher than that of the Strait, or of the Labrador coast. It is really higher by 14° than that of Lake Superior, which has already become a favourite resort of tourists, who seek its invigorating breezes, travelling on the magnificent steamers of the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. The bay is singularly free from storms, fogs, shoals, and rocks, and it has established this character after an experience of navigators during the last two hundred years. The captains of the Hudson's Bay ships are unanimous on this point. The two narrowest points in the Strait are the one at the Eastern entrance

between Resolution Island and the Button Islands, and the other opposite North Bluff, near the Savage Islands. Between Resolution Island and the mainland, North, there is Gabriel Strait, a passage ten miles wide. Button Islands are about ten miles from the mainland, South. There are, therefore, three separate entrances into the Strait from the East—the northern and southern ones being each about ten miles wide; the central is about 45 miles in width. The prevailing winds are from the North and the North-west. Much of the ice coming down Fox Channel is thus driven into the central and southern channels, rendering the North channel the best of the three during these winds. Sailing vessels very rarely attempt to enter by this channel from the East, because the current is very strong against them; and the North shore being very high, they are exposed to the danger of being becalmed and cast on the rock-bound coast.

The Circumpolar Charts, published by the Hydrographical Office of the United States Navy Department, show that an ocean current passes from the North along the Eastern shores of Greenland, then round its southern point to the East of Davis' Strait, running towards Baffin's Bay, and thence South towards Labrador, coming in contact with the rush of waters from Hudson's Strait. The Polar ice which comes down through Fox Channel into the Strait meets this current at the eastern opening of the Strait, as well as the icebergs which it bears, and this accumulation of ice renders it frequently difficult, especially during the prevalence of easterly winds, which force the ice into the very jaws of the Strait, for vessels to enter. Sailing vessels are particularly unfit for this work, as, besides the ice impediment, they are met by the stormy current of the Strait itself. Steamers can thread their way through this ice, which is always broken, and can take advantage of the openings which are constantly appearing. One effect of these currents is that the eastern coast of Labrador, the Straits of Belle Isle, and the easterly coasts of Newfoundland are 'fretted' by the ice and icebergs brought down from the Gulf of Bothnia, and perhaps further north, through Fox Channel and Hudson's Strait, as well as from the extreme North through Baffin's Bay and Davis' Strait. This great current is so strong at the easterly mouth of Hudson's

Strait, that in 48 hours of lying-to a ship will be set 40 miles South of her position by dead reckoning.

At Port Burwell, near Cape Chudleigh, the tide rises and falls at springs about 19 feet, while the current in Grey Strait, between the Button Islands and the Cape, flows at the rate of about four miles per hour. At Ashe's inlet, near North Bluff, the tide rises and falls 32 feet at springs. There is a tide-race off the Bluff; and within three miles of the shore the velocity of the tide currents is very great, sometimes reaching six knots. At Stupart's Bay, near Prince of Wales Foreland, the rise and fall of the tide is 28 feet. The tides of the southern coast do not show as high velocities as those of the north side of the Strait, probably because the water is not so deep. At the western end of the Strait also the tides run with great velocity. The rise and fall at Nottingham Island at spring tides is 14 feet, and at Cape Digges about 10 feet.

The ice which frets the Strait is composed of three classes, each class having a distinctly separate origin from that of the others. They are, first, the icebergs from the glaciers of Fox Channel; second, heavy Arctic field ice from the channel itself; and third, ordinary field ice, formed on the shores of the Bay and Strait. No icebergs are ever seen in the Bay. They are frequently seen in the Strait, and chiefly along the North shore, but they are often to be met with in mid-channel. They occasionally find their way from Davis' Strait, passing between Resolution Islands and East Bluff; but all those found in the westerly portion of the Straits come from Fox Channel. Observations made at North Bluff show that an iceberg coming in sight from the West will pass out of view to the eastwards in from three to four tides, shewing an easterly set of ten miles per day. It is important to observe that the bergs seen in the Strait in August and September would, in Lieutenant Gordon's opinion, form no greater barriers to navigation than do those met with off the Straits of Belle Isle, nor does it appear that they are more numerous in Hudson's Strait than they frequently are off Belle Isle. It is by the Straits of Belle Isle chiefly that the enormous traffic carried on between Europe and Montreal is conducted.

The heavy Arctic ice is altogether different from the ordinary field ice. It ranges from fifteen to forty feet in thickness, and is a solid blue structure, formed at once, and not at intervals as in the field ice. The origin of this ice is yet unknown, but it is evidently not produced in Fox Channel, since it is not considered possible that ice in that water can be formed in one year more than ten feet thick. In ice so heavy as this, any ship would be helpless, but it appears in a broken state and is being constantly opened up by the currents, tides, and winds. The depth to which water will freeze does not appear to have been yet authoritatively ascertained, but it is certain that ice being a poor conductor of heat, the rate of thickening will decrease after a certain thickness has been reached. This heavy ice does not appear every year, but thus far the experience of navigators has not been sufficient to warrant any statement as to the frequency or infrequency of its visits to the Strait. The report of Lieut. Ray, United States Signal Service, for 1884, on the conduct of the observations at Point Barrow in the Arctic, shews that the greatest thickness of ice formed in one season was six feet and two inches. It is to be observed that at Point Barrow the formation of ice on the shore is influenced by a current of warm water which passes through Behring Straits and setting north-east. Fox Channel has no such warmth, and it is therefore probable that a sheet of ice ten feet in thickness might there be formed during one season.

The third kind of ice to be encountered in the Strait is the ordinary field ice. This is formed along the shores of the Strait and of the islands. It does not extend across either of the three channels, and so far, therefore, as it is concerned, there are navigable channels all through the Strait during the whole year. It is quickly broken up by the tides, winds, and currents, and in June is found already detached from the land and floating in long strings to the ocean. It is not thick, and being churned backwards and forwards by the tides, it becomes a comparatively soft mass easily penetrated by a stout ship. As in its voyages to the ocean it takes the form of long strips, it passes in parallel lines, forming openings of water which a steamer would have but little difficulty in reaching, even were she caught and imbedded in a large field. This is the ice which forms the chief difficulty in the

navigation of the Strait, but when understood, it ceases to be formidable. It is collected in large quantities at the eastern entrances to the Strait by the force of the current from Baffin's Bay, to which allusion has already been made; but by the time it has reached that position it has become broken up into comparatively small pieces. These have become saturated with water, which gives them a deep flotation, and they have become 'brashy.' After getting through the accumulation at the mouth, all of the ice to be met going West is of this fragmentary and brashy character, and is easily and safely penetrated by an ordinary steamer at a speed of even twelve knots. Captain Markham alludes to a special peculiarity of this ice in the Strait, and adds that it is one with which he has not met in any other part of the Northern regions. He says the packs are composed of small pieces, and it is from this composition chiefly that they are unable seriously to injure a ship that may happen to become imbedded in them, because, when any pressure occurs, these small pieces, being of a soft and brashy nature, 'act as cushions or fenders, and thus secure the vessel from being violently squeezed or nipped.' He adds these significant words: 'This is, in my opinion, an important feature in the character of the ice in this locality, and it is one that should not be disregarded when the question of the feasibility of navigating the Strait is under consideration.' The Captain observes another peculiarity in the ice of the Strait, but this was in the heavier and larger floes—it was the irregularity and unevenness of their surfaces.

'A perfectly smooth and level floe of any extent was rarely seen. I can only account for this peculiarity by the supposition that each one of these floes is composed of a number of small pieces of ice, which have escaped dissolution during the summer, and have then been connected together by the frost and snow of the succeeding winter. Hence the irregularities resembling small hillocks that are observed on their surfaces. These "hillocky" floes were the heaviest pieces of ice we saw, and would average in thickness from six to twelve feet. They were invariably of a dirty brown colour, evidently due to dust and debris that had been blown off the shore and deposited on them; on some I noticed quite thick sand where the snow had melted. I imagine these floes to have been formed in Fox Channel and thence drifted into the Strait.'

With regard to fogs in Hudson's Bay and the Strait, complete

observations have been taken during the years 1884, 1885, and 1886 by the officers of the *Alert* and the men stationed at the various posts established by the Dominion Government, to which full reference will be made before this paper is concluded. Lieut. Gordon, in his report of 1885, compares a number of these with the observations recorded by the Meteorological Service at Belle Isle, in the regular trade route between Montreal, Quebec, and Europe. The dense and frequent fogs of Newfoundland, the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the Maritime Provinces are apt to lead to the belief that Hudson's Bay and Strait are similarly afflicted, but these observations, which closely agree with the tenor of the universal testimony of navigation for the last two hundred years, clearly show there is no ground for such a belief. Lieut. Gordon says :—

' For the first period, from 1st to 31st August, the *Neptune* was on 1st August, 1884, at Nachvak Bay, within 100 miles of the east end of the Strait, and on 30th August, had just left Nottingham Island at the west end, so that the month of August was spent in the Strait's region.'

' The following table is compiled from the Meteorological Records :—

	Belle Isle Strait.	Hudson Strait.
No. of days on which fog is recorded, - - -	13	9
Approximate No. of hours of fog, - - -	320	182
Days on which snow fell, - - -	—	4
„ „ rain fell, - - -	10	8
„ „ winds exceeded 25 miles per hour, but did not reach 40, - - -	6	5
„ „ wind exceeded 40 miles, - - -	2	1

' The month of August, 1884, thus shows favourably for Hudson's Strait—the fog there being reported on six days only, as against thirteen days in Belle Isle ; and the total number of hours of fog being respectively one hundred and two in the Strait, and two hundred and twenty in Belle Isle ; and if the duration of the snow storms in Hudson's Straits be added to the number of hours of fog, it still shows favourably. The number of gales also is six at Belle Isle, for five in the Strait ; and of heavy gales, two at Belle Isle, and only one in the Strait.'

' The following comparison for September, 1884, is between Station No. 1 at Cape Chudleigh and Belle Isle :—

	Belle Isle Strait.	Hudson Strait.
No. of days on which fog is recorded, - - -	7	4
Approximate No. of hours of fog, - - -	82	34

Days on which snow fell, - - - - -	3	8
„ „ rain fell, - - - - -	15	6
„ „ velocity of wind was between 25 and 40 miles per hour, - -	4	5
„ „ velocity of wind was 40 miles or over per hour, - - -	11	3

‘In the character of the weather, therefore, for these two months, so far as it affects navigation, the Strait compares favourably with Belle Isle.’

The mean temperature of the month of August at Cape Chudleigh was 39°, for Belle Isle 40° 67'; and for September, Cape Chudleigh 32° 76', Belle Isle 40° 1'. The temperature of the surface water off Belle Isle on 25th July 1884 was 41° 6', which gradually decreased as the ship proceeded northward to 31° 7' on 4th August off the entrance to Hudson's Strait.

This brief account of the geography of Hudson's Bay and Strait, of the ice, currents, tides, fogs, and winds, was necessary to the discussion of the question, ‘Can a paying trade route be established between Europe and the British and American Northwest *via* Hudson's Bay and Strait? It is clear that the only impediment to the successful operation of such a route is the ice to be met with in the harbours of Churchill and York Factory, and in the Strait. How long are these portions of the route so free from ice as to render navigation so easy as to be profitable in a mercantile sense? There are five distinct and independent descriptions of evidence to be offered on these questions; (1.) The evidence of navigators who have traversed these regions in search of a Northwest passage to India; (2.) The evidence of the captains of the ships of the Hudson's Bay Company trading into Hudson's Bay; (3.) The evidence of the American whalers who have prosecuted their fishing in the Bay; (4.) The evidence supplied by the reports of Lieut. Gordon for 1884 and 1885, who was commissioned by the Dominion Government to enquire and report upon these matters; (5) The special report of Capt. Markham, 1886.

The evidence afforded by the old navigators who entered Hudson's Bay through Hudson's Strait is so trifling and unimportant as compared with that obtainable from other sources that space for it cannot be given in this paper, and the second description of evidence is therefore adduced.

In 1668 the first English trading expedition entered the Bay, and this led to the formation of the Hudson's Bay Company, which obtained its charter from Charles II. in 1670, under the title of 'The Governor and Company of Adventurers of England trading into Hudson's Bay.' The record of their ships visiting the post of York Factory at the mouth of the Nelson and Hayes rivers, and that of Moose Factory at the mouth of Moose River since 1735 has been supplied by the Company, and it discloses the singular fact that this last post has been visited by a ship of the Company regularly every year since that date—or for one hundred and fifty-one years, with one exception, that of the year 1779. This of itself proves that the navigation is exceptionally safe and easy. The ships of those days were but jolly-boats compared with the huge steamers of the present, while their ability as sailing vessels to cope with the ice of the Strait bears no comparison with that of the powerful structures which are now seen in every quarter of the globe. Mr. Armit, Secretary of the Hudson's Bay Company, furnished Professor Bell with a list showing the dates of the arrivals of the Company's ships at Moose Factory, and of their departure from that point, and Mr. Chief Factor Fortescue supplied him with a similar one in reference to York Factory. These show that very few interruptions have occurred in making the regular annual voyages to these ports during the periods of 147 and 93 years respectively. The arrivals at York Factory and Moose Factory almost always occurred from the 15th to the 30th August, and the ships started on the return voyage usually between two and three weeks after their arrival. Reckoning five or six days as necessary to cover the distance between these points and the western end of the Straits, we may arrive at a tolerably correct idea of the dates at which they were passing through the Strait. This evidence is valuable chiefly as shewing that in July, August, and September at all events, the Strait and Bay must have been both easily and safely navigable; since during this long period but two ships were lost, and their destruction was the result of sheer carelessness. But the movements of the Hudson's Bay traders are no guide in determining the periods of the opening or closing either of the Bay or Strait. The duty of these vessels was very simple. It

was to convey the British supplies to the posts on Hudson's Bay, and return with the furs which had during the year been collected from the inland posts. Many of these furs would have travelled over a thousand miles before they reached the Bay, and the ships had no object in arriving earlier than they did, because the furs were not ready for them until August or September. Their object was accomplished if they secured their return cargo in time to get through the Strait before the ice formed. And as they could reach the Bay ports in ample time by appearing off the easterly opening of the Strait late in July, and even early in August, they never attempted to reach that point in June, and never willingly attempted to pass westward through the Strait on their return voyage later than September. These movements will not suit the modern demand for early communication and fast travelling. There is no doubt that during the period occupied by these ships in traversing the waters of the Bay and Strait, the atmosphere is pleasant—ice forms no impediment—storms are not frequent—fogs are hardly known, and both sailor and passenger enjoy the voyage.

The whalers, however, supply a more extended and valuable experience. These American ships have for many years carried on the whale and seal fishing in the northern waters of Hudson's Bay, and in the Gulf of Boothia. They usually leave New Bedford, Massachusetts, about the latter part of May, reaching the mouth of the Strait at the time when the pack ice breaks away in July. They pass through the Strait, and lay up for the winter at Marble Island. In the spring they proceed to Rae's Welcome and other places in search of whales. They are thus occupied until November or earlier, according to their catch, when they pass back through Hudson's Strait, and go home with the oil they have secured. These men report that the real difficulty in getting into Hudson's Bay is found, not in the Strait, but at its easterly entrance. The ice-pack formed directly across the mouth renders it impossible to count upon a free opening until this moves off, and these whalers look upon the early part of July as the time when they might depend on the removal, and time their arrivals accordingly. But they believe that a safe and easy passage for steamers may be found to the North of Resolution

Island, by which an entrance into the Bay could be obtained in the latter part of May—and this would enable steamers to reach Churchill and York Factory as soon as those ports are open—in the early part of June. It appears to be established that there is less ice in the Strait in May than in June, and less in June than in July. If this opinion of the American whalers be correct there is no doubt that steamers would have all of June, July, August, September, October, and a portion of November, during which they would be able with probably some, but not with serious obstruction, to carry on communication between Europe and the Hudson's Bay ports. It is conceded by all classes of navigators that the incessant movements caused by the high tides and the rapid currents, prevent the Strait from being ever frozen over; and that the chief, almost only difficulty in its navigation is the movement of the ice going from Fox Channel and the inlets on the North of the Bay to the Atlantic. This is over by May or June; and no shore ice to any considerable extent, floats out until the following spring. Much will depend on the truth or falsity of the supposition of the American whalers that the pack which bars the main entrance to the Strait from the East can be 'flanked' by steamers, who by going North of it may secure a comparatively clear entrance between Resolution Island and the North shore of the Strait. These whaling ships have always been sailing vessels, and the necessities of their trade have never induced the owners to spend either time or money in attempting to solve this question. All the evidence on the point leads to the conclusion that there is no difficulty from floating ice except in the spring and early summer, and if this idea of the American captains be correct, even this difficulty can be easily overcome. The whalers agree that even if this route be impracticable the Strait and Bay can easily and safely be entered and navigated by sailing vessels for three and a half to four months of the year—but that steamers would certainly extend this period to four or four and a half months, or perhaps even five—but that if this new route be as favourable as they suppose it to be, six full months would be obtained. Of course nothing would be gained in extending the period of entering or leaving the Strait unless the harbours of the Bay were open during the same periods.

We come now to the fourth class of evidence, the reports of Lieut. Gordon. On 11th January 1884, the Dominion House of Commons, at the earnest solicitations of a large class of influential persons, appointed a committee of the House, composed of fifteen members, of which Mr. Royal of St. Bonifaces, Manitoba, was elected chairman, 'to take into consideration the question of the navigation of Hudson's Bay, with power to send for persons, papers, and records.' This committee, after the labour of about two months, made their report, dated 8th April 1884. Fourteen witnesses were examined, all possessing peculiar knowledge of the Bay and Strait.

The evidence was so encouraging that the Government, supported by Parliament, determined to send an expedition to these waters for three consecutive years, charged with the duty of making such observations as would solve the navigation problem. A Newfoundland steam sealer was accordingly chartered and placed under the command of Andrew R. Gordon, Lieut., R.N. The staff of this first expedition was composed of Professor Bell, M.D., F.G.S. of Ottawa, geologist and medical officer; Mr. Fox, photographer; seven observers, and twelve station men. On 22nd July, 1884, the ship left Halifax *en route* for Hudson's Bay.

It is impossible in this paper to give in detail the progress of the 'Neptune.' She was a very slow vessel, and did not reach Cape Chudleigh until 5th August. It must be observed at the outset that the expedition was late. This was perhaps of no great consequence, as the first voyage was intended rather to inaugurate the investigation and establish posts for the observers, than to enter into the active work of observation. Steaming through Grey Strait between the Cape and Button Islands, the ship anchored in a fine harbour on the North-western shore of the Cape at the entrance to Ungava Bay. On the shore of this harbour, Lieut. Gordon placed Observing Station No. I., and named the place Port Burwell. The work of landing lumber and supplies and erecting the building was completed by the 8th of August. H. M. Burwell was placed in charge with two station men, and the ship left on the evening of that day. Ashe's Inlet was reached on the 11th, and here another building was put up;

it was placed in charge of W. A. Ashe, and was No. II. The ship left on the 16th, and the next day, 17th August, landed on the north-west shore of Prince of Wales Sound, at a point where Station No. III. was built, which was named Stupart's Bay. The 'Neptune' left on the evening of the 22nd, and reached Nottingham Island on 24th, where Station No. IV. was erected, and the spot was named Port De Boucherville. The ship left on the 29th, heading for Mansfield Island. A station was to have been placed here, but not finding anchorage Lieut. Gordon pushed on across Hudson's Bay, intending on his return to place a station on Cape Digges. He altered his course and stood for Marble Island, where he arrived on 2nd September. From this island he went direct to Churchill, which was reached on 6th September. Here the ship remained until the 9th, when she moved on to York Factory, which was reached on the 11th. Next day the anchor was weighed, and the ship's course was shaped for Cape Digges. Here the anchor was dropped on the 16th, Station No. V. was built, and on the 20th the ship started on her homeward voyage, and St. John's, Newfoundland, was reached on 11th October.

The report gives minute details of the observations made by Lieutenant Gordon as he proceeded on his voyage which cannot be reproduced here, but much of the matter of this paper has been taken from it. He observes that 'the ice had been supposed hitherto to be the most formidable barrier to the navigation of the Strait, but its terror disappears to a great extent under investigation.' He suggested that the Expedition for 1885 should leave Halifax not later than 15th May, arriving off the Strait about 1st June, and endeavouring to reach Churchill at about 15th June.

The Expedition of 1885 was also conducted by Lieutenant Gordon. He was supplied with a ship of the British Navy, the *Alert*, a screw steamship, barque rigged, of about 700 gross tons, specially rebuilt for the Arctic expedition of 1876 under the command of Sir George Nares. Her power was small, only fifty horse power, nominal, with a small screw. In smooth water and calm weather, at full speed she could make only about eight-and-a-half knots. The officers and crew numbered thirty-two.

The members of the Expedition consisted of Professor Bell, Mr. M'Naughtan, Assistant Geologist, five observers, twelve station hands, and Mr. D. G. Beaton, Editor of the *Winnipeg Times*, who accompanied the Expedition as the representative of the Company interested in the construction of the railway from Winnipeg to Hudson's Bay. The *Alert* left Halifax on the 27th May. The reader will remember that Lieutenant Gordon, in his report for 1884, expressed his opinion that the Expedition for 1885 should leave Halifax about 15th May, 'not later than this date.' But for some unexplained reason it left twelve days later, a serious loss of time. On the route along the Labrador Coast the ice from Baffin's Bay and the Strait was found extended from thirty to fifty miles seaward. On 15th June the ship reached the edge of the ice about thirty-five miles East of Cape Resolution, and on the 16th Cape Best was reached. Here the iron stem plate was broken off at some distance below the water, and it became unsafe to drive the vessel at all hard through the ice; she therefore drifted in the pack until 6th July, nearly three weeks. At last she worked out of her bondage, and having reached clear water on the 8th, Lieutenant Gordon turned her head homewards, and reached St. John's, Newfoundland, on the 15th July. She was there put into dock and repaired, and on the 27th of July the Expedition again started for Hudson's Straits. But precious time had been lost. It was at least nine weeks behind time. The ship reached Port Burwell, Station No. I, on 4th August. The ice was heavy all the way through the pack, but it was the loose brashy ice which has been described, and such as a proper vessel would easily have penetrated. On the 5th the ship was headed for Ashe Inlet, Station No. II., which was reached on the 21st. The *Alert* was at the mercy of tides and currents, as when she got into a pack she was unable to force her way out. She broke one of the blades of her screw in attempting to reach Ashe Inlet, and was of course delayed while it was being replaced by a new one. The error of sending a vessel of her tonnage, 700 tons, provided with engines of only fifty horse power, was strikingly exhibited by her wretched performances on this voyage. The remarks of Captain Markham on this point, which will be given further

on, though severe are just. Leaving Ashe Inlet, she arrived at Stupart's Bay, Station No. III., on the 22nd. Thence the Expedition proceeded to Nottingham Island, Station No. IV., which was reached on the 24th. No ice having been encountered, the ship left the same evening for Cape Digges, Station No. V., which was reached the next day, 25th August. Here she remained until the evening of the 28th, when she headed for Churchill, where she came to anchor on the 31st. There was found the 'Cam Owen,' a Hudson's Bay Company Ship, which the *Alert* had passed in the ice on the 7th, she having reached Churchill two days ahead of her. Here the Expedition remained until 7th September, when the ship started on her home voyage. The 'Sleeper's' were reached on the 10th. The stations were then revisited, and the ship emerged from the Strait on the 8th October, and reached Halifax on the 18th of that month.

The Report gives a full account of the observations made at the Stations for August, September, October, November, December, 1884, and for January, February, March, April, May, June, July, and August, 1885. These observations include the formation of ice, its arrival, departure and character, the currents, tides, fogs, snow-storms, winds and temperature. The details of this valuable and highly interesting information cannot of course be given here; but Lieutenant Gordon sums up the result of his own experience in these words:—

'Our observations show that during the first half of the month of June, a belt of ice, varying in width from 30 to 50 miles, extended the whole length of the Labrador coast, from Cape Chudleigh to Belle Isle. Off the entrance of Hudson's Straits at this time the field extended from 35 to 100 miles to the eastward of Resolution Island, and on the 16th of June when I endeavoured to enter the Straits the ship was beset in heavy ice about ten miles to the S.W. of Cape Best. This ice was very heavy and some of it in large sheets, but at the turn of the tide the pack generally slacked off a little when the ship was worked on under steam or sail as opportunity offered; this state of affairs continued until the 6th of July, when, owing to the damage done to the ship, we had to return to St. John's. Except on one occasion no large amount of open water was seen from our mast-head, the ice always seeming to be tight to the westward of the ship. I measured the thickness of many of the pans, some were 22 feet, but the common kind was floe ice about 10 feet in thickness. On the 4th of

August when we got back from St. John's there was still a great deal of ice in the Straits and some of the pans were of great size, many of them being over half a mile in length. There was at this time undoubtedly a run of clear water to the westward, had I taken a more southerly course; but in the "Neptune," we had found, in 1884, that the ice all lay over on the south shore and this made me decide to try the north shore again this year.

'The Hudson Bay officers who navigate the Straits state that the movements of the ice are both irregular and uncertain, that sometimes they find the north shore clear first, and the following voyage the position of affairs may be completely reversed. I consider that the ice met with in August this year was such that had I been simply endeavouring to force my way through the Straits I could have been clear with less than five days' detention, even taking the route which I did, and had I taken a more southerly course I should most likely have got through with a couple of days' delay.

'No ice, other than a few bergs, was met with after leaving Stupart's Bay, on 22nd August.

'In the "Alert" the height of the topmast head from the water line was 90 feet, which gives a horizon of almost eleven miles.'

The whole results in Lieutenant Gordon's opinion of the two Expeditions are thus stated by him in the concluding words of his report:—

'1. I consider that *the temperatures* proved to exist in the Straits preclude the possibility of practical navigation from November to April, inclusive.

'2. It seems a reasonable certainty that in ordinary years the ice will not be sufficiently broken up to permit of the passage of vessels suitable for freight steamers before July 1st.

'3. That while making the passage in July will be not attended with any serious risk to the ship, there will usually be delays more or less considerable in different years.'

For the movement of the *Alert* in the third Expedition, 1886, we must for the present depend upon the report of Captain Markham,* who at the request of a number of British capitalists,

* In order to estimate the value of this officer's opinion it may be stated that 'After being promoted to a commander in the navy in 1872, he shipped as second mate of a whaler which sailed to Baffin's Bay, Lancaster Sound and the Gulf of Boothia. On that occasion the survivors of the American Arctic Expedition, *Polaris*, were picked up and brought to England by the *Arctic*, the steam whaler, in which Capt. Markham was serving. In 1875 he was selected as commander of the *Alert* in the Nares Expedition, when

accompanied Lieutenant Gordon on this occasion. These gentlemen wished to obtain the opinion of this distinguished Arctic Explorer on the feasibility of establishing a remunerative route *via* Hudson Bay and Strait, and he was deputed by them to go with the *Alert* and report the result of his observations. A copy of this report dated 'S.S. Alert, off York Factory, 6th August, 1886' is before me. The report of Lieutenant Gordon will not be made public until it is laid before Parliament, next April probably.*

The *Alert* left Halifax, 23rd June, 1886—again late; and reached the entrance to Hudson's Strait, 5th July. Here the pack which forms the greatest hindrance to the navigation of the Strait was found, just as has already been explained. The ship was enveloped in a fog, and she drifted sixty miles South in the three days of her imprisonment. Capt. Markham observes:—

'Had it not been for the fog, we should have experienced but little difficulty in threading our way through those loose streams of ice, and have made fairly good progress. No large floes were during this time seen, but the streams of ice encountered were composed of small pieces, all, more or less, what is called "honey-combed" and rotten, and in an advanced stage of disintegration. The larger pieces occasionally seen were also of a brashy nature, and so saturated with water as to give them a deep flotation. These are very apt by inexperienced people to be regarded as heavy pieces of ice in consequence of their increased immersion, but they easily break up on being struck by the stem of a steamer.'

The entrance to the Strait was again reached on 9th July, and no ice was visible. Slow as was the *Alert*, she made 130 miles West after she got fairly into the Strait, and though ice was met, it was of so soft a character that the captain declares he would

he reached the highest latitude ever attained (by a vessel) 83° 20' 24", within 400 miles of the North Pole. In 1879 he fitted out, with a friend, a small yacht in which he navigated the Basins and Kora seas and took the English flag for the first time north of Nova Zembla. He was afterwards for three years flag-captain of the *Triumph*, an iron-clad, in the Pacific, and then for three years and a half in charge of the naval torpedo establishment at Portsmouth.'

* This report, I have reason to believe, was a few days ago laid before Parliament, but it has not yet been printed, and I am therefore unable to give Lieut. Gordon's final opinion on the route.

have had no hesitation in driving an ordinary steamer through it at the rate of ten or twelve knots per hour. The Upper Savage Islands were reached 11th July, and the station near North Bluff was visited. Here they heard the surprising news that the Dundee steam whaler *Arctic* had actually reached the Savage Islands on her way to Hudson's Bay on the 5th June, and her captain reported that after getting through the pack at the entrance of the Strait, which would be about the 1st June, he had met with no impediment from the ice, and had traversed two hundred miles of the Strait—nearly half of its whole length. Capt. Markham makes this remark on the performance of the steam whaler:—

‘This is a very important fact, shewing very clearly and conclusively what is now generally well known and acknowledged—how completely steam and modern appliances have robbed ice navigation of its assumed dangers, and many of its difficulties and imaginary terrors.’

The ice did not appear at that station until the middle of December, and it may therefore be assumed that the Strait was navigable by steamers up to the last of November. The ice in the Strait had broken up on 5th March, from which time until July the pack drifted off and on to the shore, according to the direction of the wind. It turned out that the fog which had detained the ship on her reaching the Strait on 5th July, was entirely local. The ship left North Bluff on the 11th July, and then was met the ice which to a sailing vessel would be a serious hindrance. It was evidently broken pack ice, composed chiefly of innumerable small pieces of soft brashy ice; and it is in consequence of this character that it is, in a great measure, deprived of its powers to injure seriously a ship that may happen to get beset in it. Captain Markham considers this a matter of the highest consequence in solving the question of navigation in the Strait. On arriving at the station on Digges Island he found the report on the ice movements ‘of a favourable and gratifying character.’ As early as the 16th of February clear water was visible within three or four miles of the Strait, ‘showing that at this early period a partial disruption of the ice had commenced.’ On 10th March much open water was seen. On 3rd April open water was seen in the

Strait 'as far as the eye could reach;' and on 6th May open water was seen off the island. On 1st July the ice was reported as loose, not heavy, and lanes of water were seen extending half-way to Nottingham Island. The Expedition did not visit Nottingham Island at this time. It left Digges Island on the 25th July, and after steaming about seven miles west of its western extremity, no ice causing obstruction was met. Churchill was reached on the 29th July, and York Factory on 6th August. Captain Markham makes the following observations on the *Alert*:

'I infer from the correspondence that was placed in my hands before leaving England, and also from other sources, that the special object of the cruise of the *Alert* during the current year, was not solely for the purpose of demonstrating the practicability of a route for steamers through Hudson's Strait, but principally to ascertain by actual experiment the earliest date that the Strait would be open to navigation, and the time that would necessarily be occupied in accomplishing the passage of the Strait. If my inference is a correct one, then I have no hesitation in saying that although the *Alert* is a strong stoutly built ship, and excellently well adapted for exploratory work in the icy seas of the north, she is not suitable for the special service that was this year required of her. I would state that there were many occasions during our passage through the Strait this summer (1886) when the *Alert* was beset, and her progress entirely arrested by loose brashy ice, through which a more powerful steamer would easily have penetrated. In fact, I shall not be at all surprised to hear that the steam whaler *Arctic* succeeded in reaching the open water in Hudson's Bay in a less number of days than we were occupied in doing so, in spite of her being more than a month earlier in the season. I cannot call to mind a single instance during our passage through the Strait, when a more powerful steamer, commanded by an able and experienced seaman, and one well acquainted with ice navigation would have suffered detention from the ice, except perhaps for about two or three hours at the outside—and there were many occasions when the *Alert* was pushing and boring her way in a futile and impotent manner in loose ice, without making headway at all, when a steamer better adapted for the purpose would, without doubt, have been accomplishing at least from four to five knots an hour. By carefully watching the movements of the ice, and taking advantage of all favourable opportunities to push on, it is quite certain that even a less powerful steamer than the *Alert* would have had no difficulty in effecting the passage of the Strait this year; but in proportion to her power, she would in a corresponding increase of time be longer accomplishing her voyage. But this was not, I understand, what was required—the objective view was to ascertain how *quickly* the passage of the Strait could be made, and a satisfactory decision on this point could not be obtained by the result

of a voyage made in a vessel of so little power as the *Alert*. From my own observations regarding the state and condition of the ice in the Strait, I am fully convinced that a more powerful steamer would have accomplished the passage in a considerably less period of time than that which was occupied by the *Alert* in steaming the distance.

‘From the remarks that I have made, and from the general tenor of my report, it will, I think, not unreasonably be assumed that I am of opinion that the practicability of the navigation of the Strait has been satisfactorily established, at any rate for a certain period during the year, and such undoubtedly is my opinion.’

Captain Markham then points out that the ordinary steam ship of the day, a little strengthened to meet exceptional occurrences, and protected at the bows, would be fitting for the route, and as to the portion of the year during which navigation could be safely and easily accomplished through the Strait, he says further experience will be required to establish that, but so far, he thinks it is proved that ‘the Strait will be found navigable at least four months every year, and probably often for five or more. There will, I have no doubt, be many years when navigation can be carried on safely and surely from the first of June until the end of November.’ He then discusses the question of fogs, and after quoting the words of many navigators during the last century, he adds :—

‘It is therefore my opinion, and I think I am quite justified in forming it, that but little delay and detention will be caused to steamers navigating the Strait during the navigable season by fogs, and that the weather that may generally be expected will be fine, with many calm, clear days.’

This is the latest authoritative evidence on the question. Encouraged by this report the British capitalists, by whom Captain Markham was sent out, took immediate steps for the establishment of a great route from Britain to the centre of the rich lands of the British North-West *via* Hudson's Bay and Strait. On 9th October last the first sod was turned of a railway from Winnipeg to York Factory, 715 miles, and by 1st January last forty-one miles were completed. Two powerful steamers of 6000 tons each are being built expressly for the route, and two others have been chartered. It is intended that these vessels shall begin running between Britain and Hudson's Bay early in June.

They will finally solve the two questions yet unsolved,* and they will furnish the supplies required for the prosecution of the road from York Factory southwards, meeting it in its progress from Winnipeg northwards. The full development of the route will involve connection with the Canadian Pacific Railway at Regina, and with the American roads of Minnesota, Dakota, Montana, and the whole of the American North-West.

This route will be the logical complement to the Canada Pacific Railway, and will be second only to it in its value as well to Canada as to Britain. Already the Canadian Pacific Railway is recognised in all well informed circles as the most important Imperial work of the age; for it has given to the Mother Country an alternative route to India, Australasia, China, and Japan—the land portion of 4000 miles being entirely in her own possessions. But the Hudson's Bay route will give her another and a much better one, since, while the water portion between England and Churchill will be shorter than that between England and Montreal by sixty-four miles, the land portion between Churchill and Vancouver, the Pacific terminus, will be shorter than that between Montreal and Vancouver by about 1080 miles. The distances involved in the Canadian Pacific and the Hudson Bay routes from Liverpool to the ports of Asia are given in the accompanying table. In case of war the value to Britain of such a route will be immediately seen. But it will be perhaps of greater value in furnishing the British Isles at all times, whether of war or peace, with an unlimited supply of grain and animal food at a rate considerably below that of a route either through New York by American roads, or through Montreal by the Canadian Pacific. The food supply must always be

* One of these is, 'At how early a period will a powerful steamer of such a class as may profitably be employed in the navigation of the *route* be able to penetrate the pack moving in front of the eastern entrance to the Strait?' and the other, 'Is the opinion of the American whalers correct that the pack opposite the eastern entrance of the small Strait between Resolution Island and the north shore of the main Strait can easily be penetrated at an early day; a ship taking that *route* thus "flanking" the great accumulation of ice in front of the main entrance, caused by the junction of the Fox Channel ice with that moving south from Baffin's Bay?'

a serious question to Britain. Notwithstanding her improvements in agriculture and cattle raising, she must ever draw her food largely from foreign countries. During peace her European neighbours, as well as Egypt, India, and the United States supply her amply at competitive prices; but were she engaged in war with a leading State these supplies would be reduced in volume and enhanced in cost. But with the greatest granary in the world, her American North-West and the immense ranches of Alberta, Assiniboia and Saskatchewan to draw on, she would be able to look with comparative indifference on the closed foreign ports. British North America can furnish ample and cheap supplies of cereals, and animal food for the British Isles; and if to its productions be added those of the immense American North-West, the aggregate would be practically illimitable. The North-Western States are as anxious for the establishment of this great route to Europe as we in the British North-West; for all of their produce intended for the European market would find its way there by it. The saving to the American and Canadian producer, as well as to the British consumer, will be readily seen by a study of the following quotation from the Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, to which reference has already been made:—

‘Let us suppose, says one witness, the possibility of establishing a line of steamships between Liverpool and the Hudson's Bay ports, which would carry freight at the same rates as the steamships between Montreal and Liverpool;—now the distance between Winnipeg and Montreal is about 1,400 miles, while it is not more than 700 to York Factory. It costs 1½ cents per ton per mile, to forward grain from St. Paul to New York, which applied to the distance to be traversed between Winnipeg and Montreal, would give a charge of \$21 per ton, or of \$10.50 from Winnipeg to York Factory, say the half. If, now, the ton is reckoned as equal to 33 bushels of grain, the difference in freight in favour of the Hudson's Bay route, would be a saving of 32 cents per bushel, or in other words, an additional profit of \$6.40 per acre, yielding an average of 20 bushels. Other calculations make the saving one third the present cost of transport realized by the farmer of the West, upon the opening of a channel of exportation by the Hudson's Bay. A large proportion of importation from Europe would take this road; the immigrants proceeding westward would see that they could shorten the annoyances, the delays and the costs of a journey across the continent by some 800 to 900 miles; the export of butchers' meats would alone furnish a considerable portion of the lading of Hudson's

Bay steamers; and many persons are of opinion that this route would command a considerable portion of the import and export trade of the north-western States of the Union. We speak merely incidentally of the Hudson's Bay fisheries, and of the working of the minerals, almost inexhaustible in their richness, which are to be found there. To sum up the whole, Hudson's Bay appears to us to be destined to perform the same service for the vast territories of the North-West that the Gulf of the St. Lawrence does for the vast and fertile valley bearing the same name. Churchill is 2,926 miles from Liverpool; Montreal is, 2,990 *via* Cape Race, and New York, 3,040; there is, therefore, a difference of 64 miles over the route by Montreal, and of 114 miles over that by New York, in favour of Churchill.'

In the event of war, the food *en route* to Britain would need protection only from the eastern opening of Hudson's Strait, for the Strait could easily be made impenetrable by an enemy. Troops or munitions of war *en route* from Britain to Asia or Australasia would require a convoy only to the same entrance, and for the same reason. Whether, therefore, the Hudson's Bay route be considered in war time or during peace—whether as a military power, or as a machine for supplying the people of the British Isles with the best of food at a rate beyond foreign competition, it may with perfect correctness be styled an imperial work second in value to the Empire only to the Canadian Pacific. The old navigators, in their search of a North-West passage to the fabulous wealth of the Indies, did not dream that when they stood on the western shores of Hudson's Bay they were really at the portal of a country infinitely more valuable than the crowded and parched plains of the regions they were striving to reach. This magnificent inheritance has been sealed up until the present days, but its amazing wealth is now displayed to the British people, who are invited to enter and enjoy. This thought naturally leads up to the great question of emigration. To us Canadians, living in this country of 'illimitable possibilities,' it appears simply amazing that no Imperial scheme of lessening the horrors of the poverty which crushes hundreds of thousands of valuable men, women, and children of Britain in an embrace more terrible than that of the devil-fish, has never even been attempted. If British statesmen could only be truly Imperial in their ideas—if they could but grasp in its full and

deep meaning the idea of Imperial Federation, and bring about the inauguration of a system which would make each Colony as much a part of England as the county of Kent, the chief objections to migration raised by these poor people would disappear. It would almost seem as if Providence had placed the great sea of Hudson's Bay in the very centre of Britain's possessions on this continent; and after constructing an approach impossible to unfriendly access, had spread out by its side half a continent as fertile as Egypt for the especial purpose of supplying homes of ease and comfort to her overcrowded and suffering people. And yet the wondrous gift is not understood, nor is its value appreciated. But the day must come, and that soon, when the scales will fall from the eyes of the British people, and when their great possessions, in this Western hemisphere, will be devoted to the purposes for which Providence has surely designed them. The Hudson Bay route is the latest, and must be the last development of modes of access to these richly-endowed and highly-favoured regions. Nature has ordained that no shorter road is possible. She has made it so short that steam has reduced it to a question, not of months, or weeks, or even of days, but one merely of hours—and hours of pleasant voyaging over placid waters and under sunny skies. As surely as the sun shines, so surely will the British people, when the power of the suffering population of Britain is able to make itself felt at Westminster, insist on a national system of assisted colonization.

WM. LEGGO.

ART. IV.—THE REDEMPTION OF ASTROLOGY.

THE redemption of Astrology, as a potent means of influence over many minds, from the grasp of the ignorant impostor and the mischievous quack, can only be effected by the application to astronomical phenomena, considered as parallel to recorded events, by competent students, of the methods of inductive science. It might, indeed, be desired that such students should be persons

not anxious to establish any theories of their own on the points which they undertake to investigate. But this is hardly to be expected. It is only in the tempting pursuit of the will o' wisp of theory that men are at all likely to devote to such a research the necessary time. All, therefore, that the intelligent public has a right to expect is, that writers on this, as indeed on other subjects, should clearly and distinctly draw the line between the facts which they report and collate, and the theories on which they attempt to explain their connexion.

An admirable instance of this useful kind of work may be cited from the pages of the now defunct *University Magazine*. In that periodical, in March 1880, under the somewhat fanciful title of *The Soul and the Stars*, a writer of established literary position, using the *nom de plume* of 'A. G. Trent,' has brought together more than 50 horoscopes of men and women of good or evil eminence, with the aim of illustrating the statement that insanity is to be feared in the case of persons born under certain stated aspects of the planets. In this essay that careful distinction between facts and opinions which lies at the very root of inductive discovery is carefully observed. The writer states a very clear and distinct theory; one moreover that is both new in respect to the definite light which, if established, it would throw on the rules of astrology, and worthy of minute attention on philosophical grounds. Having done this, he with equal distinctness brings forward the facts on which he bases his opinion. It is thus competent for those who are sceptics as to the theory, to investigate the facts, and to see how far they are able to explain them on any other hypothesis.

It would, however, be injustice to the author of *The Soul and the Stars* to regard the value of his paper as limited to the outcome of the special inquiry undertaken as an example. All that Mr. Trent claims is, that he has produced evidence in favour of the establishment of a *primâ facie* case, to the effect that the moral and intellectual character is profoundly affected by the positions of the heavenly bodies at the time of birth. Such a position, if established, would have a wide-reaching importance. It would tend, on the one hand, to remove much of the difficult and contradictory nature of astrological theory, as now expound-

ed; and on the other hand to bind together astral and biological influences in a philosophical harmony, hardly less comprehensive and universal than the theory of Gravitation itself.

One consideration, however, suggests itself on the threshold, in regard to which the present remarks will not be in vain if they elicit a satisfactory explanation from the author of *The Soul and the Stars*. With our present knowledge of the infinitesimal delicacy of the operations of nature, whether as analysed by the chemist or as observed by the electrician, it can not be asserted to be an *a priori* impossibility that the planets of our system should exert, by their relative positions and movements, an appreciable influence on living organisms. In fact it may be broadly stated that it is perfectly well known that, as far as the agencies of light, and heat, and gravity are concerned, such is unquestionably the case. How far the action of the influence of the special class of influences grouped under the term electric or magnetic may be capable of direct appreciation is a more difficult question; but from the knowledge that we are gradually acquiring of the co-relations of physical forces we may be able to form a tolerably decided opinion as to its probability.

Assuming, then, for the sake of hypothesis, the possibility of physical planetary action on living terrestrial organisms, the inference that such action must vary with the varying position of the heavenly bodies is obvious. And it is consonant with what is known as to the intensified power of chemical or electric action on bodies in a nascent state (as the term is used by the chemist), to suppose that such planetary influences would be most powerful on an organic being at the moment of the origination of organic life.

But the hour noted by the astrologer as that in which the key note of biological history is thus struck, is not the moment of origination of life, but the minute of birth. It is, of course, more convenient that this should be the case, as one event is capable of an exactitude of date which can rarely be assigned to the other. It is also in harmony with the old biological, or rather theological, assumption, that life commences with the first breath of atmospheric air. But the force of the argument which applies to the commencement of organization seems to be greatly, if not wholly

destroyed, when the influence is only regarded as acting at the moment of first assuming an independent existence, apart from direct connexion with the parent. And this serious difficulty lies in the way of supposing that the relation between the heavenly aspects at birth and the constitution or fortune of the 'native' (supposing such to exist), has the physical explanation suggested by the author of the paper in question.

If this difficulty can be removed, the theory of the author of *The Soul and the Stars* will possess remarkable claims on the attention of the philosopher; and its establishment would be a decided step towards removing one of the great obstacles to the acceptance of astrological ideas by persons of logically constituted minds. Modern astrologers assert that the position of the planets in nativities has a direct influence on the life and history of the native. But, in many questions, such position is regarded not as in any way influential, but simply as symbolic or indicative. This arbitrary division is destructive of that unity of structure that characterises a true science, even if it be one that has not passed beyond the empiric or inductive stage. It is one which leads to perplexity in the intermediate questions of mundane or political astrology; and it exposes the theory of the astrologer to the same objection that is absolutely fatal to the theory of 'natural selection,' eked out and patched as that has been by its author by the opposing and counteracting theory of 'sexual selection.' When we are told that certain forms or faculties become developed, in certain plants or animals, because they aid their possessors in the battle of life; and at the same time that the possession of certain other forms or faculties, which may happen to be hostile to such an end, is to be traced to a totally different cause, we see at once that no grasp of a *vera causa* has been obtained, and that the only real argument of the Darwinite can be thus stated—'such a peculiarity must be due to such a cause, or else to something else.' In the same way when we are told that such a planetary combination is in one case an efficient cause, in another only a code of signals—we are justified in waiting for some further light, if only in the form of intelligent hypothesis. But if we can once ascertain the existence of real causal connection between planetary positions and human constitutions, we are

on the road to a general theory that may comprehend and harmonise the four distinct branches of Genethliac, Mundane, Meteoric, and Horary Astrology.

If this difficulty as to date can be removed, the theory of Mr. Trent would go far to explain some of the most obscure phenomena of hereditary descent. 'The fact of inheritance remains undisputed, but a new and powerful instrument is enlisted, sufficient to account for any degree of variability consistent with the general unity of type.' That play and balance, not of substituted, but of co-acting forces, of different origin, which is one of the most conspicuous conditions of organic life, would thus be traceable to causes essentially distinct. Thus, in the case of brothers, while the organisations, originating in the force of heredity, might be expected only to differ in so far as might be due to the difference in age, health, or other conditions of the parents at the time of conception, a totally different set of those cosmical conditions which, for the want of a better name, we must call electric, might account for those marked individual differences which we often find to vary the general or family resemblances.

In this view of the case a new aspect is given to the astrological doctrine of 'directions,' which, when spoken of as efficient causes, forms such a stumbling block in the path of astrology. Admitted a certain planetary influence at birth, establishing a definite relationship between the mental or physical constitution of the child and the position of the planets, it will follow that the change of such position has a direct tendency to influence the future history of the native. Let us suppose any such conjunction, opposition, or other aspect as would have a distinct influence, for good or for evil, on the conduct, the value of the kind of study known as that of "directions" would lie in the indication of the time when such aspect would actually be formed,—and would, in fact, prove only a rude substitute for the calculations of the true movements of the planets, such as we can now derive, for years in advance, from the columns of the Nautical Almanack.

The connection between the celestial aspects and meteoric phenomena (if established, which is as yet very far from being the case) can only be regarded as physical—using that word in

the broad sense in which it was employed before chemistry, electricity, and the like were ranked as studies separate from physics. Meteoric astrology, if attainable, would thus follow the same rules as genethliac astrology. And the same rule would apply to what is spoken of as mundane, or more properly speaking, political astrology; the history and changes of rulers and people being mainly affected either by the character and conduct of individuals, or by such cosmical influences as produce years of plenty or of famine, of health or of pestilence.

There remains the question of horary astrology. This is now regarded as matter of symbolic indication alone, in which the aspects of the planets have no influence or causative power. No philosophical theory of such a system of divination has yet been attempted; and it is more difficult to imagine any possible explanation than it is to adopt the hypothesis of causal influence. On the other hand it is to horary astrology that the student is continually referred for that empiric study of the subject which must precede any justifiable credence. Nor is it easy to adduce any evidence in favour of the before-named branches of astrological study that is not attainable as to horary questions, under certain conditions. It is therefore to be anticipated that more mature and impartial study will have the result either of discovering the essential unity of astrological rule under every branch of its manifestations, or of scattering the whole mass of observations to the wind.

The solution, or any material advance towards the solution, of so ancient, so influential, and so difficult a problem is a task not unworthy of the leisure of the noblest mind. It is a problem as to which it is hardly permissible for the true lover and student of truth to remain in contented ignorance. To speak of the question as one of mere imposture preying upon ignorance, is to come under the condemnation, 'these speak evil of those things which they know not.' To rush in where the greatest men of past history have only trodden with modest reverence is the characteristic of—to use the mildest term,—the unwise. A modest scepticism, and a modest faith may join hand in hand, in the effort to learn the lesson taught by the fires of heaven. The credulity of scepticism may be more mischievous than the

credulity of superstition. For the latter at least admits the existence of much of which the explanation is unknown; the former simply denies the existence of what it is unable to understand. Had the dogma of Auguste Comte as to the limits of human research been accepted by men of science, the brilliant discoveries due to the spectroscope, which have given information as to the constitution, the distances, and the movements of some of those heavenly bodies as to which the Frenchman asserted that we could not possibly obtain any information, would never have been made. The credulous negativism of Comte would have arrested the researches of Mr. Huggins.

Apart, then, from that self-contented frame of mind which is satisfied with the denial that any astrological problem exists, there are but two lines of research on which the construction of any scientific theory on the subject can be framed. These are, respectively, the causative and the symbolic character of the planetary aspects. Of the first hypothesis we have just spoken. It is one the establishment of which would be a fitting pendant to the work of Newton himself. As a mere explanatory theory, viewed in the same way as that in which the Copernican system has been accepted by some authorities as a method of ready calculation, without reference to its physical truth, it has much to recommend it. Two sets of phenomena, however, are as yet unexplained on this theory—the first, those which are referred to the hour of birth, and not to the origin of organisation; the other, those of horary questions. To the second hypothesis, that which regards the heavenly aspects as merely symbolic, or as elements of a great horological system, of which the diurnal apparent motion of the sun forms only a part, it can not be said that there exist any objections of a purely astrological nature. But in regarding that hypothesis we have to contemplate a theory yet more lofty, yet more comprehensive, and yet more wrapped in unpenetrated obscurity than even that of the cosmical influence of the planetary bodies on each other, and on our globe and its inhabitants.

It appears to us in the highest degree improbable, as well as undesirable, that mankind should ever attain a condition in which the planetary aspects should be regarded as plainly directive of

human action, or should be acknowledged as influences of the same nature as the changes of light or of heat wrought by our changing positions with regard to the sun. The question will then arise, with what object could a universal, minute, and accurate system of celestial telegraphy have been introduced into creation? It is difficult to give any reply to such a question, unless it be to the effect indicated in the pages of this *Review* in January 1886. It is there suggested that analogy would lead to the hypothesis that the rule and governance of a controlling intelligence and wisdom must be carried out by a vast and organized hierarchy of ministrant powers. 'For any such scheme the existence of a vast horology marking, by visible signals, the moments for the performance of distinct duties, is, according to our limited intelligence, an indispensable necessity. For such an horology the movements of the heavenly bodies supply adequate elements.' If, then, with the Catholic Church, and in accordance with most forms of ancient religion, we accept the idea of such a hierarchical order, there is an argument of extreme weight in favour of the symbolic or indicative meaning of the positions of the planets, without in any way negating the hypothesis of causal action. But if, on the other hand, we reverently suppose the exertion of divine power to be constant and direct in every part of the universe, the need for such an horology, and thus the argument for its existence, would be less apparent. Thus a philosophic doubt, unsolved if not insoluble, suggests itself as to either theory; and all that is at present competent to the scholar is that patient collection and co-ordination of facts which forms the true method of inductive science. But to the latter hypothesis the objection is drawn wholly *ex ignorantia*; nor does it seem that there can be any clear ground for supposing the co-operative action of divine will and power, and of the agency of a celestial hierarchy, to be impossible, than there is for asserting that human action is altogether uninfluenced by spiritual suggestion or contact.

For such a co-ordination, that is to say for a comparison between celestial phenomena and the great movements of national life, the history of the last few years affords unusual data. Nor can it be denied that the political history of Britain, of late, has

so far resembled the wonted course of ancient history, when it was made by few prominent individuals, that the personal element has assumed disproportionate importance. It would be more easy to give a sketch of the policy and prosperity of Britain, for the last forty years, in a series of biographies, such as those of Sir Robert Peel, Lord Palmerston, Lord Beaconsfield, and Mr. Gladstone, than it would be to give a truthful general history of the time after the more modern conception, making little mention of these distinguished men. Here we have to state one difficulty, which lies on the threshold of future enquiry, and which it is possible that the publication of these remarks may happily remove. That difficulty is, ignorance as to the exact time of Mr. Gladstone's birth. That he first saw the light on the 29th December, 1809, when the sun was in the 8th degree of Capricorn, the moon in the first decade of Libra, and Mercury combust of the sun, it is easy to ascertain. But without knowledge of the exact time of birth, it is impossible to tell the degree of the Zodiac then ascending, the aspect of the mid heaven, the planet which was lord of the ascendant, the exact position of the moon, or the relations between the planets and the cusps of the different houses.

But without getting nearer to the exact features of the case than the limit above given, enough is known to be highly suggestive as to both personal and political biography. Thus Mercury, in conjunction with the sun, and square to the moon, is a testimony of the highest natural gifts, the mischievous or fatal application of which is but too seriously to be feared. As far as astrological probability can be ascertained, there seems to be good reason to suspect that the time of birth was between 6 and 8 p.m.; but it is hardly advisable to indicate the theoretic results of that date, remarkable as they are, without direct record of time. One feature, however, can be spoken to with some certitude, although with less precision than would be afforded by the knowledge of a more exact date. The ascendant of the Irish Land Bill, introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Gladstone on the 7th of April, 1881, falls on the 8th degree of Libra, which is square to the place of the sun on 29th December 1809. It is also close upon the place of the moon on that day (the exact-

ness of the conjunction depending on the hour of birth). This position, however, is sufficiently well defined to have led to the prediction, in April 1881, of 'misfortune to Ireland, as well as a shock to the Royal power and dignity' arising from the introduction of the measure. That 'the undertaking commenced on the 7th April 'should not prosper,' and that 'fierce opposition, probable bloodshed, and unexpected, but evil issue' would result, was printed in May 1881. But the main fact now insisted on is, that the relation of this degree of the Zodiac to the features, as clearly as they are known, of the horoscope of Mr. Gladstone, was pointed out, at the time before mentioned, as indicating the force of a fatal influence from which he would be wholly unable to free himself, and which would ultimately result in the loss of power and character, if not of life. How far subsequent results have verified that judgment it is needless to insist. It is further to be noted that 'Jupiter was in this degree of Libra when Mr. Gladstone became Prime Minister in January, 1886, and was replaced there by Uranus during the debates on the Irish Bill, and the late general election. Saturn also'—we cite a letter from an astrological correspondent—'was on this point when Mr. Gladstone's brother died in 1863. Again the ascendant in this case would be in an early degree of Leo, which Mars transited on the day of the Phoenix Park murders.' It may be added that the personal appearance and mental characteristics of Mr. Gladstone are such as to lead to the supposition that the sun is the lord of his ascendant, which is the case if the sign Leo was ascending at birth.

Without, however, pressing any further the argument from probabilities as to the exact date of a past event, whether recorded or not, it may be positively stated that, according to astrological rules, the position of the heavenly bodies a little before 7 p.m. on the 29th December 1809, was such as to indicate, for a healthy male child born at that time, a career of extraordinary brilliancy. In one respect, indeed, with reference to that single quality which neither genius nor industry can attain, nor fortune herself add to her original gifts, namely, illustrious birth, there is not only an absence of good, but an indication of inferior origin. But Jupiter is culminating,

in trine to Venus in the Zodiac, and to the sun in the world; a promise of the highest position competent under the other conditions of the nativity. Saturn, in zodiacal trine to the ascendant, promises long life. Jupiter throws a partile mundane trine, and Venus a platic zodiacal trine, to the cusp of the house of wealth. Honour, preferment, and dignity are promised by the position of Jupiter, which great Fortune is close on the degree of the exaltation of the sun. The latter great luminary, which is Lord of the ascendant, although not essentially dignified, receives the highest accidental dignity from the trine of Jupiter. These are testimonies of so unusually high a character as to point to a remarkably distinguished career. On the other hand there exist aspects which remind us of the manner in which the malignity of the fairy who came uninvited to the christening rendered useless or injurious the rich gifts of her sister sprites. Mercury is combust. The moon is square to the sun, and to the ascendant; and Mars, setting in square to Uranus, throws a semi-quartile to Mercury. Violent changes of conduct, hardly consistent with sanity, and menacing robbery and bloodshed, are threatened by these unusually evil aspects.

While it would be unsafe, in the absence of direct evidence as to date, to say that the above is the horoscope of Mr. Gladstone, it is undeniable that it is that which would apply to a birth taking place at a little before 7 p.m., on 29th December, 1809. Nor would it be easy to imagine a scheme more apposite to the events of a very tortuous life. Mr. Gladstone is not the only highly gifted Englishman who would probably have been one of the truly great men of history if his conduct had been chastened by the sense of duty towards a name inherited from a line of noble ancestry, and his temper had been unvexed by that restless vanity which seems to be almost an inseparable characteristic of the self-made or money-made man. It is on this vanity that the sycophant and the parasite fasten and fatten, gradually destroying the vital energy of their unconscious prey. And the unquestionable fact that Mr. Gladstone, as a minister, has been the most direct instigator of the violent attacks on property, both that of the Church and that of individuals, who has risen in England since the time of Henry VIII., and that he has been

personally responsible for more bloodshed—in Ireland, in Egypt, in the Soudan, and in South Africa—than probably any minister who ever held the reins of power in England, is remarkably coincident with the positions of Mars, Mercury, Uranus, and the Moon, in the figure described.

It was the purpose of the writer, in taking up the pen for the foregoing remarks, to give some account of a series of star maps, or figures of the heavens, drawn at various moments of crucial political importance, from the autumnal equinox of 1879 to the present date. The careful comparison of such a series of figures with the main features of political history would afford to the student the means of forming a judgment, which becomes more and more enlightened the more the study is extended. But apart from the difficulty of diverting sufficient time from other engagements to carry out the plan adequately, further consideration showed an inherent cause of objection. To make all clear, it would have been desirable to publish the actual diagrams; and it would have been necessary to fill page after page with symbols and characters which would only have been repulsive to the general reader. To transport a chapter of an astrological treatise into the pages of a quarterly journal would soon prove to be a literary error. On the other hand, if that choice of language, and avoidance of technical diction, which the man of letters would desire, were adopted, the statements would become so vague and general as to resemble the pages of Moore's Almanack. General predictions are not only for the most part unintelligible, but also wholly unreadable. Special predictions it is not for a prudent man to hazard. And any comparison of the course of events with the movements of the celestial bodies, in sufficient detail to be of use to the student, would be apt to share the character of predictions in the minds of ninety-nine readers out of a hundred.

Nor is it within the limits of a periodical, or consonant with the judgment of the present writer, to offer anything in the way of a demonstration of the truths of astrology; or rather of the possibility of the useful application of these ancient rules, the origin of which is lost in the night of ages, to the purposes of prediction. The aim of these lines is quite different. It is to

attract the attention of men possessed of adequate science, adequate leisure, and adequate impartiality, to the general aspect of the astrological problem—to stimulate their study of a sufficient number of examples to convince themselves that the mere ignorant term ‘co-incidence’ is not an explanation of the facts that will be the outcome of their search; and above all to encourage inquiries which, like those of Mr. Trent, are directed towards the investigation of the physical effects of astronomical phenomena. The specialist who works out the details of one branch of science, however humble and minute, is a fellow labourer with the philosopher who, like Newton, masters the word that reduces chaos to order. But the specialist is only the hod-man of science. His work done, his name is forgotten. And his work is but to bring to the spot where they may be wrought into form, the materials for the design of the architect.

In fact it is this central design, whether roughly sketched as hypothesis, or wrought into the articulated skeleton of well-ordered and well-based theory, which gives almost all its philosophical value to the work of the specialist. Of what service is it to note the microscopic differences in the feet of a group of beetles, or the nerves of the wings of a group of four-winged flies, except with the view of so identifying each minute form as to be able, in due course of time, to understand its exact place in the grand harmony of creation; or at least of that infinitesimal portion of the Empire of God which alone comes within our competence to study? It is the fact that it is impossible to anticipate the value of any definite truth, that gives such an irresistible charm to the labours of the chemist, that most advanced and most patient of the pioneers in the unknown fields of nature. Decandolle’s beautiful fancy of wandering species applies to every branch of natural study. The heathers of Europe, unlike any other form of European plant, were to this great naturalist wandering types—species that had lost their way over our globe; the relations and affinities of which were unintelligible to the botanist, until the traveller brought him the *Ericæ* of the Cape, and the rhododendron of the Himalaya.

With that infinite patience which is Genius, a long succession of sages have wrought, receiving little reward for their task, at

the great work of the development of Science. The alchemist, who was the father of the chemist, laboured in the pursuit of those secrets of nature which his instinct led him to approach more closely than does the more instructed, but less imaginative, analyst of our times. The course of all science is much the same. With the discovery of each new truth, some former object of the veneration of the student is for a time thrown aside. It is not until long, possibly very long, after, such a sifting, that the solid facts gained by the analyst are found to be but minute, if integral, portions of the grand scheme first imagined, afterwards brought to perfection, by the Philosopher. Thus at a recent meeting of the British Association, a fellow of the Royal Society, well known for his brilliant discoveries in chemical science, reproduced the basal theory of the alchemist, the essential unity and thus the possible convertibility of all matter. It is true that the suggestion, as now re-made by Mr. Crookes, is little but a dream. But analytical chemistry, with all its wonderful power, is unable to explain the known phenomena of allotropy or dimorphism. You may take two substances, say pieces of phosphorus, which analytic chemistry tells you are indistinguishable, but which sight, touch, and smell tell you are as different as it is conceivable for two substances to be. The one is colourless, transparent, self-luminous in the dark, so soft as to be indented by the nail, and flexible, although crystalline in its structure. It is poisonous, freely soluble in various liquids, melts at 100° Fahrenheit, and evolves a strong and peculiar odour. The other varies in colour from nearly black, with metallic lustre, to iron grey, brick red, crimson, and scarlet. It is opaque, and is not self-luminous. It is as hard as a burnt brick, and as brittle as glass. It is innocuous, nearly insoluble in all liquids, amorphous or non-crystalline in structure, and nearly colourless. And yet these two unlike substances are chemically the same, though said to be in different states of aggregation. They are called white and red phosphorus. Sulphur affords another familiar example of allotropic form.

Other chemical elements, again, are proved actually to exist in forms as yet unknown to man. Thus carbon, with which we are familiar as an amorphous and also as a crystalline solid, behaves

as a metal, in forming with iron the alloy known as steel. The proportion is very small—perhaps only one part of carbon to one thousand parts of iron. But the physical characters of the latter metal are so changed by the mixture as to lead the chemist to speak of steel as an alloy. Hydrogenium, again, or the metallic form of hydrogen, is known only by its action as forming part of a metallic alloy. And ammonium, an as yet unseen alloy of the metallic forms of hydrogen and nitrogen, is also confidently held to exist. In the presence of marvellous transformations such as these, and with the conviction that many of the substances now called elements may and do exist in forms yet unrecognised by man, the idea—to put it in chemical language—that an allotropic form of gold may be discovered, so far from being an outcome of superstitious ignorance, was a foreguess of genius, which has led to brilliant and momentous discoveries, of which we are nearer to the cradle than to the maturity.

As the pursuit of the *elixir vitæ*, or of the philosopher's stone, led to the solid chemical discoveries of Cavendish and of Dalton, so has the desire to listen to the voices of the stars led to the present advanced stage of both formal and physical astronomy. From those far off times of which we are now recovering, thanks to the cheap value of clay, the actual contemporary records, the doctrine *Cæli ennarrant gloriam Dei* has been held as such a living truth as the inhabitant of our gas lit cities can but dimly conceive. It is not alone the pertinent question—'who made all these'—once put by Napoleon to a sciolist of his day, that was referred in ancient times to the answering fires of heaven. Night to night added scientific truth. No human races were thought by the Hebrew poet to be so sunk in ignorance as not to hear some echo of the heavenly voices. Their message ran through the habitable world; their words to the very end of the earth. Nor are we among those who hold that the vast strides made within the present century, in the cause of physical science—the definite positive knowledge acquired of mechanical law, of mathematical method, and of the unimaginable phenomena of chemistry—have more tended to kindle the nobler powers of the mind, and to ennoble the nature of man, than did the nightly watches of the predecessors of Claudius Ptolemy.

Continually as new facts are brought within the hard grasp of science, old poetic imaginations are displaced. Of that course of thought there is no doubt. But that man, as an intellectual, moral, and spiritual being, gains by the change, has yet to be shown. That he should have, for instance, a more accurate idea of what takes place in the process of combustion than had those old sages who recognised in flame a visible sign of the divine power and presence, may be admitted. But which appeals most loftily to the human heart, the story of the fire that fell to consume the sacrifice of Elijah, or the exact demonstration of the polytechnic lecturer? Apart from the mercantile value of exact knowledge, the mode in which it furnishes to man a mighty *organon*, or instrument, for the supply of his physical wants, and for the gratification of the pleasures of sense, it is very easy to over estimate the educational utility of science. What man may become, is a higher conception to form than what man can do. And there is a grave and serious doubt how far the true human stature may not be stunted and dwindled by the very facilities for work which modern invention has placed in our grasp. A youth at college may be crammed with the theory of the moon's motion. He may gaze at the skies through an equatorial telescope, powerful enough to show him the moons of Mars, and fitted with special clockwork arrangements to adapt its movement at will to solar, stellar, or lunar time. But what is the mental stature of such a prizeman—if prize he takes—compared to that of Euclid or of Archimedes, with their simpler and ruder appliances, and more limited list of observed phenomena?

The study of philosophy begins with the inspiration of the poet. It is carried on in the language, and lit by the imagination of sages such as Plato. As the horizon extends, observation becomes more accurate. Phenomena and facts are first recorded, and then grouped; and Science drives Poetry from the scene. But the change thus effected is only temporary. The substitution of numeric for poetic values is but an effort of the growing pains of Science. Some vast theory, such as that conceived by Newton, suddenly reduces a host of incongruous phenomena to an orderly series of results from universal law. A remarkable instance of the parallel pursuit of these two branches of learning—the index-

ing of detail, and the comprehensive grasp of unity of system—by the same mind, is afforded by the works of Linnæus. He framed a Latin of his own, as peculiar to his pen as that of St. Jerome himself, which veiled precise definitions in the form of simple adjectives. He grasped a set of natural relations, which he converted into the basis of a technical index. He created and wonderfully advanced the pursuit of that detailed knowledge of specific organic forms which is perhaps the most tedious of human studies—wearing to the memory by reason of the minute unexplained differences which the student has to master and to catalogue. But along side of the immense service which Linnæus rendered to the study of nature by the purely scientific work of his artificial system, the imaginative light of his natural system glows with a planetary lustre. The mind wearied with the microscopic study of minute differences, learned by memory, without a notion of their essential import or causes, catches a glimpse of the *Gentes* into which the great legislator divided the vegetable kingdom—the Princes, the Patricians, the Plebeians, the Slaves, and the Nomads—and, taught that the mighty maze is not without a plan, shares the enthusiastic anticipation made by Linnæus of the future unfolding to man of the true system of nature.

It may perhaps be hoped that the most disheartening phenomenon of the social life of the day, the deplorable absence, not only of great, but of thoughtful, steady, earnest men, may be in great part attributable to the occupation of the natural leaders of the race in special studies. If this be the case, the temporary decline may be but a recoil for a better spring. If it be otherwise, woe to the human race. Probably at no period of history have been established *cults* of idols so thoroughly collapsible as three of the most notable men of the last quarter of a century—Garibaldi, Gladstone, and de Lesseps—to each of whom the finger of history will hereafter point as a self-glorified apostle of mischief. In one point, certainly, we can distinctly trace the evil results of unbalanced specialisation. The mode in which the pith and nerve of our youth, from the toddling infants of the farm labourer to the cream and pick of the rising nation, the students of Woolwich, of Oxford, or of Cambridge, is being

sapped and shrivelled by the present system of competitive examination, is becoming a serious danger to the country. If it were desired to fritter away the stamina of the English people into a clumsy imitation of the Chinese, no better mode for the purpose could be invented than 'payment by results,' and the glorification of the crammer. The want of efficient, useful, honest labour, of man or of boy, is becoming crying in our rural districts. It is true that the money of the ratepayer is being devoted to enable Hodge's children to turn their thoughts from the plough or the stable to the study of Lloyd's weekly Messenger, or of the cheap reprints of Mr. Gladstone's latest revelations; but this is hardly a compensation for the mischief actually wrought. And for those who have witnessed the condition to which the most highly educated of our youths are reduced at—or after—one of those cruel ordeals through which they have now to pass to obtain credentials for the church, the bar, or the army, when strong young men may be seen reduced to the state of sick and wounded after some great battle, with the result of retaining for years the most profound aversion to the subjects of their cram, there can be but one opinion as to the fact that we are educating the national brain as well as the national muscle into atrophy.

In this state of things, any sound, thoughtful, pursuit which will tend to divert the mind from the sordid study of detail, to be learnt because 'it will pay,' and to make use of the methods of mathematics, and the habit of observation, in subservience to theory of a broad and comprehensive nature, deserves the most ample encouragement. We should hold it to be unworthy of much thanks to present to the reader (supposing it to be possible) a brief, concise, and irresistible demonstration of the truth of judicial astrology. Thus regarded, under existing circumstances, that pursuit would only form a fresh subject for cram, a fresh mode of over-loading the memory with useless knowledge. But were it possible to throw over the study of the celestial movements a light reflected from the torch of truth—to knit together, first by the collation of different orders of phenomena, and then by the attribution of those phenomena to the acting of common causes, directed by common

law—the exploration of such an intellectual gold-field might revive the flagging energies of mental commerce. It is not for us to say that such a result is possible. But it is for no one, *pace* Auguste Comte, to say that it is impossible. Before the time of Newton the phases of the moon were held, indeed, to influence physic, madness, or magic. But how wild would he have been thought whose imagination should have grasped the invisible link that connected the weight of the moon with the height of the tide. It is but as yesterday that science ascertained that, by the rapid revolution of a coil of iron wire, enough force might be dragged out of the telluric heat to flash into a violet lustre, such as no material fuel can feed by any known process of combustion. It is but as yesterday that we learned how a four-fold series of signals could be sent, by simple means, through the same isolated wires, from one Continent to another. Looking, on the one hand, at the known physical effects exerted on one heavenly body by another, in proportion to bulk and to relative distance, and on the other hand on the infinite variety in the force and action of a system of electro-magnets on each other, as well as on any common objective, it may well be argued that there is a mathematical expectation in favour of our being hereafter able to know much more than we do at present of the influence of planetary aspects on our earth. Already has it been attempted to trace a connexion between years of famine and of plenty and the variation of the spots on the sun. The known theory of the tides renders it a matter even for wonder that the connexion between planetary movements and the changes of the weather still mocks the physicist as well as the astrologer. If the inert mass of the aquatic ocean, and the invisible waves of the atmosphere, are set in motion by planetary attraction; if magnetic or electric storms, and even the terrific force of the earthquake, be inconceivable except on the view that the earth forms a great electro magnet, ever varying in its currents, and even in the position of its magnetic poles; is it so very ill-founded an hypothesis that the most delicate of all physiological functions, the laying down the keel of a human brain, and of the organisation of which it forms the more subtle part, may be affected by the sweet influence of the Pleiades or the bands of Orion? To arrive at

any positive light, or even at any acceptable, thinkable hypothesis, on such a question, would be a fresh and a noble instance of thinking—to use the words of Kepler—the very thoughts of God. And the pursuit, however long and tedious, so that it be honest and impartial; the result, however long deferred, positive or negative as it might prove; should be rightly termed the Redemption of Astrology.

ART. V.—THE BURNING OF FREN DRAUGHT.

BETWEEN the modern towns of Huntly and Keith, in the parish of Forgue and in the very heart of the country of the Gordons there stood in the early years of the Seventeenth Century, a tall, square, narrow, four-storeyed keep, with a modern addition, known by the name of the Tower of Fren draught.

It was the property of James Crichton, Laird of Fren draught, the head of a collateral branch of a family, which, two centuries before, had taken a prominent part in public affairs. It owed its rise to Sir William Crichton, Governor of Edinburgh Castle and Chancellor of Scotland in the reign of James II., whose rivalry with Livingston, kidnapping of the infant king, and murder of the young Earl of Douglas, had made him for the time being, master of the kingdom.*

But the Crichtons had never taken advantage of their chances, as other families, even more obscure in their origin, had done. They had never risen to that eminence which would have given

* The parish [of Forgue] of old belonged to the Dunbars, a branch of the Dunbars, Earls of Murray. In King James the Second's time, a son of Crichton, Chancellor of Scotland, by marrying the heiress, got the estate; in which family (afterwards dignified by the title of Viscount of Fren draught) part of the estate continued till the beginning of the century, and went always under the designation of the lordship and legality of Fren draught. *Descrip. of Parish of Forgue, 1761, from Edinburgh Magazine, Vol. V., pp. 11-13. Antiquities of the Shire of Aberdeen and Banff, (Spalding Club), II., p. 321.*

them a right to take their place among the great governing houses of the nation; and though Robert Crichton had been Queen's Advocate in the time of Queen Mary, and others of the name had 'bruked lands' and occupied positions which, in the hands of competent and ambitious men, might have led to fame and fortune, the family influence was small, considering the opportunities which had been at their disposal.*

Yet they were not men, whom even the 'Cock of the North,' the great Marquis of Huntly himself, could afford to despise. Rivals, indeed, to the powerful house of Gordon, they could not be. But their influence at Court was considerable; their claims to preferment were not without weight. At any moment, the policy or caprice of the reigning Monarch might, by a judicious exercise of royal favour, raise them up as a useful and effective instrument to crush the already overgrown authority of the Gordons. And in this light, the humblest baron of this name, was not a man whom the powerful Marquis, ruler of all the North of Scotland as he really was, could venture to offend with impunity.

The Frendraught of the day appears to have been neither better nor worse than his neighbours. Married to a daughter of the Earl of Sutherland, and thus connected by marriage with the great Marquis himself, he seems to have lived the ordinary life of a country gentleman—fishing, hawking, and hunting, administering stern justice in his baron's court,† and finding in these pursuits sufficient scope for that bold and adventurous spirit which was traditional in his family, and which, diverted into other and more perilous directions, had more than once led his kinsmen into danger, and to death.‡

* Scot of Scotstarvet's *Staggering State*, pp. 134-137.

† A mile south-east of Frendraught, on the roadside towards Glenmellen, is Murray's cairn, at which place Murray of Cowbardy was murdered by the Crichtons, upon some slight quarrel. Half a mile north from Frendraught, on the top of the Riach Hill, stood the gibbet, upon which many suffered, as appears by the remains of their graves; and a little below the bridge of Forgue, are to be seen the graves of a gang of gipsies, who suffered death by drowning. The lords of Frendraught were severe justiciaries in their own regality. Many other accounts of their severity might be here added.—*Descrip. of Parish of Forgue, Antiq. of Aberdeen and Banff*, II. 324.

‡ Scot of Scotstarvet, *ut supra*.

In one important respect, however, he appears to have differed from his neighbours in the district. In that wild and unbridled age, the possession of one good, healthy, well-developed feud, at least, was as much the outward and visible sign of the 'gentry' of a family, as the family ghost was in the century that succeeded it. Crichton was still without this doubtful adjunct to his dignity and condition. But his exemption was destined to be but of short duration.

On the other side of the Deveron dwelt William Gordon of Rothiemay, a kinsman and vassal of Huntly's, with whom he had hitherto been on terms of intimacy and friendship. But unhappily a dispute arose between them in reference to the salmon fishings on the river, and a litigation ensued in which Frendraught was successful. Rothiemay declined to acquiesce in the judgment of the court, whereupon Frendraught, still within his rights, and following only the ordinary practice of the times, had him put to the horn and denounced rebel. This 'affront under process of law' was more than Rothiemay could stand. Gathering together a number of 'loose and idle men'—a band of Highland caterans in fact—he proceeded to waste Frendraught's lands and to harry his cattle. His failure only spurred him on to acts of greater audacity. The motto of the Gordons had ever been 'to birstle yont'; and on the principle that blood was thicker than water, he never doubted but that if he got into serious trouble, his powerful chief, the Marquis, would exert all his influence to extricate him. It would be tedious to relate in detail all the affronts which the irate Lowland laird attempted to put upon his powerful adversary. Frendraught seems to have stood them for a considerable time with politic, if not with exemplary patience. But when they had reached the height of Rothiemay's sending his son to the very doors of Frendraught Castle to brave him, Crichton thought it was time to adopt retaliatory measures.

He had influence enough at Court to procure a commission from the Lords of the Council to apprehend Rothiemay and his associates; and he lost no time in attempting to put it into execution. Summoning his neighbours, Sir George Ogilvy of

Banff, his uncle George Gordon, (the brother of Sir James Gordon of Lesmoir) James Leslie, the second son of the Laird of Pitcaple, John Meldrum of Reidhill, 'and divers others' to his assistance, he set out on New Year's day 1630, for the residence of his enemy. But Rothiemay hearing of his advance, armed his men and prepared to meet him. A fight ensued, in which George Gordon, Frendraught's uncle, was shot in the thigh and wounded to death. Rothiemay himself, though gallantly defended by his son John, was left for dead on the field, 'yet after the conflict he was careid home to his house, where he deid within thrie dayis.'

Blood having now been shed on either side, and the feud, according to the notions of the day, having thus been satisfactorily constituted, it was bound to run its ordinary course. As the King's writ had ever run, in the districts North of the Mounth, only on the sufferance of the nobleman or family whose influence was strongest in these parts for the time being, the Government had hitherto adopted a principle in cases of this kind, which if not a very bold one, was at any rate, perfectly intelligible. It was that of the two 'Kilkenny cats' reduced to its simplest form. It was merely to let parties alone till the one had conquered the other, stimulating, from time to time, the hostility of the one side or the other, by the granting of commissions, warrants, letters of fire and sword, and the like, whenever it appeared to them that the strife was not progressing as briskly and as energetically as was desirable.

As the Frendraught party was clearly the strongest, the Privy Council decided to interfere on its behalf. They had a further justification for doing so, in that the young Laird of Rothiemay, to assist him in avenging his father's death, had purchased the services of the notorious outlaw, James Grant of Carron, one of those mercenary and unscrupulous Cateran-leaders, dear to poetry and romance, who swarmed amongst the rugged Highland hills which girdled the Laigh of Moray, where their very names were a terror in every thatched cottage and every peaceful grange. To fight out an honourable and hereditary feud with one's own dependants, and one's own muskets, pikes and partisans was one thing. But to call in

the Highland host with dirk and claymore and Lochaber axe was another. The one might be permitted as only a modification of the old doctrine of the inherent right of private warfare. But the other was directly to endanger the State. For once sorners and broken men were let loose upon a district, who could tell what havoc might not ensue, or what claims for damages the owners of the 'brunt and herried' lands might not make upon the central Government for its culpable neglect in the matter of law and order.

A commission was accordingly granted to Sir Robert Gordon, Sir William Seton and others, to restore peace between the parties, with instructions to avail themselves of Huntly's mediation, in the not improbable case of their being unable to allay their differences themselves.

There was an especial fitness in selecting Sir Robert as the head of this mission. He was a man of some eminence, and of shrewd common sense. His mother, a daughter of the Marquis of Huntly had married the twelfth Earl of Sutherland after Bothwell, her first husband had divorced her to enable him to marry Queen Mary; and he was connected with both the Frendraughts and the Gordons. He was possessed of considerable substance too. He was the proprietor of the lands of Kynmonowie; he became the founder of the Morayshire family of Gordonstoun; and he was the first person created a baronet of Nova Scotia, on the plantation of that colony in 1625.*

Conscious that their task was likely to be a difficult one, the Commissioners before taking any active measures, resolved to seek advice from persons in the neighbourhood. Sir William Seton, accordingly started for Aberdeen to consult with the gentry of the shire; while Sir Robert rode off to Strathbogie,† to advise with the Marquis of Huntly.

* An honour for which he paid the sum of 3000 merks Scots, equivalent to £166 sterling.—*Social Life in Former Days*, by Captain Dunbar Dunbar, Second Series, pp. 2-9.

† Its modern name of Huntly Castle, though conferred upon it in 1602 after its rebuilding by the then proprietor, George, 6th Earl and 1st Marquis of Huntly, was scarcely as yet familiar in the district.

But the old chieftain was not at home. He had gone to Aberdeen to the burial of his friend, the laird of Drum.

While still hesitating whether to await his arrival or to return at once, the news was brought him that 'the same verie day' James Grant and his brother Alexander, at the head of two hundred well-armed Highlandmen, had mustered at Rothiemay, preparatory to a raid on his brother-in-law's—the laird of Frendraught's—lands. Without a moment's delay Sir Robert leapt on his horse, and set out for Rothiemay, accompanied by his nephew, the young Earl of Sutherland, and his brother, Sir Alexander Gordon; and so effectually did he deal with the caterans, that he 'dispersed them at that tyme, and moved James Grant and his associates to dissolve, and to return to their accustomed hants.'

The next step of the Commission was to summon the parties before them, and they met accordingly at Strathbogie a few days afterwards.

This time the old Marquis was at home, and it was mainly owing to his prudence and influence that an amicable result was arrived at.

No subject in Scotland had wider domains, a more extensive following or greater personal authority than the 'Gudeman of the Bog.' He was now about seventy years of age, and after a long career of singular vicissitude, spent in his country's service, he had retired to the North to spend the evening of his days amongst his clansmen. In his youth he had, in an extraordinary degree, enjoyed the favour of King James VI., who had advanced him to the dignity of a Marquis, notwithstanding his connection with the 'Spanish blanks,' his denunciation as a rebel, and his defeat of the royal forces at the battle of Glenlivet in 1594. But his whole life had been an unhappy one. A devoted adherent of the proscribed faith, he had been exposed to incessant persecution on account of his religion; and on more than one occasion had been forced to save himself by 'conforming' from the clerical wolves who were in hot pursuit of him.

'This nichtie Marques,' says Spalding, relating his melancholy death in Robert Murray's tavern at Dundee, five years later, 'wes of ane gryte spirit,

for in time of trublis he wes of invincibill courage, and boldlie bore doun all his enemies triumphantlie. He wes never inclynit to warr nor trubbill himself, bot be the pryde and insolence of his kin wes divers tymes drawin in trubbill, quhilk he boor throw valiantlie. He lovit not to be in the lawis contending against any man, but lovit rest and quyetness with all his hairt; and in tymes of peace he leivit moderatlie and temperatlie in his dyet, and fullie set to building and planting of all curious devysis. A weil set nichtbour in his merchis, disposit rather to give nor tak ane foot of ground wrangouslie. He was hard say he never drew sword in his ain querrell. In his youth a prodigall spender; in his elder aige moir wyse and worldlie, yit never comptit for cost in materis of credit and honour. A gryt householder, a terror to his enemies, whom with his prydfull kin he euer held wnder grytis feir, subjectionn and obediens. In all his barganes just and efauld, and never hard for his trew debt. He was nichtillie envyt by the kirk for his religion, and by utheris for his grytness, and had thairby much trouble. His master King James lovit him deirlye and he wes a good and loyall subject unto him induring the King's lofty ire.'

In this graphic word-picture of the old chieftain we not only see the prototype of the leal old Scottish cavalier

' Who kept his castle in the North
Hard by the thundering Spey,'

whom Aytoun loved to paint, but we discover the lifelike portraiture of a man than whom no other in Scotland was so well fitted for the settlement of such difficult questions as that which was now about to be brought before him.

The outcome of the Marquis's persuasion, backed up by the authority of the Commissioners, was a patched-up reconciliation, which, as usual in such cases, was reduced to writing in the form of a 'decreit-arbitrall.' Fren draught, though he seems to have all along been acting under colour of and within the law, was sentenced to pay an assythment of 50,000 merks (£2915), for the slaughter of Rothiemay, and 'for relieff of the burdens' which his heirs 'had contracted during their troubles,' and a further sum to the children of George Gordon, 'who was then lykewise slain.' 'And so all parties haveing shaken hands in the orchard of Strathbogie, they were hartlie reconciled,' says Sir Robert complacently in the gossiping account he has left us of these transactions.*

* *Hist. of Earldom of Sutherland*, pp. 418-9.

The good baronet's credulity, however, must have been great if he believed that a Highland feud could be settled in such a summary manner as this; and however unjust or unfounded may have been the inference, it is scarcely to be wondered at if popular opinion, more suspicious than Sir Robert, saw in the tragic events that shortly after ensued only a sequel to the yet unburied differences between the Crichtons and the Gordons. Still, further complications might have been avoided—at any rate postponed for a time—but for an unfortunate accident which occurred in the autumn, and once more awoke the only smouldering animosities of the parties.

There was a certain John Meldrum of Reidhill, who had been present as one of Fren draught's party and had been wounded at the fight on New Year's day, in which Rothiemay had lost his life. He had long been dunning Fren draught for the pecuniary remuneration to which he thought himself entitled for his services on that occasion. But Fren draught, though he had done something for him, had not rewarded him as he conceived he deserved, and now 'he falls a brawling with Fren dret and in a menacing form wold needs compell him to give him' what he required. As Crichton still refused he determined to help himself. Under silence of night he repaired to the park of Fren draught and carried off two grey horses which Fren draught prized highly. Justly incensed, Fren draught summoned him before the justice for theft. He turned rebel and did not appear. Fren draught immediately obtained a commission from the Lords of Privy Council to apprehend him, and armed with this authority started for Pitcaple, the property of Meldrum's brother-in-law, John Leslie, within whose bounds he knew his quarry lay hid. He did not find him, however; but he met James Leslie, Pitcaple's second son, who also had assisted Fren draught 'at the killing of Rothiemay,' and began expostulating with him as to his uncle Meldrum's conduct. Young Leslie was inclined to be indignant; but Fren draught, keeping in mind how he had shed his blood in his cause, took all he said in good part. Not so his kinsman, Robert Crichton of Conland, who had accompanied Fren draught to Pitcaple. He did 'so hotelie argue the bussnes

with James Leslie, that from words they fell to blows. Conland shot James Leslie with a pistoll, and wounded him in the arme. Thus we see, that those who were fellow pairtners in the shedding of another's blood, are now by the ears together, and are maid the revengers of another's quarrell.' James Leslie was carried home dangerously wounded, 'and Fren dret returned to his owne house exceidingly offended at Conland' for his impetuous behaviour.

The match was now laid to the train, and the explosion immediately ensued. The whole clan of Leslies banded themselves together against Crichton, whom they held responsible for the injury committed on one of their name. Seriously alarmed for his own safety, Fren draught, after a conference with the Earl of Moray at Elgin, in which he craved and was refused the Earl's mediation, hastened to Bog o' Gicht,* and threw himself on the protection of the Marquis of Huntly. The Marquis received him kindly, and invited him to remain. Meanwhile Pitcaple, having learned in what direction Crichton had gone, 'loupis on about 30 hors in jak and speir upon

* This ancient seat of the Earls of Huntly was then very different to the 'world of a house' into which their successors, the Dukes of Gordon transformed it. Nor was it till 1650 that it carried the name of Gordon Castle which it now bears. Much no doubt had been done by the enlightened and princely nobleman who then owned it, to improve its condition. He had put it into thorough repair; he had laid out the park and filled it with red deer; had dug ponds and canals in the garden and stocked them with pike and gedds. [*MS. Hist. of the Family of Gordon, 1731, quoted in notes of the late Wm. Rose*]. Still, notwithstanding all these improvements it was little more than a tall, four-storeyed narrow, irregular fortress, whose strength was great doubtless, but whose beauty was absolutely none. It lay in the midst of the exposed and unhealthy morass, from which it derived its name of the 'The Windy Bog.' The country around was cold and bleak and naked. There was none of that tasteful and luxuriant planting which has made the modern village of Fochabers, one of the most picturesque spots in the North of Scotland. Everything was wild, bare, rough, and shaggy; and the true types of the district, alike in its physical and its social aspects, were to be found in the impetuous Spey which roared past almost beneath the castle walls, the naked russet-hued cliffs which bordered its banks, and the lofty summit of the distant Benrinnes, which, covered with autumn mists, its

Thursday, the 7 of October, and cam to the Marques, who befor his coming had discreitle directit Fren draught to confer with his lady.' Huntly was careful not to disclose that Crichton was in the house, and throughout the whole conversation that ensued took the Laird of Fren draught's part. He told Pitcable he did not see what wrong Fren draught had committed, and he earnestly entreated Leslie to ride peaceably home and give up all thoughts of 'ony further trouble.' Pitcable, however, was not to be appeased. So long, he said, as his son lay between life and death, no thought of accommodating his differences with Fren draught could be entertained. He left the Bog even more indignant than when he entered it, and he rashly avowed his intention of being avenged of his enemy before he returned home.

Fren draught was no coward; and when this conversation was repeated to him by the Marquis, he besought his host's permission to ride after Pitcable. But neither the Marquis nor the Marchioness would hear of this. They compelled him to remain till the morning, and when he actually took his leave they insisted on their son John, Viscount Melgum*—a lad of twenty-four, but already married and a father†—and the young laird of Rothiemay, who happened to be at the Bog at the time, riding home to Fren draught with him, accompanied by

riven sides still showing traces of the bygone winter's snows, seemed to gaze with awful and forbidding majesty on the savage and solitary scene.

* Spalding throughout styles him Viscount Aboyne—a title which he never really bore. He was created Viscount Melgum by patent, dated October 20th, 1627. Riddell, in his *Peerage and Consistorial Law*, Vol. II., pp. 624, 1020-21, explains that after his unhappy death in the Tower of Fren draught, a subsequent patent, narrating his Majesty's desire that the former title of Viscount should be revived in the family, conferred that honour on his elder brother George, under the style of Viscount Aboyne, during the lifetime of the Marquis his father, with limitation after his accession to the Marquisate, to James his son, and his heirs, such bearing the name and arms of Gordon. Spalding's *Memorialls* (Spalding Club), note a to p. 16. The lands of Melgund, in the County of Forfar, were sold by the Marquis of Huntly to Maule of Boath in 1635.

† He was married to 'bonny Sophia Hay,' a daughter of the Earl of Errol.

a body of servants large enough to repel any attack that might be made upon them by the way. Nothing happened, however, and the little company reached their destination in safety.

The residence of the Laird of Frendraught was not like Crichton Castle—the seat of the head of his house—distinguished for architectural grace or beauty. It could not be said of it, as Sir Walter Scott has said of the other,

‘The towers in different ages rose,
Their various architecture shows
The builders’ various hands.’

It was indeed, like all its neighbours in the district, and which like it had been built in that age of feuds, ‘though strong and thick’—with walls ten feet thick or thereby, we are told—‘yet very clumsy, and the rooms few and sorry; insomuch that having nothing of the present politeness and variety, it served for little but to show the ancient grandeur of the family.’* Its lowest storey was of massive stone and vaulted; and in the middle of the arch was a round hole, through which a passage could be effected, by means of a ladder, to the floor above. Each storey contained but a single room; and all except the lowest were panelled with timber, and had narrow windows protected by iron stanchions. We know nothing about its modern addition, except that it contained the great dining hall of the family, which communicated by a door with the tower.

Melgum and his friends were anxious to return to the Bog that evening, but this Frendraught and his wife would not allow. ‘Lady’ Frendraught, in particular, was most urgent in her entreaties that they should remain. North-country hospitality was as open-handed then as now. To pass a friend’s gate was looked on as a positive affront: to refuse to eat bread, something more than a breach of good manners—almost a crime. Nor was the lady unprepared for so large a party of guests. The night before the party left the Bog, Frendraught had sent forward his servant, John Tosh of Toshach,

* Wedderburn’s *View of the Diocese of Aberdeen.*

to give notice of their coming. The lady's importunity was therefore not unnatural. Doubtless she would have been very ill-pleased if her distinguished visitors had returned without partaking of the sumptuous repast which her husband's forethought had enabled her to provide. 'Thay war weill intertaynde,' says Spalding:—'with all demonstration of love and kyndnes,' adds Sir Robert Gordon. 'They souppit mirrellie and to bed went joyfullie.'

Melgum was lodged in the chamber of the first floor of the old tower which opened off the hall, and was Fren draught's own ordinary sleeping apartment. His bed was placed right above the opening in the vault below, which appears to have been untenanted, and used principally as a storehouse for the meal and other provisions of the household. Following the custom of the times, two of the Viscount's servants, Robert Gordon and 'English Will,' his page, slept in the room beside him. Rothiemay and his suite lay in the room above, while the uppermost chamber of all was occupied by George Chalmers of North, a Captain Rollock (a friend of Fren draught's), and George Gordon, another of Lord Melgum's servants. All the rooms in the tower were barred with iron stanchions.

Towards midnight, when all the party were asleep, 'this dolorous tower,' as Spalding calls it, took fire in the most sudden and mysterious manner. 'Yea, in ane clap,' he adds, evidently implying that it was caused by an explosion of gunpowder or some other combustible. This was followed by thick clouds of smoke which penetrated into Melgum's chamber through the hole in the vault. Still the young Viscount slept on. Doubtless his evening's potations had made his slumbers more than ordinarily heavy. When, though not without difficulty, he had at last been wakened, there seems to have still been time for him to have made his escape. But without a moment's thought for his own safety, instead of betaking himself to the open door, he rushed precipitately upstairs to rouse Rothiemay. But while trying to waken him, the timber passage and lofting of the chamber took fire, and the unhappy captives saw in a moment that their only hope of

egress by the staircase was gone. Rushing to the window they laid hold of its iron stanchions and pitifully cried for help. Through the iron bars they could see Frendraught, his wife and servants, in the close below him. But notwithstanding their piteous entreaties no one came to their aid. 'Loup!' cried Gordon, one of Melgum's servants, according to a popular ballad of the day, to the young Viscount, 'Loup! and I'll catch you in my arms!' 'How can I loup,' was the despairing reply:—

' My head's fast in the iron window,
My feet burning from me !'

Taking his rings from his fingers and flinging them through the bars, he desired that they should be taken to his young wife. Then commending her and his child to God, and 'often tymes crying mercie at God's handis for thair synis,' the two poor lads embraced, and clasped in each others' arms 'cheirfullie sufferit this cruell martyrdom.'*

Such was the terrible tragedy, which in the words of our latest historian, 'has to the northern peasant as distinct and tragic a place in history as the Sicilian Vespers on the night of St. Bartholomew may have for those whose historical horizon is wider.†

The following morning Lady Frendraught—a cousin of Huntly's, and a Catholic like himself—'buskit in a white plaid and riding on a small nag, having a boy leading her horse, and without any more in her company,' set out for the Bog, and desired to see the Marquis. But the terrible news had preceded her. Huntly sternly refused to see his kinswoman, and the poor lady, 'weeping and mourning, had to return to Frendret the same get scho cam, and comfortles.' He sent, however, to the tower to collect the bones and ashes of his son and his companion, and placing each in a 'kist' of its own

* Melgum like his father was a Roman Catholic, and in *Father Blackhall's Narrative*, p. 125 (Spalding Club), it is said that in their last extremity he induced Rothiemay to make open profession of the Catholic faith; but the statement is of doubtful probability.

† *Burton's History*, VI., 212.

—‘being six kistis in the hail’—had them conveyed to the kirk of Gartly and there decently buried.

All friendship between the Marquis and Frendraught was now at an end. Embracing the popular theory that the fire was not the result of ‘chance, sleuth or accident,’ but was of set design to avenge Frendraught’s old feud with Rothiemay, by the killing of his innocent son,* he immediately began to take steps in his turn to settle accounts with one whom he looked upon as a murderer. He sent messengers to his son Lord Gordon at Inverness, desiring him to repair at once to the Bog. He communicated with the Earl of Erroll—the young Viscount’s father-in-law—and many other friends. And doubtless he would have taken the law into his own hands, and executed summary vengeance upon Crichton after the fashion of the day, but for the fact that his adversary was cognisant of what was going on, and was already busied in making preparations for his own defence. The Marquis’s influence at court, too, was not what it had been in the days of James VI. A successful effort of retaliation on Crichton might perhaps have been forgiven; an unsuccessful one—and the chances could scarcely be said to be in its favour—would without fail bring down upon him the wrath not only of the King, but of all his many enemies both political and ecclesiastic. Huntly resolved, therefore, after careful consideration with his friends, not to revenge himself by way of deed, but to seek the laws with all diligence, ‘whereunto,’ says Spalding, ‘he had moir nor ressonne.’

What followed was a game of chess between the Marquis and Crichton, which ended in a stale-mate. Not a single one of the parties mixed up in the affair derived the slightest benefit from the transaction. Huntly’s last years were embittered, and perhaps his death accelerated by the terrors and

* In [Blaeu’s] *Description of Aberdeenshire* there is a poem on this tragical event (by Dr. Arthur Johnston), wherein the general suspicion is expressed in these words—

Tristis, et infelix, et semper inhospita turris.

Wedderburn’s *View of the Diocese of Aberdeen*, p. 520 (Spalding Club).

annoyances which it entailed upon him.* It ruined Frendraught both pecuniarily and socially.† It exposed his wife to unnumbered insults, nominally on account of her religion, but really owing to the animosity of the Gordons.‡ As for the inferior actors in this deplorable drama, we shall immediately see the misfortunes which their share to the business brought upon them.

These facts are not without weight in the consideration of the question whether the fire was or was not accidental. Even in that selfish age great crimes were never committed unless some benefit to the party committing them could reasonably be expected to ensue. That nothing but trouble to Frendraught and his friends resulted from the burning of his castle, is *prima facie* evidence that its origin was accidental. We need not attach too much importance to the uncharitable assertion of the contemporary ballad writers, that Frendraught and his lady stood by unaiding and unmoved when they saw their guests burning before their eyes. The slightest consideration of the seat of the explosion will show that from the first the condition of the unhappy captives was hopeless. The fire broke out in the vault. It spread—doubtless through the hole in the ceiling—into the room above, and catching hold of the internal woodwork, in a very few minutes converted the Tower into a blazing kiln. The walls were too thick to knock down; the iron stanchions were too strong to file through. Such modes of egress were matters of time, which the fury of the flames put out of the question. As for the water-supply, it was too limited to be of the slightest use.

Frendraught's whole conduct, too, after the occurrence, looks

* *Spalding's Memorials, sub anno 1636.*

† 'This is certain that the Gordons pursued them so long at law as guilty, and (because the law found not the evidence sufficient) wasted their lands with so many inroads that, in a few years, this family of Frendraught, which at the time of the burning possessed three parishes (Forgue, Inverkeithny, and Aberchirder), was reduced to great poverty, and against seventy years after, was stript of all and extinguished.' *Wedderburn's View of Diocese of Aberdeen*, p. 520 (Spalding Club).

‡ *Chambers' Domestic Annals of Scotland*, II. 158-160; II. 335.

like that of an innocent man. On the 3rd November—little more than three weeks after the conflagration—he repaired to Perth, where the Chancellor George Viscount Dupplin resided, and placed himself unreservedly in his hands. He invoked his personal protection and offered to stand his trial on any charge that might be preferred against him. This offer he subsequently repeated before the Lords of Secret Council in Edinburgh, whither he was conducted by the Chancellor. And so perfect appears to have been his *bona fides*, that he seems to have recommended—or at least, given information which led to—the arrest, either for precognition or for trial as the event might show, not only of his whole household, numbering nearly thirty persons, but of John Meldrum of Reidhill, his personal enemy, whom he knew would not certainly spare him, if even the smallest ground of suspicion, could be laid at his door. The arrests which followed were thirty-one in all; and in addition all the clergymen and most of the respectable inhabitants of the district, were summoned to attend and give evidence. On the 27th January 1621, Fren draught, his wife and his servants were examined before a Committee of the Council. The result does not appear, but it was apparently favourable to the Crichtons, for on 4th February Lady Fren draught and two of her female servants were allowed to return home.

But in the seventeenth century, people did not believe in the accidental origin of conflagrations, so sudden and so deadly; and even the Commissioners—lords and bishops though they were—who under the authority of the Council, made an inspection of the premises in April 1631, appear to have been unable to resist the prevailing incredulity of the times.

‘We finde be all likelihood,’ they report, ‘that the fire whairby the hous wes brunt wes first raised in ane vault, whairin we find evidence of fire in thrie sundrie parts; one at the farthest end thair of, another towards the middes, and the third on that gavell which is hard by the hole that is under the bed which was in the chamber above. Your good lordships will excuse us if we determine not concerning the fire whether it wes accidental or of sett purpose by the hand of man; onlie this much it seemeth probable unto us, after consideration of the frame of the hous and uther circumstances, that no hand without could have raised the fire with out aide from within.’

A report so cautious, not to say so time-serving, was not likely to be of much use. It only made the mystery deeper. But what could the Privy Council do? They had nothing, absolutely nothing, to go upon. In July 1631, indeed, they thought they had discovered a clue. They received information—doubtless from a Gordon—that Margaret M'Kesone 'lait nurse to Lady Frendraught' was concerned in the affair; and they gladly issued a commission to George, Lord Gordon, to apprehend her. The unhappy woman was arrested, and it is to be hoped that she did not experience the same treatment as her fellow-servant Margaret Wood, on whom the Council in December, 1630, had authorised the employment of some 'slight and spare torture,' for the better trial and discovery of the truth of the matter. But nothing came of her examination, and the Lords were as much at sea as ever.

It almost appears as if the Council at this stage, would have been glad to let the matter drop. At any rate, for nearly a year, they seem to have taken no further proceedings in the business. But in June, 1632, they got a communication which once more galvanised them into activity. The King himself interfered. By a peremptory letter he ordered them to 'imploy one day in everie weeke upon the examination of the business'; and in case they did not know how to go about it, he followed it on the same day, by another, in which he ordered them to put John Meldrum to the torture.*

*This was probably Frendraught's doing, and it seems to have been directed much more against Huntly than against his old retainer and now enemy, Meldrum. Even amongst his trials and annoyances, he could not forget the unworthy treatment his wife had received at his kinsman's hands; and from this time forward, finding probably that come what might, he had nothing either to fear or lose, he seems to have set himself with a singleness of aim worthy of better things, to do all that in him lay to wreak his vengeance on the Marquis and his friend. On 17th July, he applied to the Council to take action against Huntly and his son, Lord Gordon, for 'damage and expensis'; and nine days later, possibly to leave his hands free to carry out this desire, he referred all differences presently existing between him and James Leslie of Pitcaple, to the determination and arbitrament of the Lord High Chancellor of Scotland.

Translated into plain language, his Majesty's order simply meant that it was time that a scapegoat should be found. Fren draught, Huntly, the public, were all alike clamorous for blood; Fren draught, to establish his innocence, Huntly to appease the manes of his son, and the public from that wild love of savage justice, which was characteristic of the age and still more characteristic of the people.

Probably the Council was not displeased at His Majesty's interposition. The whole affair was becoming an intolerable nuisance. If the death of one victim would satisfy those concerned, it would use its best endeavour that this victim should be forthcoming. But there still remained the question— who should that victim be?

There were two persons who still remained in prison on suspicion of being connected with the affair—John Toshach, Fren draught's Master of the Household, and John Meldrum. The King's mandate seemed to point to the latter. But there was a serious obstacle to his selection; for, on the 28th June, Fren draught had voluntarily emitted a declaration before them, in which he stated that though he would unite with Huntly and his friends in Meldrum's trial, he could not personally insist or urge in the matter more than he had already done. They therefore resolved, in the first instance, to proceed against Toshach, keeping Meldrum in reserve as a second string to their bow, in the event of their being unable to procure a conviction against the former.

On the 3rd August, accordingly, Toshach was placed on his trial at the bar of the High Court of Justiciary, charged with the burning of the Tower of Fren draught. To us accustomed to the brevity and logical precision of modern indictments, the vagueness and irrelevancy of the long and rambling 'dittay,' the Lord Advocate Sir Thomas Hope, preferred against him may well appear surprising. The principal point relied on by the Crown was his having been sent, or as it is expressed, of his having 'dispatchet himself' to Fren draught from the Bog on the 7th October, the night before Crichton and his convoy started. But on the question of motive—an important element in all criminal trials—the Crown had no theory to propose. They could not imagine what impulse had prompted him to commit such a diabolical deed.

They could only allege that he 'the said John Tosch, out of ane devilische and disperat humour' had fired the Tower: 'be the fyreing and kyndling quhairof, the said loftingis above the said volt, specially the chalmeris of the said towr quhairin the said Lord Viscount, the laird of Rothiemay, and their surroundis and followrs to the number of sax persones, Christian saillis, war maist petiefullie brunt to deid.'

To the relevancy of this sensational and oppressive libel, Tosch's counsel very properly took exception. But his objection was based on grounds which fortunately have now no place in our system of jurisprudence. He argued that the panel having consistently denied his guilt even when under the *peine forte et dure* of the boots on 1st April, 1631, and of the no less cruel sufferings of the 'pillie winkis' on 12th July of the same year, he ought to be assoilzied in respect that by the civil law torture purged probation. The plea was sustained; but the Crown officials were not satisfied. They obtained a further hearing on the point, in the course of which the Lord Advocate submitted a long and learned argument, in which, while he admitted the principle contended for by Toshach's counsel, he maintained that new *indices*—in other words fresh evidence tending to inculcate the prisoner—had been obtained and that the dittay should therefore be immediately remitted to the knowledge of an assize. But the Court, to their eternal credit, on 25th June, 1634, sustained their former deliverance, and Toshach was set at liberty.

Meldrum alone remained; and on 3rd August, 1633, he was placed on his trial. The case now presented against him shows how completely the whole previous proceedings had been of a 'fishing' character. The dittay against Tosch had proceeded on the assumption that the tower had been fired from within: that against Meldrum now bore that the fire had been lighted from without. No complicity with Tosh or any of the servants within the tower is asserted; but considerable stress is laid on Meldrum's relations to James Grant, the notorious 'rebell, outlaw and soirner,' of whom we have already heard so much; and it is plainly alleged that he and his mercenary band were the means by which, under silence and cloud of night, on the 8th October, 1630, 'betwix twelff hours at night and twa eftir mydnyght,' a

'hudge quantitie of powder, pik, brumstone, flax and ither combustabill matter wes conveyed to the tower of Fren draught and thrust in threw the slits of stoness of the vault of its massive tower. As for the motive, which, as we have seen, was entirely wanting in Tosh's case, it was now alleged to be Meldrum's deadly hatred of Fren draught himself.

It is difficult to read through the proceedings of this scandalous travestie of justice with patience. Making every allowance for the difference between the procedure admissible in that age and in our own—the admission of depositions taken before the Privy Council 'outwith' the presence of the prisoner, and the weight attached to presumptions—it is impossible to regard the verdict of the jury other than of as a disgraceful truckling to the assumed wish of the King and the expressed desire of the Crown authorities. The case established by the Lord Advocate barely amounted to one of suspicion. Meldrum's enmity to Fren draught was indeed clearly proved; but that was all. There was no evidence to show that the fire originated in the manner libelled; still less to sustain the allegation that Meldrum had any hand in the matter. On the other hand, the defence set up a fairly good case of *alibi*, and demolished the whole fabric of Meldrum's complicity in the business. 'Quhair was the combustabill matter coft?' indignantly asks Mr. Robert M'Gill, one of Meldrum's counsel, in the impassioned address which he *read* to the jury:—

'In quhat mercat or buithe, or fra quhome gottin? Quha caryeid the fire? How did the combustible matter so wall or joyne with the fyre, and gif thair was tynder buist, quhair or how gottin? How had the pannell all this laisour and tyme to set all thir thingis in ordour quhan he come to the slitt? Saw thair no man him neir to the hous of, neir the wallis thairof that nycht? Was thair no dyn nor crak hard? No dog to bark (*et nullus anser qui interstrepando capitolium illud servaret*)? And I think servandis might haif had busines aneuche to mak thame awake that nycht for intertensing of such ghaistis? Was the pannell tane in the deid doing? Was he sene flie with yet hett brandonis, as the man quha committis a slaughter secriettlie in ane house is challenget cumming out with ane bluidie sword all pale and trynbling? Or was he astonished quhen he first report? or even quhen he cam befor the lordis of counsell so willinglie, was he ony wayis abashed bot for corporall debilitie? No, no; there was no such thing, bot the poore gentilman was sleiping in Pitcaipill that night, quhilk

is to all esteemed and grit taken of a quiet mind, as in that of Claelius bairnes reported in Cicero, pro Ros. Amerino, sua that the pannell did not this detestable deed ?'

But the learned counsel might have saved himself his eloquence. Meldrum was doomed, and the bitterness of his invective shows that he, and probably every one in Court, knew it only too well. Still further to prejudice the jury against the prisoner, the Lord Advocate, before the jury retired, read to them a document of the Lords of Privy Council, 'to mak knawin to the assyze the pannillis former and insolent life.' The jury found him guilty; he was sentenced to be hanged, and his goods and lands escheated to the Crown.

But though they did not hesitate to allow this scandalous sentence to be carried into effect, the Privy Council appear not to have been altogether comfortable in their minds, or satisfied as to the guilt of their victim. They accordingly commissioned certain clergymen to confer with the prisoner, and try to extract from him a confession of his criminality. How they sped in their mission does not appear. But in all probability no confession was made, and we cannot help confessing that we devoutly hope that this was so.

So ended, so far as judicial proceedings were concerned, the history of the Burning of Frendraught.

After the lapse of more than two hundred and fifty years, the affair remains involved in as impenetrable obscurity as it was at the first.

CHARLES RAMPINI.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

Introduction to the Catholic Epistles. By PATON J. GLOAG, DD.,
Minister of Galashiels. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1887.

Twelve years ago Dr. Gloag published an Introduction to the Epistles of St. Paul, and to that volume the present one is intended to form a companion. As he very truly remarks in his preface, Introductions are in England rare. Scotland might have been added to England without doing her any injustice. So far as we know Dr. Gloag is the only scholar in Scotland who has written anything of permanent value or in a permanent shape in this particular line of theological study. Introductions translated from the French and German, but more especially from the latter, we have in abundance, but besides Dr. Gloag only three theologians of the United Kingdom have published Introductions to the New Testament or to parts of it, if we except such as are to be found in works like Dean Alford's Greek New Testament, or Bishop Ellicott's Epistles of St. Paul. In fact, so little are Introductions known that Dr. Gloag has deemed it necessary to set out in his preface the exact scope and intention of his work. The topics which it discusses, he tells us, are 'such as the authenticity of the Catholic Epistles, their authorship, the readers to whom they are addressed, the design and intention of the writings, the peculiarities which belong to them, and the time when and the place from which they were written.' The fact that this should need to be stated or that a writer of such wide knowledge as Dr. Gloag should deem it necessary to say it, may or may not prove that theological studies are not in a satisfactory condition amongst us, but the paucity of Introductions by English authors would certainly seem to leave no room for doubt that Introductions and the study of them are not in any great favour. Dr. Gloag's scholarship and ability are admittedly great. His industry is indefatigable. Of that the four pages of authorities which he prints at the beginning of his volume, and his constant reference to the opinions of the writers included in his list, are a sufficient indication. On the principal topics which fall to be discussed in his pages, Dr. Gloag as a rule holds and maintains the traditionary opinions. The authorship of the Epistle of St. James, he attributes to the Apostle of that name; the second Epistle of St. Peter he assigns, though not without hesitation, along with its companion Epistle to the Apostle of the Circumcision. He decides also in favour of the opinion that St. Peter resided at Rome and there suffered Martyrdom. On the other hand he rejects the tradition that the author of the Epistle of St. James was not the actual brother of our Lord, though admitting that 'it cannot be denied that there is a feeling of repugnance at the supposition that the Virgin, the Mother of our Lord should ever afterwards have been the mother of children.' Besides the learning and arguments proper to an Introduction the volume before us contains a number of dissertations more or less connected with the Epistles or arising out of their contents. To the student these dissertations will be not the least valuable part of the book. Among them are excursus on the Eschatology of St. Peter, his residence at Rome, Gnosticism as referred to in the first Epistle of St. John, the Three Heavenly Witnesses, the Assumption of Moses, and the Book of Enoch. These topics are all illustrated with considerable learning and are discussed in a fair, reverent, and candid spirit. Dr. Gloag writes with great clearness

and takes the utmost pains to be just to those whose opinions he rejects. He may be said, indeed, to be as cautious and unbiassed as it is possible for a writer to be.

Moses: His Life and Times. By GEORGE RAWLINSON, M.A., etc., etc. London: Jas. Nisbet & Co.

During recent years the materials for the history of the life and times of Moses have been rapidly accumulating. The discoveries made within the last few years of Egyptian papyri, their decipherment and the decipherment of the monuments of the Egyptians, of Babylonia, and of the Hittites, have thrown quite a flood of light upon the Scripture narratives respecting the early history of Israel and its prince of leaders. These narratives, though comparatively full, are all too scant, and in supplementing or explaining them, modern science and research has rendered essential service. Moses is unquestionably one of the most magnificent figures of the ancient world, and anything that throws light either upon his history or his times deserves to be heartily welcomed. For a long period it would seem that he was almost, if not entirely, forgotten even in Israel, and it is only within comparatively recent years that his real greatness has begun to be properly realised amongst ourselves. Of the new material relating to his subject, Canon Rawlinson has, as might have been expected, while adhering closely to the Scripture narrative, made large and skillful use. The accounts of Josephus, Philo, and Artapanus have not been neglected, but of the non-biblical Hebrew sources less use has been made than might have been desired. Of the many beautiful legends which have gathered round the name of Moses, only one is given. Though probably not of much historical importance, some of them are highly suggestive and instructive. A full and interesting description is given of Egypt, and of the Egyptian wars in which Moses is said to have taken part, and equally graphic is the account given of the Hebrews and their oppression. The theory that the children of Israel struck northward after leaving Egypt and passed by the famed 'Serbonian bog' is rejected, the author being of opinion that the route taken was, as is usually held, to the south. Towards the end is a chapter well worth reading devoted to a description of Hebrew art at the time of Moses, and here and there throughout the volume an interesting parallel is drawn, as for instance on page 81, between the return of Moses into Egypt and the flight of Joseph and Mary with the Young Child.

Ænigma Vitæ; or, Christianity and Modern Thought. By JOHN WILSON, M.A. London: Hodder & Stoughton. 1887.

This work is clearly the product of a mind of high reflective power, of great culture, and of admirable temper. While its author is a firm believer in the doctrines of 'Evangelical Christianity,' he nowhere treats the sceptic and agnostic with contempt or scorn, and nowhere hurls at them a term of opprobrium. He speaks of them, when he has occasion to do so, in tones of compassionate sorrow, not of anger, and tries only to reason with them in the hope of persuading them. He realises the difficulties that beset human thought in the presence of the vexing problems that meet it in its search after truth, and has therefore a very genuine sympathy with those who may, as he thinks, have wandered out of the way. Here he only wishes to be helpful to such. His book takes the form of a spiritual autobiography. He traces in its pages what he calls 'the pilgrimage of his Ego in the quest after Truth.' This pilgrimage is admirably described,

and always in language of great simplicity, yet of wondrous philosophic depth and beauty.

Modern Hinduism : Being an Account of the Religion and Life of the Hindus of Northern India. By W. J. WILKINS. London : T. Fisher Unwin. 1887.

Mr. Wilkins very wisely warns his readers against supposing that all that he has here to say is true of the natives of India generally. Vast masses of the population of that great and marvellous country never come within his view. The religion and life of these he leaves aside, and confines himself to those of the people with whom he is best acquainted, the native population of the northern Province of Bengal. Another caution he puts in is against the idea that what is true of one class, community or district, is true also of other classes or communities in the same province. 'It should be remembered,' he observes, 'that descriptions absolutely true of certain classes of certain districts may not be strictly correct of other classes or other districts; and also that some classes are grossly ignorant of the customs of other classes, and the residents of one district, whilst familiar with the practices common there, are totally ignorant of what prevails in other parts of the country.' These cautions are not entirely unnecessary, as in many quarters there is a tendency to suppose that the natives of India form one homogeneous people, and that what is usually called the religion of India is the common faith of the whole of its inhabitants. Mr. Wilkins information is partly first-hand and partly borrowed from writers who have preceded him in the same field. His own opportunities of studying the Hindus of Northern India have been spread over a considerable period, having lived among them many years as a missionary; and having met and conversed with all classes in the cities and villages, in their own language, he has learned much about them which is not to be found in books. The works he has consulted are among the best, some of them belonging to the native literature, and others of them being by Europeans. Life and religion are so inseparably connected among the Hindus that it is impossible to describe the one, without describing the other. A Hindu's birth is preceded by religious rites and ceremonies; it is attended by them; religion prescribes most of the acts of his daily life; and his fate in the world beyond is supposed to depend to a large extent on the due performance of the rites of religion by those whom he leaves behind him. Indeed, unless he leaves a son, and the son performs the prescribed sacrifices, both he and his ancestors for several generations suffer. Such, at least, is among other things the belief inculcated by the following story from the Mahābhārata: 'A Hindu had remained unmarried for years after he had attained to manhood. Passing into the spirit-world he came upon a number of men hanging by their heels from the branch of a tree, with their heads overhanging a deep precipice, whilst rats were gnawing at the ropes which bound them, in momentary fear of being dashed to pieces. Inquiring whom (*sic*) they were, he was told that they were his ancestors for several generations, who were doomed thus to suffer because he had not married, and so failed to procure a son whose proper performance of the funeral would have saved them from this pain and secured entrance for them into heaven.' Generally speaking, Mr. Wilkins's descriptions are clear and interesting. Here and there, however, his pages are cumbered by needless repetitions, and, as in the passage above cited, his sentences are not always constructed according to the ordinary rules of grammar. Beginning with the rites which precede a Hindu's birth, Mr. Wilkins gives a very full account of his social and

religious life, of the duties of the astrologer and family priest, of the gurn or spiritual guide, of the Hindu's home, of his marriage, of the temple at which he worships, and of the ceremonies performed at his death. The description is rendered all the more attractive by the frequent citation of the stories or legends to which many of the practices are said to owe their origin. Religious sects are as numerous in Hinduism as they are in Christendom. Mr. Wilkins gives a long list of them and the personal marks by which their adherents may be distinguished. One of the best chapters in the volume contains a condensed account of the comparatively recent Theistic movement in India, the best known representative of which was the late Keshub Chunder Sen. Of the morality of the Hindus, Mr. Wilkins has a far from flattering account to give. Murder, infanticide, and abortion, notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the Government to suppress them, are rife. The habit of lying seems to have become a second nature to the Hindu. The following story is significant: 'A friend of my own told me,' says Mr. Wilkins, 'that when living at Cachar, a friend came and complained to him that a Sirdar on the estate had burned some of his charcoal. On asking how he knew this, the reply was, "Bholonātha saw him do it." Going directly to Bholonātha, and asking if he had seen this transaction, he denied all knowledge of it; but when the aggrieved party came upon the scene, the witness said, "Why did you not tell me that you wished me to give evidence?"' Other stories are given of a similar kind. It would appear, however, that though the Hindu still retains his Oriental antipathy to change, signs are not wanting of the dawn of better things.

The Science of Thought. By F. MAX MÜLLER. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

Because the subjects of which his volume treats do not at present excite much public sympathy either in England or on the continent. Professor Müller has written his preface in a somewhat desponding spirit. It is questionable, however, whether the subjects here discoursed of ever did excite much public sympathy, if by public sympathy is meant the sympathy of the public at large. But be that as it may, that there is any cause for despondency respecting philosophic studies we have the gravest doubts. Unless we are much mistaken it is many a long day since philosophy had as many students as it has in the present and it will be difficult to point a time when it had more. However, if anything be desired to awaken an interest in philosophy, or if anything be needed to deepen what interest survives, we could desire nothing better than the volume Professor Müller had now published. Philosophy has rarely appeared in a more attractive guise.

The Science of Thought is written with that felicity of style and fertility and aptness of illustration which have given most of its author's works a permanent place in our literature. Its leading idea, if we may so say, may be gathered from the two aphorisms or rather from the aphorism—for its two members must not be separated—which appears on the title-page: 'No reason without language; no language without reason.' The volume, which is somewhat bulky, running to over 650 pages, contains, besides appendices and indices, ten chapters, three of which are mainly devoted to the discussion of opposing theories and an exposition of the Kantian philosophy. The remaining seven, with the exception of the tenth which is for the most part a recapitulation, are occupied with the main argument and its illustration.

Professor Müller's definition of thought is simplicity itself. 'I mean by Thought,' he says, 'the act of thinking, and by thinking I mean no more than combining.' The proviso is added that bringing

together or combining always implies separating. The materials of thought are sensations, percepts, concepts, and names, and the acts of which these are the products are its constituent elements. But though sensations, percepts, concepts, and names are distinguishable in thought, they never exist as separate entities. 'No words are possible without concepts, no concepts without percepts, and no percepts without sensations.' . . . 'Thought, in the usual sense of the word, is utterly impossible without the simultaneous working, of sensations, percepts, concepts, and names . . . in reality the four are inseparable.'

That in which thought inheres is mind, but by this Professor Müller observes, 'I mean nothing but that working which is going on within, embracing sensation, perception, conception and naming, as well as the various modes of combining and separating the results of these processes for the purpose of new discoveries.' Mind being the working, the worker in all this is the Ego as personating the Self, which in the highest sense is as yet only a spectator, not a worker, or it is that which has been called the Monon. This in order to be what it is and do what it does must be conscious of itself, that is, conscious of itself as modified by something not itself. The sensations thus produced, however, would be mere states or modifications of the Monon, unless the Monon postulated for them a *cause* without, and thus changed all sensations into objects, which objects being subject to the *a priori* conditions of our sensuous intuitions must be in time and space. Taking therefore the impacts of the Monon or of things not the Monon upon the Monon for granted, we may call the resistance and the concomitant vibrations of the self-conscious Monon, sensation, the change of sensations into intuitions of objects in space and time, *perception*, and the counting of such perceptions, and their addition and subtraction *conception*, this conception being always realized in signs or words. Here, accordingly, leaving aside the question what is behind the Monon, is all that is requisite to account for thought. We want no longer any innate ideas, any new faculties, or separate instruments in order to explain all the work that is going on within. Mind, memory, reason, understanding, etc., are but the names of certain modes of action on the part of a self-conscious Monon. Given the self-conscious Monon, which must be conscious, if it is to exist at all; everything else can be shown to be the result of an inevitable development.

Assuming that this analysis of the human mind is correct, and that all we call thought finds its consummation in language, Professor Müller next enquires how the growth of the human mind can be studied. His answer to this is: it must be studied in the history of language. 'The true archives,' he observes, 'in which alone the historical development of the human mind can be studied are the archives of language, and these archives reach in an uninterrupted line from our own latest thought to the first word that was ever uttered by our ancestors. It is here where the human mind has left us what may be called its true autobiography, if only we are able to decipher it.' To the question, was man ever without language, he replies: 'If our first tenet is right, if language and reason are identical, or two names or two aspects only of one and the same thing, and if secondly we cannot doubt that language had an historical beginning, and represents the work of man carried on through many thousands of years, we cannot avoid the conclusion that before those many thousands of years, there was a time when the first stone of the great temple of language was laid, and that before that time man was without language, and therefore without reason.' But unavoidable as these conclusions are, it does not follow, he maintains, that man was not always an animal *rationabile*. Though not always *rationalis*, he was always, and must have been, as Kant

long ago pointed out, and as Noiré and others have since maintained, *rationabilis*. Professor Müller is here brought in contact with Darwin and the Evolutionists, and an extremely lively discussion follows. For its various points we must refer the reader to the work itself (chapters ii. and iv. with chapter iii.) It must suffice here to say that Prof. Müller denies in the growth of language what Darwin himself, thereby differing from most Darwinians, denies in the growth of nature, namely one uniform beginning for all and everything, or one primordial cell for all organic beings and one primordial root for all words. On the other hand he joins issue with Darwin on the question of the origin of man, and denies that he is descended from some unknown animal ancestor, for the reason that he looks upon language as a property of man of which no trace, whether actual or potential, has ever been found in any other animal. Language, in fact, is with Prof. Müller the impassable barrier between man and the lower animals, and constitutes the specific difference between them.

Turning now to language, its constituent elements are of course roots. These are neither interjections nor imitations of natural sounds. The difference between them, it is pointed out, is that while roots are definite in sound but general in meaning, interjections and imitations are general, that is vague and varying in sound, but definite or singular in meaning. The Bow-wow theory is thus thrown overboard, though not for the first time by our author. Roots, he maintains, as a fact placed beyond all reasonable doubt by the Science of Language, are the signs of concepts. 'Every root,' he remarks, 'expresses a concept, or what is called a general notion, or more correctly, the consciousness of repeated acts, such as scraping, digging, striking, joining, etc. They express acts, transitive or intransitive, and the consciousness of such acts, if expressed by any signs, whether phonetic or otherwise must be considered as the first step towards the formation of concept.' What then is their origin? Noiré was the first to prove convincingly that it is impossible to separate the two questions, how concepts are framed, and how they are named, for the simple reason, as he showed, that no concept can be framed without a name, and no name can be framed without a concept. Noiré's theory, which was amply discussed in the pages of the last number of this *Review*, Professor Müller carries a step further, or rather it has suggested to him his own. According to Noiré the sounds associated with the repeated social acts of man became roots when they expressed the consciousness of these acts. In other words, roots owed their origin to the *clamor concomitans* of our early social acts. But, as Professor Müller points out, so long as they were simply involuntary sounds and without conscious significance there was no speech. Language arises as soon as the *clamor concomitans* is used to remind ourselves or others of the acts it accompanies. Professor Müller therefore sees the true origin of language and thought in the roots as signs of our acts. 'It is of these our own self-willed acts,' he observes, 'that we become conscious without any effort, and not till we have become conscious of these acts as acts, that is to say as perceived in their results, can we make the next step, that of naming the results our acts by the roots which signify these acts. Space will not allow us to follow Professor Müller further, but brief and imperfect as our analysis has been it will suffice to show the value of his work, though it must necessarily fail to afford anything more than the faintest indication of the interest with which the subject is surrounded and the wealth of learning with which it is illustrated.'

Extracts from the Records of the Royal Burgh of Stirling, A.D. 1519-1666; with Appendix, A.D. 1295-1666. Glasgow :

Printed for the Glasgow Stirlingshire and Sons of the Rock Society, 1887.

Some three years ago the municipal authorities of Stirling, following the example of the authorities of one or two other towns, issued an extremely valuable collection of charters and documents illustrative of the history of their burgh. For some reason or other, doubtless a good and sufficient one, they seem to have rested from their labours in this direction, like the Provost and Magistrates of Dundee, and but for the generosity and public spirit of the society whose name appears on its title page, the present equally valuable volume would in all probability never have seen the light. While profoundly grateful for all that has been done in connection with the records of the Scottish burghs in the way of printing them, and what has been done can scarcely be too highly appraised, we cannot help feeling that it is a matter for regret that the publication or non-publication of the numerous burgh records yet unpublished is left in the hands and depends upon the will of local authorities or private societies, and that no Act of Parliament exists authorising and compelling their publication, or the publication of such parts as experts may fix upon as of sufficient importance to deserve printing. Thrown upon the local rates, and spread over a number of years, the expense would in many instances be almost inappreciable, while in other cases the pressure on the local rates might be relieved by grants from the imperial funds. That large quantities of the documents in question are deserving of publication few can doubt. A glance at either of the two volumes Mr. Renwick has now edited in connection with Stirling is sufficient, we should say, to convince the most sceptical. If it is not we should certainly give very little either for his intelligence or patriotism. In few books, in fact we will venture to say in no book, can so clear an insight be obtained into the social, religious, and even political history of the country as may be obtained from the volumes we have referred to, and from the similar volumes issued by the Spalding Club, and those more recently edited for the Burgh Records Society by Dr. Marwick.

The extracts which Mr. Renwick has now edited for the Glasgow Sons of the Rock Society, with a skill that needs no praise, extend over a period of close on four hundred years, and contain a vast mass of interesting information respecting almost every line of municipal life. The Provost and Magistrates of Stirling seem at all times to have been anxious for the preservation of the records and documents connected with their burgh. As early as 1522, as the present extracts show, they kept them under lock and key in a chest which is described as 'the commoun kist . . . quhair all the avidentis of this gud toune and the commoun seill ar in keipin.' The extract under date 5th July, 1552. is an inventory of the books 'deliverit be Johene Graheme of Baldorrane, commoun clerk of the burght of Strive-ling, to Johne Cragingelt of that ilk, provest of Strive-ling . . . and put be hym in the thesaurer hous in presens of Archbald Spittale, bailye, Robert Cousland, &c., &c.,' and bearing that the clerk still holds in his hands 'the register buke of the few landis and sesingis of the townis,' as they are 'nocht yit compleit.' Of the eight volumes of records mentioned in this inventory, and which continue in an almost unbroken series from 1444 to 1550, only two have been found, those of 1519-30, and 1544-49. It is to be hoped that Mr. Renwick is not too sanguine in his expectation that the six missing volumes, together with the Reid Buke and the Register Buke, have only been mislaid, and will soon be found. In 1645 the Provost and Magistrates again show the same solicitous care for their municipal documents, ordaining the Dean of Guild to go, with certain others, 'to umquhile maister David Williamson, thair last clerkis hous and chalmer, . . . and thair to resave the tounes hail bookis, prothogollis, and registeres, and

to putt thaim in the tolbuith and counsalhous for the tounes use, and the rest to be put up in cofferis.'

As elsewhere the Provost and magistrates in Stirling exercised the most rigid supervision over all the affairs of their burgh. Not only did they punish wrong-doers, and attend to the defence of the town; they regulated trade, and interfered between buyer and seller in a way that would not now-a-days be tolerated. Without their consent no one could sell the smallest article in the burgh except under pains and penalties. They fixed the price of wine, malt, ale, wheat, bread, oats, tallow, candles, straw, &c. To sell ale before it had been tasted and tested by their cunners, and the rate at which it was to be sold fixed by the baillie of the quarter in which the brewster lived, was an indictable offence. The bakers were compelled to serve the town first, and to reserye a supply of bread sufficient for its needs. Hucksters were forbidden to purchase goods for sale before certain fixed hours of the day. In 1525 cake baking seems to have been a profitable business and many enterprising women appear to have gone into it; but on Nov. 3 the Provost and magistrates stepped in and prohibited all but six and fixed the size and price of the cake. In all this of course they were but walking up to their light and were simply anxious for the welfare of the community. Boycotting is usually supposed to be a peculiarly Irish invention. Here, however, is a case of legal boycotting occurring in Stirling as far back as 1555. 'It is fund be the provest, baillies and counsall, that Jonat Donaldsone, the spous of Alexander Galloway, is ane woman of evill conditionis and nocht lauchfull to by nor sell with, nothir of hir husbandis geir nor nane utheris; and thairfor thai inhibit, be thir presentis, all and sindry thair nychtbouris and inhabitantes of the brucht of Striveling that nane of thaim tak upone hand to by, sell, or tak in wod, ony manir of geir with hir, ondir pane of escheiting of the geir bocht, sauld orlaid in wod,' etc. The more serious offences were punished with beheading, hanging, drowning, banishment. Here and there an atrocious crime is noted. The offences of slander and 'flyghting' seem to have been of frequent occurrence, the offenders in these cases being usually women. For being found 'ane pikair [thief] and apprehendit with saip, lynt and ane scheit' etc., one Jonet Wrycht was condemned to be burnt on the cheek and banished the town. In the case of Marioun Ray who had been found guilty of slander and threatening 'that scho suld lay the pynt stoup on the cheftis' of Agnes Henderson the court 'ordanis for penitioun that thair be maid ane standand gest furth fra the heid of the tolboitht, with ane pillie, ane tow and ane creile, and scho be put in the creile and hng thair during the will of the provest and baillies.' William Duchok besides being fined for slandering Merione Aikman was condemned 'to drink wattir xxiiij houris becaus he wes drunken quhen he missaid hir.'

The references to the craft gilds throughout the volume are numerous. Several of the extracts show that women were admitted to them. The indications of the influence they had come out on almost every page. As might be expected the ecclesiastical and educational notes, but more especially the former, are frequent. Here and there we catch a glimpse of the invading armies of the English, the 'Queen's Majesty,' an Earl of Argyll, and traders from foreign lands. An entry on 3 Sept. 1529 shows that the deacon and members of the fleshers' gild were given permission 'to bait a bull of Sancubartis day or on Sounday nixt thareftir.' The references to lepers are painfully numerous. From a philological point of view the extracts are especially valuable, many of the old forms of the language occurring, and not a few words now unused, some of them not to be found even in Jamieson.

A History of England in the Eighteenth Century. By W. E. H. LECKY. Vols. V. and VI. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

These volumes of Mr. Lecky's *History* bring the narrative down to the year 1793, and are concerned therefore with nine of the most important, if not eventful, years in the history of England and Europe during the Eighteenth Century. They are marked, it is almost needless to say, by the same admirable features as the four volumes by which they have been preceded, and fully sustain the reputation Mr. Lecky has won as a judicious, eloquent, and philosophical historian. Their contents are extremely varied—art, science, literature, agriculture, manufactures, dress and manners and popular amusements, as well as diplomatic and parliamentary history, being all treated with more or less detail. One or two of the chapters might have been expanded into volumes. A long chapter, occupying about a fourth part of the fifth volume, on the French Revolution, seems at first sight somewhat out of place, but the profound influence which that movement had upon England and English affairs is sufficient to vindicate its insertion.

Among the brilliant statesmen who appear on the pages of these volumes, Pitt unquestionably stands out as in many respects the greatest. As a peace Minister he has probably been unequalled, certainly he has not been surpassed. Very appropriately, therefore, for he does not propose to narrate the failures which darkened Pitt's later years, Mr. Lecky opens his fifth volume with an elaborate analysis of the qualities requisite in a successful modern statesman. It is in passages of this kind that Mr. Lecky excels, and the paragraphs in which it is contained are deserving of careful study. 'Originality and profundity of thought,' he remarks, 'the power of tracing principles to their obscure and distant consequences, the intellectual and imaginative insight which penetrates to the heart of things and expresses in a perennial form the deeper emotions or finer shades of human character, can be of little or no service in practical politics.' In the higher spheres of statesmanship the moral qualities of the hero or saint are not required. Passionate earnestness, uncalculating daring, delicacy of conscience, and extreme loftiness of aim are a hindrance rather than an assistance. The politician deals very largely with the superficial and commonplace; his art, therefore, is in a great measure that of skilful compromise; and he is likely to succeed best who is in closest sympathy with the average intelligence and ideals of his time. 'The first quality of a prime minister in a free country,' said Horace Walpole, 'is to have more common sense than any man;' and Mr. Lecky, after quoting this saying of Walpole's, goes on to add: 'Tact, business talent, knowledge of men, resolution, promptitude, and sagacity in dealing with immediate emergencies, a character which lends itself easily to conciliation, diminishes friction and inspires confidence, are especially needed, and are more likely to be found among shrewd and enlightened men of the world than among men of great original genius or of an heroic type of character.' Further on he remarks: 'The talent of an orator or debater who can carry his measures triumphantly through parliamentary controversies; the talent of a tactician skilful in the difficult art of party management; the talent of an administrator who can conduct the ordinary business of the country with vigour and sagacity; the constructive talent which, when a great change is to be accomplished, can carry it out by wise and well-conceived legislation; the political prescience which foresees the effect of measures, understands the tendencies of the time and directs and modifies a policy in accordance with them, must all meet in an ideal statesman.'

In an extraordinary degree no one has ever possessed all these very various and dissimilar talents. Pitt, however, Mr. Lecky thinks, and most will agree with him, is the most remarkable of all instances of the combination of the more dazzling of them. At twenty-five he had attained a parliamentary ascendancy which his father had scarcely rivalled, and had won one of the most desperate parliamentary battles in English history against an Opposition consisting of the majority of the House of Commons directed by a group of orators and statesmen of the greatest eminence. During the nineteen years he held office as Prime Minister, he was as absolute in the Cabinet and Parliament as Walpole, and far more powerful. 'Such a minister,' Mr. Lecky observes, 'may have had great defects, but he must have had extraordinary merits.' The 'comprehensive picture' which Mr. Lecky gives of him is in many respects admirable, though the account of his oratory is somewhat disappointing. One would have liked to hear more, too, about Pitt's education, particularly of the seven years he spent at Cambridge. 'Exaggerated pride and extreme avarice of power' were his chief defects; 'indomitable resolution' was his great merit. Along with these he had to a very remarkable degree, the inestimable gift of reticence, great calmness and collectedness, and complete mastery over himself. Though cold and reserved in public, when among the few whom he thoroughly trusted, he was 'one of the most charming and even one of the gayest companions.' As a statesman he showed like Walpole very little disposition to ally himself with men whose talents might in any way imperil his own ascendancy; but when he gave his confidence, he gave it without reserve. Mr. Lecky does full justice to his ability as a finance minister, and points out very clearly both the merits and defects of his policy.

The debates on the Regency Bill, and the Test and Corporations Acts afforded abundant opportunity to Pitt for showing his admirable skill as a leader, and Mr. Lecky narrates them with great minuteness, taking, while dealing with the latter, the opportunity of sketching the growth of religious liberty and the views advocated by Locke, Warburton, Burke and others on toleration. The complicated state of political affairs on the Continent is described at considerable length; what Mr. Freeman calls the 'Eternal Eastern Question' coming in for a large share of attention, as well as the ambitious designs of Prussia, the singular conduct of Gustavus III. of Sweden, and the Peace of Jassy, which released Pitt from his Prussian engagements. In the chapter on the Causes of the French Revolution, Mr. Lecky passes over much the same ground as Mr. Buckle. The effect of this movement on English politics is traced with great skill. Previous to the capture of the Bastille, which contained at the time but seven prisoners, of whom one was an idiot, and another was detained at the request of his family, the events transpiring in France were regarded in England with indifference. When the news of its capture arrived, Pitt with his official responsibility was of course silent. Fox wrote—'How much the greatest event it is that ever happened in the world, and how much the best!' Burke was in doubt and reserved his judgment. 'Our thoughts of everything at home,' he wrote to Lord Charlemont, 'are suspended by our astonishment at the wonderful spectacle which is exhibited in a neighbouring and rival country. What spectators and what actors! England gazing with astonishment at a French struggle for liberty, and not knowing whether to blame or applaud. The thing, indeed, though I thought I saw something like it in progress for several years, has still somewhat in it paradoxical and mysterious. The spirit it is not impossible to admire; but the old Parisian ferocity has broken out in a shocking

manner. It is true that this may be no more than a sudden explosion ; if so, no indication can be taken from it ; but if it should be character rather than accident, then that people are not fit for liberty, and must have a strong hand like that of their former masters to coerce them. Men must have a certain fund of moderation to qualify them for freedom, else it becomes noxious to themselves and a perfect nuisance to everybody else. What will be the event it is hard, I think still, to say.' These doubts rapidly deepened in Burke's mind, and led eventually to the disruption of the Whig party. For a long time, indeed, Burke alone seems to have seen the significance of the French Revolution. Pitt looked at it with the eye of a Chancellor of the Exchequer, as Mr. Lecky observes, and even when the war broke out, believed, unlike Burke, that France being bankrupt, the war must necessarily come to a speedy termination. The chapter in which Mr. Lecky narrates the events which led up to the outbreak of the war, strikes us as the best in the volumes, though probably the one to which readers will be most drawn is the twenty-third, which follows it. The subjects dealt with here are extremely varied—manners, dress, popular amusements, architecture, painting, sculpture, literature, inventions, agriculture, poetry, prisons, the horrors of the slave trade, and the harshness of the penal code being all dealt with in it. It winds up with a remarkable passage contrasting the morality of the eighteenth century with that of the present day. Fully one half of Mr. Lecky's sixth volume is taken up with Irish affairs. That it is informing and deserving of the closest study we need hardly say. One remark, and it is only one of many such deserves quoting : 'To an historian of the eighteenth century, few things can be more grotesquely absurd than to suppose that the merits or demerits, the failure or the success of the old Irish Parliament have any real bearing on modern schemes for reconstructing the government of Ireland on a revolutionary and Jacobin basis.' In the present state of opinion Mr. Lecky's chapters on Ireland will undoubtedly give rise to much discussion, but they are factors which will as undoubtedly help in the solution of a question of which all sides are becoming heartily weary.

England under the Angevin Kings. By KATE NORGATE. Maps and Plans. 2 Vols. London and New York : Macmillan & Co. 1887.

Miss Norgate is a disciple of the late Mr. J. R. Green, and has dedicated her present work to his memory. 'It was undertaken,' she tells us, 'at his suggestion ; its progress through those earliest stages, which for an inexperienced writer are the hardest of all, was directed by his counsels, aided by his criticisms, encouraged by his sympathy, and every step in my work during the past eleven years has but led me to feel more deeply and to prize more highly the constant help of his teaching and example.' Mr. Green, we venture to think, would, if he could peruse the pages of these two closely-printed volumes, be very far from being in the slightest degree disposed to disown his pupil. They certainly reflect great credit on the industry, learning, and skill of their author, and show traces of an influence which, it is to be hoped, will be more and more felt. On every page there is evidence of the same thoroughness of work, and the same preference for national, as distinguished from regal and military life and history, that formed so large a feature in Mr. Green's character as an historian. If we miss somewhat of his brilliancy in Miss Norgate's pages, we have the same scrupulous conscientiousness, and the same large and liberal views of what history ought to be. If her narrative, again, seems here and there to drag a little, the fault is not hers, but her subject's,

and occasionally, perhaps, the reader's. The petty wars and broils which fall to be narrated are innumerable, page after page of them often occurring; but where a less capable writer would hopelessly flounder or give nothing more than a bare catalogue, Miss Norgate's skill and historic insight are usually very distinctly seen. The significance of the personal feuds and petty wars narrated, and their bearing on the general course of events, are clearly pointed out, and advantage is taken at every turn to invest them with something more than a purely military interest. Striking passages of another and much more popular, though less difficult, kind are far from infrequent. The story of Godric, of William of Malmesbury, of the Angevin Counts, Fulk the Good, Geoffrey Greygown, and Fulk the Black; of Thomas a Becket, and even of Stephen's wars, are told with remarkable effect. Here and there are passages of sustained eloquence; or take the following passage, which in several respects is characteristic: 'Whoever Fulk's real ancestors may have been, there can be no question that his descendants were a very remarkable race. From first to last there is a strong family likeness among them all. The first thing that strikes one about them is their thoroughness; whatsoever their hands found to do, whether it were good or evil, they did it with all their might. Nearly all of them were men of great and varied natural powers, gifted with a lofty military capacity and a deep political insight, and with a taste and a talent for all kinds of pursuits, into which they threw themselves with the full ardour of their stirring, restless temper. Daring, but not rash; persevering, watchful, tenacious; sometimes seeming utterly unscrupulous, yet with a vein of irregular piety running through the characters of many of them, and coming to light in the strangest shapes and at the most unexpected moments; passionate almost as madmen, but with a method in their madness, the Angevin Counts were patriots in their way; for their chief aim was aggrandizement, but it was the aggrandisement of Anjou as well as of themselves. They were not to be led away like their rivals of Blois by visionary schemes of merely personal promotion involving neglect of their own little home-country; they were proud and fond of their "black Angers" on its steep above the Mayenne, and never forgot that there was the centre whence their power was to spread to the ends of the earth. It is easy to see how exactly such a race as this was fitted for its post in Anjou. Given such men in such a place, we can scarcely wonder at what they made of it.' This is from the first volume, but it may be compared with another passage in the second, pages 196-7. One thing by which the reader can scarcely fail to be impressed is the evidence which almost every page bears of a resolute desire to make the history as complete as possible. Not content with merely describing the course of events, Miss Norgate endeavours to show why the history of the period was what it was, and could not under the circumstances be otherwise. Her treatment of it, while sufficiently minute, is broad. The whole period is held in a firm and comprehensive grasp, and the main theme, the development of English national life, is never lost sight of. The prophecy in which King Edward the Confessor is supposed to have foretold the destiny in store for his country after his death—'When the green tree, cut asunder in the midst and severed in the space of three furlongs, shall be grafted in again, and shall bring forth flowers and fruit, then at last may England hope to see the end of her sorrows'—runs through the volumes like a golden thread. With this they open, and with this they close. Whether the prophecy was ever made, the idea of making it the text of the book has, to say the least, its advantages. It was not until the three Norman Princes had passed away and the two royal houses were at last united on the throne in the person of Henry Fitz-empress, that the sorrows

sown by the Norman Conquest finally began to cease, 'and the dim ideal of national prosperity and union which English and Normans alike associated with the revered name of the Confessor' grew into a real and living thing. The fusion of the two races, the causes which led to it, and the slow but irresistible growth of a genuine English feeling, together with the hindrances it had to overcome in the course of its development, are all skilfully delineated. So also is the way in which Henry II. faced the task which lay before him on his accession. This, as Miss Norgate observes, 'was nothing less than the resuscitation of the body politic from a state of utter decay. The legal, constitutional, and administrative machinery of the State was at a deadlock; the national resources, material and moral, were exhausted. To bring under subjection once for all the remnant of the disturbing forces which had caused the catastrophe, and render them powerless for future harm; to disinter from the mass of ruin the fragments of the old foundations of social and political organization, and build up on them a secure and lasting fabric of administration and law; to bring order out of chaos, life out of decay—this was the work which a youth who had not yet completed his twenty-second year now found himself called to undertake, and to undertake almost single-handed.' Of the literary developments of the period Miss Norgate writes with enthusiasm. The chapter on the Conquest of Ireland we can only mention in order to call attention to it.

A History of the Papacy during the Period of the Reformation.

By M. CREIGHTON, M.A., etc., etc. Vols. III. and IV. The Italian Princes. 1464-1518. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1887.

With the second half of the latter of these volumes Mr. Creighton may be said to have at least reached his real subject. The introduction has been long, but perhaps not too long, though that remains to be seen; but be that as it may, so far as it has gone, the work is a very careful, honest, and solid piece of writing. Mr. Creighton is neither rhetorical nor philosophical; nor does he trouble his readers with 'reflections' or with attempts to improve his subject or to point a moral. He goes on his way with a calm, persevering industry, and is content for the most part to let the facts he has to record speak for themselves. At the same time his work is thoroughly critical. It is perhaps because he is so thoroughly possessed by the spirit of criticism that his pages are so eminently fair and impartial. Even his authorities are not regarded as above suspicion. A passage in the preface to the third volume is significant of the whole tone and spirit of the work. Speaking of the records of contemporary diplomacy, he remarks: 'There are no questions which require more consideration in the present condition of historical studies than the use to be made of, and the weight to be attached to, the letters of ambassadors. Really an ambassador requires as much criticism as a chronicler. The political intelligence of the man himself, the source of his information in each case, the object which he and his government had in view, and the interest which others had in deceiving him—these and other considerations have to be carefully weighed. I have endeavoured to do this to the best of my power, and have selected the negotiations which I thought it best to emphasise. Diplomatic dealings need not always be recorded simply because we know that they took place; but the ideas of diplomatic possibility give us an insight into the politics of the times, which cannot be disregarded.' This passage, as we have said, is significant of the whole tone and spirit of the work. Mr. Creighton writes as an historian, and neither as a partisan, nor as one who bids for popular favour. If his style is not bril-

liant, and we do not suppose that even Professor Creighton would say that it is, it has at least the merit of being vigorous and lucid.

The character of the Papacy during the period dealt with in these volumes is sufficiently indicated by their sub-title. With the exception of Paul II. and Pius III., who reigned only fifteen days, the Popes felt themselves to be first and chiefly Italian Princes. During the previous hundred years the idea of a Christian Commonwealth of Europe—the idea on which the Papacy rested—had silently crumbled away. A new order of things had arisen. The great schism had been suppressed, but instead of leaving the hands of the Pope free for action of his own, its suppression only made the difficulties of his position more apparent. The spirit which had formerly united Europe in great enterprises was gone, and refused to return. There was an utter want of union. The time when the hope could be entertained of effecting a combined effort against the enemies of the Church had passed away. The expulsion of the Turks from Europe was clearly, as Mr. Creighton points out, an object worthy of united effort, but men listened with coldness to every appeal for a crusade against them. Pius II.'s well meant attempt was a total failure, and 'only his death prevented the failure from being ludicrous.' Sixtus IV. was scarcely less unsuccessful. He issued an encyclical letter and negotiated with the Emperor, then Frederick III.; legates were sent to France, Germany and Spain, twenty ships were built in the Tiber, and the Pope gave his solemn benediction to the Admiral's ship before the Admiral set out to Brindisi to join the contingents of Venice and Naples, the only powers that in any way responded to the appeal, but the results were paltry. Canon Creighton sums them up in the sentences: 'The combined fleet made a series of plundering raids on the Turkish coast, but caused more terror than damage to the foe. In January, 1473, Caraffa returned to Rome, and made a triumphal entry with twelve camels and twenty-five Turkish prisoners.' 'It was a novel spectacle,' he continues, 'but a scanty return for the expense of the armament.'

Some sense of the altered position of affairs and of the great problems respecting the Papal policy which were awaiting solution seems to have been present to Pius II. His successor Paul II., perceived them more clearly, but vigorously as he could act in other matters, when he approached matters of policy or statesmanship, he lacked the force necessary to give effect to his intentions and acted tentatively, almost despondingly. He refused to allow the Papacy to sink to the level of an Italian principality, but he refused also to grapple seriously with the difficulties around him, and after one or two well meant but by no means vigorous efforts to impress himself upon the times, preferred to let things take their way, and to indulge his taste for building and the collecting of precious stones and works of art.

The first to fully recognise the actual position which the New Learning and the new system of European politics had brought in, and the first to resolve upon the adoption of a new and decided policy of his own was Sixtus IV., who as General of the Franciscan Order had distinguished himself by his reforming zeal. After the failure of his crusading policy—a policy adopted probably either from a resolve to give the old political traditions of the Papacy a fair trial, or with a view to justify in his own eyes the transition from a Franciscan reformer to an Italian Prince, ecclesiastical reforms and the idea of reuniting Christendom in the basis of its religious life he set aside, and boldly adopted the current aims and methods of the princes around him. Popes also are more or less creatures of circumstance and probably no other course was opened to Sixtus. If Europe was in an evil plight, Italy was even more corrupt than other countries. 'During the dark days of the Schism and General Councils,' observes Mr. Creighton, 'when the

papal power was practically in abeyance, Italian politics had developed with marvellous rapidity. Commerce had prospered; wealth and luxury had increased; the desire for material comfort had absorbed men's energies; the culture of the Renaissance had thrown a graceful veil of paganism over self-seeking. Popular liberty had everywhere disappeared before absolutism. The state centred round the person of its individual ruler, who contented his subjects by a display of outward magnificence, and condoned his tyranny by fostering commerce and affording full scope for the particular interests of his people. The stronger rulers made their power still more absolute; the condottieri strove to become independent princes; the smaller lords served the greater, and by their military activity protected themselves against the results of their reckless tyranny. In the midst of 'this seething sea of intrigue,' the Papal States lay, as Professor Creighton proceeds to point out, a tempting prize to any adventurer, great or small, who was strong enough and bold enough to lay hands upon them. Already Ladislas had aimed at the secularisation of the lands of the Church, and only a lucky accident had diverted Francesco Sforza from seeking his fortunes at the expense of the Papacy; and Ferrante of Naples, a neighbour by no means to be trusted, was simply waiting a favourable opportunity to add the provinces of the Church to his own. Even in Rome itself the Popes were not safe. Eugenius IV. had been driven out of it, and the conspiracies against Nicolas V. and Pius II. showed unmistakeably the presence of threatening elements of disaffection, and suggested intrigues on the part of neighbouring places.

Against all this nothing was to be expected from a united Christendom. 'Italian politics,' as Mr. Creighton puts it, 'only expressed with greater definiteness the prevalent condition of Europe.' Men were everywhere busy with questions that concerned their own material well-being, and to try to rally them in defence of the Church was useless. To the credit of Sixtus it must be said that he did not begin his new policy until he had convinced himself of the futility of attempting to revive the traditional policy of his office. But having once made up his mind, he stuck at nothing. Nepotism he elevated to a political principle, and sought to accomplish his object by any means that offered. Machiavelli says of him with truth: He was the first Pope who began to show the extent of the Papal power, and how things that before were called errors could be hidden behind the Papal authority; meaning by 'the Papal authority,' as Mr. Creighton points out, not the usual authority of the Head of Christendom, but the power of an Italian prince who was engaged in consolidating his dominions into an important State. Alexander VI., who followed him after an interval of eight years, surpassed him both in his gains and losses. If he added more to the temporal power of the Papacy, he did immeasurably more to destroy its spiritual authority. 'The Borgia,' as Mr. Creighton very forcibly remarks, 'have become legendary as types of unrestrained wickedness, and it is difficult to judge them fairly without seeming to palliate iniquity.' With all his love of war and unscrupulousness as a politician, Julius II. stands immeasurably higher than either Sixtus or Alexander. His policy had the merit of disinterestedness. While Sixtus and Alexander aimed simply at procuring principalities for their sons or nephews, the ambition of Julius was to extend the dominions of the Church, and for good or ill he was undoubtedly the founder of the Papal States. At his death, Machiavelli could write, 'Time was when no baron was so insignificant but he might venture to brave the papal power; now it is regarded with respect, even by a king of France.'

Mr. Creighton's narrative is succinct and clear. Many admirable pas-

sages occur in his pages. His chapters on the New Learning and the attitude which the various occupants of the Papal Chair assumed toward it, though dealing with a well worn subject, will be found fresh and interesting.

Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics. By BARCLAY V. HEAD. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 1887.

Valuable as this work is, the class to which it appeals can scarcely be said to be numerous, yet few as they are there is not one of them by whom its appearance will not be eagerly welcomed. It is many a long day since a similar work of equal value was issued. The last thorough retrospect of the science to which it belongs was made towards the close of the eighteenth century, when Eckhel published his monumental *Doctrina numorum veterum*, but since then the science which Eckhel illustrated with such marvellous skill and erudition has shared in the general forward movement, and may be said to have been advancing by leaps and bounds. For the first principles of numismatics the student will always consult the *Doctrina* with advantage, and in all probability it will never be altogether superseded. But since the beginning of the present century, as Mr. Head points out, 'much has been accomplished; whole fields of study of which Eckhel was entirely ignorant have been opened up and explored, and hoards upon hoards of ancient coins have been brought to light.' Of the electrum staters of Cyzicus, for instance, of which no fewer than 150 varieties are now known, Eckhel had never seen a single specimen, and was led to doubt the evidence of ancient writers and to dispute the fact that any such coin had ever existed. In the same way he had never seen a gold stater of Athens, and disbelieved in the genuineness of the few specimens which had been described by others. Archæology, too, is a science of quite recent growth, and it is only within a comparatively few years that archæologists have become aware of any strict scientific basis of criticism for determining the exact age of any works of ancient art. Metrology was declared by Eckhel to be involved in Cimmerian darkness, but, thanks to the progress of archæology, which has made it possible to assign definite dates to the various issues of the cities of the ancient world, and to the writings of Boeckh, Mommsen, Lenormant, Bartolotti, Hultsch, and others, the science of ancient numismatic metrology has been placed on a firmer footing. 'It can no longer be maintained,' as Mr. Head observes, 'that this branch of our subject is shrouded in Cimmerian darkness; the night has at last broken, and we are beginning to see well enough to feel our way.' The *Historia* makes no pretensions, as we need hardly say, to take the place of the *Doctrina*. Nor does it profess to be a complete 'Corpus' of Greek coins. The time for the compilation of such a work, Mr. Head believes, has not yet arrived, and doubts whether the completion of so colossal an undertaking is now within the power of any single scholar. Still less does Mr. Head's manual profess to be a general treatise or a series of Essays on Numismatics. 'My aim,' he says, 'has been to produce a practical handbook in a single portable volume containing in a condensed form a sketch of the numismatic history of nearly every city, king, or dynast known to have struck coins throughout the length and breadth of the ancient world.' Want of space has prevented Mr. Head from attempting to give complete catalogues of all the known coins of any particular cities, or even to describe in minute detail the specimens selected. 'All that I have found it possible to accomplish in a manual of moderate size,' he remarks, 'has been to draw attention to the leading and most characteristic coin-types of each city and king as far as possible in chronological order, taking care to distinguish the

dialectic forms of the ethnic noun or adjective, to note the metrological standards in use in the various periods, the local myths, and the names and epithets of the deities chiefly revered in each locality, and to indicate remarkable palæographical peculiarities in so far as this could be done without having special types cut for the purpose.' The plan here indicated is adhered to throughout the volume with remarkable, and unless our memory fail us, perfect consistency. Its advantages are obvious, not only for the history of numismatics, but also for the history of the various cities and districts represented, and for the history of Greek art. Specially deserving of notice is the introduction, written with admirable clearness and precision, which Mr. Head has prefixed to his volume. In this he deals with, among other things, the primitive methods of exchange by barter, the metric systems of the Egyptians, Babylonians, and Assyrians, the origin of the Greek monetary standards and the different routes by which they were transmitted from the East to the West, symbols and inscriptions. It is here, probably more than in the body of the work, that the majority of readers will be best able to appreciate the rapid progress which has been made in numismatic studies during the past fifty years, and the immense significance it has for the history of the Greek cities and colonies and for Greek art. We are not sure as to the religious value of the mythological figures which most of the coins bear, and have grave doubts as to whether in many instances, they were used with any religious significance at all. We have a suspicion, too, that trade and commerce and neighbourhood, apart from politics and religion, had a good deal to do in determining some of the types adopted. But whether that was the case or not, Mr. Head has here put into the hands of the student an exceedingly valuable key of knowledge. His book is not only opportune; it is one which must necessarily take a high place among works of its kind for a very considerable period. It is a monument of learning, and deserves the highest praise.

The History of St. Cuthbert. By CHARLES, ARCHBISHOP OF GLASGOW. Third Edition. London: Burns & Oates. 1887.

It was very fitting that a zealous priest, while labouring in that Northumbria which was the scene of the labours of the Saint and over part of which he ruled as bishop, should write a history of the great St. Cuthbert. The twelfth Centenary of the death of St. Cuthbert has been celebrated this very year, and the occasion has called forth from that priest, now Archbishop of Glasgow, this, the third edition of his work. As far as paper, type, binding and whole get up is concerned, this most handsome volume leaves nothing to be desired. Its value is greatly enhanced by giving us a number of maps and plans, which help considerably to the easy comprehension of the narrative. The map, however, and the description (p. 8) of antient Northumbria, manifestly err. They ignore the kingdom of the Britons of Cumbria and Strathclyde. The style is easy, plain, and clear. There are many quotations from old authorities, not a few remaining untranslated in their original Latin. There are also notes, full of information on various subjects, and a useful index at the end.

St. Cuthbert was born in the second or third decade of the seventh century, and he died in 687. He seems to have been of lowly parentage, for we find him first noticed as a shepherd near Melrose. The Archbishop maintains, and every probability is with him, that he was a native of the neighbourhood. He was of a pious disposition, and in early youth he became a monk at Melrose in 651, under the guidance of a holy priest called Boisil. The course of his life is briefly told. As monk and prior, he lived

at Melrose thirteen years, as prior at Lindisfarne twelve years, a hermit on Farne island nine years, and as bishop of Lindisfarne two years.

Whoever wishes to learn what manner of men made this country Christian, and what manner of Christianity these men practised and taught, must go back to such early lives as that of Cuthbert. And in as much as he was a disciple of our Columban monks of Iona, who were sent thence to convert Northumbria, his life becomes of much more interest to the student of Scottish and Celtic Christianity. Christianity civilized our forefathers, and the historical student by such study as this finds what means were employed, what course of action was followed, and what principles were inculcated to mould the minds of men by the founders of our civilization. In Cuthbert we find a man of great meekness and patience. No harsh word or action is recorded of him. 'He was so zealous in watching and praying, that he is believed to have sometimes passed three or four nights therein'; p. 29. The passage is from Bede. When Cuthbert was on a visit at Coldingham, Bede tells us, that 'one night he left the monastery, went down to the sea, and going into it, until the water reached his neck and arms, spent the night in praising God'—p. 20. In his zeal for souls he did not forget humility. It is Bede again that tells us, that 'he often went, sometimes on foot, sometimes on horseback, and preached the way of truth in the neighbouring villages.' 'He was mostly accustomed to travel to those villages which lay in out of the way places among the mountains, which by their poverty deterred other visitors.' 'He would often shed tears over those who confessed their sins to him, pitying their weakness, and would himself point out, by his own righteous example, what course the sinner should pursue'—pp. 19-30. His asceticism was of an extreme kind. He shut himself up in his cell, remaining a hermit for nine years. Listen to Bede again: 'At length, as his zeal after perfection grew, he shut himself up in his cell from the sight of men, and spent his time alone, in fasting, watching, and prayer, occasionally conversing from within, through the window, with those who came to him; for it at first was left open, that he might see and be seen by the brethren; but, after a time, he shut it up, and opened it only to give his blessing, or for any other purpose of absolute necessity'—pp. 44-45. That he might be no burden on others he grew some barley and, it would seem, onions, on which he lived. An altar for his mass was almost the only thing in his cell. What a marvel! It confounds one to think of such a life on this lone island of Farne for nine years. It is said that in Russia, civilization is but skin-deep, and that if you but scratch a Russian you find a Tartar; so in Cuthbert's day, Christianity was but skin-deep in Northumbria, if you scratched the Angle, you found the heathen. They were men of blood. It was war with each other, war with the Pict, war with the Scot, war with the Briton. Rapine, spoils, possessions, conquest, mastery were what they sought after. It required strong words, and stronger example to bring the Gospel teachings home to their minds, to drive this world out of their heads and hearts, and the next into them. And Cuthbert's utter renouncement of the world, and the like example of many others in those days, had its effect. Bede says: 'Many came to the man of God—even from the more remote parts of Britain, led thither by the fame of his virtues, to confess the sins which they had committed, or to lay before him the temptations that they suffered, or the adversities . . . for no one went away from him without consolation; no one returned home with the same sorrow of mind that he brought'—p. 48. A last quotation from Bede to show how he was made a bishop: 'They could not, however, persuade him to leave his cell, though many letters and messages were sent to him (from the Synod at Twyford); at last the king himself (Egfrid), with the

holy Bishop Frumwine, and other religious and great men, went over to the island; many also of the brethren of the isle of Lindisfarne assembled together for the same purpose. They all knelt, conjured him by our Lord and with tears and entreaties, till they drew him, also in tears, from his retreat, and forced him to the Synod. Being arrived there, after much opposition, he was overcome by the unanimous resolution of all present, and submitted to take upon himself the episcopal dignity'—pp. 52-53. Such was the influence in the world of a man 'crucified to the world.'

The 'History of St. Cuthbert' occupies but a small portion of this goodly volume. The second part of the work is in three sections. In the first of which there is a long account of the wanderings of the monks of Lindisfarne with the body of the Saint to preserve it from the Danes. It at last was enshrined in the cathedral of Durham. His body, as is maintained, remained and remains incorrupt, whole and entire, more like to one asleep than to one dead. The second section gives an account of the state of St. Cuthbert's body, from the time of his decease till the year 1542. In that year King Henry VIII. sent the spoiler to rob the shrine. The third section gives long and interesting details about the different monuments erected in honour of St. Cuthbert, and especially dwells on all that is connected with him in his great cathedral at Durham—his feretory, shrine, the vestments, lamps, and offerings thereat, etc., etc.

There are contemporary authorities almost on every point. The venerable Bede, who wrote two lives of the Saint, one in prose and one in Latin verse, besides his frequent mention of him in his Ecclesiastical History, was fifteen years old at Cuthbert's death. An anonymous monk of Lindisfarne wrote a life of him seemingly about the year 700. And the most wonderful statements about the incorruptness of the body of St. Cuthbert have a great body of minute evidence to rest upon. It is worth the study of the curious. Everyone, who takes an interest in antient church matters, will welcome this *History*, and thank the Archbishop of Glasgow for placing before them such varied information in so acceptable a form.

Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle. Edited by CHARLES ELIOT NORTON. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

The letters which are here published are not numerous, but they are extremely precious. Of late there has been almost a surfeit of Carlyle literature, but no one will complain of this latest addition to it. The name of Goethe is sufficient to lend an interest to it, and the fact that it presents Carlyle in a comparatively new light will scarcely fail to win for it an attentive reading. Exclusive of those contained in the appendices, the letters, which are about forty in number, are mostly between Carlyle and Goethe, the rest of them being between Carlyle and Eckermann or Hitzig, and Goethe and his 'Fifteen English Friends.' For the convenience of English readers the editor has appended to the German letters excellent translations. He has also written an introduction for the volume and added a number of useful notes. The correspondence was opened by Carlyle who after long casting about for light and rest had at last found what he desired in the study of several of Goethe's writings. His first letter, which was written in London, June 24, 1824, and was accompanied by a copy of the translation of *Meister's Apprenticeship*, is simply an expression of profound gratitude and the desire for personal intercourse. Similar letters must have reached Goethe frequently. He was then in his seventy-sixth year and was unceasingly occupied by the cares of office and his literary work; but the reply which Carlyle received,

though brief, was full of sympathy, kindness and encouragement. It reached him in a parcel containing two small pamphlets which Goethe had sent as a present. Carlyle's feelings are best told in his own words. 'Conceive my satisfaction,' he wrote immediately after its receipt to Miss Welsh; 'it was almost like a message from Fairy Land; I could scarcely think that *this* was the real hand and signature of that mysterious personage, whose name had floated through my fancy like a sort of spell since boyhood, whose thoughts had come to me in maturer years with almost the impressiveness of revelations. But what says the letter! Kind nothings, in simple patriarchal style extremely to my taste.' The correspondence thus begun was kept up during the remainder of Goethe's life, always growing more intimate and being accompanied in almost every instance by some fresh token of appreciation or esteem. Pleasanter reading of the kind it is scarcely possible to desire. The letters show the two men at their best. Goethe's are always kindly, genial, suggestive. From first to last they show his project of bringing about a better understanding amongst nations by means of a universal world-literature, or to establish a sort of exchange by which different countries might share in whatever great intellectual work any of them might produce. Carlyle's letters are at first somewhat stiff. His reverence for Goethe seems indeed to have amounted almost to awe; and it is only towards the close of the correspondence that he shakes himself free from its restraints, and expresses himself with the ease and fluency characteristic of his correspondence with others.

Victoria, R. I.: Her Life and Reign. By DR. MACAULAY. Portraits and Illustrations. London: Religious Tract Society. 1887.

In compiling this beautifully printed and altogether handsome volume, Dr. Macaulay has attempted, he tells us, to recall those qualities in the personal character of the Queen and the incidents in her life which have most endeared her to her people during the last fifty years. At the same time he has given a comprehensive summary of the great public movements of the time, noting the progress made in political, religious, and educational matters, and the rapid strides by which science and invention have attained to their present high position. That so accomplished a writer as Dr. Macaulay has done his work with taste and skill, need hardly be said. The book is full of interest. It is profusely illustrated and is one of the most successful of the many publications which have been issued in connection with Her Majesty's Jubilee. There is one point to which we may call attention. The Royal Scots Regiment has undoubtedly a long and illustrious history. It has the longest unbroken history of any regiment in the British army; but it is doubtful whether 'it can trace its origin to the times of the Crusades.' According to Mr. Ross, the Royal Scots was not raised and did not enter the service of France till the year 1634. Dr. Macaulay does not seem to be exactly clear that this body of troops was neither the Scots Men-at-Arms nor the Scots Guards, whose history Father Forbes-Leith has so well written.

L'Ecosse jadis et aujourd'hui: Études et souvenirs. Par LE COMTE L. LAFOND. Paris: Calmann Lévy. 1887.

This is a book which all Scotchmen familiar with the French language will, we think, enjoy. We may set their minds at rest about it at once by telling them, if they have not yet read it, that it is not a volume of jottings from the diary of a flying tourist, nor a protracted grumble over our cli-

mate, customs, and manners, nor a series of hasty, if not ill-tempered, sketches of Scottish life as seen through the eyes of a foreigner from an hotel window, or a first-class *coupé* of a Northern Express. It is exactly what it pretends to be, and gives a very true and charmingly delineated picture of Scotland past and present, especially of the last century and this. M. le Comte Lafond has evidently lived long enough among us to become in some measure acclimatised to our weather, and sympathetic with our peculiarities. He has made a patient study of our ways, and of those of our forefathers, and his book is the expression of many pleasing memories of his sojourn in our midst, and of the interest with which his perusal of our history and of our literature has inspired him. He has clearly not been content with a superficial or second hand knowledge of either, but has read deeply in both. The result is that wherever he takes us in these pages he not only describes the scenery with the pen of an artist, but narrates the incidents and events that have made those places memorable, with the love of an antiquary. He starts his peregrinations from Edinburgh, but lingers lovingly through two chapters of his book over the picturesque situation and surroundings of 'Auld Reekie,' its quaint old streets and lingering landmarks of by-gone glories, its chequered history and last century manners and life. Holyrood and its memories, of course, occupy a considerable share of his attention, and Queen Mary and Prince Charlie naturally figure largely in these latter. From Edinburgh to Abbotsford and the country of Walter Scott, is the subject of chapter iii. In chapter iv., we are taken north by Stirling and Perth, and chapter v. is devoted to Culloden and the story of the adventures of the fugitive prince. Chapter vi. gives us a picture of the relations of chief and clan, and Highland life generally during the last century. Chapter vii. is taken up with an account of the superstitions of the Highlanders, (shared in largely by the Lowlanders), while a special chapter is given to that of the 'second sight.' Then we are taken to Oban, and from there to Glasgow by the Stage Coach, which gives occasion for a description of the country of Rob Roy, and an account of his chequered career. Chapter xi. is given to the touching story of 'two unknown Stuarts,' and the last chapter to 'the Crofter Question.' This confines itself, however, to the writer's experiences of the Highland crofts, and his investigations as to the tenure of land on the part of the Highland lairds. He does not pretend to solve the difficult problem now before our Legislature, but his sympathies are all with the crofters, and he sheds not a little valuable light on the origin of the troubles that have arisen. Altogether the book is delightful reading; but the printer has made sad blunders in his efforts to give the quotations from the Scottish writers whose works M. le Comte Lafond has put under tribute. He would do well to keep a sharp eye on the proof-sheets of any future edition.

Pioneering in New Guinea. By JAMES CHALMERS. Illustrations and Map. London: Religious Tract Society, 1887.

Though making no pretensions to literary finish, this volume contains a graphic and interesting account of travel and doings in a little known island part of which with its adjacent islands is now one of the outlying portions of the British Empire. Mr. Chalmers, as readers of his former volume are aware, has resided in it as a missionary for a considerable number of years, and may be said to know more of the country than any other European. In fact no European has seen so much of it. It may be doubted indeed whether many of the natives have. He has travelled far and wide along its coasts and among its mountains, and visited scenes and tribes where the face of a European has never before been seen and to

which the natives on the coast seldom penetrate. His volume therefore wears an air of novelty. There are few corners of the earth which have not been ransacked, and Mr. Chalmers is probably not far from the last of the pioneers of geographical discovery. Elaborate detail or description is not in his way, but from the rough notes of travel which he has here thrown together it is easy to see that New Guinea is full of magnificent scenery, is well watered—in places too well—bears abundant evidence of fertility, is for the most part healthy, and offers a pretty extensive field for commercial enterprise. The fauna of the island is singularly poor. Mice and other small deer abound, but the largest animals to be met with inland are dogs and pigs, though the rivers have enough crocodiles in them to make boating and bathing at times far from comfortable. Mr. Chalmers, however, has less to say of the country than of its inhabitants. Among these he appears to be quite at home and to be thoroughly acquainted with their ways and habits. They are not a particularly inviting lot. Though on the whole peaceable, they are impulsive, easily excited, and not altogether to be relied upon. Roast pig has as great an attraction for them as it had for Charles Lamb. The expectation of one will often chain them to a spot for hours. Many of them have the uncanny habit of eating the bodies of such of their enemies as they are able to lay hands on, and widows will sometimes dig up the bodies of their dead husbands, cook them, and present them to their friends as toothsome morsels. Among their most highly prized possessions are cooking pots; and to be deprived of the gravy of their loathsome dish is to the aboriginal mind the greatest of losses. It is no small credit to Mr. Chalmers and his fellow missionaries to be able to say that in several tribes they have managed to suppress this horrible practice, and that through their influence roast pig is rapidly taking the place of roast man. Some of the most interesting passages in the volume are those in which its author describes the opinions and beliefs of the natives, some of which are very curious. One of them accounts for the origin of cannibalism and singularly enough charges the women with being the authors of the practice. Another accounts for the origin of fire. Another gives what Mr. Spencer would probably call a theory of the universe. To the question whence comes thunder, and who causes it? the Motumotu answer: 'Feviri, one of the ancients, was fishing, and he saw a line let down from the heavens. Then the lightning ran along it, followed by thunder, and he saw a very large man descend with a peal and ascend. The line was fastened above, and that is all we know.' Among the Motu the following story is told about the moon. 'In the beginning a chief, when digging came on what he thought a beautiful pearl shell cut crescent shape. He picked it up and went to the sea to wash it, and when bright, let it lie on his open hand, and was admiring it, when it slid away out of his hand, swam out to sea to a rock, on which it stood, and said, "I am a man, I am no pearl shell; so, great chief, where is Jan Maïri? Now listen! Six times in Guitan (in the south-east) and six times in Labara (in the north-west) you will see me, and when done each time I shall pass under the land."' When the moon is set, or 'when he is lost,' as the Motumotu say, they believe he is eating pig. The religion of the tribes Mr. Chalmers has come across seems to be of the most rudimentary kind. All worship spirits, some of them pebbles, and most of them the spirits of dead ancestors. They believe in the power of prayer and have great faith in their sorcerers. During sleep they believe the soul to be travelling. Dreams they attribute to the intercourse of the soul of the sleeper with the spirits. We should add that Mr. Chalmers has much to say about the proclamation of the British protectorate and deprecates the visits of the labour-ships of Queensland to the coasts of New Guinea. The volume is provided with an excellent map and has numerous illustrations.

Australian Defences and New Guinea, compiled from the Papers of the late Major-General Sir Peter Scratchley, R.E., K.C.M.G. By C. KINLOCH COOKE, B.A., L.L.M. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

At the present moment when so much is being thought and said about the defence of the Colonies, the publication of this volume is extremely opportune. For a number of years Sir Peter Scratchley occupied the responsible post of Defence Adviser to the various Colonial governments in Australasia, and Mr. Kinloch Cooke has here put together in a series of clearly written chapters the conclusions he arrived at as to what required to be done in order to render the various ports and harbours of Australasia capable of successfully withstanding the attacks of an hostile force. The materials for these chapters, are of course taken from Sir Peter Scratchley's papers, and for the most part are in Sir Peter's words, Mr. Cooke having contented himself with the duties of compiler and commentator—duties which he has discharged fairly well. It says not a little for the soundness of the views which Sir Peter Scratchley formed respecting the work he had in hand that the Australian Colonies are now rapidly carrying them out, though, not till after considerable hesitation owing chiefly to an unwillingness to incur the necessary expense. The schemes aim chiefly at fortifying the principal harbours and approaches to the capitals, at providing field forces where they are likely to be required to resist the landing of an enemy, and recommend the employment of armoured and unarmoured vessels and torpedo launches both for the general defence of the towns along the sea-coast and for the protection of commerce, as well as in the event of bombardment. Before going out to Australia, Sir Peter Scratchley had seen service in the Crimea and in India during the Mutiny; while acting as Adviser to the Colonies he was appointed Her Majesty's Special Commissioner to New Guinea. Here as is admitted on all hands, he did valuable work, but was unfortunately cut down by fever while engaged in it. The chapters on New Guinea will be read with interest. They bear out much that Mr. Chalmers has to say of the islands and its inhabitants. Not the least interesting parts of the volume are the extracts it contains from the Diaries kept by General Scratchley while in the Crimea and New Guinea. Sir Peter was on intimate terms with General Gordon, the two having studied and worked together when young. In November 1884, the former sailed for Australia and the following remarkable incident which we give in Mr. Cooke's words occurred—'On Christmas eve, the night being perfect and the sea like glass, General Scratchley, seated in the quarter deck, told his intimates how, in a dream the night before, he saw his friend Charles Gordon, who appeared to be in great trouble and danger, although for what reason was not apparent. A few weeks later the world heard of the hero's death.'

A New Dictionary on Historical Principles. Edited by JAMES A. H. MURRAY, LL.D., &c. Part. III. Batter—Boz. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887.

This part of Dr. Murray's magnificent undertaking concludes Ba-, and contains the whole of Be-, Bi-, Bl-, and Bo-. It deals with 8,765 words, of which 5,323 are main words, and the rest compounds and subordinate entries. Of the 5323 main words fully one fourth, or more exactly 1379, are obsolete, 142 are foreign or words not yet completely naturalized, and 3,802 are in actual use. Many of the words dealt with are of special interest, and several of great difficulty. Under B are some of the oldest words in the language, comparatively few of those of which it forms the

initial letter being derived from Greek or Latin, the majority of them coming from Teutonic sources. During the long period of their use many of these have branched out into a vast variety of meanings, which cost the lexicographer no little labour to disentangle and classify. The verb *to be*, for instance, has so branched out that its definitions and illustrations occupy no fewer than twelve and a half columns. The prefix *be-* is used close upon 1500 times. About 850 of the words with which it is compounded have here, either on account of their meaning, their long history, or frequent modern use, received separate treatment; the rest, about 600, have been arranged in groups under the various uses of the prefix; but even with this attempt at brevity of treatment, almost as much space has been required for the prefix as for the verb. *Beam* occupies nearly four columns, the verb *to bear* nearly ten, *beat* and its derivatives seven, the noun *bed* over five; to the word *bee* over two columns are given, *to bell*, *belly*, and *bench*, four each, *to bend* and *bind* five. *Bob* appears with upwards of forty meanings, and *bolt* with nearly as many. *Bow* claims seven columns, and *box* as many, having as a noun some twenty meanings, and as a verb nearly the same number. The labour which the treatment of words like these involves is something enormous. Etymologically this part of the *Dictionary* has presented very considerable difficulties, the derivation of not a few of the words being uncertain or unknown. But good work has been done, and a number of errors eliminated. *Beltane* is derived from the Gaelic *bealltainn*, the Celtic name of the first of May. 'The rubbish about *Baal*, *Bel*, *Belus*, imported into the word from the Old Testament and classical antiquity,' says Dr. Murray, 'is outside the scope of scientific etymology.' As to the Warders of the Tower of London, the conjecture that their popular designation, 'beef-eaters,' is derived from *buffet*, 'sideboard,' is pronounced 'historically baseless.' No such form of the word as *buffetier*, it is pointed out, exists. *Beaufet*, which has been supposed to form the phonetic link between *buffet* and *beef-eater*, is merely an Eighteenth Century bad spelling, not so old as *beef-eater*. Literally the word means a loaf-eater, and is derived from the Old English *hláf æta*. As might be expected the history of some of the words here treated is full of interest. The origin of *boycott* is well known. *Blarney* is another word of Irish origin, and is often used, but few are aware how, from being the name of a village near Cork, it has come to mean 'smoothly flattering or cajoling talk.' Dr. Murray's note makes it clear. In the village is a castle, and in the castle an inscribed stone difficult of access; and the popular saying is that any one who kisses this 'Blarney stone' will ever after have a cajoling tongue, and the art of flattery and of telling lies with unblushing effrontery. Equally interesting notes may be found scattered here and there through this as well as through the other parts of the *Dictionary*; for instance, under such words as *bellarmine*, *bell*, *Beyhard*, *beadle*, *belfry*, *Bayard*, *baxter*, *bidding*, &c. We can only hope that Dr. Murray will continue to maintain the exceedingly high standard of excellence he has attained. Of this, indeed, with his increased staff of assistants, there is every prospect. It should be unnecessary now to urge those who take any interest in the language to make themselves the possessors of this work. The least that can be said of it is that it deserves every support which can possibly be given to it.

English Writers: an Attempt towards a History of English Literature. By HENRY MORLEY, LL.D., &c. London, Paris, and New York: Cassell & Co., 1887.

Mr. Morley's original *English Writers* being out of print, he has resolved to recast and continue it, and of this project we have here the first of at least twenty volumes. We say 'at least,' because if the remaining periods

are to be treated with the same fulness as the one which is dealt with in the volume before us, we have serious doubts as to the proposed number being sufficient to admit of the whole story of English literature being told. But be the number of volumes what it may, no one who has read either the old *English Writers* or this new volume, will do otherwise than hope that its author may bring it to a successful conclusion. The subject is one on which he has written largely, and few, if any, are better equipped for dealing with it in so thorough and effective a way. The present volume may be said to consist of two parts—introduction and history. The introductory matter occupies 164, out of 358 pages. Of these 164 pages again, 121 are devoted to the introduction proper, and the rest to a chapter on the 'Forming of the People.' The latter is admirable; in fact we do not remember to have seen the subject so succinctly and vividly treated before. For the 'Introduction' we cannot say so much; one has some difficulty in making out its purpose. If it is intended to afford a general sketch of the origin and development of English literature, it might have been more compactly put together. But once past the 'Introduction,' no one will complain that Prof. Morley is in the least degree tedious. One follows him with pleasure. His chapters on the Old Gaelic and Cymric literatures are excellent; so also is his chapter on the old literature of the Teutons. A citation or two from the Edda or the Icelandic Sagas might have given an additional interest to the chapter on Scandinavia. The chapter on the Beowulf poem is perhaps the best in the book. It is followed by a very full and useful bibliography.

Messis Vitæ: Gleanings of Song from a Happy Life. By JOHN STUART BLACKIE. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1886.

Verses of a Prose-Writer. By J. A. NOBLE. Edinburgh: D. Douglas, 1887.

Naturæ Veritas. By GEORGE M. MINCHIN, M.A. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

In Divers Tones. By C. G. D. ROBERTS. Boston: D. Lothrop & Co; Montreal: Dawson Brothers, 1887.

The Captive King and other Poems. By JAMES SHARP. Illustrated by Florence Holms. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner, 1887.

King James the First: An Historical Tragedy. By DAVID GRAHAM. London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

Border and other Poems. By ROBERT ALLEN. Kelso: J. & J. H. Rutherford, 1887.

Poems and Ballads (Scotch and English). By ROBERT W. THOM. Glasgow: Maclaren & Sons, 1886.

These eight volumes form rather a mixed company, but as they all claim to be poetry and are all more or less poetical we have brought them together for the sake of convenience. The poetry of none of them can be said to be of a very high order; yet that of most of them is pleasing, and one or two of the volumes are considerably above the average. Professor Blackie's volume has for its alternative title *Gleanings of Song from a Happy*

Life. It consists of sonnets, songs, and ballads, with here and there a descriptive or didactic poem. Some of the pieces, we imagine, have been written at wide intervals; but the majority of them seem to have been thrown off in moments of exuberant feeling or delight. One or two of the sonnets have a strong dash of theology about them, and one or two of the poems are just a little too controversial to be altogether poetic, but the songs are full of genuine feeling. Here and there, too, we have a charming description of Highland scenery. In fact it is when Professor Blackie has his foot upon his native heath, or is dreaming over it, that he is at his best. Poems like 'Italia,' 'Sput Dubh,' 'My Bath,' 'My Scotch Lassie,' 'Female Beauty,' and 'An April Song,' are delightful reading. The same may be said of 'Benedicite,' and 'A Song of Old Age.'

Mr. Ashcroft Noble's poems are remarkable for their simplicity and directness. Their tone is somewhat desponding; at the same time their sadness is gentle and refined, and one never loses the feeling that beneath the sadness there is a strong undercurrent of hope. Somehow all that Mr. Noble has here written strongly reminds us of Matthew Arnold's poetry. Delicacy of thought and sentiment and ease of versification may be said to be among their main characteristics. Very touching is 'To Philip in Heaven.' We should like to transfer here the whole of it and a charming poem entitled 'The Brooklet,' but we can only find room for the following lines from 'To Carlyle, and Back Again'—

'Find work; but find thy Master first,
Or all thy toil may be accursed;
If thou would'st free thyself from doubt
Find God within, and work without,
That shall be worthy worship will
Be thine, and calm thy spirit fill.
Seek Him, nor think He hideth far
In some slow-circling distant star;
From thine own self set thyself free,
And thou shalt find He seeketh thee.
He seeketh thee from morn till eve,
Although thou dost His goodness grieve;
He seeketh thee to show thee all
The work on this terrestrial ball
Thou hast to do; not that alone,
For when His service thou hast done,
He finds thee rest beneath the tree
That grows beside the crystal sea.'

Professor Minchin's verses are of an altogether different character. In the prose introduction to them he says: 'In the following poem I have related certain things which, in a temporary absence from this Earth, I received from a Being who, having completed the changes of existence, had attained to a Knowledge of the Universe far transcending the capacity of Man, and of the numerous Forms of Intelligence holding nearly the same position in the scale of general development.' The main purpose for which he undertook this stellar journey was 'to ascertain,' he tells us, 'by an extensive examination of the Universe, the truth or falsehood of the Dissipation of Energy—a principle which seemed to be forced upon me by my experience of the Solar System, or (to be more accurate) by the knowledge of Natural Processes which I had gathered upon the Earth.' In the course of his journey he held intercourse with an inhabitant of one of the worlds circulating round the star Al Fard, who turns out to be a being pretty much on a level with himself in intelligence and quite capable of entering into a discussion with him about the future state of the Universe.

In fact the introduction though written in prose contains a good deal of imaginative writing as well as of science. The poem professes to contain the revelations made by an inhabitant of Aldebaran, though not all of them, as many which Professor Minchin received, whether intelligible to him or not, are it seems unutterable in the speech of men. Some of these revelations are by no means flattering to the denizens of the earth ; as for instance :—

‘ Nay curb thy zeal,’ he said, ‘ thy race is set
Far down among the forms of dawning youth.
With all the search of ages—canst thou yet
Resolve the Roman’s question, What is Truth ?’

‘ No—and thy Science therefore is at fault,
And all thy Knowledge, is in hapless case—
As well attempt to raise the splendid vault,
When thou canst nowhere lay the solid base.’

‘ The Axioms of thy vaunted Science try ;
Space, Time, and Matter—all thy Laws of Thought—
To them thy Metaphysic test apply,
And see the Chaos to which all are brought.’

For a spirit so remote, this inhabitant of Aldebaran possesses a somewhat minute acquaintance with the earth and its history, and the prevalent doctrines of science. Any very special revelation, however, he does not seem to make. His highest may be summed up in :—

‘ Enlarge thy vision—know that Nature’s plan
Is vaster, grander, than thy systems dream—
Seen through the narrow self-conceit of Man
How dwarfed, how libelled is the Mighty Scheme.’

Whether it was worth while going all the way to Aldebaran to learn this may be doubted, but the idea is certainly novel, and Professor Minchin has written a poem in which there is a number of very striking passages.

In Divers Tones hails from Canada, and has quite a Canadian flavour about it. The poems have a strong local colouring and indicate a genuine feeling for nature. In the best sense of the term the poetry is original, the author, who is a native of New Brunswick and professor of English Literature in King’s College, Windsor, Nova Scotia, finding his best inspirations in the scenery to which he is daily accustomed. A potato harvest is not a very poetical subject, but this is how Mr. Roberts writes of one :—

‘ A big, bare field, brown from the plough, and borne
Aslant from sunset ; amber wastes of sky
Washing the ridge ; a clamour of crows that fly
In from the wide flats where the spent tides mourn,
To yon their thin rocking roosts in pines wind-torn ;
A line of gray snake-fence, that zigzags by
A pond, and cattle ; from the homestead nigh
The long deep summonings of the supper horn.
Black on the ridge, against that lonely flush,
A cart, and stoop-necked oxen ; ranged beside,
Some barrels ; and the day-worn harvest folk,
Here emptying their baskets jar the hush
With hollow thunders ; down the dusk hillside
Lumbers the wain ; and day fades out like smoke.’

Excepting the last simile this is admirable. There is much of the same kind in the volume.

The Captive King contains some rather ambitious poems. The best is the first, which almost as a matter of course is a Jubilee poem. The lines—

‘ Much as we love the Prince of Wales, the Princess fair, serene,—
We want no other Sovereign ! we want no other Queen,’

are peculiar, but as other and greater poets have nodded, Mr. Sharp may be excused. On the whole the story of the *Captive King* is pleasantly told, though here and there Mr. Sharp’s narrative is susceptible of considerable improvement. It is difficult to distinguish the following from prose of the very plainest description :—

‘ But how she came to find it there,
What hand had flung it on the air,
Or penn’d its words of deep emotion,
She could not form the faintest notion.’

Mr. Graham’s *King James the First* is something more than a ‘dramatic poem’ and might with safety be put upon the stage. It is written in clear, nervous English, abounds in interesting passages and situations ; the plot is simple, rapidly worked out, and handled in so skillful a manner that the interest of the reader is not only sustained, but deepens with every step in its development. The characters are well drawn, and as they appear on Mr. Graham’s pages are both living and animated. So far as a careful perusal will enable us to judge, we should say that the tragedy is successful from both the dramatic and the theatrical points of view. The weakest scene is the first dance. That which transpires during it helps on the development of the plot, but the dance itself does not, nor does anything which has its origin in it.

In Mr. Allan’s volume we have a number of simple and effective poems, chiefly songs and descriptive pieces. The versification is usually smooth and the thought or sentiment is always pleasing. Here and there, however, the lines are susceptible of improvement, and in some of the Scottish poems a line is now and again spoilt by the introduction of words not to be found in dictionaries of the Scottish language.

M. Thom’s volume, though the last on our list, is by no means the least worthy. Both his English and his Scottish poems bear abundant evidence of genuine poetic ability. There is a vigour, a wealth of imagination, and a melody about his verses which fully entitle him to be regarded as one whom nature has endowed in no small degree with the ‘vision and faculty divine.’ Of the many fine passages we have noted space will only permit us to cite but one. It is the first stanza of what strikes us as a somewhat remarkable poem with the heading, ‘The Ship o’ Licht.’

‘ I dreamed late last night
O’ a ship o’ licht
That drave on through a dark and drumly sea ;
The wun’ in its sails
Was the breath o’ gales
That blaw doon the waste o’ eternity.
A fire that smouldered angry and red
Ower bricht for the gaze o’ a wakin’ ee ;
‘Neath mountains o’ ashes a’ white an’ dead
Was the eerie shore that stretched on its lea.’

Mr. Thom’s volume may be commended as containing, as the above stanza shows, many excellent examples of the Scottish dialect in its purity.

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

This volume amply fulfils the promise of its predecessor. Together they form a work which, besides being unique of its kind, is of altogether exceptional value. For the first time it has been thoroughly demonstrated that Scotland has a style of architecture which can be called its own, and Messrs. Macgibbon and Ross are to be congratulated on having made out their point, and produced a work which will not be easily superseded. The first volume dealt with the first, second, and third of the four periods into which the authors have divided their subject. The present volume, therefore, is taken up with the classification and description of the castles and mansions of the remaining period, which, though it showed no signs of development until the reign of James VI., is very properly given by our authors as extending from 1542 to 1700. In all one hundred and fifty examples are described, including such widely differing structures as Anisfield Tower, Craigievar Castle, Earlishall, Fifeshire, Rowallan Castle, Dunlanrig Castle, and Moray House. As in the first volume, the method of classification has the merit of simplicity; interwoven with the descriptions are numerous historical and literary notes, and the same useful method of illustration is employed. The architecture of the period is characterized by a variety of distinctive features, and bears witness to the prevalence of new ideas. The reign of Mary was unfavourable to its development; in fact, with the death of James V. a break occurs in the continuity of the national architecture. When building was again resumed in the reign of his grandson, the new castles and mansions of the nobility and gentry soon began to show signs of the vast social and political changes which in the interval had been accomplished. The idea of building a fortress capable of withstanding a prolonged siege was given up. When defence was aimed at it was only against sudden attack. The old castles, whether built on the keep or quadrangular plan, were gradually transformed into ornamental country mansions, and the sites of new buildings were selected for shelter from the elements rather than for defence against human foes: the low ground near a river or some similar spot being frequently chosen on account of its amenities. The military features, in fact, began to drop more and more into the background, and the style adopted became more domestic. In many instances the plans and general forms are the same as those of the preceding period, the keep or tower and the castle built round a courtyard being still the prevailing types of plan. But while this is the case the external effect of these castles differs considerably from that of the buildings erected during the previous epoch. 'Among the leading features of the castles and mansions of this period,' remark our authors, 'are the picturesque turrets corbelled out at every angle, covered with slated roofs, and terminated with iron finials. The walls are generally very plain, and the ornamentation is confined to the parapet and upper portions, where it often bursts out with extraordinary profusion and richness, as for instance at Castle Fraser and Craigievar. The parapets are generally false, the roof resting on the top of them, and the wall-head is broken with ornamental dormers carried up from the face of the parapets. The roofs are high-pitched, and have picturesque chimneys and crow-stepped gables. Corbeling, both plain and ornamental, is one of the chief characteristics of the style. It is used on every possible occasion. The turrets, staircases, parapets, etc., are all supported on corbels, and the towers are often changed from a circular basement to a square upper floor, by means of large elabo-

rate corbels, as at Claypotts, Castle Stewart, and Amisfield.' The use of artillery in sieges, the increased wealth of the nobility and gentry consequent on their seizure of the Church lands, and the more frequent intercourse with England, resulting from the union of the two crowns, were the chief causes to which these great changes in the national style of architecture were due. Another element at work was the influence of the Renaissance style. Traces of this are to be seen in the architecture of Stirling and Falkland Palaces, buildings which belong to the third period; but towards the end of the sixteenth century it became more decided, and during the course of the following century Scottish architecture was completely superseded by it. For the prototype of the mixed style of the period under review Messrs. Macgibbon and Ross go to Germany and the Low Countries, rather than to France. At the same time they maintain that it is a genuinely native development. The assertion so often made that it is of French origin they altogether discountenance, and successfully refute. In the concluding chapter a very useful summary of the work is given, and a few interesting notes on the manners and domestic life of the different periods. The first volume of Messrs. Macgibbon and Ross's work has met, we understand, with great favour; we have no doubt that this second and apparently concluding one will meet with as much—sufficient, it is to be hoped, to encourage them to undertake their proposed *catalogue raisonné* of all the castellated and domestic buildings of Scotland.

Histoire de l'Art Byzantine considéré principalement dans les Miniatures. Par N. KONDAKOFF, Tome premier. Paris : Jules Rouam. London : Gilbert Wood & Co., 1886.

M. Kondakoff is one of the professors in the University of Odessa, and in the work to which this volume belongs has undertaken to write the history of the Byzantine Art as represented in the miniatures or illuminated manuscripts executed during the time of the Greek Empire. The subject he has chosen is not one about which much is known, or to which much attention has been given. Byzantine Art has shared the fate of all things else belonging to the Eastern or Lower Empire, and has been treated in the West with but scant courtesy. The esteem in which it is held is not high. Stiffness, lifelessness, want of variety and taste, the utter absence of originality and creative power are supposed to be its chief characteristics. D'Agincourt, Labarde, Bayet, Bordier, and others have written about it in France, and Rumohr, Waagen, and Ungir in Germany. Attention has also been directed to it in Russia and the studies of such writers as Oundolsky, Bousslaiew, Professor Gœrtz, of Moscow, and the Archimandrite Amphiloehius are mentioned with respect. Most of these writers have had much to say about Byzantine miniature painting. To d'Agincourt, who took the miniatures of the manuscripts as the basis for his history of Art during the period between the fourth and thirteenth centuries, belongs the credit of being the first to appreciate their real value. M. Labarde followed in his steps, and most of the other writers we have mentioned, while doing much to direct attention to the Byzantine miniatures, have helped to destroy the prejudice with which Byzantine Art has been so long regarded. Quite recently M. Lecoy de la Marche published a handy and in many respects excellent little volume with the title *Les Manuscrits et la Miniature*, but the miniatures with which he deals are for the most part those of France. His remarks on those of a Byzantine origin and on Byzantine Art in general show that he has failed to perceive their significance and value. Previous to M. Kondakoff's work indeed no attempt had been made to treat the Byzantine miniatures in a systematic way or from

a thoroughly scientific point of view. M. Kondakoff may almost be said therefore to have broken new ground. He is not a Greek, nor is his native soil within the limits of the Ancient Empire, yet as a Russian and a member of the Russian Church he has many sympathies and relationships which qualify him in an especial manner for the task he has undertaken. Of the manner in which he has executed it, Dr. Springer, the celebrated professor of Leipzig, bears ample and ungrudging testimony. In the Introduction he has written for M. Trawinski's translation of the work, he remarks: 'All who are competent to form an opinion on the matter are agreed that M. Kondakoff's book presents the history of the Byzantine miniature under a new light, infinitely more brilliant than has hitherto been imagined.'

In M. Kondakoff's opinion the true method for the study of Byzantine miniature consists in taking as the point of departure the idea that in it we have the expression of an historic movement of Byzantine art, of which it forms but a single page or side. That which constitutes its chief importance is the fact that it belongs, like mosaics, to the domain of industrial arts. Whatever external interest belongs to the miniatures, therefore, whether bibliographic or anecdotic, ought to give place to the historic analysis of the relations in which they stand to the manuscripts they illustrate. The art and the literature of the manuscripts, as he points out, are intimately connected, the one inspiring the other: for the purposes of study therefore, it is essential that the manuscripts treated should be grouped into classes according to the subject they represent.

His own method is strictly historic. The first chapter is mainly occupied with defining the place of the miniature in Byzantine Art, and its general character. Here and there are a number of very striking remarks, more especially on the relation between the text and the miniature, which show how clearly M. Kondakoff has studied his subject, and invest it with considerable interest. The second chapter is devoted mainly to the criticism of the treatment, which the subject has received at the hands of previous writers. In the remaining chapters of which there are but three, M. Kondakoff analyses and describes the most ancient manuscripts beginning with the famous *Iliad* of Milan, and then passing to the Vatican *Virgil* and the celebrated fragment of the Greek *Genesis* preserved in the Library at Vienna. Among other miniatures treated are those of the *Book of Joshua: the Son of Nun*, preserved in the Vatican Library, and the *Cosmas Indicopleustes* preserved in the same library, the *Bible* in the Cotton collection at the British Museum, and the famous *Dioscorides* of Vienna. The miniatures of these and other manuscripts are not only analysed and minutely described, they are also carefully compared with each other, characterised, and assigned their place in the development of Byzantine Art. So far as it goes the work amply deserves the eulogy pronounced upon it by Dr. Springer. The volume before us is handsomely printed, and fairly well illustrated.

The Woodlanders. By THOMAS HARDY.

Sabina Zembra. By WILLIAM BLACK.

The Cœruleans. By H. S. CUNNINGHAM. London: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

A curious coincidence leads us to review these three novels together. Published, almost simultaneously, by the same firm, the main incident on which the plot turns is the same in all three stories. In each, the writer's ideal of a charming woman marries the wrong man, to her own infinite cost, and to the grief and discomfiture of the right man. For sustained

ability we are inclined to give the palm to *The Woodlanders*. Both woodlands and woodlanders are drawn with all Mr. Hardy's peculiar power, and it would be difficult to say which character in the story is the most skilful portrait, or in what scene in the drama the action of each is most true to nature. There are few writers who could preserve, as Mr. Hardy does, the absolute rusticity of such characters as Giles Winterbourne and Marty South, and yet show so clearly the deep under current of romance beneath their homely exteriors. We are inclined to think the episode of Grace's stay at the hut, and Giles's death, a little overdrawn; but certainly one of the most admirable touches in the book is the curious vein of comedy in the midst of tragedy, whereby the final reconciliation between Grace and her husband is brought about. Mr. Hardy's work is not free from that occasional carelessness which, in these days of rapid writing, mars so many otherwise excellent stories, irritating the reader, as a piece of bad workmanship in the minor details of a picture irritates the eye: as, for instance, where Grace, after hearing not only her husband's voice, but the very words he uses in an approaching carriage, has time to write a few lines, pack some necessaries in a hand bag, dress and leave the house, before the carriage reaches it. But these are but slight blemishes in a story whose merits will only be duly appreciated by those who read it carefully and thoughtfully.

Sabina Zembra is a wholly different, but equally interesting treatment of the same theme. Sabina is a noble character, unique, as far as our experience in novels goes, in her manner of meeting the troubles brought upon her by her unfortunate marriage. As no one has yet invented a word to supply the needed meaning, we are obliged to say that she bears them with *manly* fortitude, neither hugging a silent sorrow, nor attitudinizing as a much enduring angel; but accepting the position, and making the best of it with brave cheerfulness. Her view of life is singularly wide for a woman brought up as she had been. Fred Foster's deterioration of character is sketched with great power, but seems to us, in the first instance, a little too sudden. Had the evil that was in him been so very ready to burst into full bloom, we hardly think Sabina would have been so easily deceived in him. The story is not, however, in many respects, altogether worthy of Mr. Black. There is a good deal of careless, almost slovenly writing, and some symptoms of making copy. Mr. Black seems disposed to make a little merry over Jamie Wygram's ignorance of Scotland; a trifle daring in a writer who speaks of 'Gallowayshire,' and makes people who are travelling from Carlisle to Stranraer want to stay in Dumfries to visit, among other places, Threave Castle, and Dundrennan Abbey. The great fault we have to find with the book, and the unpardonable one on Mr. Black's part, however, is that he has not given us more of Sir Anthony Zembra. To show the whole man so inimitably, as at the club, and in the domestic and political pass book, and then let him disappear almost wholly, is too cruel! Though hardly equal to *The Woodlanders* in careful drawing and workmanship, *Sabina Zembra* is an admirable story, and it is not often the novel reading public have a chance of comparing an almost simultaneous treatment of the same theme by two writers of such ability and experience.

The Cereuleans has one great and, in modern novels, rare merit: it is written in most vigorous forcible English, of which the writer has such complete mastery that his style is always easy and natural. It is also a most amusing sketch of certain phases of Indian life and character. As a novel it is very faulty. The same theme in which Mr. Black and Mr. Hardy have found material for careful expansion through three volumes, is treated as a mere episode in life at an Indian station. It is not slight enough for such treatment, and therefore leaves an impression of crudeness

and fragmentariness. Camilla appears to us to be wholly misrepresented. She is an unpleasant specimen of the perfect monster; too evidently filled with a huge conceit of her own perfection, and an enormous sense of the extraordinary merit which alone could render her husband worthy of such a peerless wife. Philip Ambrose seems to us about the worst used hero we have ever come across: credited by Camilla with virtues he never possessed, and then treated with superb contempt for not manifesting them; dismissed by Miss Rushleigh with emphatic injunctions to remember that both are free, and then snubbed by the whole community for marrying some one else in England. Had Camilla possessed a little less exaggerated sense of her own superlative merit, and a little truer appreciation of the good qualities her husband did possess, she would have been a much more lovable and attractive woman. Both she and Major Sinclair are unquestionably 'intense,' a quality compounded, to our thinking, of exaggerated self-consciousness, total absence of all sense of humour, and extreme intellectual narrowness. As every other writer has done, and will do, Mr. Cunningham has failed, by bestowing on such characters verbal certificates of all manner of charms and excellences, to render them anything save unattractive and oppressive specimens of human nature.

Canon Lucifer. By JOHN DOUGLAS DELILLE. London: Gilbert & Rivington. 1887.

Save for a certain vigorous, though rough descriptive power, it is impossible to commend this story. Whether it be the Church, the aristocracy, law, or science, the writer equally shows himself wanting in accurate knowledge of the subjects of which he essays to treat. A mere reference to a *Clergy List* or *Peerage*, might have saved him from making some rather absurd blunders. The book, as a whole, is the exact counterpart of a picture painted in crude strong colours by a hand wholly unskilled in the art of drawing. The writer would seem to draw his incidents, to some extent, from newspaper cuttings. Wet sand as a murderous weapon appeared lately, for the first time in our recollection, as an incident in the Bulgarian rising. Death in consequence of a spider getting into the brain, and fattening comfortably thereon, is a tragedy which we are old enough to have seen reappear more than once, in company with the gigantic gooseberry and the great sea serpent. Our impression is that it makes its appearance about every ten years. The description of the dissecting room is one of the most coarsely revolting we have seen for a long time. Mr. Delille, in both education, refinement, and taste, will have to reach a position which will make *Canon Lucifer* a very unpleasant remembrance to him, ere he will achieve a novel which will be read with satisfaction by any fairly educated reader.

Thyrza. A Tale. By GEORGE GISSING. London: Smith Elder & Co., 1887.

It is useless, within our utmost limits, to attempt anything like a detailed criticism of a novel by Mr. Gissing. One distinguishing feature of writers of marked ability is strongly stamped upon his books. They suggest a great many thoughts which, probably, were far from the writer as he wrote. In reading *Thyrza* one feels constantly inclined to lay down the book and think. What, in the space of a page or something less, can one say of a book of that sort? Mr. Gissing has not, we think, his equal in vivid portraiture of that section of the working class which he has described in both *Demos* and *Thyrza*. To every one who reads *Thyrza*, Lambeth and its inhabitants will be a vivid reality for evermore. Another characteristic of Mr. Gissing makes his books very difficult to criticize.

There is an undercurrent of subtle irony running through them which, failing all guidance from the intonation of a sentence, or a sudden flash of facial expression, renders it not always easy to feel here whether he is speaking himself or not. He is somewhat Socratic in his methods. In *Demos* he showed the socialistic working-man as a sham; in *Thyrza* he shows the idealistic social reformer as a failure; in so doing he touches upon, and illustrates the grave importance of many problems, and finally leaves them, as far as solution goes, very much where they were before. 'Your diagnosis is excellent,' we feel inclined to say, 'but the treatment?' Then we seem to hear Mr. Gissing, in Socratic phrase, professing himself no teacher, only a humble seeker after truth. Is it any wonder the Athenians murdered Socrates? Will it be any wonder if critics turn savagely on Mr. Gissing and rend him? We do not recommend *Thyrza* to worshippers of the great goddess Ouida, and her tribe; but to readers who like occasionally to be invited to think, we do say, read *Thyrza*, and *Demos* too, for the matter of that, and it will be your own fault if you are not wiser, though perhaps sadder, afterwards.

Frederick Hazzleden. By HUGH WESTBURY. London: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

If the author of *Frederick Hazzleden* be young, he ought some day to write a very good novel. At present his Pegasus is a terribly unbroken colt. The book is clever and amusing, but it is fragmentary, and sadly wanting in proportion; full also of those solemn enunciations of trite common places; and gratuitous presentations of opinions on various subjects, which are the irresistible faults of clever young writers. The very promise of the book lies in its 'desultory incompleteness. Had it been a well designed, carefully finished production, the writer would have stood condemned as a hopeless prig. As it is, he has simply shown his power to win his spurs, if he chooses to take the pains. The clear simple English in which *Frederick Hazzleden* is written, devoid of affectations and mannerisms, greatly enhances the pleasure of reading it.

The relation of Christianity to Heathenism or to the Religion of the World has attracted considerable attention in America, and several works of more or less importance have been written about it there. In his series of ten lectures delivered before the Lowell Institute in the Winter of 1885, which has now been published, with certain modifications, under the title *His Star in the East* (Houghton & Co.), Mr. Leighton Parks restricts himself to a discussion of the relations between Christianity and the early Aryan religions. He believes that God has all along been treating the heathen in the same way as the Jews, that among them also He has been making His voice heard, and that in their sacred writings we have the views of so much of the Divine revelation, as they saw and heard. His plan is to give some account of the Aryan religions he deals with, and then to compare and contrast their doctrines with those of Christianity. Though unacquainted with the languages in which the old Aryan books of religion are written, Mr. Parks has made himself familiar with their teaching through the medium of translations, etc. In the doctrine of Evolution he owns to a profound belief, and is of opinion that it affords the solution to many difficulties connected with his subject. To some of his statements very serious objection may be taken. The definition of sin as 'wilful incompleteness' is inadequate, and the statement that 'science has taught that man has been developed from the lower animal life' only represents one side of the teaching of science.

Mr. Carr's *The Church and the Roman Empire*, (Longmans), is another of the handy little volumes in the series entitled 'Epochs of Church History.' It deals with the external growth of the Church during the fourth and fifth centuries, and may be said to consist of a series of pictures of the great men who, during the period, either helped to make the Church or sought to destroy it. There is an advantage in thus dealing with the subject, which readers both young and old will not fail to appreciate. The dogmatic and conciliar history of the Church during the period is reserved, we suppose, for separate statement.

The important part played by the conquests of Alexander the Great in preparing the world for the reception of Christianity has long been recognised; so also has the influence they had in spreading Greek civilizations, and of determining to a very large extent the secular history of the world. On the first of these topics Professor Mahaffy in his *Alexander's Empire* (Fisher Unwin) has not much to say; he is occupied, as might be expected, almost exclusively with the latter. His first chapters are devoted to the narrative of Alexander's wars; these are followed by chapters on the history of the kingdoms which arose out of the dismemberment of the huge heterogeneous empire; and these, by others narrating the course followed by Rome down to the absorption of the last remnant of Alexander's Empire into the great Republic. Interspersed through the volume are chapters on art and science and literature. The subject Professor Mahaffy deals with is a vast one, but considering the narrow limits in which he has had to work—the volume is one of 'The Story of the Nations' Series'—he has executed his task with very considerable skill. The volume is furnished with maps, plans, and illustration which assist the reader not a little in understanding the text.

In her sixth volume of *Cameos from English History* (Macmillan), Miss Yonge gives a series of thirty-one pictures drawn from the history of England during the forty years of Stewart rule from 1603 to 1643. The book is written in the same simple and delightful style to which readers of the previous volumes have become accustomed. The scenes are well chosen and are set out with remarkable clearness. 'Cameos' is an admirable designation for them; they are so carefully and skilfully done.

Dissatisfied with the many assertions which have recently been made in respect to the legislative union between Great Britain and Ireland, but more especially with the fact that in most instances they were unaccompanied by proof, Dr. T. Dunbar Ingram set himself to make a careful examination of the subject in the original and contemporaneous sources of information, and has now published the results at which he has arrived, and the evidence on which they are based in *A History of the Legislative Union of Great Britain and Ireland*, (Macmillan). The effect of the inquiry upon his own mind has been the formation of a strong conviction that the union was undertaken from the purest motives, that it was carried by fair and constitutional means, and that its final accomplishment was accompanied with the hearty consent of the vast majority of the two peoples inhabiting the island. The Act of Union he believes ought to have been immediately followed by 'its natural complement,' the emancipation of the Catholics both in Ireland and throughout the Empire. Dr. Ingram has in a series of footnotes given copious references to his authorities, and the reader is thus able to test the assertions made in the text for himself. The work is extremely opportune and should do much to clear the atmosphere of the prejudices and misunderstandings with which the subject is surrounded.

An Unknown Country by the author of *John Halifax, Gentleman*, (Mac-

millan & Co.) is a highly interesting, amusing, and in fact charming book. The 'Unknown Country' is no further away than the North of Ireland. Here Mrs. Craik, accompanied by her daughters, went for her summer's travel, visited all sorts of places, and seems to have had a delightful time in a beautiful country among a people kindly, hospitable, and attractive. Slight as the narrative is, there is a profound human interest in it. The reader will learn from it much about banshees and leprachauns, and about the ways and habits of the people, while the illustrations which Mr. F. Noel Paton has provided for the volume, will enable him to a certain extent, to appreciate the scenery.

The Western Avernus (Smith, Elder), is a singularly graphic account of Mr. Morley Roberts' experience in the Far West. He was by turns a 'Texan boy,' a bull puncher, a navy, first on one of the railways in the Western States and then on the Canadian Pacific Railway, a sawyer, a sailor, in fact anything at which he could earn an honest livelihood. The straits to which he was put, his adventures, his struggles, his sufferings, the company he met with, and the scenery through which he passed, have supplied him with the materials for a book which reads stranger than many a romance.

In Mr. W. Hastie, B.D., Kant's well-known work on *The Philosophy of Law* (T. & T. Clark) has found a translator who is thoroughly well acquainted with his subject. The introduction he has written for the work shows wide reading and enhances the value of the volume. The bibliographical notes deserve special mention.

Mr. T. C. Mendenhall's admirable little volume entitled *A Century of Electricity*, which we noticed a number or two ago, has been very fittingly included by Messrs. Macmillan in their 'Nature Series.'

Jill and Jack, by E. A. Dillwyn (Macmillan), is a slight, clever, amusing story, with which to while away a summer afternoon. Such expressions as, 'How am I to let her know that I'm around, I wonder?' and 'Do you think you'll be able to fix it?' in reference to secret delivery of a message, suggest a nationality on the part of the writer which accounts for a certain 'smartness' apparent in Miss Irecastle, which may be temporarily the fashion, but which is certainly not in accordance with the traditions of the best circles of English society. And surely a man of Sir John Wroughton's position and general habits does not talk of getting his mother 'to shoot his paste boards' for him; he certainly does not talk of 'gentlemen' and 'ladies.' Neither, we must protest, does a valet in a well-ordered English country house talk the jargon of a cabman or omnibus conductor. All these small blemishes point to a writer not quite at home in the scenes she has chosen to depict; but picture the whole of the characters in a different circle, and the story is readable and entertaining.

The Friend of the Family (Vizetelly), is a novel translated by Mr. F. Whishaw from the Russian of Fedor Dostoeffsky. The principal characters are all powerfully drawn, and the very simple plot is admirably worked out. The story is thoroughly Russian. Those who are in quest of a new sensation will assuredly find one in this, which, we should say, is not the least powerful of Dostoeffsky's works. The country, society, feeling, and habits of thought are altogether different from anything to be met with amongst ourselves. The friend of the family is a strange being, a kind of Russian Pecksniff, and though probably impossible in English society, quite possible, we should say, in Russian.

New Editions and Reprints :

Mr. T. S. King's volume of sermons entitled '*Christianity and Humanity*' (Boston : Houghton & Co.), has reached the seventh edition. Considering the qualities of the sermons this is not surprising. They are replete with thought and eloquence. If any objection be taken to them, it will be on the ground of what they do not say, rather than on what they do say. Less attention is paid in them to specific doctrines than many may desire, but the great duties of love and obedience towards God, and charity towards men, are always insisted upon with intense earnestness and in language which is often extremely felicitous.

Essays and Addresses, by the Rev. J. M. Wilson. (Macmillan). The papers which the Rev. J. M. Wilson has here brought together have all, unless we are mistaken, appeared before. They deserved to be re-printed and put into a permanent form. Some of them are notable as, for instance, the one on 'Water,' the fragment on 'Morality in Public Schools,' the 'Letter to a Bristol Artisan,' and the lecture on Miracles. In several of them, Mr. Wilson tries to set forth the true doctrines of the Christian faith, and places in contrast with them their misrepresentations by Secularists and others. As we need hardly say there is a good deal of controversy in the book, but Mr. Wilson is always fair and courteous. He writes clearly and effectively and with a strong faith in the truths of the Gospel.

On Parliamentary Government in England. (Longmans). This new edition of Mr. Alpheus Todd's well-known work of which we have here the first volume, is being brought out by his son, Mr. A. H. Todd. It is ten years since the work was first issued, but it has managed to hold its own against many competitors, and only the other day was quoted as an authority in the House of Commons. At the time of his death, the author had made considerable preparations for the re-issue of the volumes, and their present editor appears to be carrying out his intentions in respect to them. Numerous alterations have been made in the text, the contents of the volumes have been re-arranged, and much new matter has been added both in the text and notes. Altogether the work has been considerably improved. After a brief introduction, three chapters of the present volume are devoted to the history of the origin and progress of Parliamentary government in England, and more particularly to the development of Constitutional government between the years 1782 and 1873. Next we have a chapter on the Crown and some of its prerogatives. This is followed by chapters dealing with the royal prerogative in relation to Parliament, and on the rights and privileges of Parliament. Several chapters are also devoted to the Royal prerogative in regard to matters ecclesiastical, the army and navy, the granting of Charters, and also to the Crown as the fountain of mercy, honour, and as regards the appointment or removal of officers and the administration of justice. The references and precedents cited are extremely numerous, and while useful in the highest degree to the student and inquirer, show that the author has read widely and consulted, not only official sources of information, but many writers of eminence who have dealt with his subject.

Marlowe's Tragical History of Dr. Faustus, and Greene's Honourable History of Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay. Edited by A. W. Ward. (Clarendon Press). This volume of the 'Clarendon Press Series' is more than a school book, being in every way entitled to be regarded as a very valuable contribution to the history and study of the Old English Drama. The changes which have been made in this new edition are all in the right direction and enhance the value of the work. A considerable part of the

Introduction has been re-written, many of the notes have been recast or expanded, and advantage has been taken of recent publications to correct several points in the original issue.

Mr. Havelock Ellis' *Christopher Marlowe*, is the first volume of the 'Mermaid Series,' in which it is intended to reprint the best plays of the old English Dramatists. In making a selection from Marlowe, it was scarcely possible to go far wrong, and Mr. Havelock Ellis may be said to have made as good a selection as could be made, having included in his volume, 'Tamburlane,' 'Dr. Faustus,' 'The Jew of Malta,' and 'Edward the Second.' Mr. Symonds contributes a general introduction to the series, and Mr. Havelock Ellis has added a brief account of the life and works of Marlowe and a number of foot-notes, of which it may be said they are all too few. The volume is clearly printed, and owns a not unhandsome cover. The series promises well and is cheap.

Messrs Macmillan's Victoria Edition of *The Works of William Shakespeare* in three handsome volumes deserves special praise. It is cheap, and beautifully printed in excellently clear readable type on good paper. The text used is that of the Globe Edition, which after long use we have found to be the best. A new Glossary has been added which is remarkable for its fulness.

SCHOOL BOOKS.—We are unable to do more than single out for special mention the following: *Selections from Tibullus and Propertius*, with Introduction and Notes by George G. Ramsay, M.A., LL.D. (Clarendon Press).—*The Rhetoric of Aristotle*, translated with Analysis and Critical Notes by J. E. C. Welldon, M.A. (Macmillan).—*On Teaching English and English Composition and Rhetoric*, Part I., by Alexander Bain, LL.D. (Longmans). *History of England for Beginners*, by Arabella B. Buckley (Macmillan).

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (April).—The two numbers are worth turning back to for two papers chiefly. Though by different writers they treat of cognate subjects. The first of these is a continuation of Count d'Haussonville's 'Le Combat contre le vice.' As the sub-title indicates, it deals more particularly with 'criminality.' The statistics produced by the writer are not edifying reading, for they establish beyond the possibility of a doubt that for the last half a century criminality has been constantly and uninterruptedly on the increase in France. As to the causes of this moral decadence Count d'Haussonville absolutely rejects the theories started by Professor Lombroso and is inclined to attribute the increase of crime to the fictitious wants created by civilization. A very interesting section of the article describes the system of anthropometry devised by M. Bertillon and adopted by the French police as a substitute for the cumbersome and unsatisfactory plan of photographing criminals. The other paper is from the pen of M. Maxime Du Camp, and is headed, 'Le Patronage des Libérés—Les condamnés, le sauvetage.' As the title indicates, the article deals chiefly with the working of the society which has been formed in Paris for the purpose of providing liberated prisoners with work and diminishing the chances of their relapsing into their evil ways. A very notable feature is the contrast which M. Du Camp's paper presents to Count d'Haussonville's in what we may be allowed to style the theory of criminality. The latter, as we have seen, favours the old-fashioned notion which makes each one responsible for his own action; the former, on the contrary has largely adopted the views of the

modern school and is almost as firm a believer in heredity as Lombroso himself. —The mid-monthly number contains two other contributions which are well worthy of notice; one of them examines carefully and exhaustively Herder's political ideas, and arrives at the conclusion that, were he living, he would be amongst the first to regret the position which Prussia has imposed on Germany. The other article to which we would call attention is that which M. Anatole Leroy-Beaulieu devotes to 'Religion, Religious Sentiment and Mysticism in Russia.'

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (May).—Taken individually each of the articles contained in the first of the two numbers for this month may be said to be readable. Considered together they make up a singularly meagre table of contents as the bare reproduction of it will suffice to show. Light literature is represented by M. M. Henry Rabusson and Paul Hervieu, but neither the former in his unpleasant 'Un homme d'aujourd'hui,' nor the latter in the fantastic and incongruous novelette 'L'inconnu,' has come up to anything like the ordinary standard of the *Revue*. Contributed respectively by two members of the Academy the Duke de Broglie's 'Etudes diplomatiques,' and M. Camille Rousset's 'Les commencements d'une conquête,' might be expected to be and, in point of fact, are ably written. But even this is scarcely sufficient to reconcile us to the fifty pages which the one devotes to the second struggle between Frederick II. and Maria Theresa, and to the equally lengthy paper in which the other repeats the oft-told tale of the conquest of Algeria.—In the mid-monthly number, however, our attention is at once attracted by the title of a paper which, on perusal, will be found to contain some useful information with regard to a subject which has attracted considerable attention in this country, that of overwork in schools. Much of what M. Jules Rochard writes is applicable to France only, and it is some comfort to us to see, that, in spite of what pessimists have said, English schools are, for some things set up as models.—The other contributions are, with one exception, continuations of articles begun in former numbers. This solitary novelty, though brimful of information, is not likely to attract many readers, for it deals with the constitution of the French army under the old régime, a subject which even M. Albert Duruy does not succeed in making particularly interesting.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (June).—The Duke de Broglie is again in the front with his 'Etudes diplomatiques,' and in this instalment of the sketch in which he relates the chief incidents in the struggle between Frederick and Maria Theresa he deals principally with the capitulation of Bavaria.—M. Duruy continues his investigation into the condition and management of the royal army in 1789, whilst Dr. Le Fort, also devoting himself to military matters, though from a very different point of view, criticises the new military law in so far as it affects the medical profession.—The article which will prove most interesting to English readers is that in which M. Maxime Du Camp treats of Protestant associations in Paris, and, specially in this section, of the Industrial School and the Temporary Refuge. Amongst many proofs of the good work done by these institutions, none perhaps is more striking than that afforded by the career of a young waif picked up a few years ago by M. le pasteur Robin, and now wearing the epaulettes which his bravery in the field joined to exemplary conduct, has won for him.—In the mid-monthly part the Duke de Broglie brings his series of diplomatic studies to a close by a very remarkable account of the battle of Fontenoy. We may incidentally mention that having occasion to refer to Carlyle he accuses him of unscrupulously drawing upon his imagination in order to make his narrative more dramatic.—M. George Duruy gives the first part of what promises to be a very striking novel. It is entitled 'L'Unisson.'—Passing over M. de Vogüé's vague and rhetorical article on Roman affairs and merely mentioning that in which M. George Lafenestre describes and criticises the sculpture in this year's Salon, we come to a most enjoyable and instructive paper on 'Modern Oceania.' Many of the facts contained in this sketch of the Fiji, Tonga, Pitcairn and Norfolk Islands are necessarily well-known, but they are put before us in such an original way and enlivened by such a budget of personal anecdotes that we read on, page after page, with unflagging interest to the end.

—A paper eminently worthy of attention is that in which M. Daubrée examines the part which subterranean waters play in the economy of the globe. It would be impossible to convey more information within such comparatively narrow limits or to make science more attractive than the writer has here succeeded in doing.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE.—(May). M. Pierre Janet opens the number with a paper which he entitles 'L'anesthésie systématisée et la dissociation des phénomènes psychologiques' and in which he deals with a peculiar manifestation of the phenomenon of hypnotism. He records a number of interesting experiments performed on a subject in whom he has discovered a double personality, in whom the normal consciousness of the individual seems to be divided between two distinct persons.—In spite of its title the article headed, 'Intensité des images mentales,' and bearing the signature of M. A. Binet, is chiefly taken up with the relation of experiments in hypnotism. Though interesting enough in themselves they do not throw any great light on the subject directly under consideration.—M. F. Picavet's 'Le phénoménisme et le probabilisme dans l'école platonicienne,' is a valuable contribution to the history of philosophy. It is specially devoted to an examination of the doctrines of Carneades.—A very able and appreciative study of the works of M. Adolphe Franck, who for over thirty years has filled the chair of natural and international law at the Collège de France, is contributed by M. Emile Beaussire.—To those who may be interested in the somewhat hazy science of graphology, the short paper setting forth 'un caractère différentiel des écritures,' may be recommended.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE.—(June). The *Revue* has lately devoted so much space to hypnotism that the total neglect of the subject in the present number is almost a matter of astonishment, and may possibly be a relief to some readers who are not exclusively engrossed in the experiments and researches which M. Charcot and his school have made, we might almost say popular, across the Channel.—The first of the three *articles de fonds* is from M. Darlu, and deals with the theories of liberty and determinism, set forth by M. Fouillée in his work on this subject. Whilst approving of much that M. Fouillée has written and doing full justice to his clearness of enunciation and the ingenuity of his arguments, the critic takes exception to the method by which he has endeavoured to reconcile determinism and indeterminism.—M. B. Perez brings before us in a very careful summary, Professor Preyer's important works on the physiology and psychology of childhood.—'L'amour du mal' is written with all the boldness which we have more than once had occasion to notice in M. Paulham's articles. In proof of this, it may suffice to quote his assertion that 'there is neither health nor sickness, nor good, nor evil; nothing but necessary states of the body and of the mind.'

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (May).—M. Louis Léger leads off with a curious and readable description of women and society in Russia in the seventeenth century, which is quite incidentally supplemented in the 'Chronique Parisienne' by a sketch of cleanliness in old France. From the Crusades to the close of the reign of Louis XI. the virtue of water was fully recognised, but in the sixteenth century ladies did not wash their faces for a week at a time; in the seventeenth a bit of cotton dipped in weak perfumed alcohol supplied the means of ablution, and as late as 1782 the use of water was forbidden by the toilet manuals.—The account of the Crusade of Constantinople is concluded, and M. H. de Gourmont's careful and judicious purview of American humourists is brought to a close.—'The Tomb of Siddharta,' by M. Aug. Glardon, is based on the physiological fact of trance-burial practised by Indian devotees.—'La Carrochonne'—an excellent novelette by M. A. Bachelin is wound up; and a second part of 'The Burning of Moscow' by M. Grégoire Danilevsky will be read with interest.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (June).—Probably the most interesting article in the number is a review of Spanish fiction during the last two years—Under the title of 'The French Court and Society in the Sixteenth

Century' M. Decrue contributes another of the historical sketches which give weight and value to the magazine—'The Sun and Life' is a readable exposition of recent scientific research. The author, M. Combe, points out that if Paul Bert's experiments with plants under coloured glass led him to the conclusion that all colours taken separately are injurious, those made on animals seemed to indicate that violet light may be the best for the development of at least certain species.—M. Bodenheimer gives an excellent account of the festivities with which the facade of the dome of the famous cathedral of Florence was 'inaugurated' in May last and a description of the new architectural effects.—'Old Silhouettes' and 'The Burning of Moscow' are the titles of the serials; and it may be worthy of note that M. Paul Jervais is reproducing the most striking portion of 'How to be happy though married.'

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (April).—In the single article devoted to 'Agronomy,' M. P. Dehéran explains his methods for practically ascertaining what chemical manures are best suited to various kinds of soil, and of calculating the results obtained by the use of them.—'Chemistry' claims the papers dealing respectively with 'Mineral Microchemistry' and with 'Certain Combinations of Cerium,' a metal discovered in 1803 by Klaproth, Hisinger, and Berzelius independently.—The section devoted to 'Botany' also contains two articles. Of these, one is contributed by M. Bordage, who, by means of a number of interesting examples, explains the various means by which the dissemination of plants is effected, apart from the agency of man. The second, which is a reproduction of M. G. Bonnier's opening lecture at the Faculty of Science in Paris, has 'Vegetable Biology' for its subject.—Under the heading of 'Geology' will be found a note-worthy article from the pen of M. d'Estrey, who, after showing that even in remote antiquity the island of Sumatra was reputed rich in gold, and quoting the result of more recent explorations in proof that the precious metal really does exist in certain districts, speaks very confidently of the success to be expected from an energetic exploration of the mineral riches of the country.—'Biology' is represented nominally by M. H. de Varigny, but in reality by Mr. Romanes, of whose pamphlet on 'Physiological Selection' an exhaustive summary is given.—Articles of special interest—more intimately connected, too, than by the mere fact that they occur as contributions to 'Zoology'—will be found above the signatures of M. M. Laurent, Pouchet, Ferrari, and Prince Albert of Monaco. The first of these treats of the fisheries question in its general bearings, and suggests restrictions which should be imposed not only on trawling but also on various other practices of which the evil influence is being felt on the French coast. All the others restrict themselves to the one subject of the sardines fisheries, and they all arrive at the same conclusion, that if energetic measures be not taken 'the silver manna of the sea' is in danger of disappearing altogether at certain points where it was formerly most abundant.—Obock, a recently established French station on the African coast, and the island of Hayti, are the subjects of two interesting sketches bearing respectively the signatures of M. Faurot and M. Boell.—Under the heading 'Public Works,' M. F. Bénardeau gives a most interesting sketch of the means adopted, more particularly in the south of France, for the purpose of clothing mountains with vegetation, with a view to checking the flow of mountain torrents, and thus preventing inundations in the valleys.—Amongst the miscellaneous articles, attention may be called to one describing the manners and customs of the Annamites and to another on 'Bayeu and Military Pharmacy in the xviii. century.'

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (May).—Under the title 'La Médecine Expérimentale et Comparée en France et à Lyon,' M. Arloing reproduces his opening lecture at the Medical Faculty of Lyons.—'Psychology' claims no less than three articles this month. The first of these is contributed by M. A. M. Bloch, and deals with the comparative velocity of sensations. The writer describes a number of ingenious experiments by which he has arrived at the result that of the three sensations which he has studied, those of sight, hearing, and touch, the first is by $\frac{1}{2}$ of a second swifter in transmission than the second, and by $\frac{1}{3}$ of a second swifter than the third. The second psychological paper is an extract from a volume which M. Ch. Richet is about to publish, and describes step by

step, according to the cellular theory, the process of 'Instinct.' In the third article M. Fr. Paulham records the result of his experimental researches into the possibility of performing several psychical operations simultaneously.—'Zoology' is confined to two subjects to which attention has been given in former numbers. The first of these is 'Autotomy,' the other is the more practical question of the sardine fisheries.—In the Geographical section will be found an exceedingly interesting description of the globe at present in the Paris Observatory. It was begun in 1784 and finished in 1794; its diameter at the equator is 1 mètre 60 centimètres, and its circumference 8m. 17c. In the same division there is also an extract, in the form of a diary, of Captain von Wohlgenuth's report to the Austrian Government of his expedition to the North Pole.—Of the remaining papers that which M. de Quatrefages entitles, 'L'Espèce Humaine,' is particularly deserving of notice.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 1. 1887).—M. A. Sabatier, whose work on St. Paul a few years ago aroused much interest in theological circles, gives us here the first part of what he calls 'a contribution to the study of Paulinism.' He discusses the question as to Paul's teaching concerning the origin of sin. Explaining the reason why there is any controversy as to Paul's teaching on this point, he proceeds first to critically examine all the passages of the Pauline Epistles which bear on the genesis of evil, in order to determine exactly what it was that Paul taught on this subject. In the next instalment of his paper he promises to show how the Apostle's opinions on the origin and nature of sin fit in with the other leading ideas of the Pauline theology.—M. I. A. Hild continues his examination of the Homeric and Hesiodic writings to show the pessimistic vein that runs through them. He illustrates his point by a careful analysis of the myths of Prometheus and Pandora, and the opinions generally entertained by Homer and Hesiod as to woman, as to love, and as to military renown or glory.—M. Paul Regnaud furnishes us next with another of his learned notes on the meaning of Sanskrit words. This time it is on the term *amāra*, an epithet frequently applied to the deities of the Rig-Veda.—M. E. Amélineau follows up his researches begun in last number, into early Coptic literature to discover what were the ideas entertained in the Egyptian church of the first centuries on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. In this part of his essay he brings before us the Coptic monk's ideas regarding the supernatural and the destiny of the soul. He attempts to show how far their conceptions of these matters conformed to those of the New Testament, and how much they resembled those of the old Egyptian religion; and holds that the monks of Egypt were not worthy of the praises lavished on them by Jerome and other Christian writers.—M. I. Menant gives a short paper on the Hittites in connection with the recent volumes of MM. Perrot and Chipiez on the art of the Hittites and the Rev. Dr. Wright's work, *The Empire of the Hittites*. The books reviewed are all of great interest to the students of the history of religions, and the bibliography is as usual very complete.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 2, 1887).—M. Sabatier concludes his 'Contribution to the Study of Paulinism,' the first part of which was given in last number. He here shows how Paul's conception of the origin and nature of sin harmonises with his conception of the person and mission of Christ, and with his ideas of the development of religious history. The views he adduces as those of Paul will be new, we think, to not a few of his readers, but they are supported by a very scholarly exegesis of the passages that bear on them.—M. Paul Regnaud gives us another of his brief word-studies, under the title 'History of a Word and of an Idea.' The word on this occasion is the Greek *δαίμων*.—M. G. Maspero resumes his *Bulletin de la Religion Egyptienne*, the first part of which appeared at the beginning of last year. It treats of the religious ceremonies that were observed by the ancient Egyptians in connection with the burial of their dead. Here M. Maspero first informs us as to the discovery of the documents that have shed light on these ceremonies, and the labour it has cost to collate them, to fill up by the readings of one the gaps made by time and accident in another, and to compare them with the Pyramid Texts and Tableaux that illustrate them. He then gives a minute and detailed

description of the whole ritual that was gone through, so that we can now picture the whole service as if we were eye-witnesses of it.—M. G. Lafaye gives an extremely succinct and interesting account of the recent archaeological discoveries in Greece, which have excited so much attention everywhere. He treats of them here, of course, only in so far as they bear on the elucidation of religious history. These are the principal articles in this number, and there follow the reviews of books, the chronique of the two months (March and April), summaries of papers read before Learned Societies, and Magazine articles, and the Bibliography of the two months, as usual.

L'ART (April 1st and 15th).—The first of the two April numbers contains, besides the continuation of a novelette, 'Paysanne,' and a brief notice of the death of Gustave Guillaumet, a well-known French painter, only two articles. The shorter of these: 'L'imagerie en bois,' gives a few details, too few indeed, concerning what may be called the lost art of wooden statuary and the process by which the figures were coloured. 'La Valkyrie à Bruxelles,' from the pen of M. Jullien, is, in the first place, a lament over the prejudice against Wagner which has driven his operas from Paris to the Belgian capital, then it is a summary of the plot of the Valkyrie, and finally, it is a hearty tribute of praise not only to the German composer, that is a matter of course in anything that M. Jullien may write on the subject, but also of the performance. With such a table of contents as this the number can scarcely be said to come up to the usual standard of the Review; neither can the engravings be said to compensate the shortcomings of the text.—In the mid-monthly number the first thing which calls for notice is an excellent etching, 'Benvenuto Cellini,' by M. Masson, after the painting by M. Robert-Fleury.—A first instalment of a sketch of the career of Ferdinand Gaillard, an engraver of considerable merit, is interesting for the facts which it contains but marred by an unpardonable carelessness of style.—The value of 'L'Adoration des Mages de Léonard de Vinci' will be sufficiently indicated when we state that it is from the pen of M. Eugène Muntz. When complete this will be an excellent contribution to what is well worth undertaking, though it has never yet been attempted, a systematic study of the works of Leonardo da Vinci and a classification of the sketches and cartoons by which he prepared himself for the production of his masterpieces.—'L'Œuvre de François Rude en Belgique' fills up a gap in the history of the eminent sculptor known to all by his 'Départ des Volontaires' and his 'Marseillaise.'

L'ART (May 1st and 15th).—The month naturally opens with a first instalment of the articles devoted to the works exhibited in the 'Salon.' M. Paul Leroi has confined himself almost exclusively to M. Puvis de Chavannes, but the artist will scarcely feel flattered by this distinction, for he is ruthlessly hauled by the critic.—Besides this there is but one other contribution—not including the novelette 'Paysanne'—and that is the conclusion of M. Dargenty's sketch 'Ferdinand Gaillard,' the characteristic features of whose manner are briefly indicated.—The mid-monthly part is also headed by a 'Salon' notice; in it M. Leroi says some very hard things as to the manner in which art is patronised, or rather, not patronised by the Government.—Only one other article is devoted to art, it is that with which M. Charles Courault concludes his sketch of Louis Ligier, the Lorrain sculptor.

THE HISTORICAL JOURNAL OF ITALIAN LITERATURE (Fascioli 25 and 26) contains a paper on Dante's demonology by A. Graf, in which the writer demonstrates that, though Dante enounced no new doctrine of demonology, he expressed, in many parts of the Divine Comedy and especially in the Inferno, a certain number of beliefs and opinions which it is interesting to examine in a connected form, by which we find that the poet's demonology was in part doctrinal and dogmatic, and in part popular, that is, agreeing with certain common beliefs prevalent at that period, mixed with original imaginations. Graf divides Dante's devils into two classes, Biblical and Mythological, and describes the manner in which Dante treats them, noticing, for example, the comical as well as terrible traits in the devils of the fifth Circle, which have a great resemblance to the devils of the 'Mysteries' and 'Moralities' of the

Middle Ages.—G. Mezzatinti writes on the Alferian papers of Montpellier.—V. Cian has an article on Pietro Bembo and Isabella D'Este.—L. Biadene describes a MS. of Spiritual Rhymes from the Hamilton Codex in the Berlin Royal Library.—L. Frati publishes some satirical sonnets against Ferrara, from the Bentivoglio Codex of the 15th century.—C. de Lollis exposes the doubtfulness of the marginal notes attributed to Dante by Herr Pakscher in an article in the *Zeitschrift*.—G. Camposi writes on the Patriotic Society of Turin at the end of last Century.

THE ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO.—The first issue for 1887 contains: Documents relating to a previous article on 'Gaming in Italy in the 13th and 14th Centuries,' by L. Zdekaner.—A paper on an inscription of 1131 at Nepi, by P. Ragna.—Historical Episodes relating to Rome during the 18th Century, by G. Sforza, describing the relations existing between Rome and the Republic of Lucca, the invasion of Rome by the French, etc.—A paper by L. Chiappelli on the age of the most ancient statutes of Pistoia.—The second issue contains: Political Letters by Vincenzo Armani in 1642 to 1644, edited by Doctor Mezzatinti.—New documents and notes concerning the life and works of Leon Battista Alberti, by G. Mancini.—A study on the historians of the Crusades, by P. Pasolini.—And the continuation of the Episodes from Roman history of the 18th century.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (April 1).—E. Pincherle gives a full Italian translation and criticism of the 'Doctrine of the Twelve Apostles,' discovered by the Metropolitan of Nicodemia in the Patriarchal Library at Jerusalem, in 1872, but not published by him till 1883.—The papers on 'The Bolognese Studio,' and 'The Soudan and the Mahdi,' are continued.—An 'ex-Deputy' writes on 'Signor Genala, Minister of Public Instruction.'—April 16th.—In this number the chapters on 'Tuscan Economical Reform' and on 'Comte's Positivism' are continued.—Then follows a memoir of Sir John Hudson, by G. Dalgas.—P. Fambri, in an article entitled 'America at Ponte di Brenta,' gives an account of the successful breeding of horses of the American *trotter* stock at Padua and at Ponte di Brenta.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (May 1st).—The several articles on 'The Society of the Latin Orient,' on 'Nicola Spedalieri,' and on 'Tuscan Economical Reform,' are continued.—P. del Russo gives a brief memoir of Donatello.—C. Fontanella contributes a paper on the perils of State Socialism, which he says is increasing in all parts of Europe except Britain and Belgium. He characterises the chief perils as too great centralisation and protection.—May 16th.—I. del Lungo writes a very interesting paper on Florentine ladies of the first centuries of that city.—R. Gandolfi writes on 'Rossini,' and A. Gotti on 'Emilio Santarelli, the celebrated Italian sculptor, engraver, and gem-cutter, who died in 1826.—S. Chiriati advocates State schools.—F. Alessio writes on the philosophy of Empedocles.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (June 1st).—In a paper on drunkenness in Italy, A. Garofolini declares that in that country intemperance is increasing to an alarming degree.—G. S. Tempra discusses property laws in relation to recent social and legislative studies.—G. Grabinski writes on the Soudan.—June 16th.—By consent of Madame Minghetti there are edited and annotated in this number by Achille Neri, some letters of Marco Minghetti to Signor Mamiani and Signor Giovanni Minghetti, which not only show the genius and patriotism of Minghetti, which not only show the genius and patriotism of Minghetti, but also clear up some important points of contemporary literature. The greater part of the letters were written when Minghetti had left Rome to fight under Carlo Alberto against the foreigner. Meanwhile he by no means neglected politics, but kept up a lively correspondence with the men in power in Rome, and for a certain time he was also official representative of the Papal Government at the Court of Sardinia.—An article on Italian industries is contributed by Alfredo Galassini, in which is shown the real progress made, and that in spite of some errors the general direction of Italian industry is good.—R. Ferriani writes on the progress and application of photography.—The papers by

G. Grabinski on the Soudan and the Mahdi are continued.—R. Mazei and C. F. Gabba of Pisa commence a series of papers on 'The Conciliation' between the Pope and the Italian Government in a hopeful spirit, noticing the opinions of the foreign press.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (April 1st).—F. Mugnati has an article on Chevalier Marino at the Court of Louis XIII.—P. Villari describes the revolt of the Roman people during the Middle Ages.—A. Gabelli writes on schools as educative in contradistinction to instructive.—(April 16th). E. Masi contributes an article on Goldoni and Pietro Longhi.—D. Guoli sends 'An Archæological Walk through Rome, and her New Embellishments,' regretting the destruction of many an interesting piece of antiquity or old palaces, by the new works.—A. Brumalti writes on King Menelik and his recent conquests.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (May 1st).—Contains an article on Donatello by E. Panzecchi, and P. Villari concludes his article on the Commune of Rome in the Middle Ages.—C. Boito describes the recent exhibition of textures in Rome.—G. Boglietti contributes an article on Alsace and Lorraine, with special reference to the great problem of the Germanising of those two provinces.—In concluding a paper on 'Rossini in Santa Croce,' F. d'Arcais prophesies that unless the present tendencies of the Italian theatre and musical schools are changed, Rossini, in a few years, will be as completely forgotten in Italy as any of his illustrious predecessors.—(May 16th). J. del Lungo contributes an interesting article entitled 'A Family of Pisan Gueifs in the time of Dante.'—G. B. Foschi describes and praises Donatello's bas-reliefs.—W., writing of Italy and Abyssinia, advocates a slow gradual policy of expansion in that country, such as was initiated in the occupation of Saati and Uaa, which at first did not cost a gunshot. It was only the absolute and incomprehensible deficiency in troops that led to later disasters.—L. de Cambray-Digney writes on 'Corn Laws.'

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (June 1st).—D. Guolli has an interesting article on Raphael's house, with plans of the neighbourhood in which it stood. The writer regrets that all traces of it are now lost, and asks if other interesting places still in existence are to share the same fate.—E. G. Boner writes on 'Italy in Old German Literature.'—Colonel Baratieri contributes a statistical paper on the force and spirit of the Italian troops now on active service.—Signor Bonghi's article on 'Conciliation' deserves attentive reading.—(June 16th).—Giacomo Barzollotti commences this number with a paper on 'The Religious Idea in the Statesmen of the War for Italian Independence,' suggested by a remark made by Bonghi in a previous number, that among the last books read by Marco Minghetti was Guyau's 'Irreligion of the Future,' and that what that illustrious man deplored the most was the want in modern Italians of ideality and belief. The writer then goes on to describe the religious sentiments of the men who helped to form united Italy.—E. Mancini sums up the latest work done in Photography of the Heavens.—C. Bergagnoli contributes a long article on 'Ecclesiastical and Agricultural Policy.'—The serial tales are continued in this number, and P. Lambertesche writes on the Anglo-Turkish Convention and Italian interests, approving of the Convention, and hoping for its ratification by the Sultan.—The article on Foreign Literature notices Spanish and South American books. In the Bibliographical Bulletin there is a notice of A. C. Yate's 'Travels with the Afghan Boundary Commission.'

DE GIDS (March, 1887).—The principal article in this number is one in which a summary is given of H. Spencer's *The Man versus the State*, followed by comments of a decidedly hostile kind. The delusive character of Spencer's system lies in his conception of nature and natural law, and in his denial of the influence of the individual, whose work must always be the chief factor in the amelioration of society.—Two interesting articles are on the first representation of 'Der Freischütz' in the Opera House at Berlin, June, 1821, *à propos* of Weber's centenary; and on 'Hamlet' in Paris, pointing out the peculiarly French tone given to Shakspeare in this new phase, as, for example, in the interpolated scene in the interview with Ophelia, Hamlet is made to say—

' . . . tenez s'il vous vient quelque doute d'Hamlet
Regardez son front pâle, et lisez ce billet.'

DE GIDS (April, 1887).—The coinage question, with reference to the union concluded at Paris, 6th Nov. 1885, is the subject of a long historical article which holds out little prospect of the extension or even the continuance of this union, owing to the bimetallic controversy and the widely differing views of the various States in the union.—The evils of the present educational system in Holland are discussed in a review of Raoul Frary's and Dr. Schemeding's books, respectively of Paris and Berlin, who would banish Greek and Latin from the common schools and substitute something more practical. The writer points out how extremely undesirable this would be, since it would in a great degree cut off access to the original sources of learning. What he complains of is the uninteresting way in which the classics are taught, and the excessive subdivision of subjects in the schools, which makes life a burden to the scholars and does not really educate, but gives only a smattering of every possible branch. What he recommends, both in classics and modern languages, is a less technical method and greater pains to rouse the interest of children in their work and more attention to drawing and gymnastics.—A new edition of the works of Gleeckx, journalist, novelist, dramatist, and magazine writer, born in 1818, is the occasion of a sketch of his varied productions, few of which rise above respectable mediocrity, though all have had an influence for good, and are much and deservedly esteemed. His novels are free from false sentiment and realistic in character. One, *Miss Arabella Knox*, deals with the stable and the turf very successfully; but Gleeckx's masterpieces are his descriptions of the old streets of Amsterdam and of the people in them.

DE GIDS (May, 1887).—Besides a long poem in blank verse, 'Via doloris,' and an article on the revival of the constitution, a subject always more or less hotly under discussion in Holland, this number contains a remarkably clever contribution to the question at present in debate as to the value of Greek in a preparatory school course especially for lawyers. It takes the form of a Socratic dialogue not unseasoned with irony, and naturally is on the side of those who wish to retain Greek in the schools.—A paper on 'Progress and Poverty' reminds us of H. George in laying on dark colours with the thickest brush in order to get a good start for the socialistic theory. The picture of the irreligion, immorality, and disaffection to society of the working population, is ridiculously overdrawn, as applying to Holland. Socialist writers must keep very bad company or they could not believe the world to be as they describe it. The paper shows a striking want of faith in the victory of true principles, the machinery of the writer's world being all made up of material parts not moved by the least intellect or conscience or imagination. His plea that capital is not on all fours with other property, and that interest has no justification in reason, has been met here before (in the *Gids*), and appears to us to be exploded.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—In the May number Prof. Tiele, writing of Maurice Vernes' *History of Religions* sketches the division of the subject of the science of religion, which he is to adopt in the new edition of his own manual and which he thinks must be generally followed by all students in this field. Dr. Vernes objects to the application of the term 'history' to the treatment of prehistoric religions and those of savage tribes, and objects further to any theory or philosophy of the nature and growth of religion which is not furnished by the facts themselves. Prof. Tiele explains that the term History of Religion when applied to the cults of peoples who have no history means not a narrative but a description of their religious life, as in the phrase Natural History. But the confusion involved in the use of the word 'history' must in future be avoided. The first part of the History of Religion must be its genealogy so far as there are positive data to fix it; and the description of savage religions must be kept separate. The enquiry will then follow as to the laws and conditions of the growth of religion; and the different religions must be arranged here anew according to their nature. The new arrangement of this study will certainly be a great improvement.—D. Völter has a long paper on the Ignatian Epistles.

He holds the Epistle to the Romans to be genuine, and advances a curious theory that the author of the other six is no other than the notorious Peregrinus Proteus of Lucian. This had been suggested by Bishop Lightfoot, but the proofs are drawn out here in detail. The position Lucian gives Peregrinus among the Christians in Syria answers well to that of the writer of the Epistles; and his expulsion by the Christians from their community would account for the neglect which fell upon the letters and for the attachment to him of a better name when it was desired to revive them for the sake of their contents. There are chronological difficulties in the way of this theory, but Mr. Völter's zeal is quite sufficient to dispose of them.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU.—(May.) The table of contents is headed by the concluding chapters of Frau Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach's story, 'Das Gemeindegeld.'—Next in order will be found an interesting and instructive article headed 'Die Stätten Carthago's.' It contains a capital description of the site of old Carthage, of the ruins which still mark the spots where its fortifications and harbours stood, and whilst mainly dealing with the present aspect of the locality conveys much information concerning the city as it was in the days of its prosperity.—Herr Heinrich Geffcken closes a lengthy political and military sketch of the British Empire. Apart from descriptions and statistics which can, of course, lay no claim to novelty, there are here and there opinions which are certainly not wanting in originality. As an example, we may quote the assertion that England will never succeed in raising an army that will command respect so long as it retains the enlistment system, that most of its victory in former times were won by the help of foreign mercenaries, that even conscription, if it were introduced, would require considerable time to become effective, and that the only measure that could enable the British Empire to play a part in the military complications of Europe would be recourse to the old system of foreign subsidies. It is patronisingly suggested that we should take the Turkish army into our pay and the comforting assurance is volunteered that, if commanded by English officers, it would enable us 'to throw great weight into the balance.'—'Graf L. N. Tolstoj,' by Herr Lugen Gabel is a very clever sketch of the writings of the eminent novelist 'whose name will be uttered with respect and admiration by the most distant posterity.'—'Friedrick II. in der bildenden Kunst' is the reproduction of an address delivered by Professor du Bois-Reymond before the Academy of Sciences in Berlin. The writer has done his best to show that the Prussian monarch was a wise and zealous patron of the fine arts; how far he has been successful may be judged from his closing sentence in which he states that German art has long forgiven Frederick the low estimation in which he held it.—A very valuable paper is contributed by Herr von Loeper, in the shape of a review of Scherer's essays on Göthe.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (June).—Setting aside the usual literary, political and dramatic reviews as well as the two contributions to lighter literature—neither of them of very high interest—we have but three articles to notice in this month's number. Of these, the first in order is the long dissertation which Herr Rudolph von Ihering devotes to the interesting subject of hospitality among the ancients. The conclusion at which he arrives may very possibly upset some preconceived notions. For example, the writer makes it very clear that this famous hospitality had, in reality, not a moral, but purely a practical bearing, and was the result rather of a selfish regard for individual interests than of a feeling of humanity. In short, it was nothing beyond the personal protection afforded to traders at a time when legal protection did not exist. Herr Ihering also demonstrates from the use made of tokens that the privileges of the guest might be handed over to his representatives or successors, and were, in reality, a primitive kind of letter of introduction and credit. The whole paper is replete with information, and will be found particularly valuable by classical students.—An unsigned article headed, 'Die Reichstagswahlen in Elsass-Lothringen,' gives at considerable length the history of the late elections in the Imperial Provinces. Not the least remarkable part of the paper is that which recommends exceptional legislation to the extent of establishing sexennial instead of triennial elections for Alsace-Lorraine.—The last contribution we

have to notice bears the signature of Herr H. Grimm, and, as may therefore be supposed, is devoted to art; it is entitled, 'Remarks on the Value and Influence of Art Criticism.'

PREUSSISCHE JAHRBUCHER (May).—Dr. Eugen von Philippovich contributes the opening article. His title is 'Zur gegenwärtigen Lage der britischen Volkswirtschaft.' All the materials being derived from the reports of the Royal Commission appointed to enquire into the Depression of Trade and Industry, it is not to be expected that the paper has anything specially originally about it. The most striking feature is the evident complacency which the writer takes in proclaiming that the industrial supremacy of England is at an end, and that the independence of other nations is the real secret of her depressed trade.—A very interesting article is devoted to the work on George Eliot, lately published by Herr H. Conrad. According to the reviewer it is the best sketch yet published of the novelist's life and works, more complete than Lord Aston's and Miss Blind's, less diffuse than Mr. Cross's.—'Langensalza and Vogel von Falckenstein' which bears the signature of Dr. Delbrück is a most interesting notice of the important work in which Freiherr von der Wengen makes known the secret history of the campaign of 1866. The intrigues, for it would be an abuse of words to call them negotiations, which preceded Langensalza are minutely detailed, and are not greatly to the credit of either Prussia or Hanover. All that was wrong on the former side is imputed to Falckenstein's disregard of orders. Considering, however, that his ultimate success was accepted in atonement for his disobedience, and that he was not even summoned to answer for his conduct before a court-martial, it is difficult to see how Prussia can throw the blame on him for conduct which she condoned and of which she gladly took the benefit.—There are two other papers in which Professor Wundt and Herr Hugo Sommer say 'things' of each other, and all on the subject 'Ethical Evolution.'

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (May).—There is an abundance of light reading in the number now before us; 'Tito der Ketter,' 'Vom nordischen Strand,' and 'Spätsommertage,' will each of them be found, if not particularly exciting, at least sufficiently interesting to wile away an hour.—Two articles may be recommended to those who can find amusement in reading descriptions of towns which they have not seen and are not likely to see. They are contributed respectively by Herr Ludwig Pietsch and Herr Karl von Heigel, and take us, the one to Budapest, the other to Munich. Both papers are profusely illustrated.—From the pen of Herr Konrad Alberti there is an excellent biographical and critical essay of which the subject is Christian Dietrich Grabbe. Though but little known, outside Germany, he occupies an important place in the literature of his own country as the author, chiefly, of the powerfully conceived but un-
equally executed drama, 'Faust and Don Juan,' and also of the national tragedies 'Barbarossa' and 'Henry VI.' The record of his eventful life is a sad one. It shows us a man of undoubted talent, we might almost say of genius, sacrificing himself to drunkenness, and leaving behind him a reputation of which his country has as much reason to be ashamed as to be proud.—The 'Reminiscences of Heinrich Heine' are continued, and the detached anecdotes of which they consist will be found excellent reading.—A very important historical essay remains to be noticed. It is that in which Herr Heinrich Volbert narrates the rising of the cities of Germany in favour of Henry IV. The period—the last quarter of the eleventh century—has repeatedly been treated by historians; but Herr Volbert has succeeded in imparting considerable originality to his subject by centring his attention rather on the cities themselves than on either the Pope or the Emperor. It is an excellent piece of work.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (June).—The first place in the table of contents is occupied by 'Die Rechte' a capital little story of which Herr Vacano is the author.—Herr Karl von Heigel continues and concludes his description of Munich and its environs. He writes with evident mastery of his subject, and his sketch, illustrated at almost every page, is as good a guide as could be desired to the charming scenery about Fürstenried, Bernried, Seeshaupt, Herrrenchiemsee and Hohenschwangau.—The life and writings of the Swiss poet

Heinrich Lenthold have supplied Herr Ernst Ziel with materials for a capital paper which deserves perusal were it only for the specimen which it contains of Lenthold's charming lyrics.—In a fourth instalment of the sketches which he has given of the cities of Tuscany and Umbria, Herr Ludwig Weissel takes us through Assisi.—The Ethnological Museum in Berlin is described at considerable length by Herr A. Woldt, and Herr W. Detmer contributes a short botanical paper, 'Die Schauapparate der Pflanzen' in which he sets forth the peculiarities and the uses of the blossoms of plants.—Literary and other notices, together with two more complete tales, 'Meine Gitarre' and 'Sein erstes Abenteuer,' make up a fairly good number.

THE
SCOTTISH REVIEW.

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ART. I.—THE UNION OF 1707 VIEWED FINANCIALLY.

SUCH a difficulty as exists, or till partially removed by the prevalence of widespread agricultural depression, did exist in getting disciples of the school of the late Richard Cobden, and the late Radical but now quasi-conservative John Bright, to listen to any facts, figures, or fancies, which in the most distant manner attacked the principles of Free Trade, has been even more apparent, whenever any one has been rash enough to discuss, otherwise than with absolute and unqualified approval, the Union effected in 1707 between the free and independent kingdoms of Scotland and England. So completely has the Treaty of Union been regarded as the mainspring of Scotland's prosperity in the Nineteenth Century (of the Eighteenth not so much is, or needs be said), that almost every event in that country's previous history has been relegated to obscurity or depreciated as trivial and insignificant, while the condition of provincialism into which Scotland has sunk is regarded as the acmé of its good fortune. Never was there, according to this view, a stronger instance of the truth of the proverb: 'Happy is the people that has no history;' for saving the story of the revolts of 1715 and 1745, Scotland, as Scotland, has hardly any more history than have the counties of York and Lancaster. While to the minds of the people thoroughly imbued with this view of the Union, the Middle Ages in

Europe generally come to a close at latest with the Fifteenth Century, for Scotland, the reign of darkness is prolonged till the beginning of the Eighteenth. Before 1707, these people see obscurity, ignorance, barbarism, but after that date the light reflected by its Southern neighbour begins slowly to dawn upon the belated North, and in the middle of the Nineteenth Century they find Scotland comparatively well advanced in civilization, possessed of considerable wealth and making awkward attempts at imitating English refinement, though without a name to distinguish it in the eyes of the world from the country which has swallowed it up, and which claims to speak for it, to think for it, and to act for it. It may appear to some that this is an exaggerated description of the effacement of Scotland which has resulted from its voluntary amalgamation with England as one free and independent nation with another free and independent nation; if so, let us refer to the following recent incident as an example of what may be heard any day in the year in quarters from which better things might reasonably be expected.

During last Session of the House of Commons, on 5th April of the current year, the First Lord of the Treasury, discussing an estimate for expenditure incurred in connection with the defence of the Egyptian frontier, stated that the Government came to the conclusion that only a portion of this expenditure had been incurred with the authority of the 'representatives of England' in Egypt, and that for certain reasons the 'English Government' had not called upon the Egyptian Government to pay the sum. The member for Caithness thereupon put the pertinent question, 'Where is this English Government the right honourable gentleman has spoken of?' So completely unconscious was the First Lord of the Treasury of having used an inappropriate term that in the innocence of his heart he replied that he did not quite understand the meaning of the question, adding in evident compassion for the obtuseness of his Scotch questioner: 'The English Government is in England and the Egyptian Government is in Egypt.' As the protest of the Scot that the British, and not the English, Government was concerned, merely evoked a laugh—the usual

fate of such protests—nothing can be plainer than that the practical view of the Union held by our present governors is that Scotland has surrendered, while England has retained every right to recognition of separate nationality. The Queen is the ‘Queen of England’ as no doubt she is, though something more—the Imperial Parliament is ‘England’s Parliament’ which it virtually is, though it ought not to be. The army also is ‘England’s army,’ and the navy the ‘navy of Old England,’ though as we shall see later on the ‘English Parliament’ considerably allows Scotland an inordinate share of the burden of maintaining both of these branches of national defence. Look where we will, we see this tone adopted towards Scotland. It has become so universal and inveterate that even Scotsmen are to be found infected with the prevailing habit. It may be argued that it is unnecessary to attach much importance to colloquialisms, and that it is practically impossible to avoid substituting the name of the largest and most important part of the United Kingdom as representing its whole. But the wish is notoriously ‘father to the thought,’ and a still more recent incident than the one above referred to brings into strong relief the ultimate consequences of yielding to English arrogance the right of Scotland to recognition in Imperial matters. In Articles 1, 2, and 4 of the Convention between Her Majesty the Queen and the Emperor of China relative to Burmah and Thibet, dated 24th July of last year, the name of England alone appears as the agreeing party. On attention being drawn to the matter in Parliament, the First Lord of the Treasury did not venture to justify the description—a ‘mistake’ had been made which he regretted, but all the same the treaty had been definitely settled. It will remain when Mr. Smith’s apology—with the protests of Scottish members which evoked it—is forgotten, and a precedent has been established which will be valuable to English opponents of Scottish ‘particularism.’

The dismal prophecies of Fletcher of Saltoun, of Lord Belhaven, and of other opponents of the Treaty of Union of 1707, of disastrous consequences, which they anticipated would result to Scotland from this measure, have been regarded as entirely

baseless and falsified by the events which followed its accomplishment. But though treated as were the prophecies of Cassandra by the Trojans, it remains to be seen whether, like Cassandra's, they were not in many and important respects the outcome of true prophetic instinct, and that if the Union did not become unbearable, it was owing to providential circumstances which were no more anticipated by the advocates than by the opponents of the measure. Indeed very few years had elapsed after the Union when the Scottish leaders, alarmed at the critical condition of the country, had to meet together and consider how its trade was hampered and destroyed by prohibitions, regulations, and impositions, laid on by England; how it was drained of money, and how the country was experiencing the very evils which the opponents of the Union had predicted, while at the same time the English Government and Parliament were treating the Scottish representatives in such an arbitrary manner that it seemed clear that redress was not to be expected under the Union, and that the only remedy lay in its dissolution. It is true that to ruin the trade and commerce of Scotland, there were not made the outrageous attempts which the commercial classes of England used with only too complete success against their Irish competitors. However prostrate the condition of Scotland, her representatives in the United Parliament had always influence and energy sufficient to prevent their country becoming a second Ireland. Indeed, had the Union been delayed until a fair Parliamentary representation of all three kingdoms had been effected, as was done in 1801, it is probable that many disadvantages to both Scotland and Ireland, which have attended the Union of the three countries, would have been avoided, or would, at least, have been considerably mitigated, by the opportunities which would have been afforded to the two weaker countries, for combining more effectually against the selfish class interests paramount in England. Without further entering into the question we may assume that valid grounds were not wanting for discontent in Scotland when such an ardent supporter of the Union as the Duke of Argyll, himself one of its most active promoters, and whose timely opposition would

have been fatal to its adoption, declared from his place in the House of Lords, within seven years from the passing of the Act, that he was of opinion that a Union which had been so often infringed, should finally be dissolved, and proved the sincerity of his declaration by supporting a motion for repeal, which motion was only rejected in the House of Lords by the narrow majority of four votes.

It may no doubt be said that much has happened since then, and that in view of the wonderful tide of prosperity which has flowed upon both countries, there is now no reason for recalling either the political intrigues by means of which the Union was carried, or the fears or disappointments of the generation which witnessed its accomplishment, and that it is now absurd to act otherwise than as if the inhabitants of Great Britain from Land's End to John o' Groats, had never been anything else than one undivided people. This view, indeed, if adopted, would render it undesirable to pay regard to some of the most express conditions contained in the Treaty of Union itself, but there might be force in it, could we suppose that every piece of good fortune which has befallen the United Kingdom since 1707, has happened not only after, but because of the Union—that to it must be ascribed not only the immense extension of Britain's Colonial Empire, but also the discovery of steam power, of the jacquard loom, of the wonderful powers of electricity, and of the hundred other discoveries which have tripled the population, and multiplied a hundredfold the wealth of Great Britain. Of these advantages we may assume that Scotland would have had her share had the Union of the English and Scottish Parliaments never taken place, and the Scottish people need not, because of them, shut their eyes to inequalities in the contract between the two nations operating to the disadvantage of the lesser one—inequalities not dreamt of, much less introduced of set purpose, when the contract was settled, but gradually developed under circumstances to which nothing in the previous history of either country affords a parallel. So long as general prosperity increased by 'leaps and bounds,' it was natural that such inequalities should be overlooked, but

when, as now happens, the pressure of unprosperous times makes itself felt, burdens, formerly borne without complaint, become more galling. At such times, it is more than ever desirable, in the interest of both parties, that all semblance of unfairness and every just subject of discontent should be removed which can foster jealousy or ill-feeling between two peoples who ought to live in perfect equality, harmony, and friendship.

It may be urged that a contract such as that made between England and Scotland in 1707, is not only irrevocable in respect of its scope and object, but that even its terms and conditions are sacred and beyond discussion; but if it can be shewn that in certain respects the conditions of Union do not answer the ends which the framers of the Treaty aimed at, or that what was appropriate in the Eighteenth Century is hurtful in the Nineteenth, it will surely not be maintained that we must go on unequally yoked to the end of time. It must be presumed that mutual advantage to both peoples was the object of the Treaty, and it is matter of fact that the changed circumstances of both countries have in the past necessitated the introduction of extensive modifications into the Constitution of the country as it existed in 1707, and reasonably so, for the forms of government suitable for a nation of ten millions of people must in many ways be modified in order to accommodate them to the needs of thirty-five millions.

While, however, we may incidentally touch on points whereon we consider that the Union of 1707 has detrimentally affected Scotland, it is not our purpose in the present paper to discuss, much less to attack that measure. On the contrary, we are ready to acknowledge that in many and most important points it has been of incalculable benefit to Scotland as well as to England, and that any disadvantages from which our country suffers, are light compared to the evils formerly entailed upon it by the cat and dog life of previous centuries. Neither do we propose to enter upon the question of legislative reforms by which the condition of Scotland might be ameliorated. We prefer to take the Union at the highest value which its most enthusiastic admirers can possibly place upon it, and

to regard it as a measure of the utmost advantage both to Scotland and to England; but while doing so we shall shew, what many Scotchmen little dream of, that a price is being annually paid by the former country to the latter for the boon—a price partly paid in hard cash, the amount of which it is possible with more or less certainty to approximate, but partly also in disabilities and deprivations which have followed as direct consequences of the Union, and which have entailed, and continue annually to entail, upon Scotland a vast pecuniary loss which marks but cannot measure certain lamentable social evils from which Scotland suffers.

In our enquiry we shall endeavour to show—(1) that Scotland contributes a disproportionately large share of Revenue to the Imperial Exchequer, but does not receive equally with England a fair share of the expenditure of that revenue. (2) That Scotland is unduly burdened with expenses attending the procuring of legislation for local purposes, and for obtaining judicial decisions dealing with Scottish matters. (3) That Scotland suffers serious loss through enormous sums of money being withdrawn or diverted from it; directly, through the transfer of the seat of Parliament to London, and indirectly, through the absence and alienation of the landed aristocracy and other members of the wealthiest classes of her people.

It is obvious that many matters embraced in a calculation of the nature contemplated in this enquiry cannot be submitted to the test of precise and definitely ascertained figures, but we are confident that we shall adduce sufficient reliable data to enable us to show that, to an extent of which the general public has little idea, Scotland is burdened in a manner entirely disproportioned to the number of its population and the extent of its resources, and that it suffers thus from grievances which seriously affect its well being.

In the first branch of our enquiry it will be observed that we point out that the Scottish contribution to the Imperial Exchequer is disproportionately large. Taking the standard of population as our guide, we find that the census of 1881 shewed the population of Scotland to be in the proportion of 10·6 per cent to that of the whole United Kingdom, that of

Ireland 14·6, and that of England and Wales, with the Isle of Man and other small dependencies, to be of 74·8 or nearly $\frac{3}{4}$ of the whole. That figure 10·6 per cent., which approaches very closely to the proportion of representation allowed to Scotland in the Lower House of Parliament we shall take as our basis in the calculations which follow. If the fairness of taking population as a basis of reckoning be disputed, we would not object to taking instead the taxation returns of the United Kingdom, in full confidence that our case would thereby be strengthened rather than weakened. But we prefer the weaker ground, partly because we wish to avoid exaggerated estimate, and partly because the excess of taxation per head of its people which Scotland contributes to the Imperial Exchequer over the average for England, is the first point which we desire to bring out.

A Return of the Gross Revenue received from taxation for the year 1884-85, published in April of last year, gives the total for the United Kingdom as £73,908,000, or an average of £2 1s. 1d. per head of population—the proportion yielded by Scotland being £8,826,000, or an average of £2 5s. 8d. per head, while the average for England is only £2 2s. 3d. Comparing these figures, we find that while the population of Scotland is 10·6 per cent. of that of the United Kingdom, the average taxation which it bears is 11·9 per cent. The averages for both England and Scotland are indeed considerably higher than the average for the United Kingdom, the reason being that the average for Ireland is the extremely low figure of £1 11s. 3d. per head. To compare the position of matters between Scotland and England and dealing only with the gross Revenue derived from these portions of the United Kingdom we obtain the following results:—

Gross Revenue derived from England and Scotland,	£66,153,000
" " England alone,	- 57,327,000
" " Scotland alone,	- 8,826,000

giving percentages of 86·66 for England, and 13·33 for Scotland. To put the matter in another form, Ireland, according to population as in 1881, ought to provide 14·6 per cent of the

gross Revenue of the United Kingdom ; in place of this, she only furnishes 10·5 per cent, leaving the shortcoming of 4·1 per cent to be borne by the sister countries. This burden is unequally borne by the people of England and Scotland in the proportion of 20 per cent and 80 per cent respectively, or 1s. 2d. and 4s. 7d. per head. From the above we find that Scotland contributes to the Imperial Exchequer an annual sum not far short of £900,000 more than the amount proportionate to her population. As taxation is measured by the means of each individual, we of course do not say that the amount is beyond the resources of Scotland, but still in the fact that it contributes, relatively to its population, the largest proportion of the Revenue of the United Kingdom, it is clear that so far the balance of advantage arising from the Union is financially very much on the side of England.

Turning to the second division of our first head, we shall find that Scotland derives relatively small advantage from the expenditure of the vast amount annually raised by taxes levied in the United Kingdom. Following the order in which the expenditure is given in the Budget estimate for the Financial Year to 31st March, 1887, we pass over the annual charge for interest on the National Debt, as that has been incurred, mainly, since the Union ; and though England in 1707 had a debt of some 13 millions, while Scotland had none, and the policy of England has undoubtedly been the principal factor in the accumulation of the present debt, still Scotland accepted joint responsibility for the debt of 1707, bargaining for certain adjustments of taxation which now appear ridiculous in their insignificance, and her representatives have concurred generally in English policy. We shall leave out of account also all Imperial expenditure made abroad, regarding that as equitably apportioned among all parts of the United Kingdom. Neither shall we raise the question of local taxation, in the magnitude of which Scotland is again relatively far ahead of its neighbours, because the objects for which that taxation is raised are of interest to Scotland alone, and the money being spent within that country, on that point no just subject of complaint can arise. We take first the charges on the Consolidated Fund

for the year mentioned on account of the Civil List:—viz., Annuities and Pensions, Salaries and Allowances, Courts of Justice, and Miscellaneous Charges, £1,762,000. The share of this sum which corresponds to the population of Scotland is £186,772; but, tracing as well as we can the actual amount spent in Scotland, we find the following results:—Civil List Annuities and Pensions, *Nil*; Salaries and Allowances, Courts of Justice, and Miscellaneous Charges, £130,926. While the difference of about £50,000 between these sums is a part of the price which Scotland pays for the Union, we admit that the Civil List expenditure is altogether an Imperial matter, and as it must have been fully kept in view as such when the Union was effected, we are not disposed to place much stress upon it. Indeed, it will occur to many that the partiality shown by her present gracious Majesty for Scotland as a place of residence, and the expenditure occasioned thereby, fully compensates it for any loss under this head. The liking of the Queen for her Highland home, however, is merely a temporary circumstance, which may cease to operate when some other Sovereign succeeding her may prefer, let us suppose, to live in Ireland.

The Army and Navy charges in the Budget for 1886-1887 together absorbed the large sum of £31,226,000, in sums of nearly 18½ and 13 millions respectively. It is a matter, not only difficult but altogether impossible, to ascertain exactly what share of these large sums directly benefits Scotland in the manner in which England is benefitted. It is not, however, at all difficult to discover that that share, whatever it may amount to, is entirely out of proportion to the importance of Scotland as a portion of the United Kingdom. Excluding the charges for auxiliary and reserve forces, and non-effective services, of which we may assume that Scotland receives its full share, the total estimate for military services for 1886-87 was about thirteen and a half millions, or to be exact, £13,518,800, providing for an army of 151,868 men, of whom 93,758 officers and men, with 294 field-guns, formed the home force. According to population the proportion of this force to be maintained in Scotland should fall but little short of 10,000 men, but in place

of this, the total number of troops maintained in Scotland in the beginning of 1886, by the expenditure on whom that country benefitted, was only 3987. The meagre nature of the military establishment in Scotland may be gauged by comparison of the number of officers on the general and departmental staff stationed in it, which, out of a total of 1790, reaches the imposing number of a round dozen. As a matter of course the great military educational establishments and arsenals are all situated outside of Scotland. It must not be supposed that we complain that a large and useless expenditure on military show and parade is not kept up in Scotland—this is not at all desired. Scotland has abundantly proved that it is ready to pay its portion of the blood tax, whenever called upon, and freely to spend the lives of its sons in maintaining the honour of the Empire, and in contributing effectually to its stability. The returns which have been obtained of the nationalities of the soldiers composing the British army, show that Scotsmen are in fairly proportionate numbers to Englishmen and Irishmen; and it is all the more creditable to Scotland, that its sons freely enrol themselves under the national flag without being enticed under it by the exhibition of military show and parade, which is so much more abundantly lavished upon the other portions of the United Kingdom.

It is difficult to say what would be a fair sum to name as the deficiency in Scotland's share of the expenditure for military purposes, but that the sum is a large one, the above figures clearly prove,—probably £500,000 would not overstate it, but to keep well within the mark, we shall place it at £300,000.

If the state of matters with regard to expenditure upon the army shows a result such as we have described, it is natural to expect that the expenditure upon the navy will show results still more disadvantageous to Scotland. After making the necessary deductions for services abroad, and a fair allowance for Scotland's share of coast guard services, officers' retired pay and allowances, etc., of which we may assume that a fair portion falls to Scotland and is expended within it, so far as the individual recipients choose to make

that country their residence, and keeping in view, also, that the private enterprise of Scottish builders secures some portion of Government contract work for shipyards on the Clyde, we still find that the great bulk of the expenditure upon Dock-yards, naval and victualling yards, and the provisions for the *materiel* and armament of the fleet goes to the more favoured portion of the Island. As illustrating this fact, we may remind our readers that during the Session of Parliament just ended considerable pressure was applied to the Government by Scottish Members with the view of opening up army and navy contracts to more general competition. As a result of their importunity, there was obtained from the War Office a list of contractors who had up to that time been on the official list, and who had therefore enjoyed the privilege of receiving invitations to tender. The list affords an admirable illustration of the exceeding smallness of the mercies for which it is supposed Scotland cannot be too thankful. Out of several hundreds of names which figure upon it, only *three*, it appears, are those of Scottish traders. Keeping in view facts like this, we do not suppose that any one will say that in naming £200,000 as the deficiency in Scotland's share of Naval Expenditure, we take anything but an extremely low estimate.

Taking next in order the enormous expenditure upon the Civil Services, we find that this in the Budget we have quoted amounted to nearly £18,009,000 divided as follows :—

a. Public works and bridges, - - -	£1,860,074
b. Civil departments, - - -	2,476,470
c. Law and Justice, - - -	6,305,534
d. Education, Science, and Art, -	5,442,352
e. Foreign and Colonial Services, -	644,864
f. Non-effective and Charitable Services,	1,239,264
g. Miscellaneous, - - - -	40,133
	<hr/>
Making as above, - - -	£18,008,691

According to population the share of this sum falling to be expended in Scotland should be £1,928,954, or, deducting as Imperial expenditure the entire sum provided for Foreign and

Colonial services, £1,840,598 : but so far as information is obtainable, the following is the proportion allocated to Scottish purposes :—

a. Public works and buildings,	-	£109,005
b. Public departments,	- - -	83,784
c. Law and Justice,	- - -	489,852
d. Education, Science, and Art,	-	551,688
e. Foreign Colonial Services,	- -	_____
f. Non-effective and Charitable Services,		103,571
g. Miscellaneous,	- - - -	2,403
		<hr/>
		£1,340,303

showing a short-coming of upwards of a half million sterling on this head. The figures given under *d* and *f* will no doubt attract attention from the unwontedly liberal provision made for Scottish wants. Surprise at this liberality will, however, be lessened, when the nature of the charges is examined—the one consisting almost entirely of the Education grant, and the other of the grant for maintenance of lunatic paupers. Both sums are virtually repayments of the proportions of money raised for these purposes by local taxation, and in regard to them, it naturally follows that the better these purposes are attended to by the people of either part of Great Britain, so much the more must they receive in repayment.

For the Customs and Inland Revenue departments we find the provision made in the Budget of 1886-87 to be £2,754,000, or a little more than 2½ millions. Taking the population of Scotland as before at 10·6 per cent. of the whole; the proportion applicable to it is £291,924 or close on £300,000. In place of that sum Scotland receives roughly speaking about £200,000, or a little more than two-thirds of her fair proportion.

The three remaining items of the supply services absorbed in the above Budget the following amounts :—

Post Office,	- - - - -	£5,219,000
Telegraph Service,	- - - - -	1,845,000
Packet Service,	- - - - -	736,000
		<hr/>
or a total of	- -	£7,800,000

Scotland's proportion of which reckoned as above should be £826,800, while the actual sums estimated as required for Scottish purposes are—

Post Office, - - - - -	£470,980
Telegraphic Service, - - - - -	116,887
Packet Service, - - - - -	22,197
	<hr/>
	£610,064

or less by upwards of £200,000 than the due proportion according to population.

Recapitulating the results of our enquiry under the first branch of the subject, we find that part from the excess of contribution yielded by Scotland to the Imperial Exchequer, which we have estimated at £900,000 per annum, there is a large deficiency in the amount of public monies expended on Scottish purposes or on Imperial purposes within that country. That deficiency we estimate as follows :—

In Charges borne by Consolidated Fund, say	£30,000
Army expenditure, - - - - - „	300,000
Navy, „ - - - - - „	200,000
Civil Services expenditure, - - - - - „	450,000
Customs and Inland Revenue, - - - - - „	80,000
Post Office, Telegraph, and Packet Services „	200,000
	<hr/>
Total, - - -	£1,260,000

In a calculation such as this where so much depends on estimate it is easy to err—keeping this in view, where error seems possible we have endeavoured to secure that error should be on the safe side, by understating rather than overstating these deficiencies. The net result appears to be that while Scotland contributes nearly a million sterling in excess of its proportion of taxation according to population, the expenditure from that taxation applicable to it is about a million and a quarter under its fair proportion.

In connection with the second branch of our subject, enquiry will reveal that a good deal exists, if not to qualify our

admiration for the union of the two kingdoms, at least to convince us that Scotland pays a pretty heavy price for the boon, and that the commercial abilities which that measure has undoubtedly developed among Scotchmen to so large an extent had not in 1707 developed sufficiently to enable them to cope with John Bull in driving a bargain. There is, however, little ground for surprise that adequate provision should not at that date have been made for the manifold wants of the kingdom. It was then the day of small things, and only prophetic instinct could have foreseen that the enormous development of the country would necessitate constant recurrence to the Imperial Parliament for authority to carry out the public works and improvements which since then have changed the face of the land. Had the framers of the Treaty foreseen that every Session Parliament would require to deal with scores of applications for legislative authority to construct railways, canals, and bridges, to enable municipalities to lay out enormous sums on city improvements, and for sanction to the thousand and one schemes which, during the present century, have engaged the attention of Scotchmen, we may reasonably think that they would have refrained from imposing upon their country so grievous an obstacle as is placed in the way of progress of every kind, by the necessity which exists for recourse to London for legislative sanction to schemes purely Scotch in object and interest. Without doubt the difficulties and expense entailed by this necessity have strangled in their inception many desirable projects, which might have been brought to a successful issue had the reference required been to a parliament in Edinburgh, composed of Scotchmen understanding the wants of their country, and anxious that these should be properly met.

This necessity for constant recourse to the Imperial Parliament for sanction to purely Scottish business, not only hampers Scottish enterprise, but has also the minor result of virtually levying a heavy pecuniary fine, mainly for the benefit of London parliamentary agents. Of purely Scotch measures we find that since 1877 an average of 22 Local Acts have received parliamentary sanction; but we have no record of the numbers which during the same period have failed to obtain that sanc-

tion, after enormous expenses have been incurred in the endeavour to do so, or which have only obtained it after efforts repeated again and again during many sessions of Parliament.

Such applications to Parliament also affect the rights of many parties who are interested not in promoting, but in opposing them. Both parties alike, however, find themselves compelled to face the trouble and expense of fighting their cases far away from home, and at ruinous expenditure of time and money. That this is a delightful state of matters for the army of London parliamentary agents which the system keeps up, goes without saying; and had the Union been made for their convenience, things, as they stand, could not have been better arranged. The returns obtained by Mr. Craig Sellar for the years 1883-1884-1885, showed that during these years the sums spent by Town Councils, Gas, Water, Tramway, and Canal Companies, and Harbour Commissioners, in promoting Private Bills, was £225,000. But these years were by no means distinguished for extraordinary enterprise, and we may safely assume that the amount quoted does not afford a fair average of the expenditure under this head. Less needs to be said of the expense attending the promotion of, or opposition to, Public Bills, although this is no doubt considerable, owing to the great distance to which deputations, etc., must travel to make support or opposition available.

Another very considerable item of expense occurs in the recourse which must be had to the House of Lords to obtain decisions in cases of appeal from judgments of the Scottish Courts. The average number of such cases during eight years taken at random since 1868 was 22. Those who have had personal experience of the expenses attending the prosecutions of suits at so great a distance from their homes, are only too well able to appreciate the serious nature of the burden; and though that burden is one which does not fall on the general public, but is borne by individuals, it still forms a portion of the price which Scotland pays for parting with its competence to regulate its own domestic concerns. Taking everything into account we shall probably fall considerably short of the actual loss to Scotland entailed by the transfer of

legislative and judicial authority from Edinburgh to London, in estimating it at £150,000 per annum. If mere distance, however, were the only grievance, it might be possible to bear the burden with a certain degree of equanimity, for places remote from the seat of legislature must always be at some disadvantage, as compared with places situated near it. But how shall we qualify the attempts which have been made in quite recent years to subject Scotchmen to the authority of English tribunals, and to increase the influence of English Courts and the gains of English lawyers, by removing the administration of Scottish estates and the prosecution of Scottish suits to the English Courts. A financial article is not the most appropriate place for dealing with an abuse which should be attacked on far higher grounds than that of pounds, shillings and pence; but as desire of gain mingles with greed of power in inducing Englishmen to encroach upon rights and privileges reserved by the Treaty of Union, it is not out of place to point out here that every encroachment of this nature adds to the pecuniary loss which Scotland has borne for many years with amazing patience.

We come now to the third branch of our enquiry, which is at the same time the most important and the most difficult, namely, the loss which Scotland suffers through the withdrawal and diversion to England of so much of the expenditure of the wealthiest classes, and, especially, of the landed aristocracy, which has followed as a consequence of the Union of the Kingdoms and the transfer of the Legislature from Edinburgh to London. This, in our view, is the heaviest price which Scotland has paid for the Union with England, and forms a weighty offset to the blessings which have flowed from it, at however high a value these may be rated. It is a price too, of which the pecuniary amount, though vast, is the least considerable portion. Before we have done we shall point out some other considerations entering into the subject, but as it is with pecuniary results we have mainly to deal, we shall attend to these in the first place.

From a 'domesday' book published a few years ago we may, without guaranteeing the absolute accuracy of the figures,

take the following as the annual income of the nobility and titled commoners of Scotland so far as derived from real estate situated in that country :—

Dukes, - - - - -	£698,699
Marquesses, - - - - -	192,784
Earls, - - - - -	1,007,326
Viscounts, - - - - -	36,934
Barons, - - - - -	398,627
Baronets, - - - - -	855,763
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	£3,190,133

The total value of lands in Scotland assessed to income tax for the year 1885 was about $7\frac{1}{2}$ millions sterling, so that the proportion of gross revenue from real estate in the hands of the classes included in the above table may be taken roughly at three-sevenths of the whole.

Of these classes a large proportion, and that among the wealthiest of their number, reside for a considerable part of the year in London in order to discharge the duties incumbent upon them as members of the Upper House of Parliament. Most of them are adherents of a Church which is not that of the mass of the Scottish people, and look to England for the education of their children; thus enhancing the prestige of English schools and universities, while Scotland sees with regret her schools of higher education, deprived of the presence of the class which ought to be their support and mainstay, dwindle and fall into disrepute.

The centre of social attraction which was formerly situated in Scotland being removed elsewhere, that portion of the community, which from its circumstances is not bound to the soil, naturally and inevitably gravitates towards that centre as the tidal wave with everything that floats upon it follows the moon. Everything Scottish falls out of prevailing fashion, is regarded as provincial, and is rigorously shunned by the very class which ought to feel the greatest pride in its nationality and to do its utmost to maintain and uphold it. An English gentleman in his own country, let him be ever

so highly privileged by rank, feels himself surrounded by Englishmen who, equally with himself, cherish every memory with which he has been associated from his youth upwards. The Scottish gentleman, on the contrary, returns from his English school or university an Englishman in everything excepting perhaps recognition as such by his class-mates, and with habits and manners and aspirations which often render him a stranger among his own people. In this way it is not surprising that Scotland should be, to a large extent, deserted by the very class which owes most to it—its wealth, its importance, its dignity, rank, and privileges—and that the curse of absenteeism, with its train of attendant evils, becomes so prominent as to form a source of real danger both to the country and to the higher classes themselves. We may be sure that with a people so democratically minded as the Scotch, the alienation from their country shewn by the higher orders will one day be repaid by a right cordial dislike, and in time be visited upon the heads of their successors. This alienation of the Scottish aristocracy from their country is no new phenomenon; it showed itself immediately after the Union, to an extent of which the following extract from Wodrow, written in 1731, will give some idea:—

‘I find it observed, that, very soon, Scotland must be drained of money, in specie, and really it is a wonder any almost is left with us. Indeed, except it be coals, and that is a trifle, linen cloth, and black cattle, which may bring in a little, we have scarce any other branch of trade that brings in money to us in specie. Add to this, that there is £24,000 yearly in the Civil List and Crown Rents which is carried away, after all pensions, posts, garrisons, and officers, are paid, and what a prodigious quantity of money is every year expended by every family of any rank, for body clothes of English or foreign produce! and to this may be added that the greatest estates in Scotland, in land rent, are all taken out to England in specie—Buccleuch, Roxburghe, Argyle, Montrose, Queensberry, etc., etc.,—besides members of Parliament who spend at least more than they get.’

That this alienation so graphically described by Wodrow

has not ceased to operate, but continues in our day to an increased extent, is abundantly clear. To what extent it pecuniarily affects Scotland it is impossible to define with anything like precision, but we shall probably be under, rather than over, the mark in estimating that from the causes above referred to, and others similar, a full third of the income of the Scottish aristocracy is spent outside Scotland; that is, more than a million sterling of the produce of her unfruitful soil. So vast a result as this could not in the nature of things have been conceived possible in 1707. But, after all, the mere loss of money is an inconsiderable part of the evil compared to the loosening of the ties which should unite the higher with the lower ranks of the community; for it has ever been found that the affection and respect of the people is a much more precious possession than the wealth which their labour places in the hands of their natural leaders. Though hard to eradicate from their minds, these feelings of affection and respect once lost are hardly ever to be regained, and their loss will certainly entail sooner or later heavy penalties upon the numerically weaker party. But the loss to Scotland does not stop short at this point. The example of the aristocracy tells powerfully upon the class immediately beneath them, the untitled gentry who are the possessors of the greater portion of the remainder of the soil, who, descended from the same stock, or for generations associated with them, share the feelings and sympathies of their titled brethren, and who follow the mode of living of the higher classes as closely as their rank and means will permit, but to whom fortunately circumstances do not as a rule allow full freedom to disengage themselves from the ties which bind them to their native country. This class is therefore, to a large extent, still closely associated with the people, retains their confidence and takes a leading part in the management of county and, in rural districts, even parochial matters. But neither does the example of the higher classes fail to affect, to some extent, the classes whom commerce has enriched, and who, day by day, by mere force of wealth—the result of successful enterprise—force themselves to the front, and take the place of those whom expensive habits, often the result of con-

fact with southern neighbours have compelled to part with their patrimony. Among these classes is divided the bulk of the remainder of the real property of Scotland, and we may not unfairly assume that of the revenues, derived from real property in Scotland belonging to its untitled gentry, another million is thus diverted from the country which, had it remained an independent kingdom, would have been spent within it. Large, however, as is the annual revenue from real property, it is far and away exceeded by that derived from other sources, and though, proportionally, a much smaller part of this revenue can be, or at any rate is, expended outside the country, a very large sum must be added to our estimate, as given above, in order to represent fully the vast amount of Scotch money which the absorption of Scotland by England causes to flow into the larger country, without corresponding benefit to the smaller.

We find, then, on reviewing the results which, however imperfectly, we have endeavoured to deduce from our enquiry, that Scotland contributes to the Imperial Exchequer a sum not far short of a million pounds sterling in excess of the proportion which corresponds to its population, but say £900,000; that of the expenditure of the general taxation of the United Kingdom, there is applied to Scottish purposes a sum less than that to which it is fairly entitled in proportion to its population by £1,250,000; that the transference of the seat of legislature to London causes an annual extra expenditure in connection with local objects which may be very moderately estimated at £150,000; and that that transference and the Union of Scotland with England causes a withdrawal from the former country of expenditure from private revenue which would otherwise directly benefit it, which must amount to many millions annually, but which may be moderately stated at £2,000,000, making an annual total of upwards of four millions sterling—or about a pound per head per annum for the whole population of Scotland.

We have endeavoured, where reasonable ground of doubt existed, to keep our estimates under the mark, and largely so; but even were it otherwise, and that our estimates require

large abatements to bring them into strict conformity with reality, it can hardly fail to be admitted that even the diminished total would show that an enormous sum is annually provided by Scotland as the price which it pays for its Union with England.

This price, large as it is, excessive as some may deem it, would we doubt not be ungrudgingly paid, could it be shewn that the result is in all respects mutually advantageous; but if, as we have incidentally endeavoured to show, the Union is, to a large extent, accountable for the denationalization and alienation of the higher classes—for vexations, delays, and positive hindrance to legislation necessary or advantageous to Scotland—and for much practical injustice to its people, the price will not continue to be paid as heretofore in blind confidence in its fairness. The Union has been extolled in times past as the highest effort which Britain has seen of good and wise and patriotic statesmanship—as such, we would wish it in our power to view it, and into such we hope it may yet develop; but veneration for the treaty of Union need not and will not prevent the Scottish people from insisting that their rights shall be better respected in the future than they have been in the past. What the result to Scotland would be were the golden shower, the product of the toil of its hardy and industrious sons, poured upon it which rises only to descend upon other lands, it is easy to perceive—native industries would thrive which are not now encouraged—population would increase in rural districts, now being steadily and rapidly depopulated—Scottish national feeling would revive, and Scotland would rise from the position of a subordinate and little regarded province of England, as it virtually is under present arrangements, to that of a kingdom administering freely its own domestic affairs, and sharing, according to its population, wealth and importance, in the management of the Imperial concerns of the British Empire.

ART. II.—SALVATORE FARINA.

IF Manzoni is entitled to be called the Italian Sir Walter Scott, the author whose name we have placed above may be still more fitly called the Italian Dickens. It is hazardous perhaps to institute parallels between writers of countries so widely differing as England and Italy, yet on none of his own countrymen does the mantle of Charles Dickens seem so distinctly to have descended, as on this Sardinian, whose works are, we believe, almost, if not quite, unknown in England. But before passing to a detailed account of Farina's novels, a short biographical account of their author will not be out of place, as, besides the personal interest in him which his writings are calculated in an eminent degree to awaken, the key to much that we find in his books is contained in the history of his life. He himself has lately told us—

‘I was born at Sorso, in the province of Sassari in Sardinia, in 1846. I commenced my studies at Sassari, where I had reached the classes of Rhetoric, when my father, who was one of the higher magistrates, was transferred in 1860 to Casale, in the province of Monferrato, whither I accompanied him, and entered the Lyceum there. I afterwards studied law at the Universities of Pavia and Turin, where, on August 3rd, 1868, I took my degree. On September 3rd of the same year I was married to my Christina (who was a widow, with two children by her first marriage), and settled at Milan as a novel writer. At that time great courage was necessary for an undertaking which promised neither bread nor renown—but it was my destiny. At Milan I worked hard, not as a lawyer, but as an author. They were thirteen years of indescribable struggle, in which, however, I was comforted by the birth of three children, all of whom are alive and well at the present moment. The eldest, Agostino, is now sixteen and a half, Antonietta, the second, nearly fifteen, and the youngest, Laurina, only twelve years old. One of my wife's children by her first marriage, is already an officer in the Infantry, the other, Laura, died shortly after her mother married me. In 1882, I had the misfortune to lose my Cristina by consumption. For thirteen years she had shared all my struggles for existence, had been the witness of my feverish literary excitement, my adviser and friend, in short, my all in all. After her death, I was obliged to put my children to a boarding school, and thus remained alone myself; this was the cause of the melancholy which seized me, and which, joined to excess of work and grief, produced the strange malady which in February,

1884, deprived me of speech, and even of the memory of words (*amnesia verbale*). I have now at length entirely recovered from it, and if I mistake not, there is no danger of its repeating itself. As to my character, much has been written in Italian and foreign periodicals concerning it. A deep melancholy, love of solitude, and of children, are perhaps the chief characteristics.

Turning from this slender, and remarkably modest biographical notice to the novels, it is interesting to observe many accidental and more intentional points of coincidence. In several of his earlier works, Farina describes pathetically the death of a beloved wife as if in presentiment of his own bereavement, and still more decided touches from his own life are to be found in the others. Epaminondas Placidi, a lawyer, and the father in the domestic novel *Mio Figlio*, (*My Son*), may be regarded almost as a portrait of the author; nor is it by chance that the two children in this book are named Agostino and Laurina, after his own son and youngest daughter. The melancholy which Farina confesses to, is certainly diffused very largely over all his earlier works, and though in a measure overcome by the prevailing humouristic tone in those of a later date, it reappears with a deeper and fuller meaning in those of the series bearing the motto, *We Die*. Nor can any one doubt of Farina's love for children, who has made acquaintance with his writings, as we shall have occasion to note when examining them more minutely.

The novels of this author, eighteen in number, may be divided by style and character into three classes, representing three different stages of development. The first class includes the five earlier works—and perhaps we may also add a later one, *Capelli Biondi*, (*Fair Hair*)—in which a distinctly French influence is visible. Passionate, sentimental, and often sensual love, is the sole motive, and the humourous characters and situations are completely subordinate to this one idea. In the second category, we would place most of the works written during the last ten years, which, with great variety of subject and treatment, remind us by the humour and tenderness in the conception and delineation of the personages, so irresistibly of Dickens. The key-note to the works of the third class is a certain mysticism, a striving to penetrate into the secrets of the unknown. Traces

of this may indeed be found in many of Farina's earliest novels ; but it reveals itself more clearly and characteristically in those bearing the motto, *We Die*, which appeared after the death of his wife, when the desolation of his home had brought him face to face, with the deeper problems of human life.

Farina's début as a novelist hardly promised the success he has now achieved. His two first works, *Due Amori* (Two Loves), and *Il Segreto* (The Secret), are melancholy and sentimental in their tone, and slow even to tediousness in their development. Nor is there a trace in these two novels of the humour, which afterwards became such a distinguishing characteristic of their author ; neither is there any character-drawing, worth so calling, in them. The personages seem pale reflections of the French school, from which the situations are also apparently borrowed, notably in the second story. More power is visible in Farina's third novel *Frutti Proibiti* (Forbidden Fruit), where an original character is imparted to the almost French treatment by the author's own genius, and the moral of the whole, that the worst punishment for evil-doing may lie in its seeming success, is one far beyond the reach of most of his prototypes. The hero, Riccardo (the 'professional lover' as the author terms him), has more active power for evil than those of the first two novels, more passion and less sentiment. The list of the relics of his first love—ninety-six letters and forty-eight dried flowers—which he restores to the faithless Camilla on her marriage with a more fortunate rival, is not followed by any subsequent touches of humour, if we except the figure of Biagio with his horticultural mania, though here it seems forced and unnatural, when compared with those of his later works. Another characteristic note is struck in the introduction of parental affection, as the harmonizing and reconciling element in the discords of life, an idea which in one form or another, recurs in almost all Farina's novels.

Il Romanzo d'un Vedovo (The Romance of a Widower), is the title of the next work. It is inferior to *Forbidden Fruit*, at least in its present form, for the preface to the last edition of the latter story, tells us that it has been revised and partly recast, as we now read it. A duel, which is a favourite catastrophe in the

earlier novels, occurs here also, and results in the warmest friendship between the combatants. The story is otherwise destitute of events, and less artistically constructed than its predecessor.

The first decided success, Farina himself tells us, was achieved by his next novel, *Il Tesoro di Donnina* (Donnina's Fortune), which was first published in 1873. As a tale, it is much superior to all its forerunners, nor is it devoid of considerable imaginative power. The description of Christmas in the Lunatic Asylum, in the opening chapters, has already something of the ring of Dickens in it, who might indeed have been proud to add to the list of his creations, the golden-haired, blue-eyed Olympia, still divided between her affection for her father, her love for her doll, and her romantic worship of the melancholy medical student, who has bestowed his heart elsewhere, and regards her as a mere child. The sketch of Donnina's adoptive parents, and the village school is full of tenderness and humour, and in many respects this work contains a promise of much that is best in Farina's later novelettes.

The next novel, *Amore Bendato* (Blind Love), is skilfully constructed as to plot, and psychologically interesting as a transitional work, where some French influence is still to be traced, combined with much entirely peculiar to the author's own genius. Ernesta, the heroine, is one of the feminine characters Farina especially delights in, warm-hearted and sensitive, with a tender imagination and ideal views of persons and things, rendering her intolerant towards those whose aspirations are more commonplace. The first two chapters contain skilful portraiture of the two principal characters, and Ernesta's account of her courtship and marriage, its illusions and dreams, too soon to be broken by the dreary monotony of the unappreciative companionship of a husband, unwilling to renounce for her sake a single custom of his bachelor-life, is well imagined and described. Very skilfully too is the idea indicated in the title, *Blind Love*, carried out through the seemingly loveless relationship of the husband and wife to the discovery, when the husband is afflicted with blindness, of the true state of their affections.

It is to be regretted that in this book, full of good work and poetical beauty, the author should have adopted the Frenchified

episode of Doctor Agenore, who while undertaking to mediate between the estranged couple, falls in love himself and ends by pleading his own suit. There is however considerable humour in the doctor's portrait, who, when sympathy and pity for his friend in his deep affliction enable him to triumph over his ignoble impulses, supplies the one link needed to rivet the chain of affection between Leonardo and Ernesta. Besides the dramatic interest of the story, there is much good description, in which the beauty and harmony of nature is used to reconcile and soothe the conflicts of the human mind. An extract from one of the opening chapters, when Ernesta is just awaking to a sense of the void in her life, will best exhibit this:—

‘It was the dawn of day. It was that brief period in which sleep and life, silence and sound, darkness and light, seem to mingle.

A thread of pale light, accompanied by the fresh breath of morning entered the window; the air was stirred by the first notes of a grand concert which would presently burst out in full force from the old horse-chestnut tree in the garden. Sundry small performers, with swelling throat, impatiently practised the most difficult trills. But in spite of much flitting hither and thither of little birds, much fluttering of benumbed wings, in spite of the intermittent songs, and of the soft whispering of the foliage, there still remained something of nocturnal silence in the air.

‘Ernesta, for an instant tried to follow from the window the flight of her little friend (a very docile and taciturn familiar spirit), but not being able to see the direction it took, she almost immediately abandoned her gaze into the clouds, and turned her eyes and thoughts to the earth, the garden, and the chestnut tree.

‘This garden was to her a whole world; a world peopled by gay and innocent creatures, over whose heads the wing of a kite never hovered. The horse-chestnut was a conservatory, which produced the most beautiful voices and the best singers in the universe; a nightingale was the president, and a starling voluntary undertook the office of director.

‘Ernesta, for a moment forgetful of her griefs, remained immovable, listening to a beautiful descriptive symphony. This May morning had a hundred light and cool fingers wherewith to caress her brow, her cheeks, her eyes tired with watching; the sparrows wished her “good morning” in chorus; and the heartless swallows, flying so close as almost to brush her with their wings, uttered a cry of welcome mixed with a touch of fear. The young wife had the acuteness of the senses proper to fantastic and nervous natures; the twittering of the swallows seemed to her full of attractions, she was persuaded that they cried “farewell” in passing, and she breathed in response a low “farewell,” so as not to cause the hearts of

the little choir, already frightened at their own audacity, to beat too violently. Then she leaned out of the window to look up at another swallow, which was hanging to its nest under the leaves, and regarding her earnestly.

'Little by little, other voices were added to the concert, and the symphony acquired its greatest strength. Ernesta could not leave the window ; her protracted wakefulness had still more sharpened her senses ; she heard, or seemed to hear, new words, unknown accents ; and when the starling perched on the topmost bough of the chestnut, began a song that drowned all the other voices, it seemed to her that he sang to her alone, and had something important to tell her. She drew a chair into the recess of the window and listened for some time with closed eyes, every now and then bending her head as if in assent. Finally, after sighing "yes" for the last time, her head sank on her breast and she fell asleep. . . .'

A favourite idea of the author's, and one which frequently recurs in other works, is here enunciated, viz., communion with the spirits of the dead whom we have loved when on earth. Ernesta is recalled to a sense of her danger when listening to the insidious words of Dr. Agenore by the song of a bird, in whom she fancies she recognises a messenger from her dead mother to warn the erring daughter from the pitfall at her feet.

'For the first time since experiencing these matrimonial disillusionings, the question of the future appeared to Ernesta in a new form. Bound by the ties of decorum to the man who had released her of his own accord from the odious claims of the codex, what did she owe to him who had been her husband, and whose name she still bore ? Nothing, nothing. A clear and decided voice, spontaneous as an instinct, a voice that could not deceive her, repeated contemptuously : "Nothing, nothing ; to make a nest of one's house is the very essence of a happy marriage ; all else is pretence, formula, a mere apparatus for adding solemnity to the galling of the chain. Turn your back on the nest, leave the couch cold and solitary that should be warmed by love, and you owe nothing to each other, you are free ; if Leonardo be dead for you, must you reduce yourself to a monastic life, and never more palpitate with affection, lest you should tarnish his respected name ? And what name ? That of a rich vagabond, who idles his time away at the coffee-house or the club, who yawns and sleeps, and sups with ballet-girls ! Ah ! to be sure ! Society would be wounded to the heart if you dared to profane such an honoured name, such a precious life."

'Ernesta passed her hand across her brow ; Agenore smiled at her like an expectant mendicant. But the reproachful voice of conscience, interrupting the echo from the world, reached her ear, "Ah ! you are not a debtor to Leonardo, but to yourself !"

“Certainly,” continued the mocking voice, “in the name of virtue you owe to yourself a slow torment; force yourself, conquer your longings, contract your heart as if with a vice; cut your nerves, breathe ice into your veins; forget that you are only twenty, and that at twenty one loves, and that beauty is a gift to attract love:—this is what you owe to yourself. You must teach your mental fire and your bright smile to hide themselves, or only to kindle in eyes that blaze in solitude and fade for want of nourishment. If you have too much leisure, it will make time pass to occupy it in mock love-fights in the fencing-school of flirtation. You are young, beautiful, ardent, fantastic. You must learn to accustom your youth to a precious senility, to make a monster of your beauty, a toy of your vanity, to give fire the semblance of ice, and imagine a life beyond the world that does not resemble this one. Then you will be respected, honoured, esteemed, and men and women will repeat your name at noisy banquets, as that of an ascetic, who is fit to be a model—to others.”

‘Again Ernesta passed her hand across her brow, and Agenore still smiled.

“Fool! to laugh and suffer, to doubt and fear while you mock at your doubts and fears. No, you owe nothing to the man who has abandoned you; nothing to the world which indifferently tyrannizes over you; and to yourself you owe only life, love, and youth. You were not born to consume yourself in solitude; to wither away in the aridity of your heart, to cripple your nature in vain contemplation. You are beautiful. Look round, a hundred desirous eyes tell you so; seek a wholesome heart; choose a man from among the childish, factious, silly crowd; and cry to the world without a blush “It is he! It is he!”

‘For the first time Ernesta’s eyes met those of Dr. Agenore with a certain fear. He continued to smile at her like an expectant mendicant. . . .

‘But a shrill voice, more a whistle than a voice, all at once sounded from the summit of a Magnolia-tree, twice; thrice; persistently. And while Dr. Agenore only heard single notes repeated by a starling, Ernesta distinctly heard these words:—“Not he! Not he!”

‘She rose to her feet with a transfigured face, a prey to profound emotion. She made a sign to Agenore to be silent, and her eyes sought her winged counsellor in the midst of the green foliage, until she perceived him. “Not he! Not he!” repeated the starling, as he flew away to join his companions, who were whirling round and round like a cloud.

“It is singular,” said Ernesta, thoughtfully, “just as at Milan!”

“What is singular?” asked Agenore, with a touch of ill-temper at this frivolous resolving of the situation.

‘Ernesta did not reply.

‘An hour after she took leave of the doctor with infinite civility, recommending him to make haste to reach Bellagio before night-fall.’

Farina’s next publication was an unpretending little volume containing three short tales, *A Separation from Bed and Board*,

The Family of Signor Onorati, and A Happy Man. In themselves but slight magazine-sketches, they are yet so delicately and lovingly touched in, that we must acknowledge their author a master of pathos and humour. The second is especially charming, an idyl in prose, and Farina himself seems to have felt this and been unwilling to part with its characters, for he has introduced some of them into a later novelette.

A more ambitious effort is the *Fante di Picche* (Knave of Spades), which may be considered the first in which a distinctly Dickensque character displays itself. It might indeed have been written for a Christmas number of *Household Words* without any discrepancy of style or character. Love-making plays here a subordinate part, the real passion portrayed being that of gambling. The night in which Donato loses, and at the same time gains his all, is powerfully described, and recalls at every turn the master's hand, in whose very spirit the character of Uncle Martin is imagined and portrayed. We give an abridged extract from it:—

‘Encouraged by a courteous sign and affectionatè smile, Donato placed his cigar between his teeth, took up the Knave of Spades, and shuffled it into the pack, very badly copying the indifferent air which had so much pleased him in his adversary.

‘It was a mercy that Signor Asdrubale, who was intent on smoothing the creases in the breast of his coat, cut the cards without looking up, otherwise he would have noticed that the hands of the student of mathematics were trembling, and that he grew pale. . . . The room is very hot, Donato is bathed in perspiration, his partner quietly offers him his revenge—and wins again. The heat becomes oppressive. There remain only 149 francs in the student's purse, the rest have disappeared into Signor Asdrubale's Russia-leather abyss. Shortly after this abyss re-opens, and the 149 francs go to join their fellows.

‘The end of the Havannah which has cost him 350 francs falls from Donato's lips; he feels quite weak; drops of perspiration start upon his brow and roll down his face. He might serve as a model for a picture of misfortune. What is he to do, now that he has not even the wherewithal to try his luck once more?

‘Signor Asdrubale, who has just finished taking up his money, turns a smiling face to the young man, and hands him the cards, saying in a monotonous accent that seems ferocious.

‘“Your revenge!”

‘The game is continued on credit. The stake is 100 francs, which Donato

wins. He is enraged at not having risked more and plays 250 francs. His adversary offers to change the card, but Donato refuses, plays and plays again, losing always and rushing blindly to his ruin.

'The cards pass from one to the other; once; twice; thrice; but the Knave of Spades continues faithful to Signor Asdrubale.

'Ah! what an ugly idea crosses Donato's mind! He tries to shake it off, but the dark suspicion remains.

"Take care," says his partner, looking fixedly at him, "to-day the Knave of Spades is fond of me; choose another card."

'Donato feels that he is found out and blushes deeply, but is it his fault that he is suspicious? He has heard so much. There are people it is said, so clever. . . . The least he can do is to say immediately "No sir, one must be obstinate in play."

'He wins and revives; he doubles his stake, and loses. Certainly Signor Asdrubale holds Fortune by the bridle and leads her whither he will.

"I will accept your advice," stammered the student, "I choose the Ace of Diamonds and double the stake."

'His short adversary signs consent and pauses to note down his last winnings in his pocket-book. The cards are dealt. Donato stupidly contemplates the Knave of Spades in his hand. It seems as if the card obeyed some secret enemy, for first it was spiteful, and now it mooks him. He looks at it intently; he feels as if he would like to tear it to pieces, to murder it. Strange ideas cross his confused mind, and he has a vision. Fixing his eyes on the small figure of this little knave he notices a family likeness to his fortunate adversary; in imagination he takes away the breast-plate of the one and puts it on to the other; the two are confounded in a single figure; they have both petulant and withered faces, they both wink their eyes, and the buttoned coat of the one seems cut out by the hand that fashioned the black doublet of the other. . . .

'But now there pass before him, like benignant phantoms, the figures of his white-haired father, of his gentle sister, of his beloved Constance. In thought he abandons for an instant these fatal walls and once more wanders over the dewy fields of the Sambro, ascends the steep hill, and re-creates in his mind's eye all the well-known features of that nocturnal scene. There are the dark swaying trees, the long rows of acacias, and the high road that runs through the darkness like a grey ribbon. There are the stars twinkling in a black sky, the scattered and slowly moving clouds, and the amphitheatre of the mountains, outlined in the obscurity; nothing is missing, in this living picture, not even the intermittent chorus of the mocking frogs.

'But he loses; Fortune is not appeased; she smiles an instant, impresses upon him a lightning hope, which renders him more venturesome, and flies away.

'Signor Asdrubale, hitherto buttoned up and quiet, grows restless, looks about him, seems uneasy; he has the air of wishing to say something, and

not knowing how to begin. Finally he unbuttons his coat, draws a silk handkerchief from his ample pocket, and seems to dry the perspiration on his brow. To look at him you would imagine he had just finished some hard task ; but he is only in great embarrassment.

“ Oh ! I say,” he finally exclaims, squeezing his handkerchief between his hands to gain courage, “ this won’t do ; I can’t go on ; you have lost all you have. I don’t say that you are not solvent enough for double the amount, for you are almost an engineer, and talented engineers, as Master Bruscoli says, can turn everything into gold. This is very probable, but still it is hypothetical ; it has no real foundation ! ”

‘ He interrupts himself to give Donato a chance to speak, but Donato looks at him stupidly and remains silent. Then Signor Asdrubale begins again, lowering his voice as if communicating a secret.

“ I wish to give you an opportunity to regain what you have lost. I have played for your future inheritance, and run some risk, because, which heaven forbid, you might reverse the natural order of things ; die by accident, you understand ; but at least there was a foundation. We have now arrived at the utmost limit, and if we persist in playing it would be building castles in the air.” He interrupts himself again, and then resumes in a compassionate tone, “ You will not doubt that I am sorry to see you lose in this way ; it is a piece of misfortune without parallel !—Well, listen, to show you that I do not wish to abuse the situation, I will accept another stake, only one more ; should Fortune favour you, and allow you to retrace your path, you will at least not be able to say that I barred the way ! ”

‘ Ah ! Donato breathes again ! “ I accept,” he cries, and adds, as if obeying an imperative impulse, “ but this time he who has the Knave of Spades loses.”

‘ It is the last wager, as precarious as the first ; in it lies a menace of evil without remedy ; it is the last word of ill-fate. The young man shuffles, cuts, deals, does everything, his adversary making no objection.

‘ After a little while, “ Poor fellow ! ” says Asdrubale ; “ you have got no luck. I positively have not got the Knave of the Spades. I have hunted for it, but really have not got it ! Poor fellow ! ”

‘ Saying these words he notes down his new gains, gathers his cards together, thrusts them into his pocket, and buttons up his coat from top to bottom for the last time.

‘ Donato neither sees nor hears, remains immovable, stupified, his eyes fixed on the eyes of the Knave of Spades, with its petulant face, its black doublet, and its metallic breastplate.’

If any defect is to be noticed in this story, it is that as in all the earlier works of the writer, the female characters are drawn in a weaker and more shadowy style than the men, who are so ready to be enslaved by them. Donato falls in love with the precipitation and unreservedness of the heroes in the author’s

first novels, but there is little in the sketch of Costanza which imparts any decided personality or character to her figure.

Less successful from an artistic point of view is Farina's next literary production, *Capelli Blondi* (Fair Hair). It is a work of considerable but unequal power, for the author's strength does not lie in depicting dangerously fascinating and demoniacal women, and his genius cannot be forced where it is not seconded by nature. It is to be hoped that he has himself felt this, since in none of his subsequent works has he returned to the style which in the earlier stage of his literary development possessed such an attraction for him.

We turn with a feeling of relief, as from a certain artificial and unnatural strain, to the charming little sketch *Un Tiranno ai Bagni di Mare* (An Actor at the Sea-side). A tragedian has taken the management of a strolling company of marionettes at a little sea-side village, for the double purpose of giving his little sickly step-child a chance of health, and turning the dead season of the year to profitable account. The personages of the little drama are presented to us in a most delicately drawn and attractive picture, where humour never lapses into mere farce. Two of the principal characters of *Signor Onorati's Family* re-appear on the scene in a secondary manner, but this can only be a welcome addition to the interest of the story for those who have already made their acquaintance.

The next work bearing the title *Dalla Spuma del Mare* (From the Sea-foam), leads us into the studio of an artist, whose chef-d'œuvre is so called. Almost as appropriate a title would be *Our Neighbours*, for the story relates the efforts of the narrator and his wife to discover the mystery surrounding their neighbour on the first floor, whom they discover to be an old friend with a complicated love affair. There is much of the lively and natural conversation in which Farina so excels in this book, but the plot is intricate and rather difficult to unravel, and to our taste the little touches which reveal the domestic interior of *Myself and my Wife*, are even more interesting than those referring to the more involved fate of the real hero and heroine.

Oro Nascosto (Hidden Gold) is one of the longest and best of Farina's novels. The title has a double signification, alluding to

the hidden good which may underlie the roughest surface, and the discovery of a coal-mine on the estate of the hero, just when he was supposed to be bankrupt. Much in these *Scenes of Burgher Life*, as they are further described in a second title, shows more of an original vein of purer comedy than any of the other works, and they might certainly be put on the stage with good effect. The characters are most humourously imagined and drawn, and the principal idea is well carried out. The surly, old Dr. Rocco, tyrannizing over his family and friends by means of his infirmities, yet cherishing in his heart such a tender and warm interest in his daughter's happiness; the two old friends and faithful gossips, Gioachino and Romolo, whose constant endeavour to make the course of true love between the young people run smooth, is as constantly marred by the humours and vagaries of the lovers themselves; Tranquillina with her calm, sweet influence, more felt than seen; the impulsive girl, Amalia, unconscious of her own heart for so long, and the rivals, Federico and Enea,—are all creations true to nature and life, whom we follow with sincere interest in the tortuous path of their perplexities, to a happy and satisfactory ending.

Mio Figlio (My Son), which next appeared has gained for Farina the hearty appreciation of the Germans, to whom it was made known by a good translation published in the *Deutsche Rundschau*. As a domestic novel it can hardly be surpassed, though it is a little too prolix in the opening chapters for English taste, and indeed some abridgement was thought necessary before presenting it to the German public, who are more patient novel-readers than ourselves.

It may be considered as typical of one aspect of its author's genius, and has a special interest for us from its autobiographical character. Where so much that is described coincides with the circumstances of Farina's life, we may venture to infer that, as a whole, this series of novelettes, (published separately at first and only subsequently united into one work), gives us a faithful picture of that happy home life, which was the recompense for so much that was hard and arduous in the writer's career. It would be injustice to him not to give some example of the exquisite humour and graphic delineation we meet with on every

page of this book. Surely every father will testify to the truth of the following scene, where the school-boy Agostino has his first doubts awakened as to the parental infallibility :—

‘My children’s education had not yet led me into trouble, and I believed it perfectly harmless. The air of a well-informed little man that Agostino assumed when he came home from school had caused me neither mistrust nor suspicion ; on the contrary, I was rather pleased, and encouraged him with much paternal eloquence. “Study hard, my dear boy,” I said solemnly ; “study hard if you want to become a *man*.”

‘This phrase had no need of comment, because, in my son’s eyes, I had been a man for some time, but Evangelina thought it necessary to add, “Copy your papa, study hard, and you will grow up like him.” “Shall I also be an advocate ?” “No doubt,” I interposed, “and you will have a host of clients, and become famous.”

“Are you famous ?”

“I should think so indeed !”

‘This enormous lie was uttered by my wife.

“How many books must I study so as to become famous ?”

“Oh ! a great many.”

“And the Historical Compendium too ?”

“That of course.”

“And must I know it all by heart.”

“Certainly.”

‘Without knowing it I had committed the greatest mistake I had ever made as a father. Agostino left the room full of thought, and the very same evening I heard him sing-singing a lesson in the adjoining room, reading some passage over and over again with unusual care, and then trying to repeat it by heart, making mistakes, correcting himself and beginning again, always in a kind of sing-song.

“Darius, king of Persia, son of Hystaspes, also called Ahasuerus, determined to choose a wife from the most virtuous—Darius, king of Persia, son of Hystaspes, also called—(pause)—also called —(pause)—Darius, king of Persia, son of Hystaspes, also called Ahasuerus, desired to choose a wife from among the most virtuous and beautiful—.”

‘And I, ignorant of my sad fate, rubbed my hands with glee, and did not even think of asking myself what virtuous and beautiful woman Darius had taken to wife, whom my son could not remember.

“It will come,” I thought ; “Agostino is as persevering as his father ; we shall see that Darius will yield, and be taken prisoner with all his suite.”

‘Unfortunately for me, there were persons in the suite of Darius whose names I had not heard mentioned for a long time, and at that moment it did not occur to me that it would be prudent to refresh my memory.

‘The following day Agostino met me with a self-satisfied air. “I know it all,” he cried from a distance.

“All what?” I asked.

“On which he immediately began, “Darius, king of Persia, son of Hystaspes, also called Ahasuerus——.”

“But I had a melancholy client at my heels, whom I was about to send to the Court of Appeal, so, in spite of all my good will, I had no time to make Agostino happy by listening to him.

“But the gloomy face of my client had no sooner disappeared from my study-door than, lower down in the opening, there appeared the mischievous face of my boy. “Well,” I said, opening my arms, into which he sprang with a leap as usual, “what about Darius, son of Hystaspes, otherwise called Ahasuerus?” Agostino said nothing; he was too full of knowledge. “Well,” I insisted, impelled by my evil destiny, “he wanted to choose a wife; did he find one?”

““You know very well that he found one.”

“It was only now that I perceived the abyss, to the edge of which my imprudence had led me; because, alas! I knew nothing at all about it; I had totally forgotten. I felt I was at my son’s mercy; if tempted, he might have made me believe that the King of Persia had married his cook, like our opposite neighbour. I made prodigious efforts to save myself, and for a while succeeded. I had already extorted from Agostino that Darius had married Esther, that she was an orphan and had an uncle called Mordecai, when all at once Agostino was seized with a curiosity to know why Mordecai had not made himself known to the King, his relation. There must be a reason, “because,” added my son, “if Mordecai had made himself known, Darius would not have confided in that other man so much, you know—that man—wait a bit——.”

“I smiled and waited with exemplary patience, but—let any father imagine my feelings—I actually did not remember that other man’s name. I waited and smiled, but it was no use. “I have it on the tip of my tongue,” cried Agostino, raising his large eyes to the ceiling, and then glancing at me in the hope of what was impossible, that is, that I would come to his assistance without reproving him. My heart bled for him; but I was inexorable.

““You don’t know it yet,” I said, “you must go over it again.”

““But I have it—only wait.”

“And he ran out of the room. When he returned triumphant to tell me that the other man was called Haman, I had placed a big volume of the *Pandects* before me, in order to make my son believe that I was buried in law, while the fact was that I was calling myself an ass.

“Alas! my son’s high opinion of his father could not last long! Darius, son of Hystaspes, had struck the first blow at my false greatness, and who knew whether, before evening, some other personage would not step forth from the pages of the *Historical Compendium*, to put me to the blush before my child! I made a grand effort, and every evening stole my son’s Com-

pendium, and half an hour from my lawsuits, and plunged into the midst of the Persians and Assyrians. I was in no haste, I had no thirst for history, as you may believe, and was content with preceding my son step by step, so as not to be exposed, at meal-times, to certain surprises which would have spoiled my digestion and deprived my son of the admiring respect due to the author of his being.

‘For a time all went well ; but there came one unhappy morning on which the scholars, who had been sojourning with me in Persia, suddenly went off without warning into Assyria, and the very same evening Agostino, little thinking how he pained me, named in my presence Shalmaneser and Sennacherib.

‘At first I pretended not to hear, but, after a vain attempt to lead the boy back to Persia, where he would have found me quite at home, I was obliged to let him say what he liked.

‘Other surprises followed ; my son’s geography, sacred history, and even arithmetic had many secrets for me. Encouraged by the example of the Catechism, which to me was a mystery, those three little books tormented me every evening, spoiling my dinner during several weeks, and disturbing my sleep. I was dragged from some sacrament to follow the course of a river in America, which could not have been more tortuous if it had done it on purpose ; I descended a mountain after having examined the face of the surrounding country, only to find myself in the midst of plane geometry, a geometry that made me long to go up the mountain once more and never come down again.

‘Merciful heavens ! How great was my ignorance ! I did not know anything any more ; worse still, what I knew was all mistakes, because what I remembered was all confused and inexact.

‘To take up from the very beginning all my former studies, as if I were about to go through an examination or make a new doctrine for myself, would have been an heroic remedy ; but I was a coward, and contented myself with patching my knowledge wherever it was out at elbows.

‘It was not long before Agostino caught me making a mistake—once—twice—ten times ; at first he was astonished, then sorry, and at last he became malicious. He no longer cried out, as he had done during the delightful days of his innocence, “You know everything, papa !” on the contrary, he actually began to talk nonsense to my face about the most elementary things, and even about the rights and duties of citizens, a theme which was my daily bread, and to refuse my corrections, telling me confidently, but without arrogance, in the classical words that have made so many fathers turn pale, “The master said so !”

‘Evangeline tried to defend me by exaggerating her belief in me, so as to raise me above the master ; but it was useless. Agostino did not plainly tell me that what I said was not true, but he gave me to understand, at the first opportunity, that he no more cherished any illusions as to my infallibility, by murmuring, “The master said so !”

'I studied in secret, with a disorder that faithfully reflected the state of my mind, the mountains, the populations, the hypothenusal square and the eucharist. All in vain; pursued by my fate, I at last underwent the supreme trial. Agostino had been set a very difficult problem, and the poor boy, who was not strong in mathematics, could not solve it.

"Agostino does not know how to do his sum," Evangelina came to tell me. "I don't know what these masters have in their heads, to torment a poor boy in this fashion! All the morning he has been bent over the table till it makes my heart ache to see him. You must go and help him."

"I help him!" I exclaimed; "then what is the use of sending him to school? If they give him difficult sums, it means that he knows how to do them, and if he doesn't, it is better that the master finds it out and explains. Besides, I am so busy."

'Perhaps Evangelina went away to try to do what I could not, for shortly afterwards she returned and said, "It is really a very difficult one, a geometrical one. Agostino can't get it right. He is crying."

"Crying!" I rose and went at once; and while crossing the threshold of the little room in which Agostino had been tormenting himself for an hour, I had a presentiment of an impending catastrophe. But there was no time to go back, so I went up to my son, and, first stroking his head, said gravely, "Give it to me." "A brick-manufacturer had to consign as many bricks as would pave a room of trapezoidal shape, the sides of which measured, eh, eh——." "It is not difficult," I said; "Can't you make it out?"

'The boy did not reply. He looked at me with the old ingenuous admiration, mixed with a touch of astonishment. And I added, "I have no time just now, and, besides, it is your business to do the task; if I did everything for you, it would be useless to send you to school. But you have been working too long; go out and amuse yourself a little, take a run in the yard, and when you come up again, you will find it easier."

"It is too difficult," he said.

"It is quite easy," I insisted.

'He went to run in the yard, and I took his place at the small table.

'May heaven spare all fathers the torture I underwent that morning! What had seemed so easy at a distance bristled with a thousand difficulties as soon as I examined it. Evangelina stood watching me, guessing at my embarrassment. I heard Agostino shouting in the yard, and thought of an urgent paper that lay on my desk, but I continued to sit as if nailed to my chair, turning over the leaves of the plane geometry, calculating, crossing out, and correcting the mistaken figures. Little by little my head was so filled by them that I could not find my way out; I even mistook the totals and lost precious time in finding out the error in a unit (a unit of bricks!) They came to tell me that a client wanted to speak to me; I told them to say that I was very busy and could not see him. But suddenly a light broke on my mind, the problem grew clear and I was not five minutes in solving it.

“It is done!” I cried to Evangelina. “It was really not so difficult; but then I am out of practice.”

‘It was useless to pretend modesty; Evangelina evidently admired me, neither more nor less, and I saw her admiration pass into the no longer malicious mind of Agostino when he came up and found the problem solved.

‘I really did not consider that I had lost my time; on the contrary, on entering my study, I assumed a certain solemnity of manner, as if I bore the torch of science.

‘It was now that my fate overtook me. Instead of returning merrily from school, and rushing into my study to tell me that he had got ten marks and plenty of praise for his completed task, Agostino came home like a beaten dog; and went into the kitchen.

‘When I asked what was the matter he replied in a bad humour that the sum was wrong.

“It is impossible!” I exclaimed.

“Look,” said Agostino, sorrowfully, “it ought to come to 1526 bricks, and it is 3916!”

‘I looked, but could see nothing. If all those bricks had fallen on my head they would not have hurt me.

‘But heaven sends consolation to accompany misfortune and I found my consolation sitting at my desk. Laurina, the little student, had climbed into my chair and was diligently reading the codex of procedure.

“Listen, Papa,” she cried, as soon as she saw me, “listen, I know it all! Two and two are four, and two are eight, and two are ten, and two are twenty-four, and two are twenty-six, and two are thirty!”

Equally charming is the episode of the first proposal of marriage for Laurina,—we cannot say *to* her, since Signor Libero di Liberi applies to the father, not to the young lady herself, who is yet hardly ‘come out’—but want of space forbids its insertion. He who has once read the description, comic yet truthful, of the elderly suitor will never forget it.

In *Signor Io* (Mr. Ego), the fourteenth work of our author, while we have much that recalls Dickens, we have also the execution and details peculiar to Farina himself. We note especially a certain reserve and control of the humorous and pathetic elements, a mastery over them, and subordination of each in turn to the author’s just artistic perceptions. Only a fine discrimination could have avoided relapsing into mere caricature in the earlier chapters, descriptive of the hero’s unconscious egotism, or have resisted the temptation of indulging in weak sentimentality and mannerism in the close. When comparing

the work before us with Farina's more youthful productions, we are more than ever surprised at the difference in treatment and subject which years and study have brought. For the long-winded earlier novels hardly promised the interesting and condensed style we find in this. Here, as in many other of Farina's works, filial and parental affection plays the part usually assigned to love-making in the story, the plan of which is so simple that, in recounting it, it would hardly seem sufficient to awaken any interest. A selfish and self-absorbed father is left a widower with an only child, an impulsive and all too-loving girl of twelve. At first he is charmed with her devotion to him, and the assiduity with which she applies herself to fill the place of housewife as well as daughter. Here is his own account of it:—

'My sorrows commenced on the day that Faustina, good soul! died. Faustina was my wife for fourteen years; she had got to the very bottom of my heart, appreciated me as I deserved, and pitied my weaknesses. Between us two speech had become almost unnecessary; I had only to cast a glance around, and she ran at once to get me the thing I wanted, for she had read my thought. She often succeeded in getting up before me, doing so without opening the shutters. She dressed in the dark, and went out of the room on tiptoe for fear of disturbing the repose which I so much needed—at least she always said I did—and I took care not to contradict her, because it is so sweet to abandon oneself resistlessly to being coddled, and it is even meritorious, when to do so is to please certain weak and gentle natures. Faustina's nature was of this caressing kind, and she was well content at my submission and I also. That was indeed a happy time!

'During the last months of her life my wife was very melancholy, and often hid herself in order to shed tears freely. But in my presence she always smiled, and sometimes even laughed; she did not want to make me uneasy. So she smiled till the last. One morning she called me to her bedside, and told me that she could not get up, neither that morning nor ever again.

'“What will you do?” she asked.

'“What shall I do?” I repeated jokingly, “this is what I shall do,” and I lighted the coffee-machine.

'“Well done,” she cried, but her tone was sorrowful, and I begged her not to vex herself, not to trouble about anything, but only to think of getting well soon, so as to relieve me of all embarrassment.

'“How good you are!” she murmured.

'Yes, that is what she said. In the night her words still resounded in the close air of the room. I recalled them with pleasure, because they were true; although mankind and fate have done all they could to spoil me, I am really good.

'Faustina died beseeching me not to be cast down with sorrow ; not to fall ill, but to live for the sake of our child, who was then twelve years old.

'My poor wife's last wishes were sacred to me ; I did all that she had desired ; I did not allow myself to be cast down ; I did not fall ill, and I lived on.

'All this seemed impossible to me while still in the presence of poor Faustina's pale corpse, but my will triumphed over my bitter trial.

'Now began a new life, an almost monastic life, which lasted fifteen years, and which I have bravely endured to this day.

'Serafina, my daughter, was a serious embarrassment to a lonely man, and I was obliged to send her to school ; I obtained for her semi-gratuitous admission into a boarding school in my native place, Bergamo. She cried very much when I took her there, and on parting from me bathed my hands with her tears.

'“Think of your mother !” I said to her, “she never cried. All her life long she always smiled ; you also must learn to smile at your poor forsaken father !”

'On hearing this she began to cry again, and nothing would stop her. I was obliged to leave her in the arms of the mistress, lest I should miss the mid-day train, promising myself to write to her as soon as I arrived in Milan. But she was quicker than I, and four days after I found a letter of four pages, all blotted with her tears. This letter made me thoughtful ; I noticed an unexpected exuberance of phrases and romantic words. My daughter, who had always been the shyest of all creatures that wear short frocks ; my daughter, who, when she came to say good night, never dared to kiss me if I forgot to encourage her ; my daughter, who had such a deep reverence for me as to make me embarrassed, and who looked on me, I don't know why, rather as a professor of a difficult science than as a father—she, at twelve years of age, found herself, when away from me, mistress of an unusual vocabulary of tenderness for the author of her being.

'Like her poor dead mother, she wrote to me “that I was good, that I had a generous soul” and similar things. The case seemed serious, and I hastened to reply, advising her to be very careful in the choice of her reading, and in the use of the phrases she found in her books. I remember that I said “you must write naturally, simply, more from the heart than from the fancy, and above all you must be sincere. Learn from to-day to suspect fine phrases, for they are generally full of wind and emptiness, and, until you have gained the necessary experience, it is better to reject words that are uncommon, because they are likely to be false coin.”

'She replied promptly, telling me that she had perfectly understood, and thanking me for my precious advice, which, she said, was engraven on her heart. But still the letter commenced with these words, “Adored father !” . . . During the holidays Serafina came home, and I put her to the proof without her knowing it. The girl seemed born with the keys of the cellar and storeroom in her pocket. She was scarcely thirteen

years old, but looked quite fifteen, she was so well developed. When she stood on tiptoe she could not only open the topmost drawers in the tall cupboards, but could even reach to wind up the timepiece. She could not bear to see a speck of dust without rushing at it—when she could not reach it, she fetched the step-ladder, or called Anna Maria to help her, and when she had attained her purpose she was still dissatisfied, looking round as if in search of an enemy.

“Who knows—” she sometimes said to me, “who knows how much dust there is lying on the cornice round the ceiling!”

“Who knows!” I laughingly repeated, “but I hope you won’t think of climbing up there!”

“Do you know,” I said to her one day, when she had climbed up the ladder, and was dusting a picture, “do you know that in three weeks it will be time to go to school again? But I have determined to make you happy. Come down and embrace your father!”

At first she did not understand, but, turning round, she saw me waiting at the bottom of the ladder with open arms, like providence. Then she threw herself upon me from the height, crushing me entirely. “Are you in earnest? must I not go to school again?”

“No!” I replied, trying in vain to extricate myself from her clasp, “you shall not go again; are you satisfied? But we must first make a bargain.”

“Oh yes, what is it?”

“You must promise to study history and geography at home.”

“Yes, yes, I will!”

“You must read all the books I give you.”

“Oh yes, I will read them all!”

“You must also learn French.”

“Yes, yes, of course!”

She promised everything. “and,” I added, “you must always remember that if I make this sacrifice, it is because I promised your poor mother to make you happy. You will do your best to fill her place. Will you promise?”

She tried to say yes; I raised her face from my waistcoat, and found that she had begun to cry. “You must also promise not to cry so often. Your poor father works hard to make you happy, and you will reward him badly if you have nothing but tears to show him when he comes home from college.” At this Serafina dried her tears and laughed.

Unfortunately the father fails to see that the same tenacity of affection which had made Serafina so exemplary as a daughter, would when aroused by a lover, cling with equal constancy to him, and when the lover appears in the form of an opera-singer, (specially abhorrent by his calling to a professor of abstract

philosophy), he provokes a strife of contending feelings in the girl, ending in the lover's gaining the day and the enraged father disowning his daughter. The subject, melodramatic and hackneyed as it may seem, receives a distinctive character from the subdued, calm, all but passionless way in which it is related. It is the father himself who tells the tale, as if he were appealing to public opinion to judge between himself and his ungrateful child. The comic and tragic elements are so skilfully interwoven that, as in real life, there is hardly any possibility of separating them. Even the resolve of the father on a second marriage, and his resource to advertisement for that purpose, does not lapse wholly into the burlesque, and is made to serve as the means of discovering his daughter whom he has lost sight of. The catastrophe and final solution of the whole story, is conciliatory and not unreal. We quote a little scene in one of the closing chapters, where Mark Antony makes the acquaintance of his little grandchild:—

“Listen, Faustina, let that locket alone and look at me.”

“The child looked up, but did not let go the locket.

“Who am I?”

“Oh, of course I know! you are grandpapa?”

“Faustina looked very impatient and tried to get off Mark Antony's knee, but he held her fast.

“Wait,” she said, “let me go—” and her grandfather let her go.

“She ran to a table in the middle of the room, took up a large photograph album, and returned burthened with its weight, which made her totter.

“Look,” she said, opening the book on the old man's knee, “do you know this one? It is Papa. He is only dressed like that when he acts in *Don Pasquale*. Wait, I will show you another. . . . It is Don Basilio, but it is papa. This is mamma, and this is you, isn't it? Wait, I want to show you—”

“Faustina,” said Mark Antony, patting the child's intelligent face, “Faustina, tell me the truth. Do you really love grandpapa?”

“Oh, yes,” replied the child, still bent on her idea, “but wait, I want to show you—”

“Do you really love him very much?”

“Yes so much.”

“How much?”

“More than all the world!”

“This was not enough for Mark Antony, and so Faustina corrected herself.

“More than all the world, and all the houses, and all the stars, and then more than all the world again, and all the houses, and all the stars !—” until the indiacreet grandpapa thought it enough.

“And how did you manage to love grandpapa, when you had never seen him, when he was far far away ?”

“I don’t know how. They told me I must love *grandpapa*, and I have always loved you.”

“Who told you so ?”

“Mamma and papa. Every evening before going to bed, mamma made me pray, ‘God bless papa, mamma, and grandpapa.’ Did God bless you ?”

“Yes, my darling, he did, he did !”

“Ah !” exclaimed Faustina, very seriously, but still trying to turn over the pages of the album.

“So you loved grandpapa because mamma and papa told you to ?” asked Mark Antony, “only for that ?”

“Oh, no, and because he sent me such pretty things, dolls and nice sweetmeats ! But let me go, I want to show you my brothers ; don’t you know that I have two brothers ?”

“Two brothers,” stammered the old man.

“Yes, two. But one is dead, poor little thing !” said Faustina, without a trace of sadness. “Here he is, look ; he was called Mark Antony, like you. Wasn’t he pretty ?”

“Oh, was he not ! oh, how pretty he was !”

“He ought not to have died, ought he ? But he has gone to heaven.”

“Ah ! babies ought not to die and go to heaven !”

“This,” Faustina went on, not noticing that her grandfather’s eyes were full of tears, “this is the other. He is very little, oh, so little ! He is also called Mark Antony. But if you only saw how little he is ; only so big—but he is strong ; papa says he is very strong, and you should feel how he squeezes your finger when you put it into his hand.”

Mark Antony fixed his eyes, heavy with an irresistible inclination to cry, on those two faces, never seen and yet so dear. He caressed with a trembling hand the head of the little girl, and was silent. Bye and bye, a tear fell on the open book, and a tiny finger wiped it off.

“What’s the matter ?” asked the child.

Her grandfather closed his eyes, and wept—her mother and father, who stood arm in arm at the door, signed to her to be quiet. She was silent ; only, when another tear fell on the album, she wiped it away with a tiny finger.

Then her grandfather, who had noticed all, called, without raising his head,

“Serafina ! Iginio !”

And the child asked in vain, “What’s the matter ?”

In character-drawing this novelette is worthy of the highest

praise. Not to mention the father and daughter, the unwelcome son-in-law, Signor Curti, and the little Faustina are imagined and portrayed by a true artist, while such subordinate personages as Anna Maria, the beggar, Professor Gerolamo, and even the slightly indicated figures of the young officers at the restaurant-table, and the students in the lecture-room, are graphic sketches true to life.

Fresh mountain-air, a spirit of adventure, homely joys and wild fantastic music, breathe through the charming little tale entitled *Fra le Corde d' un Controbasso* (Among the Strings of a Violoncello), a love-story simple and sweet, with dramatis personæ who seem like old friends, yet in a new scene which makes them as interesting as if they were new creations with the added charm of familiarity. Papa Brighi, whose friendly grasp of the hand almost dislocates the wrists of his weaker fellow men; the young musician, bent on listening to the music of the spheres on the highest mountain peaks, and neglecting the simpler but sweeter melodies of domestic happiness; Toniotto, the unsuccessful lover, resigning heroically to his brother the object of his boyish dreams; the doctor and friend of the family, who has to rouse the tardy lover to a more active assertion of his claim to the lovely cousin, by right of her love for him; and the girl herself—all these are sketched in this little Alpine idyl, with a gentle affection which wins the reader's heart for them all. A melancholy interest is added to the little book, when we read the few words on the title-page, dedicating it to the author's wife as the last of the works which she had 'approved with her smile.'

A longer novel *Amore ha Cent' Occhi* (Love is Argus-eyed), was next published, at first as a serial tale in the leading Italian periodical, *La Nuova Antologia*. It displays much psychological study, but would have gained by an abbreviation of the earlier chapters. The sketches of life in Sardinia, Farina's early home, have the greatest interest for us, as portraying faithfully a country which is little known.

We have already observed in speaking of his earlier writings that thoughts of death and the future life, had possessed a peculiar attraction for Farina. It need not therefore surprise us that his mind dwelt on this theme more than ever, when the

loving companionship which had cheered him under so many trials was ended. His best two works bear the significant motto 'We Die,' and in the deeply touching preface to the first of these, we read that for some time he had meditated a series of works embodying thoughts connected with the question—'What part does the thought of death play in life?' and that his wife had encouraged him with her unfailing loving sympathy, assuring him that this would be his masterpiece.

The first of this series *Caporal Silvestro* (Corporal Silvestro), is one of the shorter tales and might almost be termed a sketch, were it not that the phrase would hardly do justice to the careful finish apparent everywhere. The humour and pathos which remind us so of Dickens, and yet are all Farina's own, are present here in a pre-eminent degree, but the tender passion plays no part in the book whatever.

The love of a worthy couple for an adopted child, who proved undeserving of their affection, and their resisting a natural impulse to transfer it to a second orphan, who finally conquers by the strength of her own attachment to them, is a subject which we believe only one other could have represented with equal truth and artistic skill. The pivot on which the whole plot turns is the possession of a house, and there is a grim humour in the destiny by which a cunning doctor, who has speculated on the shortness of others' lives, is defeated in his egotistical projects. The inimitable Corporal Silvestro and his wife Lucia, the double personality of Dr. Massimo, and the two skilfully contrasted adopted daughters Rosetta and Mariuccia, will afford sincere and genuine delight to the reader. The background of sandy beach and sparkling waves swept by fresh sea-breezes, is a charming setting to the whole. We almost see the level rays of the summer evening shining across the wet sand in the first chapter, and feel the lazy interest in all possible objects of observation, and most of all in all mankind, common to sojourners by the seaside. The description of Dr. Massimo is perhaps less attractive, but is full of a subtle penetration into a character very unlike Farina's own:—

'He was a doctor, as I was a lawyer, possessed of but little learning and no practice; but he did not refuse medical advice to his friends, and on

such occasions made a large display of big and difficult words. Exactly like me.

“Every malady that may attack a good Christian,” Dr. Massimo told me, “has at least two names; and to certain maladies which we doctors don’t know how to cure we even give four names, one finer than the other. It is the least we can do for suffering humanity.”

‘Now Dr. Massimo always chose the most Greek, the most difficult names. He called a cold a *coriza*, headache *cefalea*, and appeared stock-full of science.

‘He confessed to me that in this way he gained admirers. There was a man in the world who admired, actually admired, big Dr. Massimo, and considered him a well of knowledge, one of those private wells which it is sometimes necessary, in the interests of humanity, to open by force with the aid of a policeman.

‘The large person of Dr. Massimo concealed quite another man; at the surface was the merry witty companion; below was the other, who, however, did not hesitate to come to the surface when you invoked him. This was a cautious, astute little fellow, not properly an egotist, but such a careful calculator in all that concerned his own interests that he very often had quite the semblance of one.

‘For instance, in the bargain of the annuity, although the big doctor had apparently been extremely benevolent and generous while tempting Corporal Silvestro, the hidden little doctor had acted with perfect prudence. It was he, the invisible, who had made himself sure of the precise age of the two old people, by sending to their respective parishes for copies of the registers of their birth. It was he who had the house secretly valued, although he knew the official valuation; it was he, in short, who had felt the pulse of, and performed auscultation on the husband and wife, to find out that each had the same cardiac defect.

“It is diabolical cleverness, is it not,” the good-natured doctor remarked, revealing with complacency the vices of his double.

‘I replied that it was, and he gleefully rubbed his hands. He did so in perfect good faith. But how had he managed all this?

“In this way,” he replied, “all the beauty lies in that; how did I do it? It was impossible to get Corporal Silvestro to tell me the exact age of his wife, he always evaded my questions and escaped me. But, even if he had told me the truth, I should not have believed him. And it was important to know the truth else I could not have proposed the annuity.”

‘Ah! then it was before speaking of the annuity?

“Of course; before even hinting at it. And then, if I had not first proved my old couple, I should have found them less manageable afterwards. It would have been difficult for me to get to know, even indirectly, when they had been born, if they had suspected that I should send for the register of their birth.”

“And the auscultation?” I asked.

'That had been very easy; an indigestion, a slight *corisa* or an insignificant *cefalea* puts your neighbour into your power when you are a doctor, and if you are clever you will use that power in your own interests.

'I thought it a wicked thing to discover insidiously a cardiac defect in two old people with a view to proposing to them an annuity, but the big doctor had not a notion of his own wickedness; he simply believed himself very clever, and boasted of it.

"However," he added, laughing, "one does not always die of heart disease, and almost always of old age. The Silvestros are both old enough. Let us see; how old would you take the corporal to be?"

"Perhaps sixty-eight."

"No! seventy-two; and the old lady, but don't tell anyone, is two years older than her husband."

'He read my thought in my face, for he hastened to add, "All things calculated, I still risk a considerable sum. The house is not worth more than three hundred pounds, and the Silvestros may live another twenty years, maybe twenty-five. There are cases of longevity that remind one of Biblical times, as I made Corporal Silvestro notice. "You have quite the appearance of an old Testament patriarch," I told him, and he laughed. As to the heart disease, it is a mere menace; there are people threatened by the doctors who do not lose courage, and live on merrily. Therefore, as I said before, I may have made a bad bargain."

'He said so, but it was clear that he did not think so. Can I honestly say that he hoped the contrary? The little doctor who kept concealed certainly hoped so; but the big doctor, he indeed, hoped nothing of the sort.'

The latest published novelette of our author *L' Ultimo Battaglia de Prete Agostino* (Father Agostino's last Battle), has also the preface 'We Die.' Even more than *Corporal Silvestro* does it deal with the great question and mystery of Life and Death, and contains many most suggestive passages. Father Agostino has lived blamelessly and respected as lodger in the family of a railway official in North Italy, whose practical sense of duty and of what Government expects of him, joined with a cynical tolerance of religion, is cleverly contrasted with the devoutness of his wife and her eagerness to secure all spiritual blessings for their only son, even to that of his also becoming a priest like their lodger, which the father firmly opposes. The quiet humouristic tone in which the book commences, can best be exemplified by a passage showing the interweaving of spiritual and temporal interests in Signora Bernarda's mind:—

'No sooner had Father Agostino taken possession of the dead man's room and place at table, than there commenced the series of small favors, which a good natured priest easily obtains from heaven. The latest favor which might almost be called a miracle, was that of causing Signora Bernarda to conceive the idea of playing in the lottery on the Friday before the critical day on which Severino was obliged to put on a pair of new gloves in order to make his New-Year official visit.

'And truly, Bernarda had only to cast a glance at her husband, to perceive that not only his hands, but his other extremities, had urgent need of being re clothed with the decency suggested by official decorum. Now when decorum has failed in its suggestion, it may be as well to play in the lottery for two numbers out of three.

Thus thought and thus acted Signora Bernarda, when she played Father Agostino's age—69, the date of the day on which he had begun to board with them, eight months ago—15, and the occasion on which a tall hat, new boots, and chocolate-coloured gloves, were necessary to her husband—1

'Bernarda had played these numbers without telling the priest; she had only begged him to pray, when he went to bed, according to her wishes.

'Father Agostino did not pray much, but he prayed well, and compassionate heaven granted two numbers, that is, 15 and 69; that is, forty little francs that exactly fitted the wants of the employé of the *Alta Italia*. It is noticeable that number 1 had not come out, and Bernarda, if she had been prudent, would, she herself confessed, have chosen number 8, which actually came out, and which represented the number of the monthly payments made by the reverend father up to the 15th of December.

But a deeper chord is soon struck; Father Agostino himself, used to a mechanical performance of the duties of his sacred office and accepting the veneration due to the same without self-questioning, is suddenly brought face to face with religious doubt in a certain Professor Giorgio, who appeals to him for comfort and spiritual guidance at a moment when his own researches and study of natural science have proved unavailing. The scene somewhat abridged, is as follows:—

"Tell me something about your illness," said Father Agostino; "how did it begin; what produced it?"

"Mental fatigue, misfortune, and solitude."

"Ah!"

"I was very happy because I worked hard. The laughing voices of my children, the sweet smile of my wife, filled and cheered my house. It was a happy time."

'While saying this, the professor's slow speech underwent no change,

showing that he was still moved by these memories ; it was as rigid and inflexible as fate itself. Father Agostino felt a wave of consolatory words rising not only from his heart, but from his whole being. He had a strong impulse to press to his breast that poor weary head, and in his compassion he seemed to fathom the depths of the paternal affection, which he himself had never experienced.

‘But the professor scarcely paused before adding, in the same monotonous accent, “All is at an end ; my dear ones lie in the grave. I believed that I should soon join them, but I only fell ill. The faith that had never abandoned me, kept me alive. Once more I worked, and when I was weary, I summoned my beloved dead around me, and felt them hasten to me one by one. We spoke aloud together. While waiting long hours for the sleep that delayed, or scarcely again awake, I used to say, Are you there my children ? and you, my dear girl ? and there passed a cool breath across my face—once a doctor told me that this was not faith, but only hypnotism, a form of hysteria. In order to avert the malady that was creeping over me, I was advised to rest, not to think, not to work, and to seek amusement. In spite of this remedy there came a day when I wanted to say to my printer, ‘Is there nothing more to do ?’ but I could only utter indistinct sounds. I had lost all memory of words, while all my other faculties remained intact. I understood the *idea* of words, so well, that, standing erect with folded arms, waiting till I should fall unconscious and depart to another world, I yet repeated inwardly, ‘No, Giorgio, there is nothing more to do. You have done enough !’ From that hour my malady dates.”

“‘Strange ! strange !” exclaimed the priest.

“‘If I speak of my illness,” continued the professor, “it is because it increased my belief. You will understand, reverend sir, that, compelled to silence for so long a time, I had leisure to observe the movements of the mind. I said to myself ; it is only the manifestation of ideas that is impaired, not the idea itself which is the soul. And I even enjoyed being ill, because I knew that if I recovered I should find my soul intact, and if I died, also those of my children.”

‘Father Agostino was much pleased to hear certain ideas, which had sometimes crossed his mind but which he had never had occasion to examine more closely, thus clearly expressed ; rather slowly, it must be confessed, for time was passing and the cards were waiting, the professor continued :

“‘What materialists say, namely, that the human mind works by means of so many lobes and an infinity of cells, and that if a lobe be wounded or a cell destroyed, the corresponding faculty is paralysed—all this does not do away with the soul, it only refers to its mode of action. I said to myself, in me the memory of words is wounded, but the idea of words exists, and deprived of extrinsic conception, mark well, reverend sir, the missing words are still conceived. This happened during the first days, when the malady had simplified my method of examination, reducing it solely to

direct observation. Now that I am almost cured, when I wish to represent to myself this marvellous phenomenon, I am obliged to adopt a fatiguing method of reasoning, almost an abstraction, and I understand that a day will come when I shall doubt whether I did not deceive myself. Do you quite understand, reverend sir ?”

‘Father Agostino had not understood much, but still he was glad that a man of sound faith and critical judgment had listened at the door of the great truth. And he ingenuously replied,

“When you talk of lobes and cells, I understand very little ; but all the rest—”

‘If he had completed his sentence he would have been insincere, so he left it unfinished.

“Listen to me,” he said instead, “I am old, and my priestly office has brought me into contact with much human misery to be healed by the divine word. You are fortunate because you believe, and you believe because you have seen and touched.”

‘Giorgio Silva shook his head, and greatly astonished Father Agostino by saying,

“I did believe, but I do so no longer. During the last three months I have attempted to refute the materialists, those who deny free will, those who, by denying a future life, cut the wings of humanity. I attempted to prove that the soul of man, and of the world, is indestructible. Every day a new adversary presented himself, and every day I triumphed over him. I was angered because a certain positive science, instead of being contented with observations, invaded the field of philosophy, and I was pained that certain philosophers ravaged all human sentiment. I fought hard to keep at least my faith in death and hope. Perhaps I over tired myself, and I have now need of assistance. If you know one divine word that can do me good, pray speak it.”

‘Alas, poor Father Agostino ! He knew a great many divine words, both Italian and Latin by heart, and he believed it sufficient to choose a few to heal the wound which the professor had inflicted on himself. So he said,

“You have been trying to fence with medicine, philosophy, anatomy, and whatnot, in short, with unfamiliar weapons, and that is why you are wounded. Pardon me if I ask what you teach at college ?”

“Literature.”

“I am glad of it. You ought to have fought on your own ground, and you would not have been hurt. Horace, Lucretius, Virgil, any of the grand ancients might have suggested ——”

‘It was useless, he had not begun well. The professor’s unforeseen demand had surprised him so that not even the most familiar sacred words presented themselves ; therefore he tried to fill their place by profane sayings. But even pagan poetry failed him at this juncture, and the only thing that came into his head was this verse from Horace, *Da mihi fallere,*

da justum sanctumque videri, the invocation to the goddess of thieves, which he had been reading just before coming to this dangerous colloquy.

‘Giorgio Silva wanted something very different. If, in his extremity, he had applied to a priest, it was because he needed words of faith and no other. He shook his head with such insistence that the old priest was obliged to stop short.

“No, reverend sir,” said Giorgio, “it is not that. I must confess that I do not know whether I am a Christian ; perhaps I am ; but certainly I am no Catholic ; I have believed up to the last hour, in my own fashion, in a religion of the heart and mind. I thought that you, having lived longer, and having been occupied all your life with the immortal soul, could uphold a vacillating mind which has so much need to cling to its belief. For this reason, and this only, I ventured to trouble you.”

‘Alas, poor Father Agostino !

“Long ago, craniology asked whether free-will be not a mere farce, this you certainly know ; but perhaps you do not know that physiology has now declared that the doctrine of free-will is only fit to be thrown into the rubbish heap. . . . Think a little, reverend sir, if free-will be really naught, what becomes of the immortal soul ?”

‘Father Agostino did not attempt to rebut any scientific or philosophic argument ; but by instinct he touched the chord that still vibrated amidst this ruin.

“I am a poor priest,” he said. “I know nothing ; I cannot wrestle with science. I will not even observe that science is not infallible, that it often makes mistakes, because what was accepted by science yesterday, has to-day been found to be lies—I will not even say this. But I will repeat to you the words of the Imitation of Christ : ‘Speak not to me, prophets ! but speak Thou, Lord God, because Thou alone, without them, canst perfectly teach me, while they, without Thee, can do nothing.’”

‘While pronouncing these words, the priest had tears in his eyes, and felt himself inspired.

‘After a short silence, he added, “You ask me for one sacred word ; I have but one, prayer. Pray as you like ; place yourself at the window and look at the starry heavens ; call around you your children, your faithful companion, and pray, pray earnestly, give your ideas time to adjust themselves ; think no more to-day ; you will think all the better to-morrow.”

‘The professor was silent, and Father Agostino, taking both his hands between his own, stammered, “I will leave you, Professor. I am waited for ; the time is even past—I must make haste.”

“Thanks, thanks, thanks,” said Giorgio Silva, raising his head, “Your words have sunk into my heart.” “Just what I wished,” cried the priest, with a boldness that was belied by his melancholy smile.

‘He went to the door without another word, and began to descend the stairs. But instead of proceeding to the chemist’s, where the game was waiting for him, he turned again, and slowly re-ascended to his own room.’

The figure of Professor Giorgio is inexpressibly affecting when we see how in him the author has portrayed his own sorrow, and the affliction which so long threatened a clouding of the intellectual genius and loving heart such as alone could have given us this little book, so full of tender home affection and kindly insight, as the expression of what he has thought and suffered.

We have been thus minute in our analysis of these novels, and perhaps lavish in extracts from them, because a careful study of their characteristics and tendency has seemed to us to be more than usually suggestive and important. If it be true that the inner life of a nation may be found reflected in its best novels, Salvatore Farina is an author whose works are pregnant with many lessons. Much has been written and spoken about the regeneration of Italy, and it is as if here, in a certain measure, the true chord were struck. Not in overpowering sentimentality, or blind sensual passion, is to be found that inner strength which can build up a nation, respected and prosperous among her competitors, happy and truly great in herself. The love of wife and children, home and friends, and sympathy for common everyday joys and sorrows, are a safer guide for Italy in the path that lies before her than the more brilliant and alluring light which her volatile neighbour across the Alps has too long shed on her lighter literature, influencing by it the thought and feeling of her people. Much of Italy's national character, such as we have observed it in a long and somewhat intimate acquaintance not with the land only, but with the people, we find expressed, perhaps unconsciously, in these books, to which we would fain direct the attention of English readers. There seems to us a disproportionate value assigned to personal beauty in the heroes and heroines of all the earlier novels. We do not often, perhaps, adore positive plainness, but neither do we desire to be reminded of exterior charms at every step by reiterated description. Yet in listening to the small talk of an actual Italian drawing-room, we are immediately struck by the prominence in the minds of all the speakers given to beauty, which is accounted, not only in women but in men also, as a redeeming virtue, which like charity covers a multitude of sins. That in Farina's maturer works this tendency is no longer

visible, that his men and women are interesting in themselves, not for form and figure only, is we think a healthful and hopeful sign. Nor are his countrymen by any means destitute of the sentiment of family affection which he so warmly evinces, and notably the love for children plays a large part in Italian life of the present day. That they too often love their children 'not wisely but too well' is undeniably true, but that the ground and basis of home-life exists in so many Italian households, is indeed a fact to be hailed with unmingled pleasure and satisfaction by those who have her progress as a nation at heart. Shielded by the guardian angel of the domestic hearth, and armed by her own fervent and undoubted patriotic feeling, Italy need not fear what the future may bring her, and may boldly face even the darkest mystery which the human heart, in its gropings after fuller light, has to confront.

ART. III.—THE CORONATION OF CHARLES I. AT HOLYROOD.

THE Coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood on Tuesday, June 18, 1633, is the only Scottish Coronation which was performed with the rites of the English Church. It has consequently been regarded with feelings which vary much, according to the standpoint of each particular author. The editor of Sir James Balfour's *Annals*, for instance, regards it as 'the last regular and legitimate ceremonial of the kind,' and one of 'the most gorgeous and magnificent ceremonials in our history.' Row, on the other hand, records that Charles 'was solemnly crowned, with such rites, ceremonies, and forms as made many good Christians to admire such things to be used in this Reformed Kirk.' It does not fall within the intention of Hetherington to describe 'the semi-popish pageantry.' Stevenson remarks that 'the particulars of this inauguration would no doubt be entertaining; but though Sir James Balfour, who was then Lyon King of Arms, saith he published the same, we

have not been able to come at it, nor do any other of our authors give the particulars of it.' Stevenson was unfortunate. In 1825, fifteen years before the appearance of his *History*, the *Annals* of Sir James had been published, and at the end of the fourth volume, p. 383, is the elaborate account in question. It is exceedingly full, except in one respect, viz., that it does not give the whole of the prayers *in extenso*. This defect, however, is supplied by an earlier work. Whenever a ceremonial of this sort takes place, there is an outburst of publications of a cognate kind; and in connection with the Coronation of James VII. (II.), there was printed a book entitled *The Ceremonies, Form of Prayer and Services used in Westminster Abby at the Coronation of James the First and Queen Ann his Consort, performed by Dr. Whitgift, Arch-Bishop of Canterbury, etc., with [here follows a sort of epitome of the contents] with the Coronation of King Charles the First in Scotland. Never before published. Printed and are to be sold by Randal Taylor, near Stationer's Hall, 1685.* The account of Charles' Coronation is headed, *The Form* of King Charles, the I., his Coronation in Scotland, June 11th, 1633. Written with Mr. Dell's own Hand, Secretary to the late Arch-bishop of Canterbury, Dr. Laud.* This is the draft form or Ritual drawn up for the purpose, and seemingly sent down to Scotland beforehand. It appears that there was a book prepared in accordance with these directions; for, on Oct. 8, Charles sent a set of commands, divided into seven heads, to Mr. Bellenden, Bishop of Dunblane and Dean of the Chapel Royal, wherein he orders, 'That the book of the form of our Coronation, lately used, be put in a little box, and laid into a standard, and committed to the care of the Deans of the Chapel successively.' To search for this particular book would now probably be mere waste of time, although it is possible that its discovery may one day reward the investigations of some literary and antiquarian student. In the meanwhile, the two available accounts, viz., the draft by Laud's secretary directing what was to take place, with the Prayers at length, and the description by Sir James Balfour, as Lyon King, of

* Sic.

what actually did take place, supply all, and indeed more than all, which the actual book used could be expected to contain. From a comparison of the two it is evident that Sir James wrote his description with the draft before him, and he seems only to have altered it where he had to fill in some detail, such as the name of the person charged with some particular duty, which the draft had left undetermined, or where some change had been deliberately made subsequent to the composition of the draft, or where again the persons concerned, such as the King or Archbishop Spotswood, or others, departed, either intentionally or by inadvertence, from the lines assigned to them. The object of the following pages is to construct from the two accounts, along with such scanty additional information as can be gleaned from elsewhere, as full and correct a description as possible of the remarkable historical ceremony in question.

The reader will have already remarked that the draft was printed from a copy in the very handwriting of Dell, secretary to Laud, then Bishop of London. Its source is therefore evident. It is Laud's composition. It is an alien production, of English manufacture, sent down beforehand. The tone in which it is composed is as dictatorial as we might expect under the circumstances. Hence Sir James Balfour's editor is mistaken in saying that it 'reflects so much credit on the professional exertions of the Lord Lyon.' Sir James, from loyalty to his Sovereign, no doubt took pains to have it well carried out; but although he goes so far as to say that it 'was the most glorious and magnificent coronation that ever was seen in this kingdom,' it may be regarded as more than doubtful whether he particularly liked it. He was a Scotchman, and Laud an Englishman; he was the official Master of national State ceremonies, and Laud was an alien clergyman; he was a moderate Covenanter as regarded both religion and politics, and Laud was—well, William Laud. In none of these capacities can it be supposed that it was agreeable to the Lord Lyon King of Arms to be dictated to and ordered about by him. At the same time, it is more than probable that he supplied Laud with some of the matter out of which the latter constructed his Ritual. It is quite true that the

Ritual in question, which will presently be discussed, looks somewhat like an abridged excerpt from the middle of the English Pre-Reformation Coronation Service—inexcusably murdered in translation, and filled with blunders founded upon a misapprehension of the Mediæval rites. But it is not unlikely that the Mediæval Scottish and English Coronation services may have had a good deal in common, and Laud's composition presents some features which he is not likely to have invented, which are not in the English rite, some of which are found in the ceremonial used at the Coronations of the Kings of France at Rheims, and some of which are quite peculiar. These may very possibly be reproductions of old Scottish national usages now lost. The heading of Laud's form is:—*The Form of Coronation, and Rites to be used therein; collected from other the like Solemnities used in this Kingdom.* As the form was intended for Scotland, it seems most likely that by 'this Kingdom' Scotland is meant. Now, it must be remembered that it was the duty of the Lyon to keep careful records of all State ceremonies such as Coronations. We owe the loss of them to the ravages of Cromwell. Sir James Balfour possessed them.* It is very probable that he may have been commanded to supply Laud with copies of them, and that these may be in fact the 'other like Solemnities' referred to. It is this possibility—namely, that, such as it is, it is our only existing representative of earlier forms—which invests Laud's new Coronation Service with its main interest in the eyes of the student of Scottish Mediæval History. To the student of the epoch of the Covenant it has an important position of its own.

The late James Grant, in his *Memorials of Edinburgh Castle*,

* The selection of papers from Sir James' MSS. in the Advocates' Library printed in 1837 contains two such pieces, purporting to be accounts of the Coronations of Alexander III. and Robert II. It is useless here to discuss them, but it may be said generally that they are both obvious fictions, although they contain what appear to be some valuable grains of truth. Probably Sir James regarded them in this light, and therefore did not place them among the official records—hence they have survived while the records perished.

says that Charles had wished the Scottish Regalia to be taken to England, in order that he might be crowned with them there. It is to be hoped that Grant's authority for this statement was not a good one, but such extraordinary errors of tact and taste were committed that almost anything is credible. The choice of the place of the Coronation, as it was, was singular. It has been the custom in most Christian countries that the Sovereign should be crowned, not in his actual capital, but at some spot identified with the more sacred and early traditions of the race. Hence the Kings of England were crowned, not in London, but at Westminster; the Kings of France, not in Paris, but at Rheims; the Kings of Spain, not at Madrid, but at Toledo; the Kings of Poland, not at Warsaw, but at Cracow; the Kings of Sweden, not at Stockholm, but at Upsala. Similarly, we now see the Emperors of Russia crowned, not at St. Petersburg, but at Moscow. In the same way, it had been the custom, since a period lost in the obscurity of ages, for the Kings of Scots to be crowned at Scone, which had been the seat of the Pictish Monarchy before the Eighth Century. There is no record (subsequently to the union of the Pictish and Scottish Crowns) earlier than the case of Malcolm IV. in 1153, when it is then mentioned, as a sort of matter of course, that he was made King at Scone. When the feature is first recorded, it is as an immemorial tradition. There had been only four known exceptions to the rule. The latest of these was that of James VI., who was crowned when aged thirteen months, at Stirling, where he was living, and when there was no church at Scone except a mass of blackened ruins. The second was Mary, also crowned at Stirling, where she was living, when less than nine months of age. The next was James III., who was just nine years old when James II. was killed at the siege of Roxburgh: the widowed Queen and her son at once hurried to the theatre of war; they arrived at Kelso on the Friday, and James was crowned there on the Sunday, the day-week of his father's death. The earliest instance was that of James II. After the murder of James I. at Perth, Feb. 21, 1435, the Queen brought her son, aged four years, to Edinburgh Castle for safety, and he was crowned at

Holyrood in the succeeding month. This exceptional case therefore was the only precedent for the Coronation of a King at Holyrood, where otherwise there had been celebrated only the Coronations of Queens Consort. At the time Mr. Dell wrote the draft, Charles had not made up his mind where the ceremony should take place. He ultimately pitched upon Holyrood. What considerations determined him to adopt this strange innovation must be matter of conjecture. There was no church at Scone except the small one built upon the Mote Hill eight years previously by Lord Stormont—the same in which the Coronation of Charles II. was to be celebrated, eighteen years later, by the Covenanters. The taste of Charles and Laud was so unhappy that they may have been blind to the halo of ideal and historic grandeur which would have surrounded the ceremony at Scone, and simply sought for a theatre for an imposing show. It is possible, however, that such a low and childish motive was not the real one. There may well have been one of a more dreadful character. Scone had been the very property of the Earl of Gowrie, and Perth the scene of his death. We know not what was the opinion of Charles upon the subject of that mystery. There is a story to the effect that Anne of Denmark expressed a foreboding that the blood of the so-called conspirators would be visited upon the then unborn fruit of her womb. Whatever may have been the case, there was enough to cover both Perth and Scone in the imagination of Charles with a sinister shadow, and it is well conceivable that this was the reason why he shrank from them.

Charles started from Whitehall on Saturday, May 11. The scale on which he travelled was astounding. It was a perfect migration. His very barber had three servants and three horses. A chapel choir, consisting of a subdean, twelve choirmen, three choristers, two organists, and four clerks of the vestry, alone were sent round by sea, but the spiritual requirements of the King were provided for by two Bishops (one of them being Laud), two Deans, and four more chaplains, who were given allowances for more than fifty horses and more than forty servants. The total number of horses for which

the King allowed maintenance was eleven hundred and seventy-nine, of which the Marquess of Hamilton, as Master of the Horse, had 202; and the number of servants, or rather of servants' servants, nine hundred and eight. Clarendon, in his *History of the Rebellion*, appears a good deal staggered at the enormous expenses into which everyone, as it were with a common consent, seemed to plunge, and in which the maintenance of the above Royal retinue was only one incident. At the same time, and while it is to be deplored that Scottish families should have shackled if not crippled themselves with debt for the purpose of entertaining, it must be remembered that the public splendour of a Court and a Coronation afford as much enjoyment to the poor as to the rich, that vast sums of money were brought into the country, and that the general result of the expenditure must have been to transfer the wealth of the entertainers to the working classes by whom the entertainments were prepared.

The whole episode of the first journey of Charles I. to Scotland is replete with the highest historical interest, both social and ecclesiastical, and the present writer cannot but feel a certain pang as the exigencies of space compel him to hurry to the only real object of these pages—a description of and discussion on the Ritual used at the Coronation ceremony. In a general way, and as a series of public spectacles and private and public entertainments, the whole thing was a great success. 'It cannot be denied,' says Clarendon, that 'the whole behaviour of that nation towards the English was as generous and obliging as could be expected; and the King appeared with no less lustre at Edinburgh than at Whitehall; and in this pomp his Coronation passed with all the solemnity and evidence of public joy that can be imagined.' He arrived at Berwick upon Saturday, June 4. As Hetherington has well observed, 'the most enthusiastic reception was given to their monarch by a people who were almost instinctively loyal, and who were prone to gratify him in everything which their higher allegiance to God could permit.' On Wednesday, June 12, he advanced from Berwick to Dunglas, on Thursday to Seton, and on Friday to Dalkeith. On Saturday the 15th

he made his state entry into Edinburgh, and took up his abode at Holyrood. On the Sunday he remained in the Palace, attending the performance of the English service,* when a sermon was delivered by Bishop Bellenden of Dunblane. The same day he received the Polish Ambassador.

The Monday was the eve of the Coronation. The general habit of Christendom had prescribed that the sovereign should prepare himself for this important moment in fasting, retirement, and prayer. The Roman Pontifical directs a fast of three days, and such seems to have been the Scottish custom also, for the Covenanters in 1650 prepared for the Coronation by two national fasts. The Kings of England, on arriving at Westminster from the Tower, passed the evening in prayer and meditation upon subjects to which the *Liber Regalis* devotes a beautiful page, and were attended for their assistance in this purpose by the Abbat of Westminster. The Kings of France went in State to the Cathedral of Rheims, where they took part in the evening service and heard a sermon upon the occasion, after which they invariably confessed, either in the church or, for greater stillness, privately in the Archiepiscopal Palace. Sometimes they remained in the church, watching in prayer. In any case, the evening was given to retirement and to God. Far other were the proceedings of Charles. With a perverse ingenuity by which he seemed to succeed in thrusting upon his subjects every needless Mediævalism that could irritate them, and omitted any Mediævalism that was beautiful and good, he selected this evening to be passed at an huge banquet. It would seem as if the old Scottish custom had been the same as that of France, and that Charles at one time intended to adhere to it, for the draft form says that 'the evening before, the King would be at service in chapel, besides his private devo-

* Mr. Lawson (*Episcopal Church of Scotland*, I., 454) says the service took place in the Chapel Royal, i.e., the Abbey Church; but this is not the statement of any contemporary whose account the present writer has read, and it looks to him very like an assumption made in momentary forgetfulness of the condition in which the church must have been in preparation for the ceremony of Tuesday.

tion, whereof the Bishop of Dunblane, now Dean of the Chapel, must have care to remember His Majesty.' Perhaps he heard the afternoon service, but it can hardly be regarded as possible that he went to chapel, as this would assume that all the preparations for next day were completed; and this again would have necessitated a sort of State Coronation Eve Service, such as was attended by the Kings of France, a thing which could not well have remained entirely unrecorded. All that we hear of is the State reception of the Duke of Arschot's* two sons, the Prince de Chimay, and his brother; the creation of the Earl of Angus as Marquess of Douglas, with the dubbing of six knights, and, about four in the afternoon, of Lord Dupplin as Earl of Kinnoull, and the dubbing of five more knights, the trumpets playing out of the windows, &c. 'About seven hours at even,' says Spalding, 'His Majesty came up from the Abbey to the Castle of Edinburgh by coach, with whom were the Duke of Lennox and Marquess of Hamilton, and his foot-guard running round about his coach; [there] followed sixteen other coaches furnished with nobles and courtiers. The Captain of the Castle saluted His Majesty coming up the gate with 52 shot of great ordinance. Thereafter he went in and supped in the Castle most magnificently, served by his own officers, and with his own provision, vessels, and plate, and stayed there all night.' Sir James Balfour, however, says that he 'was feasted by the old Earl of Mar, Captain thereof, with a great many of the Scotch and English nobility, where he rested that night.' He also says, as if it were before the banquet, that when at the Castle, 'he did his private devotions.' The whole object of this expedition to the Castle seems to have been merely to have the next morning the equestrian procession through the streets, as to which it will be necessary to speak presently.

Row tells us that the Abbey Church of Holyrood 'was magnificently prepared for the purpose' of the ceremony. It was

* Archot (Latin, *Arscotium*) in Brabant, a Duchy belonging to the family of the Dukes of Croy. The young gentlemen were probably among those of whom Sir James says that 'to behold these triumphs and ceremonies many strangers of great quality resorted hither from divers countries.' He quaintly spells the titles *Arscotie* and *Shemej*.

probably hung with tapestry, as has been the usual European custom on such occasions, and would have had at least the choir spread with Turkey carpets. The Communion Table was placed at or towards the East end. It was covered with tapestry, and furnished with two clasped books, which stood up on it, and appear to have been merely for ornament and never used: Spalding, indeed, evidently suspected them of being simple dummies, for he speaks of them as 'two books at least resembling clasped books, called blind books.' It was also adorned with a basin (doubtless a large alms-dish) between two candlesticks provided with wax candles, which were not lighted.* Spalding continues—'At the back of this altar there was a rich tapestry, wherein the crucifix was curiously wrought; and as the Bishops who were in service' (i.e. officiating) 'passed by this crucifix, they were seen to bow their knee and beck' (i.e. bend the head) 'which, with their habit' (i.e. the dress of Spotswood and his companions, of which hereafter), 'was noted, and bred great fear of inbringing of Popery—for the which they were all deposed, as is set down in these papers.' Directly in front of the Communion Table was placed a little kneeling-desk, covered with a rich piece of embroidery in gold and green silk, and provided with cushions. Here the King seems to have knelt first during the prayer, 'O God, who dost visit,' and later on, from the close of the hymn *Veni Creator* until he rose to be unrobed for the anointing, probably also at the Communion, and possibly when making his oblation at the Offertory.

At the North end of the Communion Table, and close to it, was erected a pulpit covered with crimson velvet hangings. Beside the pulpit there was placed a Chair of State, in which

* The description is almost identical with the representations of the Communion Table in Westminster Abbey, in the illustrated accounts of the Coronations of Charles II. and James VII. (II.) Spalding's expression about the candles is that they were 'on lichtit,' which certainly looks rather cognate to 'on fire;' but everyone has understood it to mean 'unlighted,' and that interpretation is in accordance with the interesting tradition of *cæca lumina*, which is so distinctive of Anglican Cathedrals and Chapels Royal.

the King sat during the Uncction. This was a very extraordinary innovation, probably made in ignorance. According to all Mediæval precedent, he ought to have been anointed kneeling before the altar. The anointing itself, however, seems to have been regarded by Charles and his advisers, not as a symbolical act accompanying prayer, but as a sort of homage and investiture, cognate to the imposition of the crown. Hence the attitude. As for the location, it is evidently a funny instance of what is called in Ritualistic circles 'North-end-ing.' They seem to have found that the Mediæval Kings were anointed before the Archbishop's seat; and as a Bishop or Archbishop has his normal seat on the North side, on the North side they put the King. It appears from the draft form that the kneeling-desk in the middle had been originally intended to belong to this chair. Probably the change was dictated by considerations of practical convenience, as well as of seemliness. To the West of the pulpit and Chair of State, and as it were down the North side of the Sanctuary, were placed two forms covered with tapestry, for Archbishop Spotswood and the other five officiating Prelates.

At the South end of the Communion Table was a traverse or screen covered with crimson taffety, to act as a sort of dressing and retiring room for the King 'to repose and disrobe himself.' It must have come very close to the Table, as Sir James mentions that when Charles was disrobed, he went to the Communion Table, and stood 'with his back close into it.' The whole device was clumsy and needless. In the Roman rite a pavilion is prepared in the Cathedral, to and from which the King goes in State during the ceremony, there to have the traces of the oil removed, and to assume the Royal Robes. In the case of England, the Sovereign is not clad in the Royal Robes during the ceremony, but in a peculiar set of garments called the Imperial or Coronation Robes, which are used on this occasion only, and at the close of the service he retires behind the traverse or screen of the High Altar of Westminster Abbey into the Chapel of St. Edward the Confessor, where he takes off the Coronation Robes and puts on the Royal Robes, in which he then leaves the church. Now, neither of these features was

going to occur. The case in Scotland was going to be exactly the same as in France. The King was going to assume the Royal Robes at the Altar, with prayer, as part of the ceremony. Hence, as in France, there ought to have been no retiring-room. If the King had been by chance taken ill during the proceedings, he could have left the church for a time and gone into the sacristy or into a room in the adjoining Palace. The blunder of inventing this meaningless traverse was probably founded upon a superficial knowledge of the Roman and English forms, with an absence of consideration as to their meanings and *raisons d'être*. Close to the South end of the Communion Table, probably against the taffety traverse, was a little table covered with green velvet laced and fringed with gold, upon which the Regalia and Great Seal were to lie. This is an interesting feature. In the Roman and English rites the Regalia are placed upon the altar. The Holyrood arrangement seems to point to some earlier Scottish custom of placing the Regalia, as in France, upon a separate table near it. West of this table, and seemingly facing directly the seats of the officiating Prelates, was placed another Chair of State, of crimson velvet embroidered with gold, with a foot-stool and cushions to match, and before it a little table, also covered with crimson velvet fringed and laced with gold, upon which lay a Bible in a rich cover. This seems to have been either a mistake or an alteration, as the draft form prescribes that this second chair should have a fald-stool and cushions, and should be set, not in this place, but upon the same platform as the throne, to the right of the latter, viz., at the South East corner. The technical word *fald-stool*, which properly means a stool which it is possible to sit upon, or to kneel against, resting the elbows upon it, and which may have arms, but never a back, seems to have baffled the Edinburgh upholsterers in both cases, for in one instance they represented it by a kneeling-desk, and in the other by a table. This supplementary Chair of State seems to be quite peculiar to England, and to have been introduced upon the platform in order to give the Sovereign a place whence he could hear the sermon from the pulpit with more ease than if at the Altar, and also be plainly

and easily seen during what is called the Recognition by the People, without occupying the throne, which he should not do before the enthronement. It will be hereafter pointed out that its introduction into Scotland on this occasion would seem to have been entirely gratuitous.

The throne itself stood upon a platform erected in the middle of the church. All the Eastern part of the Church of Holyrood having now been destroyed, it is not possible to be very dogmatic as to what this means, but we know that the building had transepts, and that the platform was square and fastened to four pillars, and we may therefore conjecture that these four pillars were the piers of the lantern, as in the corresponding case at Westminster. Although the choir were not surpliced, the men being in black gowns and the boys in sad-coloured coats,* they had been recently provided with stalls; but it does not appear whether these stalls were to the West of the lantern, as in Spanish Cathedrals and at Westminster, or to the East—i.e., between the platform and the sanctuary, as in most churches. The dimensions of the platform had been left to local discretion, except that it had to be fastened to four pillars. Its length and breadth were therefore regulated by the size of the building, and were twenty-four feet. It was about four feet high from the ground, and surrounded with a railing, rails and platform being overspread with carpets and tapestry. There was a wide opening in the railing, both towards the East and West, with a flight of three steps. In the midst was the throne, facing Eastwards and placed upon a second and smaller platform about two feet high, ascended by as many steps.

This whole arrangement was intensely English, and there is every reason to suppose that nothing like it had ever been seen in Scotland before. In what may be called the normal Ritual of Western Coronations, the Sovereign has only two places. The first of these is a simple faldstool without arms, in the middle of the Sanctuary, in front of the Altar, where he sits facing the officiating Prelate, who has another faldstool at

* Grub's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, ii., 347.

the foot of the Altar-steps. The second is the throne, which he does not occupy till the enthronization. The throne is always raised upon a platform. In the Roman rite it is upon the South side of the Sanctuary, directly facing and corresponding with the throne of the Bishop, and is often a permanent structure, being always occupied by the Sovereign upon other State occasions as well as at his Coronation. In France it was upon the top of the choir-screen, in fact, on the rood-loft, and was a temporary structure used only for Coronations. In England, it was an equally temporary structure, on a stage under the lantern of Westminster Abbey. In Scotland, the extreme rapidity with which some Coronations took place after the death of the preceding or the election of the reigning Sovereign—to wit, in the cases of William the Lion, Alexander II., Alexander III., John, Robert I., James III., James IV., and James VI.—renders it either totally impossible or highly improbable that such elaborate preparations could possibly have been made. Yet nothing is noticed as exceptional upon these occasions. Everything points to the simple Italian plan. There was probably a permanent throne facing that of the Bishop or Abbat, in all the principal churches, at least in such as the King was likely often to attend, and especially in the Coronation church of Scone. It is of course possible that there may have been exceptional cases, say, in such instances as those of Robert III., James I., or James V., of which Laud knew but we do not, but it is a much more natural supposition that he was simply importing his English notions.

Besides these three places for the King, above named, there was prepared a fourth, namely, a chair placed at the side of the Westernmost pillar close to the main door of entry.

We know nothing more as to the arrangement of Holyrood church, beyond the fact that the draft form directs that 'round about on the right and left hands of the stage, there must be scaffolds for Noblemen, Barons, Knights, Gentlemen of the Chamber, and others, to rest and behold.' It is probable, therefore, that the church was filled with scaffoldings and galleries, like Westminster Abbey upon similar occasions. The Peers probably sat along the sides of the platform, as in

England. It is singular that there is no mention of Peeresses, who have a recognised place in England, nor of any other ladies, nor is there any mention of the Commons Members of Parliament, which had, however, already met.

Six Prelates were to take part in the Service, and on the morning of the Coronation Day five of them seem to have assembled in the church, assumed their robes, and there awaited the arrival of the King. The principal of these was Archbishop Spotswood, who was to officiate, a duty attached to his See of St. Andrews, in accordance with the Bull of Pope John XXI., of June 13, 1329. The others were Bellenden of Dunblane (Dean of the Chapel), Lindsay of Dunkeld, Lindsay of Brechin, and Maxwell, elect of Ross. The sixth was Guthrie of Moray, who had been appointed acting Lord High Almoner for the time, and was in that capacity to accompany the King to the church, where he must have assumed his vestments after his arrival. The general belief has been that these six were the only Prelates who could be induced to brave the probable ire of the General Assembly by wearing the vestments and going through the Ritual. It has to be observed, however, that they correspond in number to the six Ecclesiastical Peers of France, and that it is quite possible that this is another instance of an old Scottish custom assimilating to that of Rheims.

On the morning of June 18, the King was specially attired for the ceremony. His shirt was made with openings or slits, not only upon the breast but also over the spine between the shoulder-blades, over the shoulders and at the elbows. Over this he wore a red silk coat, with slits corresponding to those in the shirt underneath, and fastened with loops. This coat was a substitute for the long red silk tunic worn on these occasions by other Sovereigns, and its curtailed shape was doubtless a modification introduced by Charles to favour the exceptional equestrian performance which he contemplated, and of which he has every claim to be honoured as the patentee. He was clad over all in a Princely Robe of crimson velvet, the train of which appears to have been of prodigious length, and must have been carried throughout the proceed-

ings by the five gentlemen named as doing so in the Procession. It appears also from his Coronation piece that he wore the Collar of the Thistle when crowned, and therefore probably did so from the beginning. He of course wore the Garter, in accordance with the statutes of that order. Thus attired, and doubtless attended by some of his household, he seems to have proceeded from his bed-room into the Presence Chamber, where he found the Duke of Lennox, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, the Earl of Erroll, Lord High Constable, and the Earl Marischal, awaiting him. The Constable and Marischal carried their batons of office in their hands, and continued to do so all day. Here also were probably the Peers carrying the Regalia, and the Officers of State, who also, no doubt, preceded him as he next passed from the Presence Chamber into the Great Hall of Edinburgh Castle—the same which is now undergoing, by the patriotic munificence of an individual Scot, the process of restoration.

In this Hall were already assembled the Peers, Bishops, and deputies of the Commons. Of the latter we know nothing, except that there were six County and as many Burgh Members. Their names have not been preserved, nor is it mentioned whether they took any part in the procession or were assigned any places in the Church. The Bishops appear to have been, besides Guthrie of Moray, who was acting as Lord High Almoner, Lindsay, Archbishop of Glasgow, Graham of Orkney, Leslie of the Isles, Abernethy of Caithness, Boyd of Argyll, Lamb of Galloway, and perhaps Forbes of Aberdeen. These were all attired in black gowns. A great deal has been made of this circumstance, as if they had been unwilling or afraid to assume the more showy dress worn by the Prelates who officiated in the Church. It is, of course, possible that such may have been the case. But it has already been pointed out that the six Prelates who joined in the service correspond to the number of the Peers of France, and that this may be the survival of a Scoto-French tradition. Moreover, it was necessary that some at least of the Bishops should go with the Peers and representatives of the Counties and Burghs, since the Prelates then constituted one of the Estates of Parliament. Their dress also

was in conformity with other precedents. The Roman Pontifical directs that only the Bishops who await the King in the church, should wear sacred vestments, and that those who accompany him to it should not do so. Similarly, on the occasion of the Coronation of the Kings of France, to which the Mediæval usage of Scotland is very likely to have been analogous, sacred vestments were only worn by the six Ecclesiastical Peers and by the other Prelates who actually officiated. Any farther Bishops of France, as well as the Cardinals, who were present at the King's invitation, did not wear them, even in the church.

The Lay Peers, down to the rank of Viscount, inclusive, were arrayed in robes of crimson velvet, and seem to have carried their coronets in their hands. Judging by the list at the subsequent Riding of Parliament, they seem to have been the Marquesses of Douglas and Huntly, the twenty-seven Earls, of Lothian, Lauderdale, Annandale, Seaforth, Galloway, Haddington, Roxburgh, Tullibardine, Abercorn, Kinghorn, Wigton, Dunfermline, Perth, Linlithgow, Wintoun, Nithisdale, Moray, Casillis, Eglinton, Buchan, Morton, Rothes, Airth and Menteith, Mar, Dumfries, Queensberry, and Stirling, the two Viscounts Stormont and Kenmure, and twenty-six Barons, viz., the Lords Dalzell, Assheton of Forfar, Napier, Melville, Deskford, Cranston, Cupar, Halyrudhous, Balfour of Burleigh, Blantyre, Colville, Balmerino, Loudoun, Spynie, Torphichen, Ogilvie, Lovat, Elphinstone, Herries, Sinclair, Sempill, Yester, Lindsay, Oliphant, Almond, and Kirkcudbright.*

* As there is no actual list of the Peers who took part in the Coronation a few names in the above may be wrong. It is compiled from the official list of Parliament on the Thursday following, printed among the Acts, and from Sir James Balfour's list of the persons who took part in the Riding of that Parliament the day before, compared with his lists of the absent Peers, the notices of the new creations, etc. An element of difficulty is introduced by the number of changes of designation which the fresh creations, now daily occurring, brought in. As to some, the accounts are contradictory: for instance, Sir James Balfour (IV. 362) says that the Bishop of Aberdeen rode on June 19, but the Parliamentary list omits him, and Spalding (I. 31) gives an account of the state to which he had been reduced by apoplexy, which makes his presence seem very doubtful.

The King entered the Hall walking between the Great Constable on his right and the Marischal on his left, and conducted by the Great Chamberlain, by whom he was led to a Chair of State placed under a canopy. It was now about 8 A.M.

When Charles had taken his seat, the Lord Chancellor, the newly created Earl of Kinnoull, made to him, in the name of the Estates of the Kingdom, the following address, of which the King had made sure by sending it down beforehand. It is to be found at full length in Dell's draft:—

‘*SIR*,—The Estates of this your native and ancient Kingdom, calling to mind the great happiness which they enjoyed under the government of Your Majesty's Father (of blessed memory), and acknowledging Your Highness to be the rightful heir of this crown by a long and lawful descent, do beseech Your Majesty to receive them under Your Highness' protection, to govern them by the laws of the Kingdom, and defend them, their rights, and liberties, by your Royal Power—offering their service in most humble manner to Your Majesty, with their vows to bestow land, life, and what else is in their power, for the safety of Your Majesty's Sacred Person and maintenance of your Crown—which they entreat Your Majesty to accept, and pray Almighty God that you may happily and for many years enjoy the same.’

Charles replied, also according to the draft form:—

‘I do esteem your affections more than the crowns of many kingdoms, and will, by God's assistance, bestow my life for your defence, wishing to live no longer than I may see this Kingdom flourish in all happiness.’

The Coronation Procession then immediately started. The innovation which Charles made upon this occasion is one of the most extraordinary of the whole. The universal practice of Christendom hitherto seems to have been that the procession which conveys the Sovereign to the church where he is to be crowned, upon the morning of his Coronation Day, should be of a semi-religious character, and proceed on foot. It is also quite short, e.g., at Westminster from the Palace to the Abbey, and at Rheims from the Archbishop's Palace to the Cathedral, and the way is carpetted: indeed, a platform is usually erected

for the whole of the short distance. The parallel course would have been for Charles to walk across the great court of Holyrood Palace, but he determined to cast all such notions to the winds, revolutionized the established usage of ages, and settled to have a procession upon horseback. This is all the more curious, because, to judge by the order which he sent from Dalkeith the day before his entry into Edinburgh, to the effect that the salute from the Castle must be over before he mounted his state charger (*Balfour's Annals*, iv., 360), he would not appear to have been always entirely at his ease on horseback. Of a sense of the ridiculous he was clearly destitute, or the notion of the triumphal procession of an itinerant circus must have struck him at once. It was clearly to indulge this singular fancy that he had made the cumbrous and otherwise senseless journey to the Castle the night before. It is also to be remarked that the idea was a new one, which had occurred to him subsequently to the composition of the draft form, wherein it seems to be taken for granted that he would walk, though he was only to be received under the canopy at the church door. It is there said that 'they march,' and that 'two of the Brethren walk' beside the Lyon, who is to carry the vessel of oil in his hand, a thing he neither could nor did do on horseback.

The procession thus organised advanced, riding two and two, in the following order:—

Six trumpeters clad in scarlet and gold.

The Barons.

The Bishops.

The Viscounts.

The Earls.

(Both the Viscounts and the Earls had each of them a gentleman walking by their left stirrup, carrying their coronet).

Patrick Lindsay, Archbishop of Glasgow.

The Earl of Haddington, Lord Privy Seal.

The Earl of Morton, Lord Treasurer.

The Earl of Kinnoull, Lord Chancellor.

The Six Pursuivants.

The English York Herald.

The Six Heralds, in their tabards.

The English Norroy King of Arms.

The Bishop of Moray, as Lord High Almoner for the day, with the Master of Requests upon his left hand.

Sir James Balfour, as Lord Lyon King of Arms, between two Gentlemen Ushers, his crown carried beside his left stirrup.

The Spurs, carried by the Earl of Eglinton.

The Sword, carried by the Earl of Buchan.

The Sceptre, carried by the Earl of Rothes.

The Crown, carried by the Marquess of Douglas. On his right hand rode the Great Constable, the Earl of Erroll, and on his left the Great Chamberlain, the Duke of Lennox, on whose left again rode the Earl Marischal.

Then came Charles himself, with three gentlemen of his stable walking upon each side of his horse. The animal was adorned with a foot-cloth embroidered in silver and pearls. As Charles had his extensive train carried after him, or rather after his charger, the effect—especially from behind, where the head of the equestrian at the top and the hind-legs of the quadruped below must have appeared as united into one grotesque hybrid by the voluminous garments which formed the common covering of both—must have been exceedingly odd.* Whether the bearers of the train were mounted or on foot we are not informed. They were five in number, and were the Lord Lorne, eldest son of the Earl of Argyle—the same famous man who was afterwards created Marquess in 1641, crowned Charles II. at Scone in 1651, and was beheaded in 1661; the Lord Dalkeith, eldest son of the Lord Treasurer, Earl of Morton; the Viscount Annand, eldest son of the Earl of Annandale; the Viscount Dupplin, eldest son of the Lord Chancellor, Earl of Kinnoull; and Sir Robert Gordon, Bart., of Letterfourie, Vice-Chamberlain.

After the King, or rather, the train-bearers, rode the Marquess of Hamilton, as Master of the Horse, mounted upon a

* There is a caricature by the late John Leech, intituled, 'A Warning to Young Ladies riding upon Donkeys,' which exactly represents the effect in question.

Spanish genet with a very rich foot-cloth, and leading another, the most splendidly decorated in the procession.

Then rode the Earl of Suffolk, Captain of the Gentlemen Pensioners, and lastly, the Earl of Holland, Captain of the Guard, followed by the Yeomen of the Guard, on foot, their partisans in their hands and their swords by their sides.

The procession alighted at the entrance of the great court of the Palace, and proceeded on foot across it, along a path covered with blue cloth and railed in on each side. On dismounting, the King was received under a canopy of crimson velvet, laced and fringed with gold, sustained upon six * poles by the Lord Seton, eldest son of the Earl of Wintoun; the Lord Livingston, eldest son of the Earl of Linlithgow; the Lord Fleming, eldest son of the Earl of Wigton; the Lord Binning, eldest son of the Earl of Haddington; the Viscount Maitland, eldest son of the Earl of Lauderdale; and the Viscount Drumlanrig, eldest son of the Earl of Queensberry; and these bearers were assisted by six of the Peers, viz., the Lords Loudoun, Spynie, Balfour of Burleigh, Ramsay, Napier, and Wemyss. On arriving at the West door of the church Charles was at once confronted by the gorgeous spectacle of Spotswood and his brother Prelates arrayed in violet silk cassocks, white rochets and copes of cloth-of-gold,† who had come

* The point is not of much importance, but it is interesting to observe that the draft form directs a canopy with *four* poles, as in England. The alteration seems to indicate that an old Scotch precedent had been subsequently discovered.

† These copes have suffered at least two very strange literary misadventures. The words of Spalding are 'with white rochetis, and white sleives, and koopis of gold, haueing blew silk to thair foot.' Mr. Lawson reproduces them thus—'with white rochets and white sleeves, and *loops* of gold, having blue silk at their foot.' This is perhaps a misprint. Charles mentions these copes in his letter of Oct. 8, where he gives directions for their custody and use, spelling the word in the usual modern way. The letter may be seen on p. 442 of *The Annals of King James and King Charles the First*, published in London by T. Braddyll, in 1681. But where Stevenson prints the letter again on p. 144 of his *History*, he most strangely substitutes the word *cups*. It is hardly necessary to remark that copes are the vestments always used in Westminster Abbey on similar occasions. They were worn, for instance, at the Jubilee Thanksgiving on June 21 in the present year, 1887.

down, attended by the choir, to receive him. In the entry the King knelt down, then rose and was conducted by the Bishop of Dunblane, as Dean of the Chapel, to the chair by the Westernmost pillar, where he sat down and listened to a short harangue from Mr. James Hannay, preacher of the chapel.* This entirely senseless proceeding is not mentioned in the draft, and looks very like a blundering attempt to follow some subsequently discovered Scottish precedent, in which there was a concurrence with the customs of France. At least, it is only explicable by a comparison with the Coronation ceremonies of that country. When the King of France arrived for the first time at the entrance of the Cathedral of Rheims, he was met by the Archbishop and clergy, knelt, was given Holy Water, kissed a copy of the Gospel carried by a Deacon, prayed for a few instants, then arose, and listened standing to some brief sentences of loyal welcome from the Archbishop; after which the procession advanced, the choir singing. It looks very much as if Laud had discovered a similar custom in Scotland, but had only assimilated the facts that the King first knelt and was then addressed. It is another remarkable instance of the misunderstanding of a Mediæval idea, while leaving out the best part of it. If it had been followed, and Charles had knelt to kiss the Bible, no one could have been otherwise than edified. As it was, he knelt to do nothing except irritate people, and then sat down to hear a wearisome speech.

The Bishop of Dunblane at this time handed to the Lyon a golden vessel containing the oil, which, according to the draft, he ought to have carried throughout the procession — an arrangement which had been frustrated by the King's equestrian innovation. The draft had directed that the vessel should be of silver, following no doubt the precedent of Mediæval Westminster, where the oil was held in a silver and the chrism in a golden box. Probably, however, having only one sort, Laud came to the conclusion that they might as well use the golden phial. The giving of it to a layman to carry

* The same man who was made Dean of Edinburgh, and at whose head Jennie Geddes threw the stool.

was somewhat strange, but may have arisen from the Mediæval abuse of placing laymen, as Commendators, at the head of such Abbeys as Scone and Holyrood, and, in the absence of a Commendator, the office now fell naturally enough to the Lyon. In England also, as in the Roman rite, the oil and chrism were not carried in procession but placed beforehand upon the Altar, but it is conceivable that in Mediæval Scotland the oil may have been so carried in feeble imitation of the procession which bore into the Cathedral of Rheims the *Sainte Ampoule*, there believed to have been miraculously sent down from heaven for the unction of Clovis.

It is interesting to notice that both the draft and Sir James habitually call the oil the *sacred* oil. Who hallowed it is not recorded, and must remain enveloped in the same mystery as the like question at Westminster, a mystery which Mr. Maskell has discussed but not solved.*

Of the contents of Mr. Hannay's address we know nothing. At its close, the King rose and the procession advanced, the canopy being still carried over his head as far as the platform. The choir meanwhile sang an Anthem which is thus described in the draft, 'Behold, Oh Lord our Protector, and look upon the face of thine Anointed, because one day in thy Court is better than a thousand, etc., *Quam dilecta*, etc.' This seems to imply that they sang some strange version of Psalm lxxxiv., from verse 9 onwards; and this has all the appearance of a misunderstanding of a Mediæval service-book, in which the Psalm was directed to be sung entire during the procession, followed by the *Gloria Patri*, and with verse 9 as an Anthem before and after it. If so, we seem again upon the traces of a purely Scottish national custom. Laud was not likely to have invented it, and, as far as the present writer knows, it is not found in any other Coronation Ritual, the Psalm sung in France at this point being Psalm xxi., 'The King shall joy.' If the old Scottish custom were so, a nobler or more beautiful commencement of the Coronation service can hardly be conceived.

* *Monumenta Ritualia Ecclesie Anglicanæ*, II., xxiii., xxiv.

The King ascended the platform, and sat down to rest in the throne. This is a direct violation of one of the clearest and most fundamental rules upon which the old Coronation Rituals are constructed, viz., that the Sovereign must not occupy the throne until he is solemnly inducted into it at the enthronization. If Charles had here followed the English Mediæval rule he would have gone at once to the Chair of State on the South. But this is only one more instance of thoughtless failure to comprehend the models he and his advisers wished to follow.

The Regalia were now delivered, by those who carried them, to the Chief Gentleman Usher, who placed them upon the green Table prepared for them. No mention is made of the Great Seal, as in the draft. Probably it was not used. The Lyon at the same time gave the vessel of oil to Spotswood, who put it on the Communion Table. According to the draft, it ought to have been handed back by the Lyon to Bellenden, and by Bellenden to Spotswood, but this probably struck Sir James as intolerably silly. It may be conjectured that it was also at this point that Bishop Guthrie of Moray, who had arrived with the procession in his black gown, retired and re-appeared in cassock, rochet and golden cope.

All being ready, the King descended from the platform, and took up his position in the Chair of State to the South. David Lindsay, Bishop of Brechin, then mounted the pulpit, and delivered a sermon upon 1 Kings, i. 39, 'And Zadok the Priest took an horn of oil out of the tabernacle, and anointed Solomon. And they blew the trumpet; and all the people said, God save King Solomon.' This sermon has not been preserved. Judging by the length of those of the day, it may be confidently conjectured that it lasted more than an hour. It seems to have been a good one. Spalding remarks that the preacher was 'a prime scholar,' and Row, who was certainly not unduly biassed in favour of the proceedings in general, says that he 'taught a sermon, wherein he had sundry good exhortations to His Majesty for the weil of this Kirk and Kingdom; but so generally uttered that they might have been applied divers ways.'

There is a sermon in the English rite, but it is placed at a later stage. In France it was preached the evening before, and some grounds will presently be submitted for suggesting that such had also been the usage in Mediæval Scotland.

At the conclusion of the sermon Charles again ascended the platform and seated himself in the throne—which, indeed, as far as convenience in hearing the sermon went, he might, owing to the position of the pulpit, have occupied all along. The Archbishop now also ascended the platform, and, accompanied by the Constable and Marischal, and preceded by the Lyon, went successively to each side of it and addressed the people in the following form, during the recitation of which the King stood up and turned successively towards each of the four directions as it was delivered. This arrangement must have had a very awkward effect when he had to look Westwards over the back of his chair, and it was partly to obviate such an inconvenience that the English rite had introduced the peculiar supplementary Chair of State against the South-East pier. At Holyrood, however, as we have seen, this chair had been put below the platform. The proclamation made by Spotswood was this—

‘Sirs,—I do present unto you King Charles, the rightful and undoubted heir of the Crown and dignity of this Realm. This day is by the Peers of the Kingdom appointed for his Coronation. And are you not willing to have him for your King, and to become subject unto him and his commandments?’

This enquiry, in happy compliance with the directions of the draft, was answered by loud shouts of ‘God save King Charles!’

The whole of this last ceremony would seem to have been of purely English importation, and can hardly have had any Scottish precedent. It is obviously the survival of some form of election. Now, in Scotland, if there was any election at all (as in the case of Robert II.), it took place beforehand, and the ceremony of the Coronation Day began by the members of Parliament, as the representatives of the nation, going to the King to offer him the Crown. It was the precise reverse of the English plan. They were not asked if they would have

him, but he was asked if he would have them. This is so very obvious and makes the Holyrood proceeding so essentially foolish that it is really singular that Laud, blundering as he was, did not perceive it.

After this the Archbishop went to his seat near the Communion Table, and all rested while the choir sang an Anthem in these words—

‘Let thine hand be strengthened and thy right hand be exalted. Let judgment be the preparation of thy seat, mercy and truth go before thy face.’

This is followed in both accounts* by the words, ‘Psalm 89, Glory be to the Father, etc.’ It is hard to believe that this very long Psalm—fifty-two verses—was chanted at full length, but the enormous time which the ceremony is known to have lasted, and the fact that the actors are mentioned as now reposing, favour such an interpretation. A suggestion will be made presently that it may, along with its Anthem, have formed a processional at the beginning of Mediæval Scottish Coronations, and for this purpose it would not be too long. In England it seems uncertain whether the Psalm was sung at length at this point, or only the first verse. If we are to understand that the Archbishop of Canterbury assumed his Mass vestments during it (as the *Liber Regalis* may be interpreted to mean), the former is not improbable.

When the singing was over, the King, with the Bishop of Dunblane, as Dean of the Chapel Royal, on his right, and the Bishop of Moray, as Lord High Almoner, on his left, descended from the platform and approached the Communion Table, where he made an oblation which Archbishop Spotswood received in a golden cup. It is not said what the oblation was, but that offered in England was a pound’s weight of pure gold, and it was very likely the same. After giving it the King knelt at the kneeling-desk and Spotswood read over him the following prayer—

* Sir James, either by a slip of the pen or a misprint, is made to say Ps. 80 (instead of 89), but he adds the words *Misericordias Dei* (*sic*, not *Domini*), so that there is no doubt which Psalm he means.

'O God, Who dost visit those that are humble and dost comfort them by Thine Holy Spirit, send down Thy grace upon this Thy servant King Charles, that by him we may feel Thy presence amongst us. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

'Amen' was answered. This ceremony and prayer are taken from the English rite, to which they are peculiar, but they are here put out of their place. They there occur before the sermon, and just after the assent of the people and the Anthem *Firmetur*. They are therefore as it were the first act of the King, and the *Liber Regalis* specially points out that they are so in order to comply with the precept, *Non appareas vacuus in conspectu Domini Dei tui*—'Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty.'* The position at Holyrood may, however, guide us to another old Scottish custom, harmonizing with that of France. We have seen that the 'Recognition by the People,' as it is called in England, cannot have been part of the Scottish ceremonial at all, and if it be supposed that the sermon was not delivered upon this morning, as in England, but on the preceding evening, as in France, this oblation assumes the first place, with the exception of the anthem *Firmetur* and Ps. lxxxix. These latter, however, have all the appearance of a processional. And the occurrence of another, and seemingly distinctively Scottish, processional Psalm, viz., the lxxxivth, seems to point to two Coronation services, for the evening and the morning respectively, as at Rheims, Ps. lxxxiv. being especially adapted for the evening one, as accompanying the King's first visit to the House of God in connection with his inauguration.†

* The words seem to be meant for a loose reference to Ex. xxiii. 15, and xxiv. 20, which are rendered by the A. V., 'none shall appear before Me empty.' There is also a similar passage in Eccles. xxxv. 6. It is interesting to observe that in the service drawn up for the Coronation of the present Queen in 1838, it is treated in the most solemn manner as an absolute quotation—'The Queen having thus offered, and so fulfilled his Commandment, who said, Thou shalt not appear before the Lord thy God empty, goes to the chair, etc.'

† If anyone read Psalm lxxxix. in the light of this suggestion, the present writer ventures to think that he will be struck by its beautiful appropriate-

After the oblation and prayer, Charles rose and went to sit down in his chair, by which is apparently meant that upon the South side. Here Spotswood followed him and asked him 'if he were willing to take the oath appointed to be given at the Coronation of Kings?' Charles replied that he was willing, and the following prepared dialogue was then gone through:—

Spotswood. 'Sir, will you promise to serve Almighty God to the utmost of your power, as He hath required in His most holy Word, and, according to the same Word, maintain the true Religion of Christ, now preached and professed within this Realm, abolishing and gainstanding all false religions contrary to the same? And will you employ yourself carefully to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God, that shall be convicted by the true Church of God of the foresaid crimes?'

Charles. 'I promise faithfully so to do.'

Spotswood. 'Sir, will you promise to rule this people subject to you according to the laws and constitutions received within this Realm, causing judgment and equity to be ministered in all your judgments without partiality, and to procure peace, to the uttermost of your power, to the Church of God, and amongst all Christian people?'

Charles. 'I grant and promise so to do.'

Spotswood. 'Sir, will you likewise promise to preserve and keep inviolated the privileges, rights, and rents of the Crown of Scotland, and not to transfer and alienate the same in any way?'

Charles. 'I promise so to do.'

ness. The tone of humility mingled with trust and thankfulness is especially fitted for that day upon which the King comes to receive a bodily unction as a symbol of the unction which he implores from on high, the occasion on which alone, out of the four Coronation services, the French rite forbids him the use of the canopy, because he then appears not so much as the ruler over men as in the character of a suppliant to God; and the lamentation over the desolation of the crown, followed by joyous hope in the future, express admirably the natural feelings inspired by the death of one Sovereign and the succession of another.

Spotswood. 'Sir, we do also beseech you to grant and preserve unto us of the clergy and to the churches committed to our charge, all Canonical privileges; and that you will defend and protect us, as every good King ought in his Kingdom to defend his Bishops and the churches under their government.'

Charles. 'With a willing heart I grant the same, and promise to maintain you, and every one of you, with all the churches committed to your charge, in your whole rights and privileges, according to law and justice.'

He thereupon rose and went to the Communion Table, where he laid his hands upon the Bible (probably the ornamental copy from the little table, brought by Spotswood on purpose) and said—

'All the things which before I have promised, I shall observe and keep. So help me God, and by the contents of this Book.'

This oath is of considerable interest. The fourth or last clause may be dismissed first. It is the paraphrase of a formula couched in almost unintelligibly barbarous Latinity which was used in France before and in England after the Coronation Oath proper. The latter is represented by the three first clauses. These three clauses are all first found in a brief note appended to the earliest Coronation Ritual now known to exist, viz., that in the Pontifical of Archbishop Egbert of York, A.D. 732-767, and they continued to form the essence of the oath taken by the Kings of France and England. It is natural to suppose that they occupied the same place in the Coronation service of the Mediæval Kings of Scots. The passage relating to heretics is an addition, which was made in France, but in a much milder and more cautious form than that in which it here appears.* As John XXI., in

* The words are, 'De terra meâ ac jurisdictione mihi subditâ universos hereticos ab ecclesiâ denotatos pro viribus bonâ fide exterminare studebo—I will honestly make it an object to remove from my country and from the sphere of jurisdiction subject to me all heretics who shall be denounced by the Church by name.' Perhaps *exterminare*, which literally means 'to put out of bounds,' would be best rendered by 'banish and drive away,' which is the translation now employed by Anglican Bishops at their Consecration.

his Bull, expresses a wish that the Kings of Scots should swear in this sense, it is probable that they did so in the same words as their French brethren. At the Reformation, the Oath underwent a change. In England it was less modified than in Scotland. In Scotland it was incorporated in the Act of James VI., which in 1633 was the legal form of the Scottish Coronation Oath, and according to which Charles II. was sworn by the Covenanters at Scone in 1651. The passage relating to heretics is there developed into a violent and sweeping promise to persecute. Now, Laud's draft form contains an oath modelled upon the English form, and very different to that which, as we learn from Sir James Balfour, was actually taken by Charles. It is evident that there had been a struggle and that the form proposed by Laud had been modified to meet the requirements of the Act of James VI., which is not, however, followed word for word, as it does not profess to give the necessary oath textually but only in substance.*

* The following are the two forms, between which the oath actually taken was a sort of compromise :—

Act of 1567.

— enduring the whole course of their life, they shall serve the same Eternal God to the uttermost of their power, according as He has required in His most holy Word, revealed and contained in the New and Old Testaments. And according to the same Word, shall maintain the true Religion of Jesus Christ, the preaching of His holy Word, and due and right ministration of the Sacraments, now received and preached within this Realm. And shall abolish and gainstand all false religion contrary to the same. And shall rule the people committed to their charge according to the will and command of God revealed in His foresaid Word and according to the loveable laws and con-

Laud's draft form.

Sir, will you promise to serve Almighty God, and, as every good King in His Kingdom ought to do, maintain the Gospel of Jesus Christ in this your Kingdom, against all atheism, profaneness, heresy, schism, or superstition whatsoever ?

Sir, will you promise to rule this people, subject to you and committed to your charge, according to the laws, constitutions, and customs of this your Kingdom, causing (in as much as in you lieth) justice and equity to be ministered without partiality ? And to endeavour the peace of the Church of Christ and all Christian people ?

Sir, will you likewise promise to preserve the rights and privileges of the Crown of Scotland ?

With the taking of the Oath, ended the first or more purely secular part of the Coronation service. The ceremony now entered the second stage, which is called by the French the *Sacre* or Consecration of the King, and which centres wholly around the anointing.

It began, as in England, by the singing of the hymn *Veni Creator Spiritus*, and here we have again at once to note a deplorable solecism against the proprieties of Mediæval custom. This hymn, it is needless to remark, is, although cast in a metrical shape, a prayer of the most solemn character, and has been for many centuries the special form in which the descent of God the Holy Ghost and the imparting of His Divine gifts has been invoked in the Latin Churches. Hence the ecclesiastical rule that all kneel during the first

stitutions received in this Realm, no-wise repugnant to the said Word of the Eternal God. And shall procure to the uttermost of their power to the whole Kirk of God and whole Christian people true and perfect peace in all time coming. The rights and rents, with all just privileges, of the Crown of Scotland, to preserve and keep unviolated, neither shall they transfer nor alienate the same. They shall forbid and repress, in all estates and degrees, reif, oppression, and all kind of wrong. In all judgments they shall command and procure that justice and equity be kept to all creatures, without exception, as the Lord and Father of mercies be merciful to them. And out of their lands and empire they shall be careful to root out all heretics, and enemies to the true worship of God that shall be convicted by the true Kirk of God of the foresaid crimes. And that they shall faithfully affirm the things above written, by their solemn oath.

Sir, we do also beseech (and so on, as actually used).

verse, and, except for some special purpose, stand during the rest, while in England, when it was sung upon the occasion of the Coronation, the King lay prostrate upon his face upon the ground until it was finished. Not such was the idea of Charles and Laud. After the oath he returned, as directed by the draft form, to his Chair of State, meaning, seemingly, that on the South, and, as his kneeling is afterwards mentioned as a change, the presumption is that he sat during the hymn, although it is, of course, just possible that he stood.

It was no doubt sung according to the old version * contained not only in the Anglican Prayer-Book at that time but also in the so-called *John Knox' Psalter*, which was then the authorized Psalm-Book of the Church of Scotland.

' Come, Holy Ghost, Eternal God,
 Proceeding from above,
 Both from the Father and the Son,
 The God of peace and love—
 Visit our minds, and into us
 Thine heavenly grace inspire,
 That in all truth and godliness
 We may have true desire.

' Thou art the very Comforter
 In all woe and distress ;
 The Heavenly gift of God Most High
 Which no tongue can express,
 The Fountain and the Lively Spring
 Of joy celestial,
 The Fire so bright, the Love so clear,
 And Unction Spiritual.

* This version is in the English Ordinal of 1549. The present Anglican Prayer Book, in the Ordinal, contains a pitifully disfigured edition of it as an alternative from the shorter paraphrase by Dr. Cosin, Bishop of Durham after the Restoration. The recent *Scottish Hymnal* contains no less than three versions of the *Veni Creator*, but has carefully 'boycotted' the old one, so long an authorized formula of the Church of Scotland. Of the three which it gives, the first—No. 54—is that of Bishop Cosin from the new Anglican Ordinal, already mentioned. The second—No. 55—is ascribed to Dryden, who, as is well known, after his conversion to Catholicism, rendered many of the Breviary hymns into English. The third—No. 56—is the modern paraphrase by Miss Catherine Winkworth.

Coronation of Charles I.

‘ Thou in Thy gifts art manifold
 Whereby Christ’s Church doth stand,
 In faithful hearts writing Thy law,
 The Finger of God’s hand.
 According to Thy promise made,
 Thou gavest speech of grace,
 That through Thine help the praise of God
 May stand in every place.

‘ O Holy Ghost ! into our wits
 Send down Thine heavenly light ;
 Kindle our hearts with fervent love
 To serve God day and night,
 Strengthen and stablish our weakness,
 So feeble and so frail,
 That neither flesh, the world, nor devil
 Against us do prevail.

‘ Put back our enemies far from us,
 And grant us to obtain
 Peace in our hearts with God and man,
 Without grudge or disdain.
 And grant, O Lord, that, Thou being
 Our Ruler and our Guide,
 We may eschew the snares of sin
 And from Thee never slide.

‘ To us such plenty of Thy grace,
 Good Lord, grant, we Thee pray,
 That Thou may’st be our Comforter
 At the last dreadful day :
 Of all strife and dissension,
 O Lord, dissolve the bands,
 And make the knots of peace and love
 Throughout all Christian lands.

‘ Grant us, O Lord, through Thee to know
 The Father of all might,
 That of His dear-beloved Son
 We may obtain the sight,
 And that with perfect faith also
 We may acknowledge Thee,
 The spirit of Them both alway—
 One God in Persons Three.

‘Laud and praise be to the Father,
 And to the Son equal,
 And to the Holy Spirit also,
 One God co-eternal :
 And we pray that the only Son
 Vouchsafe his Spirit to send
 To all that do profess his Name,
 Unto the world’s end.’

When the hymn was ended the King knelt at the faldstool, by which seems to be meant the kneeling-desk in front of the Altar,* and the Archbishop offered the following prayer:—

‘We beseech Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, for this Thy servant King Charles, that, as at first Thou broughtest him into the world by Thy Divine Providence, and in the flower of his youth hast preserved him until this present time, so Thou wilt evermore enrich him with the gift of piety, fill him with the grace of truth, and daily increase in him all goodness, that he may happily enjoy the Seat of Supreme Government, by the gift of Thy supernal grace, and, being defended from all his enemies by the wall of Thy mercy, may prosperously govern the people committed to his charge.’

This prayer is a very indifferent translation of that beginning ‘Te invocamus, Domine Sancte, Pater Onnipotens, Eterne Deus,’ which is found in the earliest Coronation Service now probably extant, namely, in the Pontifical of Egbert, Archbishop of York, A.D. 732-767, already mentioned.

Immediately after this prayer, the Litany was sung by Bishop Guthrie of Moray, and Maxwell, Bishop elect of Ross. The description of this is a little obscure. The draft form has ‘and at the close thereof this is to be added:—“That it may please Thee to keep and strengthen in the true worshipping of Thee, in righteousness and holiness of life, this Thy servant Charles, our King and Governor”—and so to the end.’ Sir James Balfour also says that ‘after the close thereof [i.e. of the Litany] this was added—,’ giving the same clause as in the

* Sir James Balfour says he knelt at his footstool, but it is surely more likely to be a slip of the pen than to imply that he merely knelt on the footstool belonging to the Chair of State.

draft. It is, perhaps, hardly necessary to remind the reader that this clause always occurs in the Anglican Litany, and near the beginning. The meaning of the expressions used as to the Holyrood ceremony probably is that the ordinary Litany was gone entirely through, only perhaps omitting the final Benediction, and that, after the prayer of St. Chrysostom, the petition for the King, as above, was again repeated, the choir, of course, again answering, 'We beseech Thee to hear us, good Lord.'

After this, one of the Bishops who had just sung the Litany (doubtless Guthrie, as the consecrated one of the two), immediately offered the following prayer, which is a loose and inferior paraphrase of one found in the Coronation service of the Roman Pontifical, where, however, it is made to precede the Litany. It is also found in the Mediæval English rite, but in the latter case it is the last prayer offered before the anointing.

'O Almighty and Everlasting God, Creator of all things, Ruler of angels, King of kings and Lord of lords, Who madest thy servant Abraham to triumph over his enemies, didst give many victories to Moses and Joshua, the governors of the people; didst raise and exalt David Thy servant to be a King over them; didst enrich Solomon his son with the gift of wisdom and understanding, and blessedst him with peace and great prosperity,—give ear, we beseech Thee, unto our humble prayers, and multiply thy blessings upon this Thy servant who is now to be consecrated our King, that he, being strengthened with the faith of Abraham, endued with the mildness of Moses, and with the fortitude of Joshua, exalted with the humility of David, and beautified with the wisdom of Solomon, may please Thee in all things and ever walk uprightly in Thy ways. Defend him by Thy mighty arm; compass him with Thy protection; and give him to overcome all his and Thine enemies. Honour him before all the kings of the earth. Let him rule over countries, and let nations adore him.*

* To follow the barbarous digressions of these translations from the Latin originals would be a task out of the question here. But it may be remarked as an instance that the above extraordinary expression is an entirely gratuit-

Establish his throne with judgment and equity. Let justice flourish in his days: and grant that he, underpropped by the due obedience and hearty love of his people, may sit on the throne of his fore-fathers for many years, and, after this life, may reign with Thee in Thine everlasting kingdom. Through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.'

'Amen' was answered, and Archbishop Spotswood then said:—

'Lift up your hearts, and give thanks unto the Lord.'

The two Bishops who had sung the Litany replied:—

'We lift them up unto the Lord: and to give thanks unto him is meet and right.'

Spotswood continued—

'It is very meet and right, and our bounden duty, so to do, and at all times and in all places to give thanks to Thee, O Lord, Holy Father, Almighty and Everlasting God, the Strength of Thy chosen and the Exalter of the humble, Who, in the beginning, by sending the flood of waters, didst punish the sins of the world; and by a dove bringing an olive-branch in her mouth didst give a token of reconciliation to the earth; Who afterwards didst consecrate Thy servant Aaron a Priest, by the anointing of oil; as also, by the pouring out of the same, didst make Kings, Priests and Prophets, to govern Thy people Israel; and by the voice of Thy Prophet David didst foretell that the countenance of Thy Church should be made joyful with oil. We beseech Thee to bless and sanctify this Thy servant King Charles; that he may minister peace unto this people, that he may attain to the perfection of Government in Counsel and Judgment, and that his countenance may be always cheerful and amiable to all his people, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

'Amen' was answered, and the King then sat down for a short time. The last prayer is a poor and inaccurate translation of the fourth or anointing prayer in the Egbert Pontifi-

tous insertion. It seems to be founded upon the Vulgate rendering of Genesis xxvii. 29, 'Serviant tibi populi et adorent te tribus.' As a set-off, a beautiful passage based on Ephesians vi. 16, 17, is omitted.

cal, beginning 'Deus, Electorum Fortitudo.' It does not occur in the Roman Coronation service at all. It was used in France as the second prayer after the commencement of the Unction. In the Mediæval English Coronation service it occurs as here, with the opening form of the Preface of the Mass before it, and it is very singular that Laud should have put this opening into his Scotch Coronation service in the clumsy form here given, instead of adopting the comparatively accurate rendering of the Anglican Communion Service.

The ceremony of the anointing was then proceeded with. The two accounts, while very minute, still leave an uncertainty upon one or two details, but, speaking roundly, we know what was done. The King, after a pause which was probably occupied in getting everything ready, rose and went up to the Communion Table, where he seems to have gone behind the crimson taffety screen, which came close up to it. He there stood with his back close to the end of the Table, while the Lord Great Chamberlain, the Duke of Lennox, took off him his Princely robe, and unfastened the slits in his red silk coat. He then crossed the chancel and sat down in the Chair of State placed close to the pulpit, and the canopy was brought forward and held over his head until the Unction was completed. The choir now proceeded to sing the Anthem:—'Zadok the Priest and Nathan the Prophet anointed Solomon King, and all the people rejoiced and said, God save the King for ever.' It is hardly necessary to remark that this is the same Anthem which is now so well known as set to music by Handel. It is, however, of very great antiquity, forming part of the Coronation Service in the Pontifical of Egbert; nor does this seem to be its ultimate source, since it is found in the Breviary (which, although itself a comparatively modern compilation, embodies the Lectionaries, Antiphonaries, &c., of earlier times), on the evening before the Seventh Sunday after Pentecost, as one of the regular series of Anthems adapted to the yearly course of Scriptural reading. From this place it was probably borrowed as an existing piece of sacred music suitable for the occasion. In the English Mediæval rite it was joined with the beginning or the whole of Psalm xxi., 'The King shall joy,' as is indicated

by its being followed by the words, 'Ps. Domine in virtute tua lætabitur rex.' Neither the draft nor Sir James gives an hint of anything of the sort at Holyrood, except that several verses of this Psalm are found attached to another Anthem later on. It may be remarked that in France also it was sung without the Psalm, which was appropriated to the King's entry into the Cathedral.

While this Anthem was being sung, Spotswood, who must have been standing, anointed the King, who remained sitting all the time, upon the palms of both hands, *and then upon the crown of the head*, saying—'In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost'—here both accounts insert within brackets () the words 'which words he repeats,' [Sir J. B., 'he did repeat,'] in all the several anointings'—'Let these hands be anointed with oil, as Kings and Prophets were anointed: and, as Samuel did anoint David to be King, that thou mayest be blessed and established King in this kingdom, over the people whom the Lord thy God hath given thee to rule and govern: which may He vouchsafe to grant Who with the Father and the Holy Ghost is One, and reigns in glory everlasting. Amen.'

These words are a bad translation of a form found in the Mediæval English and French, but not in the early English or in the Roman rites. The words, 'and then upon the crown of the head,' are italicized above, because, although Sir James Balfour so states, it would appear that either the form must have been altered after the draft was drawn up, or else that Spotswood blundered at the time, or Sir James has made a mistake, since the draft form directs the head to be anointed last of all. The words also obviously apply to the hands, and the formula, 'God the Son of God,' etc., which will be given presently, to the head. The only possible way out of one of the above conclusions is that by writing here 'and one the croune of the head,' etc. (*sic*), Sir James may have meant that the Archbishop proceeded at a subsequent stage to anoint the head and other parts. If so, his use of language is singularly clumsy. Again, it does not appear clear whether Spotswood repeated the invocation of the Trinity thrice, that is, over both

hands and head, or twice, viz., once on the pair of hands and once on the head, or once only, viz., over both hands and head together. This point is tiresome and confused and will be discussed again.

It may be conjectured that the hands were immediately wiped with linen, cotton-wool, or floss-silk.

This first anointing completed, and the Anthem finished, the Archbishop offered the following prayer, an imperfect rendering of one which occurs in the same position in the Mediæval English rite, and in the French after the giving of the sword, but which is also found, as an addition *ad libitum*, after the Communion, in the Ritual used by the Popes at the Coronation of the Emperors of the Holy Roman Empire, if not in even earlier days.

‘Look down, Almighty God, upon this Thy servant our dread Sovereign, King Charles, with Thy favourable countenance, and, as Thou didst bless Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, so vouchsafe, we beseech Thee, to water him plentifully with the Blessing of Thy Grace: give unto him of the dew of heaven and of the fatness of the earth, abundance of corn, wine, and oil, with all plenty of fruits and other good things. Grant him long to continue; and that in his time there may be health and peace in this kingdom. Grant, O Almighty God, that he may be a mighty Protector of this country, a bountiful Comforter of Churches and holy societies, the most valiant of Kings, terrible to rebels and infidels, amiable to his nobles and to all his faithful subjects. Make his Royal Court to shine in Princely dignity, as a most clear lightening, far and wide, in the eyes of all men. Finally, let him be blessed with happy children, that may reign as Kings after him and rule this kingdom by succession of all ages. And, after the glorious and happy days of present life, give him, of Thy mercy, an everlasting Kingdom with Thee in the heavens, through Jesus Christ our Lord.’

‘Amen,’ was answered, and the Archbishop then proceeded to anoint the King successively upon the breast, the back-bone between the shoulder-blades, the right shoulder, the left shoulder, the inside of the right elbow, and the inside of the left elbow. After this,

according to the draft form, he ought to have anointed him upon the head, but Sir James Balfour, in accordance with his former statement, affirms that the unction inside the left elbow was the last. The anointing thus ended, it may be gathered that the canopy was removed. The slits in the King's crimson silk coat were closed by the Lord Chamberlain—an alteration from the direction of the draft form, which assigns this duty to the Dean of the Chapel Royal. While this was done the Archbishop—who, according to the draft form, ought to have waited till it was over—read the following Benediction, a loose and abbreviated paraphrase of the form which accompanies the unction in the Roman rite, but follows it in the French and Mediæval English, while it is not found in the early English at all :—

‘God the Son of God, Christ Jesus our Lord, Who was anointed of His Father with the oil of gladness above His fellows, pour down upon thy head the blessing of the Holy Ghost, and make it enter into the inward parts of thy heart, as that thou mayest reign with Him in the heavens eternally.’

‘Amen’ was answered, and thus ended the Unction. This ceremony was of such a character as to call for some remarks, besides those already made, from the point of view of Comparative Liturgiology. The present writer has already offered some observations upon the absurdity and incongruity both of the traverse invention, and also of the ‘North-ending’ device as to the unction of the King; and therefore will only here recall them to the reader without recapitulating them.

The attitude of the King—*sitting*—during the anointing, and, it would seem, during the very prayer, ‘Look down,’ was no doubt not meant as a wilful irreverence, but to any one who has studied the theory and practice of the forms used through so many ages and in so many countries, at the unction of Christian Princes, it is not only an outrageous violation of all precedent, but a painful show of disrespect and wrong feeling. The whole portion of the service called by the French the *Sacre* or *Consecration* of the King, whether beginning with the *Veni Creator*, as in Mediæval England and at Holyrood, or with the prayer introductory to the Litany as in the Roman and French forms, and ending when the investiture with the Royal insignia begins, is

one whole, although sub-divided into parts. It is one continued supplication for an outpouring of the Spirit of God upon the whole State, and especially upon the new King, to enable him to discharge the duties of his office. Hence he remains upon his knees the whole time, and during the Litany, when the fervour of the appeals for mercy and blessing becomes most intense, lies upon his face,* to imitate the example of those Kingly elders who 'fall down before Him that sat on the throne, and worship Him that liveth for ever and ever, and cast their crowns before the throne' (Rev. iv. 10). As this strong crying and entreaty to the Monarch of the Universe draws to its close, the minister of religion, following the Scriptural precedent, accompanies it by the symbolical act of anointing the Christian now engaged in prayer for himself and the people over whom he is to rule, the more vividly to bring home both to him and to his subjects the need of that inward anointing of the heart with grace from on High for which they are pleading, and which, like all else asked in the name of the Redeemer, they may humbly hope, in reliance on the Gospel promise, to receive. Such was the anointing of the Mediæval Monarch. It is obvious that Charles and Laud misunderstood the whole meaning and spirit of the old forms which they were trying to copy. They seem to have regarded the anointing as a kind of act of homage, much of a piece with the enthronement, and so they made the King sit.

To the same wretched fatuity may beyond doubt be traced the holding of the canopy over the king during the ceremony. It must have proceeded from a reckless misapprehension. The fact was, that after the anointing upon the body came into use, the king was wholly or partially stripped for the purpose. Chalemagne, for instance, must have been stark naked during his unction at Rome in A.D. 800, as it is said of the Pope that 'εκ κεφαλῆς μέχρι ποδῶν ἐλάϊψ τοῦτον χριεῖ.' To be thus presented before the multitude was, not unnaturally, disagreeable to monarchs, and hence arose the custom of holding up a veil to cover them

* Where the *Veni Creator* formed a part, viz., in England, he was prostrate also during that solemn invocation.

from sight at the time. In the case of the English Richard II., who was stripped at least to his shirt (Walsingham says of the Archbishop of Canterbury 'vestimenta sua discindens manibus suis a summo usque ad imum, exiit cum præter camisiam vestimentis suis' and again 'eo nudato, unxit') the same canopy which had been carried over him in the procession was brought forward and held over him, as well as the veil; and the object of this is obvious, viz., to protect him from the idle curiosity of the people in the triforium. Such, although not particularly mentioned, may very likely have been the case on other occasions, as with Richard I., of whom Hoveden says 'denudaverunt eum totum, exceptis camisia et braccis; * camisia dissuta erat in scapulis.' The graceful and convenient invention of the silken tunic with prepared slits rendered all this unnecessary, and nothing of the sort was done in France, but in England the practice of holding up the veil during the Unction, although now meaningless, has continued to the present time. But the whole notion of the use of the canopy as a sign of dignity during the unction is so utterly repugnant to pre-Reformation feeling that the Kings of France, who attended four separate Coronation services in the Cathedral of Rheims, were covered by a canopy upon the first, second, and fourth days, but did not have it upon any part of the third day, either outside or inside the Church, because that was the day of the anointing, when their attitude was not so much that of rulers of men as of humble suppliants prostrate before the footstool of the Divine King of kings. Charles and Laud seem to have been both so ignorant and so careless, that it seems unlikely that they knew of the case of Richard II. But they did know that a veil was held up at English Coronations during the Unction, and, in absolute ignorance of the real origin of the custom, evidently took it for a kind of accessory of dignity to the Sovereign and thought they would simplify and improve upon it by having brought up the canopy under which he had already been walking.

As to the manner of performing the unction itself, it is difficult to arrive at a perfectly clear understanding. The first unction

* Drawers.

has been already discussed. The accounts of the second are as follows :—

Draft form.

‘The Prayer ended, the Archbishop proceeds in the Anointing. 1. His Breast. 2. Betwixt the Shoulders. 3. Both the points of the Shoulders. 5. (*sic*) Boughs of his Arms. 6. The Crown of His Majesties Head.’

Sir James Balfour.

‘The prayer endit, the Archbischope proceedit in the anoynting; first his breist, then betwixt his shoulders; 3. bothe the poyntes of his shoulders; and lastlie, the boughes of his armes.’

The Egbert Pontifical orders the unction to be poured once only and, that, from an horn and upon the head. It was afterwards extended to other parts of the body, with a special meaning, which is expressed by St Thomas à Becket in a letter to Henry II. ‘Kings’ he says ‘are anointed upon the head and also upon the breast and arms, the which signifieth glory, holiness, and strength.’ And these unctions assumed the number of seven, the holy and perfect number in Scripture, and with especial reference to the seven gifts of the Holy Ghost (Is. xi. 2, 3, Vulgate), which are alluded to in the words of the *Veni Creator* ‘Tu septiformis munere.’ The eighth and ninth unctions, those, that is to say, made upon the two hands, were additional. In England, as at Holyrood, they were preparatory, and performed before the prayer ‘Look down’ which prefaces the seven essential anointings. In France they were supplementary, being given after the King had assumed the Royal robes. In both cases they were accompanied by the formula, ‘Let these hands be anointed, etc.,’ but in neither was the Holy Trinity invoked upon them. The doing so has all the appearance of being a perfectly gratuitous invention of Laud’s. In England the invocation of the Trinity was not made at all. The sevenfold unction was administered in silence, the head being anointed last, as designed by Laud at Holyrood. In France, while the choir sang the anthem ‘Zadok the Priest,’ the Archbishop of Rheims made the applications of the ointment in the same order, except that he anointed the head first, saying each time, ‘I anoint thee King

with hallowed oil, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost,' and the Assistants each time replied 'Amen.' The peculiar manner in which the Trinity was named at Holyrood may have followed some Scottish Mediæval authority now to us unknown, or it may be Laud's peculiar invention—which may be predicated with certainty as to the invocation upon the hands. Whether he even designed a sevenfold anointing must remain uncertain. The oil was actually applied to nine places, and the numerals in the draft form are evidently given wrongly. Perhaps he had a vague idea that there should be seven applications, and, not recognizing the fact that the anointing of the hands was supplementary, tried to arrange it by casting the shoulders and elbows into pairs, and separating the hands so that the Trinity should be named seven times. It has however been well said that 'there is no use arguing with a fool,' and there is no use trying to explain the acts of a careless ignoramus by the light of Comparative Liturgiology. What he exactly meant to be done, and what he meant by it, or whether he meant anything at all, must apparently remain a mystery, and not one which it is a question of any very thrilling interest to solve.

Immediately after the Blessing 'God the Son of God' we learn that the Bishop of Dunblane, as Dean of the Chapel Royal, put upon the King's head, 'because of the anointing,' 'a shallow coif,' which must have been something like a white skull-cap. This act was mere silliness, but the derivation of it is not far to seek. In the Latin Church there are three kinds of hallowed oil, viz., the Oil of the Sick, used in Extreme Unction and in blessing bells; secondly, the Oil of the Catechumens, which is the usual anointing oil, and is applied to the candidates for Baptism and in the Ordination of Priests and the Unction of Kings; and lastly the *Sanctum Chrisma* or Holy Chrism, which is used to anoint the newly baptized, and in the consecration of Bishops, the administration of Confirmation, and some specially solemn rites, and is reckoned so exceptionally sacred, that objects consecrated with it, such as chalices, are actually forbidden to be touched by persons not in Holy Orders. Now, in the case of the Kings of England, after the ninefold anointing with the Oil of the Catechumens, a second cross was traced upon the same

spot upon the head, and the head only, where the oil had already been applied, with the Holy Chrism, and in consequence of the ecclesiastical distinction between the Oil and the Chrism, while the former was wiped off the rest of the body, a linen covering was bound upon the head and not removed for eight days, when it was taken off with great solemnity by a Bishop, who then washed the head. How Laud, who did not pretend to have anything but oil to anoint with, could have had the folly to imitate a ceremony the whole meaning of which is to draw a distinction between the oil and the Chrism, is indeed hard to understand.

When Charles' head had been thus covered, the second and more purely religious part of the Coronation Service was at an end. The ceremony now entered upon the third stage, termed by the French writers the *Couronnement* as opposed to the *Sacre*. This is that which consists in the investiture with the symbols of Royalty, and which centres around the Coronation strictly so called, that is to say, the placing of the Crown upon the King's head. It was begun by Charles going up to the Communion Table, where the Great Chamberlain clothed him in the Robe Royal which had been that of James IV. This robe is described by Spalding as being of purple velvet, richly furred and laced with gold; and it must have been of great length, since he says that when Charles, two days afterwards, insisted upon riding upon horseback in it, it stretched such a long way over and beyond the animal's tail that it had to be held up off the ground by a succession of five grooms, one behind the other. It is therefore evident that after assuming it, the King must have been attended at every movement by his train-bearers. While, or immediately after, it was put on, Spotswood offered the following prayer:—

'O God, the King of kings and Lord of lords, by whom kings do reign and lawgivers make good laws, vouchsafe in Thy favour to bless this Thy servant Charles in all his Government, that, living godly and leading his people by the way of righteousness, after a glorious course in this life, he may attain that joy which hath no end, through [? Christ] our Lord.'

'Amen' was answered. This prayer is adapted from the form used in England to bless the Royal insignia, but singularly enough, omits the petition to that effect.

The Gentleman Usher next brought the Sword to the Lyon King, who gave it to the Archbishop, who laid it on the Communion Table, and prayed as follows :—

‘Hear our prayers, we beseech Thee, O Lord, and vouchsafe by Thy right hand of Majesty to bless and sanctify this Sword wherewith Thy servant Charles desires* to be girt, that by the same he may defend Churches, widows, and orphans, and all the people of God, against the savage cruelty of pagans and infidels ; and that it may be a terror and fear to all those that lie in wait to do mischief. Through Jesus Christ our Lord.’

‘Amen’ was answered, and Spotswood then took the Sword and placed it in the King’s hand, saying :—

‘Receive this Kingly Sword, for the defence of the Faith of Christ and protection of His Holy Church : and remember Him of Whom the Psalmist did prophecy, saying, Gird Thyself with Thy Sword upon Thy Thigh, O Thou Most Mighty : and with thy sword execute thou equity and justice, pursue all heretics and infidels, defend widows and orphans, restore the things that are gone to decay, maintain and confirm the things that are restored and in good order, destroy the growth of iniquity and take punishment of all injustice, that you may be glorious in the triumph of virtue, and reign, with Him Whose image you bear, for ever and ever.’

The ‘Amen’ was once more answered, and the Earl of Erroll, as Lord Great Constable, then girded the King with the sword. Charles thereupon returned to the chair near the North corner of the Communion Table, where he sat down, and had the spurs put on by the Earl Marischal. Sir James Balfour states that the sandals, that is, the ceremonial shoes—he makes no mention of the buskins, or ceremonial socks—were also then put on by the Bishop of Dunblane, Dean of the Chapel Royal. If so, the sandals must have been put on before the spurs, unless, as was often the case at Coronations, the spurs were taken off again as soon as they had been put on. After this, the Archbishop took the Crown in his hands, and, while holding it, offered the follow-

* Remark the slipshod language—‘desires,’ not ‘desireth.’

ing prayer, a loose and slipshod translation of the Benediction of the Crown in the English Mediæval Rite :—

‘ O God, the Crown of all the faithful, Who dost crown their heads with precious stones that trust in Thee, bless and sanctify this crown, that, as the same is adorned with many precious stones, so this Thy servant, that wears the same, may be replenished of Thy grace with the manifold gifts of all precious virtues. Through Christ our Lord.’

‘ Amen ’ was answered, and Spotswood set the crown upon the King’s head, saying :—

‘ God crown thee with a crown of glory and righteousness, with the honour and virtue of fortitude, that by a right faith and manifold fruits of good words, you may obtain the Crown of an everlasting Kingdom, by the gift of Him Whose Kingdom endureth for ever.’

‘ Amen ’ was answered once more. The form itself is that both of the English and French Rites, but it is remarkable that it is not followed as in them, by a Prayer beginning, ‘ O God, Who alone makest to abide,’ which is at least as old as the time of Archbishop Egbert. According to the draft form, Charles ought now to have gone back to the Chair of State on the South side, but it would appear from Sir James Balfour that he remained where he was. The Lyon King, *i.e.*, Sir James himself, at the intimation of the Earl Marischal, and accompanied by Lord Erroll, as Great Constable, caused an herald to call up all the Peers down to the rank of Viscounts inclusive. According to a passage in the draft form these Peers ought to have put on their coronets and the Lyon King his crown as soon as the King was crowned, but Sir James states that they did not in fact do so till after the oath of the people had been administered. This was probably a downright blunder owing to the draft only inserting the direction—which is, however, very explicit—as a sort of after-thought, at that point. The former is the English custom. They knelt before the King three by three, holding up one hand (doubtless the right) and touching the crown upon his head with the other, while the Bishop of Dunblane* read the

* Sir James Balfour carefully explains that this duty was only under-

words, 'So mote God help me as I shall support thee,' which it is probably to be understood that they repeated after him. After this ceremony had been performed by all of them, they all again—standing, it is to be presumed, in a group before the King—held up their [right] hands and swore to be loyal and true subjects. What words were employed to this effect is not stated. It may be conjectured that they were the same as the oath now about to be administered to the people. It is singular that it is not stated that after performing their individual homage, they kissed the King's cheek, as was subsequently done by the Bishops and Barons. It seems hardly likely that they were excluded from this privilege. Such may, however, have been the case either on principle or by inadvertence, or again, on the other hand, the mention of the circumstance may have been accidentally omitted, first in the draft, and then in Sir James' account, which closely follows it.

The Earl Marischal next went to the four corners of the platform, and there read to the Lord Lyon from a form in his hand, what is styled the 'obligatory oath of the people.' The form was this :—

'We swear, and by the holding up of our hands do promise, all subjection and loyalty to King Charles, our dread Sovereign ; and as we wish God to be merciful unto us, shall be to His Majesty true and faithful, and be ever ready to bestow our lives, lands, and what else God hath given us, for the defence of his sacred Person and Crown.'

These words the Lyon King, at the dictation of the Earl Marischal, loudly repeated to the people, and those present held up their right hands and replied 'Amen.'

Sir James informs us that, as a matter of fact, it was after this, and not at the earlier point prescribed by the draft form, that he himself and the Peers down to the Viscounts inclusive, put on their coronets.

Immediately after the administration of the popular oath, as above, the Choir sang the following Anthem :—

taken by the Bishop of Dunblane, because he himself was occupied in calling up the Peers and therefore unable to perform it.

‘Be strong and of good courage, and observe the commandments of the Lord, to walk in His ways, and keep His ceremonies, precepts, testimonies, and judgments. And Almighty God strengthen and prosper thee wheresoever thou goest.

‘The Lord is my ruler, and therefore I shall want nothing.

‘The King shall rejoice in Thy strength, O Lord : exceeding glad shall he be of Thy salvation.

‘For Thou hast granted him his heart’s desire, and hast not denied him the request of his lips.

‘For Thou hast prevented him with blessings of goodness, and hast set a crown of pure gold upon his head.’

Laud might truly have said of this Anthem, like the legendary Parish Clerk, when inviting the congregation to ‘sing to the praise and glory of God’ a certain piece of sacred music, that it was ‘a little thing of his own composition.’ The fact was that in the English Mediæval Coronation Service, immediately after the putting on of the crown, and long before any homage, (which belongs to quite a different part of the ceremony), the Archbishop of Canterbury offered the prayer, ‘O God, Who alone makest to abide,’ and then the choir sang the Anthem, ‘Be strong and show thyself a man,’ etc., followed by the first verse, or more probably, the whole of Psalm xxiii., ‘The Lord is my Shepherd,’ and the repetition of the Anthem. Laud seems not to have understood the meaning of the technical Mediæval directions, but he got as far as the first verse of the Psalm, in which he partly imitated the Doway version in its singular representation of the bald and inaccurate Vulgate paraphrase, *Dominus regit me* : and having once struck the Psalm vein, it would appear to have occurred to him that it was an happy opportunity for working in the opening verses of Psalm xxi. ‘The King shall joy’ which he had been puzzled to find indicated in a former place along with the Anthem ‘Zadok the Priest,’ and had not then known what to do with.

On the conclusion of this Anthem, the Lord Chamberlain ungirt the sword, and placed it in the hands of the King, who gave it to Spotswood, who put it on the Communion Table. This was contrary to the draft form, which prescribes that the King himself should here go down from his

throne (which, it will be remembered, the draft already makes him to have occupied,) unloose the sword, and offer it in oblation by laying it upon the Altar. The draft form is certainly the more seemly and impressive, but we learn from Sir James that it was not observed. When, in any case, the sword had been laid upon the table, the Earl of Erroll as Great Constable, immediately redeemed it from the Church by a payment in cash, took it and drew it, and thenceforward carried it naked before the King.

The Archbishop next took the Sceptre and put it into the King's right hand, saying:—

‘Receive the Sceptre, the sign of Royal Power, the rod of the kingdom, the rod of virtue,* that thou mayest govern thyself aright, defend the Holy Church and all the Christian people committed by God to thy charge, punishing the wicked and protecting the just.’

He then immediately offered this Prayer:—

‘O Lord, the Fountain of all good things and the Author of all good proceedings, grant, we beseech Thee, to this Thy servant, that he may rightly use the Dignity which he hath by inheritance; vouchsafe to confirm the honour which Thou hast given him before all Kings, and enrich him with all benedictions; establish his throne; visit him with increase of children; let justice spring up in his days and his soul be filled with joy and gladness till he be translated to Thine everlasting Kingdom.’

‘Amen’ was answered, and then Spotswood said:—

‘The Lord bless thee and keep thee—and, as He hath made thee King over His people, so He still may prosper thee in this world, and, in the world to come, make thee partake of His everlasting felicity.’

This is a funny blunder of the dog-translation sort. The quotation in the Latin original is from Ps. cx. 2. ‘The Lord shall send the rod of thy strength out of Zion—*Virgam virtutis tue emittet Dominus ex Sion.*’ In the preceding clause also Laud has missed the fact that the words ‘*virgam scilicet regni rectam*’ are taken from Ps. xlv. 6. ‘The Sceptre of thy kingdom is a right Sceptre.’ But to multiply such instances would be endless. The Mediæval forms are a mass of Scriptural quotations, and Laud seems hardly ever to have recognised them.

Once more 'Amen' was answered.

The three above forms are all bad paraphrases of the forms in the English Mediæval rite. It is curious to note that in the Prayer Laud has rendered the simple 'adeptam' of the Latin by 'which he hath by inheritance,' in order to favour his own political principles. The Blessing is only the first part of a longer one which consists in the Mediæval original of three clauses and a doxology. Whether the translator omitted the rest because he was tired of his work or whether he found only the first clause in some MS. and did not know that there was any more, it is useless to speculate.

After this, Charles kissed Spotswood and all the other Bishops 'assistants' (by which is doubtless meant those in copes) all round. The choir then began the *Te Deum*, and while it was being sung, the King, 'attended by divers of the prime officers and nobility' ascended the platform. When the hymn was over, Spotswood inducted him into the throne with these words :—

'Stand and hold fast from henceforth the place whereof you are the righteous and lawful heir by a long and lineal succession of your forefathers, which is now delivered unto you by the authority of Almighty God, and, as you see the clergy come more near to the Altar than others, so, where it is convenient, you will remember to give them that honour and respect which is due to their places, that the Mediator of God and man may establish you in this Kingly throne, and that with Him you may live and reign for ever.'

This is a paraphrase of the corresponding address given in the Roman Pontifical, and in the Mediæval English and French Rites. The texts of it as given by the draft form and by Sir James Balfour as actually used, differ a good deal, but the principal divergence is that the draft, immediately after the name of Almighty God, inserts the words 'and by the hands of us, the Bishops and servants of God.' It must be remembered that the enthronization was in Scotland originally a lay office, hereditary in the Earldom of Fife, as representing the first of the Seven Earldoms of the Kingdom. Hence it may be questioned whether the form used was the same as the Roman, English and French, although the Earl might of course have spoken of the Bishops as

his fellow-Peers. Laud's rendering was, however, in any case, a false translation, as the original Latin words are '—episcoporum caeterorumque Dei servorum'—'of bishops and of the other servants of God,' indicating the rest of the population of the kingdom.

When the enthronement was thus finished, the Lord Chancellor, the newly created Earl of Kinnoull, went to the four corners of the platform, preceded by the Lord Lyon, and there proclaimed the Royal Pardon, with the offer of the same under the Great Seal, to all who required it. To this the assembly, in compliance with the direction sent down previously in the draft form, replied by calling out, 'God save the King!'

After this the Lord Lyon called on the Archbishops and Bishops, one by one, to perform their homage. Each knelt before the King in turn, holding their joined hands within his hands, while the Earl Marischal dictated to them the following form:—'I, — —, shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth bear unto you our Sovereign Lord, and your heirs, Kings of Scotland; and I shall do and truly acknowledge the service of the lands which I claim to hold of you in the right of the Church. So God help me.'

After this, each kissed the King on the left cheek.

Immediately after the homage of the Bishops the King gave the Sceptre to the Earl of Rothes to carry, which was a mistake, as the draft directs him not to do so till after the homage of the Temporal Barons, but perhaps he found it awkward to hold it while placing his hands outside those of the persons doing homage.

The Lord Lyon then called forward the Barons, who did homage in exactly the same manner as the Bishops, ending likewise by kissing the King's left cheek. The oath was read to them by the Bishop of Dunblane, Dean of the Chapel Royal, and was as follows:—

'I, — —, become your liegeman, and truth and faith shall bear unto you, live and die against all manner of folks whomsoever, in your service. So God me help.'

With the homage of the Barons terminated what may be called the third, or Coronation portion of the ceremony. It invites two observations. The first of these is upon the

investiture with the insignia of Royalty. It is here that the Holyrood form is most interesting, as offering a possible indication of what had been the forms in use in Mediæval Scotland, of which Laud most probably had better means of judging than we now possess, since the destruction of so many of the records of the Lyon Office and other national archives, under the domination of Cromwell. The form used is not the Roman form. To credit Laud and Charles with this, as has sometimes been done, is pure invention, and whether consciously or unconsciously, an absolute falsehood.* On the other hand, it is not the English form. The English form is far more lengthy and complicated: many more features are introduced, such, for instance, as the Coronation ring.† The Laudian form reads like a selection from the English service, and in its comparative shortness and simplicity throws some light upon the remark of Sadler, made concerning the Coronation of Queen Mary, to the effect that the special ceremonies used upon such occasions in Scotland 'were not very great.'

The second observation applies to an innovation introduced into the sequence of the ceremonies as given in the English Ritual—namely, the causing the Peers down to Viscounts to perform their homage after the crowning, and before the Anthem 'Be Strong,' the tradition of the Sceptre, and the enthronement. Surely it can hardly be but that this was a blunder, although it is not now easy to trace its origin. It mars and as it were dislocates the whole sequence of the ceremonies, and there is an obvious absurdity in causing the homage to be performed, first, by the higher Peers, secondly, by the people in general, and thirdly by the Archbishops, Bishops and Barons, since the

* It may, however, be said to be capped by the amazing statement of Collier (quoted by Maskell, II., xli.) that the Coronation of Mary Tudor 'was performed according to ancient custom and directed by the Roman Pontifical.' As the English Pre-Reformation form and that in the Roman Pontifical have hardly anything in common, a sentence more self-contradictory can scarcely be conceived.

† There is a ring in Edinburgh Castle, bequeathed by the Cardinal Duke of York to George IV., which passes as the Scottish Coronation ring of Charles I. The preceding pages show that this is a mistake.

natural order would be, first, the Archbishops and higher Peers, then the Bishops and Barons, and, thirdly, the people. In the cases both of France and England the homage was performed only after the enthronization, when the form 'Stand and hold fast' was finished. In France it was limited to the Twelve Peers. The Archbishop of Rheims after reciting an additional and closing prayer that the Almighty would be pleased to strengthen the monarch on his throne, took off his mitre, made a deep bow to the King, kissed him, and said thrice 'May the King live for ever.' The same was next done by the other five Ecclesiastical Peers, and then by the six Lay. In England, it does not appear clear that during Mediæval times the Archbishops and Bishops performed an homage upon this occasion at all. The kiss to which they were admitted by the King before the *Te Deum* may have been allowed to take its place. On the other hand, they may be included in the general terms '*pares*' and '*proceres*.' In later times, at any rate, the Archbishop of Canterbury, after the enthronement with the words 'Stand and hold fast, etc.' has been accustomed to kneel and recite the form of homage, as was done at Holyrood. The other Bishops do the same, either along with or after him, in succession; and all kiss the King's left cheek. The Lay Peers then do the same, from the Dukes of the Blood Royal down to the Barons, all inclusive. While doing so, they remove their coronets, and, after the ceremony, again uncover, approach the throne, and touch the crown upon the King's head. It is after this, which practically concludes the Coronation Service proper, that it is usual for the trumpets to sound, and for the people to shout 'God save the King.' Both the English and the French arrangements are reasonable, while that adopted at Holyrood is very awkward.

With the conclusion of the homage, ended, as has been remarked, the third stage of the Coronation service, or that of the Coronation properly so called. The fourth, closing, or Eucharistic portion, now commenced. In the Roman rite and in that of Egbert of York, which is, as has been observed, the earliest Coronation Ritual which seems to be now extant, the inauguration of the King is mixed up with the Celebration, as is the Ordination of a Priest or the Consecration of a Bishop, and

the same is again the modern practice in England. But in Mediæval England and in France down to the very last occasion in 1825, the Mass is separate from and follows the Coronation service. And this was the rule followed by Laud at Holyrood.

After the homage, Charles descended from his throne, and, preceded by the Earl of Rothes carrying the Sceptre, went to his Chair of State, 'over against the pulpit' by which is probably meant that upon the South side. Spotswood immediately went to the Communion Table, and proceeded to celebrate the Communion in accordance with the English form. We know nothing more upon the subject, except that the King communicated with great reverence. It is probable enough, however, that this Celebration was conformed to the English usage upon such occasions, by omitting all other Collects except that for the King, and taking the Epistle and Gospel respectively from 1 Pet., ii., 13-17 and Matth., xxii., 15-22. It is possible, on the other hand, since nothing is said about it, that the Roman and French custom of using the service of the day may have been followed. In this also we may again have a trace of a point in which the national usages of Mediæval Scotland differed from those of England and coincided with those of France. It may at least be held as certain, from the silence of the accounts, that the English custom of the King presenting the bread and wine, as well as a sum of gold, at the offertory, and having two special prayers then read over him, was not observed. Charles probably contented himself with putting a piece or pieces of gold into the plate.

At the conclusion of the celebration, the King, wearing his Crown and Royal Robe, and carrying the Sceptre in his hand, went out in procession, in the same order as that in which he had entered. He did not however return to the Castle, but passed on foot into the Palace of Holyrood. As soon as he began to move forward from the platform the Bishop of Moray, as Lord High Almoner for the time, scattered gold and silver Coronation pieces among the people. Meanwhile, the trumpets sounded and small arms were discharged, answered by salvos of artillery from the Castle.

We know from Sir James Balfour that it was about 8 A. M.

when the ceremony was begun by the King entering the Presence-Chamber in the Castle. Spalding informs us that it was about 2 P.M. when the crown was set upon his head. If the latter is correct, and taking into consideration how much was then still to follow, it would appear that the ceremony can hardly have occupied less than the amazing period of eight hours.

The draft form mentions that it was the intention of the King to give a Coronation Banquet, but there is no record as to whether he did so or not.

The Coronation pieces above mentioned are rather larger than our present half-pennies. They bear on the obverse a pleasing portrait of the King crowned, and wearing the collar of the Thistle, surrounded by the inscription 'Carolus. D. G. Scotiæ. Angliæ. Fr. et. Hib. Rex.' The reverse bears the legend, 'Hinc nostræ crevere rosæ,' surrounding the representation of a growing thistle-plant, underneath which is the inscription 'Coron. 18. Junii. 1633.' There are a few others of a similar but better design, of which some were struck in silver and three in Scottish gold. It is mentioned that Charles afterwards had the habit of keeping one of these latter in his pocket.*

The writer has now completed a description of and criticism upon the form used at the Coronation of Charles I. at Holyrood. The ceremony was undoubtedly an interesting one, partly for its own sake, partly because it may very probably have been the means of preserving to us some features of earlier Scottish Coronations of which the records are now lost. But in itself it seems impossible to bestow upon it that mede of praise as a Liturgical compilation with which some writers have referred to it. Laud might have done one of two things. He might, as the Covenanters did at Scone, have taken such of the old forms as seemed best and constructed around them as good and appropriate a form of his own as he could. On the other hand, he might have adhered to the old forms themselves and presented them in a careful but spirited translation, with a thoughtful and intelligent performance of the symbolic ceremonial. He did neither. The forms of Mediæ-

* Mr. Cochran-Patrick's *Catalogue of the Medals of Scotland*, pp. 18, 19.

valism were partially evoked from the past to be exhibited with a careless massacre of the allegorical and historical rites, and their words disguised under so-called translations in which it may be questioned whether the reader is most called upon to marvel at the reckless inaccuracy of the rendering or at the almost phenomenal incapacity to recognise even the most hackneyed quotations from Scripture.

Note.—There is a story which dogs this Coronation like its shadow through writer after writer, to the effect that Laud, at some unspecified point, rudely and violently thrust aside the Archbishop of Glasgow, to whom the place on the King's left had been assigned, as that to Spotswood upon the right, because he was not properly vested. There is a sensible note upon it in Grub's *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland*, ii. 345. The present writer respectfully expresses his agreement with that note. It is plain from the extant accounts that the story of the two Archbishops having places assigned them on the King's right and left is a pure fiction, and moreover that the distinction as to vestments was the same as in France, viz., between those who did and those who did not actually take part in the service. It is therefore needless to point out that the story in question is, as told, impossible. It is probable enough that Laud may have given Lindsay a nudge at some particular moment, and that the latter may have thought him fussy or even officious. But the incident so commonly narrated is so evidently an ill-natured invention that the present writer would not have referred to it had it not been for the extraordinary popularity which for some reason it has enjoyed.

ART. IV.—ALCOHOL AND ALCOHOLISM.

[The following Article appeared in the *Revue Scientifique*, and is here, together with the Editor's notes, reproduced with the permission of M. E. Fournier de Flaix and M. Henry Ferrari, the Director of the *Revue Scientifique*. M. Fournier de Flaix has also had the courtesy to communicate to the Editor the footnote showing the consumption of spirits and beer in the three parts of the United Kingdom on page 331. The translation has been executed by E. H. Lawrence Oliphant, M.D.]

EVEN as regards taxes, public opinion has its whims in making a favourite or a scapegoat. Salt, so long a scapegoat, has now almost become a favourite; while alcohol, the

favourite of nearly two centuries, is threatened with the doom of a scapegoat, a doom moreover to be reached by two opposite paths.

Some people would have us believe that alcohol, so famous for six centuries as the outcome of Arabian civilisation, is none other than the most dangerous antagonist of the human species, a kind of Satanic liquor, an elixir or a poison worthy of Mephistopheles or of Medea, and able to ruin all our brilliant civilisation. 'Every one in every country, moralist and statesman, physician, economist and preacher, is seeking that remedy which must be found to prevent the half of Europe from undergoing the fate of the Oceanic races, which have been destroyed by the fire water of Europe.' Such with respect to alcohol is the pessimistic view of a very distinguished thinker, M. Alglave, professor of *science financière* in the Paris Faculty of Law.

Nevertheless according to others, and according to M. Alglave himself, alcohol is at the same time a spring of gold that can never run dry, and is able in France to yield £60,000,000 sterling annually, to which we must add at least eighty millions as its contribution to the Budgets of other States.

Is it not then natural that it should have occurred to philanthropists and financiers to seize this Proteus, at once calamitous and beneficent, and to imprison it in a State monopoly so securely as to shield the human race from the ills with which it might assail us, and to drain it of that gold with which it is saturated?

It must however be recognised that there is a contradiction, and an anomaly* in the fact that so real and terrible a scourge should yet be able to yield annually some hundred and fifty millions to different States.

I purpose in the first place to study this anomaly closely and to elicit its causation. How can alcohol be a cause at once of calamity and of wealth to the human race? Does not wealth consist in those objects which are concerned in the gratification of man's requirements? Must it be confessed that man is so far deceived in the character and legitimacy of these requirements

* 'The same anomaly exists in regard to opium, whose noxious effect is undoubted.'—Editor of *Revue Scientifique*.

as to consent to pay yearly a hundred and fifty millions to gratify tastes which must ruin his race? And if we grant this, how are we to explain the fact that it is precisely those races which are most vigorous, most prolific, and those nations which are most enlightened and are wealthiest which consume most alcohol? Is it then true that this new scourge threatens most directly that part of the human race which has most energy and power, that which shows most vitality in planting colonies and scattering emigrants on all sides?

I. ON ALCOHOLISM.

Must we confuse alcohol with alcoholism? Must we confuse the use with the abuse of so delicate and so complex a food stuff? Must we anathematise alcohol, must we foresee the extinction of the human species, because every year 5000 people succumb to alcoholic excesses, including the 15 per cent. of suicides attributed to alcohol? In New York, the abuse of alcohol is credited with 12 per 1000 of the deaths, phthisis with 142 per 1000. Tuberculosis, diabetes, croup, measles, small-pox—are not these also enemies still more terrible? Yet of these, too, humanity gets the better, thanks to scientists, to physicians, and thanks even to alcohol?

During the last few years the subject of alcoholism has been considered by learned societies, by congresses, in numerous works by scientists, physicians, sanitarians and political writers of note, especially by the late Dr. Lunier; M. Yvernès, *directeur* in the ministry of Justice; M. Berthelot; Dr. Kummer, head of the statistical office of Berne. The *Société des Economistes* of Paris devoted its sitting of the 5th January, 1885, to this subject, when the opinions were heard of MM. Léon Say, Frédéric Passy, Yves Guyot, Alglave, Lunier, Raffallowich, G. Villain and Ameline de la Brislaisne. The figures and documents furnished during the debate by MM. Lunier, Kummer and Goernès, can, on account of the special studies of these gentlemen, best give us a criterion of what is meant by the scourge of alcoholism.

M. Lunier divided France into nine districts, according to the quantity of wine consumed in each of them. From 1840 to

1873, the mean consumption of wine per head has increased from 70 to 119 litres.* This consumption varies from 15 litres in the North-west, to 215 at Bordeaux and 220 at Lyons.

The consumption of cider is stationary. The tendency is for wine to usurp the place of cider.

As for beer, its consumption tends to develop slowly. It is only in Paris where it reaches 14 litres per head, and in the Departments of the Nord, Pas-de-Calais, and Ardennes, that this consumption is of any account.

The consumption of spirits has increased progressively, as is shewn below.

In these totals, the amount of alcohol contained in liqueurs is included. The increase has been about 150%. It is the same for imported spirits (180,050 hectolitres).

YEARS.	Production. Hectolitres.	Consumption. Hectolitres.	Duty.	Population.	Per Head. Litres.
1840-1849, average,	819,162	570,735	37	35,000,000	1·60
1850-1859, -	856,156	707,718	55	37,000,000	1·89
1860-1869, -	1,222,685	903,959	90	38,000,000	2·36
1870-1879, -	1,526,106	986,765	156	37,000,000	2·66
1880, -	1,821,285	1,313,000	—	38,000,000	3·44
1884, -	2,011,046	1,488,083	—	38,000,000	3·90

Thus in 35 years the consumption has not been tripled although the consumption of wine has sensibly decreased. It is in fact from the beginning of the period when the production of wine was most deficient (1880) that the consumption of spirits has most increased.

The consumption of wine has specially decreased among the producing proprietors in the rural districts. This is worthy of consideration.

We now pass to consider the distribution of this consumption. For this purpose, the official reports give us two criteria, namely the quantities consumed in the chief centres of urban population, and the excise returns for ardent spirits in each Department.

* 1 Litre=1·76 Pint =·22 Gallon. 1 Gallon=4½ Litres. 1 Hectolitre=100 Litres=22·01 Gallon.

TABLE I.—CONSUMPTION IN FRENCH TOWNS.

TOWNS.	WINES.	SPIRITS.	BEER.	CIDER.	Per Head.				
					Wine.	Spirits.	Beer.	Cider.	
	Hecto- litres.	Hecto- litres.	Hecto- litres.	Hecto- litres.	Hecto- litres.	Litres.	Hectolitres.		
North—									
Paris, . . .	4,779,748	148,036	290,051	308,482	2·07	6·7	·13	·14	
Lille, . . .	42,840	10,151	432,811	950	·31	7·3	3·12	—	
Nantes, . . .	173,841	6,136	4,069	31,030	1·61	5·7	·04	·29	
Havre, . . .	44,081	15,787	25,130	106,656	·43	15·3	·24	1·64	
Rouen, . . .	51,988	16,638	15,051	161,741	·53	16·6	·15	1·64	
Rheims, . . .	115,359	7,474	32,788	5,403	1·31	8·5	·37	·06	
Roubaix, . . .	11,989	5,507	165,495	331	·14	6·6	1·98	—	
Nancy, . . .	121,340	3,209	31,307	301	1·83	4·8	·47	—	
South—									
Lyons, . . .	696,841	16,890	25,887	445	2·15	5·2	·09	—	
Marseilles, . . .	492,915	17,348	25,090	125	1·93	6·8	·10	—	
Bordeaux, . . .	463,918	9,937	17,417	1,187	2·23	4·8	·09	—	
Toulouse, . . .	264,841	2,779	13,301	37	2·29	2·4	·11	—	
Saint-Etienne, . . .	225,993	5,177	7,001	215	2·02	5·7	·04	—	

An examination of Table I. must lead to the following striking conclusions:—

1. The consumption of spirits is in inverse ratio to that of wine.

2. The consumption, except as regards wine, is greater in the Northern than in the Southern towns.

3. The consumption of ardent spirits in Paris is below the general average of 8·8 litres per head.

I pass now to the consumption in the Departments.

TABLE II.—CONSUMPTION IN DEPARTMENTS.

DEPARTMENTS.	Average per head.				Duty Collected. Francs.
	Wine. Hectolitres.	Spirits. Litres.	Beer. Hectolitres.	Cider. Hectolitres.	
North—					
Seine, . . .	2·08	6·6	·03	·16	81,267,223
Seine-Inférieure, . . .	·24	13·4	·05	·66	21,653,160
Seine-et-Oise, . . .	1·22	6·7	·05	·22	11,135,662
Nord, . . .	·10	4·6	2·48	·01	23,899,872
Oise, . . .	·44	8·1	·11	·34	6,651,633
Pas-de-Calais, . . .	·09	7·7	1·61	·02	14,211,766
Somme, . . .	·14	9·8	·52	·10	10,155,218
Aisne, . . .	·43	8·5	·78	·28	10,150,238
Ardennes, . . .	·28	5·5	1·72	·15	4,822,784

Calvados, . . .	·10	8·7	·01	1·22	7,892,920
Côtes-du-Nord, . . .	·06	3·4	·01	1·05	5,169,326
Finistère, . . .	·18	5·7	·04	·20	2,738,038
Eure, . . .	·17	8·4	·04	·50	8,055,074
Ille-et-Vilaine, . . .	·10	4·5	·05	1·86	7,791,401
Manche, . . .	·06	6·6	·01	1·20	7,060,025
South—					
Rhône, . . .	1·54	3·7	·1	—	11,472,858
Bouches-du-Rhône, . . .	1·44	4·1	·8	—	7,994,178
Gironde, . . .	1·78	3·1	·3	—	8,511,443
Haute-Garonne, . . .	1·05	4·6	·6	—	3,064,306
Hérault, . . .	1·77	2·1	·5	—	3,535,892
Charente-Inférieure, . . .	·63	1·5	·3	—	2,262,672
Charente, . . .	·60	1·4	·7	—	1,896,734
Vaucluse, . . .	·48	2·1	·6	—	2,180,870
Lot-et-Garonne, . . .	·64	1·4	·1	—	1,480,927
Gard, . . .	1·50	1·9	·05	—	3,064,316
Drôme, . . .	·50	2·3	·01	—	1,819,874
Pyrénées-Orientales, . . .	·74	3·0	·02	—	1,162,931

This second table is more conclusive than the first. It not only confirms but emphasises its evidence. The mean consumption of ardent spirits in France is 3·9 litres; that of wine, ·77 hectolitres; that of beer, ·23 hectolitres, and of cider, ·19 hectolitres. Only one Department in the South exceeds this mean consumption of spirits, and only one in the North does not exceed it. The contrast is complete. The same may be said of the comparative Excise returns for the North and for the South. The inequality which they show is obvious.

Having established this point, we pass to consider the comparative influence of the consumption of spirits in the two divisions, under the headings of births, deaths, crime and wealth.

TABLE III.

Departments, 1881.	Popula- tion.	Births.		Deaths.		Crime. Prosecution.	Financial Receipts, 1880.	Consumption of Spirits.		Subsidies.
		Town.	Country.	Town.	Country.			Francs.	Litres.	
NORTH.										
ine, . . .	2,799,329	73,356	1,104	70,405	920	25,067	868,729,923	6·6	1250	
ine-Inférieure, . . .	814,068	10,193	13,378	10,440	11,330	6,057	148,929,959	13·4	251	
ine-et-Oise, . . .	577,798	5,058	7,973	6,006	8,113	4,273	64,707,003	6·7	233	
rd, . . .	1,803,250	37,154	13,576	25,209	9,624	8,631	143,737,849	4·6	248	

Oise, - - -	404,555	1,975	8,913	2,196	6,444	2,207	35,805,459	8.1
Pas-de-Calais, -	819,022	10,449	13,950	8,513	10,629	3,929	66,583,647	7.7
Somme, - - -	550,857	3,790	9,193	3,433	8,871	2,677	43,796,403	9.6
Aisne, - - -	556,891	3,799	9,173	3,549	8,187	3,497	43,919,815	8.5
Ardennes, - -	333,675	2,308	5,301	1,774	4,665	1,817	23,950,902	5.5
Calvados, - -	439,830	2,527	6,633	3,144	6,744	6,102	45,976,567	8.7
Cotes du Nord,	627,585	1,450	16,843	1,528	11,800	1,471	23,562,121	3.4
Finistère, - -	681,564	4,250	19,305	5,138	16,766	2,500	30,485,419	5.7
Euse, - - -	364,291	2,451	5,328	3,005	6,312	2,391	38,788,036	8.4
Ille et Vilaine,	615,480	3,753	13,237	4,135	9,513	2,165	34,825,677	4.5
Manche, - - -	626,377	2,202	9,409	2,864	9,001	1,559	34,033,500	6.6
Total, -	11,814,572	316,031	280,258	74,343	£65,913,291	Fr. 1,647,832,080=		
SOUTH.								
Rhône, - - -	741,470	12,842	4,162	12,883	4,108	4,138	78,649,432	3.7
Bouches-du-Rhone,	589,028	13,558	2,447	13,182	2,068	1,656	115,748,472	4.1
Gironde, - - -	748,703	6,819	8,985	6,021	9,332	4,450	106,669,562	3.1
Haute-Garonne, -	478,009	3,842	5,763	5,139	5,357	1,957	29,859,015	4.6
Hérault, - - -	441,627	6,387	3,888	6,808	4,080	2,993	43,030,071	2.1
Charente-Inférieure,	370,822	2,270	7,808	1,259	6,411	1,280	28,216,733	1.5
Charente, - - -	256,190	1,453	6,371	822	5,958	931	19,210,456	1.4
Vaucluse, - - -	241,149	3,085	2,536	3,529	2,581	915	13,124,769	2.1
Lot-et-Garonne,	312,081	1,782	3,637	2,285	4,454	877	18,114,619	1.4
Gard, - - -	415,629	5,597	5,145	5,158	4,696	1,578	25,038,998	1.9
Drôme, - - -	313,763	2,451	4,787	3,005	5,222	1,371	15,652,040	2.3
Pyrénées-Orientales,	208,835	2,534	3,980	2,317	3,185	1,101	12,009,072	3
Total South, 5,117,306	122,434	119,859	23,247	505,323,244=	£20,212,923			

TABLE III. A.

	Births per 1000.	Deaths per 1000.	1 Crime in every	1 Suicide in every	Litres per Head.	Financial Receipts per Head.
North, -	26.75	23.72	159	3800	7	£5.58
South, -	23.93	23.42	220	6128	2.8	£3.95

TABLE III. B.

Departments.	Litres per Head.	1 Suicide in every
Seine-Inférieure,	- 13.4	3243
Seine-et-Oise, -	- 6.7	2480
Nord, - - -	- 4.6	6465
Pas-de-Calais, -	- 7.7	15167

This third table is no less significant than the preceding ones. It shows :—

1. That the proportion of alcohol consumed depends chiefly on the climate.

2. That wealth has only a secondary influence on the consumption.

3. That the births are fewer and the mortality * is greater, in the Departments where the consumption of spirits is low.

4. That crime is not proportionate to the consumption of spirits.

5. That suicide is not proportionate to the consumption of spirits. For example, the Seine-Inférieure consumes three times as much spirits as the Nord, while its suicide is twice as frequent. On the other hand the Pas-de-Calais consumes twice as much spirits as the Nord, and its suicide is two-and-a-half times less. Seine-et-Oise consumes half as much spirits as the Seine-Inférieure and its suicide is almost double.

It is no less interesting, under the several heads we have already taken, to compare the different civilised nations. Documentary evidence is less abundant and less exact, yet I shall endeavour to establish comparative statistics analogous to those tables which I have drawn up for France. [See Table IV. and Note, pages 230-1.]

The evidence of Table IV. is even more conclusive than from the different areas of France :

1. France and Great-Britain show an almost equal consumption of spirits, and yet show considerable differences in their birth and death rates, and in their crime. France consumes less spirits, and yet shows a lower birth rate, a higher death rate, and more crime and suicide.

2. Italy consumes but little spirits; her crime is frightful. Sweden, Norway and Denmark consume almost four times as much, with a third of the population, which makes a difference of 1200 per 100, and yet their crime, considering the total populations, is as 40 to 2470. †

* Table III. A. shows that the *death-rate* is not greater.—TRANSLATOR.

† There seems to be some mistake in the figures of this calculation. If his table is correct, M. F. de Flaix seems, in 'considering the total populations,' to have divided the Scandinavian crime by 3, instead of multiplying by $3\frac{1}{2}$. This would give us 420 to 2470, which is the ratio of the figures given in Table IV. He also omits to notice that the suicides of Denmark and Italy are as 250 : 34.—TRANSLATOR.

TABLE IV.

[In the original table the totals only were given. For converting the figures in the different columns to common denominators, the translator is indebted to Mr. W. G. O. Lindzey, as also for summarising the results of Table III.]

Country.	Population.	Births.	Deaths.	Deaths per thousand of population.	Murders.	Murders per million of population.	Bicides.	Bicides per million of population.	Fiscal Revenue in Millions Stg.	Fiscal Revenue per head of population.	Commercial Movement Millions Stg.	Per Head of population.	Gallons of Alcohol consumed.	Gallons per head of population.
Russia, . . .	86,540,000	3,416,000	2,760,000	31.89	2,400	27.73	1,960	22.65	£72	£0.83	£114	£1.32	145,000,000	1.68
U.S. America, . . .	50,410,000	2,150,000	1,756,893	34.85	2,060	40.87	—	—	120	2.38	288	5.71	76,310,000	1.51
Germany, . . .	45,260,000	1,765,500	1,244,600	27.50	995	21.98	5,878	129.87	140	3.09	330	7.29	60,000,000	1.33
Austria, . . .	37,830,000	1,530,615	1,273,016	33.65	590	15.60	3,292	87.02	79	2.09	140½	3.72	34,000,000	0.90
France, . . .	37,430,000	937,900	841,100	22.47	662	17.69	7,572	202.30	160	4.27	378	10.10	34,605,000	0.92
Great Britain,*	34,650,000	1,130,500	695,903	20.08	468	13.51	1,844	53.22	116	3.35	688	19.80	37,902,000	1.09
Italy, . . .	28,910,000	1,071,450	794,196	27.47	2,470	85.44	995	34.42	62½	2.16	99	3.42	10,100,000	0.35
Spain, . . .	16,290,000	493,817	435,477	26.73	1,600	98.22	—	—	35½	2.16	74	3.59	3,000,000	0.18
Portugal, . . .	4,350,000	153,507	106,673	24.52	—	—	—	—	7	1.61	—	—	1,000,000	0.23
Belgium, . . .	5,480,000	176,300	114,300	20.86	90	16.42	388	70.80	13	2.39	116	21.2	10,000,000	1.82
Holland, . . .	4,060,000	144,100	91,656	22.58	—	—	—	—	10	2.48	144	35.47	12,000,000	2.96
Sweden, . . .	4,610,000	134,300	79,406	17.23	—	—	485	105.21	—	—	—	—	27,000,000	5.96
Denmark, . . .	1,960,000	65,570	39,164	19.98	120	14.08	490	250.00	9½	1.13	58	6.81	8,000,000	4.08
Norway, . . .	1,960,000	59,375	35,321	18.11	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Switzerland, . . .	2,810,000	86,974	58,633	20.87	—	—	544	193.59	1½	0.64	22	7.83	—	—

* Note by M. F. de FLAIX.—The results of this comparison are still more striking if the consumption in the British Isles is subdivided.

3. Spain consumes three times less spirits than Italy; her crime is twice as great.

4. Russia consumes four times as much spirits as France; * yet her birth-rate is nearly double.

5. Austria and France have the same population, and almost the same consumption of spirits. There is a difference of 50% in both birth and death rates, and of 100% in the number of suicides.

6. Germany, with a consumption of spirits two-thirds greater, has one-third fewer suicides, and her excess of births over deaths is five times as great.

All hypotheses are thus overturned. For after all, those nations which have the strongest vitality, and those which are most wealthy and moral, consume the largest quantity of spirits. The prediction that alcoholism is to destroy the human species along with civilisation falls to the ground. The vitality of France is no doubt passing a crisis, and she might be adduced as an example if she appeared on the list of those nations which consume much spirits; but she shows only a moderate consumption. Further, it has been shown above that the most vigorous parts of France are exactly those which consume most spirits.

Mr. Mulhall has drawn up a table of the quantities of all the alcoholic beverages consumed by the chief nations. I now give this table, as a check upon those already given :

TABLE IV. A.

Country.	Population.	Gallons Consumed		Consumption		Fiscal Revenue.		Fiscal Revenue	
		Spirits.	Beer.	per head of	Spirits. Beer.	Spirits.	Beer.	per head.	Spirits. Beer.
England, .	27,132,300	16,317,190	24,315,190	·6	·9	£11,800,000	£7,500,000	·43	·28
Scotland, .	3,866,500	6,612,177	1,001,851	1·71	·26	3,770,000	3,030,000	·98	·78
Ireland, .	4,952,900	5,065,300	2,179,253	1·29	·44	2,920,000	630,000	·59	·13

Scotland consumes more spirits than England? Is she less civilized? Is she less civilized than Ireland?

[England consumes just half the quantity of spirits that Ireland does. Does M. F. de Flaix maintain that Ireland is more civilized?—TRANSLATOR.]

* Not quite twice as much per head.—TRANSLATOR.

TABLE V.

STATES.	In 1,000,000 Gallons.			Equivalent of Alcohol.	Gallons of Alcohol per Head.	Consumption of Spirits. Litres per Head.
	Wine.	Beer.	Spirits.			
Great-Britain, -	15	1007	37	67·2	1·92	5
France, - -	760	190	34	101·	2·65	4
Germany, - -	120	880	60	72·4	1·60	6
Russia, - - -	30	63	145	80·6	1·05	7
Austria, - -	300	245	30	53	1·45	3
Italy, - - -	480	20	10	50·2	1·76	1
Spain, - - -	220	2	3	24	1·48	
Portugal, - -	60	1	1	7	1·55	
Holland, - -	3	35	12	8·2	2·05	
Belgium, - -	4	170	10	11·4	2·07	
Denmark, - -	1	25	8	5·1	2·60	17
Sweden & Norway, -	2	35	27	15·4	2·27	17
Europe, - - -	1995	2673	377	495·5	1·65	
U.S. America, -	30	440	76	66·5	1·31	6

Alcohol is therefore not a scourge threatening the European races with the fate of the Oceanic races since the nations which consume most alcohol, even ardent spirits and *alcool industriel** are the superior nations, those with less crime and stronger vitality.

I find a last proof of this in the power of emigration displayed by the nations with high alcoholic consumption. So far are they from dying out that they are obliged to scatter. Russia is covering all the North of Asia with her colonies. The following table shews the emigration of the spirit-drinking nations from 1872 to 1881.

TABLE VI.

States.	Number of Emigrants.	Per 100 of Population.	Average of Spirits per head in litres.
Germany, - -	2,411,000	5·5	6
Great Britain, - -	1,729,000	5·2	5
Switzerland, - -	121,000	4·4	—
Norway, - - -	81,000	4·2	17
Sweden, - - -	123,000	2·7	17
Denmark, - - -	38,000	2	17
France, - - -	71,000	·2	4

* This term is explained later.—TRANSLATOR.

The contradiction is thus explained. The land is relieved. It is possible to explain the misunderstanding hidden under the formula of alcoholism, to discover the true nature and function of alcohol and to understand the true law of its consumption*

1. Alcohol is a new food stuff, whose consumption depends directly on the exigency of the climate. Climate is the law of alcohol.

2. Alcoholism is the abuse, the bad use of a food which is necessary, but is hard to control.

II. ON ALCOHOL.

It will take a long time to make people recognise the character of alcohol and its function as a food. How many centuries already has it taken to make them accept wine.

The alimentary power of not only wine, but of coffee, sugar, chocolate, and tea, is denied by some who would have us return to the times when apothecaries sold tea, sugar, and alcohol. All these came to us from the booths of alchemists and apothecaries, but their sale now can never be restricted to such places. There is now no household, be it never so poor, but has its sugar and its coffee. This advance is enormous. Fifty years ago coffee was served as a luxury on gala days, and sugar was kept as an ornament in crystal dishes. At the same period strong alcohol was considered a poison or a dangerous fluid; it has now a place in the cupboard of every housewife. She handles it as freely as water. In the morning she uses it to heat water even, or the coffee if need be. In the evening she uses it in preparing the tea. It has become a member of the family by the same right as all its predecessors. It is at once a food and a condiment. The same has occurred with gas, petroleum, and steam.

On cold wet mornings it awakens the miner's courage; it renews the navy's strength. How often during a march has it not set our soldiers on their feet again.†

* We cannot accept this ingenious paradox. We believe that on the contrary alcohol is ever a poison.—Ed. *Rev. Scient.*

† On the contrary observation tends to demonstrate that in these conditions a great prostration, characteristic of its toxic effect, quickly succeeds

If I visit a hospital I find it at the bedside of most of the patients. It is the defender who wards off the advance of tuberculosis. This scourge which is to ravage our generation begins by snatching them from the hands of death. It is it which will support the strength of that diabetic sufferer who has sought in his food only the enjoyment of wealth. In how many diseases is it not exhibited with as much benefit as quinine or opium ?*

If I gain admission to the scientist's study, I find it useful, nay, indispensable to his work. One prefers coffee, another prefers alcohol, but all require some stimulant. Pitt and Fox never spoke without having drunk some port. M. Thiers took one or two glasses of Malaga every day. The illustrious Mr. Gladstone, who governs Britain in his seventieth year, takes two glasses of claret daily at lunch, two at dinner, besides a glass of port. His consumption of alcohol has been estimated by his own son at 7 gallons a year, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ times the mean consumption in England, $2\frac{1}{2}$ the mean in France, or $4\frac{1}{2}$ times the mean in Europe.

But it is with alcohol as with many other new acquisitions of civilisation, such as petroleum, coal-gas, steam and dynamite. It is thanks to dynamite that the Panama Canal will be finished. Petroleum almost served to burn down the Louvre. Petroleum and dynamite are none the less valuable conquests. Coal-gas and steam cannot be worked without risk, yet who dreams of doing without them? Such is the position of alcohol. It is a food, it is a medicine of the first rank, but its proper method of use must be known.

Alcohol is in the first rank of industrial materials. It is employed in the preparation of varnishes, dyes, soaps, perfumery, colours, various articles of wood and leather, in gilding, hat making, bookbinding, weaving, and in the production of many chemicals and drugs.

the stimulation of short duration which immediately follows the ingestion of alcohol—a veritable fire of straw which expends in a few moments the resources of the organism.—Ed. *Rev. Scient.*

* Because alcohol is an admirable medicine does it necessarily follow that it is not a poisonous food stuff? Opium smokers might so argue.—Ed. *Rev. Scient.*

Besides a distinction has been made. Primitive alcohol has been usually excepted from the general anathema, that is spirit of wine, ethylic alcohol, that which the Arabs were the first to distil, and to which Raymond Lulle, towards the middle of the Thirteenth Century, seems to have given the name of *eau de vie*, *aqua vitæ*.

Aqua vitæ, or *eau ardente*, as it was at first called, was a product of alchemy and pharmacy so long as vine culture and distillation did not make sufficient advance. It became a beverage only towards the end of the Fourteenth Century. The Eighteenth Century was the flourishing period of the production of good spirits. Cognacs and Armagnacs are the famous names of this family.

But at the end of the great wars, and thanks to war itself which raised the price of *eaux de vie*, a new spirit appeared, thanks to the progress of chemistry and of the art of distillation. This was *alcool industriel*, that is the spirit obtained by fermentation and distillation from grain, beets, molasses, potatoes, and later from all vegetable substances, even straw, couch grass (*triticum repens*) and the dahlia. This new spirit is, we are told, the most dangerous unless it is submitted to processes of rectification. The following table shews the changes which have taken place since 1840 in the production of spirits in France.

TABLE VII.

YEARS.	Number of Hectolitres.				
	Wines & Fruits.	Beets.	Molasses.	Potatoes, &c.	TOTAL.
Mean before 1840,	815,000	500	40,000	36,000	891,500
1853-1857, - - -	165,000	300,000	137,000	69,000	611,000
1865, - - -	963,668	335,130	117,453	124,521	1,510,881
1869, - - -	436,673	318,957	407,720	217,440	1,410,790
1875, - - -	717,732	369,263	651,047	110,650	1,848,992
1881, - - -	61,839	563,240	685,616	510,582	1,821,287
1884, - - -	96,883	569,257	778,714	485,001	1,934,464

The importance of these figures is seen at a glance. I shall restrict my attention for the present to the development of these *alcools industriels*, and to the conditions determining it, for it is subordinate to the production of the various spirits of wine.

After the ravages of the oïdium, this production passed through a first period of regression followed by an enormous leap in 1865; a second regression in 1869, a new leap in 1875; a third regression in 1881 after the phylloxera disease: I show further that the increase in the total production has been very moderate since 1875.

But how could our needs have been satisfied if in 1853, in 1869, and in 1881, the *alcools industriels* had not come to our help to fill the gap in the production of wine spirits? Far from proscribing them or overwhelming them with curses, let us rather recognise that these *alcools industriels* came in the nick of time to take the place of the wine spirits, which have almost disappeared. It is thus that, thanks to the general progress of our era, equilibrium and harmony are maintained.

Alcohol is nevertheless a very decided scourge to the man who abuses it. It ruins his health, deprives his wife and children of the necessities of life by sweeping his savings into the public-house: but that is the exception it must be said, and stoutly maintained, the very great exception, as statistics demonstrate.

It is always the most energetic and prosperous people who pay the heaviest tribute to alcohol. This tribute is very light if it be compared with the immense powers of emigration of the Scandinavian, British, and Italian people.

DEATHS FROM DRUNKENNESS.

New York,	-	12·08	Proportion per 1000 of population.*
Sweden,	-	6·25	”
Switzerland,	-	3·81	”
Belgium,	-	3·83	”
Norway,	-	2·36	”
England,	-	2·27	”
France,	-	1·05	”
Italy,	-	0·81	”
		average,	1·81†

* Proportion per 1000 deaths is evidently meant.—TRANSLATOR.

† It is scarcely necessary to draw attention to the fact that there is no relation between the number of the victims of drunkenness and of alcoholism. Chronic alcoholism leaves the body without defence against the

My conclusion is that the vice of man resulting from the abuse of an element of prosperity and progress should not react in any way on the element itself.*

E. FOURNIER DE FLAIX.

ART. V.—THE TWO CHANCELLORS: JAMES BETOUN
AND THOMAS WOLSEY.

THE loss of men and standards at Flodden was the least part of Scotland's sorrow. Slain lovers have ever had their epitaphs in verse; and though a later ballad-literature has sent up a plaint almost unsurpassed in depth of feeling, it is an inadequate expression of the true causes of the national despair. It was not the dread of the advance of Surrey's army which struck the people helpless. Defeat, if it had done anything, had begotten determination, and that same spirit which guarded the capital in the crisis, built its wall, and controlled its citizens, would, in the Lothians at least, have made another stand against the invader. The victor's approach might have been Scotland's blessing: but England had fashioned her policy anew, and the Northern Kingdom was to find her greatest enemies in her

attacks of infectious diseases, aggravates the slightest traumatic injury, and is the direct cause of a whole host of organic lesions, to which the greater part of the inmates of hospitals succumb, without counting those who get stranded in lunatic asylums, or their miserable and degenerate progeny, the increase in whose number is a cause of serious apprehension.—Ed. *Revue Scientifique*.

* It is unnecessary to remark that we throw on M. F. de F. the entire responsibility of these opinions, which are from no point of view our own. Nevertheless our readers, whatever may be their ideas on this subject, will certainly find much matter of interest in the documentary information afforded by our colleague, and our love of fairplay leads us to publish it. But we must repeat that in our opinion Alcohol and Alcoholism are but one question, and that alcoholism is the plague and danger of our era.—Ed. *Revue Scientifique*.

internal discontent and social misfortunes. The curse of a child-king which continually haunted the line of Stewart had done its worst, for when James fell on Branxton Moor, his son and successor was but one year old. In the Century preceding, which includes almost exactly the reigns of four Kings, there had been four minorities; the average age at the time of accession had been eleven, and almost half the Century had been passed under regencies. It was an age of young Kings; but Charles, Francis, and Henry, were men of the world before James had left the nursery. England had ever been more fortunate in possessing a strong and active monarchy, and in Henry VIII., she was compelled to acknowledge one who did not forget to show the might of his kingly office. James, unlike his Tudor contemporary, did not rise on the ruins of a nobility. Party strife had torn the country long, and the Crown was unable to protect the nation against the turbulence of the barons. New complications in foreign politics also helped to emphasise the weakness of the central authority and the general prostration of the kingdom. France, the old ally, had become less hearty while there was any political value in the marriage of Louis XII. with Henry's sister; * and when Francis did renew the treaties, there was a *hauteur* in his manner, which told the Scottish lords that they must expect less and give greater thanks. The old relations were, however, gradually re-established, for the war-like attitude of England and her Imperial and Papal allies, made France desirous of putting Scotland and Venice on her side. But she could expect little from Scotland, not so much on account of pique, as on account of weakness.

Shortly after the death of James IV., Margaret was appointed Regent, and English ascendancy seemed assured. She was, however, like her brother, changeable and impulsive, and seemingly not unwilling to rival him in his matrimonial experiences. Her affairs of the heart were destined to be the prelude of political changes as important in her adopted country as her brother's were in his own kingdom. She soon

* September, 1514.

tired of widowhood, and four months after the birth of a posthumous son, she married the Earl of Angus. By this act she forfeited her right of regency, she submitted her power to a subject, and she shocked even the easy sensibilities of the nobles. To the majority it seemed fit that the male nearest to the throne should hold the regency instead of a wayward woman, and so they invited over John, Duke of Albany. With him came French courtiers and French manners: his arrival was the signal for a renewal of the old strife. Men ranged themselves in the French and English parties; and thus began that series of plots and counterplots which make up what has been called, 'the crooked lines of Scottish politics.'*

In this momentous and strangely interesting period, neither Henry nor Albany—and it may be added Margaret—were the chief characters. The Duke was at best no more than a puppet, though his violent temper made him almost valueless to his friends.† Margaret was headstrong and impolitic, and Henry, great ruler as he was, owed most of his greatness to the assistance he received. The guiding spirits were the two Chancellors—Thomas Wolsey and James Betoun.

Of Cardinal Wolsey, Chancellor of England, much has been written. Cavendish, Fiddes, and Mr. Brewer supply materials for a very complete picture of the great prelate, of his private life, of his influence on Henry and on foreign politics. The extent and importance of his Scottish correspondence have of late years been recognised, and it would be difficult, after the hints given by Ranke,‡ to consider any history of this portion of Tudor rule complete, without understanding the political connection between the two kingdoms. About the leader in

* Brewer, *Henry VIII.*

† 'He is so passionate that and he bee aperte amongis his familiars, and doth here anything contrarius to his myende and pleasure, his accustomed manner is too take his bonet sodenly off his hed and to throwe it in the fire; and no man dare take it out, but let it be brente. My Lord Dacre doth affirme that at his last being in Scotland he did borne alone a dosyn bonetts aftir that maner.'—*Ellis*, 2nd Series, I., p. 226 (Surrey to Wolsey, 1523, Oct. 8).

‡ *Latin and Teutonic Nations.*

Scotland much less is known. Popular history speaks most of Albany or Margaret; notices of James Betoun, Chancellor and Archbishop of St. Andrews, are extremely rare. Posterity has quite forgotten his name; when a Betoun is mentioned, the Cardinal, his nephew, comes into our minds. Even Mr. Brewer, in his *magnum opus*, has by a slip testified to the strength of popular association.* Cardinal Betoun has added one peccadillo more to his many vices—the attempted theft of much that belongs to the interesting and romantic career of his uncle the Chancellor.

No better illustration of the subtle diplomacy which characterised the Sixteenth Century can be found, than in the history of the relations between England and Scotland during the earlier years of that century. The English simplicity, which had been the amusement of Philippe de Commines, had, with many things else, undergone a most wonderful transformation. † Betoun and Wolsey were no novices in scheming, and the ingenuity they showed may have impressed very strongly the mind of Henry VIII., for in later years, when giving instructions to Sir Ralph Sadler, he says, 'the practises of prelates and clerks be wondrous, and thair juglyng so craftye, as oneless a man be ware thereof, and as oculate as Argus, he maye be lightly ledd by the nose, and beare the yoke, yea and (yett for blyndeness) not to know what he doith.' ‡ When we add the layman Thomas, Lord Dacre, the caste of the drama of machiavellian intrigue is complete. The contemporary estimate of Betoun is unanimous in testifying to his diplomatic ability. 'The said Chansoler,' writes Norfolk in 1524, 'is very crafty and sotyll.' § Magnus discovered him to be 'veraye subtyll and dissymuling.' || Wolsey himself well knew the character of his opponent; ¶ and Sir Thomas More showed how much he was put out at his 'craftie practises.'** Buchanan

* Oliver Cromwell is often made responsible for the demolition of the monasteries! † See Commines. Beginning of Book VI.

‡ *State Papers and Letters of Sir R. Sadler*, I., p. 50.

§ 19th July, *State Papers* (Scot.), IV., p. 85.

|| 9th Jan., 1525, *S. P.* (Scot.), IV., 286.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

** *Ellis's Letters*, 2nd Ser., I., 290.

calls him a 'prudent man,' * and Knox, though naturally seeing in him a 'conjured ennemye to Christ Jesus,' is content to say that he 'sought the warld, and it fled him nott.† Hume of Godscroft ‡ likens him to a fox who fled from hole to hole, and could not be caught. Sir David Lyndsay does not forget to remind his reader that

'His heych prudence prevalit hym nocht ane myte' §

Not much is known of his history previous to his appointment as Chancellor in 1513. || He was the sixth son of John Betoun of Balfour, the representative of an old Fifeshire family. ¶ The earliest record we have is the entry of his name in the University books of St. Andrews. On the vellum of 1487 he is mentioned as one of the 'Intrants,' in 1491 as a 'Determinant,' and in 1493 as a Licentiate and Master of Arts. The first event in his distinguished career in the Church was his presentation to the Chantry of Caithness in 1497. In 1503 he was made Provost of the Collegiate Church of Bothwell, and

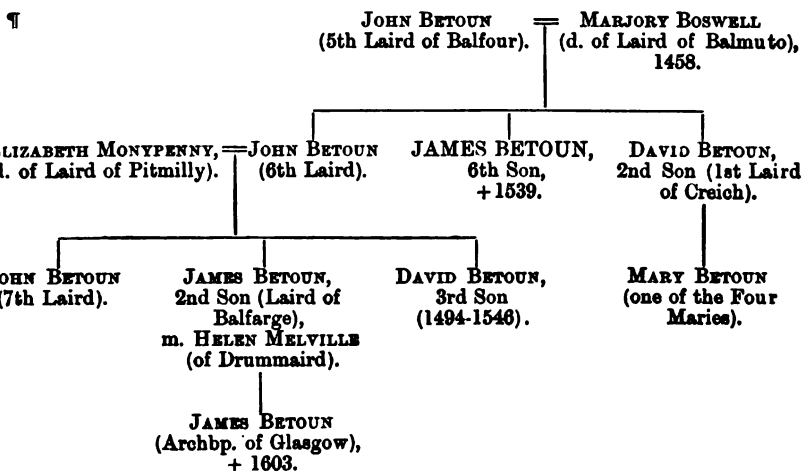
* *Historia*, lib. 14, xxv., 'Jacobum Betonem summa prudentia virum.'

† *Knox, Hist. of Reform.*, ed. Laing, pp. 13, 15.

‡ Hume had Douglas sympathies.

§ *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, l. 556.

|| See *Scotichronicon* (Gordon) p. 245.



Prior of the famous Whithorn or Candida Casa. In the year following, he was Abbot of Dunfermline, and Lord of Session. He was Lord Treasurer in 1505. In 1508 he was consecrated to the See of Galloway, and within twelve months he received the bishopric of Glasgow.* He resigned the Treasurership, and in 1513 added to his See of Glasgow the rich abbacies of Arbroath and Kilwinning, and obtained the high office of Chancellor. By his election in 1522 to Archbishopric of St. Andrews, he became the most important man in the realm—as we find Magnus writing to Wolsey, ‘he is the man next to the Kyng of the grettest substance both of landes and goodes;’ † or as the quaint Pitscottie phrases it, ‘a great man, and had monie casualties, and taxes, and teindis.’ ‡ Thus to the power in the State which he enjoyed in virtue of his political wisdom, was added the influence of the wealth of the prelate.

With the landing of Albany at the invitation of the most influential nobles in the kingdom, the policy of the French or anti-English party became more definite. The two great houses of Douglas and Hamilton were then at feud, and the turn in political events transformed them into the two parties of foreign interest.§ When Albany began the cure of the internal strife, he had to humiliate Angus—a Douglas, and husband of Margaret. The Hamiltons, moreover, were not well disposed to the party so intimately connected with their family foe. The difficulties of the Governor were multiplied by the intrigues of Lord Dacre, Warden of the English Marches. Henry, though unable to attack Scotland with an army on account of the recent agreement with France, had no intention

* ‘And the said bischopric (Glasgow) was gevin be the King to James Betoun, quha wes becom ane wise counsallour eftirwart,’ (1508). Bishop Lesley, Bann. Club, p. 78. See also *Register of Diocese of Glasgow*, (ed. Cosmo Innes).

† 29th Nov., 1524. *S. P. (Scot.)*, IV., p. 269.

‡ *The Chronicles of Scotland* by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie. Edinburgh, 1814, I., p. 330.

§ Cf. *Lyndsay, Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, ed. Laing, II. 528-534.

of leaving the kingdom alone. Dacre was ready to keep within the letter of the Treaty, and yet conduct a policy which outdid the hopes of Henry in his subtlest moments. Betoun was believed to be the active cause of the strife and party warfare at this time, as Sir Thomas More writes later to Wolsey, 'that the Archbishop of St. Andrews putteth all his possible power to procure their destruction, and to rere broilerie, warre, and revolution in the Realme.* The simple denial of the accusation might be considered the expression of national prejudice, had Dacre himself not set the matter at rest. On the 23rd August, 1516, he writes to Wolsey: 'I labor and studies all that I can to make division and debate to thentent that if. the Duke woll not applie hymself, that theme that debate may growe that it shal be impossible to hym to do justice.'† Wolsey, at the Field of the Cloth of Gold, protested loudly against the imputation of sinister motives, and of underhand actions in the past; but Francis I. seems to have understood the true nature of the Cardinal's policy.‡ The steps by which Dacre strove to destroy the influence of Albany, then in the heyday of his popularity, were these—to foment a quarrel between him and the Chamberlain Hume, to stimulate the Governor's impolitic tendency to take severe measures for the purpose of restoring order, to force him to secure the persons of the royal children by besieging Stirling Castle and taking prisoner the Queen-Mother, and finally by harbouring the disaffected nobles to tempt him to give a *casus belli* by an invasion of English territory. Margaret escaped to England and there gave birth to the 'fair young lady,'* the future mother

* Ellis, 2nd Ser., I., p. 290 (Sept. 21, 1521 ?).

† Ellis, 1st. Ser., I., p. 131, 23rd Aug., 1516.

‡ 1520. *Memoire à François 1^{er} sur les affaires d'Ecosse*
 (exposé des motifs qui doivent engager le roi de France à prendre vivement
 en mains les interêts de l'Ecosse) . . . et est la vraye intention des
 Angloys de nous veoir délaissez et hors d'espérance de son retour, de façon
 que soyons départiz et divisez, et que combatons l'un l'autre, comme jà en
 est, au grant détriment, perte et dommaige du pouvre peuple.—Teulet.
Relations Politiques de la France et de l'Espagne avec l'Ecosse au XVI.
siècle. Paris 1862. I., p. 25.

of Lord Darnley. Angus, who had been sent off to France, ere long succeeded in landing in England, where he offered himself to Henry as a ready tool in the designs against Scotland. This pronounced action widened the separation of the two parties in the North; and two other events seemed to put the breach beyond cure. Andrew Forman was elected Archbishop of St. Andrews, as a solatium for the resignation of his See of Bourges, which Leo X. had coveted for his nephew. Forman was a partisan of France, and his services had been recognised by the French King.† The other event was the murder by Home,‡ of the French Warden of the Marches, Antoine D'Arces de la Bastie. Albany had retired to France for another spell of that princely pleasure, which he could not enjoy at the rough Scottish Court, or amid State business so pressing, and he had left this French knight and some others—among them the Archbishop of Glasgow—to look after his interests. The untoward event was the cause of much correspondence between Scotland and France, and resulted in the Treaty of Rouen,§ by which they promised each other military aid and money in the event of either being attacked, and refused to enter into any agreement with England without common consent. The relations of the parties in Scotland were thus highly strained, and there was every opportunity for a bold man to make a move. Albany was expanding his leave of four months into one of five years, and an advantage offered itself to Angus on his return to Scotland to gain back his supremacy. The episode known in history as 'Clean the Causeway,' has been often told, by Sir Walter Scott among others. In the church of the Blackfriars, Edinburgh, some of the enemies of Angus had met together to lay a plot for his imprisonment. In the assembly sat James Betoun. Gavin Douglas, the poet-Bishop

* Margaret Douglas. Grandmother of James VI. and Arabella Stuart.

† He obtained the Archbishopric of Bourges through the influence of France, in reward for the services which promoted the expedition of 1513.

‡ Of the house of Douglas and next to Angus. He was therefore chief of the House of Douglas while Angus was in England.

§ Teulet. 26th Aug., 1517.

of Dunkeld, in the interests of the noble house to which he belonged, implored Betoun to exert his influence in favour of peace. 'Bot the bischop,' to quote Pitscottie, 'answeired agane with ane oath, chopping on his breast, saying, "Be me conscience, my lord, I knaw not the matter." Bot when Mr. Gavin hard the bischopis purgatioun, and chopping on his breast, and perceaved the plattis on his jack clattring, he thought the bischop deceaved him; so Mr. Gawin said to him, "My lord, your conscience is not guid, for I hear it clattring." The skirmish was fought in the street, and the Douglasses, despite the disadvantage of numbers, were victorious. 'And Bischop James Betoun fled to the Black Freir Kirk, and his rockit rivin aff him, and had beine slaine, had not beine Mr. Gawin Douglas requeisted for him, saying, "it was shame to put hand in ane consecrat bischop," and so,' adds Pitscottie, 'he was saiff that tyme.*' Angus was thus made master of the situation, and he early began to show his determination to use his power to the utmost. A new obstacle, however, arose. Margaret, for some cause hidden deep within the mazes of her Tudor will, had grown as tired of Angus, as her brother ere long was to be of Catherine. Henry lectured her on her unseemly conduct, on her unrighteous craving for a divorce. Her behaviour, said the royal critic, 'sounded openly to her extreme reproach and the blemishing of the royal house and the blood whereof she descended.†' But she would go on her own course, and leave to him the sole keeping of the Tudor traditions of conjugal propriety. She even went so far as to invite over Albany. A threatening message from the Estates roused the elegant voluptuary from his forgetfulness. He set sail, and arrived in Scotland in November 1521. The English party were in despair. Wolsey and Dacre saw with great disgust the alliance of the Queen with Albany and Betoun. Gavin

* Pitscottie, I., p. 288. Cf. Crawford's *Lives of Officers of State*.

† *State Papers*, IV. 219. Henry had not yet taken a fancy to Ann Boleyn. Moreover such conduct looked worse in a woman. Later on in 1542 Henry chose to express himself very differently, for in his wrath at James he wondered how such a villain could be the fruit of the goodly tree his sister.—Burton, III., 182.

Douglas was sent into England to explain matters and to abuse the Chancellor.* Dacre, to whom the leisure was irksome, was busy in circulating a story about improper relations between the Queen and the Regent. Margaret complained bitterly to her brother that he had listened to these reports, and Albany denied to Clarencieux 'the damnable abusion of the king's sister.†

Albany, guided by Betoun, had strengthened his position very considerably; but once more the revolutionary see-saw was set a-going, and Albany fell a prey to the cunning of Dacre. The Scottish lords had agreed on the 2nd September to attempt an invasion, and Albany with a large army set out for the Borders; but he advanced very half-heartedly. For some unknown reason he seems to have made a private arrangement with Dacre. Whether it was duplicity on the part of Albany, or the strong will of Dacre working on the weak and incóntant Duke, it is difficult to say: surmise may tend to support the latter view. There was in this campaign, as in all other transactions connected with this period, an almost Oriental idea of accommodation floating about. Dacre and the Scots had their 'vakis' in their camps, and no sooner did they determine on an encounter, than negotiation and intrigue put the soldiers out of employment. On this occasion England was entirely at the mercy of the enemy. No troops were ready; there was no unity in the aims of the Northern counties; and Carlisle could offer but a sorry resistance. Yet the consummate genius of Dacre turned this great expedition to nought. He delayed answering overtures, swore he could not read Scottish dispatches, sent them back to be translated into French, and persuaded Albany to make a month's truce and even to disband his army. All the while he was collecting troops and the English fleet was hurrying northwards. It was Betoun's turn now to be sorely grieved, and that at the fatuous conduct of his military ally. Wolsey of course loudly sounded his praise, and proclaimed the event an

* There he succumbed to the Plague.

† Henry had sent Clarencieux to Scotland to ascertain the extent of the Regent's influence. 15 Feb., 1522. His report is interesting—'Grim looks of the Scots to high and low' in Parliament, in Tolbooth.

‘operatio dextrae Excelsi.’ Albany meanwhile returned to France, and the truce having expired, the English were ready to take advantage of the state of war legally existing. Wolsey felt the difficulty of the campaign; he had seen the strength of Albany’s army, and having perceived the danger of carrying on a continental war at the same time, had endeavoured to make a treaty with France. Even if he were unsuccessful, the delay and negotiations might raise suspicion among the Scots as to the good faith of Francis. His military preparations too were now more efficient. Surrey took the command, and the Warden seconded his efforts. The description of this campaign is best given in Wolsey’s own words:—

‘There is left neither house, fortress, village, tree, cattle, corn, or other succor for man, insomuch as some of the people wh: fled from the same . . . were compelled to come into England begging bread wh: often times when they eat they die incontinently for the hunger passed, and with no imprisonment, cutting off the ears, burning them in the face or otherwise, can be kept away. Such is the punishment of Almighty God to those that be the disturbers of good peace, rest, and quiet in Christendom.’*

No wonder that amid such carnage and cruelty Dacre confessed he had seen the devil six times. † Betoun maintained his position and resisted the attempts of the Warden. When Albany returned to Scotland with French troops, French interests again revived, and the Lords refused to surrender the young King into the custody of Margaret, in the event of Albany not coming back. It seems strange that Surrey did not push forward. Want of provisions, the large army of the enemy, a counter expedition by the Scots in the direction of Carlisle, have been suggested, but Mr. Brewer lays most stress on the fierce treatment which an English army would have had to expect from the exasperated Lowlanders. ‡ At any rate when the Regent returned, French influence rose, and that Tudor enigma, Margaret, who a few months before had advised Henry to make a sudden manoeuvre, had now pledged faith with the

* Cal. of *State Papers*, Hen. VIII., 30th Aug., 1523.

† Ellis, 1st Ser., I., p. 217. (at Jedburgh).

‡ I., p. 548-9.

party for France. The Estates, says the Abbot of Kelso, are 'daft onnaterall lords and missaivit counsell seducit with France.' The Frenchmen are wretched beings, having nothing but what the Chancellor gives them of vacant benefices, 'and sic abbayes maun susteyn them to be louns and nyght waikars to play at carts and dyis, and ilk ane uther nyght thre or four of them stikit and gorit.*' An opportunity was offered for Albany to restore his prestige. He collected perhaps the most powerful and well-equipped army which Scotland had ever marshalled on the Borders, and which Skelton with the licence which his verses demand numbers at one hundred thousand. Betoun, though refusing to disabuse the English of his peaceful intentions, issued at Edinburgh a proclamation to the troops. Surrey became alarmed at the great preparations which the Archbishop had guided; but Wolsey was at his ear with advice. To those who have read the documents bearing on this campaign, Wolsey will appear more of a general than will the trained soldier Surrey. He enters into every detail, advises on every petty move.

His greatest triumph, however, was to counsel Surrey to play a Fabian game, and weary out the Scots by 'drawing out the time till the victuals are spent and pursuing them as they return.†' Albany advanced and laid siege to Wark Castle, a strong fortification south of the Tweed. The attack was partly successful ‡—when suddenly for a second time and for a reason as mysterious, the Regent retreated. Skelton could not let the occasion pass:—

* Abbot of Kelso to Dacre, 8th Sept., 1523. Cal. *State Papers*.

† Wolsey to Surrey, 1st Oct., 1523. Cal. *State Papers*. Cf. also Wolsey's exhortation to Surrey (Oct. 12.):—'It is not unknown that King James whom your father and you slew, was a man of great courage, well beloved and in great estimation amongst his subjects: and yet was it not a little difficult for him to bring the Scots, the King's Grace being then out of the realm, and the King of Scots having great treasure . . . may be a remembrance and an example to those which at a more unmeet time would think to attempt the same.'

‡ George Buchanan was present on the Scottish side.

'False Scottes are ye :
Your hartes sore faynted,
And so attaynted,
Lyke cowardes starke,
At the castell of Warke,
By the water of Twede,
Ye had evil spede.'

Then addressing Albany :—

'How ye pretende
For to defende
The yong Scottyshe kyng ;
But ye meane a thyng,
And ye coude bryng
The matter about,
To putte the eyes out,
And putte hym doune,
And set hys crowne
On your owne heed,
Whan he were deed.'*

In May, 1524, Albany sailed for France, and brought his ill-starred career in Scotland to an end. He never returned to hear the threats and taunts which his cowardice and weakness had put into men's mouths.† Betoun could hardly have been sorry at the departure of his unhappy ally. He was unfettered now, and with his state-craft alone Wolsey would have to reckon. Dacre begins by sending Betoun some wholesome advice, and an exhortation to work for the good of Scotland, and remember 'how the King of Navarre lost his name, crown, and kingdom for France, the late King of Scots who lost his life for France, and the Duke of Wirtemberg who lost his Duchy for France.'‡ He closes in a right charitable spirit—probably the result of his study of political history—wishing to learn the pleasure of the Chancellor, 'and the sooner the better, that the poor bodies may draw to the Borders and win their hay and "elding" against winter.' He writes several

* 'The Duke of Albany and the Scottes.'

† Cf. 'By God's blood, we will never serve you more nor never wear your badges again.'—*Cal. State Papers*, III., 3512 (Hen. VIII.)

‡ *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII., 1524, May 26 and June 4.

letters to him, but is not pleased with the answers received.* Betoun gives elegant but rather unsatisfactory replies; he impresses him with the importance of the Scottish constitution; he must wait till a full Session of the Lords.† Dacre reports his suspicions to Wolsey,‡ who straightway determines to take the work in hand himself.

Betoun at this time was living in the Castle of St. Andrews. The pile stood at the upper end of the city on a high rock washed on its three sides by the waves of the North Sea. A deep moat separated it from the shore. It was the Archbishopal Palace, and if the majestic ruins of battlements and dungeon be any indication of its former grandeur, rather a feudal stronghold than the dwelling of a priest. There is a loneliness and mystery about the place wonderfully in keeping with the schemes and acts which had in it their origin. It is an impressive thought to call up Betoun within his sea-girt towers, guiding the destinies of his country, seeming away from the world, yet the centre of its excitement; silent, yet like the great walls which guarded him, stubborn and strong. Popular tradition has made martyrdom and assassination the memories of the spot; and the earlier and more stirring part which it played in the national history has been entirely forgotten. §

Betoun was doubtless aware that he had to try his skill against the greatest diplomatist of his time. But 'Greek had met Greek,' and the craft of the Scottish Chancellor

* *Cal. State Papers*, Henry VIII., 10 July, 1524.

† *Ibid.*, 18 July, 1524. ‡ *Ibid.*, 17 July, 1524, *et passim*.

§ Cf. 'Twas there of many a tragic act the scene—
Wishart was burned, and cruel Bettoun slain, &c.

'Saint Andrews. A poem by John Copland, written in 1775' (*Bodl. Gough Scot.*), 199). This wonderful poet describes the Castle's strength thus:

Massive indeed! firm as the solid rock
On which they're built; and braving seem to mock
The iron tooth of all-devouring time;
Hard is the stone, but harder still the lime.'

The Eighteenth Century must have been as careless as the present, for
'There birds obscene construct their nests on high.'

was to counteract the intrigues of the wily Cardinal, who had now become convinced of the futility of the English hopes, as long as Betoun guided Scottish affairs. Wolsey acknowledges Betoun's position and influence, hopes he will continue 'in the mind in which he hears he is,' promises to make his authority and honour greater than any prelate in Scotland has enjoyed for many years, and concludes, 'ye shall find me so sure and perfect a friend as, I trust, shall in time coming be to your great comfort, weal, profit, and exaltation, wherein or in anything that I may do you honour or pleasure in, ye shall find me ready and glad to concur with you to good and virtuous purpose, at all times by the grace of Almighty God.'* So runs Wolsey's first epistle, sufficiently well filled with sentiments of peace and friendship, and likely to gain over even the most sullen opponent. He proposes that a diet should be held to which Betoun, on account of his political importance, will be invited: then by a sudden movement the Chancellor of Scotland is to become a recipient of the enforced hospitality of King Harry. Betoun thanks Dacre for 'his good mind to the weal of both realms, and prays him to continue it as he will do,' but the Lords think he should not 'meet Norfolk in person, though he would have been right glad to have done so.† Norfolk having written in distress to Wolsey, that as far as his 'poure mynd' understood matters, there was something strange about Betoun's conduct, receives a letter in reply telling him how poorly he has appreciated the designs of his superior, and recommending a speedy sharpening of his honest wits to a more statesmaulike cunning. As the communication is an excellent commentary on the opening letter, and written by the same hand, a portion may be quoted. 'As hereunto, my lord, ye knowe right well that the practise set forthe for the said diett was never ment ne intended on this side for any comunicacion of peax, whiche the Kinges Grace wolde or thought shulde have been had in the same; considring it were not mete ne honorable that His Grace

* *Cal. State Papers*, Hen. VIII., July 21, 1524.

† *Ibid.* Chancellor to Dacre, July 23, 1524.

shulde condesende under any such diett with the Scottes; but it was done only to the entent under that colour to have intercepted the said Chaunceler by meane of the Erle of Angwishe,* wherebye he with al his adherentes shulde the more facilly have been induced or compelled to condesende to the ereccion of thair king, and the extincting of the Duke of Albany's government; being the principall thinges whiche the Kinges Highnes gothe aboute.† But if Norfolk had been too straightforward, Wolsey was not to be behind in showing that he possessed some theory of honourable dealing, for he adds this strange postscript,—‘it were not convenient he shuld have a saufe conduyt but to be trayned by other dulce and faire meanes therunto.’ He continues sending letters of sweet sentiment to Betoun, now and then inditing a line to his lieutenant, reminding him ‘that is ryght expedient that he pondre the cause of his tendre wrytyng to the Chancelor.’‡ He had not forgotten the ‘politic handling’ which he had so successfully used in deceiving Pope Clement.§ What most surprises us is that a man so well versed in the secrets of diplomacy and who had complained|| that ‘among twenty [newsletters] there is scantly two found true,’ should have imagined he was dealing with a babe, or with a man who could not but be crafty in an atmosphere which breathed nothing but intrigue. The promises of dignities and the plan of a diet failed; so did that of an embassy.

The great matter of dispute was what was called the Erection of the King of Scots—referred to by Wolsey above—*i.e.*, the acknowledgment of the King by the Estates, and his choice of a council of advisers, instead of the appointment of a ‘regent.’ Albany was not to return again, and it was thought a fitting opportunity for declaring in the King's favour instead of appointing

* So invariably spelt in the English letters.

† *S. P. (Scot.)*, IV., 1st Aug., 1524, pp. 85-92.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. 110, 19th Oct., 1524.

§ Sharon Turner, II., pp. 221-3.

|| *State Papers (Henry VIII.)* 12th Oct., 1523.

a new guardian. It was aimed, too, as a blow at Betoun and the French party, and was heartily supported by Henry and his minister. The Erection was carried out in August, 1524, in the old Tolbooth of Edinburgh; and the Act was confirmed by Parliament. The business was important, and Betoun left his castle to attend the assembly. He would not sign the deed of allegiance: the Bishop of Aberdeen likewise refused: both were accordingly placed under arrest. Margaret wrote off post haste to her brother—‘I desyr to knawe ye Kingis plesour tuechyne ye Bischep of Sanctandrose and ye Bischep of Abyrdene, and in quhat schort I sal do, consyderyne they ar in handis; and speciale of ye Bischep of Sanctandrose, for I haf doune mayr for hyme no ony oder. I culd newyr haf his gud wyl, bot ewyr did Me ye displesour yat he mycht; and I ame swyr he wall do, and ewer it be in his power. Yarfor I refer Me to his Grace.’* The arrest meant a great accession of strength to the servants of Henry: they were not only made more influential in the government, but the responsibility of their actions was placed on the young King. Henry’s presents of horses, gold-bucklers, and pleasant letters were answered by the grateful thanks, which young nephews under such circumstances have in all ages given.† Lyndsay, though no favourer of Betoun or his party, laments the revolution:—

‘The Kyng was bot twelf yeris of aige,
 Quhen new rewlaris come, in thair raige,
 For commonweill makand no cair,
 Bot for thair proffeit singlar.
 Imprudentlie, lyk wytless fuillis,
 The tuke the young Prince frome the scuilis,
 Quhare he, under obedience,
 Was lernand vertew, and science,
 And haistelie platt in his hand
 The governance of all Scotland ;

.

* *S. P.* (Scot.), p. 114, 31 Aug., 1524.

† Francis was mollified by a letter couched in the most courteous and soothing terms the Estates could devise.

I gyf thame to the Devyll of hell
 Quhilk first devysit that counsell,
 I wyll nocht say, that it was treassoun ;
 Bot I dav sweir, it was no reassoun.
 I pray God, let me never see ryng
 In to this realme, so young ane Kyng.' *

Wolsey naturally enough was delighted at the arrest of the Bishops, and counselled Norfolk that on no account were they to be released, for the 'displeasure done unto theym shal alwaies remayne imprinted and incorporate in thair hertes, whiche they shall studye by oon waye or other to revenge, whatsoever demonstracion they shal make to the contrary.' † The victory would only be complete, when he got Betoun into his own power. He suggested to Margaret and to Norfolk that he should be sent to Berwick. ‡ He had, however, over-reached himself. If there was anything which Margaret could not accomplish for him, it was the extradition of the Archbishop. In a postscript to a letter written by Norfolk to Wolsey, there are the following significant words: 'Came hither my servant Hals, and hath shewed me, that the Quene doth saye that in no wise she dare send the said Bishops to Berwick; for she asking the opinion of all the Lordes thereof, they answered presisely they would never consent that any Scottishman shuld be sent into England for offence doon to their sovereign lord; and bad my servaunt take it for a resolute answer, she wold not send theym, for if she shuld, all Scotland wold grudge against her.' § The Scots showed how strongly they resented the exile of Betoun at a foreigner's request. Mr. Hill Burton points out that the greatest charge against Albany had been that he had Angus carried off into France by means of French agents.

The idea of an embassy again occurs to Wolsey as feasible. He will try to get the Archbishop into the realm, 'not to be kept in captivitie and prisoner, but *deteyned for a season* till the yong King shalbe better corroborate in his estate, and good waies found for the allecting and drawing of him to take surely

* *Complaynt to the Kyng*, ll. 127-154.

† *S. P. (Scot.)*, IV., p. 121, 2nd Sept., 1524.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 126 and 141.

§ *Ibid.*, p. 147, 19th Sept., 1524.

the said Kingis part.* Money for the Queen and others is not to be wanting to make the scheme a success.† At this period Scottish affairs occupied almost the entire attention of Wolsey. He has left an incredible quantity of papers on the relations between England and Scotland, and amply justifies the remark of the biographer Fiddes about ‘the uncommon quality in the Cardinal—his long and seemingly elaborate dispatches.’‡ Pinkerton, before the days of Mr. Brewer, was astonished at the mass of papers belonging to this period, preserved in the Cottonian Library.§

Wolsey had now two spies at Edinburgh, Magnus and Radclyff. The history of their mission to the North is curious. The original intention had been, that they should wait on the Borders till the Scottish embassy had passed south, so that they might go, not as ambassadors, but as mere agents or messengers. It is not absurd to construe this as a scheme for establishing some precedent about the dignities of the respective representatives. Probably some understood the deep game of the Cardinal, for, most unaccountably, the Scottish embassy was delayed. Magnus and Radclyff, wearied of their loitering on the Borders, set out for the Scottish capital. They were well received, and were no doubt better pleased, than Wolsey would be, with the title of ‘Ambassadors from England,’ which they saw on every dispatch, and heard at every interview. Meantime Betoun had been set at liberty, probably on account of his weak health,|| and partly, as Magnus writes, because the Earl of Arran had made ‘speciall sute for hym, in suche maner that, if the Queen had not consented thereunto, the saide Archebushshop shulde have been delivrede contrarye her mynde and therefore Her Grace saide better it was to agree to his putting at libertie.’¶ Magnus had

* *Ibid.*, p. 181, Oct., 1524.

† *Ibid.*, p. 194, 24th Oct., 1524, &c.

‡ Preface to Chap. xxvi.

§ ‘The opulence of original correspondence for these two years surprizes and embarrasses an historian.’

|| ‘A continuall sekeleave man.’ See *S. P.* (Scot.) p. 212. 2nd Nov., 1524. Betoun sent to France for medicines.

¶ *Ibid.*

several interviews with Betoun, and seemed rather pleased with his hospitality and good intentions, though he was forced to conclude, as Dacre, Norfolk, and Margaret had done on previous occasions, that he 'dare not give unto hym firme credence.*' An event happening shortly afterwards tended to shroud the conduct of the Chancellor in greater mystery. Two galleys with a French embassy on board arrived from France, but instead of sailing up the Firth towards Edinburgh, as Magnus imagined they would, and was firmly convinced they should, they steered direct for the Castle of St. Andrews, and cast anchor in the bay.† Magnus alarmed at the prospect of French intrigue being renewed at the Archbishop's palace, wrote demanding an explanation. Betoun's reply is so interesting and quaint, that it may be quoted:—

'My lord, I wald have bene rycht glaid of zour heir being with me in Sanctandrois yis tyme of Zoile, and suld have tretit zow ye best I culd, bot I accept wele zour resonabill excuse.‡ Ye sall understand the Frenche men arryvit at Dunbar before Zoile in company with my cusing of Arbrotht, convoyit in two gallyonis as I understand, to bryng furnising to ye house of Dunber and sure conducting of my said cousing, and causit him to cum to me. . . . And as for the Frenchemennis being heir in Saintandrois ze sall understand that ane part of thame come yis last Saint Stephanis Day, and uyeris sen syne; I nevir knawand of thair cuming, unto ye tyme thai knokit at ye zet (I beand at my dener) in company with ye remanent of my Lordis being in this toune for the tyme; and leit yame in, and tretit yame as accordit, because they had writingis furth of France to me and uyeris my Lordis being heir. Bot yai war generall, and of auld datis.'§

Wolsey was apprised of this strange procedure,|| and Margaret wrote to Henry VIII, accusing Betoun of working 'contrare ye will of ye Kyng,' and concluding with an earnest request to Henry to 'look substanciously apoune' the matter.¶ Something further occurred which helped to strengthen the

* *Ibid.*, pp. 236-7. 10th Nov., 1524.

† David Betoun, his nephew, (Ambassador from Scotland to France) was on board. *Vide* succeeding letter.

‡ Magnus had been invited by Betoun.

§ *S. P. (Scot.)* IV., p. 282. 29th Dec., 1524.

|| *Ibid.*, pp. 286-7. 9th Jan., 1525.

¶ *Ibid.*, p. 295. Jan. 23-24, 1525.

French influence more than all the scheming of the two Betouns and the Lords at St. Andrews. News arrived of the disastrous defeat and the capture of Francis; and deep sympathy for the ally in adversity was aroused. As Scotland had rejoiced with France at her victory at Marignano ten years before, so now she felt the defeat at Pavia almost as keenly as if she had been involved in the catastrophe. Poor Magnus and Radclyff had either been too officious in their duties, or the Edinburgh folks had got tired of them, for they sent a doleful despatch to Wolsey wishing to be recalled. They had been blamed for raising storms and bad weather, and Magnus thus tells the sad tale:—‘I, nor my servauntes, couthe nor mought passe of late in the stretes, naither to nor from the Courte, but openly many women banned, cursed, waried, and gave me and myne the mooste grevous maledictions that couth be to our faces.’* This popular attitude, and the crisis in French politics, seriously affected the attempts at an accommodation, and a treaty was only concluded in 1528.

Angus, the hated husband of Margaret,† had arrived in Scotland shortly after the coming of Magnus and Radclyff. The King had then reached the age of 14, and was no longer a ‘minor pupil’: guardians had therefore to be chosen. The nobles selected were Argyle, Errol, and Angus. It was agreed that each should be chief-counsellor in turn, and that the first term of office should be held by the Douglas. He like many other worthies of history, refused to surrender the power which he had thus obtained. Betoun at first supported the triumvirate, but he soon found it necessary to disavow participation in the selfish aims of Angus. The King too chafed under his restraint, and sent for Betoun, who recommended him to send for the Earl of Lennox. The strain grew daily, till it developed into war. ‘Before the enemy shall take thee from us,’ was the savage speech of the Douglas to the young King, ‘if thy body shall be torn in pieces, we shall have a part.’ Lennox fell at Kirkliston. Douglas, after a stout resistance in

* *S. P. (Scot.)* IV., p. 406. 25th Sept., 1525.

† Margaret obtained from Betoun a decree of divorce, 1528.

Tantallon, was obliged to flee; but before he had retreated he had punished the diffidence of the Chancellor by sacking his palace at St. Andrews. Betoun escaped with difficulty and wandered about Boigromuir* in the disguise of a shepherd.

' His heych prudence prevalit hym nocht ane myte,
 That tyme the courte bair hym sic mortall feid :
 As presoneir thay keipt hym in despyte ;
 And sum tyme wyst not quhare to hyde his heid, '
 Bot, dissagysit, lyke Johne the Reif, he yaid.
 Had nocht bene hope bair hym sic companye
 He had been stranglit be melancholye.' †

During the ascendancy of Angus the attitude of Betoun towards England had to all appearance changed. In 1525 he was party to a letter sent to Henry craving his assistance in their good endeavours for the young King. ‡ Magnus continued his audiences, and the old bribe of promotion was again brought forward. Wolsey is informed that it is right Betoun should be indebted for his hat to England. || Shortly after Angus's *coup d'état*, he was brought back to Court, Angus having been bribed: and later we discover the castle rebuilt and refurnished, and see the King and the Douglasses spending Easter there with the old prelate. On the overthrow of Angus, the power of the King was exerted with greater vigour than before in the interests of law and order. ¶ Douglas had drawn much of his strength from the border 'reifers,' the wild and restless clans of Armstrong and Graeme, whom the recent international squabbles had made supreme in the Debateable Land. The most striking event of the new centralising policy of the Crown, on behalf of which Betoun's influence was

* The name is variously given, e.g., Balgrumo.

† Lyndsay. *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, ll., 556-562.

‡ *S. P. (Scot.)*, p. 312-4. Jan. 26, 1525. Cf. Articles between Wolsey and Angus, 4th Oct., 1524 (*S. P. Scot.*, p. 159); and Angus's agreement with Wolsey to support the English interest, 12th Oct., 1525.

|| *Ibid.*, p. 442, Jan. 24th 1526.

¶ Cf. *Strena ad Jacobum V. Scotorum Regem de suscepto Regni Regimine*, 1528. Edinb. Bann. Club Miscell. Closing lines:—*Interea Jovis ipse puer placidissima regni Sceptra gerens populo dat bona Jura suo.*

exerted, and which found some analogy in the Tudor action concerning 'livery,' was the expedition against the famous John Armstrong. All that the State Records give to support their fame and ballad-glory, is this short sentence—'John Armstrong, *alias* Black Jok and Thomas his brother, convicted of common theft and reset of theft, hanged.'* Border raids became fewer and duller in adventure. The negotiations too, between England and Scotland flagged: indeed during the years 1530-31 there is an almost entire blank, the only incident breaking the silence being the discussion on the retention of a small border town by the English.† Henry VIII., says Bishop Lesley, had no time for Scotland, 'for he wes sa bissy occupyit in purchasing ane devorce to be hed betwix him and Quene Katherine his wyffe.'

In those years too the scheming and counter-scheming of the two Chancellors came to an end. Wolsey like Betoun had fallen, but though the latter had been received back to favour, fate would not have my lord Cardinal again in Westminster. And when he seemed destined to be overwhelmed by further disgrace, death did the kind office and saved him from the vengeance of his master. Betoun though once more free did not recover his office of Chancellor. The remaining years of his life have had in the eyes of the vulgar—as far as they have turned them on his career—an ecclesiastical, rather than a purely political interest—and that chiefly on account of his connection with Patrick Hamilton. Henry tried to develop the plans of his late minister, and James leaned for support on the wisdom and experience of his old friend the Archbishop. We may pass over the flight of Angus and Bothwell to England, the incursion of 1532, and the squabble over the Caw Mills. Henry, now posing as the defender of the 'New' Faith, had sent the Bishop of St. David's‡ with some theological works for the edification and conversion of his nephew; and a

* Pitcairn's *Criminal Trials*, quoted by Hill Burton.

† The English refuse to 'file or clean' the bills for Canaby, 2nd October, 1531.

‡ Buchanan (ed. Aikman) II., p. 312.

short time afterwards an embassy had arrived beseeching the king to meet his uncle in England or France, to talk over matters generally, and adding that Henry would be happy to pay all the expenses, if his nephew's purse could not stand the strain. There is no doubt that Henry was scheming to get hold of the person of James. He was 'verrie rejoiced' when he heard that James had promised to come.

'Not the less,' says Pitscottie, 'the wicked bischopes of Scotland would not thoall the King of Scotland to pas thair, but caused him send an ambassadour to excuse him that he might not win at that time for caussia. For the bischopis feared if the King had mett with King Harie, that he would have moved him to have castin doun the abbeyis and to have altered the religioun as the King of England has done a befoir in England. Thairfoir the bischopis buddit him to byd at home and gave him thrie thousand pundis of yeirlic rent out of thair benefices.'*

No doubt the 'wicked bishops' were not enamoured of the conduct and advice of the royal heretic, but their action was not entirely one of selfish or partisan colouring. Commynes, years before, had given out, as a piece of worldly wisdom, that princes should never meet, and future events in 1542 are sufficient proof that the clergy gave wholesome advice to their Sovereign on this occasion.† Scott points out in his biographical memoir of Sir Ralph Sadler, that James resented Henry's dictatorial manner, that the geldings, compared with the lavish gifts of Francis, were paltry in the eyes of the young monarch. The conservative tendencies of James were strong, and whatever ability and learning he saw around him, he saw centred in the clerical caste. The French alliance which Henry had attempted to render ineffectual by the above plot was made surer; and James, 'sick of his protracted celibacy,'‡ received the hand of Magdalen, daughter of Francis I. § The connection was further cemented after the death of his wife, by a marriage with the famous Mary of Guise. The negotiations had been successfully carried out by David Betoun, Cardinal of St. Stephen in Monte Coelio,

* Pitscottie, I., p. 349.

† See Burton, III., 180.

‡ Buchanan (Aikman), II., p. 314.

§ He originally intended to marry Mary d. Duc de Vendôme.

who was also Bishop of Mirepoix in Languedoc,* and had been frequently ambassador to France. He was now to step into the place of his venerable uncle, and administer the affairs of the unhappy kingdom. James Betoun died in 1539, 'being of greit age, quha had lived lang in greit honour in Scotland.' †

The characters and careers of the two Chancellors exhibit a striking parallel. In the foregoing narrative of their diplomatic relations, they appear as foils to each other,—Wolsey showing himself as the positive or aggressive factor, Betoun rather as the guide of a negative or defensive policy. Both prelates possessed the highest ecclesiastical powers in their respective countries, and kept the consciences of Kings.

'The prelasie then bear so great a swaye

That king and keisar must thair mindes obaye.' ‡

Both held the highest offices in the State, and both attained the eminence with marvellous rapidity. Though a hard fate did not dog the footsteps of Betoun so relentlessly as it did Wolsey's, there is still some grim similarity in the nature of their exiles from Court. A search among obscure historical documents would seem to show, that, though the relations of the Scottish King and his Chancellor, like those of Henry and Wolsey in their earlier days, were most friendly, even James V. tired of good offices, and laid the troubles of his youthful reign at the door of his old friend. §

* Made Bishop in 1537.

† Lesley's *Hist.* (Bann. Club), p. 158.

‡ Fulwell's 'Flower of Fame;' section 'Lamentation of James V.' *Harl. Misc.*, IX., p. 357.

§ *Message Envoyé par le Roi d'Ecosse au Pape Paul*, III. [1535]. 'Cestes damnabilles et déplésandes guevres que sont entre nostre oncle le roy d'Angleterre et nous, comme nous sommes surement advertte et informé ont procédé principalement par les labores et secrètes intelligences dudict archevesque.' He charges Betoun with self-aggrandisement.—Teulet, I., p. 81. Cf. also Lawson to Cromwell, 7th May, 1533, S. P. (Scot.), p. 643: 'The King of Scottes was the last weke at Lawder and Mewros thre or four daies with a small company. And the Archb. of St. Andrewes is comyttid to warde in Saint Andrewes castell, in the keeping of the Erle of Rothosse: sum saye because he woll lend the Kyng no money, and ane uther saying is because he hath wryten letters out of the realme contrary the Kinges mynd.' In *Journal of Occurrents* (Bann. Club), he is said to be convicted of lese-majesty. See p. 17.

There is this difference, however, that James later recovered from his ingratitude, while the sudden death of Wolsey prevented Henry from giving way to the impulse of forgiveness. Both prelates have been accused by contemporaries and later historians of self-aggrandisement, of holding many livings and drawing large revenues, of extravagant entertainment, of love of pomp, and of unholy ambition—the one as anxious to obtain a Cardinal's hat * as the other to wear the Triple Crown. In them the two greatest satirists of the time found inspiration for their lashing verses. Thus spoke Skelton of the Cardinal of York :—

‘ Such a prelate I trow
 Were worthy to row
 Throw the streytes Marocke
 To the gybbet of Baldock.
 He would dry up the streames
 Of nine kynges realme
 Al rivers and wels
 Al waters that swels
 For with us he so mels
 That within England dwels
 I would he were somewhere els.

 God save his noble grace
 And grant him a place
 Endlesse to dwel
 With the devill of hel.’ †

Lyndsay, though a plain speaker, was not so extravagantly personal in his satire on the priesthood.

Both Wolsey and Betoun have the merit of being legal reformers. ‡ In their attitude to education, too, they were alike. Wolsey gave Christ Church to Oxford. In his hour of eclipse his most strenuous endeavours were made in behalf of the foundation which he had rejoiced to see so prosperous. Betoun, says Bishop Lesley, ‘foundit and biggit ane greit pairt of the

* The only hat sent to Scotland before David Betoun's time, was sent to Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow. Clement VII., however, was Anti-Pope.

† *Why come ye not to Court?*

‡ Reforms in Chancery (see *Green*), and in the Court of Session,

new colledge of St. Androis, and left greit somes of money in thresoure to compleit the samin.* If in later years some of the funds were diverted, and if what did remain was credited to the munificence of his nephew, the Colledge archives still confess to his generosity and his good wishes for the learning of Scotland.

The period which includes the careers of Betoun and Wolsey is at best one long series of political acts and intentions, displaying the subtlest and most merciless diplomacy. The nations of Europe had become possessed by that spirit which had its fullest expression in the pages of Machiavelli's *Prince*; and the grim Florentine could have hoped for few better illustrations of his philosophy than the policy of the statesmen who guided the destinies of England and Scotland. They were not troubled with the principles which underlie the codes of modern international law; the duty of one State to another was but the duty of deceit. Treaties were not to be what they seemed; intrigue was to destroy powerful rivals; and underhand warfare, with the aid of a wasted border-land, was to be the recognised method of attack. The doctrine that the ruin of a rival country may be effected by stirring up strife amongst its leaders was perhaps the most prominent element in the policy of England during the years succeeding the victory at Flodden. Henry found it a more efficient instrument than the squadrons of Surrey, and he used it to good purpose, till by it his policy was crowned in 1546 with success by the murder of Cardinal David Betoun. Sir Thomas More, though at a later period, when whirled along in the vortex of political life, he accused Archbishop Betoun of doing every thing to 'rere broilerie, warre, and revolution,' has told us how the Utopians 'sow seeds of contention among their enemies, and animate the Prince's brother or some of the nobility'; though when they 'agree to a truce, they observe it so religiously that no provocations will make them break it. They never lay their

* *Ibid.*, p. 158.

enemies' country waste, nor burn their corn, and even in their marches they take all possible care that neither horse nor foot may tread it down. . . . When a town is surrendered to them, they take it into their protection; and when they carry a place by storm, they never plunder it.' Lord Dacre, of all men, would have been the best fitted to appreciate this passage. When in 1542 Henry ordered Norfolk to destroy the castles on the Scottish side of the border, the latter replied, with his characteristic blunt simplicity, rather than in irony, that there was none to destroy.* If, indeed, as William Thomas said, the Scottish dominions, compared with the realm of England, were 'as the barren mountains of Savoy unto the beauty of the pleasant Tuscany;' † it was no geological freak of the Sixteenth Century which fixed a black and desolate waste between the countries, nor a work of the spirit of Michael Scot, which called into existence Johnny Armstrong and his moss-troopers. The wisest heads in Scotland recognised the cause of their country's discomfiture. It is Lyndsay's continual wail. Dame Scotia in the great anonymous work of 1549—*The Complaynt of Scotland*—reproaches the Three Estates for their want of patriotism in the face of the enemy—'lyik the ald subtil doggis, bydand quhil conspiratione or discentione suld ryes among zou, than be there austuce and subtilite thai furnest wiht money baitht the parteis adversaris to slay downe uderis, quhilk vas ane reddy passage to gar them conqueis our realme without straik or battel, throcht the occasion of the social ciuil and intestyne veyre that rang sa cruelly throcht our cuntre.' ‡ Mr. Froude expresses perhaps rightly the attitude of the kingdoms to each other when he says—'The English hated Scotland because Scotland had successfully defied them; the Scots hated England as an enemy on the watch to make them slaves.' § The remark

* See Burton, III., 182.

† *The Pilgrim* (ed. Froude), p. 68.

‡ Ed. Murray (E. E. Text. Soc.), pp. 72-87.

§ *Hist. of Eng.*, III., 346.

which fell from the lips of old 'Merry Andrew'* about the 'devyllyshe dysposicioun of a Scotyshman, not to love nor favour an Englishman,' may have been the expression of a wide-spread feeling, as likewise his belief that 'much of their (i.e., the Scots), lyving standeth by stelyng and robberyng;' and both may have been as true as half-truths always are. But such as the rigmarole of Skelton must not be considered as a fair statement of English sentiment. He had the misfortune to be wondrously foul-mouthed, for even the Cardinal did not escape his bitter jeers. Sir David Lyndsay, on the other hand, though strongly patriotic, has not given us a companion piece to Skelton's *Albany and the Scottes*. He laments his country's miseries and controls his jibes. To Dame Remembrance in the *Dreme* he says:—

'Quhat is the cause, that wald I understand
That we sulde want Justice and Polycie
More than dois France, Italie, or England?
Madame, quod I, schaw me the veritie.' †

To him who reads lightly, there may seem few meritorious deeds or intentions in this confused mass of intrigue—England aiming at the overthrow of her rival, Scotland rent by faction, Dacre acting the devil, Angus the traitor. Again, the rapid transitions and the changes in policy may impress him,—Wolsey in the end planning a flight into Scotland, ‡ Betoun in alliance with England, Albany surrendering in the hour of victory, Dacre fighting Henry in the Pilgrimage of Grace, Margaret now English, now French, one party-revolution following another in quick succession, § war no sooner declared than emissaries treating for an accommodation. Nevertheless the period is not wholly given up to shame. The alliance of

* Andrew Borde (Andreas Perforatus) in his *First Boke of the Introduction of Knowledge*, 1542. Cf. also memorial intended to influence opinion in Germany, quoted in Friedman's *Ann Boleyn* (II. 86).

† *The Dreme*, ll. 869-872.

‡ Sebastian Giustinian to the Signory (*Venet. State Papers*) p. 270. Dec. 14, 1530.

§ Cf. Machiavelli *Il Principe*, c. 2. 'Sempra una mutazione lascia lo addentellato per la edificazione dell'altra.'

Scotland with France was not entirely the result of expediency or of partisan feeling, such as guided the actions of the rebellious nobles of the Marches. When the defeat at the battle of Pavia was announced in Scotland, the sympathy for the old ally reawakened with greater energy, and the growing influence of England at the Court, received a disastrous check. It was this spirit which dictated some of the best verses of Lyndsay, for example the apostrophe at the conclusion of his poem on the Death of Queen Magdalen.

‘ Thocht thou hes slane the hevinly Flour of France,
 Quhilk impit was in to the Thrissil kene,
 Quhairin all Scotland saw thair hail plesance
 And maid the Lyon rejoyisit frome the splene :
 Thocht rute be pullit frome the levis grene,
 The smell of it sall, in despyte of thee,
 Keip ay twa Realmes in peace and amitie.’

Though most of the patriotic tendencies in Scotland were connected with this alliance, there was yet a sturdy independence and honest dislike of the intervention of foreigners. Scotland refused to hand over Betoun to Wolsey for treasonable acts (if so they could be called) against the royal authority, and the Lords resented the advice which told them ‘ that they should be obliged to treat honourably the king’s highness their sovereign.’ But in like manner they held as nought the advice of Henry and of Francis too, that Albany should be prevented from returning to Scotland. With the Estates alone, they said, should the decision rest ; and this regard for the constitutional order was backed up by the vast armies of Albany, which he levied with little difficulty.*

When we remember these facts, we have less difficulty in understanding the seemingly strange conduct of Archbishop Betoun. That he was shrewd and subtle, as his contemporaries asserted, we need not doubt. The best testimonial to his ability is the auxiety which he caused his greater and abler

* There were few men of the type of the ‘ Redshanke,’ John Eller. See *A Proposal for uniting Scotland and England, etc.*, [1542]. *Ba m. Miscell.* I., p. 1.

rival, who made almost every question of Scottish politics a problem how to circumvent or gain over the Chancellor. Little has been written about Betoun, but whether through ignorance, diffidence, or more probably ecclesiastical rancour, less has been said about his patriotism. It was really the guiding principle of his political actions, and of the exercise of his negative craft, prompting him at one time to thwart English designs, at another time to look less favourably on the claims of the French Court. He would not support Angus; neither would he countenance the Queen, when he imagined her pretensions were dangerous to the interests of her young son. When with five others he sent a letter* to King Henry, it was because the Queen threatened to render void their good endeavours on behalf of their Sovereign. He changed his attitude, because parties had changed their front. Had he been a subtle self-seeker, he would not have been so foolhardy as to leave his castle and risk his liberty in a noble but useless opposition in Parliament to the designs of the English partisans. Hence his endeavour to shield the young James from the fierce winds of party hate, was set down by his enemies as an attempt to lull the King into a luxurious carelessness of State affairs.

‘My lord of St. Andrews,’ writes Magnus to Wolsey, ‘hath bene gretely charged sethene Cristenmas with keping a grete house and continually useth the same: in my oppynoun to his payne, by occasion of coste. His Lordship saith to me, he hath enterteined and intendeth to enterteine the Lordes in suche a soorte as shalbe for the weall of the yong king his maister, and of this his realme; and as shalbe to the pleasure of the Kinges Highnes and of your Grace.’ †

When in 1536 he made a passionate appeal to James to sustain the religion of his fathers against the new doctrines from England, he may have been actuated, as his opponents have hinted, by the fear of losing hold of things temporal. If it was sentiment or regard for the old order and faith, then it was a pardonable ‘failing’; but if it was a determination to resist what

* Bishop of Aberdeen, Prior of St. Andrews, Earls of Angus, Argyle, Lennox. Jan. 26th, 1525. *S. P.* (Scot.), pp. 312-4.

† *Ibid.*, p. 337, 9th March, 1525.

Ranke shows was a great *political* move on the part of Henry, then his conduct was not so very absurd or so very extreme. As a Catholic prelate he would oppose it, and it is not likely that when it assumed such a highly political colouring, he was of a sudden to forget the life-long policy which he had elaborated. He was of a gentler nature than his unfortunate nephew the Cardinal; and a worthy successor of his in the see of St. Andrews has deemed it his misfortune to have lived in a time when men were put to death by his authority, 'for his natural temper was not violently set.'* That same writer's further remark, that 'he was not much solicitous how matters went in the Church,' if it has any historical importance, will go to support that estimate, which makes his conduct political, rather than ecclesiastical. At any rate it must be admitted—and that without the danger of falling into the modern fallacy of manufacturing heroes out of moonshine—that much of the nobility and patriotism of those actions which were most disinterested in this period of selfishness and intrigue, will be associated with the name of the old Scottish Chancellor. He had at once the best opportunity for selfish action, and the best opportunity to show himself a patriot. The subtle aggression of Wolsey placed him in an attitude of subtle defence; and it must redound to his credit that in a country torn asunder by a factious nobility, he strove to the end to sustain the authority of the Crown, and to unite by a common bond those popular elements on which alone the nation could found its greatness.

G. GREGORY SMITH.

* Keith's *Affairs of Church and State in Scotland* (Spottiswoode Society), I., p. 19.

ART. VI.—THE THREE EVILS OF DESTINY.

THIS is the general term given by an inhabitant of the Greek islands to express the three important events of life—birth, marriage, and death; and in considering the folklore concerning these points, we shall see how amongst these remote islands have survived the superstitions of antiquity. Three old women who live up in the mountains, who are always spinning, whose decree is unalterable except on rare occasions, are supposed to preside over these three events; they are called as of old the *Molpai*, or Fates, and a discontented Greek, when cursing his ill luck, will tell you how he considers it a misfortune to have been born, a greater one to have been married, and the greatest of all to have to die. We will first discuss the least of the three evils, and collect from various islands the superstitions and customs which relate to the appearance into this world of a modern Greek.

I. BIRTH.

The myths and superstitions which surround childhood in the Greek islands centre themselves around four different epochs—the actual birth, the fate telling on the seventh day, the christening, and the early years of life. An expectant mother is grievously beset by superstitions, she may not go to the well for fear of meeting one of those ‘nymphs of the well water, daughters of Zeus,’ which are supposed still to haunt the streams, and whose glamour would be fatal to the well-being both of her and her child. She may not go to the oven to bake her bread on Saturday for the same reason, nor may she on St. Simeon’s day wash her pots and pans or cook anything in her house, or some evil will be sure to befall the child. To insure male offspring she must sleep with a sprig of a certain herb called ‘male flower’ over her bed, for the birth of a daughter is looked upon as a distinct calamity in a modern Greek family. When the time for her delivery draws nigh, the old hag who acts as physician and nurse in the smaller villages, will become excessively domineering, horrible concoctions will be brewed for her victim, a sprig of

olive, called the 'Madonna's hand' from the fact that it must have five branches coming out of one, is put into her hand, she is told to say her prayers to St. Eleutherios, who has taken the place of the goddess Eileithyia alike both in name and attributes; the doors and windows are closely shut in order to exclude all evil spirits or people who may possess the evil eye, and the greatest care is always taken to prevent an enemy from knowing that the event is imminent, lest he should have an ill omened thought at the critical moment.

The priest is the first person admitted. Even should the father reach home from a voyage or distant journey after the doors are closed, he will be told to seek shelter elsewhere, and not until the priest has blessed the child and gone through the Liturgy to the Highest are the doors opened. If the parents are rich, and if the child is a male, the priest gets a handsome present on this occasion; but if it is a girl, or the parents are poor, he is satisfied with a loaf of bread. If a son is born, the father fires off his gun in its honour; if it is a girl, the event is passed over in silence.

Until the christening, the baby goes by the name of Iron or Dragon to ensure strength, and the tiny speck of humanity is immediately swaddled in a handsome piece of embroidery prepared for the purpose, and on the third day the friends and relatives are summoned to the public washing, when the priest is again in attendance to read his blessing. Tables are spread with sweets and glasses of *raki* for the edification of the guests, and all who come in wish the mother a good forty days,—for still as in the days of Censorinus, 'before forty days the mother does not proceed to the temple.' On the central table is a bowl with warm water in it, and the relatives cast therein a little salt and sugar before the nurse proceeds with her ablutions; when she has finished these, she says her *Kyrie Eleison* forty times by way of a prayer of thankfulness, and into the water for her especial benefit each relative is expected to cast a coin. A sober man and a handsome woman are next required to embrace the re-swaddled infant, to the intent that sobriety and good looks may be secured for it, and before the guests depart, two so-called 'well-footed men,' that is to say, fortunate men, are secured to stand as sponsors at the coming

christening. 'Bad-footed' men have this distinct piece of good fortune in Greece that they are never pestered with requests to stand as godfathers or to act as best men, both of which honours imply considerable expenditure and trouble; a good godfather has to remember his godchildren at Easter, on their birthdays, and on their Saints' days; and if the parents die, a godchild has more claim on his godfather than on the next of kin.

To see the Fate-telling ceremony aright it is necessary to go to some of the remotest villages of the remotest islands. In civilized Greek places it is possible to see the fate-telling tray, that is to say, a year after birth a tray is handed to the child with things on it, such as a coin, a pen, an apple, and an egg. If the child touches the coin he will be rich; if the pen, a writer; and if the egg, nothing at all. But this is only a faint reflex of the fate-telling, which exists still as it did in St. Chrysostom's day, and against which he wrote; and as it did in the days of Apollodorus, who tells us that seven days after the birth of Meleager, the Fates told the horoscope of the child, and the fire was lighted on the hearth. Seven days after the birth (from which the ceremony gains the name of *ἐφρά*) the relatives, friends, godparents, and nurse assemble to assist at the Fate-telling. A large bowl is placed in the centre of the room, in the bowl are placed clothes,—if the child is a male, the father's, if a female, the mother's,—and on the top of the clothes is placed the child itself. Around the pile seven candles are placed of equal length, and when all are seated the nurse comes forward to light them, and names each candle after a Saint as she does so. Then all is silence for a long space of time, those assembled being supposed during this time to pray for the future of the infant. The priest is of course there, and he has blessed the candles,—the saint whose candle first goes out is to be the patron saint of the child. This choosing of the patron saint is a curious survival, for it is this very thing that St. Chrysostom inveighs against, and is doubtless a survival of the pagan custom which was in vogue many centuries before. When this is over, the baby is again swaddled, and as this is done one godfather says, 'You have crossed the river,' and the other replies, 'Therefore be not afraid;' and when the guests have eaten a sufficiency of the delicacies provided, they take their departure,

wishing, as they leave, some good fortune to the infant, who is now provided with a patron saint, as intercessor between it and its God. In the evening the nurse has her own ceremony. She makes what is called a meal for the Fates, in the same bowl in which the baby has been laid; honey, butter and meal form the chief ingredients in this mysterious repast, which is left for the Fates to eat at midnight, and reminds one forcibly of the meal laid out in antient Athens for the appeasing of the Eumenides. 'Come Fate of Fates,' she says, the last thing at night; 'come to bless this child; may he have ships, and mules, and diamonds; may he become a prince;' and in the good humour consequent on so sumptuous a repast, the Fates are supposed to be kindly disposed towards the infant, whose destiny is then fixed once and for ever.

The christening ceremony is of course entirely religious, but it is curious, and in remote villages forms an interesting spectacle. It usually takes place on the eighth day after birth, the day after the Fate-telling. The nurse has possession of the child, and the relatives and god-parents assemble in the church. The font is placed in the middle of the nave, generally a large goblet-shaped one of lead; jugs of hot and cold water are brought in, and the priest, as he proceeds with the service, mingles them in the font, until he thinks the temperature suitable enough for the immersion of the infant. The nurse meanwhile, is busily engaged in removing the swaddling clothes, whilst the priest reads the service and blows on to the water in the form of a cross, and signs the cross several times over the child and his nurse. The sponsors are on either side of the font; and before immersion oil is poured three times into the water in the form of a cross. Then the tiny object, divested entirely of clothing, is handed to the priest by the god-mother; he holds it up with both hands for public inspection, and then oils it with sacred oil in various parts before plunging it three times over head and ears in the font. This ceremony over, the god-mother receives her charge into three white cloths, with which to dry him, and after the priest has blessed a tiny shirt and cap, they are put on the poor little shivering body. The nurse then seizes her charge, swaddles him up tightly once more,

and as she kisses him, she calls him her little Demetrios, which name the infant has received in place of Iron or Dragon.

Demetrios is by no means finished with yet, for his little swaddled body is held upright, his cap is again taken off, and the priest cuts off four locks of hair if he can find them, saying, 'One for the Father, one for the Son, one for the Holy Ghost, and one for Eternity,' as he mixes candle wax with the hair and burns it. A cloak and hat, which the priest has blessed, are next put on to the swaddled infant, and the god-mother takes her charge and carries him three times round the font, bowing as she does so to the priest, who waves incense at her from his censer. The priest takes Demetrios once more from his god-mother, and places his lips against all the sacred pictures on the screen before the high altar, lays him on a bench alone, as if to give him time to meditate on what has happened, and then takes him into the Holy of Holies behind the screen, after which Demetrios is considered as a properly enrolled member of the Orthodox Church.

After the christening all go in procession to the mother's house, where she awaits the return from church, and the ceremony of 'giving up,' *rapádosis*, is gone through. She has a ploughshare in her hand, in which are some embers from the fire. This she waves before the approaching guests after the fashion of a censer, and it is called the incense of the ploughshare, which is supposed to secure for the infant success in agriculture and strength commensurate with the material of which the share is made. A godfather carries the child and goes straight up to the mother and puts it into her arms, saying as he does so, 'I deliver up to you the child baptised, incensed, anointed, and made a Christian, that you may protect it carefully from fire, precipices, and all evil; that you may deliver it again to us at the Second Coming, spotless and undefiled.' The mother has honey cakes covered with sesame seeds and other sweets spread on a table, and lots of glasses of *raki* with which to regale her guests.

'The forty days' ceremony is curious too. The mother is then received again into the Church and into the houses of her neighbours, for until the forty days have elapsed it is considered improper for a mother to pay any visits. The mother and child go to church with a jug of water, and after the service is over and

the water blessed, they visit their neighbours, and the mother sprinkles each house she visits with water out of the jug, saying as she does so, 'That your jugs may not break.' As she crosses the threshold it is expected of her to put the handle of the door key into her mouth to secure the plates from breaking, and to make them 'as strong as the iron of the key,' as the expression goes.

The early years of childhood are surrounded by numerous superstitious observances. Amulets to ward off the evil eye, to preserve the little dears from stomach aches and fevers, are hung round their necks; red strings in March, which are afterwards burnt with the Easter lamb, are considered most efficacious in keeping off infection. But nothing recalls antiquity so much as the devices an anxious mother is put to to ward off the fell influence of those uncanny spirits, the Nereids and the Lamiaë, which are supposed to take special delight in sucking the blood of infants. In Keos, St. Artemidos is patron of such weaklings, and to his church up on the hill slope a mother takes her child afflicted by a mysterious wasting. She strips off its clothes and puts on new ones blessed by the priest, leaving the old ones as a perquisite to the church. She passes the naked infant through a hole, and then, if it recovers, she will thank St. Artemidos for the blessing vouchsafed, unaware that by so doing she is perpetuating the worship of Artemis, which in olden days on this very island was most popular—Artemis the nourisher of children, *παιδοτρόφος*. On this same island they have another remedy for a sickly boy. The parents take it into the country, where the father selects a young oak. This he splits up, and with the assistance of another man holds it open while the mother passes her infant through it three times. Then they bind up the tree again, cover it with manure, and water it for forty days. In the same fashion they bind up the child for a like period, and after the lapse of this time they expect it will be well.

But the most barbarous custom of this sort is in vogue on the island of Melos, where a mother loves to take an emaciated child to a tiny church, strip it naked, and leave it on the cold marble altar for a season. To effect a radical cure the child should remain there all night, but the mother is afraid of detection, for

the Government are trying to put this custom down. If the babe survive this treatment, there is not much the matter with it; but if, on the contrary, as often happens, the poor little creature dies, the parents are content to think that all has been done for the child that could be, and that God has willed that it should be a victim to the Nereids, the evil spirits, which, with curious blending of Christianity and Paganism, they think he uses to punish mankind.

II. MARRIAGE.

Perhaps the most palpable cause for a modern Greek classifying marriage under the head of evils of destiny, is the way in which marriages amongst them are for the most part brought about. There is no such thing as romance to be found in the Greek islands, and if there is, it is rapidly nipped in the bud; we certainly do find young women, on the eve of St. John the Baptist, using a divination peculiarly their own for the discovery of their future husband. Around a vase of water drawn without speaking, and since called 'the speechless water,' they say divers incantations. Into it they cast trinkets and so forth, which are drawn out at haphazard by a child as songs are sung, and she whose trinket comes out deciphers from the words at that moment sung the meaning of the oracle, truly Delphic in its character. They eat salt cakes of most indigestible material that night to ensure their dreaming a dream in which their future husband will figure, and these divinations are called the *akleidones*. The parents or next-of-kin usually arrange marriages for those whom they think fit to enter that estate, and in some islands there are certain old women whose duty it is to carry the proposal and bring back the answer, which old women correspond to the *προμηθεστριαί* of antiquity (Pollux., iii. 31). These old women know many love potions which they administer for money, one of which says that a love-sick girl, if she wishes to win the object of her affections, must get the milk of forty mothers, and of forty of their married daughters; these she must mix, and, if she can succeed in getting her young man, by stealth or otherwise, so much as to taste a drop of the mixture, he will be hers for life.

When the old woman goes to propose she must wear stockings

of different colours. 'She has on stockings of two colours,' says a modern Greek rhyme, 'methinks we shall have an offer.' If the proposal is refused, the young man is said 'to eat gruel.' The cause of the frequency of these marriages *de convenance* is to be found in the peculiar law of inheritance still in vogue in some of the remoter islands. The eldest daughter inherits everything to the exclusion of her brothers and younger sisters, even her mother's embroidered garments and the slab on which she says her prayers in church. In other parts of Greece no girl can ever hope to find a husband until she has a house of her own; hence providing his daughters with houses is an onerous duty which falls to the lot of every paterfamilias, and this system results in leaving a very large portion of the female population to pass their days in single blessedness; and where the above-mentioned matriarchal system is still in vogue the parents always aspire to obtain for their eldest daughter a good match, and the proposals always come from the lady's family.

Marriages are almost invariably celebrated on the Sundays immediately preceding the great Lenten fast. This is a distinct survival of the ancient custom of marrying during the first month of the year, from which fact that month was formerly called Gamelion; and in the islands where the men are often absent during the summer months in search of work abroad, the betrothals usually take place shortly before Christmas, with a view to the marriage being solemnised on one of the Sundays of the great marriage month. On the remote island of Telos, which is inhabited by semi-barbarous Greeks, they retain the most extraordinary and elaborate system of wedding festivities, which continue for the space of a fortnight, during which time the village enjoys one long holiday and cessation from work.

The first ceremony takes place ten days before the crowning, with what they call the 'little flour,' when each household brings a handful of meal to the bride as an earnest that more will come presently, and as an intimation that all know about the wedding, and are prepared to share in the coming festivities. On this day and on every day before the wedding, the female friends of the bride assemble to assist in preparing the trousseau. Two days afterwards the 'greater flour' takes place, when large quantities

of grain are brought by all the friends for the wedding-cakes. This is distributed by the young men to all the houses which possess a grindstone, to be ground, and late in the evening, accompanied by the sound of bagpipe and lyre, they go round to each house to collect it, and deposit it in that of the bride, where a table is spread, and great festivity and dancing ensue.

The Sunday immediately preceding the wedding is called the 'maccaroni day,' when the female friends go each to the house of the bride with their low wooden tray to assist in making this commodity. But on the Wednesday before the wedding the festivities begin with real earnest. The young men go on this day to the mountains for brushwood to heat the oven for baking the wedding-cakes, and are accompanied for part of the way by all the villagers, and are met in the evening on their return with music, and the night is spent in dancing and revelry. Next day the same ceremony is gone through with regard to providing fish for the wedding banquets; all day the young men cast their nets into the sea, and again pass the evening in festivities. On Friday they go to the mountain farms for the kids and lambs necessary for supplying the table, and thus the preparations are concluded.

On Saturday the bridegroom moves to the house his bride is bringing to him as her dower; he is accompanied by his young male friends to the sound of the lyre and song; his bride is there to greet him, and both of them have brought their luggage. Then follows a very curious ceremony, when the stone walls are hung with embroidery, and the clothes of the happy couple are suspended one by one from a pole which has been hung for that purpose just over the door; first a pair of trousers is hung up, and then a dress, and as each garment is suspended a song appropriate to each is sung by the young men and maidens who have assembled. When all are hung up the priest blesses them, and then the nuptial couch is decorated, a sort of tent being formed over it with an old piece of embroidery, called a *sperberi*, which is handed down in families until quite worn out. This *sperberi* is commonly known as 'the heaven,' and is most elaborately blessed by the priest on each occasion that it is called into use.

When all this ceremony is over the marriage contract is signed; the most worthy men of the village are called in to append their

signatures to it; congratulations follow, and then a little dancing, but the party breaks up much earlier than usual on this evening, and the bridegroom is left in sole possession of his new house; the key is turned by the best man in the door, and he is left thus to meditate over the second evil of destiny which the Fates have ordained for him.

The ceremony of crowning, which takes place all over Greece on a Sunday, is of course attended by high festivity. The father of the bride and the priest go alone to the vineyard to fetch the two vine tendrils with which to make the two wedding crowns. The guests assemble in the bride's old home; and when the sound of a gun being let off, and the strains of bagpipe and lyre are heard, all know that the bridegroom is approaching. In some places in Imbros, more especially, the bride's bath (the old *νυμφικὸν λουτρόν*) and her subsequent decoration form a very important part in the ceremony, and then she is expected to go and wash her father-in-law's hands as a symbol of the respect she is prepared to pay him. In Santorin a bridesmaid meets the bridegroom on the threshold with a saucerful of honey, into which he dips his fingers and makes three crosses with it on the door, one on the lintel, and one on each post. After this he eats a mouthful of honey, which the bridesmaid puts into his mouth with a spoon, wipes his fingers on a towel, and retires to the side of his bride. In Eubæa they still go through the ancient farce of the bridegroom pretending to snatch his bride by force from the care of her parents, but this is now only an excuse for a little amusing bye play. Then the bridesmaids proceed to make the two wedding crowns, two on either side of a table in the middle of the room, and as they twine together the pink and blue ribbons on the tendrils, they sing good wishes to the young pair. 'May holy Procopius be with you to-day. May holy Polycarp grant you many teeth in your house,' and so on.

When the crowns are finished they are put into a basket and carried by the priest who heads the gay procession to the church. The altar of Hymen is always placed, like the font at baptisms, in the middle of the nave, and around this the wedding parties gather. Preparatory to reading the gospels and the usual in-

junctions, the priest binds the young couple's wrists with a belt. He then hands them candles to hold, and as they take them they kiss his hand. After this comes the ring ceremony, both bride and bridegroom being signed three times with the sign of the cross with the rings before the priest puts them on their fingers. The best man then changes the rings from one to the other, as an earnest that each is bound by the vows of the other, and then the chief bridesmaid changes them back. Before the crowns are produced from the basket another gospel is read, and before they are put on the heads of the bride and bridegroom they are signed with the sign of the cross three times with them, and as was done with the rings, they are changed from one head to the other. Finally, the sacramental wine is administered, three sips each to the young couple, and one sip each to their attendants; and then the newly made man and wife, the bridesmaids, the bridegrooms, attendants, and the priests who have officiated, join hands and literally dance round the altar, which is an obvious continuance of the old custom called *amphidromia*, when similar antics were performed around the altar of heathen deities. This is the time for pelting the wedding party with showers of sweetmeats—the old *καταχύσματα* with which in ancient Greece brides and bridegrooms were pelted in the streets as a symbol of plenty and fecundity. Now they do it in church, where the priests come in for a good share of these comfits, and great hilarity prevails.

Before leaving the church the bride and bridegroom, each with their crown on, stand in front of the altar, and every one who has been present at the ceremony is expected to pass in front of them and administer to each a kiss. Then the crowns are removed from their heads and carried home in a basket to be kept as objects of the greatest veneration amongst the pictures of the Saints and other household gods before which the ever-burning light is suspended. These wedding crowns are frequently buried with their wearers when their time comes to participate in the third evil prepared for them by destiny.

In different islands they have many and various ceremonies attending the home-coming of the bride after the knot has been tied in church. In Karpathos the bridegroom's mother meets them, as after a christening, with the incense of the share as

described above. In Imbros the bride must not tread on the threshold, but must be lifted over it by her husband and the best man: it would mean a most disastrous future for the young pair if such a calamity happened as touching the threshold, even with the hem of her raiment. And in other places actually the classical custom, which compelled the bride and bridegroom to eat a quince together on returning to their new home as man and wife, is still maintained.

The remainder of the wedding day is devoted to singing and dancing, the dances being for the most part the curious circular dance which Homer has so admirably described in the 18th Iliad, a light wavy dance which they perform with astonishing lightness, such as they imagine the Nereids which haunt the streams to be for ever indulging in, and such as we see depicted on many of the ancient vases which adorn our museums. Conspicuous amongst the delicacies at a wedding feast are the cakes covered with sesame seed, the same probably that Aristotle alludes to, as symbolical of fruitfulness. Some of the songs which they sing on these occasions have doubtless been handed down from generation to generation, being replete with touches of a remote antiquity. But the *epithalamium* of ancient days now takes place on the following morning, when young men and maidens, accompanied by lyre and bagpipe, assemble outside the door of the young couple, and sing merry songs, exhorting them to come out and join in the festivities, which have by no means come to an end.

At Telos, where they have such very prolonged festivities, the Monday after the crowning is jocularly called the bridesmaid's wedding day, and is consumed in singing and dancing. If the day is fine the party repair to the bride's threshing-floor—for of course every bride counts a threshing-floor among her other belongings—where they eat, and sing, and dance as only sturdy island Greeks can dance, without ever thinking it necessary to take any rest.

The following day is the 'cook's day,' that is to say, in honour of those who have assisted in preparing the victuals for the wedding festivities, when the entertainment is usually given at the threshing-floor of some near relative of the bride's; and as

it is the last of the series of entertainments, it is kept up until a late hour in the evening.

And yet there is one more festive gathering before the whole of the wedding festivities are over. This takes place on the fortieth day after the crowning, when the priests come to bless the embroidered garments as they are taken down from the walls and the pole over the door. It is considered highly essential to have this ceremony performed, and many cases are on record of misfortune having ensued from its omission. Then the *sperberi* is taken down from off the nuptial couch, and packed away till the wedding of the bride's daughter. They sing once more and dance once more, and then the bride and bridegroom sink altogether into insignificance.

III. DEATH.

When a death is expected the attendant mourners in the Greek islands have many little customs peculiar to themselves: the moribund is handed a bowl of water, into which he puts a pinch of salt for each person with whom he is at enmity, saying as he does so, 'May my wrath perish as this salt;' for it is considered dreadful for a man to die leaving an enemy behind him. His spirit, it is believed, will not rest, but will wander about as a poor ghost, sucking the blood of his friends, like the shades in antient Hades, to gain strength for his earthly wanderings. If the complaint is consumption, they suppose that three Erinnyes stand ready to pounce on children at the corners of the room; hence the young are kept out of the way when the dying is *in extremis*, and a hole is opened over his head to allow the Erinnyes to escape. Fevers are best cured by priestly incantations: the name of the disease is written on a slip of paper, and with prayer and much incensing this is bound to a tree, hoping thereby to transfer the malady. Incense is much used by the priest in his visitations to the sick; the whole room is thick with it, and perhaps contagion is thus often avoided.

When the death has occurred the women rush on to the flat roof or some other conspicuous place, where they rend the air with their cries, tear their hair, and give way to unbridled grief. The town crier is sent round to announce the fact to the neigh-

hours, and to summon friends to the death-wail, which takes place an hour or two after the spirit has left the body. After the body has been washed in wine, it is laid out on a bier in the centre of the one-roomed house, arrayed in the deceased's best clothes, decked out with flowers, and with lamps burning at the side, reminding us of the antient custom of placing the corpse thus in the midst of the hall, dressed in as handsome a robe as the family could afford, in order, according to Lucian, that the dead may not be cold on the passage to Hades, and may not be seen naked by Cerberus. Then begins the death-wail ceremony—a scene of heart-rending grief such as took place in Priam's palace over the dead body of Hector. The hired women who perform at these death-wails are lineal descendants of the Carian women of antient Greece, of the *præfica* of antient Rome, who still survive in the island of Sardinia, under the name of *prefiche*. The family sit groaning around the corpse awaiting her arrival, and as she enters she stands at the door with tragic effect, as if transfixed by grief at what she sees, and in the language of hyperbole, in which these women love to indulge, she will apostrophise the sun, wondering how the heavenly luminary can endure to shine on a scene of grief like the one before her. This is the signal for the commencement of unearthly yells and unconnected praises of the deceased from the members of the family assembled; and when the hub-bub has somewhat subsided, the *mærologista*, as they now term the hired mourner, advances to the foot of the bier, and commences her wail with dishevelled hair and distraught appearance :—

‘ I yearn to mourn for the dead one
 Whose name I dare not say,
 For as soon as I speak of the lost one
 My voice and my heart give way.
 Who hath seen the sun at midnight ?
 Who hath seen a mid-day star ?
 Who hath seen a bride without a crown
 Go forth from her father's door ?
 Who hath seen the dead returning,
 Be he king or warrior brave ?
 They are planted in Charon's vineyard,
 There is no return from the grave.’

After another pause in the lamentations excited by this address, the widow, the mother, or other female relatives, standing with the head of the deceased in their hands, will, like Hecuba, Andromache, or Helen, sing their own special wail over the departed, and when exhausted by the effort of lamentation they will all repair to a side table where the so called 'bitter table,' the old *νεκροδειπνον* is spread, and gain strength for the renewal of their woe by imbibing *raki* and eating figs, biscuits, and other small refectations, which are always provided on such occasions. This prolonged agony of mourning generally continues for two long hours, messages are sent to those who have gone before by him who has now entered on the last journey to Hades, and the arrival of the priests with their acolytes bearing the cross and the lanterns to convey the corpse to its resting place, is accepted as the signal for a pause.

From these death wails we learn how much that is heathen is incorporated in the belief of to-day respecting an after life. They sing of Hades as a frozen, miserable place, where the dead wander for ever, anxious to return to the upper air, and endeavouring to steal from Charon, the lord of the lower earth, his keys, but ineffectually. Charon plants the bones of the departed in his garden, and they come up as weird plants. His tent pegs are heroes' bones, and the ropes are made of maidens' tresses. He rides on a horse to collect his victims, driving the young and strong before him, dragging the aged after him by ropes, and carrying with him on his saddle the little children. The young and strong often struggle with him as Hercules struggled with Hades. The old simile of wedding death is often now reproduced in their songs, 'The black earth for his wife he wed, the tombstone was his wife's mother, and the worms were the relatives of his bride.' Charon is distinctly the death of bygone ages, not the death as personified by Christianity. Charon has a wife Charontissa, who is the modern representative of Persephone. He has sons, and one death wail represents Charon as 'making merry now, he is keeping his son's wedding, he is slaying boys for lambs, and brides for kids he is slaughtering.'

These death wails are, in fact, one of the most striking bonds of connection between the Hellenism of the past and the

Hellenism of the present ; and in the Greek islands, despite the strictness of the more civilized members of the Orthodox Church, they cling to them with surprising tenacity. A body which dies unlamented cannot enter Hades, and wanders about like that of Patroclus and Elpenor in misery in the upper air, neither belonging to the living nor to the dead. Consequently, the death wails and the burials take place as soon as possible after death, that the gates of Hades may be opened to them as soon as may be. The tenacity with which the islanders cling to their death wails is illustrated by the following story of a Mykoniot merchant who had settled in Marseilles, and made money there. On his death-bed he implored his wife to sing a death wail over his body, but she pleaded that owing to long absence from home she had forgotten how. 'Go to my desk,' he said, 'take out my ledger, read all that I have earned, and sing that.'

Solon in his day, St. Chrysostom in his, and the modern bishops in theirs, have all in their turn tried to put down the extraordinary grief of women on the occasion of a death. 'O women, what do you do?' wrote St. Chrysostom ; 'you destroy your dresses, you tear your hair, you utter great cries, you dance, you imitate the Mœnads, and you do not think that you are offending God. What extravagance.' Bishop Lycurgus of Syra, whose great object in life was the union of the Anglican and the Orthodox Churches, used all his influence to check this custom, but in vain. The love of a death wail is such, that when a person dies from home, they spread out his clothes in the middle of the room and go through all the forms of lamentation, with even greater vehemence than when the corpse lies in their midst.

In remote villages the wax cross which bears the initials I. X. N. (*Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικῆ*), and which the priest puts on the lips of the deceased, is still called the *ναῦλον*, or freight-money, thereby demonstrating its pedigree from the coin which was anciently placed on the lips to pay for the ferry across the Styx. Sometimes when a man dies who has been conspicuous for his good fortune during life, they will cut off his nails before the corpse is removed, and tie them up in a bag to be preserved amongst

the other sacred things which are hung up in the sanctuary belonging to every house.

Before the corpse leaves the house a vase of water is broken on the threshold. When anyone starts on a journey, it is customary to spill water as an earnest of his success and safe return, and when the body goes on its last long journey the vase also is broken. The bier is carried by four male bearers, and about a bier the Greek islanders have this most gruesome riddle,—what is that which he who makes does so to sell, he who buys does not use himself, and he who uses does not see? As the funeral procession passes through the village street the priests chant the Offices of the Dead, and from time to time the mourners, who go in front, break forth into their hideous wails, and women come forth from their houses to groan in consort with the others. Of a truth a Greek island funeral is a painful sight to witness. On reaching the church the corpse is left in the porch, and whilst the liturgy is proceeding the mourners cease to wail. Then comes the very impressive *stichera* of the last kiss, which is chanted by all the congregation, and begins, ‘Blessed is the way thou shalt go to-day,’ whereat each mourner advances and gives the last kiss to the cold face of the corpse, and once more the extravagant demonstrations of grief break forth. Finally the corpse is lowered without a coffin into its shallow grave, and each bystander casts on to it a handful of soil. There is a prejudice against coffins, for they say the flesh cannot properly decay; and it is the custom to exhume the bones after a year has elapsed, when, if any flesh remains on them, they think it is a proof that the spirit has not gone to rest. This ceremony of exhuming the bones is a very painful one. They are washed carefully, and in some places tied up in a bag and consigned to a charnel house, and often these charnel houses fall into ruins, and hideous sights of skulls and bones are exhibited to the gaze of surviving relatives.

The house of mourning is thoroughly cleansed and washed after a death. The deceased’s bed and pillow are left as they were for three days, with a lamp burning, for it is believed that during that time the spirit loves to hover around its old haunts, and would be hurt to find alterations made. Also it is deemed

unlucky to cook in a house where a death has occurred, consequently the neighbours always come in with cooked provisions for the benefit of the inmates, who have sufficient occupation during the succeeding days in visiting the tomb and continuing their heart-rending wails. Boiled wheat, ornamented with sugar plums, and called the *κόλλυβα*, are presented as an offering to the dead on successive days after death. Sometimes these are called 'blessed cakes,' out of euphony no doubt. On the third day the friends and relations reassemble, again being summoned by the town crier; fresh death-wails are sung, and more boiled wheat is presented as an offering to the dead, which is finally distributed to the poor, who always congregate near a churchyard for what they can get when a funeral has taken place. This same ceremony is likewise gone through on the ninth and fortieth days after death, much as the feasts were performed on similarly stated days amongst the antient Greeks, called *τρίτα* and *Ἐννὰτα*, from the days on which the feast took place.

The boiled wheat or *κόλλυβα* forms a part of the ceremony on the Greek All Soul's Day, and is, as the Church teaches, symbolical of being sown in corruption and raised in incorruption; but if you ask a Greek peasant why he takes with him his present of boiled wheat to church on that particular day, he will say it is in honour of the dead, that the dead may eat thereof and think kindly of the living. If a household were to neglect to take this offering to church, they would fear a visitation from their deceased friends to claim the proper attention. In some places on the Saturday after the death, when the bread-baking takes place, warm bread with cheese or oil is distributed to poor women at the ovens, in memory of the departed, and if the death has occurred during Lent, at Eastertide the flesh of lambs and skins of ewes are given away in charity by wealthy mourners.

Families of the better class have their own tombs, where the bones of one deceased member are left until it is necessary for them to make way for the incoming tenant. In the island of Karpathos they put plates into the tombs; why, no one seemed to know. But it is an obvious continuation of the antient custom, for in some old tombs we excavated close to the spot, we found as many as sixteen plates laid out with the remnants of a

feast for the dead, which had been there untouched for perhaps two thousand years. They never put a tombstone or name over the grave. It is reserved for the Armenians to perpetuate the old custom of putting on the tombstone some device by which you can tell the calling in life of the occupant. Tailors, architects, farmers, are all thus labelled, reminding one of Elpenor's request to have an oar put on his grave to testify to posterity the fact of his having been a mariner.

J. THEODORE BENT.

ART. VII.—ADAM SMITH AND HIS FOREIGN CRITICS.

ON the 19th of May, 1885, a circular was issued by the Secretary of the *Société d'Economie Politique* in Paris, to announce the completion of a medal, struck to commemorate the centenary of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, and Turgot's *Edits*. The length of time which was allowed to elapse between the passing of resolution to strike the medal in December, 1876 and its tardy execution, as well as the fact that it is being sold now at the Society's office at half the original price fixed upon, would not seem to indicate a high degree of enthusiasm for the 'Father of Competition' in France, and yet it is among contemporary French Economists that Adam Smith is held more highly in honour than perhaps by any other professors of the science abroad, whereas his authority has been most seriously impaired in Germany, where a modern school has arisen avowedly opposed to 'Smithianism,' and counting among its numbers some of the foremost Economists. It is our purpose in this paper to indicate the present influence of Adam Smith in these two countries in comparison with what it was a century ago, and the present appears to us an opportune moment for so doing. Last year was the centenary of the first commercial treaty between France and England, which was regarded at the time as the first important practical result of the publication of the *Wealth*

of *Nations* ten years previously. There are other reasons why in a Review, like this, we should devote some attention to the general results of the work accomplished 'by far the greatest of all Scottish thinkers,' as Buckle calls him, for at no time since the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* have its doctrines been subjected to more searching criticism both at home and abroad. Such criticisms are in themselves a tribute of honour; for few, indeed, are the works which are thought worthy of much discussion and discriminate examination a century after their publication. Parents have sooner or later to put up with the criticism of their own children, and the 'Father of Political Economy' is not an exception to the rule. Moreover, if there is some truth in what competent observers of the time tell us, that we are approaching a crisis in the history of middle-class ascendancy, that the world is growing a little tired of Free Trade and competition, that the principle of *laissez faire* is on its trial, and that a belief in the 'unalterable principles of human nature,' accepted by Adam Smith with other teleological views of the universe peculiar to the last Century, has ceased to satisfy the cravings of sociological inquiries of to-day—it becomes all the more necessary to reconsider Adam Smith's position in relation to the present state of Political Economy, and to examine how far it may be necessary to adapt it to modern exigencies, so as to bring it into harmony with current modes of thought.

The inquiry is interesting from another point of view. The singular grasp of mind possessed by this 'Scottish thinker of the first order,' as Professor Ingram has called him quite recently, enabled him to survey so large a field in the course of his economic studies that there are scarcely any of the leading sociological questions of the day which are not touched upon in the *Wealth of Nations*. Not only have we here a full disquisition on the comparative claims of Free-trade and Reciprocity; State regulation and unlimited competition; the importance of liberating industry, and the marvellous results of a division of labour; the sources of wealth in nature and the secret springs of human action, stimulating its production and determining distribution; but we have here, also,

sage remarks on the decay of foreign trade and the causes of commercial depression, on the advantages of colonial enterprize, and an extension of Imperial possessions from an economic point of view ; we have allusions to the co-existence of progress and poverty when the 'age of industry' had scarcely commenced, and remarks on depopulation of the country districts and over-crowding of the towns ; on landlordism and peasant proprietorship ; on education and Church Establishment ; on the just principles of taxation and local government—all subjects which at this present moment are occupying the public mind, and on which Adam Smith's views throw interesting and instructive side lights, whilst on such topics as the functions of capital, and the relationship of rent, profit, and wages, his authority, though questioned by some, cannot be ignored by any in the settlement of the long-standing controversy between capital and labour.

The age of Adam Smith, like our own, formed a transition period, it was an age of criticism and of conflict, demanding the solution of certain economic problems in connection with prevailing philosophical and theological ideas and theories. There was this difference, however, that whereas the great aim of Adam Smith and the social reformers of that day was 'the liberation of effort' from every form of State regulation and artificial trade restraints, to give fair play to the working of natural forces in accordance with the principle of *laissez faire*, the age we live in shows signs of a reaction, dissatisfied, as many of our modern critics are, by the practical results of this system, results which Adam Smith with all his sagacity could not possibly have foreseen from his standpoint at the very beginning of the great industrial revolution which has since passed over Europe.

The great success of Adam Smith in his own day consisted in having given to the world a new 'theory of business,' corresponding to the new facts. His book, in its positive aspects, was 'an inquiry into the causes of improvement in the productive powers of labour,' and was suggested by the rise of a new labouring class, and the new mechanism of industry, with the introduction of steam and machinery. In its negative aspects

the *Wealth of Nations* was a protest against the mercantile system which was then beginning to be generally discredited, and required a complete refutation, such as is contained in the fourth book of that work. In our own day the conditions are changed. Other facts demand explanation, and other fallacies have to be refuted. We have to account for the unfavourable consequences of giving the reins to private enterprise, and letting loose upon the world all the selfish propensities of the 'Economic Man;' we are called upon to solve the enigma how liberty and law may be reconciled in the world of industry, so as to afford protection to the producer of wealth without lessening the stimulus of production, and how to remove the causes of hostility between those who direct and those who are, to all intents and purposes, the blind tools in the power of production.

Now, Adam Smith has been called the Copernicus of this modern system, which in its latest developments brings us face to face with such problems. One of his most bitter opponents, the German economist Lizst, even went so far as to say that the influence of Adam Smith on the economic destinies of European nations is equal to that of Napoleon I. on the political development. If then the industrial system itself has been productive of many disappointments, it is well to know the reason why; and if Adam Smith has been made unjustly responsible for them and for ideas which are erroneously fathered upon him, it is well to point out these mistakes. This cannot be done without a careful re-examination of his leading theories. The young barrister, who, in his wrath at what he imagined to be the wrong ruling of the judge, exclaimed, 'Well, my lord, in that case I had better burn my law-books!' was told with caustic humour in return: 'Yes, sir, but you had better first read them.' In the same way many of the able critics, who, with J. S. Mill, pronounce Adam Smith's works obsolete in the present day, might take to heart a similar exhortation to read them carefully before pronouncing judgment.

What, then, is the nature of this outside criticism? In the first place we are told that Adam Smith has been until quite lately over-rated as an original thinker and that he is indebted

for his best thoughts to the French Economists. Adam Smith never regarded his own work in the light of a new revelation, but simply as the formal statement of a technical process which was patent to all eyes, whilst Adam Smith's expansive mind alone seemed able to take a complete survey of the new social phenomena combined with the power of singular lucidity, which enabled him to explain the underlying principles. Not only the Physiocrats, those 'few men of great learning and ingenuity,' as he calls them, but others, like Berkeley and Hume in this country, had attacked the errors of this mercantile system, and had exposed the absurdity of supposing that money only is wealth. But it required the comprehensive sagacity of Smith to grasp the full meaning of the changes in the mechanism of society actually then in operation, and to seize upon the requirements necessitated by their changed conditions, to collect and comment upon the facts, and to collate the arguments so as to bring about completeness of view and an 'organized body of doctrine' in the plan of fragments of thought, by a variety of eminent men, each separately treating branches of what was the social question of those times. His friend Quesnai, to whom he intended to dedicate the *Wealth of Nations*, as a mark of esteem and an acknowledgement of his indebtedness, and Gournay, the originator of the phrase *laissez faire*, no doubt exercised great influence on Adam Smith's mind, so much so, indeed, that not a few of their errors have crept into his system. Yet throughout his treatise Adam Smith maintains his independence. He playfully censures Quesnai's belief in 'a certain precise regimen, the exact regimen of perfect liberty and perfect justice,' as the universal remedy of existing evils in the body politic, which he attributes to the professional weakness of a clever physician who does not sufficiently trust to the self-rectifying power of nature. And as he evinces a superior tact in diagnosing the social disease, laying his finger on the morbid anatomy of French commerce, resulting from too much prescription under the old régime, so, too, he surpasses the merchant reformer in taking a more business-like view of the situation than Gournay, who was too much led

away by philanthropic sentiment. His Scotch shrewdness preserved Adam Smith from every form of theoretical and utopian Humanitarianism. What is most surprising in *The Wealth of Nations* is the strong practical sense of the author, the light without the heat, the lucidity without phosphorescence—a fact that must have greatly astonished the members of that Glasgow Merchant Club to which Adam Smith belonged, and where no doubt his absent ways and unobservant obliviousness of what was passing around him must have produced many a smile and joke at the expense of the bookish man, who, as they thought, could only see the world through learned spectacles. He made even some converts among them, we are told by one of his English biographers, and for the reason given lately by an eminent man of letters, ‘In the hands of Adam Smith, Political Economy passed from the professor’s study to the market-place of the Exchange.’ That his residence in France, ‘the cradle of Political Economy,’ and his personal intercourse with the Economists, added considerably to his source of information, and gave width and breadth to his large views, there can be no doubt. But it is equally certain that in tracing the laws which govern economic phenomena, his philosophic mind contrasts very favourably with the mental bias and contractedness of view of the men with whom he had so much in common, but who were after all, to use Adam Smith’s words, ‘a pretty considerable *sect*, distinguished in the French Republic of letters by the name of the Economists.’ When Dupont de Nemours discussed this question with J. B. Say, he said that he had learned to read in the writings of the Mercantile school, to think in that of the Physiocrates, but that in Adam Smith he had learned to seek the causes and effects of social phenomena in the nature of things.’

To estimate aright, and to account for, the almost uninterrupted influence of Adam Smith on the development of Economic Science in France, and his persistent hold on the French mind, regardless of some recent protectionist tendencies in ephemeral legislation at the present day, we must not lose sight of the fact that both the Economists of France and Adam Smith were chil-

dren of the times in which they lived, and that their work was the product of the same period, they were the prophets and apostles of the liberal era, they were the optimistic exponents of this coming age of freedom, they entered upon a common crusade against feudal burdens, and systems of restraint and regulation, as impediments to industry. They had seen the evil results of Absolute Government control, and accordingly demanded a restoration of natural liberty and the 'natural distribution which the most perfect liberty could establish.' With Rousseau and Morelli they demanded a return to nature and a following of the code of nature instead of maintaining effete social institutions, the result of artificial arrangements and authoritative enactments of bungling legislators. So far the Physiocrates and Adam Smith were agreed. He, like Turgot, explains the facts of the Economic process as arising from national causes, he with Quesnai demands 'le pleine liberté de concurrence,' and with the rest of this school he believed in a pre-established order of nature, and shares their common hope that in leading all men to pursue their own interests the common welfare would be secured in the best manner, in that case, to use the words of Mercier de la Rivière, 'le monde alors va de lui même.' This explains the frequent use of such expressions in the *Wealth of Nations* as 'Natural price,' 'Natural Interest,' 'Natural increase of Capital,' 'Natural right of private property,' all of which are contingent on 'the obvious and simple system of Natural Liberty,' which 'establishes itself of its own accord,' if left alone, and in which 'the Natural effort of every individual to better his own condition when suffered to exert itself with freedom and security,' will conduce finally to the 'Natural progress of opulence.'

This natural bent of mankind selfishly to pursue personal ends without regard to the general welfare might be used as an argument against the practical application of the *laissez faire* principle by the apologists of benevolent despotism. They might point to some unguarded expression of Adam Smith, as for example when he speaks of the 'natural tendency of the landowners to reap where they have not sown,' and generalizing upon them, condemn the whole system. But Adam Smith has a re-

ply for such ready at hand. Every individual, indeed, he acknowledges :

‘Neither intends to promote the public interest, nor knows how much he is promoting it’; but then, as he proceeds, he ‘is led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was no part of his intention. Nor is it always the worse for the society that it was no part of it. By pursuing his own interest he frequently promotes that of the society more effectually than when he really intends to promote it. I have never known much good done by those who affected to trade for the public good.’ (Book iv., chap. ii.)

Modern French apologists of Adam Smith’s system, like M. G. de Molinari are not loth to add that if the system, as propounded by their master, has not produced all the happy results predicted of it by the ‘Prophet of Free Trade,’ it is because his theory has only been applied partially and tentatively up to the present moment. When it shall have been applied completely, and universally it will produce universal happiness. Prevent ‘that insidious and crafty animal vulgarly called a statesman or politician’ from marring the ‘natural order of things’ by unwarrantable ‘encroachments upon natural liberty’ and all will be right, such was the burden of Adam Smith’s cry; but he added sorrowfully, ‘to expect indeed, that the freedom of trade should be entirely restored in Great Britain is as absurd as to expect Oceana or Utopia should be ever established in it.’ The unexpected has come to pass, and yet it has not brought about this economic harmony of interests expected from it. Here, then, say his opponents, there must be a flaw in the arguments by which the system is sustained. And, cynically, it is added, individualism has gained the day, men are left alone to fight it out among themselves, and like natural brute beasts they are seen devouring one another in the struggle for existence. ‘Let them,’ says some of the most rigid adherents of the *laissez faire* school, ‘and it will end in the survival of the fittest’—such, at least, is the present position taken up by the professed followers of Adam Smith in France. In this, however, they go far beyond their acknowledged master, who had been brought up in a school that knew not Darwin, nor Darwin’s law of the survival of the fittest, which was avowedly derived from Adam

Smith's pupil Malthus. As we shall see presently the author of the *Theory of the Moral Sentiments* was no believer in the blind forces of nature, and he did not conceive of natural laws in the economic world after the manner of Nineteenth Century thinkers. He was a steadfast believer, on the contrary, in the 'Benevolent Wisdom of Nature,' supplementing selfishness by sympathy and correcting the tendencies of isolated effort by the necessities of mutual aid, and so securing human solidarity, a sentiment expressed so aptly by Pope—it is the creed of the Eighteenth Century :—

' God in the nature of each being founds
Its proper bliss and sets its proper bounds,
But as he framed the whole to bless
On mutual wants built mutual happiness,
So from the first the Eternal order ran,
And creature linked to creature, man to man.'

Here, then, is one of those points of departure between Adam Smith and his French admirers which may serve as the starting point for a line of demarcation between master and disciples. It has to be distinctly borne in mind in judging of the system, as a whole, that these differences arise from personal peculiarities, national idiosyncracies, and historical antecedents affecting economic thought and life in the two countries. At the time when the *Wealth of Nations* made its appearance England was on the eve of an industrial revolution, and Adam Smith's treatise furnished the weapons in defence of Free Trade, and in favour of the moneyed as opposed to the landed interest. France, on the other hand, was on the eve of a political revolution, and demands for liberty meant more than the abolition of what modern French economists call now 'le régime de tutelle économique,' it meant making a clean table of the whole social constitution of the past. In Great Britain it was enough to give a complete analysis of the economic process lately come into operation. In France, the facts inductively collected to build up the system contained in the *Wealth of Nations* were at once used deductively to prove what the organization of labour—what is now termed 'la mécanique industrielle'—ought to be. For this reason French economists, past

and present, have much more in common with Ricardo and the 'Epigoni' of Adam Smith, than with the latter, mainly because their strictly logical method is more suitable to the doctrinaire disposition of the French mind. Fondness for abstract reasoning, inclines both to treat political economy as an exact science, and economic factors like mathematical factors of more or less easy computation. Adam Smith is never thus led astray by his love of dialectical display, though, like most Scotchmen, he was not deficient in the faculty of deductive ratiocination. But he carefully avoids axiomatic precision—he never defines labour, though he regards it as the source of all wealth—and thus it happens that in many economic theories as to the self-regulating tendencies of demand and supply, the laws affecting the rise and fall of wages, the increase and decrease of population, and the concurrent effects on the unequal distribution of wealth, that when Adam Smith only gives what may be called his pragmatic sanction, his French followers enounce a dogmatic creed. In fact, Adam Smith's system has shared the fate of all such systems—isolated statements are converted into formulæ, doctrines tentatively advanced are turned into infallible dogmas, whilst counsels of perfection are codified into compulsory laws. As in the case of new religious systems, first comes the appeal to Cæsar, then the age of the apologists, succeeded by the age of aggressive attacks on unbelievers, so in the development of the economic doctrine the Physiocrates and Adam Smith were satisfied in appealing to public opinion, Ricardo and his school were the advanced apologists of the new creed. Their followers, like the schoolmen, have formulated dogmas, and accuse of heresy, though they do not burn, those who do not implicitly accept them as articles of faith.

At the centenary of the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*, held in London under Mr. Gladstone's presidency, M. Leon Say, one of the distinguished guests, in his after dinner speech at the Political Economy Club, related how his grandfather, J. B. Say, came over to England in 1814, and visited Glasgow, how he sat in the professor's chair where Adam Smith had lectured, and 'took his head into his hands in the effort, as it were, of carrying back into France a spark of his master's genius.' If

it was not too unkind a response to such a high-flown compliment, we might feel inclined to say that ever since the French economists—with some notable exceptions—like the Pharisees, sitting in Moses's seat, have, with the native love of exaggeration, and rigidly pursuing ideas to their logical conclusions, done much to bring Adam Smith's system into disfavour whilst endeavouring honestly and almost timidly to follow in his steps.

The line of demarcation which divides Adam Smith from his Gallican friends might be produced indefinitely were space infinite at our command, but we must turn now our attention to some recent criticisms of his Teutonic adversaries in the course of which we shall have again occasion to notice some of these diverging tendencies. What has brought Adam Smith into discredit in Germany is, in the first place, the tendency of his later representatives to exclude ethics from economics in their eagerness to represent the laws of Political Economy as laws of nature, and to do so at the expense of the moral nature of man, considered as an economic being.* Thus Adam Smith's system, judged by its further developments, is accused of neglecting too much the ideal good in over-estimating 'economic values,' and of disregarding the concurrent suffering of unsuccessful competitors in the arena of life in dwelling exclusively on the natural causes in 'the production and accumulation of wealth.' The system is accused of materialism and unmitigated egotism by philosophers and philanthropists, whilst social reformers and socialistic theorists are equally severe in condemning (with Carlyle in this country) the apparent inhumanities of the 'dismal science,' which hands

* 'The Science of Political Economy, considered according to the French Economists, must be classed with the Natural Sciences, which are purely speculative, and can have no other end than the knowledge of the laws which regulate the object of their researches; while viewed according to the doctrine of Smith, Political Economy becomes connected with the other usual Sciences, which tend to ameliorate the condition of their object, and to carry it to the highest perfection of which it is susceptible.' Germain Garnier's comparative view of the doctrines of Smith and the French Economists, in the preface of the French translation of the *Wealth of Nations*.

over peace to the inexorable laws of demand and supply against which there is no appeal. In other words, there is a general revolt against the system of utilitarian plutology which is traced to Adam Smith's view of the economic progress 'from the standpoint of vulgar utility.' We may consider these counter movements of the times under the following heads: (1) The objections of Idealism in philosophy which tends to depreciate the materialistic aspects of the system of Political Economy founded on Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. (2) The strictures of Realism in the study of Political Economy, as a branch of sociology, with a preference for inductive and historical treatment as opposed to the deductive or logical method adopted by Adam Smith's followers. (3) The attacks of Socialism (including State socialism and some forms of Christian socialism) against the selfish principles of Adam Smith's system, having for their practical results the social evils of the day, which are used, again, as an argument for a partial or complete transformation of existing social institutions.

The first, then, of these counter tendencies in contemporary thought and life is the revival of Philosophical Idealism in its effects on social ethics. Thus, e.g., Lange, in his work on the history of Materialism, speaks of the materialism of Political Economy, the rise and progress of which he ascribes to the development of the material resources of this country and its expansion in the Colonies. This, he says, has introduced a moderate egotism, which finds its delight in acquisition rather than self-indulgence, and which pervades all classes of society, serving as the only basis of morality—hence its name, 'Ethical Materialism,'—and which appears to find no difficulty in coming to terms with religion. Bacon's experimental philosophy, which produced the self-consciousness of man's power over nature, and Hobbes' political philosophy, which makes self-love the principle of social contract, paved the way, through Mandeville to Adam Smith's Philosophy of Political Economy, which makes self-interest the foundation of the economic structure of society.

Adam Smith, who lived in an age which combined Natural

Realism with Spiritual Idealism in Philosophy, was no doubt influenced by the former as well as the latter of these two tendencies. When he presents what would now be called the physical aspect of the growth and mechanism of society, he gives prominence to the fact that the constant effort of every man to better his own condition is the ruling motive of economic activity, and that in this combined effort of individuals lies the promise of social progress. But when he comes to speak in another work of the *Moral Sentiments*, and shows the correcting influences of sympathy in modifying man's selfish propensities, he no longer dwells on the familiar features of the economic man as a money-making animal, but he indicates in more than one eloquent passage that wealth is only a means to the higher ends of life. The 'disposition to admire, and almost to worship, the rich and the powerful, and to despise, or at least to neglect, persons of poor and mean condition,' is 'the great and most universal cause of the corruption of our moral sentiments.' The marvellous revelations of natural resources now for the first time utilized by man, had produced towards the close of the last century this tendency to regard with pride and hope the growth of material prosperity, and Adam Smith himself was carried along with the stream to a great extent. But the concurrent effort of political and intellectual emancipation in that 'age of reason' produced also idealisms peculiar to itself which find their expression in the Religious Rationalism and revolutionary ferment of the times, as well as in the transformation of ethical doctrines through Kant (himself of Scotch descent), with whom Adam Smith has been more than once compared, and whose categorical imperative implies an entire emancipation of man's moral nature from self and self-seeking, 'the action of a free and self-conditioned and eternal mind in man.' The following passage taken from the 6th part of the *Theory of Moral Sentiments*, dealing with the character of Virtue, shows that Adam Smith's moral aspirations did not fall very short from the highest ideal of the times, and that in this, no less than his enthusiasm for economic progress, he faithfully reflects the spirit of the age in which he lived :

'The wise and virtuous man is at all times willing that his own private

interest should be sacrificed to the public interest of his own particular order or society. He is at all times willing, too, that the interest of this order or society should be sacrificed to the greater interest of the State or sovereignty, of which it is only a subordinate part. He should, therefore, be equally willing that all those inferior interests should be sacrificed to the greater interest of the universe, to the interest of that great society of all sensible and intelligent beings, of which God himself is the immediate administrator and director.'

And again in the seventh part, speaking of the comparative claims of self-interest and a regard to the common interest, he says :—

'Carelessness, or want of economy are universally disapproved of, not, however, as proceeding from a want of benevolence, but from a want of the proper attention to the object of self-interest . . . it does not follow that a regard to the welfare or disorder of society, should be the sole virtuous motive of action, but only that, in any competition, it ought to cast the balance against all other motives.'

Such, and similar passages, which might be quoted in abundance, show that Adam Smith did not subordinate social obligations to the physical laws of self-preservation as Roesler and other critics have asserted or tacitly assumed, but that the conception of a social order in which 'energy should be founded on sympathy' was clearly before his mind. In his *System of Ethics* he speaks rather in the imperative mood, as he does in his *System of Economics* in the indicative. Some of his followers have reversed the order and, as Lange himself says finely, have fallen into the mistake of formulating the laws of Political Economy, as so many categorical commands of what man ought to do, instead of describing them in tendencies of what man might do if he was actuated throughout by no other but selfish motives. Adam Smith deals with human nature in its normal conditions and for practical ends as he finds it. His followers in treating of human selfishness, 'self-interest, that prime director of all labour and industry,' as the principal factor in 'Political Arithmetic,' appear often to regard it as a constant quantity incapable of moral development and change.

This brings us to the second count in the indictment against the system founded by Adam Smith, in which the representa-

tives of the realistic or historical school of Political Economy are the accusers. In this age of reflective analysis, they say, we want observation and interpretation of facts rather than the ingenious theoretical fictions concerning the abstract economic man. The spirit of the age is opposed to any kind of pretended science which deals with unproved data, and deduces laws from 'hazy and preposterous assumptions.' It is strange and not a little surprizing to find Adam Smith accused of an extreme tendency to abstract reasoning which overlooks facts. The principal charm of his work is the wealth of illustration from actual life in support of his economic theory. If in the *Wealth of Nations* he often employs the deductive method, and builds too much on 'the postulates of human selfishness,' for the purpose of establishing his theory of society, this is, as Buckle shows, a peculiar literary artifice of selecting the general aspects of the economic process, and deducing from it the laws of economic science. In doing so he only followed what he himself calls 'the propensity to account for all appearances from as few principles as possible.' But in other works, all forming part of the same plan of an entire system of sociology, he intended to address himself to other sides of human nature, modifying the purely economic aspects of social life. His followers, narrowing rather than widening the basis of the system, have shown an inclination to draw conclusions more absolute than their master, and less strongly supported by facts. It is these doctrinaire exaggerations and dogmatic limitations which the German critics have in view when they, perhaps too summarily, dispose of 'Smithianismus' as an unproved hypothesis. It was natural for Adam Smith, appalled by the variety of aspects and the stupendous task of traversing the whole field of social science, to attack the subject in detail; and in *The Theory of Moral Sentiments* we have another branch of the science of man in society treated separately, and here he selects sympathy as the primal motive of human action in the moral relations, as in the *Wealth of Nations* self-interest is selected as the principal motive of economic exertion. It is unfortunate that this justifiable artifice should have become the occasion on the part of friend and foe for misrepresenting Adam Smith's system, as too

artificial in its doctrinal elaboration, or simply as an art for making money. No unbiassed reader of the *Wealth of Nations* could accuse Adam Smith as ignorant of the fact that man is a child of civilization, the product of history and social development, that the social organism undergoes changes in the course of economic evolution, that local circumstances, ethnic peculiarities, national customs, the institutions of law and religion, as well as the tidal waves of industrial prosperity and adversity, corresponding often to alternate seasons of intellectual activity and languor, materially affect the play of economic forces, and preclude a puny mechanical view of this branch of human conduct, and produce variations in the resultant unlike the results of physical action and reaction, according to the fixed laws of nature.

We have been lately told by a competent authority on the present position of economics that what is required of students of the science now is to interrogate facts, 'in order to learn the manner of action of causes singly and in combination; applying this knowledge to build up the *organon of economic theory*, and then making use of the organon in dealing with the economic side of social problems.' This is exactly the principle which, as it appears to us, guided Adam Smith in his researches a century ago, in his endeavour to meet the requirements of his own times. Hence the tentative mode of his procedure, and his adoption now of the inductive and then of the deductive method to arrive at his conclusions. He, too, was an innovator when he inaugurated a new system of Political Economy, as, indeed, the school founded by his disciple was called 'a new school of Political Economy.' Innovation of some kind is in the very nature of a progressive science, and it would be a great error to suppose that the science was born and died with Adam Smith and his commentators. It would be equally erroneous to suppose that his system has been partly or wholly superseded by the new school of Political Economy. There is a continuity in the development of economic doctrine as in the doctrine of the 'Science of Sciences.' It was an excusable hyperbole in an after-dinner oration when the present Lord Sherbrooke, then

Mr. R. Lowe, said at the centenary celebration referred to above: 'I think Adam Smith is entitled to the merit, and the unique merit, among all men who have ever lived in this world, of having founded a deductive and demonstrative science of human action and conduct,' though Adam Smith did much towards the consummation of this vast programme. But it would be equally absurd to deny that Adam Smith occupies the foremost rank among the pioneers of the science, and that in its further developments the lines marked out by his master mind will have to be followed strictly, though not in a slavish spirit, by others. Adam Smith's atomistic view of human society is explained by the centrifugal forces operant in his own day. Individualism was its chief characteristic. As the liberties men fought for then were granted, as a new order of things came into existence, a number of fresh facts also appeared, demanding a new settling, and with this the search for a key to the new situation, how to reconcile the interests of society with those of its individual members, and how to bring about a reconciliation between the liberal *régime*, and a more perfect organization of distributive equity. In accordance with this tendency Political Economy is being regarded more and more as a department of the larger science of Sociology, and is taken out of the position of strict isolation to which it had been relegated, not so much by Adam Smith himself as by some of his followers. This is but natural, and the position of the modern innovators is so much like that of Adam Smith, that one of the most moderate and best known of the school, Schäffle, in a letter to the present writer, written about ten years ago, and referring to a work 'on the structure and life of the social organism, an encyclopædic attempt of a real anatomy, physiology, and psychology of human society,' then in progress of publication, compares his own position to that of Adam Smith, and anticipates the same objections on the part of the 'literary mob' which Hume prepares his friend to expect on the publication of the *Wealth of Nations*, and adds our correspondent, referring to his own position, 'in the primeval forests one must not expect much society, and as a backwoodsman I must rest contented to work alone.' The title of this great

work of Schaffle's, which has since attracted considerable attention among European Economists, shows the comprehensive scope of economic science as viewed by the new school. But it may be added, without wounding the susceptibilities of the living in lauding the dead above measure, that the difficulties of the undertaking and the magnitude of the task encountered by the Scotch philosopher, were immeasurably superior to the difficulties of those who, in their turn, have subjected his work to a searching scrutiny, as their own, no doubt, will have to undergo further criticism and amendment in the future.

But Political Economy is not only a science of the laws which regulate the production and distribution of wealth with a set of theorems to be proved; it is also a branch of social science, and as such has to deal with certain problems requiring to be solved in connection with the 'Economics of Industry.' Dunoyer's motto: 'Je n'impose rien, je ne propose rien, j'expose' is telling enough as an expression—a worthy intention of impartial exposition, but it is beside the mark, if we consider the practical functions of the economist in the settlement of these burning questions, urgently pressed upon us at this moment, and finding their full expression in the formidable European movement, known as Socialism.

Socialism, as the name itself indicates, is above all things a protest against the Individualism of our modern industrial system, and we are thus brought to the last stage of our inquiry into the controversy between Adam Smith's followers and the adherents of Socialism in its various forms. The negative criticism of the Socialists on the exclusively chresmatic aspect of Political Economy as presented to us in the *Wealth of Nations*, and their emphatic contradiction of the underlying principle, that 'whatever increases wealth increases well-being,' dates really far back into the beginning of this century. James Lauderdale in his enquiry into the nature and origin of Public Wealth, and Sismondi in his *Nouveaux principes de l'Economie Politique*, drew attention to the danger of over-estimating the mere accumulation of wealth, and underrating the danger of increasing the contrast between 'wealth and want.' But

these were the warnings of thoughtful men anxious to avert social catastrophes. The Socialist of to-day welcomes them as the inevitable results of a system he is bent on demolishing. He points triumphantly to the fact that European society at this moment is in a state of solution solely and in consequence of the unfettered pursuit of private interests which was held up as the panacea of curing all social evils in Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*. The manifestations of Socialism, it is said, are nothing else but the convulsions of the social organism arising from previous unhealthy exertion and overpressure of its functions. A crisis is imminent, requiring organic changes. The industrial régime founded on Individualism must give way to Collectivism, as the ancient régime was found no longer suitable to the physiological transformations of modern society at the dawn of the liberal era. Strange to say, extremes meet here when economists of the stamp of M. de Molinari and M. Leroy Beaulieu, modern followers of Adam Smith *au rigueur*, join in the cry, 'Down with Individualism!' 'L'avenir appartient donc à l'entreprise collective et le jour viendra où l'entreprise individuelle sera une rareté comme le rouet ou le métier à tisser la main,' says M. de Molinari in his work on Economic Evolution. What is meant by collective industry M. Leroy-Beaulieu explains in his work on Collectivism, viz.: 'La substitution du grand commerce, même pour le détail, au petit commerce, . . . le progrès des sociétés anonymes,' &c., &c. This, indeed, is not the collectivism of the Socialists, but it leads to it. It is regarded merely in the light of a transition stage between Individualism and Socialism. Yet a little while, it is hoped, and the extinction of every vestige of small trade and the concentration of the world's commerce in a few hands, like the Vanderbildts, will prepare the world for a new order of things. What the commercial company can do the community can do equally well. It can appoint its own captains of industry and manage its own affairs for the purposes of production. Private enterprise may become public enterprise, and the functions of capitalism may be as well performed by the functionaries of the people's State. As constitutional government is a middle

term between autocracy and democracy, so 'the republicanization of trade' will be brought about by first displacing the private employer by the public company, and then the latter by the organization of labour by the Commune. 'What is the result of free labour,' asks the Socialist, 'What of free contract, freedom in the selection of calling and abode, with the free development of private property?' Answer: 'The oppression of the weak by the strong, and the iron law of wages which, according to Ricardo, one of the most consistent of Adam Smith's pupils, which keeps the labourer in a condition bordering on starvation.' 'What are the reasons of this?' The cupidity of the Capitalist, whose 'sole motive,' in the words of Adam Smith, is 'the consideration of his own private profit,' 'all for ourselves, and nothing for other people, seems in every age of the world to have been the vile maxims of the masters of mankind.' 'This being so, and no age has been more so than our own in unprincipled rapacity, and none so hypocritical. This accumulation of private property must be put a stop to, and a new system must be introduced where this form of "Expropriation" is made impossible, and Industry is placed under the protection of Society, that each may receive his due and render due service to the community.' Such, briefly put, are the arguments of Modern Socialism, and they are founded in a great measure on statements and admissions contained in text-books of Political Economy. 'Labour is the measure of the changeable value of all commodities,' are the words of Adam Smith himself. Therefore to labour all wealth is due, say the programmes of Modern Socialism, and, it is argued, such would be the case if the present wages system—a fruitful source of enriching the capitalist employer at the expense of the labourer—were abolished and labour notes or assignats, representing so much exchangeable value of labour-time, were used as the common currency. But this would give the death-blow to Adam Smith's system, which has been called simply an 'exchange-value system.' In the opinion of Socialists the system is doomed, and stands self-condemned by its own admission. Such is the main position taken up by Socialism, though there are many side issues which we cannot here notice. Professor Sidgwick, in his

address before the British Association at Aberdeen, pointed out the fallacy of Adam Smith's statement that labour is an accurate standard of all exchangeable commodities, and it would be a futile task to set up a defence on this head. But it is only just to remark—especially as it is a point perhaps not quite so well known by 'every tyro of the science,' and some others besides—that this statement, on which such an immense superstructure has been erected, was never intended by Adam Smith at least as an axiom of economic science. It was rather intended to secure for labour its rightful place of honour, or as some have aptly expressed it, to make out 'its patent of nobility' with which it might proudly enter the lists with the aristocracy of birth and talent, and for this reason Adam Smith attributed to labour the power of creating all value.

For this reason, too, it is absurd to charge the system of Adam Smith, as some Socialists do, with supreme indifference to the sufferings of the great mass of the people. Witness his definition of the objects of Political Economy: 'First, to provide a plentiful revenue or subsistence for *the people*, or more properly, to enable them to provide such a revenue or subsistence for themselves,' etc.* Adam Smith is nowhere guilty of making superficial apologies for glaring inequalities in the distribution of wealth after the manner of some of his disciples, as when one of them in a professedly scientific treatise speaks of accident as the great leveller, 'L'accident, tout aussi bien que le contingent, joue un grand rôle dans le repartition de richesses.' Adam Smith accepted the fact of inequality as part of the system of things ordered by the 'Invisible hand,' which orders things in such a manner so as to make nearly the

* Compare with this such expressions as the following :—

'In the original state of things, which precedes both the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock, the whole produce of labour belongs to the labourer.' Book i., ch. viii. And again :—

'No society can surely be flourishing and happy, of which the far greater part are poor and miserable. It is but equity, besides, that they who feed, clothe, and lodge the whole body of the people should have such a share of the produce of our labour, as to be themselves tolerably well fed, clothed, and lodged.' *Ib.*

same distribution of the necessaries of life which would have been made had the earth been divided into equal portions among all its inhabitants.' For the rich in their employment of the poor, 'without intending it, without knowing it, advance the interests of society.' (*Moral Sentiments*, Part iv., chap. i.) The implicit faith of some of his most recent disciples in the self-regulating and self-rectifying mechanism of exchange with a constant tendency to perfect equality, was not shared altogether by Adam Smith, who traces some inequalities to their 'natural causes,' and others to 'pernicious institutions.' An evolution of order out of the chaos of conflicting interests without any directing power except the 'laws of nature,' in the modern sense of the word, would have had no meaning for him. Therefore, although he resents the meddling interferences of the statesman with the natural course of private enterprize, nothing was further from his mind than the idea of absolute 'economic passivity of the State.' For when he begins to treat of the systems of Political Economy in the Fourth Book of the *Wealth of Nations*, he starts with the definition, part of which has been already quoted, of 'Political Economy, considered as a branch of the science of a statesman or legislator,' and 'it proposes to enrich both the people and the sovereign.' What then is the relation of Adam Smith's theory to what now-a-days is termed State Socialism? It is not easy to reconcile some of his utterances with strong expressions against State interference in other parts of his great work. Thus much, however, may be affirmed that Adam Smith never dreamed of a system of *laissez faire* as now understood by the so-called Manchester school. He shews, indeed, their dread of bureaucratic centralization; but then he lived at a time when the wealth of nations was still closely associated with the enrichment of princes. Quesnai's phrase, 'pauvre peuple pauvre roi,' shews what was then the object of swelling the national income.

The principle of carrying out social reforms by means of legislation, so far from being contrary to Adam Smith's principles, is really in strict conformity with them, and there is no inconsistency whatever in the passing of a number of measures for the protection of labour by liberal Statesmen and successive liberal administrations, if the following passage be interpreted aright as

far as it applies to the circumstances of the Constitutional State of the present day.

‘According to the system of natural liberty, the sovereign has only three duties to attend to . . . first, the duty of protecting the society from the violence and invasion of other independent societies ; secondly, *the duty of protecting, as far as possible, every member of the society from the injustice and oppression of every other member of it*, or the duty of establishing an exact administration of justice ; and thirdly, *the duty of erecting and maintaining public works and certain public institutions*, which it can never be for the interest of any individual, or small number of individuals, to erect and maintain ; because the profit could never repay the expense of any individual, or small number of individuals, though it may frequently do much more than repay it to the great society.’

The duties here enumerated, specially those we have italicised, leave a large margin for private interpretation, and they bear a considerable amount of elastic stretching for adaptation to present needs.

This explains the influence of Adam Smith on such Conservative Statesmen as Stein and Hardenberg, at a time when the *Polizeistaat* had not yet become the *Rechtsstaat*, i.e., in the first decade of the present Century, whose measures were quoted by Huskisson in the House of Commons just sixty years ago, as an example to follow in this country,—measures which owed their origin entirely to the influence of the *Wealth of Nations* on the minds of these Prussian legislators. The truth is that whilst Adam Smith fully recognises the abuses of State interference, he does not underrate its lawful uses as a corrective of economic lawlessness, as an ethical complement of economic enterprise, and as a constraining power authoritatively representing the public conscience, what he terms ‘natural justice’ by means of a system of ‘natural jurisprudence.’ As there were self-interested persons in Adam Smith’s time who were strenuously opposed to his new doctrine of Free Trade because they profited by the existence of monopolies created by the State, so there are others now-a-days who object to every conceivable form of State interference as contrary to liberal principles, chiefly because it interferes with their own attempts to make a liberal provision for themselves. Referring to such objectors on the score of a violation of natural liberty, Adam Smith remarks :—

‘Such regulations may, no doubt, be considered as in some respect a violation of natural liberty ; but these exertions of the natural liberty of a few individuals, which might endanger the security of the whole society, were, and ought to be, restrained by the laws of all governments ; of the most free, as well as of the most despotical.’ (Bk. ii., ch. ii.)

Here we pause as the attention of the reader, who has followed us thus far, has been overtaxed already. From what has been said, the general conclusion will be drawn that the main position of Adam Smith’s theory remains unshaken—the roots and the stem remain intact though some of the branches have suffered from the rough gusts of adverse criticism, and some wild excrescences have been and are being lopped off, to facilitate further healthy growth in the tree of Economic Knowledge. The triangular attack on the ethical inefficiency, theoretical incompleteness, and political imperfection of Adam Smith’s system as handed down to us by his followers though in many points unfair, unjust, and ungenerous, has been fruitful in some beneficent results. Had Adam Smith lived long enough to carry out his whole plan of giving to the world a comprehensive system of the theory of man in society, or had he been able to foresee all the effects of the industrial system, the main springs of which he so admirably describes, he no doubt would have left a theory more complete in itself and less liable to be misconstrued by friends, and misinterpreted by enemies.

The more important the work and the more far-reaching the ideas of an epoch-making writer of the stamp of Adam Smith, the longer must be the period required for verifying his theories by experiment ; the greater the vitality of the ruling ideas of a System of Philosophy are, the longer must be the time required for its completion ; and those are the worst enemies of a great writer who prematurely catalogue his sayings and fossilize his opinions, instead of allowing freedom of organic growth with the growing life and thought of general culture. The preeminent merit of Adam Smith was to show that social phenomena are subject to social laws, though he erred with his contemporaries in postulating a ‘code of nature.’ His successors have erred by reason of false analogies, in confounding the laws which guide human conduct with the impersonal laws governing matter, and thus

treating moral factors as if they were physical forces. It is reserved for the present age to correct the errors of the past and to transmit the Science of Political Economy intact as to its fundamental doctrines, but enlarged by further experience, to the generations of the future.

M. KAUFMANN.

CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE.

System of Christian Ethics. By Dr. J. A. DORNER. Edited by Dr. A. DORNER. Translated by C. M. MEAD, D.D., and R. T. CUNNINGHAM, M.A. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark. 1887.

The late Dr. Dorner, as is well known, was one of the leaders of the Evangelical School of German Protestant theologians. His present work occupied him up to the time of his death, and has been completed and edited by his son. The concluding work of his life, it is also the final work of the series of writings to the composition of which he devoted himself, and is evidently based on his *Christian Dogmatics*. Like most other German works of the kind, it is largely made up of controversy, and like them is consequently to a large extent negative in its arguments. Dr. Dorner, however, had his own views as to the principles of Christian Ethics, and has here set them out with considerable clearness; his Editor and Translators now and then acting as interpreters or commentators where his words seemed to them to be obscure or in need of explanation. Ethics, like Dogmatics, have long been the field of controversy. Systems of the one are about as numerous as systems of the other; and their principal value so far has consisted in showing how far and on what points one writer differs from another. The real work of the moral philosopher of apprehending and demonstrating the higher truths or principles in which their apparently conflicting doctrines or opinions are reconciled, has not, so far as the present writer is aware, been attempted, at least by the school of writers to which Dr. Dorner belonged, and one is tempted to ask, When will this logomachy cease? At present the chief aim of the writers of most schools of Ethics appears to be to refute the opinions of others and to maintain their own. If it be true that every evil tends to cure itself and ultimately will, the final result of this will be a consummation which is devoutly to be desired; but if it be not, and no strenuous effort is made to counteract it, the only issue that can be looked for is a wider divergence in opinion with increased controversy. Meantime, among the most evident results are a certain narrowness of vision and a want of sympathy with the positions taken up by others, even though their positions cannot be exactly charged with being fundamentally wrong. From traces of these things Dr. Dorner's book cannot be said to be wholly free. As to the derivation of the principles of Christian, as distinguished from Philosophical, Ethics, he is of course in agreement with most Christian writers on the subject, their origin being, as he maintains, in God, the absolutely Good, and their highest manifestation in Jesus Christ. Here and there, too, when discussing their fundamental character, he gives expression to a number of very just opinions, and manifests a tendency to recognise and acknowledge truths in which apparently conflicting doctrines are reconciled; as for instance, when he says: 'The same Logos that appeared in Christ is also the prime agent in the first creation, and cannot therefore be in contradiction to it.' This is said in reference to the opinion that natural Ethics and Christian are two irreconcilable things, and furnishes a point of departure for the settlement of some important controversies. At the same time it indicates a method for the treatment

of Ethics which, if strictly followed out, would in all likelihood eliminate a good deal of controversy and help to reconcile various parties and schools, besides contributing largely to the advancement of the science.

Astrology in the Apocalypse, an Essay on Biblical allusions to Chaldean Science. By W. GERSHOM COLLINGWOOD, M.A. George Allen, Sunnyside, Orpington, Kent, 1886.

The writer of this little book has contributed much to the better understanding not only of the Apocalypse, but of many other parts of the Bible which are metaphorical in expression not less than in meaning. It is Mr. Collingwood's endeavour to point out various elements in the structure of the Revelation of St. John, which may be ultimately traced to the influence of astrological ideas derived by the Israelitish patriarchs from their early connection with the Chaldeans. If the Bible is rightly described as the literature of the Jews, it is interesting to note how the ideas which dominate the early books are taken up again with a new application by the last of the sacred writers. This has been done with great minuteness, and a patience that might have induced a pretentious student to make more of his work than Mr. Collingwood seems to claim for the distinct service he has rendered to Biblical criticism. That the Israelites were possessed of astrological notions is clearly seen in various parts of the Old Testament, in the references to the constellations in Job (ix. 9., and xxxviii. 31. 32.); to the stars fighting against Sisera (Judges, v. 20) 'not,' as Mr. Collingwood observes, 'as meteorites, but as controllers of fate;' in the star-worship of Ahaz; in the rebuke administered to the house of Israel for similar abominations by the mouth of the prophet Amos (v. 26.); and to mention no other cases, more particularly in the book of Daniel, where the belief in the science of astrology touches its highest point. Even in the New Testament there is a passage (in Luke xxxi. 25), in which Christ Himself may be held to be using astrological language; 'there shall be signs in the sun and moon and in the stars . . . for the powers of heaven shall be shaken.' The various celestial phenomena at the birth and again at the crucifixion of Christ point to a general acceptance of astrological ideas in Palestine. But it is in the Apocalypse itself that the influence of the Chaldean science is paramount, and Mr. Collingwood traces it through all the figures in that book with a success which seem to disarm any criticism as to the general truth of his point of view. Thus the Seven Churches are ruled by the seven great angels, identical in astrology with the sun, moon and five planets in the gamut of the spheres, which re-appear in the seven seals, trumpets, and vials. An analysis of the phenomena which attend the opening of the seals, makes it evident that there is much strength in the parallel which can be drawn between them and the usual characteristics of the seven planets of ancient astronomy. The Apocalypse closes with the description of the New Jerusalem, which in the same line of thought is antithetical to the old city of Babylon. The old Babylon, cleansed and purged from its abominations, beccmes, in a sense deeper than any astrology can supply, the eternal city of God. It would be impossible in the limits assigned to a very short review to give any account of the marvellous similarity of characteristics which Mr. Collingwood points out in the twelve zodiacal signs, the twelve tribes of Israel, the twelve jewels of the breastplate, and the twelve Apostles who form the foundation stones of the New Jerusalem. It must not be supposed that anyone accepting these views is bound to think of St. John's description of the Revelation as pure astrology. He writes what he saw in his vision in astrological language as the fittest method at hand of expressing the fact that the new order had

taken the place of the old. There is one doubtful parallel in the book. It is that drawn between the estimation in which Christians of the nineteenth Century hold physical science, and the attitude which the Hebrews and early Christians adopted in regard to astrology. Mr. Collingwood looks upon St. John as making use of the Chaldean system very much in the same way as a modern religious writer might express his views in terms of biology, turning all to the account of Christianity.

The Meditations and Maxims of Koheleth: A Practical Exposition of the Book of Ecclesiastes. By T. CAMPBELL FINLAYSON. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887.

During recent years the Book of Ecclesiastes has attracted a more than ordinary amount of attention, and not a few books have been written about it. Perhaps the most considerable effect of these has been the unsettling of the views of many as to the authorship, time and origin of the Book. At the same time it must probably be admitted that the criticism to which the Book has been subjected, has not been without another and more profitable effect. Two things would seem to be clear. One is that the Book is being more carefully studied; the other is that instead of suffering from the attacks which have been made upon the views hitherto held respecting it, it has actually risen in the esteem of what would appear to be a gradually increasing circle of readers.

The volume now published respecting it by the Rev. Mr. Finlayson consists of a series of practical discourses, which, as he tells us, were originally delivered to his own congregation some three winters ago. They make no pretensions to scholarship, nor to being the result of an independent study of the Sacred Writing. For scholarship Mr. Finlayson has depended upon such writers as Ginsburg, Zöckler, Delitzsch, Dean Plumptre, and Dr. C. H. H. Wright. Where these are in agreement he has followed them, and on one or two points of comparatively minor importance where they differ, he has adopted such opinions or interpretations as commended themselves to his own judgment. For the origin of the Book he names the period either of the Persian or of the Greek domination, and accordingly rejects the idea of its Solomonic authorship. It was written, he believes, mainly for young men, and contains, he assumes, an autobiographical element. The view advocated by Drs. Ginsburg and Cox that it is an attempt to solve the problem of the *summum bonum* he rejects, but it is difficult to see how his own theory of the purpose of the author is different; for according to Mr. Finlayson the author has put down his own observations, meditations, and experiences for the purpose of commending to his readers the conclusion he has arrived at respecting the wisest mode of living. A correct conclusion on this point is, we should say, the true solution to the problem of the *summum bonum*. With the deeper questions suggested by the words of the Preacher Mr. Finlayson does not much concern himself; his aim is to bring out the lessons which the book suggests for practical life.

The Problem of Evil. An Introduction to the Practical Sciences. By DANIEL GREENLEAF THOMPSON. London: Longmans Green and Co. 1887.

Evil is taken by Mr. Thomson in this work as comprehending all forms of pain—moral evil and all the 'other ills that flesh is heir to.' The object he has set before himself is to show the sources from which evil springs, and to indicate how the curative process should be set about, and along what lines it should be pursued. 'Physical evil, or pain, springs from

our sentient, moral evil from our social environment.' The struggle of life is to minimize both as much as possible, and the problem to be solved is, How can this best be done? The various answers of thinkers and teachers—the various *nostrums* of ancient and modern philosophers and reformers are subjected by Mr. Thomson to a careful exposition and scrutiny, their defects pointed out, and what value they had, or have, exhibited. Criticism, in fact, of the schemes of others occupies the greatest part of this volume, but it is so searching, so just, and so wise, that it can hardly fail, if paid heed to, to guide others in dealing with this old, yet ever new, problem. Theological, political, socialistic, and other reformers will all find valuable warnings and counsels here, to which it will do them good to pay careful heed. Our author has no short cut to universal happiness to recommend, but endeavours rather to show how only by patient discipline of all the passions of our nature, and by wise cultivation of the altruistic sentiments and judicious subordination of the egoistic, men may become the fellow-helpers of each other and minister together to promote the general weal. His book is a very able and instructive contribution to political as well as ethical science, and cannot fail to be helpful to all who are engaged in efforts to solve the pressing questions which these present to us from day to day.

The Cosmology of the Rigveda. An Essay. By H. W. WALLIS, M.A. London: Williams & Norgate, 1887.

This essay is by a Hibbert Trust Scholar, and is published by the Trustees. Mr. Wallis endeavours in it to set forth the ideas entertained by the writers of those ancient hymns regarding the formation of the Universe. These are shown chiefly by extracts from the hymns themselves, but these extracts are accompanied with explanatory comments, and valuable dissertations on ancient Indian life and thought, which help the reader to understand and appreciate better the quotations given. The extracts are culled from the hymns in no chronological order, for Sanskrit scholars are still at variance as to the respective ages of these hymns. The principle of selection is therefore simply the uniformity of the references to the particular phase of the world's formation which is being illustrated. To the thought of the Rishis the idea of creation out of nothing was altogether foreign. The one question for them was consequently as to the mode in which the *cosmos* was produced. Mr. Wallis shows that in some hymns the process is compared to the building of an Indian house, while in others it is likened to, and spoken of as, that of generation. He has an interesting chapter on the place assigned to sacrifice in the formation of things, and another on the Rishis' opinions as to the fixity of law—their doctrine of *rita*. A short appendix follows marshalling the results of his study of the Rigveda, with an index for the verification of his texts. The essay is the result of a careful study of the Rigveda, and gives promise of much valuable work in the future from this talented and painstaking Sanskrit student.

Dalmatia, the Quarnero, and Istria with Cettinge in Montenegro and the Island of Grado. By T. G. JACKSON, M.A., F.S.A., &c. 3 Vols. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1887.

This is a book to be admired both for the beauty of its appearance and the quality of its contents. In typography, illustrations, and binding, it is excellent; few more handsome volumes have been issued even from the Clarendon Press. Their contents are made up for the most part of history, travel, and architecture, though students of the other arts will also

find much in them to engage their attention. Both the country and people who appear on Mr. Jackson's pages are worth studying, while the architectural monuments in which the districts abound are of the greatest interest.

For Englishmen, Dalmatia, the 'Kingdom' of Dalmatia as it is called, though since its conquest by the Romans it has never been entitled to rank as independent, has long had a singular attraction. They were the first to make it known to western Europeans, and to call their attention to its monuments. As far back as 1675 Wheeler visited Spalato, and described the ruins of Diocletian's palace. Nearly a century later he was followed by Robert Adams, whose description of that remarkable building is perhaps still the best. In more recent years others of the Slavonic countries along the Eastern shores of the Adriatic have been visited and written about by Englishmen; and as showing the interest taken in them by his countrymen, Mr. Jackson reminds us of the fact that the first edition of Professor Eitelberger's book on the Mediæval Art of Dalmatia was almost entirely bought up in England.

Mr. Jackson's book, while for the most part scientific, has much in it to attract those who are neither students nor architects, but who look upon books as companions, and read them for instruction and entertainment. While pursuing his severer studies, he has had an observant eye for the country and people, and here and there in his volumes one comes across a charming bit of descriptive writing in which the natural features of the country, or the habits and appearance of its inhabitants are drawn with remarkable skill. Not the least interesting of these is a passage, too long for quotation, describing the costumes of the men and women about Zara. Here, however, is a passage referring to Ragusa whose ancient duomo, now destroyed, is said to have been built by Richard Cœur de Lion when on his way home from the Crusades. 'There is no newness to disappoint the visitor. Even the Seventeenth Century houses of the Corso or Stradone are now grey, and, being built in the traditional way with arches on the ground floor open to the street, and stone counters half-way across the opening, they are quite picturesque enough, and the general view of this fine street is dignified and interesting. In the open shops on either hand the tradesmen are to be seen busy at their various crafts. Here is a silversmith making the beautiful buttons of silver filagree with which the peasants cover their jackets, or long hairpins like rapiers with a little bird perched on the crosshilt, or earrings with pendant pearls, all of antique and traditional designs, often quite Byzantine in character, and possibly actually derived from Byzantine patterns. Here cross-legged on the raised counter sit two or three tailors in loose black Turkish trousers. Albanians probably—engaged in embroidering with silver and gold braid the jackets and caps of the men and women of the Canali, or of Montenegro, the patterns being all worked by eye without any traced lines, and no two being quite alike, though all conforming to a common scheme of ornament. Other shops are all ablaze with brilliant scarfs and gay handkerchiefs, the speciality of the women of Ragusa, who dress like the Italians in printed cottons and plain gowns, and not after the fashions of the Slavs of the neighbourhood. Of the latter the town is full, and the splendour of their dress surpassed anything we had seen before. There were Canalesi women with brilliantly white coifs stiffly starched and pleated, and Herzegovinian women with red beretta and flowing white handkerchief like a bridal veil. Both men and women wear waistcoats and jackets covered with rich embroidery in gold and silver braid, and hung with buttons of silver gilt filagree, the matron being further distinguished by an edging of gold braid added at marriage to the gorgeous waistcoat, which was the lover's gift. The men wear full Turkish breeches of dark blue, girdled

with rich sashes supporting the leather pouch, and various knives and pistols. Their headdress varies from the turban of the Bosnian to the ordinary red cap of Dalmatia, or the 'pork-pie' beretta of Herzegovina, black-edged and red-crowned, with a half-eclipsed circle of gold braiding, amid which sometimes is seen the cypher 'N. I.' proclaiming the wearer a subject of the free highland principality of Nicolas I. of Montenegro.' (Vol. II. 321-2). Passages such as this, and there are many of them, give a living interest to the volumes and make the reading of them a pleasure.

To the history of the provinces, for the materials of which he has frequently gone to the writings of native historians, Mr. Jackson has devoted a considerable, though by no means disproportioned or unnecessary, amount of space. Half of the first volume is well spent in narrating the history of Dalmatia. The story is one of intense interest, full of movement and change from the first war with Rome in 229 B.C. down to the present day. After the fall of the Western Empire it was governed from Byzantium. Subsequently it was fought for by Franks, Huns, Normans, Hungarians, Turks, and Venice. One of the most singular features in its history is the survival along the seaboard of a number of ancient Roman municipalities, which all through the Middle Ages jealously maintained the civic liberties they inherited from the Empire, and still cling to their 'cultura Latina' with passionate affection, in spite of the efforts made by the Croats backed by the Austrian Government, to Slavonise them. 'The survival of these waifs and strays of the Roman Empire is,' as Mr. Jackson observes, 'unique,' 'an historical phenomenon of almost unparalleled interest.'

But the main purpose of Mr. Jackson's volumes is architectural. In respect to this the centre of interest is of course Spalato whither Diocletian retired at the vigorous age of fifty-nine, and 'grew the famous cabbages whose cultivation he preferred to cares of Empire,' and spent the remaining years of his life. The palace which he caused to be prepared for him here, is not only a monument of the splendour he took with him into his retirement, it is also unrivalled as the most perfect example of Roman domestic architecture which has survived to the present. In his description of it Mr. Jackson has made use of the folio published in 1764 by Adams, who was the first to reconstruct the building on paper, and the general correctness of whose work, notwithstanding the few inaccuracies which recent explorations have discovered in it, is still admitted. During his visits Mr. Jackson had the misfortune to find both the temple and campanile in process of restoration—a process through which they have not passed without injury. So far as the Dalmatian style of architecture is concerned, however, Zara is for historical purposes of greater interest even than Spalato. It possesses a tolerably complete series of examples of every period from the Eighth Century downwards, and is particularly rich in buildings of the earlier styles, though with the exception of the Church of the Holy Trinity, now known as S. Donato, they have 'to be hunted for and discovered under various disguises as magazines, hay-lofts, and cellars.' Mr. Jackson's chapter upon them is particularly interesting, both on account of its architectural and its historical details. The same may be said about the chapters on the monuments of Ragusa, Traù, and Trieste. In the chapter on Grado new ground is broken. Mr. Jackson is the first Englishman who has described what his own eyes have seen of its quaint and not unimpressive, though badly kept cathedral, with its ancient mosaic pavements, its inscriptions and pulpit.

But to indicate the wealth of information which Mr. Jackson's volumes contain is here impossible. The reader must turn to the book itself. He will find it a rich treasury of information on all that concerns the architee-

ture and art, as well as the history of the Slavonic cities and provinces bordering on the Adriatic, written in clear crisp English, and admirably illustrated.

The Reign of Queen Victoria: A Survey of Fifty Years of Progress. Edited by THOMAS HUMPHREY WARD, M.A. 2 Vols. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1887.

This is unquestionably the most important and valuable of the many books which the celebration of Her Majesty's Jubilee has called forth. The idea of the book is excellent, and the editor may be congratulated on having succeeded in enlisting the co-operation of so many capable and distinguished writers. Their names alone are a sufficient guarantee for the excellence of their respective contributions. The task which some of them have had to perform was difficult, owing to the necessity for compression; and many will doubtless wish that one or two of them had treated the subjects assigned to them in greater detail; but be that as it may, there can be but one opinion as to the ability and care with which each has done his allotted part. As in duty bound Mr. Humphrey Ward, the editor of the volumes, contributes the Introduction in which in a few pages he indicates with remarkable clearness some of the main lines of growth and expansion, of development and transformation, on which the United Kingdom and the Empire have proceeded during the half century under review. With the assistance of Mr. Gonner he has also prepared the chapters on 'Legislation,' 'Foreign Policy,' 'Colonial Policy and Progress,' and 'Locomotion,' Mr. Gonner being responsible, however, for the greater part of the two chapters last named. As might have been expected Mr. Ward also writes the chapter on 'Art.' The chapter on 'Constitutional Development,' is from the hand of Sir William Anson, and the one on the 'Administration of Law' from that of Lord Justice Bowen. Lord Wolseley, of course, writes on the Army, and Lord Brassey on the Navy. India has been dealt with by Sir Henry S. Maine, the Growth and Distribution of Wealth by Mr. Giffen, the Iron Trade by Sir Lowthian Bell, Agriculture by Sir James Caird, Schools by Mr. Matthew Arnold, and the Universities by Mr. C. A. Fyffe. Science has been entrusted to the veteran hand of Mr. Huxley, and Mr. Garnett has contributed the paper on Literature. Ireland has a chapter all to itself, but we look in vain for one on Scotland. Education in Scotland is deemed of sufficient importance to be dealt with in a note, and exactly five paragraphs, or about as many pages, certainly not more, out of a chapter covering thirty-three, are given to the Scottish Universities. But a map of the country, showing the parts where the population has increased or decreased, is put in to make up for this!

Boswell's Life of Johnson, including Boswell's Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, and Johnson's Diary of a Journey into North Wales. Edited by GEORGE BIRKBECK HILL, D.C.L., Pembroke College, Oxford. 6 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887.

Dr. Birkbeck is, as is well known, a sound Boswellian, and has spent the greater part of his life in studying the literature of the Johnsonian era, and in accumulating materials for the illustration of Boswell's great masterpiece in biography. In his long but very far from uninteresting preface he says, 'Johnson, I fondly believe, would have been pleased, perhaps would have been proud, could he have foreseen this edition.' This is a good deal for an editor to say about his own work, but we are bound to

say that, in the present instance, it is not at all too much. Apart altogether from the Notes and Appendices, the new light thrown upon the text and the fresh information with which Dr. Hill has enriched his edition, the circumstances under which it has been produced have been such that they alone would have been a source of no small gratification to Johnson. Proud of Oxford, warmly attached to Pembroke, and taking a great interest in the Clarendon Press, there are few things, we imagine, which would have given him greater pleasure, or in which he would have taken more pride, than the knowledge that more than a century after his death a distinguished member of his own College would be engaged in preparing a most elaborate edition of his Life, and that in addition to this the Press of his own University was employing its unequalled resources for the purpose of doing honour to his memory, and to the genius of his friend and biographer. Boswell, too, we imagine, would have been equally well pleased. Dr. Hill's admiration for his work, and the labour he has devoted to it, would have been highly flattering to his vanity, and his own words leave no doubt as to the feelings with which he would have regarded the tribute paid to him by the University which he had learned, through his intimacy with Johnson, to look up to with something like reverential respect. But to leave the region of speculation; Dr. Hill deserves to be very warmly congratulated on the result of his long and patient, and, if we may so say, affectionate labours. With the help of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press he has produced an edition of Boswell which is not excelled, and which is almost, if not altogether, without a rival. Finality in connections with editions of Boswell is not, we imagine, to be thought of; but be that as it may, there seems to be every probability, though forecasts in literary matters are almost as hazardous as in politics, that for many years to come Dr. Hill's will be the standard edition.

In mechanical workmanship the volumes are admirable. If they have any fault, it is that they are just a trifle heavy for continuous holding in the hand; but so far as paper, printing, illustration and binding are concerned they are simply sumptuous, and form a very handsome set indeed.

Of the illustrative matter added by Dr. Hill in the shape of notes and appendices, and in which, of course, the chief value of the edition consists, it is difficult to speak too highly. The Notes are necessarily numerous; for as Dr. Hill appositely remarks 'Books which were in the hands of almost every reader of the "Life" when it first appeared are now read only by the curious. Allusions and quotations which once fell upon a familiar and friendly ear now fall dead. Men whose names were known to every one, now often have not even a line in a Dictionary of Biography. Over manners, too, a change has come, and as Johnson justly observes, "all works which describe manners require notes in sixty or seventy years, or less."' And besides, Dr. Hill has had not only to annotate Boswell's narrative, but also to illustrate as well Johnson's sayings—a task which, as no reader of Boswell, or for that matter of Johnson, needs to be told, involves no inconsiderable amount of labour. That Dr. Hill has executed this, the principal, part of his task with admirable skill we have already hinted. As to quotations, he has pointed out for the first time that on page 113 of Vol. III., Boswell quotes the words 'fervour of Loyalty' from the 3rd edition of his 'Hebrides,' where, however, he lays the emphasis differently, writing '*fervour* of loyalty.' On pp. 117-118, again we have an admirable note on the beautiful lines—

Verse sweetens toil, however rude the sound,
All at her work the village maiden sings, &c.;

in which they are traced to a volume of anonymous poems, written by the

Rev. Rich. Gifford of Balliol College, Oxford, and published in 1753. Most will agree with Dr. Hill when he says in reference to this: 'That I have lighted upon the beautiful lines which Johnson quoted when he saw the Highland girl singing at her wheel, and have found out who was "one Giffard," or rather Gifford, "a parson," is to me a source of just triumph.' Discoveries of this sort are reserved for the chosen few, and often involve hours of wearied and almost hopeless search; but when they are made the sense of weariness gives place to an inexpressible joy. 'I have not known,' says Dr. Hill, 'many happier hours than the one in which, in the Library of the British Museum, my patient investigation was rewarded, and I perused *Contemplation*.' One note in the first volume shows that the story of Johnson's listening to Sacheverel's sermon is not in any way improbable; while another (pp. 103-5), gives an elaborate account of Johnson's bibulous habits, in which the conclusion is arrived at that Johnson was of opinion that the gout from which he suffered was due to his temperance. Here, however, it is impossible to refer to all the notes to which attention deserves to be directed. It must suffice to say that, numerous as they are, we would not willingly dispense with any of them. Throwing light upon the text, and enabling the reader to form a more distinct conception of the men and times to which it refers, they are just what notes to Boswell ought to be.

In two respects Dr. Hill's edition is unrivalled. In the first place it contains several important additions to the Life; and in the second its indices are more elaborate than any we can remember to have seen. Among the first may be mentioned fifteen hitherto unpublished letters of Johnson's, his college composition in Latin prose, a suppressed passage in his *Journey to the Western Isles*, and Mr. Recorder Langley's record of his conversation with Johnson on Greek metres. The indices have a volume of over 300 pages almost all to themselves. One of them takes the shape of a concordance to Johnson's sayings, and is of abundant usefulness. It is to be hoped that Dr. Hill will be able to bring out his other volumes connected with Johnson, and that the success of his *Boswell* will be, as it ought to be, such as to do considerably more than encourage him.

David Kennedy, The Scottish Singer: Reminiscences of his Life and Work: by MARJORY KENNEDY: and *Singing Round the World, a Narrative of his Colonial and Indian Tours*: by DAVID KENNEDY, Jun. Portrait and Illustrations. Paisley and London: Alex. Gardner, 1887.

This is a book which appeals to Scotsmen all over the world, and which Scotsmen all over the world will read with pleasure as deep almost as that with which they listened to the famous Scottish singer as he rendered before them in his own inimitable way the songs and ballads of their native land. Kennedy was a genuine Scot, full of patriotism, and passionately devoted to his art. He came of a singing family, and his highest ambition was to awaken the enthusiasm of Scotsmen, wherever they were to be found, for Scottish music and Scottish songs. Trained up in the old Scottish school of piety he was withal a profoundly religious man, and entertained his ambition in no sordid spirit. One of the most striking passages in the sketch which his daughter has here given of him, is that in which she describes his decision to devote himself exclusively to the singing of the old songs which were continually haunting his mind. Born at Perth, he was apprenticed to a house-painter, and proved himself a good workman and a successful man of business. His leisure hours, however, were given to music, and his Sundays to leading the Psalms, first in the Church in

Perth, where his father had acted as precentor, and afterwards in one of the Edinburgh Churches. But do what he would, the thought was always returning to him that his mission in life was to make known the songs of Scotland. 'From a boy,' writes his daughter, 'he had cherished the hope of being able to follow the footsteps of Wilson and Templeton. Years only strengthened his belief that he was born to be their successor. After five years of happy married life, his wife died, leaving him with three bairns—two sons, David and Robert, and one daughter Helen. In his loneliness more than ever, the call to sing his country's songs forced itself upon him. Going down a lane one day, he prayed God to help him, to tell him if it were His will that he should be a singer of the songs of Scotland. The answer came "Thou shalt sing;" and from that day he decided to take the daring step of changing his whole career.' This reminds one of the way in which some of the old Italian painters speak of their relations to their own art, and of the spirit in which they pursued it. Kennedy had undoubtedly a sort of inspiration for his art, and always practised it in a religious spirit. We cannot here follow his daughter in the delightful sketch she has given of her father; we can only recommend its perusal. There is much in it to amuse as well as to edify. Kennedy had in him a genuine fund of humour, and was never happier than when he could gather around him a number of brother Scots, and throw into their lives a gleam of joy, or stir their enthusiasm for their country's history or their country's songs. The second part of the volume has appeared before, but the reader will be pleased to have it in its present shape, and to renew his acquaintance with the many pleasant incidents it relates.

A Collection of Letters of W. M. Thackeray, 1847-1855. Portrait and facsimiles. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1887.

The publication of letters by instalments when they are worth publishing is just about as unsatisfactory and tantalising as the publication of a three volume novel chapter by chapter in the pages of a monthly. It is true we have not here the whole of Thackeray's letters, but we have a series, and one is glad to get them in a collected and permanent form if for no other reason than that we are saved the annoyance of having to wait for the 'next number.' Most of them were written to Mr. and Mrs. Brookfield, two of Thackeray's most intimate friends. Since Thackeray ceased to write we have had nothing like them. They are full of kindly, genial humour, and though penned without the slightest idea of publication, they are written in that same admirable and inimitable style which readers of Thackeray have become accustomed to in his novels. Their publication, we should say, will do away with the idea, if it still exists in the minds of any who are open to conviction, that their writer was little better than a cynic, without sympathy or feeling for the miseries and follies of the world. They bear abundant evidence to the contrary. During the time they were written *Pendennis* was on the way, and one hears much about its progress. Here and there too is a note that such and such an one will do for a chapter, which will doubtless send many in quest of the characters. The sketches are in Thackeray's usual style, neither better nor worse, though an exception ought to be made in favour of the 'Lady of the House,' probably intended for Lady Castlereagh, which is the best in the book, and one of the best Thackeray has done. Here and there is a passage in the letters which might have been left out. The subject of one is probably still living, and if so might have been spared the pain its perusal is sure to give. Apart from this, however, the book is one of the most charming we have seen.

The Feeling for Nature in Scottish Poetry. By JOHN VEITCH, Professor of Logic and Rhetoric in the University of Glasgow. 2 Vols. Wm. Blackwood & Sons: Edinburgh and London. 1887.

In these two handsome and beautifully printed little volumes Professor Veitch has opened up an interesting and somewhat novel line of inquiry. A genuine Wordsworthian himself, he has undertaken to find out how far the feelings with which he has learned to regard the glens, hills and dales, and the other features of the natural scenery of the South of Scotland have been shared in by others in other times, through what phases these feelings have passed, and how they have come to be what they are. The inquiry is certainly curious as well as interesting, and if the volumes he has written do no more than direct attention to the old poetry of Scotland and revive an interest in it, they will not have been written in vain.

Whatever the feeling for nature may be in the present, it can not be said that the feeling for Old Scottish poetry is particularly strong. Outside a very limited circle it is very difficult to find any one who takes anything like a lively or intelligent interest in it, or who knows much, or even a little, about it. What interest is taken in it, moreover, is mostly of the philological kind. As poetry it is seldom read. The very language in which it is written is becoming to many a stone of stumbling. Scotchmen well versed in colloquial Scotch, and speaking it, have been known to look at a page of Barbour or Dunbar as if it were as unintelligible as a page of Dutch, and others who have passed through the curriculum of a university have been heard to put inquiries betraying the most pathetic ignorance respecting such poems as 'The Bruce,' 'Wallace,' 'The Flyting of Dunbar and Kennedie,' and 'The Golden Targe.' This, we should say, is not as it ought to be. A nation should at least study as well as esteem its literature, if for no other reason than that it contains within it the sure indications of that strong deep life which is its own noblest inheritance.

Roughly speaking, the contents of Professor Veitch's volumes divide themselves into two parts. First we have an Essay, or a series of chapters, covering over a hundred pages, partly historical and partly philosophical, devoted for the most part to the discussion of what is meant by the feeling for nature. The rest of the volumes is occupied by a number of illustrative passages selected from the poets of Scotland, and accompanied by biographical, historical, exegetical, and other notes.

Of the two parts we must own to a preference for the second. The passages chosen are numerous and good, though any one well read would probably have no difficulty in finding others quite as numerous and of quite as excellent a quality for the purpose in hand. The running commentary, however, barring the historical and biographical and similar passages, none other than an unfaltering worshipper of Nature after the Wordsworthian type could have written. It is here, we imagine, that the reader will find most to instruct and delight him. We say 'delight' advisedly, because Professor Veitch here, as elsewhere, writes with a charming lucidity, and brings out niceties and points of beauty which the reader, reading with the breathless haste which is now in vogue, will, ten chances to one, unless his attention be called to them, overlook. It is here, too, that we find several things for which in their proper place in the introductory essay, we looked in vain; as, for instance, Professor Veitch's views as to the influence of the French Romantic Poetry on the early Poetry of Scotland. In his 'Historical Survey' he does not mention it, but when dealing with the passages selected from the Romances he does. More, however, might have been

said than Professor Veitch has condescended to say, and in our opinion ought to have been said. Of course there is always the excuse that very little is known about the subject, and above all the difficulty, if not the impossibility, of determining which of the Romances are of really Scottish origin and which are merely Scottish adaptations of Southern or French poems. Yet Professor Veitch is so capable a writer, and as a Scottish professor is in possession of so much leisure, that one is somewhat disappointed to find he has so little to say on a topic which is certainly of not a little importance.

The introductory chapters are, to say the least, excellent reading. The author's own feeling for Nature comes out distinctly, but whether he has altogether apprehended the situation or been just towards the feelings which were entertained by others for the varying aspects of the outward world, may be doubted. The feeling of Homer and Shakespeare for Nature seems to us to be underrated. Neither of them, it is true, were members of the Wordsworthian cult; but it would not be difficult to quote some dozens of passages from each to show that they had as keen a perception and as true an enjoyment of the beauty and grandeur of the phenomenal world as any modern. Their feeling for them was at least healthy and natural, and not, as is often the case now, sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought, or of sentimentalism. Dr. Johnson, we imagine, is a little too hardly dealt with. We must own to considerable sympathy with his description of the dreary aspect, at certain seasons and under certain circumstances, of the western moors. We can sympathise, too, as most people are in the habit of doing, with the old poets in their aversion to winter, and just as heartily can we with their exhilaration and joy at the return of spring. We are not sure, however, that what the poets, both ancient and modern, say in respect to nature and their feeling for it is not at times to a very large extent simply conventional. For instance, why does every poet, ancient as well as modern, conceive it to be his business to say something in praise of the month of May. In the south of England, the month is certainly beautiful and deserves all the praise that can be given to it, or has hitherto been sung about it; but in the south-east of Scotland with its 'haars' and bitter east winds, a good deal of courage is required to pronounce it beautiful except perhaps at intervals which unfortunately are extremely rare. This, however, is a point on which Professor Veitch has nothing to say, though the family likeness among many of the passages he has quoted suggests that there is about them not a little of the conventional.

One of the introductory chapters, in fact the first, contains an elaborate analysis of the development of the feeling for nature. Theoretically the analysis seems accurate enough, but whether it is true historically, is open to question. The last stage would seem to be involved in the first. At all events it is a fair question for discussion whether the consciousness of that Spirit and Power which Wordsworth speaks of in 'Tintern Abbey,' and in the fragment beginning 'Spirit and Power of the Universe,' is not given, in some measure at least, with the most rudimentary perception of the surpassing beauty and grandeur of the physical world.

The questions, however, which Professor's Veitch's philosophical and historical chapters suggest are numerous. We can assure those who are wise enough to take up his volumes and to devote to them a few weeks or even hours of careful study, that they will find in them much matter for thought, and much to instruct and entertain them in the pleasantest way. They are a valuable addition to our literature, and ought to awaken a living interest in the study of our poets, both modern and ancient.

Principles of English Etymology. By the Rev. WALTER W. SKEAT, Litt. D., &c. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1887.

This volume is intended to serve as a help to the student of etymology, and may be regarded as an exposition of the principles Dr. Skeat has applied with such admirable skill in his *Etymological Dictionary*. Words of Greek, Latin, French and Semitic origin are, with a few exceptions, left aside for separate treatment in a future volume. Those dealt with here belong, with the exception of a few Latin words adopted into Anglo-Saxon and a number of Celtic words, exclusively to the native or Teutonic element of the language. Dr. Skeat trusts that the volume contains nothing original. An attentive perusal has convinced us that it does not. Though it contains much that will be new to the reader and student, it is from beginning to end strictly conservative. And rightly so; for science, unlike art, has no room for invention. All that the best minds can do in connection with it is to detect and interpret. This is exactly, as it seems to us, what Dr. Skeat has done; he has done it, too, with the assistance of his own previous work, and that of those who have laboured in the same field before and along with him, in a very masterly fashion. The method he has adopted, though perhaps not strictly accurate from a theoretical point of view, has much to commend it from the point of view of the teacher. In point of fact, indeed, the book is a teacher's book, and has evidently been constructed more for the purposes of teacher and pupil than for the use of advanced students. First of all, we have a chapter on the sources and history of the English language; then an explanation, with specimens, of the three principal Middle-English dialects corresponding to the three principal dialects of the earliest period. The chief Anglo-Saxon vowel-sounds are next discussed, the discussion being confined, for a very obvious reason, to the history of the long vowels. Two chapters are devoted to explaining the relation in which Anglo-Saxon stands, first to the other Teutonic languages, and secondly to the other Aryan tongues. Grimm's law and Verner's are then explained, Grimm's being stated first in its usual, and then in a more simple form. The three following chapters are given to prefixes and suffixes. In the next chapter roots are dealt with. The two chapters which immediately follow this, deal with the highly important subject of English spelling, and are among the most interesting in the volume. Chapters are also devoted to the Celtic and Scandinavian elements, and another to the Old Friesic and Old Dutch. Altogether the work is one of great value, and to the students of the English language who, thanks to the labours of Dr. Skeat and others, are rapidly increasing in numbers, cannot fail to be of immense service. To those who wish to make the best use of the *Etymological Dictionary*, it will be indispensable.

Studies in the Topography of Galloway. By Sir HERBERT EUSTACE MAXWELL, Bart. of Monreith, M.P., &c. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1887.

Place-names have long been a favourite subject, if not of study, at least of speculation; and many a wild guess has been made in respect to their meaning and origin. Charles Mackay's amusing account of the derivation of Teddington is well known. Sir Herbert Maxwell mentions one or two other etymological attempts which are scarcely less amusing. 'Lochan-hour,' the name of a small loch in the parish of Glasserton, which, owing to comparatively recent drainage, is apt to become dry in summer and to reappear with the autumn rains, has been supposed to mean loch-in-an-

hour, and the loch has been so named, it has been said, because an hour's rain is sufficient to fill it. The real meaning of the word, however, is the grey tarn, from *lochán odhar*, and the lakelet has in all probability been so named in consequence of the colour of a huge mass of rock lying along its northern shore. Phoenix Park, Dublin, is supposed by most people to owe its name to some connection with the fabled Phoenix; but as a matter of fact 'Phoenix' is, in this case, simply a corruption of *fionn uisc* [finn isk], the clear water, originally the name of the beautiful and perfectly transparent spring well near the Phoenix Pillar, the water of which is now used for supplying the pond near the Zoological Gardens. 'Auld Taggart,' again, the name of a hill in the parish of Inch, may be explained by etymologists of the Teddington School as the hill of some venerable individual named Taggart, but, as Sir Herbert Maxwell points out, its correct derivation is *Allt-t-sagairt*, the priest's glen or stream, a name which, in accordance with a process he subsequently explains, has probably been transferred to it from a neighbouring stream.

In his careful and scholarly introductory essay Sir Herbert Maxwell touches upon several very interesting and very important questions. First of all there is the question of the successive waves of population that occupied both Scotland and the district of Galloway. Adopting the theory which is now very generally accepted, he remarks: 'The Gaels were not the aboriginal inhabitants of the land of Alba. It may be assumed, with something approaching certainty, that they were preceded by a small-boned, long-skulled, dark-haired race, speaking a dialect of Iverian, a language which survives in the Basque Province, and which cannot as yet be assigned to any known family of speech. This people, we may believe, were not overcome, extirpated, or absorbed without a prolonged and intermittent struggle.' But whether their invaders belonged to the Goidhelic or Brythonic branch of the Celtic race is left uncertain. The question is of some interest, and in fact of sufficient importance to deserve careful discussion. So, again, is the question whether the Celts of Galloway were invaded by the Picts. Sir Herbert Maxwell would seem to identify them, and to attribute to the latter the naming of most of the places in Galloway. 'If,' he says, 'the Picts of Galloway spoke the Pictish language, it appears from the evidence of these names to have belonged to the Goidhelic or Gaelic rather than to the Brythonic or Welsh branch, which prevailed in the adjacent territory of Alclyde; indeed the close resemblance borne by our local names to those of Ulster almost compels the assumption that the Picts of Galloway and the Scots of Dalriada spoke a common tongue.' It is quite probable, however, that Galloway owes the majority of its place-names to a race of Celts who preceded the Picts, and that the Picts of Galloway did not use the same tongue as the Scots of Dalriada.

The list of place-names Sir Herbert Maxwell has given includes some 4000 names, many of which are compared with the names of places in Argyllshire and Ireland. The whole of these 4000 fall into five classes: First, a number to which no meaning can at present be assigned, and which are supposed to be survivals from the aboriginal speech, probably greatly altered in form by Celtic tongues and subsequent reduction into English writing; these are referred to a period anterior to the Christian era. Secondly, names derived from the Goidhelic branch of the Celtic tongue; these are by far the most numerous. Thirdly, a limited number of names in the Brythonic branch of Celtic, supposed to have been imported into Galloway from the neighbouring kingdom of Strathclyde during the interval between the Sixth Century and the Eleventh. Fourthly, names obtained from the Anglo-Saxon or from the Old Northern English dialect. Fifthly, names of a Scandinavian origin. Sixthly, names in English or Broad Scots,

not older than the Thirteenth Century. Another very useful but less comprehensive division is got by dividing the names derived from the Gaelic into simple and compound. Those of the first class consist either of a substantive indicative of some natural feature, or of an adjectival derivative from the name of some animal, plant, or natural feature which distinguished the locality. Examples of the first are Clone, from *cluain*, a meadow; Drum, from *druim*, a ridge; Blair, from *blár*, a plain. Examples of the other are Blairbuy, from *blár*, a field, and *buidhe*, yellow; Auchenshinnoch, from *achadh*, a field, and *au sionnach*, of the fox; Balgown, from *baile*, the ground or house, and *gobhain*, a smith.

For the derivation of a large number of the words Sir Herbert Maxwell has followed the safe guidance of Drs. Reeves, Joyce, and Skeat. A few of the etymologies given are conjectural, but on the whole the work is very carefully done. A similar work done for the whole country would be replete with interest, and might be the means of throwing not a little light on the events and conditions of the past.

Spanish and Italian Folk-Songs. Translated by ALMA STRETT-TELL. Illustrated. London and New York: Macmillan & Co. 1887.

This is a remarkably dainty little book, beautiful in its binding, printing, and illustrations. There is a maximum of margin with a minimum of print; but then the print is of the rarest and most striking, if not always of the most agreeable kind. The spirit breathed in one or two of the 'cautes flamencos' is of the very fiercest, and cuts deep and keen like the sharpest knife. But the gipsies all the world over are noted for their intensity, more especially for the intensity of their feelings of revenge; and the one or two specimens of *solears* here given in which these feelings are expressed, show that the Spanish gipsy is not in this respect by any means of a gentler temper than his race is usually supposed to be. Take for instance the following:

'Go to! may they shoot thee dead!
Let my glances fire the powder,
With my sights the ball be sped.'

Or what can be more fierce, or to use a Scotch word, more 'fell,' than the spirit breathed in the lines:

'If I may not take revenge in life,
In death shall my vengeance be,
For I will seek through all the graves
Until I find out thee.'

Here, however, is one of a different temper:

'When I have lain ten years in death,
And worms have fed on me,
Writ on my bones shall yet be found
The love I bore to thee.'

Tenderer too is the following:

'For all the pains thou causest me
I will not be revenged on thee;
Since, that I loved thee once so well
Avails thee for a sanctuary.'

The Italian songs have been gathered chiefly from Tuscany and Sicily. Some of these, in fact most of them touch the level of genuine poetry. Here is one from Tuscany, which may be taken as a sample of the rest:

'The moon is come, with lamentations sore,
 To make complaint before th' Eternal Love ;
 She says that she will stay in heaven no more
 Since you have stol'n her splendour from above.
 And she laments aloud, with much ado,
 That counting o'er her stars, she misses two ;
 She seeks, but cannot find them in the skies ;
 'Tis you that have them—they are your two eyes.'

The introduction with which the volume opens contains an interesting account of the Gipsy and Italian songs, and justly laments the decay of the art of improvising both in Tuscany and Sicily.

A Venetian Lover. By EDWARD KING. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co., 1887.

Mr. King is already very favourably known as the author of a clever volume of verse entitled *Echoes from the Orient*. *A Venetian Lover* will do much to increase his reputation. Of Mr. King's art as a poet there can be no doubt. The apparently unstudied character of his verse, his simplicity of diction, the absence of rhetorical tricks or artifices, and the strain of intense fervour which pervades the poem, which perhaps justifies a somewhat too great fondness for superlatives, are remarkable. Remarkable, too, is the Venetian lover's story; as he relates it, it is impossible not to sympathize with him. The descriptive parts of the poem are exceptionally good, particularly the description of the ancestral home in Venice, and that of the meeting in the Forum. The incident which sets the lovers free is perhaps a little too sensational, but even here Mr. King's self-restraint does not entirely forsake him. The songs which occur throughout the volume are deserving of special notice. Their lyrical quality is unquestionable, and not the least noteworthy feature about them is their suggestiveness. Altogether *A Venetian Lover* is one of the best poems we have seen from America for a considerable period.

Ogham Inscriptions in Ireland, Wales and Scotland. By the late Sir SAMUEL FERGUSON. Edinburgh: David Douglas, 1887.

This volume contains the Rhind lectures for 1884, and appearing just after their author has passed away reminds us of the great loss archæology has sustained by his removal from amongst us. The subject with which the lectures deal is beset with extraordinary difficulties, and on this account is not likely to become popular. Like the Rune, the Ogham employed straight strokes easily carved on wood or stone for forming the alphabetic letters; but the original Runic alphabet, though the foundation on which the cryptic Tree-Runes were formed, was not intended to be of a cryptic nature. The Ogham was, and seems, notwithstanding the preservation of the key to its alphabet in the Book of Ballymote, destined to remained so. 'The Ogham,' to use Sir Samuel Ferguson's words, 'notwithstanding the apparent simplicity of its arrangement, has an inherent element of uncertainty, unknown, I believe, in any other alphabet. The distinctive shapes of the letters of the Futhorc, and the slope of the Tree-Rune branches, always assure us against reading the letter-band upside down, or, in the Futhorc, in an order reverse to that intended by the carver. But the nature of the Ogham is such that a digit or group of digits which, looked at from one side, appears below the line, will appear above it, and express a different letter, if looked at from the other; and that, unless there be some sign, as in old Ogham there never is, to indicate from which end of the legend the reading is to commence, a trial reading must be made from each

end as well as each side.' This is not the only difficulty the interpreter of Ogham inscriptions has to deal with. Some inscriptions, like the one dug up from a cave at Monataggart, in the parish of Donoughmore, require to be read backward before anything intelligible can be got out of them. Then there are the difficulties arising from inexact spacings on the part of the carver, and from the fact that most of the inscriptions have suffered from weathering, and are all in a more or less imperfect condition. In short the liability to err in their interpretation is extremely great; and, as Sir S. Ferguson very fairly remarks, 'there is no pursuit in which more room should exist for distrust of one's own observation, or gentleness in dissenting from the observations of others, than this research, in a field where so many accidents of light and position conduce to varieties of impressions on different eyes, and to conflicts of statement among eye-witnesses.' From beginning to end the lectures before us are pervaded by an air of uncertainty. Considering the state of knowledge anything else could scarcely be expected. To pretend that any definite analysis of Ogham texts is at present possible would, as Sir S. Ferguson has very candidly remarked, be premature, and indeed arrogant. They can only be presented as 'inviting to induction rather than as expounding inductive results,' and it says not a little for the scientific character of the volume before us that it is entirely free from dogmatism. Its chief value, however, consists in the fact that it contains a description of all the Ogham texts known to exist in the United Kingdom. Of these Ireland can claim no fewer than close on two hundred, Wales preserves eighteen, two are to be found in the South of England, six are on the mainland of Scotland, and four are in the Orkney and Shetland Islands. The Scottish Oghamic monuments belong to what has been termed the scholastic variety, and in most instances are associated with Picto-Scottish forms of sculpture. Beginning with the most northern Sir Samuel Ferguson first describes the three inscriptions found in Shetland, and then the solitary example found in the island of North Ronaldsay. Those on the Mainland are at Newton, in the Garioch; at Logie and Aboyne, Aberdeenshire; Scoonie in Fife, Golspie in Sutherland; and the Brodie Stone in Elginshire. Incidentally Sir Samuel Ferguson discusses the character and meaning of the sculptures with which most of these are associated, and gives reasons, additional to those already given by Dr. Anderson, for assuming, independently of the symbol of the cross, that they are of Christian and not Pagan origin. So far the value of Ogham inscriptions would appear to be philological rather than historical; but what it is remains to be seen. At present the whole subject of their meaning and value is shrouded in mystery.

Palæolithic Man in North-West Middlesex. By JNO. ALLEN BROWN, F.G.S., &c. Illustrated. London: Macmillan & Co., 1887.

The aim of this volume is chiefly to set before the reader some of the facts on which the prevalent opinion respecting the antiquity of the human race is based. The facts to which Mr. Brown confines himself are such as have come under his own observation while studying the formation of the Thames valley about Ealing and its neighbourhood. These are, to say the least, extremely interesting, for in the course of his investigations he has been able to demonstrate the existence of several successive land surfaces, and to discover not only isolated flint weapons and tools of the palæolithic period, but also an entire workshop with a large quantity of tools and weapons in various stages of manufacture, and apparently in precisely the positions in which they were left by the people who were engaged in making

them. This last discovery was made at Creffield Road, and though not singular is certainly of importance. Speaking of it Mr. Brown says—'I obtained nearly 500 implements, worked flakes and waste fragments, at the depth of six feet from the surface. They were (as many of them still are) covered with the sandy loam of which the lowest part of the brick earths is here composed; many of them are white, while many of them are more or less discoloured, and a few are entirely so. Most of them appear to have been white, and subsequently mottled and stained of an ochreous tint, from contact with the loamy sand and gravel; some of the specimens have suffered no change, so that the flint is still black. I have seen one or two of the black ones and others taken from the floor while the men have been at work, and I regard the discolouration of the surface of worked flints as an accident of position rather than as a test of age.' Some forty pages are taken up with a recapitulation of the arguments previously advanced for the extreme antiquity of man, but the remainder of the volume is occupied with an account of Mr. Brown's own researches and discoveries, and a not unsuccessful attempt to reproduce the scenery of the Thames valley, and the conditions of its inhabitants during the Palæolithic period. The volume is accompanied by a number of plates representing many of the tools and weapons discovered by Mr. Brown, all of which are clearly and succinctly described. As the work of a local observer the volume has considerable value.

Les Du Cerceau, leur vie et leur œuvre. Par Le Baron Henry de Geymüller. Paris: Jules Rouam; London: Gilbert Wood, & Co., 1887.

The Du Cerceau have been singularly unfortunate. Hitherto very little has been known about them; the father and son have been confounded; the son has been made the father of his own father; and their title to be called architects has been altogether denied. With the assistance of a considerable number of inedited documents, the author of the present volume of the *Bibliothèque Internationale de l'Art* has set himself to lift both Jacques Androuet d'Étigny and his son Baptiste out of the obscurity into which they have unmeritedly fallen, and to vindicate both their claim to be called architects and their just position in the French Renaissance movement of the Sixteenth Century. Of his success it is hardly necessary to speak. Among the most helpful and valuable of the documents he has employed is a series of sixty-one sketches, covering the two sides of fourteen sheets of paper belonging to the Royal Library at Munich, where they long lay without their authorship being recognised. M. de Geymüller's attention was first called to them towards the close of the year 1884 by Dr. Meyer, the Secretary of the Munich Library, and when they were subsequently forwarded to him, he was able after a careful examination of them, to show that they were beyond doubt the work of Jacques Androuet père, and must have been executed by him in Italy previous to his return to France about the end of 1533. Besides showing the nature of Du Cerceau's studies, these designs, or sketches rather, are valuable as containing a number of hints not to be met with elsewhere respecting some of the principal architectural monuments of Rome. To St. Peter's, then in process of reconstruction he seems to have paid particular attention, and to have had access to some of the original designs for that masterpiece of Christian architecture. The drawings relating to it are in all eleven. Those relating to the Palace of the Roman Chancellor, another of Bramante's great works, number no fewer than twenty-nine. Among the other buildings to which Jacques Androuet was attracted, and to which he

appears to have devoted considerable study, were the Baths of Diocletian, the Farnese Palace, and the Palace built by Raphael for Giovan Battista dell' Aquila. The drawings are often accompanied by notes, sometimes in the hand of Jacques Androuet himself and sometimes in the hand of another, and though consisting of but a few words, are frequently of considerable value. How long Jacques Androuet remained in Italy it is impossible to say, but it was long enough to exercise a marked influence upon his style. He seems in fact to have taken Bramante for his master, and though not a master of the highest order, seems to have been by no means destitute of talent. This is amply borne out by his various publications, though the buildings which were actually erected according to his designs, and under his personal supervision appear to have been comparatively few, a fact for which it is extremely difficult to give anything like a satisfactory account. It would seem indeed, notwithstanding M. de Geymüller's arguments to the contrary, that M. Berty is not far astray in asserting that Jacques Androuet's life was absorbed mainly in the execution of his designs on paper, which as his various publications show were extremely numerous. It may said, however, that all that can be said in his favour is here said by M. de Geymüller, who has gathered together what little is known of Jacques Androuet and his descendants, and in his amply illustrated pages, has given an elaborate account, both of him and his works.

James Hepburn, Free Church Minister. By SOPHIE F. F. VEITCH.
Author of *Angus Graeme, Gamekeeper, &c.* London and
Paisley: Alexander Gardner, 1887.

This novel bears on its title page the name of Miss Veitch, who thus acknowledges *Angus Graeme, A Lonely Life, Wife or Slave*, and several other works of no mean order in the ranks of imaginative literature. The present novel has all those qualities which distinctly marked its predecessors; the same deep insight into character, and artistic treatment of situation, combined with graphic descriptions of scenery and details which go to form, and are necessary for, the setting of a novel of life and manners in the country. But however varied in character and situation *Angus Graeme* was, we are of opinion that *James Hepburn* is a decided advance upon it. Not only are the characters more varied and sketched with a deeper insight and finer touch, but the writing throughout is better, and the author displays a more complete mastery over her materials, and a keener eye for the ludicrous side of things as seen in the affairs of a small provincial town. James Hepburn, the hero, gets translated from a quiet parish to Mossiel. Hitherto his life has been very uneventful, but when he assumes the pastorate of the Free Church at Mossiel his trials begin. First, he is nearly murdered on his way home one night from Strathellou by James Blackwood, a half rascal and half hero, who mistakes him for another whom he suspects of paying addresses to his sweetheart, Mary Warrender, a light coquettish girl, who in the end is drowned by Blackwood, and as she was Mr. Hepburn's servant, his congregation strangely enough begin to spread the report that their minister is not entirely free from the imputation, till Blackwood, whom he had saved by keeping an attempted murder a profound secret, comes forward and confesses to his drowning, in a fit of madness, his sweetheart, Mary Warrender. We need not go into all details, but leave the reader to get the book for himself. The characters of General Farquharson and his wife, Lady Ellinor, are splendidly drawn—he with his stiff, formal, military habit, yet with a

warm, loving heart beneath it all, and she, yearning for her husband's love, yet repelled by his cold exterior. But the main character, as it ought to be, is Mr. Hepburn. We love him from the very first, and sympathize with him. Strong and manly amidst the scandal and gossip of a small town, he shines the very model of what a clergyman should be. He saves Blackwood, a strange, half-mad character, and yet we feel that with all his inconsistencies he is not overdrawn. He steps in and turns Lady Ellinor Farquharson from a shameful fate even at the risk of his own life. This is but a hasty sketch of some points in the novel whose main purpose, if we have rightly divined the author's intention, is to show that a minister by sterling, upright, manly, conduct, and full of the silent preaching of action, can do more, and extend in a greater degree the sublime precept of 'only love can save,' than by preaching in and out of season; in short, the author has written a novel to point out in the words of its motto that 'The essence of sin is selfishness; the essence of selfishness is individualism.'

The Touchstone of Peril. A Tale of the Indian Mutiny. By
DUDLEY H. THOMAS. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1887.

Mr. Thomas fully merits the award of a 'second edition' which his title page shows that he has received. *The Touchstone of Peril*, nominally a story, would seem to be a narrative, in that form, of actual experiences of the Indian Mutiny, with, presumably, fictitious names and characters introduced. The book is written in a manly, straightforward style, entirely free from that peculiarly vicious form of sensationalism to which such a subject readily lends itself, and, apart from the tragic circumstances of the time, gives a very vivid and interesting—unfortunately we cannot from personal knowledge authoritatively pronounce it correct—sketch of Indian life. The characters alone of Steele and Dacres would make the book well worth reading, as illustrative of the subtle irony of truth—the brilliant favourite relapsing into meanness, and the somewhat ungainly, unprepossessing soldier standing out a born leader of men, and capable of any amount of heroic unselfishness, when the moment of fierce trial comes. Mr. Thomas is a keen and accurate observer. He may, however, mend his literary style. The use of the present tense has always a tendency to vulgarize a story, but when a writer oscillates perpetually between past and present the result is very irritating. A story of so much force, vigour, and interest, as *The Touchstone of Peril* can bear a defect of this sort, though somewhat injured by it; but with a weaker subject it would be a very serious drawback to a book.

Social Aspects of Christianity, by Brooke Foss Westcott, D.D., &c. (Macmillan). In the sermons contained in this volume, Dr. Westcott follows up the line of thought he drew out in his recently published *Christus Consummator*. In that volume his aim was to show, as we pointed out in a previous number, that the great fact of the Incarnation of our Lord, under various aspects, satisfies and transcends the loftiest aspirations and the largest hopes of men. Here he attempts to show how faith in the historic Gospel, in Christ, born, crucified, ascended, guides, supports, and encourages us in dealing with the problem of social life. Human life, he points out, is essentially spiritual with relations passing beyond the visible into the eternal, and having for its sole foundation that one foundation which is already laid, Christ Jesus, the righteous, in Whose Person and earthly history we have a final revelation of the true relations of man to man. The sermons divide themselves into two parts—one dealing with the

Christian aspects of the elements of social life, and the other with the Christian aspects of its organisation. In the former man's relations in connection with the family, nation, race, and Church are discussed, and in the second, some mediæval and modern attempts to establish the Kingdom of God upon the earth in a visible form. The treatment of these great topics is, as we need hardly say, thoughtful and suggestive, and in some respects the book deserves to be regarded as important. It is impossible to read it carefully without profit.

To the student of the book of Genesis, and even to the reader, if he is able to use the Hebrew Dictionary, Mr. G. J. Spurrell's *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Book of Genesis* (Clarendon Press), will prove extremely useful. The notes are for the most part grammatical and but rarely theological. They are brief and pithy, and contain abundant references both for similar uses and constructions, and to other works for further information. Continual reference is made to the LXX. and other Greek versions, to the Targums of Onkelos, Jerusalem and Pseudo-Jonathan, to the Peshitta, and to the two English versions. Special attention has been paid to the syntax, and two appendices have been added, the one on the structure of the book of Genesis, and the other on the names of God.

In this connection we may mention another work issued by the same Publishers—Dr. Wicke's *Treatise on the Accentuation of the Twenty-one so-called Prose Books of the Old Testament*. Among specialists this work will be received with the same favour as the author's previous treatise on *The Three Poetical Books of the Old Testament*, and esteemed as a further sign of the revival of Hebrew studies.

The Pleasures of Life, by Sir John Lubbock, Bart., M.P. (Macmillan), contains the substance of a number of addresses delivered by the author to the members of various educational institutions. The subjects are such as 'The Duty of Happiness,' 'The Happiness of Duty,' 'The Choice of Books,' 'The Pleasures of Travel,' 'The Blessedness of Friends,' 'Science,' 'The Value of Time,' on all of which Sir John Lubbock discourses with great freshness and sagacity. His pages abound in excellent advice and must have been extremely helpful to those to whom he discoursed. One feature of the little volume is its abundance of quotations. Some of them are probably well known, but containing, as they do, some of the ripest thoughts both of the past and the present, one is glad to get them in so handy a form, and more especially in the excellent setting with which Sir John Lubbock has here provided them. As a companion for the country or for a lonely half-hour, this volume will be extremely acceptable.

The last volume we have received of 'The Story of the Nations' Series' is *Hungary in Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern Times*, by Arminius Vambery with the collaboration of Louis Heilprin (Fisher Unwin); and a delightful book it is. The authors claim for it that it is 'The first story of Hungary written in English;' but whether that be the case or not, as a piece of literary work it is admirable. M. Vambery and his collaborateur have been fortunate in their subject; for the history of few countries records so many striking and romantic episodes; and on these they have mainly dwelt, giving a series of pictures at once minute and graphic. From beginning to end there is not a dull page in the volume. It is an excellent introduction to the history of the country. The authors deserve to be complimented on their knowledge of the English language. It is not often that one sees it used as effectively as it is here by two foreigners. Their mastery over it, in fact, is one of the features of the book.

Messrs. Macmillan & Co., have issued a new edition of Dr. Geikie's charmingly instructive volume on *The Scenery of Scotland viewed in connection with its Physical Geology*. Excellent as the original edition was, in its new form the work has undergone very considerable improvement, large parts of it having been re-written, and much new matter having been added. The impression which the work made some quarter of a century ago is still fresh. We have renewed our acquaintance with it with pleasure, and know few books of its kind possessing so profound an interest or so delightfully instructive.

Three Years in Shetland, by the Rev. John Russell, M.A. (Alexander Gardner). Some time ago Mr. Russell spent three years in Shetland as minister of the parish of Whalsay, and has here written down many of the things he observed in that far away corner of the Kingdom. That his book is faultless we cannot say. Most of the faults, though amusing, are scarcely excusable, and are due we suppose either to inexperience or carelessness. But this must be said of them, they are chiefly grammatical, and scarcely affect the value and interest of the book. Mr. Russell was in Whalsay just when the transition period was setting in, and the inhabitants were beginning to give up their primitive habits and to adopt the habits of thought and living imported from the South; his notes are about all things he saw and experienced, his own duties and difficulties, his elders and congregation, schools and schoolmasters, the food, clothing, manners, occupations and condition of the people, the scenery, fauna and flora of the islands, their antiquities and climate, and the consequence is his pages, which are written with the greatest simplicity and the best of feeling, are singularly attractive and induce one to overlook the literary faults we have referred to entirely. We hope that Mr. Russell may have the opportunity of correcting them in further editions.

According to Cocker (Alex. Gardner), is a very handsome volume by Mr. Anderson Smith of Benderloch, on the progress of the art of penmanship, and is illustrated by the reproduction of Cocker's *Penna Volans* and *Multum in Parvo*, and examples from other works on calligraphy. The plates have been executed with great care. In the essay Mr. Smith develops his ideas respecting the origin and development of handwriting. This subject deserves even a larger treatment than he has here ventured to give it. What he has written only awakens the desire to know more. In France, M. Lecoy de la Marche has recently dealt with the subject at greater length. It is to be hoped that Mr. Smith will turn his attention to it yet more, and give us what may really be called a history of the art of writing, as practised in the Three Kingdoms.

A Second School Poetry Book (Macmillan), is a sequel to Mrs. M. A. Wood's previous volume entitled *A First School Poetry Book*. Here as in its predecessor, the selection has been made with taste and judgment. The pieces chosen are just such, we should say, as children, whether boys or girls, of from eleven to fourteen years of age, will have pleasure in reading, if not in committing to memory. The best writers of all schools of poetry have been selected from. We are glad to see that several poems in Lowland Scotch have been included.

The latest addition to the 'Clarendon Press Series' of School-books is *The Poems of Laurence Minot*, edited with introduction and notes by Mr. Joseph Hall, M.A., a work of sound scholarship and deserving the highest praise. Text, introduction, notes and glossary, are all excellent. We have some doubt whether the work is not too elaborate for a school-book;

but be that as it may, we are glad to be able to welcome it. A good edition of Minot's poems has long been wanting, and Mr. Hall has supplied one

Among other books we have received the following :—*Free Church Principles*, by the Rev. W. Wilson, D.D. (Macniven & Wallace); *A Comparative View of Church Organizations, Primitive and Protestant*, by the Rev. J. H. Rigg, D.D. (T. Woolmer); *Solomon: His Life and Times*, by F. W. Farrar, D.D. (Nisbet); *Truth and Trinity* (Wyman); *The Scriptural Doctrines of the Church*, by D. D. Bannerman, M.A. (T. & T. Clark); *A Treatise on the Principle of Sufficient Reason*, by Mrs. P. F. Fitzgerald (Thos. Laurie); *A Commentary on the Two Epistles of St. Paul to the Corinthians*, by the late Rev. W. Kay, D.D. (Macmillan); *The Christ and the Fathers*, by A Historical Scientist (Williams & Norgate); *The Anatomy of Negation*, by Edgar Saltres (Williams & Norgate); *The First Nine Years of the Bank of England*, by J. E. Thorold Rogers (Clarendon Press); *An Eastern Vacation in Greece*, by J. E. Sandys (Macmillan); *Social Arrows*, New Edition, by Lord Brabazon (Longmans); *Isaure, and other Poems*, by W. S. Ross (Stewart); *John Dalrymple*, by D. Paterson (Gillespie Bros.); *La Maison de Vie*, trad. par Clemence Couve (Lemerre, Paris); *Present Day Tracts*, Vol. viii. (Religious Tract Society); *Tolerance*, by Philip Brooks (Macmillan); *Matter and Energy*, by B. L. L. (Kegan Paul, & Co.); *The Nibelungen Lied*, translated by Alfred G. Foster-Barham (Macmillan).

SUMMARIES OF FOREIGN REVIEWS.

BIBLIOTHEQUE UNIVERSELLE ET REVUE SUISSE (August).—Where are the saints of Protestantism? M. Francis de Pressensé answers the question with a review of the life and work of the late Lord Shaftesbury. If a saint be a man who lives for God and believes that he cannot serve him better than by serving humanity; if it be the gratitude of the wretched which canonises more effectually than the decrees of the Vatican, no one, he thinks, deserves more fully than Lord Shaftesbury to be inscribed on the calendar of the universal Church.—Under the title 'Alpine Flowers' M. Joseph Bajovar relates a curious little romance in which the unfortunate Louis II. of Bavaria appears as the most idealistic of lovers. The episode is pathetic, but is somewhat marred in the telling by mawkishness of sentiment.—M. Henri Jacottet concludes his sympathetic study of Mrs. Browning.—The jubilee fever appears to have spread even on the continent, and as the result we are presented by M. Léo Quesnel with 'Fifty Years of English History' based on Mr. Thomas Humphry Ward's 'The Reign of Queen Victoria.'—Amongst the other papers which repay perusal are 'The Recent Progress and the Future of Photography,' a third instalment of 'The Court of France and Society in the Sixteenth Century,' and the interesting Russian novel 'The Burning of Moscow.'

BIBLIOTHEQUE ET REVUE SUISSE (September).—M. André Michel points out as the most distinctive feature in contemporary art, the return to the loving study of light. All the best men are directing their attention to the realization of luminous harmonies and to the new poetry of the broad day.—It may be interesting to cyclists to know that the archives of Nuremberg contain, under

date 1633, mention of a primitive velocipede. In 1703 a countryman of Tell's, Stephen Tarfler of Altdorf, made a tricycle to take him to church. In 1774 a four-wheeled machine attracted some attention in England; and in 1816 Baron Drais de Saverbrun contrived what was perhaps the *point de départ* of our modern 'cycles.' M. Ed. Lullin begins with these details a readable article on the subject.—'A Case of Conscience,' a novel by M. Paul Gervais, opens attractively; further instalments are given of 'The Burning of Moscow,' and 'French Society in the 16th Century'; and the sketch of Lord Shaftesbury is brought to a close.

REVUE PHILOSOPHIQUE (August and September).—The table of contents for August is headed by a continuation of M. E. Durkheim's article, 'La Science positive de la Morale en Allemagne.' The only writer whose system of Ethics is considered in this instalment is Wundt. According to Wundt, says M. Durkheim, there is but one religious idea, and the various religions which have succeeded each other in history have tended more and more towards the realization of it; there is one moral ideal which is being developed through all positive systems of ethics; there is one humanity of which individual societies are but temporary and symbolical incarnations. Consequently, in order to arrive at a knowledge of what morality and religion are, Wundt examines them under the relatively perfect form which they have attained amongst civilized nations. When dealt with in this manner the question allows of but one solution. If all religions and all systems of ethics are specifically similar, and tend towards one and the same end, it follows as a necessary consequence that this end must recede in proportion as society advances towards it, else we should have to admit that a day must come when progress will be consummated. To this M. Durkheim takes exception. He maintains that there are as many standards of morality as there are social types, and that each race has its own end towards which it continues to advance until the day when another race takes its place and begins its course towards a new goal.—Under the title of 'Le fétichisme dans l'amour,' M. Binet contributes a study in morbid psychology.—The psychological conditions of historical knowledge are considered by M. Seignobos in a very interesting paper, in which he argues that historical knowledge is an indirect knowledge which can only be obtained by reasoning. The documents upon which this reasoning is based only show us, he asserts, psychological operations. History can only arrive at a conclusion by again going through these psychological operations, and this, again, it can only do by means of a series of psychological analyses and of analogical arguments of which the major is in each case borrowed from descriptive psychology.—In the September number M. Lionel Dauriac devotes a lengthy article to the examination of M. Charles Renouvier's lately published *Sketch of a Systematic Classification of Philosophical Doctrines*. The work is pronounced to be the best defence yet put forward of the 'philosophy of contingency.'—Besides two papers in continuation, the one of 'Le fétichisme dans l'amour,' the other of 'La Science positive de la Morale en Allemagne,' there is a valuable and interesting sketch, by M. Tannery, of the Cosmogony of Empedocles.

L'ART (July, August, September).—The two numbers which represent the first of these three months is unusually rich in excellent illustrations, the full-page etchings 'Orpheline du Noord-Holland' and 'La Sortie' being particularly worthy of praise. As regards the text, however, it is less satisfactory, for it contains nothing beyond notices of the 'Salon.'—The August number contains an interesting paper in which M. Arthur Heulhard examines the truth of the legend which connects the arm-chair preserved at Palluau with Rabelais. The writer allows that the celebrated humourist did visit the village, but sees no proof in favour of the authenticity of the arm-chair.—This is followed by an able and interesting description of the bas-reliefs executed by Rude for the castle of Tervueren—now a ruin—in Belgium. M. Bertrand points out as particularly characteristic of Rude's work, his truth to nature and his fidelity to the ancient writers from whom he drew his inspiration. A number of excellent illustrations allow us to follow the critic closely in his remarks on the

reliefs representing the history of Achilles, and to admire the genius displayed in this marble translation of Homer.—The second number contains M. Eugène Muntz's study of Leonardo da Vinci's 'Adoration of the Magi.'—There is also a further notice of the 'Salon' and the beginning of a story: 'La Danaë.'—The September part which opens with yet another instalment of M. Paul Leroy's 'Salon,' contains a paper on 'Industrial Art in the Provinces.' M. J. B. Giraud points out the importance of this branch, and urges the necessity of encouraging it by national grants, in order that French artists and French manufacturers may hold their own against foreign competition.—M. Germain Bapst relates, in an interesting sketch, the circumstances under which Francis I. formed the nucleus of what was to become the crown diamonds of France. A good deal of the article is but a repetition of what the writer has already published in another magazine.—A charming etching: 'A family of Cats' deserves special mention; it is by Eug. Gauguin after a painting by Eug. Lambert.—M. Bapst contributes another notice of some of the crown diamonds. A postscript informs us that this and the former article are chapters of a work shortly to be published by Messrs. Hachette & Co.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 3 1887).—Professor G. Maspero takes occasion from the publication of M. E. Naville's splendid edition of the *Book of the Dead*, issued last year under the auspices of the German Government, by Asher & Co., Berlin, to give in the pages of this *Revue*, a short history of the undertaking, an elaborate summary and analysis of the various chapters of the Book itself, and an exposition of the meaning of each chapter, and of its place in the ritual of the funeral ceremonies. He discusses too the various questions which the different copies of this work, in whole or in part, that have been discovered, give rise to among Egyptologists, and passes some critical remarks on the work of M. Naville and his fellow labourers, in the production of this edition. Of the four scholars fixed on by the Oriental Congress, which met in London in 1874, to undertake the task of such a publication as this, M. Naville alone has been spared to see it completed, and Professor Maspero pays a just tribute to the scholarship of each, and especially to that of M. Naville, on whom has rested in reality the whole burden of the preparing of this edition. Taken along with the previous article in number 2 of this year's issue of this *Revue*, on the religious ceremonies observed by the Egyptians at the funeral of their dead, this paper of M. Maspero's will form an invaluable guide to the student of Egyptian beliefs as to a future life, and an excellent handbook to the reader of the work itself on which it is a commentary.—M. L. Massebieau discusses the vexed question as to whether the *Apology* of Tertullian or the *Octavius* of Minucius Felix was the earlier written and therefore the more original work. He decides for that of Tertullian, and gives several very substantial reasons for his opinion.—Several recent works of considerable interest to the students of the history of religions are reviewed by the editor and others, and the usual summaries of Magazine articles and papers follow, with the Chronique and Bibliography of the preceding two months.

REVUE DE L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS (No. 4, 1887).—In 1884 Professor Loeschke of Dorpat announced, as a discovery he had made, the existence of a goddess in the Athenian pantheon called Basileia, and whom he identified with Cybele. M. P. Decharme criticises the merits of this pretended discovery, and shows how that archæologist has been led into error.—The recently discovered sarcophagus of Labnit at Sidon, forms the subject of a short article from the pen of M. Hartwig Derenbourg, in which he gives a transcription and translation, with explanatory and philological notes, of the inscription the sarcophagus bears.—M. E. LeFebvre furnishes an interesting account of the significance of the 'egg' in the Egyptian Religion, in the course of which he takes occasion to show that its mystery has had its influence on the thought and customs of other religions as well.—M. Paul Regaud discusses briefly the meaning of the vedic word 'rta,' and traces it to its root significance of 'putting in motion.'—M. L. Horat gives the first part of an exegetical study on the Book of Deuteronomy. In this section of it he gives a minute analysis of the contents of the book, and

endeavours to show by comparison of its various parts that it is not—not even the so-called ‘kernel’ or ‘original form’ of the work (on which critics have been until recently almost unanimous) viz. chaps. xii., xxvi.—the work of one author, but a conglomerate of various laws and narratives gathered together from various sources and arranged in a very loose way. M. Horst subjects each division of the book to a searching scrutiny, and attempts to assign the various groups of laws and historical narratives to their original sources.—M. Georges Lafaye resumes his descriptive account of the recent archaeological discoveries in Athens and neighbourhood, begun in the No. 2 of this year's issue of the *Revue*. The other articles are ‘L'Etat religieux de la Mingrelie,’ by M. J. Mourier; ‘La morale religieuse chez les Musulmans,’ which is a translation of Mehemet Said Effendi's *Akhuqi-Hamide*. It is by M. J. A. Decourdemanche, who furnishes a preface to it. M. Clermont Ganneau writes in regard to a notice of Smend and Socin's recent publication on the Moabite Stone which appeared in this *Revue*, and endeavours to correct some misrepresentations or mistakes made, as he thinks, by the author of that notice. In the course of his letter he merely mentions the Rev. A. Löwy's article on the subject of this stone, which appeared in the April number of this *Review*, and is content to describe it as an ‘*elucubration insensée*.’ M. A. Carrière, the author of the notice complained of replies. The *Chronique* of the two months and summaries of papers read before Learned Societies, bearing on the subject of religious history, follow, and with the Bibliography of the two months complete the number.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (July).—A third instalment of M. de Mazade's ‘Un Chancelier d'ancien régime’ is devoted to what is styled ‘The diplomatic reign of M. de Metternich,’ and includes the period from 1815 to 1828.—An essay which cannot fail to prove interesting to English readers is that which M. Emile Montégut devotes to John Aubrey, who, now-a-days is probably best known as one of the first members of the Royal Society. It is not, however, in this capacity that M. Montégut considers him; he devotes his article to the work on Apparitions, Magic, Charms, etc., published by Aubrey about the end of the seventeenth century, and from these quaint pages draws a very vivid sketch of popular superstitions at that time.—Continuing the very able study begun in a late number, M. Daubrée here proceeds to examine the part played by subterraneous waters in the formation of minerals.—M. Michel Bréal follows in a paper on the history of words which contains numberless examples of the strange changes through which some of the most familiar expressions have gone before assuming their present meaning.—In the mid-monthly part one article deserves special notice; it is that in which, continuing his sketch of Protestant Associations in Paris, M. Maxime Du Camp shows the work done by the Deaconesses, and also in the establishment bearing the strange name ‘la cité du soleil.’

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (August).—The opening pages of the first number are devoted to the sixth but not yet final instalment of the Duc de Broglie's ‘Etudes Diplomatiques.’ It considers the consequences of the battle of Fontenoy, and brings us down to the period of the evacuation of Germany by the French troops.—The next contribution is also a continuation. It is the third in a series of studies in ecclesiastical history and is devoted to an examination of the edict of Milan issued by the Emperor Constantine in 313. As regards this famous document M. Gaston Boissier is of opinion that whilst inspired by the emperor's Christian teachers, certain peculiar expressions which occur in it must be attributed to the Pagan officials, by whom it was drawn up.—M. Paul Janet devotes a lengthy article to the origin of Comte's system of philosophy, and shows to what extent he was indebted to Saint-Simon, d'Alembert, Bacon, and Condorcet.—In continuation of his sketch of ‘Modern Oceania,’ M. de Varigny gives a very graphic and interesting description of the Banks' Islands.—M. Maxime Du Camp in continuation of his interesting description of the charitable institutions of Paris gives an account of the homes and infirmaries founded by Jewish charity. It is almost needless to state that the name of Rothschild occurs at almost every page. Amongst other incidental details it is mentioned

that the Jewish population of Paris amounts to 45,000 and is about two-thirds of the whole Jewish population of France.—'La Religion en Russie,' from the pen of M. Anatole Leroy Beaulieu, is concluded in a third instalment which deals with the various ceremonies and examines the images in the churches from an artistic point of view.—M. de Varigny adds another section to his 'Modern Oceania.' Besides New Caledonia, Australia, and New Zealand, he describes some of the islands in the Pacific, and furnishes some very interesting and instructive information concerning the formation of coral reefs.—After a long illness, during which he was, however, able to continue his valuable researches into the state of the French Army in 1789, M. Albert Duruy has been removed by death, and the sad news is communicated in the same number which contains the third part of his able production.

REVUE DES DEUX MONDES (September).—The article to which English readers of the *Revue* will probably turn first is that which M. Filon—who, as we find from the general title, has undertaken to examine and criticise the works of our historians—devotes to Mr. Froude. As might almost be expected, he joins issue with him on every point. He is particularly bitter when he comes to speak of the 'English in Ireland'; as regards Mr. Froude's sympathy with Germany in 1870, it is scarcely necessary to indicate the feelings which it calls forth in the French writer. To this part of his essay, M. Filon appends a note containing the statement of a fact, if it really be a fact, which we confess was unknown to us. It is to the effect that when the French Imperial family came to England, Carlyle offered to superintend the education of the Prince Imperial. We are told that the only answer to this strange proposal was a melancholy shrug of the shoulders on the part of Napoleon.—An interesting, though in parts, somewhat fanciful paper by M. Antoine de Saporta sets forth certain theories with regard to the interior of our globe.—A sudden transition takes us, with M. de Varigny still for our guide, from the islands described in last month's instalment of 'Modern Oceania' to the Asian Archipelago. The descriptions of Sumatra, Borneo, and the Celebes, are fully up to the high standard which the writer has reached in the preceding sections.—Amongst the other contributions to the number may be mentioned a further addition to the Duc de Broglie's 'Etudes Diplomatiques,' an article by M. Valbert on 'Ranke and Frederic William IV.,' and finally a poem 'Une mauvaise Soirée,' by M. Coppée.—The last of the quarter's numbers, though it contains no article of surpassing interest, has none, on the other hand, but is eminently readable. This applies particularly to M. Maxime Du Camp's contribution in which, with his usual *verve*, he continues his sketch 'La Bienfaisance Israélite à Paris.' No better proof could be given of his consummate skill than the variety which he has succeeded in imparting to a series of articles on subjects so similar as the charitable institutions of the several religious denominations represented in the French capital.—M. Emile Fauget deserves considerable praise for the originality which he displays in his treatment of so well-worn a subject as Madame de Staël. Perhaps no pitier and truer appreciation of her could be given than that with which the writer closes his essay: 'C'était un esprit européen dans une âme française.'—Although M. Camille Bellaigue's article 'La Religion dans la Musique,' can scarcely be thoroughly appreciated by any but specialists, it may safely be recommended to the least musical of general readers; as a literary production merely, even apart from its merit as a musical criticism, it cannot fail fully to repay perusal.—In an excellent study to which he gives the somewhat misleading title, 'Le Naturalisme aux Etats-Unis,' M. Bentzon, whose name we have frequently mentioned in connection with American literature, examines the works of Thoreau, Burrough, Lowell, and Sarah Orne Jowett.—'Villars, Diplomate' and a sketch descriptive of the condition of actors in France during the eighteenth century, complete the number.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (July).—The first of the five numbers for July opens with a paper in which M. Lothar Meyer sketches the theories started at various times, notably by Berthollet, Berzelius, Thomsen, and Oswald, to account for the phenomenon of chemical affinity. Chemistry is represented in the fifth number also, by a lecture which M. Malard devotes to an exposition of the

principles of crystallography.—The section devoted to Geography contains but one article. It is contributed by M. G. Rolland whose subject is the colonisation of the Sahara.—M. A. Arnaudeau discusses the possibility of constructing a suspension tube for postal purposes, between Dover and Calais and seems to entertain no doubts as to the practicability of the scheme.—In a most interesting paper Dr. Despine communicates certain observations made by his uncle Dr. Antoine Despine almost half a century ago, by which he endeavours to establish the theory that electricity is greatly increased in districts where cosmic disturbances take place, whilst, on the other hand it is diminished or even annulled in quarters remote from the seat of these earthquakes.—Two excellent biographical sketches will be found in numbers 2 and 5 respectively. In the former of these M. P. Deherain traces the career of Boussingault, the eminent scientist whose labours may be said to have created agricultural chemistry. In the latter M. A. Richet pays a fitting tribute to the memory of the late Dr. Gosselin.—A mathematical paper contributed by M. G. Milbaud and based on a treatise by Helmholtz deals with arithmetical axioms which it reduces to five.—M. S. Calloni gives a careful summary of the researches which have enabled Professor Pavesi, of Pavia, to prove that the migrations of the tunny are only bathymetrical, and that its appearance in the Atlantic is purely accidental.—The third number contains a couple of articles which though thoroughly scientific, may be recommended to the general reader; one of them explains the physiological conditions of the flight of birds; the other gives some very interesting details concerning leprosy in the Hawaiian islands.—One of the most interesting and instructive contributions is that which bears the signature of M. Léo Errera and which sets forth a new theory of sleep. Briefly summed up it amounts to this. In all our tissues activity generates substances more or less analogous to alkaloids, possessing narcotic qualities. By the accumulation of these pro-nogenetic substances the nerve centres are gradually reduced to inactivity. During the period of rest consequent on this these substances are removed by oxydation and the centres restored to their normal energy.

REVUE SCIENTIFIQUE (August).—In a paper which he entitles: 'Le Rôle des Sciences et des Lettres dans l'Instruction secondaire' M. Carl Vogt deals with a subject which, in this country also, is exciting considerable interest, the relative value of classics and mathematics in secondary education. The writer states both sides of the question with great clearness and impartiality. He does not give his own opinion in so many words, but he predicts the ultimate success of the utilitarian view and does not seem greatly to regret it. Incidental mention of another important subject, that of over-pressure in schools, draws from him the opinion that this is due less to the number of home lessons than to the number of distinct and unconnected subjects over which they range.—The same number—the first—contains a very interesting article in which M. Meunier shows that the use of dogs for military purposes is not new.—Two of the articles in the number bearing the date of the 13th of August bear English signatures, that of Mr. W. Crooks whose lecture on 'The Genesis of Elements' is reproduced, and that of Mr. Romanes who records some very interesting experiments which he made with a view to testing the acuteness of the sense of smell in dogs.—The same number further contains a biographical paper by M. Rietsch who has chosen for his subject the influence of microbes in nature, and a sketch of the labours undertaken and the results obtained by M. Chambulent who, within a space of fifty years has transformed the 'landes' or sandy wastes of Gascony into forests of oak and fir roughly estimated at 225 millions of francs.—Ethnography claims but one paper; it is contributed by M. Edmond Planchut and gives an interesting account of the Negritos and other savage tribes of the island of Luzon.—In the last of the month's, numbers the most important articles are respectively by M. Kucharzewski and M. Paulbam. The former gives a sketch of the life of Philippe de Girard, the latter treats the somewhat abstruse subject of 'Conscience in Societies.'

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (1888 Erstes Heft).—This number has just come to hand as we go to press, and we can therefore give only the list of its contents. The first article is by Dr. Julius Köstlin, 'Religion nach dem

Neuen Testament mit besonderer Beziehung auf das Verhältniss des Sittlichen und Religiösen, und auf das Mystische in der Religion. The second article is by Dr. W. Beyschlag, 'Die Apokalypse gegen die jüngste kritische Hypothese in Schütze genommen.' Dr. G. Kramer treats of Zinzendorf's 'Versuch Wittenberg und Halle zu versöhnen.' Herr. K. Belling gives us a short exegetical study on 1 John iii. 9. Dr. Buckwald clears up, from a MS. discovered by him in the library of Zuickau, an obscure passage in Luther's 'Actis Augustanis.'—The books reviewed are Carl Holstein's 'Die synoptischen Evangelien nach der Form ihrer Inhalt,' by A. Schlatter; and Dr. W. Hermann's 'Der Verkehr des Christen mit Gott,' by Dr. Hermann Weiss.

THEOLOGISCHE STUDIEN UND KRITIKEN (Vicertes Heft, 1887).—Professor Hermann Schmidt of Breslau continues his paper on the growth and development of creeds in the Christian Church. Here he discusses the principal differences between the theological systems of the early and of the Reformed Churches, and traces these differences to the circumstances that conditioned, if not caused, their emanation.—Dr. Bratke, Privat-Dozent, also at Breslau, gives an interesting analysis of Clement of Alexandria's writings to show how his minute acquaintance with the Mithraic, Eleusinian and other 'Mysteries' reflects itself in all his teaching, and coloured even his theological ideas. He does not regard Clement's intimate knowledge of those cults as a proof of his having been one of the initiated prior to his conversion. He thinks he derived all his information as to them from a work on the subject, very popular in his day, by Diagoras of Melos.—Herr Pfarrer Reimpell of Lassahn discusses the meaning of the important verb *κατέχευ* in the second Epistle to the Thessalonians, and Dr. Buchwald the text of Luther's sermons on the Book of Genesis. An appreciative review of Paul Christ's *Lehre vom Gebet nach dem Neuen Testament*, completes the number.

WESTERMANN'S MONATS-HEFTE (August and September).—The greater number of Goethe's biographers, at least the best known of them, Lewes, Herman Grimm, Düntzer, Stahr and Goedecke, have all written severe things of Elizabeth Schöneman, the Lili of the poems, and pictured her as, at best, but a flirt and a coquette. As a protest against what he considers an unjust verdict Herr Bielschowsky re-opens the whole question and, drawing his arguments from Goethe's own words, endeavours to prove that Lili was, on the contrary, most affectionate and considerate in her treatment of the poet, and that she was neither directly nor indirectly responsible for the breaking off of their engagement. Herr Bielschowsky undoubtedly makes out a strong case for the fair client whose cause he has chivalrously espoused. But, apart from the merits or demerits of this special incident, the details given with regard to Lili's later life as Frau von Turkheim, her courageous conduct during the troubles of the French Revolution, her devotion to her husband, and her affection for her children, lend an additional charm to this most interesting paper.—Wilhelm Scherer, whose death in the early part of August, 1886, deprived Germany of the greatest of her philologists, of a man whose name will be remembered with those of Jakob Grimm, Karl Lachmann and Karl Müllenhoff, has supplied Herr Julius Hoffory with the subject for an excellent biographical and critical essay. He allows that the German savant's character was made up of such apparently contradictory qualities that it is difficult for even his friends to bring them together into a harmonious whole. But he maintains that his failings and defects were insignificant as compared with his sterling qualities. If he was a sharp and uncompromising opponent, he was also a fast friend.—'Die Nørrenwelt der Bühne,' which bears the signature of Fr. Hellüg, is an interesting study of the comic element in the drama. It traces the descent of the Jeremy Dillers and Paul Prys of the modern stage through Molière and Shakspeare from their ancestor in the early drama where, as is pointed out, he always bore the name of the popular national dish, Hanswurst in Germany, Pickelhering in Holland, Jean Pottage in France, Signor Macaroni in Italy and Jack Pudding in England.—Herr Hermann Vámbéry contributes an instructive paper descriptive of the railway which the Russians have constructed from the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea through what was lately called, in the House of Commons, Turco-

mania, and as far as the banks of the Oxus.—Herr F. von Zobeltitz also takes us to distant regions in an article which he devotes to Tunis and East Algeria. Thence, with Herr Bruno Beheim-Schwarzbach as guide, we walk through the streets and examine the public buildings of Sydney. In both these contributions the illustrations are profuse and particularly interesting.—The Algerian sketch is concluded in the September number.—An unsigned paper brings a valuable contribution to the iconography of Goethe; ten excellent engravings show the poet at various dates of his career from 1762 to 1832.—Under the title 'New Stars,' a paper by Herr Wilhelm Schütte explains the probable origin of the stars which have at various times been discovered in parts of the heavens where none had been observed previously.—The 'literary study' which Herr Ernst Wechsler devotes to the Countess Marie von Ebner-Eschenbach, is in so far welcome that it gives some details concerning a distinguished literary character, but a pretentious and high-flown style brimful of mythological allusions and references to Apollo and the Muses make it but heavy reading.—A short contribution by Herr Friedrich Presigke indicates the ceremonies observed by the Egyptians at the beginning and completion of their public buildings.—Light literature is well represented by Herr Hieronymus Lorm, Adolf Schmittbener, and Wilhelm Berger.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (August).—The continuation of the serial 'Schönheit' is followed by an interesting communication from Herr Bernhard Scuffert who brings to light some half-a-dozen charming letters addressed to Wieland by his young friend Sophie Brentano and adds a few details of the career of the beautiful and accomplished girl, whose friendship forms so touching an episode in the poet's life, and who lies in the same grave with him in the little garden of Osemanstadt.—The July number contains the first and the August part the last instalment of an exceedingly valuable sketch of the life and times of the Landgrave Ernest of Hessen-Rheinfels. This petty ruler of a diminutive German State, though a man of undoubted talent, was too listless to play a very conspicuous part in active politics. Neither can it be looked upon as anything but a gain for Germany that he did not; a man who, whilst professing ardent patriotism was in receipt of a yearly pension from Louis XIV., in return for which he was to give passage to a French army whenever called upon to do so, may be credited with any treason. His personal history, though interesting, is therefore not edifying. But the incidental details as to the state of Germany are exceedingly valuable. Taken as a whole the sketch is an important addition to the history of the seventeenth century.—Though but a summary of a work lately published in Paris, the article entitled 'Geschichte einer vornehmen Dame im achtzehnten Jahrhundert' is delightful reading and will doubtless induce many to become better acquainted with the 'great lady' by the perusal of her diary as edited by M. Lucien Perey. The 'grande dame' is the Princesse de Ligne.—'Fanny Lewald' contributes what she modestly calls 'Reminiscences of Franz Liszt,' though the copiousness and variety of the details which an acquaintance of nearly forty years with the great musician enables her to set before us might almost justify the more ambitious title of 'biography.' This first instalment deals chiefly with Liszt and his connection with Weimar. One section, however, is devoted to a charming description of a summer stay in Heligoland.

DEUTSCHE RUNDSCHAU (September).—If the second part of the 'Reminiscences of Franz Liszt' scarcely reaches the level of the first, the reason is not to be found in any shortcoming on the writer's part. The truth is that the years which Liszt spent in Rome cannot compare in interest with the first part of his career, and though writing as enthusiastically as before of the 'abbé,' 'Fanny Lewald' distinctly fails to call up the same sympathy and admiration.—Drawing his materials from unpublished letters, Herr Reinhold Koser has drawn up a most interesting sketch of Sophie Charlotte, the first Queen of Prussia. Amongst the political events on which her correspondence with her mother throws some light, may be mentioned the fall of the Elector Frederick's Minister, Danckelman. Some interesting details—not greatly to his credit—are

also given concerning the early years of Frederick William I.—Lady Blennerhassett devotes considerable space to a summary of Mr. Humphry Ward's 'Reign of Queen Victoria.'—'Station Burgtheater' is the title which Herr S. Schlesinger gives to a sketch of Wilbrandt's career as director of a theatre.—Herr Gustav Karpeles communicates a most interesting document. It is an obituary notice written by Heinrich Laube in 1846, when a false report of Heinrich Heine's death was circulated through Germany. It was naturally set aside by Kolb, the editor of the 'Allgemeine Zeitung,' to whom it had been submitted. Though repeatedly requested to return the manuscript he omitted to do so and does not appear to have known or greatly cared what had become of it. After lying hidden for forty years, the essay was lately discovered in a collection of autographs, and is now for the first time published. Quite apart from this the article is interesting as containing as impartial an estimate of Heine as has ever yet been written.

THEOLOGISCH TIJDSCHRIFT.—To judge from the last two numbers of this periodical one would say that the revolt against theological authority on the continent is now in a stage in which its success must be slower and more doubtful than hitherto. The Received Texts of the Scriptures, the Massoretic, and the Greek of our New Testament are being subjected to an enquiry in which no MS. authority is recognised as final, but conjecture has a free hand. Two German works are noticed by Dr. Kuenen in the September number, the new commentary by Klostermann on Samuel and Kings, and Dr. Ryssel's Enquiry as to the text and the genuineness of Micah, in both of which the Hebrew text is very freely dealt with. Dr. Manen writes in the July and September numbers on Marcion's alleged alteration of the text of Galatians, and maintains that not Marcion but orthodox Church writers took liberties with S. Paul's work, and that we may recognise in Marcion's text of Galatians, in at least many instances, the original form of the epistle, in which it is far clearer and more intelligible than we now have it. On the detail we cannot enter here, but we may say that Dr. Manen appears to us to make out his case in at least several passages. The result is to make S. Paul a good deal less of 'a cankered carle,' as we have heard heard him called, than the student of his writings often finds him. A great deal has been done of late to simplify the text in the Corinthian epistles also; and it looks as if some day we might be presented with a 'Paul made easy,' an edition of his works free from those features of style which laid him open to the criticism of his brother Apostle. Commentaries would then be very much shortened, but a controversy might arise which would more than counter-balance this benefit, between the followers of the easy Paul and those of the hard Paul. Sincerely speaking, we must be glad that the Bible as it is holds the field so stoutly, and that the danger from these Cossacks of theology is so remote. The dispute as to the period of Joel, and the character of his prophecy, about the first in the series, or about the last when prophecy was degenerating into apocalypse, still goes on. Dr. Matthes defends the latter view once more in the July Tijdschrift. Dr. Manen gives in September a brief but appreciative notice of Cheyne's 'Job and Solomon,' not entering on criticism, but promising to avail himself of the help of the book for the last volume of his 'Enquiry.'

DE GIDS—(June and July)—contain a contribution to the social problem by Cort v. d. Linden, who considers the present situation most critical and compares it to the time of the decadence of the Roman Empire, only it is less hopeful, there being no fresh vigorous nations ready to supplant the effete ones. Repressive, clerically supported conservatism only aggravates the danger, and nothing is to be expected of the prevalent *laissez faire* liberalism, still less of socialism which is an unrealisable ideal leading inevitably to anarchy. The only hope is in steady extension of freedom to the masses. In support of this he adduces the history of free nations, also Darwinism, which has proved that the highest developments are the result of freedom—it is the oppressed who sink. In the absence of any hope beyond the grave, the greatest present good of the greatest number must be sought, and freedom is an essential condition of progress in material and social wellbeing. For the State therefore freedom is the goal

beyond which there is nothing to aim at, but this is not inconsistent with much interference with individual liberty for the sake of giving the weak a fair field.—In a paper discussing the report of an official investigation of the Industries of Holland, heart-piercing disclosures are made as to the condition of the work-people, especially women and boys in certain potteries and glassworks, as well as in tobacco and flax factories, though in many cases there is nothing to censure.—This is followed up (Aug. and Oct.) by a sketch of the Life and Labours of Lord Shaftesbury.—Another biographical sketch is of Marie Bashkirtseff, a young Russian lady whose precocious genius blossomed only to fade in death, before the promise of her artistic powers could bear fruit.—The September number contains a paper on Old French Miracle Plays of Jean Bodel and Adam de la Hale, etc.—Under the title of Figaro, a series of articles treats of Beaumarchais and the latest biographical disclosures concerning him. The point of view chosen is that of M. Faine's description of him as *faiseur charlatan gamin and polisson*.—There is also an able sketch of the lifework and characters of Groen v. Prinsterer and Van der Bruggen, tracing the influence of their very diverse views on educational and other subjects, down to the present in Dutch political history.—Miss A. S. C. Wallis' translation of the strange Hungarian dramatic work, 'The tragedy of Man,' by Madách is favourably criticised. This poem begins with Adam and Eve tempted by Lucifer in Paradise, and after the Fall Adam demands the fulfilment of the promise that they shall be as gods. He is then granted a knowledge of the future of his race and strangely passes as actor and spectator through a variety of experiences in which he is successively Pharaoh, Miltiades, Sergiolus, Tancred, Replez, and tastes of every mode of life such as the luxury of ancient Rome and London, and the life of a Phalanstery where Plato acts as cowherd, and finally after soaring among the planets, he finds himself an Esquimo on barren icefields, but this is more than he can endure and he begs to be restored to his place outside the gates of Paradise. In despair he is about to throw himself from a cliff but is restrained by Eve, who is about to become a mother, and finally together they listen to the voice of God, which bids them struggle on and be true to the Highest.

LA NUOVA ANTOLOGIA (Sept. 1).—In an article entitled 'The Work of a Madman,' F. De Reuzis gives an account of the three magnificent castles built by the late King of Bavaria, praising them highly and refusing to believe in the insanity of their founder. The writer regrets that Bavaria will never have another sovereign sufficiently 'mad' to complete the beautiful work.—F. Bertolini, with the assistance of inedited documents, seeks to arrive at the truth of the origin of the Neapolitan revolution of 1820.—F. d' Ovidio writes on university questions, and G. Beloch advocates a future 'economical history' of Italy, which he advises should be commenced by treating special and important parts, the chief being the problem of the population, to which he contributes his share by rapidly sketching the increase of the population in ancient times. Among other conclusions, the writer believes that the population of the actual kingdom in the third century B.C., amounted to about six millions, certainly not less than five and not more than seven millions. After the wars of Hannibal the number of *Roman citizens* sank from 280,000 to 114,000, and the decrease was still more marked in the allied States. Forty years after the peace the number of Roman citizens had risen to 337,000, after which began a decline caused by the substitution of slaves for free workmen; this decline, considering the profound peace which then prevailed was a grave symptom. In the year 69 B.C., when all the allied States, except Cisalpine Gaul, had been incorporated with the Roman State, the first census taken gave a total of 910,000 Roman citizens. Under Augustus in 28 B.C., there were counted four million Roman citizens, for the right of citizenship had been extended to all Cisalpine Gaul. In the year 14 A.D. there were five millions, and under Claudius in 47 A.D. six millions, which total probably included both sexes and all ages, otherwise it could not be explained. After the census in the time of Claudius, no official report is met with that can throw light upon the changes in the population of Italy. The general decadence in civilization included the decadence of statistics.

The historians of the Decline and the annalists of the Middle Ages entirely lose the faculty of understanding what a great number signifies, which faculty is rare in all times. Procopius relates in cold blood that the Goths killed in Milan no less than 30,000 men, without reckoning the women, and that the African wars of Justinian cost the lives of five millions of the inhabitants of those provinces. It is evident that the number of the population of Italy in the Middle Ages cannot be obtained from such sources. After these dark times, the first official statistics dawn upon us towards the end of the Thirteenth Century, in the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies. It refers to a tax imposed on the various communes in relation to the population. In 1275, there was raised from the tax a little more than 60,000 ounces of gold, and, as the tax was levied at the rate of a quarter of an ounce on every domestic hearth, this would make 240,000 hearths we get a population of 1,200,000, which is no doubt below the truth. In 1561, the population would be 2,600,000 almost the third part of the present population. During the second half of the Fifteenth Century, the population of the actual kingdom may have been eleven millions or rather more. From that time an increase commenced which still continues. In 1770 the population had risen to more than 17 millions, an increase of 25 per cent in the course of the century. Still this increase is only half of that verified in the present century. The writer then goes on to notice the development of the principal cities. During the early times of the Roman Empire, Capua was second only to Rome, and Ostia and Pozzuoli almost equal to Capua. At the end of the fourth century A. D. Milan took the place of second city of Italy, and after the fall of Rome, it became the first in all Italy and so remained till the beginning of the sixteenth century. After the Middle Ages Venice came next to Milan, possessing a population of 200,000. Rome and Palermo, towards 1600 had each 100,000 inhabitants; Florence and Genoa from 70 to 80,000; Bologna and Verona from 50 to 60,000. But Naples, notwithstanding the Spanish oppression, excelled all with a population of 268,000, and at the end of last century it had 400,000. Turin, which now occupies the fourth place among Italian cities had only a population of 36,000 in 1631. The development of Leghorn has been still more rapid, for in 1562 it was only a village with scarcely 5000 inhabitants. It must be remembered that in 1500, a city with a population of 200,000 had the same relative importance as now a city of a million inhabitants. And at that time there were only three cities in Europe besides Milan and Naples which surpassed that number, namely London, Paris, and Constantinople. At the beginning of the present century the principal cities of Italy had a relative importance much larger than what they enjoy at present. Naples, with 400,000 inhabitants, was little inferior to Paris with 500,000. Rome, with 153,000, was almost equal to Berlin, while Vienna only possessed half the population of Naples. Liverpool and Glasgow were then inferior to Naples, Rome, Palermo, Milan, and Venice. In the time of Augustus the population of Italy was about the fourth part of that of all Europe; while at present it is only the twelfth. There can be no doubt that during the next few centuries this population will continue to be modified to the disadvantage of Italy. Everyone will comprehend the political consequences of this fact, and, according to the resolution taken, whether to let things go on so, or to seek beyond the seas the expansion which is denied to Italy in Europe, will depend in great part the future of the Italian nation.—Salvatore Fariua's new novel 'All for Fanie's Sweet Sake,' is continued.—A. Brunialti contributes an article on the Italian quarrel with Columbia.—In the 'Records of Foreign Literature,' Sig. Nencione praises Vernon Lee's new book 'Juvenalia,' but says that the authoress, like so many modern writers, studies nature and art not for their own sakes, but for what they can suggest with a view to a lecture or a book to be written.—The Italian reviewer welcomes with delight the 'unedited letters' of Thackeray and Dickens. He also notices the founding of the Walt Whitman Society in America, and judges Whitman as a poet, who, if you read him patiently and slowly, soon attracts you as by some magic current, and leads you to true and primitive sentiments.—(Sept. 16th). G. Mazzoni opens this number with a short article on the life of Molière, according to the latest studies.—V. Giachi has an interesting paper on popular superstitions in ancient Rome, showing how the ancient religion, which the

writer thinks was the principal if not sole source of the Roman greatness, became debased and perverted.—L. Belgrano give an account of the progress of the Italian Historic Society, which was founded in 1885, is composed of fifteen members, and has for its aim to promote the publication of everything relating to national history.—Nautilus has a long article on the Italian naval service.—Farina's novel is continued.—P. Lambertschi writes on Italian policy in connection with the Bulgarian question, and the number closes with a short paper on the cutting of the Isthmus of Corinth showing that the formation of that canal will be of great advantage to Italy and Austria.

LA RASSEGNA NAZIONALE (Sept. 1st).—The continuation of the papers by G. Grabinski on 'The Soudan and the Madhi' is in this number entitled 'The beginning of the Revolt.'—It is followed by a lecture on the two editions of Manzoni's *Promessi Sposi* delivered at Naples some time ago by Professor Antona-Traversa.—G. Cappucini carries on the discussion on the teaching of ancient and modern languages in Italy.—R. Corniani has an interesting article on Father Agostino, the monk who has made such a sensation in Florence and the neighbourhood by his preaching. The writer inquires into the reason why a humble friar has succeeded not only in making himself heard by persons more or less hostile to the Catholic religion, but also in arousing an unprecedented enthusiasm, so that wherever he held his Lenten sermons all other things sank into insignificance. The writer thinks that the chief reason of this success lies in the present want in our daily life of spirituality, and that the Father has known how to strike the rock of living waters just at the moment when the thirst for ideality and spirituality was making itself most felt. Even the vacillation of political parties observable just now he maintains, shows that they are only waiting to get connection and strength to follow one flag alone, while other comforting symptoms are the universal charity poured out on the sufferers by earthquake, war or disease, and the enthusiastic affection with which the King and Queen of Italy are received wherever they go. The chief symptom of all is the evident desire for conciliation between religion and patriotism, between the duty of the believer and that of the Italian. Father Agostino took advantage of all these symptoms to show forth the glory of religion, proving that it can satisfy all tendencies and influence the peace of the human soul, the greatness of the nation, and the perfecting of the individual. Father Agostino has set himself the task of conquering the prejudice that religion is incompatible with social progress. In form, the Father is revolutionary, which style captivates the sympathy of his audience. There is nothing of the cathedra, of unction, or of academic science in his speech. His voice is even without being monotonous, clear but not loud, his words rapid yet distinct. His sermons are so full of pearls that it would be difficult to select, and his arguments gain value when connected the one with the other. Sometimes the form of his sermons seems too audacious, even irrelevant. He sometimes involuntarily pronounces phrases which, interpreted by ignorant workmen, might be thought a sanction of socialistic theories. It has been objected that the Father uses the words 'poor people' 'povero popolo' so often that it might be believed he considered the people as the victims of the higher classes. The reader must not therefore think that Father Agostino is a seeker after popularity. He stigmatizes the vices and defects of all classes alike, and is adored by all classes because they understand that he is fighting for morality, religion, and the good of the country he so dearly loves. His struggle is not without fruit; he has converted many persons not only from one creed to another, but also from atheism and indifference to faith.—X. writes on the military question.—(Sept. 16th).—C. Sardi writes a learned article on Christian charity under the Constantines.—L. Hugues gives a brief sketch of the little known voyage of Christopher Columbus to the Polar Sea in 1477, fifteen years before the discovery of America.—G. Cassani contributes a paper on a parliamentary question relating to the abolishing of feudal laws on fishing, selling of vegetable produce, etc., which still exist in some of the ex-Papal provinces.—C. F. Gabba discourses on the differences between the State and the Pope.—V. Santini writes on senatorial reform, and E. F. Toperti on the Italian navy and

its command.—G. Martucci gives an account of the famous Venetian commedian Andrea Calmo, who died in 1751.

LA CIVILTÀ CATTOLICA (for July 2nd), contains an interesting article, which, with others preceding and to follow, seeks to prove that electricity is the greatest factor in earthquakes, and gives many curious incidents in proof.—In the number for (August 20th), the most important item is the first of a series of papers on France, a century after the revolution. The other theological, historical, and political articles are continued.

LA CULTURA, edited by Sig. Bonghi (July, 1887), has a review of Spencer's 'Ecclesiastical Institutions,' at the close of which the writer says: 'The great and unresolved contradiction in Spencer's conclusions seems to us to be this: what sort of religion is that ultimate one, the object of which is an infinite energy which is in no kind of religious relation to man? Such a religion seems to us the same as its negation. The religious question seems to us to be far more complete than it appears in Spencer's analysis. The worship of one's forefathers may be one of the primitive forms of religion, but it is not the only or the primitive one. If the Divine sentiment were not innate in the human soul, no evolution could *educate* it. The sentiment of the Divine is certainly an object of evolution, but that evolution *creates* the germ, is pretended neither by ecclesiastical nor any other institutions.'

The third issue for 1887 of THE ARCHIVIO STORICO ITALIANO contains: 'New documents and notices of the life and writings of Leon Battista Alberti,' by G. Mancini; 'The first conquest of Britain by the Romans,' by G. Stocchi; 'Henry VII. and Francesco Barberino,' by F. Novati; and reviews of Italian and German works. The fourth issue has for its contents: 'Sanitary regulations in the commune of Pistoia against the Pestilence of 1348,' by A. Chiappelli; 'The Society of the Torri in Florence,' by P. Santini; and a further paper on 'The first conquest of Britain by the Romans,' by G. Stocchi.